

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Traditional Education in Micronesia:

**A Case Study of Lamotrek Atoll with Comparative Analysis
of the Literature on the Trukic Continuum**

**A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education**

by

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REVISED DISSERTATION

The 1991 original manuscript has been revised here for digital internet access in the Portable Document Format (PDF). There is no substantial difference between the original information given and this revised version, but some technical changes have been made to make the text more readable and searchable via computer by the reader. I have updated the pagination in the Table of Contents and elsewhere in the body of the text to conform to the changes that have been made to the manuscript. This has been done to avoid confusion that would otherwise result from mismatches between the page numbers given in the original Table of Contents and other cross-referenced information. In addition, the original 12pt. text size in the original has been increased to 14pt. to allow for greater clarity on-line in the PDF format.

The Chapter Notes section in the original manuscript has been removed. The annotations which formerly appeared at the end of the original manuscript have been converted to footnotes which now appear in the body of the text. This has been done to avoid the inconvenience of having two copies of the manuscript open on the computer screen in order to read both the main text and the annotations at the same time. Appendix A has been added to include the indigenous chants that formerly appeared in the Chapter Notes section. An Index of Song and Chants has been added as well as an Index for Myths, Legends, and Folktales. In a few cases passages have been rewritten for clarity.

None of the names used for islands in the original manuscript have been updated. For example, the spellings for Truk (now called Chuuk) and Puluwat (now Polowat) have not been changed. Neither have social-cultural developments after 1990 been discussed. For instance, since the revival of the *pwo* ceremony for navigators reported on in Chapter 6, there have been six additional *pwo* initiation rituals for traditional navigators that have been performed in the Caroline Islands to date. These events and others like them are significant with regard to the revitalization of traditional educational practices in Micronesia but these developments have not been examined here.

Eric Metzgar
Camarillo, California
October 28, 2008

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research for this dissertation could not have been done without the generous assistance of many people. A special debt of gratitude goes to John Hawkins, my committee chair, whose encouragement over the years has contributed immensely to the depth and scope of this study. After I had returned twice from the field and was in the process of compiling my data, the opportunity to return to Lamotrek and observe the ancient *pwo* rites of passage for navigators presented itself. When other advisors would have said, "enough is enough," Professor Hawkin's recognition of the significance of this event allowed me to return to Lamotrek "one more time."

Professor Hawkins and the other readers on my committee, Professors Michael Moerman and Val Rust, have made invaluable suggestions which have contributed to quality of this manuscript. In addition, Professor Moerman was instrumental in helping me to obtain materials by Japanese scholars who have published studies pertinent to the literature review for this study. Tomoya Akimichi at the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, Japan sent copies of these materials to Professor Moerman for which I am deeply grateful. Judith A. Takata and Hideotoshi Takehana deserve special recognition for providing the translation of these articles into English.

Partial financial support for this study was granted by the School of the Pacific Islands, Inc. which made it possible for me to travel to Lamotrek to observe and document the rites of *pwo* on eighteen hours of 16mm film and 8mm videotape. Both logistical and moral support was rendered in this regard by Lawrence Janss, Nancy Burke, and Nancy Goglia, whose efforts "above and beyond the call of duty" are acknowledged and appreciated. Information included in this work is also the result of previous research

carried out by support grants from the National Endowment for the Arts and the Historic Preservation Office of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Department of Interior, United States of America. Permission to use "Figure 1" in this manuscript, entitled "La Belle's Model of Formal, Nonformal and Informal Educational Relationships," was granted by the University of California, Los Angeles Latin American Center. This figure is licensed and copyrighted and permission for publication or other use may only be granted by the UCLA Latin American Center.

Numerous other individuals stand out as contributors to this study. First and foremost of these is William A. Lessa, Professor Emeritus in the Department of Anthropology at UCLA, who first introduced me to the wealth of Micronesian cultures and encouraged and supported me in countless ways both at UCLA and in the field. Fr. Francis X. Hezel S.J. of the Micronesian Seminar, who has been a long-time ally in my efforts to fathom the depths of traditional (and modern) Micronesia, first introduced me to Micronesian cultures by giving me the extraordinary opportunity to teach (and learn) at Xavier High School in Truk. Frs. Paul Horgan and Nicholas Rahoy provided invaluable logistical support in those early years as well as a base of operations for my sojourns on Yap and Ulithi. During the period of this research, Norman McComb and Don Evans graciously allowed me to stay at their respective abodes and share stories, food, and drink while waiting for ship passage to the Outer Islands of Yap and air travel back to California.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to those Micronesians who have shared what they know with me so that it may be recorded within these pages. As much as I would like to give my islander friends' real names to show my appreciation, I hesitate to do so for ethical reasons in order to

safeguard their identity and integrity. They know who they are, consequently, it makes little difference here. A debt of gratitude goes out as well to those creative spirits of the past, known and unknown, who have communicated to islanders in a multitude of ways, and those innumerable ethnologists who have asked questions of Micronesians and been received of the truth as they know it. To these and many more I offer my sincere thanks for the sharing of their knowledge.

Lastly, I wish to thank my wife Betsy Cochran Metzgar, whose loving understanding and staunch devotion to my research and writing efforts belongs in a league by itself, and our children, Jennie and Carrie, who have endured it all in grace and innocence.

ABSTRACT

This case study of Lamotrek Atoll with comparative analysis of the literature on the Trukic continuum is an attempt to describe traditional education in Micronesia with the purpose of identifying traditional schooling pedagogies not unlike those found in modern schooling institutions. Information concerning traditional educational processes and practices in Micronesia has long been a neglected area of study. In general, these subjects have been dealt with in superficial terms, following a pattern wherein traditional education in Micronesia is described primarily as an informal process with some formal training of specialists such as navigators and canoe builders. There has been no in-depth survey of traditional educational practices, no assessment of their collective meaning, nor any reconstruction of the processes by which Micronesians were formally educated before foreign-introduced schooling systems assumed a dominant role in the region.

The void in the education literature on traditional schooling in Micronesia rests partly on the informal-formal dichotomy which writers have been using to describe educational processes and practices. Using La Belle's theoretical model of formal, nonformal, and informal educational relationships, field data on traditional educational pedagogies was collected on Lamotrek Atoll. Field methodology included participant-observation and formal and informal interviews conducted in the Lamotrekes language. The primary field site for sampling information consisted of master-teachers of specialized skills who were recognized in the Lamotrekan community as having *rong* "sacred knowledge." The secondary field site for sampling consisted of the apprentice-learners who were receiving this knowledge.

The results of this study suggest that formal traditional schooling pedagogies in Micronesia similar to those found in modern schooling institutions were most clearly manifested at the level of high-ranking professions represented by "taboo men." In the past, the guilds or specializations on Lamotrek which were represented by "taboo men" included navigation, weather control, and divination, with the possible addition of martial arts. Nonformal schooling pedagogies were found for the specializations of canoe building, canoe restoration, house restoration, and healing by massage. Evidence in this study strongly suggests that a non-Western, model-based configuration of traditional formal and nonformal schooling still exists in Lamotrekan society in the specialization of navigation for the former and in all of the specializations for the later.

PREFACE

For the most part, I use the present tense in this work even though many of the skills, educational rituals, processes and practices may no longer be practiced. The names of living practitioners of specialized skills and those who have knowledge of these skills have been changed in the text to avoid identification. The names of key consultants are given simply as alphabetic letters such as Mr. A, B, C, etc. This policy is due mainly to the sensitivity of the specialized knowledge domain known as *rong*, or "sacred knowledge." Versions of *rong* skills are variable depending on the level of achievement in a *rong* knowledge domain as well as the system or school being described. A knowledgeable informant in one system or school of *rong* may not be knowledgeable in another. Moreover, there are differences between members who belong to the same *rong* system or school of knowledge.

Many authors' orthographies in texts at the turn of the century (Girschner, Sarfert, Hambruch, etc.) make use of a diacritical mark over the letter "n" to indicate the "ng" glottal stop that characterizes "*rong*" when spoken. These renderings appear as "*ron̄*" in the original texts and have been changed in this work to "*rong*" following Krämer's transformation of Girschner's orthographic spelling of "*ron̄ en anu*" (1911:193) to "*rong en anu*" (Krämer 1935:104).

No effort has been made to reproduce the diacritical marks used by authors in their writings with one exception. Goodenough and Sugita (abbreviated to G & S in referenced citations) give two different definitions for *roong* and *róong* in their *Trukese-English Dictionary* (1980). These diacritical marks have been kept to enable the reader to differentiate between

the definitions. The decision not to use diacritical marks in the text was made to avoid the confusion that would result from the use of numerous special alphabets that have been used since the late 1800s. This general rule does not apply, however, to authors' names or bibliographical references which appear in the text. In these cases, the conventional diacritical marks for European words and names are given.

The spelling of Lamotrekese words in the text is based on the standard orthography of Sohn and Tawerilmang (abbreviated to S & T in referenced citations) given in their *Woleaian-English Dictionary* (1976). There are several exceptions to this rule, however, due to the variety of spellings used by authors who have been quoted in the text. These writers' orthographies (minus diacritical marks) have been kept intact. In cases where it is important to clarify for the reader the equivalent term as it appears in the *Woleaian-English Dictionary*, Sohn and Tawerilmang's orthography for the word will appear in brackets after their initials: S & T. For example: "... say *siro* (respect, or excuse me) [S & T: *sorou*] when passing a group of seated people." When Lamotrekese words cannot be found in the *Woleaian-English Dictionary* or their phonetic pronunciation on Lamotrek is radically different from the way it appears in the *Woleaian-English Dictionary*, the source that the spelling is taken from (if one exists) will be noted in a footnote at the bottom of the page. Otherwise, the reader should assume either 1) the word has no referents, or 2) the word is spelled as given in the *Woleaian-English Dictionary*. Clarifications will appear in brackets after my initials EM for "Eric Metzgar." For example, "... the only thing they [EM: the boys] learn [EM: is that] there are some vague principles of astronomy." Comments will also appear after my initials when cognates to

Lamotrekan words are quoted from other sources. For instance, "...traditional navigation (*penu*) [EM: dialectical variant of *paliuw*]." Those familiar with the literature on the Trukic continuum will note that throughout this work I have given the original date of publication for Girschner's article, "Die Karolineninsel Namoluk und Ihre Bewohner," as 1911. For reasons unclear to me, several authors have given 1912 as the year of publication for this work. I believe this is an error as I have checked the original source which also agrees with Krämer's (1935:287) citation of 1911 as the publication year.

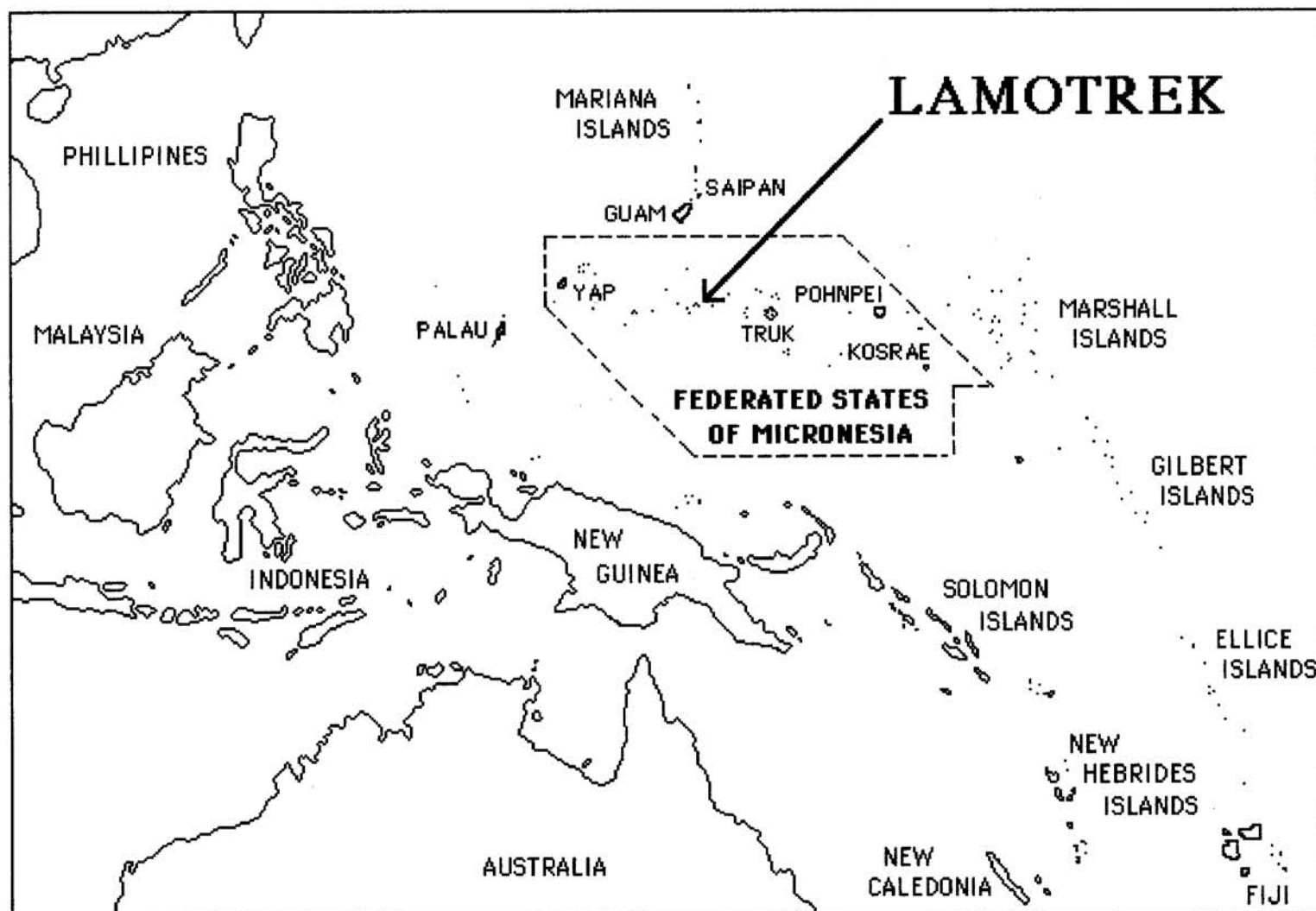
Lastly, in the final months of completing work on this study, I received word that Lamotrek, Elato, and Satawal islands had been severely damaged by a typhoon. All the family dwellings and canoe houses were destroyed on Lamotrek and most of the coconut and breadfruit trees and stocks of taro. The community took refuge within the concrete walls of the Catholic church and luckily no one perished. A disaster of this magnitude has not struck Lamotrek since 1958 and it is too early to tell what social impact, if any, it will have. After a major typhoon struck Ulithi in 1960, Lessa observed that the disaster caused an acceleration of the social changes toward modernization that were already in progress (1964:44). If the populations of Lamotrek, Elato, and Satawal respond similarly then further loss of traditional educational processes and practices may be a result.

CHAPTER 1

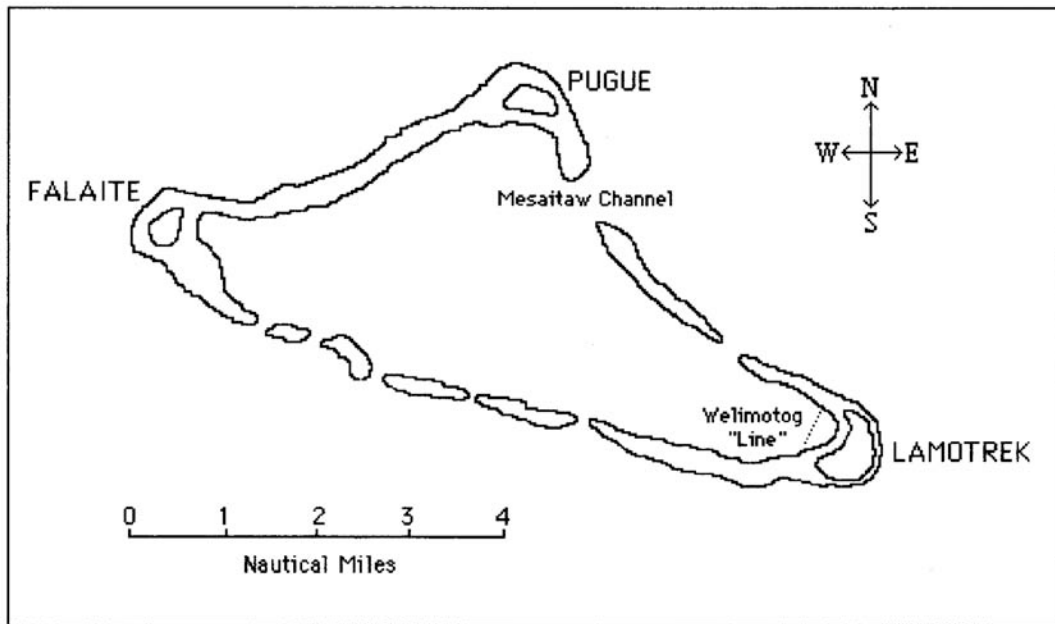
BACKGROUND

In 1947, the Micronesian islands occupied by the United States after World War II were declared a Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to be administered by the United States under a charter from the United Nations. The terms of the Trusteeship Agreement gave the United States full administrative and legal authority as well as military powers. It also required the United States to among other things promote the educational advancement of the population (Hezel and Berg 1979:497-498). In 1983, the Federated States of Micronesia (see Map 1, p. 18) voted in favor of a status that would grant them internal political autonomy from the United States while guaranteeing annual financial assistance, including educational assistance, from the United States in exchange for defense rights over the next fifteen years (Federated States of Micronesia Information Office 1983: 5). This recent political relationship is referred to as the Compact of Free Association between the United States and the Federated States of Micronesia. It was officially approved by the United States government in January, 1986 (Federated States of Micronesia Information Office 1986:1).

Lamotrek Island is one of three islands that make up Lamotrek Atoll (see Map 2, p. 19). The other two islands, Pague and Falaite, are uninhabited and are used as resource islands to gather coconuts and other foods such as coconut crabs and wild chickens. Politically and geographically, Lamotrek Atoll belongs to Yap State in the Federated States of Micronesia but linguistic and cultural evidence indicates that Lamotrek was settled from the region of Truk (Alkire 1965:10). Archaeological evidence suggests that settlement occurred by 1100 A.D. and very possibly



Map 1. Western Pacific Ocean

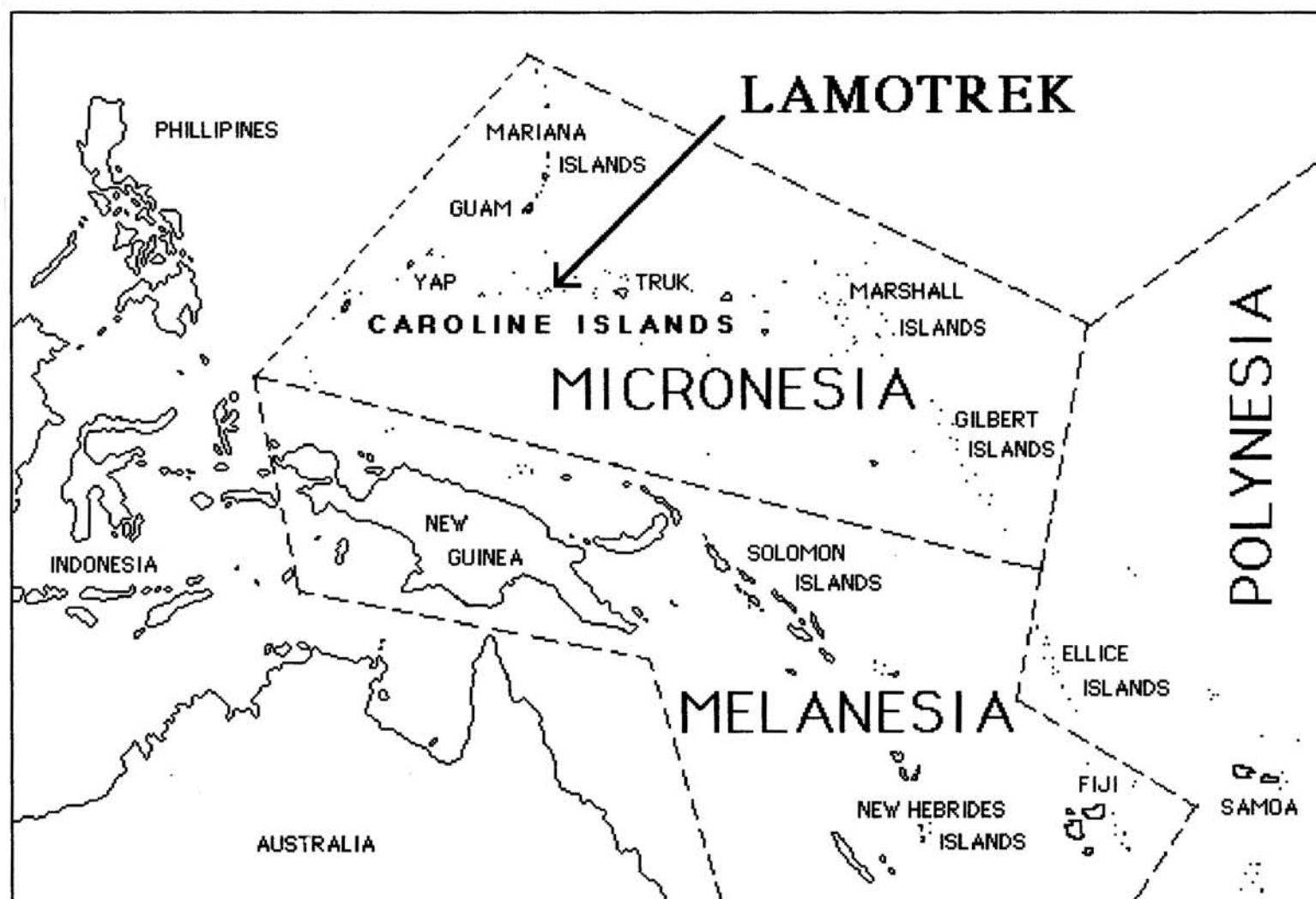


Map 2. Lamotrek Atoll

as early as 300 A.D. from Western Micronesia or Eastern Micronesia (Fujimura and Alkire 1984:125). There is a wide body of linguistic as well as archaeological evidence to indicate that Central Micronesia, including Lamotrek, was settled from more than one direction and during more than one time period (Bellwood 1979:281-282; Shutler and Shutler 1975; Shutler and Marck 1975). There is linguistic evidence, for instance, that suggests movement into the Eastern Caroline Islands from the New Hebrides Islands starting around 1000 B.C. (Shutler and Marck 1975:105; Tyron 1984:155). Archaeological evidence, however, suggests that the central and eastern parts of the Caroline Islands may have been initially settled from the west (possibly Yap, Guam, Saipan, or Rota) by migrants using calcareous, sand-tempered pottery, prior to or around the beginning of the Christian Era, and then subsequently settled from the east (Eastern Melanesia or Western Polynesia) by people without pottery (Takayama 1981:1; Shutler, Sinoto,

and Takayama 1984:60). This hypothesis, based on pottery shard fragments which have been discovered on Lamotrek and Fefan Island in Truk, agrees with the basic tenets of the northern route theories of Buck (1938:47) and Howells (1973:255). My opinion is that the ever-increasing linguistic, cultural and archaeological evidence supports a southern migration route theory for the people who inhabit Lamotrek today. This theory generally portrays a gradual infiltration of Austronesian-speaking peoples into Micronesia from the Vanuatu (New Hebrides Islands) regions northward through the Kirabati (Gilbert Islands) and the Marshall Islands westward through most of the central and western regions of the Caroline Islands (see Map 3, p. 21).

Lamotrek Island has an average population of around 300 people. When this study was begun in 1987, Lamotrek Elementary School provided education to 70 students in grade levels 1-8. At this time there were 7 Lamotrekan teachers, including a part-time Culture teacher and an American Peace Corps Volunteer teacher. The enrollment of students for the academic year 1991-1992 was estimated to be 105 (Yap State Department of Education 1984:218). This is a projected 50% increase in enrollment over a five-year period and is reflective of the general population explosion of school age children which is occurring throughout the Federated States of Micronesia. The population of Lamotrek is reduced nine months out of the year from a total of some 350 persons when junior high school students travel to Woleai Atoll and senior high school students travel to Ulithi Atoll to continue their secondary education at Outer Islands High School. Also, there are a number of individuals who regularly travel on the inter-island service ship to Yap seeking health care, employment, and its modern



Map 3. Culture Areas in the Pacific

attractions such as television, alternate lifestyles, and consumer goods. There is also a small segment of the male student population which is attending institutions of higher education in Guam, Hawaii, and the continental United States. As a result of their education abroad, a handful of these students have married non-Micronesians and taken up residence in the United States.

The Problem

The literature on education in Micronesia is extensive. Many authors have written on the historical development of formal education in Micronesia since contact times, tracing the various types of schooling systems introduced by the dominant foreign powers who have controlled the islands in the area beginning with Spain in the 16th century, Germany after the Spanish-American War, Japan after World War I, and the United States after World War II. Perhaps the most comprehensive overview of foreign-introduced educational systems in Micronesia is found in Smith's work, *Education of the Micronesian with Emphasis on Historical Development* (1968). Other discussions of these periods have also been contributed by Colletta (1980), Fischer (1961), Flinn (1988), Hezel (1984), Peacock (1985), Ramarui (1976), and Thomas and Postlethwaite (1984). Numerous studies have looked at the impact of the American schooling system on the cultures of Micronesia including the works of Aames (1976), Colletta (1980), Gale (1979), Hezel (1974, 1978, 1985, 1989), Hezel and Levin (1986), Kenny (1976), Nevin (1977), Pearse and Bezanson (1970), Ramarui (1979), Singleton (1974), United Nations (1983), and Vitarelli (1984). There have been studies on vocational education by Musick (1974) as well as studies on

the indigenization of traditional values in the American introduced schooling system by Lingenfelter (1981) and Flinn (1988).

Absent from the literature are overviews, surveys or comparative studies of educational practices in the traditional context. There are, however, scattered throughout the anthropological literature numerous observations that include reports of pedagogical processes involved with the transmission of individual traditional skills. For the purposes of this research these reports contain much valuable information and there will be good reason to refer to them in the course of this study.

A review of the literature as a whole, however, paints a very sketchy picture of traditional education in Micronesia. Usually only a paragraph or two, at the most, is devoted to the subject in the course of giving background information pursuant to a discussion of one or more of the foreign-introduced schooling systems that have existed in Micronesia. In general, the subject is dealt with in superficial terms, usually following a characteristic pattern wherein traditional education in Micronesia is described mainly as an informal process with some formal training of specialists such as navigators and canoe builders. There is rarely any further discussion on the subject and the reader is left either with the impression that traditional schooling did not exist in pre-contact times or, if it did, that it was a haphazard collection of master-apprentice relationships. The following comments are fairly typical of the early reports concerning indigenous education in the area:

Within each clan two houses are set aside: one for the education of boys, the other for that of girls. But the only thing they [EM: the boys] learn [EM: is that] there are some vague principles of

astronomy to which most apply themselves due to its usefulness for navigation (Cantova 1722:236).

In his *Ethnography of Micronesia*, Captain Matsuoka gives a minute account of the islanders' seamanship from his own point of view as a naval officer and concludes, "It is remarkable that such a high degree of skill in navigation was acquired by a people who had little or no education" (Yanaihara 1940:239).

It is fortunate that there is an exceedingly rich body of literature concerning Micronesia, some of which contain references to one or more traditional "schools." These references are tantalizing, but unfortunately, more often than not, contain little or no additional information. Nevertheless, as a collective group they suggest that various kinds of traditional schooling practices have existed in the post-contact period and a number of these are presented below to illustrate the need for further research:

... in all the villages of this Archipelago there are schools of navigation ... (Arago 1823:16).

... connected with the shipyard was a school of Carolinian navigation (Krämer 1937:127).

The young crew was systematically trained in schools of war (Bollig 1927:110).

The school for navigators is called *apdjeb eo Lidermelu* (Krämer and Neverman 1938:47).

In Micronesia, navigation was taught at special schools ... (Åkerblom 1968:142).

There are either regional differences, or perhaps two schools of massage ... (Alkire 1982:38).

The knowledge we have of a "school," or of a certain place being set aside for the teaching of dance, is of one location on Arno Atoll in the Marshalls ... (Browning 1970:39).

The closest thing to a formal school was in the education of the magician-war leaders (*itang*) of Truk (Fischer and Fischer 1957:230).

... it is more common than not to find all the men in one canoe house belonging to the same school of navigation ... (Gladwin 1970:134).

There are several schools of *itang*, each with its own interpretation of historical events, philosophies, and techniques (King and Parker 1984:28).

When opinion had coalesced around a particular individual as a good candidate for war leader, he was required to go through a more or less formal training program. This training was similar in some respects to the schooling needed to learn navigation, divination, canoe building or any of the more complicated arts (Mahony 1970:190).

Two schools of navigation exist on Ulithi (McGrath 1978:45, fn. 3).

It will be recalled that Elbert had listed three such systems or schools of fighting for Truk and said something about their origins. Similar information concerning Ulithi is not available, but there can be no doubt that different techniques from different schools existed there, too, and might be utilized for the same action (Lessa and Velez-I 1978:147).

Someone reminded the group that we must not immediately think of the school when we hear the term "formal education." There have been several types of formal education in traditional Micronesian societies long before the introduction of the school — initiation rites and the navigational "schools," among others (Micronesian Seminar 1974:11).

Knowledge concerning traditional educational processes and practices in Micronesia has long been a neglected area of study. In 1947, Leonard Mason hinted that more effort should be directed toward researching traditional education when he wrote the following comment in relation to Marshallese culture:

Specialized knowledge, such as magic and navigational lore, is passed on by training, although the process or pattern of transmission and compensation is not certain (1947:176).

And then in 1968, under the heading "Anthropological Considerations for Planning in Micronesia," the following recommendation was made:

On a more subtle level, the structure of the family, indigenous educational processes, the structure of the clan or tribe, and the authority of the chiefs and elders, has long been under dissolution. However, its power is certainly still evident in all sorts of residual expressions and should be accepted, studied, and noted, as it now exists (Hawaii Architects & Engineers, Inc. 1968:I-3).

For reasons that are not entirely clear, the subject of traditional schooling in Micronesia has been largely overlooked or ignored by educational planners and researchers. Perhaps this is a consequence of a preoccupation with analyzing the American-introduced formal institutional schooling system. Whatever the reason, there is still no clear understanding of what constitutes traditional schooling processes and practices in Micronesia. What are the pedagogies? What are the fields of study? How are graduates certified as knowledgeable in their fields? Are the various "schools" part of a larger system of education? These questions have never been dealt with in a comprehensive fashion. There has been no in-depth

survey of traditional educational practices, no assessment of their collective meaning, nor any reconstruction of the processes by which Micronesians were formally educated before foreign-introduced systems impacted traditional educational pedagogies.

Theoretical Perspectives

The void in the education literature on traditional schooling in Micronesia rests partly on the informal-formal dichotomy which observers have been using to describe educational processes and practices. Previous to the 1960s, educational theory was conceptualized in "informal" and "formal" terms, meaning the family and institutional schooling system respectively. Ramarui describes education in Micronesia in these terms when he writes:

The Mariana Islands were the first group to experience some form of formal education ... education in these islands was a family affair. It was carried on in the home, where the father taught his son all kinds of male activities and the mother taught her daughter the activities pertaining to the female role in the family ... Education in this regard was, and to a greater degree in the various Micronesian cultures, is still a way of life as opposed to the formal or institutionalized education which aims to be a preparation for adult life following formal schooling (1976:9).

Cantero defines education in Micronesia in similar terms:

Before the contact of the outside world, formal education did not exist in Micronesia ... By word of mouth or by example, the valued cultural traditions were transmitted from generation to generation ... (1984:91).

Both Ramarui and Cantero assert that "formal education" did not exist in pre-contact Micronesia; therefore, one must assume that these conceptualizations of the formal mode of education only take into account the formal institutional schooling process. To get a better understanding of what is meant by "formal institutional schooling" one must examine other definitions of formal education given in the education literature. Colletta states, "Formal education is generally organized in institutions called schools which fit into a composite system" (1980:153). Colletta does not clarify what he means by "a composite system" but one may assume that he is referring to either grade-level divisions within a schooling framework or levels of schooling from primary to secondary to higher education, or a combination of both. This conception of formal education has correspondence with the definition of formal education given by Coombs and Ahmed as an "institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured educational system, spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university" (1974:8). Rust's description of formal education, in his historical discussion of how schools are a creature of the modern age, differentiates formal education even further:

First, schools in modernity become fully separate, distinct institutions losing integral connection with other social institutions. Secondly, different types of schools themselves evolve clear divisions of function, clientele, and purpose. Thirdly, the schools develop a high degree of internal structural differentiation, mainly in terms of grade levels, courses of study, and ability groupings (1977:150).

Rust moderates this description of formal institutionalized schooling with the following cautionary note:

Although we say that schools are creatures of the modern age, we do not wish to imply that highly developed schools did not exist in traditional environments (1977:150).

The distinction between two types of formal education should be clarified. I shall refer to them as "predominate formal education" and "subdominant formal education." From the above references to the education literature, "predominate formal education" is a function of the modernization of society whereas "subdominant formal education" is not. Consequently, "predominate formal education" or its conventional descriptive labels — "formal education" and "formal schooling" — could not have existed in pre-modern (traditional) Micronesia. This does not proscribe, however, the possibility that "subdominant formal education" or "highly developed schools" have not existed in the traditional Micronesian context.

Because it is important to be able to analyze education in the various dimensions and realities that we find it used in society, in addition to the informal and formal environments that have already been mentioned, the concept of "nonformal education" must be considered. The use of the term "nonformal" as a descriptive label for a non-institutional schooling practice or process has become a convention in educational academic circles. The term "nonformal" was coined by Coombs in 1968 in his book, *The World Educational Crisis* (1968), and educational theorists have lived with it ever since despite its confusing associations.¹ The basic intent of the term "nonformal" is to describe educational processes and practices that have

¹ "Non" may be defined as "to give a negative force to words to which it is attached; as, nonconductor, nonattendance, nonresisting" (Whitehall et. al. 1953:1139). This meaning we shall see is in contradiction to the potential of formal kinds of education occurring both in the predominant modes of nonformal and informal education (see Figure 1, p. 34).

modern-day attributes — organized, systematic, structured, goal-oriented processes and practices — that exist outside formal institutionalized schooling frameworks. It is in this sense that one can talk of "nonformal schools." With this understanding, let us review several definitions given by various authors concerning nonformal education. Coombs and Ahmad define nonformal education as "any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population" (1974:8). Colletta has written, "Nonformal education is imparted in organized learning situations but lacks the sequential systematic structure of formal education" (Colletta 1980:153). Here, Colletta's "organized learning situations" has equivalency with Coombs' and Ahmad's "organized, systematic, educational activity" mentioned above. In contrast to the above definitions, Brembeck adopts a broader definition of nonformal education in that it not necessarily be organized or systematic. He states that "nonformal education deals with those learning activities that take place outside the formally organized education system ... to educate toward some *specific goals*, under the sponsorship of an *identifiable person, group, or organization*" (1973:xvi). Although Brembeck omits the terms "organized" and "systematic" in his view of nonformal education, it is clear that education towards "specific goals" implies that the motivation for teaching is intentional unlike informal educational activities where the motivation is incidental to the educational experience. This incidental motivational aspect of informal education has been observed by Colletta, who defines "informal education" in the following terms: "one incidentally learns as a by-product of living without any explicitly stated educational objective" (1980:153). Similarly, Coombs and Ahmed have written that "informal education" is

"the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment" (1974:8).

From the above definitions of formal, nonformal and informal education, we see that informal education is mainly a function of human interaction with the environment in a spontaneous, non-systematic, unintended educational context, whereas nonformal and formal education both occur as a function of a specific intent to inculcate knowledge by direct tuition. With regard to the difference between nonformal and formal education, La Belle states, "the major difference between the nonformal and informal education modes is the deliberate instructional and programmatic emphasis present in nonformal education but absent in informal education" (1976:21). Moreover, nonformal schooling is different from formal schooling in that nonformal programs are not hierarchically ordered and students do not receive credits, grades, or diplomas that are recognized by a government authority. Sponsorship between nonformal and formal institutional education is also different in that formal institutional schools are state-authorized and state-funded whereas sponsorship of nonformal schools varies widely and is usually dependent for support and guidance on individuals, groups or organizations other than government-controlled departments of education for support and guidance. In the strictest sense, nonformal schools are not formal educational institutions because they are not sanctioned and administered by a recognized governmental authority, nor do they deliver evidence of achievement such as a high school degree, bachelor's degree or master's degree which are valued in the marketplace. Nonformal certificates of achievement such as certificates, awards and badges, though they may be recognized between groups such as those we

find in the Boy Scouts and Cub Scouts are of little value as mediums of exchange between institutions in the world at large because they are not state-authorized, state-controlled, or state-evaluated. This is not to imply that such certifications do not have legitimacy or power but that their legitimacy and power is weak when compared to certifications of achievement by state-authorized, state-controlled, or state-evaluated formal institutionalized schooling programs. As a general rule, certifications of achievement from nonformal schools are limited to the nonformal organizations and programs that generate and recognize them.

For the purposes of this research, the predominant modes or channels of informal, formal, and nonformal education are defined as follows: 1) the predominant mode of informal education is relatively unorganized and unsystematic — a function of social-cultural experiences and home learning; 2) the predominant mode of formal education is hierarchically structured and chronologically graded — a function of modern institutionalized schooling frameworks; and 3) the predominant mode of nonformal education is organized and systematic — a function of a programmatic emphasis intended to serve identifiable clienteles and learning objectives.

By looking at nonformal education in Micronesia it may be possible to reveal characteristics not dissimilar to modern-day, institutional schooling environments. Coombs has written that "shadow systems of education" exist (1968:141). More importantly, he states:

Organized human societies from the beginning have used various forms of what we have come to call nonformal education to transmit their heritage of values, customs, beliefs, technologies, and skills to each new generation, thus insuring the survival and integrity of these societies, each with its own uniqueness" (1976:282).

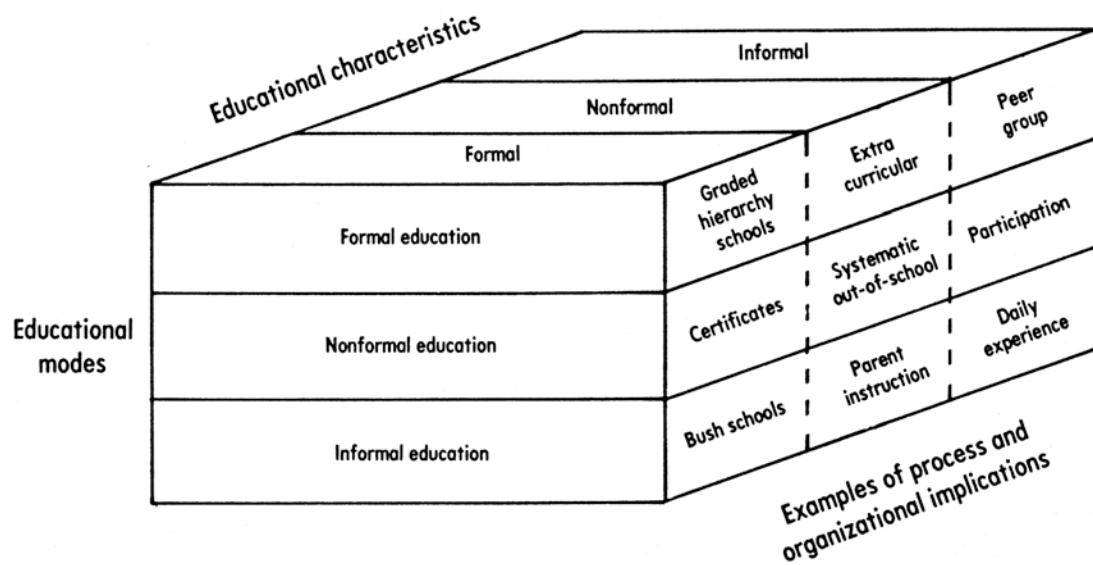
Although Mead does not refer to nonformal education *per se*, she nevertheless substantiates Coombs' view from her research in many preliterate societies when she describes a "master of the art" who takes on apprentices and educates them in a systematic fashion (1942:633-639). Rust also submits that nonformal education probably existed in some form or another in most pre-modern societies (1976:16-17). In his analysis of the origins of formal schooling in Europe, Rust makes the observation that education in traditional Europe was primarily nonformal because institutions such as guilds carried out educational practices but "did not define their main role as educational" (1976:16). Furthermore, La Belle has written that there is no clear evidence yet as to whether or not formal educational practices dissimilar to formal institutional schooling can be eliminated in pre-literate societies. Using initiation rituals as an example of a formal educational characteristic in some preliterate societies, he argues:

... the distinction between formal and nonformal education is most difficult to document in some preliterate societies because of the absence of schools as we have experienced them. Even in these societies, however, the ethnographic information available indicates that both formal and nonformal education can usually be found (1981:315).

In an effort to broaden a perception of education, La Belle (1976:23) presents a theoretical model showing the potential relationships of formal, nonformal, and informal education (see Figure 1, p. 34). In this model, La Belle identifies formal, nonformal and informal education as three "predominant, primary modes." Within these predominant educational modes exist formal, nonformal and informal educational characteristics as "subdominant, secondary modes." The predominant mode of formal

education commonly manifests subdominant formal (e.g. "graded hierarchy schools"), subdominant nonformal (e.g. "extra-curricular" programs) and subdominant informal (e.g. "peer group" processes) educational characteristics in the process of carrying out pedagogical goals. Similarly, the predominant mode of nonformal education manifests subdominant formal (e.g. "certificates"), subdominant nonformal (e.g. "systematic out-of-school") and subdominant informal (e.g. "participation") educational

Figure 1. La Belle's Model of Formal, Nonformal and Informal Educational Relationships



characteristics as a function of its organization. Even the predominant mode of informal education exhibits subdominant formal (e.g. "bush schools"), subdominant nonformal (e.g. "parent instruction"), and subdominant informal (e.g. "daily experience") educational characteristics.

La Belle's model has analytical power for the purposes of this research. Looking at Figure 1 above it is possible to discuss, for example,

"certificates" of knowledge as a formal characteristic of a Micronesian traditional schooling process within the predominant mode of nonformal education; or we can look at "bush schools" — which may be interpreted as initiation rites — as a formal characteristic of learning within either the predominant modes of informal education or nonformal education.

Research Methods

Research into traditional education in Micronesia was conducted on two levels: 1) a case study of the community of Lamotrek Island, in Yap State, Federated States of Micronesia, and 2) a comparative analysis of descriptions of traditional educational practices and processes in the anthropological literature. Lamotrek was chosen as the site for sampling data on traditional education for a number of reasons.

First, the Lamotrekan community, compared to other populations in Micronesia, has been one of the last groups in the region to experience modernization; consequently, much of its traditional practices, although under transformation to modern values, attitudes, and skills, is still remembered by the older members of the population. Moreover, many traditional arts and skills are, in fact, practiced today and the attendant educational pedagogies which accompany their transmission are still operative in various ways. The maintenance of traditional skills and folkways may be attributed to two main factors: 1) their importance with regard to survival on Lamotrek which is a small "low" island with no more than a quarter of a square mile in land area (Alkire 1965:22); and 2) the relative infrequency with which outsiders have visited Lamotrek since it

was first "discovered" by Captain Wilson in October of 1797 (Wilson 1799: 293). Face to face contact with the outside world has been infrequent and irregular. This is mainly due to Lamotrek's geographic isolation in the Pacific Ocean and is also a function of the meager resources available for exploitation. The only item for trade which may be said to have marketable significance is copra, and though it is of importance because it enables the population to purchase foodstuffs and goods that are otherwise unavailable, its value or quantity has never been such that it has warranted forced cultural changes by a foreign power (Alkire 1965:3). This is not to suggest that systematic instruction and the oral transmission of exact information on Lamotrek has not broken down with the adoption of alien religion and technology, but that the changes, when compared to the other islands in Micronesia and Polynesia, have not been as devastating. In comparison, the advent of Europeans in Polynesia seems to have led very quickly to the disuse and virtual disappearance of the more sophisticated and esoteric knowledge systems such as navigation (Lewis 1972:308). With regard to Micronesia, however, we are more fortunate; for in spite of the early discovery of Guam in the Marianas Islands by Magellan in 1521, prolonged contacts by Lamotrek with European powers lagged behind for more than three centuries, so that much of the old lore has survived. Lessa, who has evaluated early descriptions of Carolinian culture, writes:

The Carolines were shunned for years, partly because they did not have a great deal to offer the exploiters and partly because of the notorious reputation they acquired for thievery and aggression. Missionaries, for example, tried in 1710 and 1731 to establish themselves in the archipelago, only to be murdered,

and it was not until the 19th century that they finally ventured back into the area and succeeded in establishing their first lasting foothold (1962:375).

Even after Spain lost Micronesia to Germany in 1899 as a result of the Spanish-American War and other factors, Krämer, who was the first ethnologist to visit Lamotrek, wrote that contact was infrequent up to the time of his arrival in 1909 (1937:5-10). Prolonged contact with foreign administrations did not begin until Japan gained control of Micronesia from Germany after World War I and then the United States after World War II. Alkire, who stayed fifteen months on Lamotrek in 1962-1963 engaged in anthropological research, wrote that the trading ship only averaged four visits a year (1965:173). When this writer arrived for the first time fifteen years later in 1977-1978, and spent fourteen months on Lamotrek, ship contact still averaged only four visits in the course of a year. In the interim period, between 1965 and 1977, there were changes such as the building of an elementary school and a medical dispensary by the U.S. Department of Navy (the only concrete buildings in existence on the island) as well as two motor boats of modern, plywood construction. Despite these changes, the lifestyle of the community remained much as Alkire observed it in 1962-1963. Alkire's book, *Lamotrek Atoll and Inter-Island Socioeconomic Ties* (1965), remains the most comprehensive anthropological study dealing with Lamotrek and was relied on extensively by this writer for information on kinship, political organization, and economic activities as well as providing baseline information on the traditional skills and ritual specialists under investigation in this research.

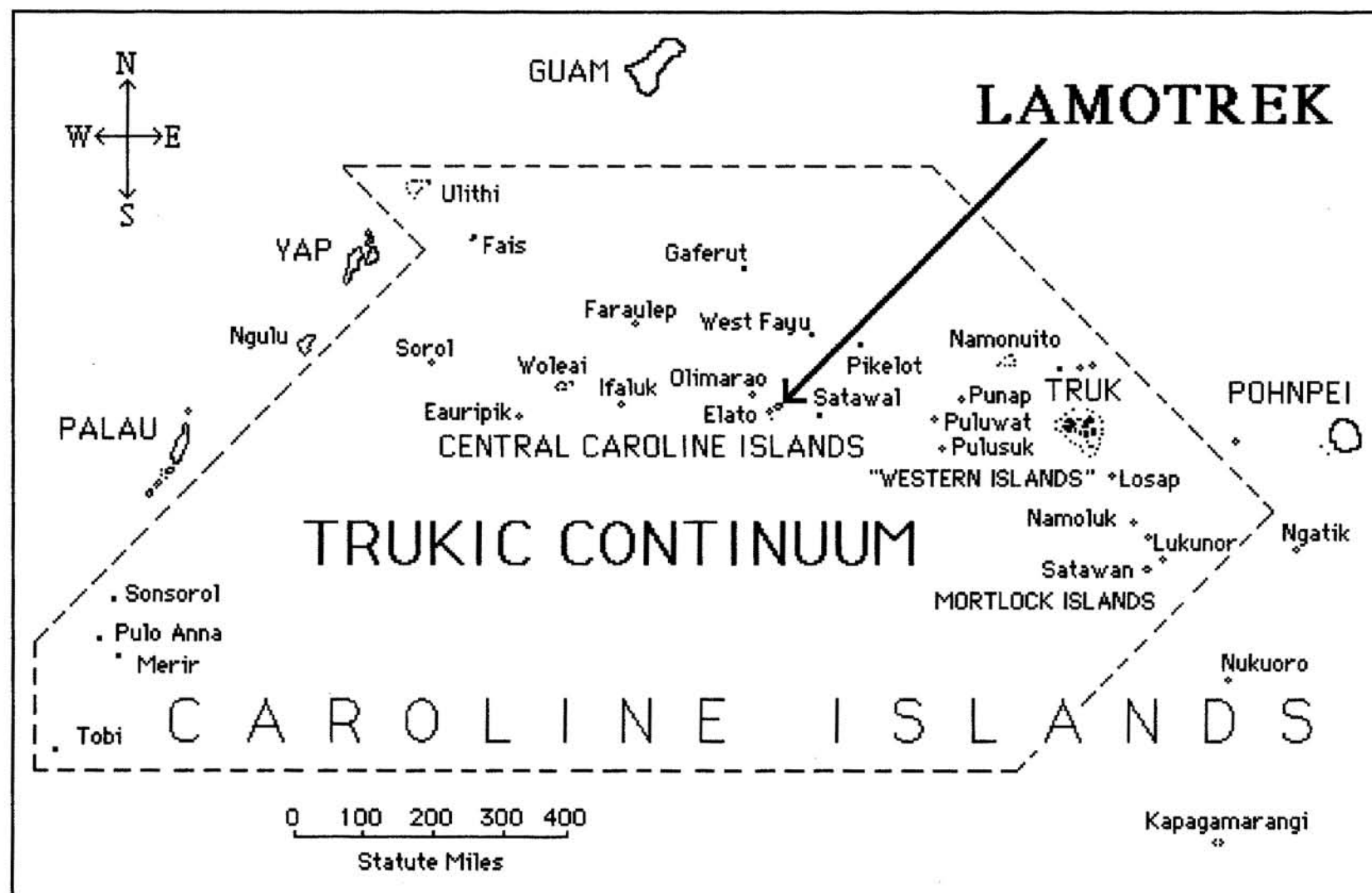
A second reason for selecting Lamotrek as the field site for this study was my familiarity with the people, language, and culture. In 1977-1978, I engaged in ethnographic film work on Lamotrek under a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts. At the same time, I worked for one year teaching 7th and 8th graders in the school. After an additional two-month visit to Lamotrek in 1982 to collect translations for the film and videotape recordings made in 1977-1978, I produced an ethnographic documentary entitled, *Lamotrek Atoll: Research Film Footage of a Traditional Carolinian Society* (1983). This footage was subsequently edited and completed for general distribution as *Lamotrek: Heritage of an Island* (1988). In some cases, songs, chants, dances and other events described in the following pages may also be documented in the above audio-visual programs. When this happens, the program will be identified in a footnote.

Lamotrek was also selected because of its strong linguistic and cultural links to other islands in the area which have been the subject of in-depth ethnographic and anthropological investigations since the late 1800s. The literature concerning these island groups is extensive and detailed enough for comparative analysis. A thorough examination of these materials was attempted. Of major importance in the literature review process were the early reports made during the German era which were published as a series of volumes under the title, *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910 (ESE)*. This body of work, which was the first organized ethnological investigation of its kind in the area, contains detailed information on the skills practiced on Lamotrek and neighboring islands before modern influences began to dramatically change Micronesian cultures forever. Indeed, the purpose as stated by Thilenius, the founder of the expedition and later the editor of the seventeen *ESE* volumes published on the research,

was "to observe and record the final phases of an old, indigenous culture as long as it still had vitality and retained many remnants of old times that were little changed" (Thilenius 1927:12). Translations of these works were made by Human Research Area Files, Inc. (HRAF) for the Yale University Cross-Cultural Survey (HRAF 1949). Not all of the *ESE* volumes, however, were translated and, moreover, the HRAF translations vary between those found on microfilm/microfiche and the unedited manuscripts from which the microfilm/microfiche translations were made.² Overlooked in the translations, for example, are songs and chants belonging to ritual specialists which are of considerable importance since my field research indicated that these play an important role in the curricula of instruction for pupils. I translated many of these songs and chants; in addition, the original German text was checked with the English translations for accuracy as well as for missing information not included in the translations.

The literature review for this study extends to all the islands which share a strong linguistic and cultural affinity with Lamotrek. Of primary interest is the central region of the Caroline Islands (see Map 4, p. 40) including from east to west the islands of Namonuito, Pulusuk, Pulap, Puluwat, Satawal, Lamotrek, Elato, Faraulep, Ifaluk, Eaurpik, Woleai, Sorol, Fais, and Ulithi. Up until the turn of the century this network of low coral

² The unedited HRAF manuscripts are entitled, "Micronesian Translations" (HRAF n.d.). Though difficult to deal with, the unedited HRAF manuscripts have the advantage of being a more literal translation from the original German whereas the edited HRAF microfilm and microfiche translations often generalize meanings of words and phrases in order to render them more readable in English. As a result, in some passages the meanings of certain terms and phrases in German are distorted or confused. Identification of microfilm/microfiche materials in HRAF may be located in *Outline of World Cultures* (Murdock 1983).



Map 4. Trukic Continuum Language Area

islands and atolls was linked to Yap through Lamotrek, Woleai and Ulithi by a system of political, economic, and religious ties called *sawey*. Sohn and Tawerilmang define *sawey* as "a tribute system, a system linking Yap with outer islands and also representatives of the social groups of respective islands" (1976:128).³ Obeisance to Yap was demonstrated through the sending of three categories of tribute: 1) *kapetaliwa* "talk of the canoe," 2) *maipil* "offerings," and 3) *yautenibun* "things of the interior land." The first was given to the chiefs of Gagil district, the second to that district's religious leaders, and the third from specific outer island districts or islands to individual estate "overlords" (Alkire 1989:83; see also Lessa 1966:36-39). Hambruch learned the following information from Faraulep informants concerning the rationale by the Yapese for instituting the *sawey* "tribute system":

Once upon a time the Yap men wanted to sail to Palau. But a strong wind rose, and blew them to Oleai [EM: Woleai]. They told the inhabitants that a powerful king, Yonelaf [EM: the legendary "great ghost" also spelled Yongolap and Iongolap in the literature], ruled in Yap, and that all the islands as far as Taroa (Tarawa of the Gilbert Islands) belong to him. If they did not want to be destroyed by a typhoon, they should bring him some presents in the immediate future. The Oleai islanders were somewhat incredulous about this story, but they were rather frightened, and so they made regular sacrifices to Yonelaf. This cult spread east from Oleai [EM: from Woleai to Lamotrek and beyond].

³ Many other authors have used the "*sawei*" dialectical variant after Lessa's and Alkire's rendering of the term. The spelling of *sawey* here follows the standard orthography of Sohn and Tawerilmang in the *Woleaian-English Dictionary* (1976:128).

Bellwood says the following about the so-called "Yapese Empire":

Why Yap achieved this type of dominance is a mystery, for the Carolinian atolls are in fact closer culturally to Truk, and it is from this direction that initial settlement appears to have been initiated. The system was reinforced by religious considerations and fear of sorcery, and it is evident that Yap was fully able to enforce the chain of command (1979:106).

Ruepon, the high *sawey* Yapese chief of Gatchepar Village in 1909, who received tribute from all the inhabited islands in the Central Carolines, gave the following report regarding textiles to Müller:

Three [EM: woven garments] come from Ayai [EM: Fais], five from Ugoi [EM: Ulithi], one from Sorol, one from Felug [EM: Ifaluk], one from Yola [EM: Elat?] (east of Felug), one from Namorig [EM: Lamotrek] and one from Sitauon [EM: Satawal]. These offerings apply for all the atolls to which the island belong. Sometimes fine Truk mats come via Sitauon (1917:335).

According to Alkire (1965:6):

Puluwat, Pulusuk, Pulap, and Namonuito, all the islands at the east periphery of Yapese control, ceased to participate in tribute payments sometime during German administration of the Carolines (1899-1914).

Lessa states that the tribute system began to disintegrate in the remaining islands during the Japanese administration (1914-1945) which prohibited inter-island voyages in island sailing canoes, and other contributing factors including the installation of foreign inter-island ship service and the adoption of Christianity after the American administration got under way in 1945 (Lessa 1950b:18). It is interesting that when I asked Mr. N about the *sawey* tribute system he said that the islands east of Satawal (Puluwat, Pulusuk, Pulap, and Namonuito) did not deliver tribute to Satawal. Satawal

canoes would visit these islands for the purpose of collecting valuables to deliver to their *sawey* counterparts in Lamotrek, Woleai, Ulithi and Yap. When this report is compared to the above 1909 report by the Yapese *sawey*, Ruepon, it shows how information concerning historical behavior can be lost within one generation. In support of the "Namonuito sent tribute to Yap" argument I learned from Mr. A that he he was told by a former resident of Ulul (an island in the Namounuito group) that Namonuito did, in fact, send tribute to Yap. Before he had heard this, Mr. A said that he "did not know Ulul sent *sawey* to Yap in the old days."

There is evidence which suggests that Lamotrek in 1696 held a superordinate position over much of this area (Lessa 1962:351; Krämer 1917:15; Krämer 1937:115-116, 122; Bates and Abbott 1958:177). At what time Lamotrek lost political power is a matter of speculation. Almost certainly, it was the result of a legendary war between Lamotrek and Ifaluk but no one can say for sure when, in the pre-contact period, this took place. Legend has it that Lamotrek lost this war and that all the people — men, women, and children — were massacred. An Ifalukan chant composed to immortalize this event is still remembered today as a canoe hauling chant on Lamotrek. Burrows and Spiro give a translation of it in their ethnographic report on Ifaluk (1953:15). Lessa also gives a version and translation of it as it existed on Ulithi in the late 1940s, where it was also used as a canoe hauling chant (Lessa 1950a:42). After Lamotrek was defeated, the island was repopulated by Ifalukans. In the legend for this historical event, the Lamotrek-Ifaluk war takes place after an earlier war between Ifaluk and Woleai. Ifaluk won this war, too, and also repopulated Woleai. Kotzebue states that in 1800 the sovereignty had been passed [EM: from Lamotrek] on to King Toua of Oleai [EM: Woleai]" (Krämer 1937:5).

Why Woleai assumed a dominate political role in the region in later years is unclear; perhaps for economic reasons, since Woleai Atoll has a much larger total land area than either Ifaluk Atoll or Lamotrek Atoll.

Today, Lamotrek's political dominion extends over the inhabited islands of Satawal and Elato who, at certain times of the year, are traditionally required to send tribute to Lamotrek. In addition to these islands, Lamotrek has eminent domain through its paramount chief over a number of uninhabited islands including those of Lamaliur Atoll, Olimarao Atoll, Pikelot, and West Fayu (Alkire 1965:146; Alkire 1978:120-122; Akimichi 1986:16). I was told by one informant on Lamotrek that the island found on modern maps under the name Gaferut should be added to this list of islands under the eminent domain of Lamotrek and its paramount chief. When I asked, "Why?" he said, "Because Lamotrek discovered it." This information agrees with what a Lamotrek man told Senfft, who was the District Magistrate at Yap in the early years of the German Administration (Senfft 1904:13). Moreover, the names of three of these islands given on the map are not the same names given by Lamotrekans or their neighbors in the Central Caroline Islands. The islands on the map corresponding to the names Pikelot, West Fayu and Gaferut are, in fact, called Pikh, Pikhailo, and Fayu by islanders in the region (cf. Alkire 1965:137). This means that Pikelot is really Pikh, West Fayu is really Pikhailo, and Gaferut is really Fayu in the Carolinian knowledge system. This mistake in the cartography of the Caroline Islands still remains on maps of the region today even though Riesenbergs proved conclusively in his essay, "The Ghost Islands of the Carolines" (1975) that this discrepancy is due to an observational and cartographic error that can be traced back to Don Luis de Torres, a Spaniard

living in Guam who in 1804 accompanied the Boston ship, *Maria*, on "a survey of economic potentialities in the Carolines." It was at this time that Torres misapplied the name "Piguelao" [EM: dialectical variant of Pikhailo) to Pikh and "Fallao" [EM: dialectical variant of Fayu] to Pikhailo (cf. Riesenbergs 1975:17).⁴

Beyond these islands, there is evidence of a continuum of closely-related language dialects. Bellwood (1979:130) refers to these dialects when taken as a whole as the "Trukic continuum" (see Map 4, p. 40). The islands on which Trukic languages are indigenously spoken range a distance of approximately 1600 miles from Tobi Island in the Western Caroline Islands across the Central Caroline Islands where Lamotrek Atoll is located to Lukunor Atoll in the Eastern Caroline Islands. According to Quackenbush (1968) the entire Trukic group is chained together by interlocking links of language cognate percentages greater than 80%, except for a single break between Tobi and Ulithi, which share only 78% of cognates (Jackson 1983:10). Jackson's research confirms the hypotheses of other researchers who have asserted a linguistic integrity for the Trukic continuum (Bender 1971; Marck 1975; Sohn et. al. 1977; Goodenough and Sugita 1980). Based on the linguistic similarities between Lamotrek and the other islands in the Trukic continuum, ethnographic evidence concerning trade routes, and legends of islander voyages of discovery, it is plausible to assume that these

⁴ There is a strange twist to this situation in that now even Lamotrekans are sometimes applying the incorrect island names given in Western-produced maps in their conversations with foreigners. So instead of saying, "Pikh" they may say "Pikelot." Instead of "Pikhailo" they say "West Fayu." Pikelot and Pikhailo sound much the same when spoken in Lamotrekese but they are entirely different islands. Consequently, in order to guard against errors of interpretation it is necessary that one first determine which identification system will be used in discussing these islands — either the indigenous knowledge system or the introduced Western cartographic system.

islands share cultural affinities as well, including traditional educational pedagogies.

My research on Lamotrek was essentially ethnographic and qualitative in nature. Data on traditional educational practices and processes was collected through participant-observational techniques. The primary "site" for sampling information consisted of individuals who were recognized in the community as having sacred knowledge (masters of *rong* specialized skills). The secondary "site" for sampling consisted of learners who were receiving this knowledge (apprentices to the above masters). My sampling strategy consisted mainly of focused interviews and observations of master-apprentice relationships. At times, the ethnographic film which I had recorded in 1977-1978 was shown to stimulate discussion on specialized skills that were depicted in the film. Tape-recorded songs, chants, or interviews would also be played back for discussion and further interpretation. In addition, photographs showing activities involving specialized skills were reproduced from the literature and presented for questioning. In most cases, interviews were conducted in the Lamotrekese language because I had gained some proficiency in the language due to my residency on the island in previous years.⁵ Even with the ability to speak Lamotrekese, however, in most cases it was also beneficial (and in some cases absolutely necessary), to enlist an ally who could mediate between myself and a master of a skill during a focused-interview session. Often times, this would involve the apprentice who had been accepted by the master for training. When it was possible, the information given by a master

⁵ The precedent for referring to the Lamotrek language as "Lamotrekese" and for referring to the people, culture, and customs as "Lamotrekan" has been established by Alkire (1965:8-9).

of a specialized skill was checked with other masters having the same skill. The initial period of investigation took place on Lamotrek with a side trip to Elato over a three-month period from October 1987 to January 1988. Additional interviews were also carried out amongst members of the Lamotrekan community in Madrich, Yap over a two-week period in June 1989. At this time I was investigating the feasibility of making a film documentary about a traditional initiation ritual for navigators. At the same time I had the opportunity to validate and invalidate various hypotheses which had been generated from the data collected on the previous field trip. The last period of investigation, and perhaps the most significant, took place over a three-month period from April to June 1990. At this time a navigators' initiation ritual called the *pwo* ceremony was performed. The *pwo* ceremony had not taken place in nearly 40 years and, as far as I know, had never before been observed by a foreigner. Research data outcomes in this study were two-fold: 1) focused interviews recorded in field notes, audiocassettes, videotape and film; and 2) observations of the traditional schooling processes and practices documented in field notes, videotape and film in conjunction with the *pwo* ceremony.

The major hypothesis which guided this study was based on the assumption that the predominant mode of nonformal education is the instructional domain of master-apprentice relationships. A master-apprentice relationship is defined here as any goal-oriented, organized, systematic instruction which may take place between two or more individuals. The first level of analysis involved a study of skills on Lamotrek to determine which skills are a function of a master-apprentice relationship (predominant mode of nonformal education) and which skills

are not a function of a master-apprentice relationship (predominant mode of informal education). For the second level of analysis, the problem for research was to identify which master-apprentice relationships remain within the informal and nonformal educational characteristics channel of a predominant mode of nonformal education (e.g. "participation" and "systematic out-of-school" fields given in Figure 1) and which master-apprentice relationships extend to the formal educational characteristics channel (e.g. "certificates" field listed in the model). A process or practice which counts as evidence of a formal educational characteristic or channel not unlike that found in a modern schooling system may include but is not limited to the following educational efforts: initiation ritual, specialized setting, specially designated teachers, definitive timing, a fixed curriculum, a fixed course of study, and certification of achievement. Those master-apprentice relationships which did not exhibit any of these educational characteristics or channels did not qualify as potential traditional schools in the context of this research.

Given the above theoretical parameters, it should be mentioned that underlying this research was an attempt through participant-observation to understand formal schooling in the sense that the people on Lamotrek and the neighboring islands perceive it. This effort has been influenced by a long tradition in anthropology which has emphasized the "emic" or "inner" approach (cf. Crane and Angrosino 1974:121-122; Spradley 1979:231-233). Malinowski stated that the goal of ethnography is to "grasp the native's point of view" and "realize his vision of his world" (1922:25). Considerable time and effort was spent by this writer to get "grounded" in the reality of the socio-cultural framework in order to understand the educative institutions and their educative functions in Lamotrekan society. In addition to the

theories and hypotheses that go along with field research there is a third dimension — the perspective of the observer himself. Current thinking in ethnographic research suggests that a sense of the problems encountered be revealed to the reader so that s/he be cognizant of the reactivity of the researcher (Vidich 1969:78-87; Spradley 1980:14-15; George and Jones 1980:135-152). Consequently, an attempt has been made to include personal observations in the following analyses and discussions.

Research Problems

Several writers have encountered difficulties gathering information on traditional beliefs and activities of Caroline islanders. Alkire, during his stay on Lamotrek in 1962-1963, wrote:

... informants were reluctant to talk about traditional religious beliefs, the range of data gathered concerning this topic is limited. This reticence may pass with time, as conversion on Lamotrek, Elato, and Satawal is quite recent, but because of it I will not try to present a complete picture of pre-Christian beliefs (1965:114).

The reticence on the part of the Lamotrekan community to discuss matters related to the traditional spirit world had not changed all that much when I arrived in 1987 to conduct the present study. My requests for information met with the common reply, "But we are Christians now and do not talk about this anymore." Research into the area of the supernatural, it seems, has always been a touchy subject. The German ethnologist, Sarfert, who visited Ifaluk in 1909 reported:

These natives were eager to cooperate in every way, but they did not know as much about the old religion and history of the island as he [EM: Sarfert] had expected. They themselves admitted that they had forgotten a great many of these old beliefs (Damm 1938:viii).

Was this a genuine report of what the Ifaluk islanders knew in relation to their own history and religion, or was this avoidance behavior? Burrows and Spiro (1953:218-238) reported fifty years later that religious traditions were still being practiced on Ifaluk in the 1940s and produced detailed evidence on shaman-priest activities and rituals. One finds, for example, more evidence of reticence on the part of Ifalukans in the area of navigation:

In 1909 the knowledge required for seafaring was no longer preserved. Not one of all the men on the island knew how to sail by the stars. Only one had a vague idea about trips to Oleai [EM: Woleai], Faraulip [EM: Faraulep], and Lamutrik [EM: Lamotrek] (Damm 1938:45).

Again, Burrows and Spiro reported in 1953 that navigation was practiced on Ifaluk and that one of their primary informants was, in fact, a well-recognized, accomplished navigator (Burrows and Spiro 1953:86). This evidence suggests that negative answers to a direct question regarding the supernatural are to be expected. During my 1987 field trip to Lamotrek, our ship stopped briefly at Ifaluk on the way to Lamotrek. Knowing the Ifalukan reputation in the islands as one the last islands to practice divination (*bwe*), I decided to find out who might know something about it.⁶ After striking up a conversation with one elderly man in the course of an

⁶ Lutz (1988:123), an ethnopsychologist engaged in ethnographic research on Ifaluk in 1978, reported that *bwe* was still being used in medicinal cures at that time.

afternoon "drinking circle," I asked him if there was anyone who had knowledge of divination on Ifaluk. He politely told me, "No." Krämer learned as little in 1909 on Lamotrek and Woleai in his efforts to find out something about divination:

No details could be learned about oracles by lot [EM: divination], nor was anything known about the 16 demons (Krämer 1937:159).⁷

Nevertheless, my research on Lamotrek indicates that divination was still being practiced well up until the time of the island's conversion to Christianity in 1953.⁸ Alkire reported in 1970 that divination was still "extremely important on Woleai" (1970:13). Other examples of islanders' reluctance to give information concerning spirit-connected practices are worth noting here:

Not much information could be obtained about the cult practices [EM: on Sonsorol] (Eilers 1935:72).

It is extremely difficult to obtain a clear picture of the native's conception of the supernatural [EM: on Tobi Island] (Eilers 1936:105).

Data on sorcery are difficult to obtain for no one admits to being a sorcerer [EM: on Truk] ... (Gladwin and Sarason 1953:149).

⁷ Krämer's "16 demons" here are a reference to the mythological spirits who occupy the "canoe of destiny," a mnemonic teaching model which is central to the system of *bwe* divination. See Lessa (1959:191); Girschner (1911:200).

⁸ Informants could not give an exact year for the conversion of the Lamotrekan population to Christianity but said that it was sometime around 1952. Alkire (1982:41, fn. 4) states that conversion took place in 1953; consequently, this is the date that is given in the body of this text.

McCoy [EM: an American who has spent a number of years amongst the Satawal community] points out ... that Carolinian navigators never completely confide in foreigners (Lewis 1972:243).

In conducting my initial census on both Pis and Feno Islands [EM: in Truk Lagoon], I asked every adult in each household which spirit powers he knew anything about and what the symptoms were of each one. This procedure, largely because it was relatively public, usually elicited no more than the names of three or four spirit powers. Later, when I became friendly with the most knowledgeable medicine men and most expert diviners, I met with each of them privately for detailed briefings on all aspects of spirit powers, including the names and the symptoms usually associated with each (Mahony 1970:47).

Extending the scope of this study for a brief moment to the Marshall Islands, which has cultural links to the Truk continuum but a much different linguistic background, one finds the following report made in 1914:

... they [EM: navigators of Jaliut] gave answers reluctantly only because a navigator does not tell anything — in accordance with time-honored custom — as long as his chief is present on the same island. They referred me therefore really to the chief with whose permission the navigator Likoujabue showed me 64 stars and constellations. Thus Finsch [EM: another ethnologist who was doing research in the Marshalls at the time] is again wrong when he says: "the astronomical knowledge of the Marshall islanders is not any too good for I learnt on Jaliut only the name of the Orion as Loudelablab ..." (Erdland 1914:76).

In my research among the peoples from the Central Caroline Islands, well-known masters of specialized skills in private interviews would continually

defer to other persons saying that I should ask them because they were "the real experts." Similarly, Sarfert must have encountered the same defense mechanism in operation on Ifaluk back in 1909:

... the islanders made a reference, which is worthy of note; they said that the people of Mogemog [EM: an island in Ulithi Atoll which is about 300 miles west of Ifaluk] and Polap [EM: Pulap Atoll, which is about 500 miles east of Ifaluk] were the first ones to know how to sail great distances, and that Sarfert would be wise to consult them about this matter (Damm 1938:91).

Krämer, doing research on Truk also wrote about a similar attitude with regard to locating persons who were knowledgeable:

It is worthy of note that in Truk old myths of the gods are transmitted in songs, reminding me of Polynesian mythology. Regrettably these songs are remembered only by a very few old people in the different islands. I was forced to make many time-consuming cruises and expeditions to look up these people, mostly with slight success ... (Krämer 1908:171).

There are, of course, good reasons for islanders to deflect the proddings and probings of strangers asking questions about subjects which they feel are sensitive and private. The reason for these defense mechanisms related to the sharing of specialized knowledge will be discussed later in Chapter 3. A few comments may be made here, however, with regard to discrepancies in the reports of social scientists gathering ethnographic data in Micronesia. For example, in the above passage by Erdland, he states that a fellow ethnologist by the name of Finsch working in the Marshall Islands "was again wrong" in claiming that Marshall islanders' navigational knowledge was lacking. It should be emphasized that this is not necessarily a question of "right" and "wrong" ethnographic reports. It underscores the problem of

obtaining a clear picture of the systems of knowledge which are closely connected to the religious values and attitudes held by the culture. Given the evident secrecy of certain specialized knowledge domains such as navigation and divination, it is not unreasonable to expect differences in reports between ethnographers investigating these domains. Moreover, my research suggests that there are differences between informants' perceptions and knowledge of these domains. From time to time I would repeat something about a specialized skill that varied with knowledge which my sponsor-father Mr. A had on the subject and he would angrily say, "They are lying; people should not pretend that they know something they only know a little about." This is reminiscent of Krämer's encounter with a chief of Woleai nearly ninety years earlier when Krämer repeated statements that other people had made to him regarding traditional religious practices. The chief said, "All talk before plenty lie!" (Krämer 1937:279). Such is the pitfall of accepting ethnographers' and informants' reports, including the ones found in this work, as wholly accurate.⁹ Alkire's comments in this regard are especially worthy of note:

Paul Radin (1924:14-27) long ago cautioned that descriptions of religions could vary significantly among individuals (and informants) within the same culture. This is certainly a reality since noted in Micronesia. Burrows and Spiro (1953:207) disagreed not only between themselves about the details of Ifaluk religion, but they also found that various informants provided "entirely different versions" (1953:208) and frequently deferred to experts and higher authorities (1953:207, 211). Goodenough (1963:135) found that many aspects of traditional

⁹ Lessa's (1961b) and Spiro's (1961) differing views concerning the existence of sorcery on Ifaluk are a case in point. Spiro reported that they (Spiro and Burrows) found no evidence of sorcery on Ifaluk which contradicted Lessa's findings on Ulithi.

religion were not clearly or completely worked out by the Trukese. I not only noted a general reluctance to talk about religious matters on Lamotrek, as stated, but I also found on Woleai that no single informant seemed knowledgeable about the full range of ghosts, spirits, and gods. In fact, some claimed never to have heard of ones that other persons mentioned (Alkire 1989:94, fn. 21).

Given the above uncertainties with regard to performing research in the area of traditional specialized skills, how can one manage to obtain a clear picture let alone describe it in meaningful terms? Threats to internal and external reliability measures as well as internal and external validity measures are manifold because variability between perceptions and reports of educational realities of Micronesian culture exist between ethnographers, between informants and ethnographers, and between informants themselves. Consequently, the reader should be cognizant that the following analyses of traditional pedagogies on Lamotrek and neighboring islands are not so much a "true" picture as one "view" based on participant observational research in conjunction with multiple informants and "their views" who, either accurately or inaccurately, communicated their perceptions, knowledge and values relating to specialized knowledge domains. Where possible, these reports have been verified. Those areas of information reported on by multiple informants may be relied upon with confidence in comparison to those areas where there are only one or two informants or where there is little or no corroborative evidence in the literature.

CHAPTER 2

TRADITIONAL *REEPIY* SECULAR KNOWLEDGE

"Secular" here is defined as "pertaining to this present world or things not spiritual or sacred; relating to or connected with the objects of this life solely; disassociated from religious teaching or principles" (Whitehall et. al. 1953:1540). Studies on the organization of knowledge in Micronesia are few, but we are fortunate in that the references in the literature which specifically comment on this subject come from studies performed on Elato and Satawal. As stated before, both of these islands are satellites of Lamotrek's political domain and are culturally comparable, albeit with Elato sharing the stronger linguistic and cultural connection.¹ Using a linguistic analysis based on his research on Elato, Sugito (1987:308) differentiates knowledge into two domains: *reepiy* and *rong*. Likewise, Ishimori (1980:40) in his study on Satawal also states that "there are two kinds of knowledge systems called *reepiy* and *rong*."² Both of these authors are essentially in agreement that *reepiy* constitutes that domain of knowledge which is referred to as "basic knowledge" (Ishimori 1980:40) or "ordinary knowledge" (Sugito 1987:308), and *rong* refers to "spirit" knowledge (Ishimori 1980:42 and Sugito 1987:308). My research on Lamotrek generally supports these definitions but does not support the *reepiy/rong*

¹ Although Satawal is about 40 miles east of Lamotrek and falls under its political authority, this is not to suggest that there are no cultural and linguistic differences between the islands.

² It should be noted that Sugito (1987) spells *reepiy* and *rong* in accordance with the orthography used by Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976). Ishimori (1980), however, phonetizes these terms as well as all other indigenous names and words into Japanese characters.

dichotomy and furthermore suggests that the definition for *reepiy* as "basic" or "ordinary" knowledge is too narrow. My field data indicates that the knowledge domains of *reepiy* and *rong* are not separate, discrete entities but interlinked domains or "spheres" of knowledge with the *rong* domain being a branch or extension of the *reepiy* domain. These linkages will be presented in Chapter 4, "Traditional Knowledge Nexus," after the *reepiy* and *rong* knowledge systems and the education of these knowledge systems have been discussed individually.

Practical Skills Education

I had only been on Lamotrek for about two weeks in 1977 when I received my first lesson in what it means to be "smart" in Lamotrekan society. I was cooling off in the lagoon during a particularly hot day when a young teenager joined me in the water and started to ask me questions about another young Lamotrekan man in his later teens who was attending Xavier High School in Truk. Since I had recently been a teacher at this school he wanted to know if I thought his fellow islander was smart. He used the English word "smart" as he very rightly assumed that I could not speak the Lamotrekan language since I had only just arrived on Lamotrek. I surmised that he was asking this question because Xavier High School had a reputation for only accepting the "smartest" students from the various districts in the islands. I told him that I thought that the young man in question was probably smart. He wanted to know why. I told him that I thought he was smart because he was fast in learning how to read and write English. The boy did not seem convinced that this really meant that he was smart and told me so in as many words. Curious about what the boy

perceived as "being smart," I asked him to explain. He told me that he, himself, was not "smart" yet but that he would be when he learned how to fish, could build his own house, and had pubic hair. Black reports a similar interpretation of "smart" for Tobi Island, which is part of the Trukic continuum:

When a Tobian English speaker is asked to provide a Tobian equivalent for the English word "smart" he responds that there are a number of possible translations. The Tobian terms are distinguished in part by the type of learning each "smart" depends on. They are also evaluatively ranked. Lowest value is given to being smart in school, that is, to learning quickly and well by direct tuition. Highest value is placed on extremely indirect learning (1978:245).

It was only later in my stay on Lamotrek that I appreciated the succinctness of the Lamotrekan teenager's explanation of being "smart." He was referring to the basic, practical knowledge needed to survive on Lamotrek. He also was referring to the time when he would "come of age" to begin receiving specialized knowledge involving fishing and construction techniques. I learned that the Lamotrekan word for this concept is *reepiy*, and that it could be variously interpreted as clever, intelligent, experienced, etc. (see Table 1, p. 59). Basic knowledge such as learning simple kinds of fishing techniques, cooking, climbing a coconut tree, and paddling a canoe are part of the *reepiy* knowledge domain.

Fishing techniques which are widely known are learned primarily through observation. Fishing techniques that are not so widely known are learned through the nonformal channel of parental or kin-related instruction in a predominant mode of informal education. Young boys have plenty of

Table 1. *Reepiy* Cognates: *reepiy* = secular knowledge

Source	Central Caroline Islands	Trukic Continuum
Elbert	" <i>reepiy</i> " (Puluwat) ..."to be intelligent" (1972:153)	" <i>repi</i> " (Truk) ..."wise, experienced, smart" (1947:183)
Goodenough & Sugita		" <i>reepi</i> " (Truk) ..."be wise, experienced" (1980:308)
Ishimori	" <i>reepiy</i> " (Satawal) ..."represents...basic knowledge people should know to survive on the island." (1980:40)	
Lutz	" <i>reepiy</i> " (Ifaluk) ..."socially intelligent" (1988:235)	
Sohn & Tawerilmang	" <i>reepiy</i> " (Woleai) ..."to be smart, clever, have know-how" (1976:122)	
Sugito	" <i>reepiy</i> " (Elato) ..."everyday, ordinary knowledge" (1987:308)	

opportunities to accompany net, spear, and line-fishing expeditions and observe and adopt the techniques associated with them in the course of growing up. Black made the following observation report in connection with Tobi which also holds true for Lamotrek:

... fishing skills are acquired by men and boys in ways which are very similar to the ways in which thatching skills are acquired. Some instruction is given by the father (or whoever stands in that relation to the boy), much indirect learning takes place and quite a bit of practicing (1978:228).

From the time children are infants they are witness to a full range of cultural activities on the island; usually these are regulated by gender participation such as fishing for boys and gardening for girls. Political meetings, dances, church gatherings, all of these are open to children and there were no cultural settings which I observed that were strictly off-limits to children below the age of six. Indeed, many times fathers would bring their four year-old daughters to the canoe house (an area generally taboo to females) while a canoe was being constructed.

Young girls learn the basics in weaving baskets out of palm leaves, harvesting skills, and cooking skills. They learn these practical skills at a very early age, usually by the time they are six or eight. One of the more complicated skills which women are expected to learn is weaving on a back-strap loom and the making of the traditional woven garment called *teor*. Although there are complex elements to the art which are not learned until adulthood, such as the weaving of special designs called *tab*, learning how to weave usually begins before the age of six. Again, indirect, informal learning is the general rule here. Rubenstein has made the following observation in this regard for Fais:

By the age of six or eight the girls have already grasped the basics of weaving technology: that the warp must be in the form of a loop of strands, and that the weft must be interwoven, back and forth, through the warp. If a toddler fails to understand these basic ABCs of weaving as she sits and struggles to imitate the older girls, she is liable to be teased and ridiculed by the others until she is in tears. In the gentle art of weaving, Fais girls are not gentle teachers with their younger students (1988:16-17).

It is interesting that a number of practical skills which would normally be learned in the course of life are now being taught in Lamotrek Elementary School. This is, in fact, the job of the Culture teacher. Mr. A, besides being a chief, was also Culture teacher on Lamotrek; and since Mr. A was also my sponsor on the island, I had plenty of opportunity to observe his Culture class and ask questions regarding the instruction that took place there.³ I also had the opportunity to observe the Culture teacher, Mr. E, on the neighboring island of Elato over the course of a six-day visit. On both Lamotrek and Elato, one could scarcely imagine more informal learning environments. On Lamotrek, Mr. A would teach (*gabiung*) in one of the classrooms at the school but never did I see him use the black board nor did I see his students use it.⁴

The learning site at the Elato Elementary School was even more "traditional" in that instruction did not take place within the school itself but inside a small thatched hut without walls that was situated about 100 feet

³ See Flinn (1988) and her description of the indigenization of traditional cultural values and attitudes within the Pulap Elementary School setting.

⁴ The verb *gabiung* can also mean "learn" (S & T 1976:34). The borrowed variant *gasukuula* (S & T 1976:47) is used interchangeably with *gabiung* in both the *reepiy* and *rong* knowledge systems. *Ga* is the causative form and *sukuula* means "school."

from the modern, concrete school building. Pupils were engaged in *fiyang*, or "storytelling" activities until such time as the Culture teacher decided to give a lesson on a list of names. These were lists of fish names, numeral classifiers, anatomical measurements, measurements of time, days of the month, etc. After the teacher was finished, he would then call on one student after another to recite, by memory, the names of each. Occasionally, Mr. E used a book in his teaching called *Curriculum Framework* (1984) which was published by the Yap Department of Education. I had not seen Mr. A on Lamotrek use this book so I asked him about it. He said that his book "fell apart." Indeed, I remember seeing one of the torn pages of a picture of a fish from this text in the forested area of the island and wondered how it got there. Mr. A said that the children had gotten hold of the book and that it "fell apart." Mr. A indicated that he was not concerned about this since he knew everything in the book but he did remark that the pictures of fish and their respective names had been useful for teaching. Both teachers' pedagogical emphasis was on rote memory. When I questioned Mr. E on whether or not his students wrote down the information in the book he said, "No." This substantiated my earlier observations that the major corpus of learning took place orally without use of writing or reading. This was further demonstrated one evening on Elato when the men and boys were practicing dances for the island Christmas show. One boy was counting to himself. When Mr. E asked him what two plus two equals, the boy, after a couple of tries, got it right. When asked what four plus four equals, he could not give the correct answer and started to calculate the answer out by writing the numbers in the dirt. Mr. E told him not to write the numbers out but to use his memory instead.

A number of islanders commented on how the younger generation is forgetting the traditional counting systems. Many teachers informed me that instead of using traditional numbers most islanders these days are "lazy" and say, "1, 2, 3, 4 ... like Americans." Mr. A teaches *Paapa* "Counting" in grades one and two. The basics involve the following numeral classification systems:⁵

- A. Counting inanimate, or dead things — "*yet, ru, fang* ..."
- B. Counting living things — "*seo, ruo* ..."
- C. Counting long objects — "*sefash, refash* ..."
- D. Counting round objects — "*sefi, rufi* ..."

Other systems are more obscure such as:

- E. Counting cups, leis, belts — "*separ, rupar* ..."

When asked what else his pupils learned in grades one and two, Mr. A replied that he taught *Fori Fiyang* "Storytelling" which he indicated is also part of the curriculum in grades three to eight. I was not able to determine the range of stories that were told. I suspect that they were mostly "hero" and "animal" tales that include moral lessons like *Aesop Fables*. It may be that parts of some well-known charter myths relating to specialized skills

⁵ See Alkire (1970:9-10) for a list and descriptions of 22 numeral classifiers. Elbert (1947:22-23) says, "More than sixty counting classifiers occur in Trukese" and lists some of these in a table.

⁶ For example, *mwaresepa* means "one flower wreath." Mr. A told me that this word is synonymous with the name of Marespa, the last remembered "great ghost" in the Western and Central Caroline Islands. See Alkire 1965:121; Lessa 1976; and Metzgar 1979 for information on Marespa's influence.

were told as well.⁷ In grades three and four, Mr. A teaches *Paafius* "Names of Stars." In grades five and six, *Paafius* "Names of Stars" and *Paapa Meram* "Phases of the Moon." In grades seven and eight, *Paafius* "Names of Stars" and *Gailang* "Island Clans." With regard to the later, instruction is given only in clan names and their ranking in the social hierarchy. No student's clan is identified because ranking of clans determines hereditary chiefly authority on the island.⁸ Mr. A said that students armed with this knowledge might use it to ridicule students who are not as "high" in clan status. Pupils are instructed to ask their parents and relatives for detailed information concerning their *gailang* (clan) since information on genealogy and clan origin is specialized *reepiy* knowledge. In the cultural context, this knowledge is viewed as being "held" by lineage elders and is generally not revealed to persons outside the clan except in superficial terms. In addition, pupils in grade eight begin to learn and practice skills related to the "economic sphere." The following are examples of *reepiy* skills that are learned by boys and girls:

Boys:

1. How to catch tuna by tying certain knots on hooks.
2. Names of different types of fishing.

⁷ See Lessa (1960, 1980) for analyses of tales from Caroline Islands, including charter myths. Also Mitchell (1973) and Ashby (1983) for popular folk tales relating to Micronesian cultures in general.

⁸ The clans of Lamotrek are ranked in the following order: Mongalifash, Saufalacheg, Hatamang, Saur, Sauwel, Rakh, Gailanguwoleai, Hofalu. The first three clans — Mongalifash, Saufalacheg, and Hatamang — are chiefly clans. The ranking is said to be a function of the order in which these clans settled the island (Alkire 1965:29-30).

Girls:

1. Names of different types of work in the garden.
2. Making *yas* (coconut-leaf, roof-thatching material).
3. Making *gili* (coconut-leaf mats for houses).
4. Making *giyegiy* (pandanus-leaf, sleeping mats).

Extra-curricular activities also take place which give pupils opportunities to practice the skills that they have learned. In the above case I recall that after I had been on the island for about six months, the roof on my hut was leaking. When I informed Mr. A about it, he led a work force of 8th-grade students to my hut where they proceeded to re-thatch the roof with new *yas* "coconut-leaf, roof-thatching material." This teaching workshop lasted a couple of hours.

Being skilled fishermen is as important for men as being skilled gardeners is important for women. Expressions of pride in their respective expertise in these skills manifests itself in dancing and singing on certain occasions. One such occasion can occur when men go fishing for bonito — a kind of tuna — and return with enough fish to feed the entire island. When they are on their way back from the fishing grounds, the men will blow on a triton shell horn to signal the good news to the island and "call" for a *fotow*, telling the women to celebrate the catch of fish by dancing on the beach.⁹ Such occasions also invite good-natured expressions of rivalry between men and women and their respective roles as providers of fish and taro. These events take the form of bawdy exchanges between the men dancing and singing on their canoe (or, nowadays, motor-powered boat) while tacking

⁹ A *fotow* is documented in the film, *Lamotrek: Heritage of an Island* (Metzgar 1988).

back and forth in front of the island, while the women dance and sing at a distance on the beach and shoreline.¹⁰ These events are good examples of the use of songs to informally educate youngsters as to the proper roles and behavior that men and women should assume in the community. Below is an example of a *fotow* by fishermen dancing on a canoe in the lagoon and women dancing on the beach:¹¹

Fotow Song No. 1
("Celebration For A Large Catch of Fish" Song)

Men's Part:

1. Sweet taro that we step on with our feet.
2. And these fish you gulp
3. Gulp inside your mouth.
4. They come to your homestead to call you to go harvest
taro in the garden
5. But you stay home and masturbate.

(Continued)

¹⁰ The first time I filmed a *fotow* I approached the women with my camera while they danced. I was then informed that it was *tab* "taboo" for me to be so close, the inference being that men are not supposed to be in the proximity of females at these times. The tone of their dancing and singing changed after they told me this, such that the choice of dance style and lyrics became much more subdued. I observed that the more "suggestive" dancing and sexually "lyrical" exchanges did not take place unless I vacated the vicinity where they were dancing. As a result, I afterwards documented these events with a telephoto lens at a distance of about 50 meters. The distance between the women and the men on the canoes was slightly over 100 meters, far enough so that the song "exchanges" between the women on the beach and the men on the canoes took on the quality of a joyous "shouting match" over the water.

¹¹ This *fotow* and song are documented in the film, *Lamotrek Atoll* (Metzgar 1983).

Women's Part:

1. Fish that we put under our feet
2. And taro you gulp
3. Gulp inside your mouth.
4. They come to the canoe house to call you to go fishing
5. But you stay inside and masturbate.

This song is an example of a subdominant channel of informal education within a predominant mode of informal education. Learning here is incidental to the experience of witnessing or participating in the *fotow* celebration. Nevertheless, there are definite messages that have educative value. In lines no. 1 of the men's and women's parts, putting either fish or taro under one's feet is an insulting gesture which translates more or less as "we men are better than you women" (in the case of the men) and "we women are better than you men" (in the case of the women). Lines no. 2 and no. 3 accuse the opposite sex of gluttony in enjoying the food which they have provided for them. Lines no. 4 and no. 5 underscore the pride that both males and females have in their roles as intelligent, skilled workers. They accuse the opposite sex of being lazy (women "stay at home" and men "stay inside" the canoe house). The inference being that either the adult male population or the adult female population (depending on who is singing at the time) are the ones who do the most work in providing food for the island community. The added charge of masturbation just adds to the bawdiness of the overall celebration which can also be viewed as a competition (*gaingeing*) to see who can out do each other in their prowess at *fotow* dancing.

Social Skills Education

The conceptualization of *reepiy* is not only knowledge in practical skills but social skills as well (see Table 1, p. 59).¹² Lutz defines *reepiy* as "social intelligence" (1988:235). In this respect, a *reepiy* person acquires intelligence (including what we call "common sense") as a natural consequence of the experience and growing up. One learns not only practical technical skills related to surviving but also cultural values and attitudes shared by the population at large. Those who are especially learned in practical skills and social skills are said to be *reepiy* or "wise" and "experienced" (Elbert 1947:183; G & S 1980:308).

There are tales for children which are both entertaining and instructive with regard to what behavior is considered *reepiy* and what is not. Ashby has written for Micronesia:

Knowledge and acceptable behavior are often communicated through stories, and all islanders have have a rich heritage of folklore. Often these stories explain a practice or natural phenomena and are unrestricted by the rules of logic or science (1975:115).

These stories are much like our *Aesop's Fables* in that they end in a "lesson" of what is "smart" behavior and what is "not smart." The Yool and Yaot tales are illustrative of this type. Yool and Yaot are prototypical role models for Caroline islanders. Yool is an expert fisherman and a good provider for his family and Yaot is an expert gardener and caring mother.

¹² Lessa discusses knowledge of practical skills — the "economic sphere" — in connection with Ulithi (1950a:219).

I collected a variant of the tale collected by Lessa, "A Story of Yool and Yaath" (1980:109-110), which deals with the subject of child abuse. In the story, Yaath dies and Yool remarries a woman who gives only "left over" food to Yool's children, saving the best, and choicest foods for her own children. Eventually, Yool finds out and dispenses justice by killing his second wife. The lesson here, of course, is that food is not to be hoarded, but shared equally. In another Yool and Yaath tale which I collected, a son and daughter go against Yool's orders not to pick flowers from a special tree. Naturally, they violate this rule and get into trouble, only to be rescued from certain death by the fairy tern, *gilgi*. The moral of the tale is that smart children obey their parents.

For reasons that are unclear, Spiro reported the following for Ifaluk regarding folk tales:

Oral literature is negligible ... There are no invented folk tales, all narrative being real or true, so that there is no category of fiction, of stories invented and told for amusement (1949:77).

My research does not support this contention nor does the body of published literature on the subject of folklore in the Carolines. See Lessa's *Tales from Ulithi Atoll* (1961a) and *More Tales from Ulithi Atoll* (1980), Ashby's *Some Things of Value* (1975) and *Never & Always* (1983), and Mitchell's *Micronesian Folktales* (1973). Spiro also reported that he and Burrows were "... unable to discover any evidence for sorcery in Ifaluk (1961:821)." Both Lessa (1961b:817-820) and Alkire (1965:120, fn. 2) report that Ifalukan

sorcerers existed in the past. This brings up the possibility that Ifalukan informants intentionally mislead Burrows and Spiro on certain subjects.¹³

Krämer (1937:146) was told a myth on Lamotrek similar to the Western "Adam and Eve" myth where Yool and Yaat are the first mortal beings created on earth, formed from drops of blood which the deity Legabursalealual let fall to the ground. Yool and Yaat had three daughters and one son. The daughter, Elamalar, bore a son, the demigod, Olifat [EM: usually called Olofat in the literature], from her marriage to Luugoileng, (lit. "Middle Heaven"). Olofat is a well-known character in popular tales told throughout the Carolines. Many of these tales about Olofat capitalize on his reputation at being clever (*reepiy*). I collected the following short tale which is illustrative of Olifat's cleverness at making escapes:

Tale of Olofat

Luugoileng was staying in heaven when he saw Olofat playing on one of the islands and told his assistant to fetch him. When the assistant went down to get Olofat, he only saw a white bird where Olofat was supposed to be. When the assistant returned to the Sky World [EM: Lang], Luugoileng asked him, "Did you see Olofat?" The assistant answered, "No, all I saw was a white bird that had black marks on its body." Luugoileng boomed, "That was Olofat, go fetch him!" So the assistant returned but he no longer saw the bird or Olofat so he went back to Luugoileng. "Well?" asked Luugoileng. "Neither the bird nor Olofat were there Luugoileng," said the assistant. "You didn't see anything?" "Well, now that you mention it, there was a big rock where the bird was standing that wasn't there before." Luugoileng shouted, "Fool! That was

¹³ See discussion on "Research Problems" in Chapter 1, pp. 49-55.

Olofat! Go fetch him!" So once more the assistant went down to earth and looked for the rock but instead of the rock there was a pile of feces with a swarm of flies around it. This so disgusted the assistant that he went back up to the Sky World. "Well, what did you find out?" asked Luugoileng. "I didn't see anything except a big pile of feces where the rock used to be and a swarm of flies all around it." And Luugoileng yelled, "Fool! That was Olofat!"

Lessa includes three "Tales of Iolofath" [EM: Iolofath = Olofat] in his *Tales from Ulithi Atoll: A Comparative Study in Oceanic Folklore* (1961a:15-26) and compares them to cognate tales told elsewhere in Oceania (1961a:81-97. Lessa makes the following comments which are of interest here because of their relevance to the conceptualization of *reepiy* "cleverness" in connection with Olofat the "trickster":

... he is a trickster of the order of Maui [EM: of Polynesian mythology] and Qat [EM: of Melanesian mythology], rather than one of the many animal trickster of American Indian or Malaysian folklore. He is not a full-fledged god, for his mother was a mortal. Perhaps for this reason he especially manifests so many of the frailties and emotions of human beings (1961a:15).

Lutz also makes the point that *reepiy* "secular knowledge" is part of the general moral code of what is the the right and wrong way to relate socially. She gives the following example of how, on the first evening of her stay on Ifaluk, her sponsor father and mother, gave her advice on how she should act:

I should say *siro* (respect, or excuse me) [S & T: *sorou*] when passing a group of seated people; I should use the tag *mawesh* (sweetheart) [S & T: *mauwesh*] when addressing someone;

I should crouch down rather than remain standing if others were sitting (1988:116).

This kind of instruction is an example of a subdominant channel of nonformal education within a predominant mode of informal education. Knowledge is intentionally being inculcated here for the purpose of maintaining proper etiquette in the social milieu. Because it is purposeful — the goal of instruction being to create a socially intelligent person — it classifies as a nonformal educational characteristic. The training inculcated, however, is not part of a general, programmatic plan of education — there are no steps involved nor stages of learning — consequently, the educational emphasis is on a predominant mode of informal education.

I received similar "parental" instructions with regard to *sorou* by my sponsor father, Mr. A. In addition, I was cautioned by Mr. A to say *melap* for "honored sir" to show respect to older men in the course of asking a question. And for older women, I was told to say *mwarei* for "honored lady." I also received instruction on what words were appropriate in particular social settings. For example, the common Lamotrekese word meaning "to eat" is *mwongo*, but if one asks an elder to come eat the honorific expression, *gettaur*, should be used, especially between a nephew and uncle. Likewise, if a sister asks a brother to "come eat," she should use the respectful expression, *iletu*. Moreover, the common word meaning "to sleep" is *masiur*; but if one asks an elder to sleep, the respectful word that should be used is *biungitiu*.

Mr. E on Elato was even more specific in the domains where *sorou* (respect) behavior should be shown. Using the causative form, *gassorou*, he said that children must learn to "*gassorou bwogat*" (show respect to the family estate), "*gassorou imal*" (show respect to the family home),

"*gassorou faliuw*" (show respect to the island), "*gassorou mwal*" (show respect to men), "*gassorou tamol*" (show respect to the chiefs), "*gassorou yalius*" (show respect to gods, spirits and ghosts), "*gassorou aramat*" (show respect to people), "*gassorou enap*" (show respect to private island paths), and "*gasorou tat*" (show respect to the ocean). According to Mr. E, children are no longer learning to *gassorou* "show respect" because they see kung fu and cowboy movies when they are in places like Ulithi and Yap. There are culturally appropriate times, of course, when disrespectful behavior is permitted, such as in the "*Fotow* Song No. 1" given above where men and women can give full vent to repressed, aggressive emotions. Even in these situations, however, the lyrics in the songs often informally educate the casual listener as to the underlying, ever-present taboo structure that pervades social interaction. An example of informal instruction of *reepiy* taboos in the social context is also evident in the following *fotow* song:¹⁴

Fotow Song No. 2
("Celebration For A Large Catch Of Fish" Song)

Men's Part:

1. Pig, Pig, go have sexual intercourse with those women,
2. Because I am not going to have sexual intercourse with them.
3. It is a taboo associated with my *biyowu* fish trap in Mesaitaw channel.¹⁵

(Continued)

¹⁴ The Lamotrekese text from which this translation was made is given in Appendix A, p. 401. This *fotow* and song are documented in the film, *Lamotrek Atoll* (Metzgar 1983).

¹⁵ For location of the Mesaitaw channel on the Lamotrek reef see Map 2, p. 19.

Women's Part:

1. Pig, Pig, go have sexual intercourse with those men
2. Because I am not going to have sexual intercourse with them.
3. It is a taboo associated with harvesting taro
from my garden.

From the above song exchange one learns that sexual abstinence is a condition associated with certain kinds of activities. In the men's case, laying a *biyowu* fish trap in a reef channel and in the women's case, working in the taro garden. Again, this *fotow* is similar to the one above in that it informally educates youngsters as to the proper behavior that goes with men's and women's activities.

The chiefs are the primary caretakers of the island-wide *tab*, or "taboos" (not be confused with the earlier mentioned *tab* = woven skirt decoration or design). The number of taboos which are operative on Lamotrek are as manifold as they are complex, depending on a multiplicity of factors: the time of year; if a birth, accident, or death has occurred on the island; the arrival of a foreign vessel; the choice of words used in mixed company; the choice of path taken to avoid a sacred area of land; loud, boisterous behavior; whistling in the village area; *ad. infinitum*.

For general and specific information on major traditional taboos and punishments connected taboos see Lessa's chapter on "Law and Social Control" (1950a:97-107). An interesting eye-witness account concerning the prohibition against whistling is given for the Marshall Islands in Paulding's book, *Journal of a Cruise of the United States Schooner Dolphin Among the Islands of the Pacific Ocean and a Visit to the Mulgrave Islands, In Pursuit of the Mutineers of the Whale Ship Globe*:

They had a great aversion to hearing us whistle, particularly in their houses, and would invariably run up to any of our people when they were whistling, and with a fearful look beg them to stop; saying, it would bring spirits about the house that would make them sick and kill them (1831:175).

Violations of taboos are enforced through a system of fines. Lutz (1988:158) mentions *gariya* as a fine enacted by the chiefs of Ifaluk on a group of men for provoking anger amongst the community for their loud, and generally disrespectful behavior. This prohibition against disrespectful behavior extends to the spirit world as well. In this regard, Lutz has shared an experience she had on Ifaluk in 1978-1979:

There was ... an incident in which a Peace Corps Volunteer on the island ... was using the radio with some other men. It was located in the men's house right in front (lagoon side) of the sacred site [EM: Katelu] and he was yelling into the receiver. The men warned him to be quieter so as not to get the *yalus* [EM: spirits] at the site angry (personal communication, 1989).

The meaning of *gariya* stems from the root *riya* which Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976:124) define as "to get into trouble as a result of doing things socially not acceptable." I found that *riya* may be interpreted as a "social transgression" and in the Lamotrekan belief system one "gets" or "receives" *riya* as a result of violating a cultural a norm. It is a pervading threat that one must always be on guard against. In addition, *riya* is the direct consequence of not being intelligent (*reepiy*) and violating a taboo and, ultimately, the avoidance behavior associated with it seems aimed at keeping the island pure and unpolluted. In this last respect, the wrath of malevolent ghosts and spirits, with their deleterious impact on individuals

in the form of sickness as well as on whole communities and the island ecology via typhoons was especially feared in the past and in various degrees still survives on Lamotrek as a superstition to be reckoned with.

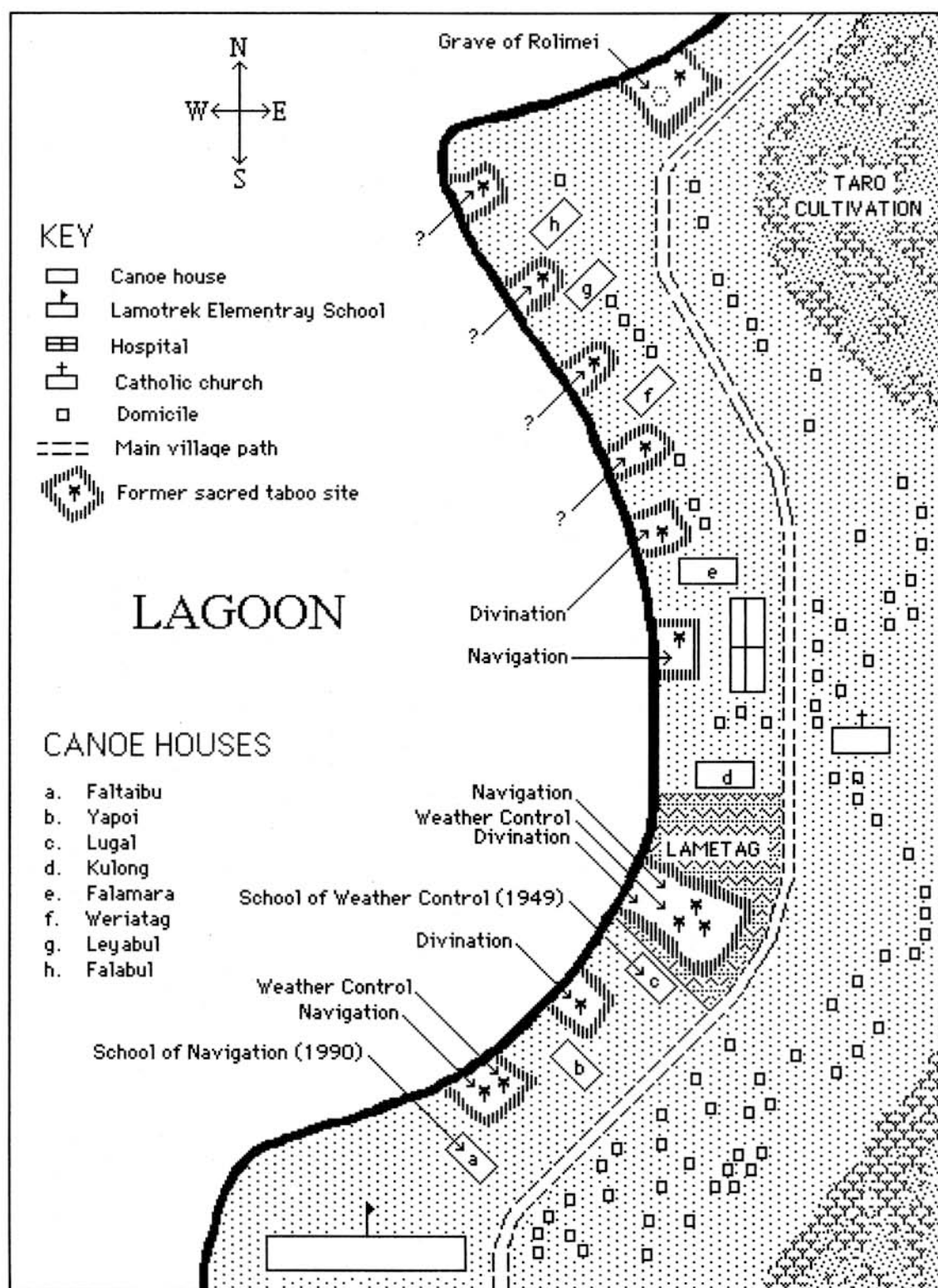
Perhaps the most common *riya* (social transgression) on Lamotrek is the young man who, having just returned from Outer Islands High School in Ulithi, joins a "drinking circle" at one of the canoe houses, becomes inebriated from drinking palm wine (*gashi*) and starts arguing, talking back, or exhibiting some other manifestation of inappropriate behavior. The penalty for such behavior is immediate proscription by the lineage heads from joining a "drinking circle" (usually for one month) and a fine of 100 fathoms of coconut sennit rope. The most rare violation, perhaps, is the prohibition against canoes sailing directly to the beach without lowering their sails at a special location called Welimotog just outside the inner lagoon facing the village (see Map 2, p. 19). This regulation applies to motorboats as well in that they must slow down their engines at this point. In olden days, the punishment for this offense was confiscation of the vessel. Nowadays, the fine is \$5.00. As of 1989, an additional prohibition was enacted which stipulates that Lamotrekans (and visitors who stay more than a week on island) must remove their shirts (in the case of males) or blouses (in the case of females). Sunglasses and hats must also be removed when they cross over the Welimotog "boundary line" before making landfall on the island.¹⁶ *Reepiy* "smart" people obey these rules.

¹⁶ The Welimotog "boundary line" also marks the place where sailing canoes must put down their sails and paddle to shore to show respect to the chiefs of Lamotrek. In the time of the legendary chief Motaism the boundary line was much farther from the island, extending across the mid-section of the lagoon from the northern to southern reef. Informants stated that this boundary line was originally for defensive purposes, to give the people advance warning of any hostile attacks against the island.

In addition, some of the prohibitions regarding the area of Lametag (see Map 5, p. 78) — the sacred site of a former *fenap* (men's meeting house) which existed there in ancient times — have been resurrected.¹⁷ Everyone is required to show respect (*sorou*) to Lametag by lowering one's head and bending from the waist in the traditional respect gesture, *gabbarog*, with at least one hand placed behind one's back. Standing upright in the Lametag area is strictly forbidden. Carrying loads such as coconuts, bananas or baskets of food and other goods on one's shoulders is also *tab* (forbidden). One must either carry food under one's arm or get a wheelbarrow to transport it. The objective is not to be "high" but "low" out of respect to Lametag.¹⁸ I did not hear of any fine being levied for violations of this rule when they occurred, which was often, since the chiefs of the island considered it a transitional period for the community to learn and get used to the new rules. Although many persons forgot to bow down (*gabbarog*) to

¹⁷ On Lamotrek, the spirit of the legendary chief Motaism is closely associated with the area of Lametag where his "great house" (*fenap*) stood, the ruins of which are still visible in the form of broken and fallen down rock supporting posts (*siur*). Motaism slept on the second "story" (a suspended platform) in the *fenap*. No one could be higher than Motaism. No one could stand in his presence. No one could climb trees where he was sitting or walking. Women could not walk near Lametag, nor were they allowed to enter the *fenap*. Only the chiefs and male lineage elders could gather there. Motaism's wife, whom he had taken from the Soufalacheg clan on Ifaluk, lived in a separate house. Motaism was of the reigning Mongalifash clan. This fact has caused quarrels to break out between the two chiefly clans because of the pride of these two groups of peoples have in their clan affiliations.

¹⁸ When I asked if I could use my movie camera at Lametag to take pictures of the stones which are the only remains of the ancient *fenap* of Motaism that used to exist there, I was told that I could take movies as long as I did not stand upright or put the camera "up high." Both myself and the camera had to be "low." This problem of showing proper respect to the Lametag area was solved by filming from ground level with the camera supported on a small tripod called a "high hat."



Map 5. Lamotrek Village (1990)

Lametag, they vigorously defended the axiom that everyone should try their best to show respect to this plot of land for the benefit of the island. To do otherwise would, in the Lamotrekan view, be inviting misfortune to descend upon the island. Traditionally, disrespectful behavior toward such sacred sites was believed to cause sickness in individual violators and perhaps cause typhoons or sickness to strike the island. Writing about Ulithi, Lessa has mentioned the following in this connection:

Illness can be brought about either by the actions of the individual himself or by other agents. The patient may have become ill because he did something to bring down supernatural penalties. He may have broken a taboo, such as one of the prohibitions against eating certain foods, having sexual intercourse, or trespassing on forbidden places (1950a:238).

Also, Alkire mentions the the following in connection with taboos on Woleai and Lamotrek:

... individuals can protect themselves by obeying all taboos. For example, by refraining from sexual intercourse before fishing or working in the taro fields and by refraining from eating prohibited foods or traveling to tabooed locations, one can minimize the possibility of antagonizing a spirit (1982:30).

We can see from the above examples that not having *reepiy* (social intelligence) can be a serious matter; especially when powerful, supernatural spirits are "watching." Learning the proper behavior to deal with possible life-threatening situations becomes a matter of some importance. Alkire gives an interesting example of just such a situation:

He [EM: an unnamed malevolent spirit "of the land"] now frequents an area around a specific breadfruit tree near the main

path midway along the lagoon shore and appears either as a man, a pig, or a dog. Anyone who sees him takes care to pass on the left side for to pass him on the right invites death, capture, or insanity (1989:84).

To not have *reepiy* in the above described situation is believed to mean the difference between life and death. Common sense dictates an avoidance response which necessarily involves intelligent (*reepiy*) behavior. Carrying this concept to the extreme — to the level of chiefly authority — it is the responsibility of the paramount chief to determine the parameters of acceptable social behavior and to have the *reepiy* "know-how" (S & T 1976:122) to act when necessary to protect the well-being of the community. The following eye-witness account demonstrates chiefly responsibility with regard to a sacred site called Katelu on Ifaluk:

In our entire stay only one taboo was discovered which involved the idea of holiness or sanctity *per se*, rather than being connected with some pragmatic activity. The plot of ground, known as *Katelu*, which belongs to the chiefs, and on which the *fannap* [S & T: *fenap*, "meeting house"] is located, is considered sacred ground; and one portion of it, directly behind our tent, is so sacred that no one may tread on it. The violation of this taboo results in rain and even in typhoons. We discovered this taboo purely accidentally. The trade winds had set in, but the rains, which usually cease with the onset of the Trades, continued to come. Both the people and the anthropologists were very surprised and the former were alarmed. One afternoon I observed the people moving an old over-water-head to the beach directly in front of our tent. When they had finished their work, Tom [EM: an Ifalukan informant] came to us and said that this little hut was to be for our use. We had been using part of *Katelu* as our private lavatory, and perhaps, he pointed out, that is why the rain continued, since it

is taboo to walk on that ground, and the penalty for the violation of the taboo is rain.

That afternoon, I walked to our new lavatory, the rain stopped, and the sun appeared. The native view emerged triumphant! It is this kind of vindication, of course, if only once in a thousand times, that confirms the reality of the taboo for the people (Burrows and Spiro 1953:237).

Lametag has already been mentioned as the plot of land on Lamotrek which has sacred significance for the Lamotrekan community. Lametag and Katelu in the above example may be considered equivalent in that they are both the most valued areas on Lamotrek and Ifaluk today in terms of their status and the taboos associated with them. We have seen how respectful behavior, *gasorou*, is applied in the form of the bending at the waist gesture (*gabbarog*) when walking through the Lametag area as a show of respect. What has not been mentioned is that this "taboo" regulation is primarily the result of chiefly authority and knowledge of Lamotrekan tradition. The leader for a landholding group is its *tamol* "chief," who is usually the oldest man of a lineage or subclan (Alkire 1989:81). High ranking chiefs come from the three highest ranking clans, or "chiefly clans." The reasoning behind the higher status of some clans over others hinges on two factors: 1) order of settlement of the island—that is, the earlier arriving clan, the higher the rank; and 2) the amount of land held by a clan. Sapper, Thilenius, and Hambruch described the organization of authority on islands in the Trukic continuum in the following way:

Each *ainang* [EM: clan] has its high chief, likewise the family. On each of the small islands the property is partitioned among two to four of these clans of families, one of which has precedence over the others because of possessing more land.

The high chief of his family, the oldest man, is the *tamol*. His power is not important, only when at the same time he holds the position of priest or sorcerer does he have corresponding influence. In recent years the authority of the chiefs has been increased by the German administration and the hitherto prevailing democracy has been considerably restricted (Sapper et. al. 1920:545-546)

"Intelligent" chiefs (those who are *reepiy*) are especially knowledgeable about the history and lore of the island, the origins of the clans represented, and their land holdings. Not everyone has this kind of knowledge and, indeed, there is political strife between the various clans due to differences of their knowledge of land-tenure relationships and their interpretation. I was told that when chiefs from the three highest ranking clans lacked *reepiy* it "was not good for the island." Chiefs who do not have *reepiy* inadvertently create confusion in their inept handling of island affairs.

Traditionally, Lamotrekan government normally proceeds along the following chain of command. The paramount chief, *tamolefalu*, or in the case of a female paramount chief (which is the case on Lamotrek today) her acting head chief, *tamol* (the oldest male of the most senior lineage and the appropriate subclan of a chiefly clan) gives orders for general work to be done: clearing of the bush, work on the palm trees, in the taro fields, the construction of houses and canoes, fishing, etc. The assistant chief, *tela*, transmits the order to the people, *yaremat*. The third level chiefs, *ochang*, pass on the orders of the second and supervise their execution. Occasionally, the men hold council and discuss the affairs of the island.¹⁹ Not everyone is privy to this information. Those who are in positions of

¹⁹ See Alkire (1965:32-36) for detailed information on political organization of Lamotrek.

authority and use them responsibly are said to be *reepiy*. In keeping with Elbert's and Goodenough and Sugita's definitions (see Table 1, p. 59), *reepiy* may be thought of as a function of intelligence, wisdom, and experience. Generally, the level of *reepiy*, or level of one's intelligence or wisdom is dependent on one's age and one's clan affiliations in the community. In theory, the older the person is, the more *reepiy* one accrues as a function of his or her greater life experiences; similarly, if one is born into a chiefly clan as opposed to a non-chiefly clan, the more *reepiy* one accumulates as a result of increased social and political responsibilities.

The opposite of *reepiy* is *mmang* "stupid." Sohn and Tawerilmang define *mmang* as "(to be) crazy, foolish, mentally retarded" (S & T 1976:99). I never heard *mmang* used in the context of being "crazy" but I did hear the word "*bush*" used in this sense for those persons on Lamotrek who had reputations of schizophrenia. The word *mmang* is generally used in association with small children who for one reason or another would do something foolish. Other examples of *mmang* are the following: a child who is two years old who has not begun to talk (an ability that is expected at this age); a man in his twenties who has not yet begun to learn how to build a canoe or a house (also an age-related ability); a navigator who sails to one of the uninhabited islands to look for turtle to bring back to Lamotrek but finds none and returns without other foods to give to the island community such as salted fish, coconut crabs, or birds (custom dictates that the navigator not return to Lamotrek empty-handed when he has been given the privilege of harvesting the resources of an uninhabited island); a menstruating woman or a woman who has had sexual intercourse and who goes to work in the taro garden (an action said to damage the fertility of the garden); and a woman of menstruating age who climbs a coconut tree in the

vicinity of a man (an action that is interpreted as "disrespectful" to adult males).

Before the conversion of Lamotrekans to Christianity in 1953, it was taboo for menstruating women to come in contact with men and strictly taboo for women in menses to eat with or come in contact with food or utensils that men handled.²⁰ Special menstrual huts were set up in isolated areas of the island for menstruating women to retire to during this period. Nowadays these huts no longer exist, nor is it taboo for women in menses to come in contact with or eat with other men. But it is still taboo for a woman to go into the forest or taro garden if she is in menses. If this happens, then according to the island view "the food will not be good." Between 1953-1989, the taboo against women going to the taro patch during menses was not enforced due to the conversion of the island population to Christianity. According to one informant, the taro remained in good condition for a long time and would not "break apart" (disintegrate), making it uneatable. But this situation changed during the 1980s. The community began to notice that the taro crop was very fast to "break apart. " As a result of the damage to the taro crops, the chiefs decided that the taboo against menstruating women entering the taro garden should be reinstituted. In the wisdom (*reepiy*) of the chiefs, the knowledge concerning this taboo was held "in trust" for the community over a thirty-year period as "special" knowledge which had fallen out of common usage, and therefore, out of the domain of "everyday, ordinary knowledge." Again, such knowledge, is comparable to

²⁰ See Alkire for a detailed description of the process and rationale by Lamotrekans for their mass conversion to Catholicism (1965:166-167).

the taboos concerning Katelu and Lametag in that there may also be supernatural consequences as a result of the violation of this traditional taboo. In other words, if the female population is not *reepiy* and continues to harvest taro at all times then *riya* (social transgression) involving supernatural sanctions may be the result. The consequences of *riya* on the supernatural level is to invite anger from the spirit world. In the Lamotrekian world view, visitations of sickness and devastating typhoons cannot be far behind.

With the above scenario in mind, let us go back in time a bit. Let us imagine that an unauthorized person has violated the sacred ground of Katelu on Ifaluk or Lametag on Lamotrek and a typhoon materializes. In its fury, it threatens to destroy all the houses and canoes and blow down every coconut and breadfruit tree on the island, or worse, wash over it entirely in the form of a tidal wave. Such an impending disaster requires the intercession of ritual specialists who are in touch with and can control supernatural forces. These individuals belong to a sacred branch of *reepiy* knowledge called *rong* and it is this branch of knowledge that will be discussed in the next chapter.

Summary

In general, there are two spheres or systems of knowledge called *reepiy* and *rong*. The *reepiy* "secular knowledge" domain is comprised of the following categories: 1) economic-related practical and technical skills associated with the production of food and material resources; 2) social-related behavioral skills associated with an organized taboo structure; and 3) socio, economic, and political-related governmental skills associated with

land-tenure relationships and inter-island ties. The *rong* "sacred knowledge" domain is comprised of spirit-related specialized skills which are a result of supernatural dispensation.

Reepiy practical skills such as the use of different counting systems, the naming of different fishing and gardening techniques, and the making of coconut-leaf mats are traditionally learned through the predominant mode of informal education as a function of daily experiences in the socio-cultural environment with some purposeful education taking place between lineage mates in a the subdominant mode of nonformal education. Nowadays, these skills are also being taught in a formal institutional school setting (Lamotrek Elementary School) under the auspices of the Culture teacher. Taboos dealing with proper inter-gender, inter-familial, inter-lineage, inter-clan, community-based, and spirit-world related behaviors are mainly a function of a subdominant mode of nonformal education by parents and lineage mates in the context of a predominate mode of informal education. Much of this behavioral instruction by parents and lineage members is supported by socio-cultural experiences involving subdominant channels of informal education such as songs, chants, and dances performed in public settings.

The status-ranking of individual *reepiy* skills is a function of birth, personal achievement, and age. The level of a chiefly-clan member's *reepiy* "intelligence" with regard to knowledge of social taboos, island and clan-settlement oral histories, and land-tenture ownership is accorded a higher status than that of non-chiefly clan members.

CHAPTER 3

TRADITIONAL *RONG* SACRED KNOWLEDGE

"Sacred" here is defined as "set apart by solemn religious ceremony; dedicated or appropriated to religious use: made holy; consecrated, not profane or common" (Whitehall et. al. 1953:1497). *Rong* is the name of a body of knowledge on Lamotrek that is veiled in the pre-Christian religious context of Lamotrekan culture and society. *Rong* knowledge may be perceived as sacred knowledge, but divine knowledge, esoteric knowledge, and specialized knowledge involving magical rites also have currency as definitions.

There have been a number of ethnographies specifically discussing *rong* in relation to various subjects. For Truk, there have been works relating *rong* to "traditional religion" (Bollig 1927; Krämer 1932), to "canoe and house construction" (LeBar 1963), to "cultural values" (Caughey 1970), to "incorporeal property" (Goodenough 1951), to "social organization" (Murdock and Goodenough 1947), and to "medicine" (Mahony 1970). For the geographic area of the Central Caroline Islands, Damm (1954) has related *rong* to the subject of "traditional religion." There have also been studies of *rong* on Ulithi (Lessa 1950a) as it relates to "magical rites," on Elato (Sugito 1987) as it relates to "architectural knowledge," and on Satawal as it relates to "navigation" (Sudo 1979) and to "systems of knowledge" (Ishimori 1980). Although all of these studies are important from the standpoint of comparative analysis, Ishimori's investigation has the most relevancy for the present investigation due to its focus on the structural aspects of *rong* knowledge.

Spirit-Knowledge Connection

One day, Mr. A was at Weriatag canoe house in the afternoon with some other men repairing the hull of a sailing canoe. After the work for the day was finished and the men were preparing to leave to collect the evening's palm wine (*gashi*), I began to ask Mr. A some questions about a series of terms relating to magic which I had found in Lessa's research on Ulithi (1950a:127). I wondered since there were similar spirit names on Ulithi and Lamotrek that there might be similarity in types of magic. He vigorously denied that he knew anything about the terms and gave the impression that he had never, in his lifetime, heard anything about the list of names and terms given in Lessa's book. Somewhat disappointed that a line of inquiry had apparently led nowhere, I returned to my hut at the northern end of the island. Mr. A showed up in an excited mood, and asked me how I knew about the magical words. When I told him that I had read them in a book on Ulithi, he told me that he did, in fact know something about them. The reason Mr. A had denied knowledge of these terms was that such questions are viewed as inappropriate in a public setting (such as a canoe house). Inquiries regarding the traditional spirit world should only be made in private consultation and preferably at night. Mr. A visited my hut that evening and told me the following myth about the spirit, Yarogonga, and how a special kind of fish trap came to be made on Lamotrek:

Myth of Yarogonga

One night a man was sleeping in a canoe house. He woke up in the middle of the night and saw a spirit come out of one of the supporting posts (*siur*) at the front of the canoe house. He pretended to be asleep and watched until just before daybreak when the spirit returned and went back inside the post. He told the people that there was a spirit inside the post. When they heard this they were afraid, so they took the post and threw it into the ocean. Eventually, it drifted up onto the beach at Lamotrek.

Yarogonga was the name of the spirit in the piece of driftwood which had washed up on the beach.¹ A woman came down each day to the lagoon to take a bath and after she had bathed she would use Yarogonga's piece of driftwood to kick the sand off her feet. One day Yarogonga spoke to her and said, "Hey! How come everyday you come here and kick your feet on me?" The woman was surprised at hearing a voice come from the driftwood and asked, "Who are you?" Yarogonga answered, "I am a *yalius* (spirit) and this is my home." The woman was silent. Again Yarogonga spoke, "Do you want to marry me?" She was startled by his proposal but was scared to say no for fear that she might offend him. So she said, "I do not know. I will go ask my mother and father." Yarogonga said, "Alright then, you go and ask them."

The woman went to her house and asked her mother and father. The next day she returned and said to Yarogonga, "They would like me to marry you." "Alright," said Yarogonga, "You go tell them to make a house and one special room for me." So

¹ Another informant told me that Yarogonga is not the "true" name for the spirit in this myth but would not tell me the name. Consequently, it may be that Mr. A intentionally substituted the term *yarogonga* instead of the real name so as not to diminish the value of this myth when transmitted to his kinfolk. The Lamotrekese word for any large piece of driftwood which comes floating "down" from the north is *yarogonga* (cf. S & T 1976:173). The common belief is that these specimens are fir trees which have drifted across the Pacific Ocean from the coast of North America.

they made the house and the special room because they were afraid that Yarogonga might come and kill them if they did not do what he wanted. When the room was finished, Yarogonga moved into his room but they never saw him; they could only hear him talking to them from his room. He would stay in his log on the beach during the day and then move into his room at night.

One month later, Yarogonga's wife was with child. Yarogonga made medicine (*tafey*) for her but did not give it to her directly. He would leave it in a special place and her father would give it to her. After the boy was born and was growing up, Yarogonga told his wife, "You tell our son that he cannot come into my room. If he comes into my room and touches my skin, I cannot stay here any longer. The family did not want Yarogonga to leave because he would go fishing every morning and when the family would wake up they would find all kinds of good fish to eat. One day, however, Yarogonga slept late and his son came into his room and touched the tatoos on Yarogonga's body. When Yarogonga woke up he knew that his son had touched his tattoos. He called his wife and said, "I can no longer stay here. In four days I shall return to my home." "Why?" she asked. "I told you. It would be bad if my son came into my room and saw me. Now this has happened, so I must leave. In four days my brother will come and get me."

The next morning he told the family to cut some wood. They put the wood in his room and Yarogonga worked until he had finished making a fish trap — something that had never existed before. He gave it to his son to look at and told him, "Take this fish trap and put it in the lagoon. When a big log of driftwood comes along you make a different kind of fish trap." And so Yarogonga instructed him from inside his room about how to make another kind of fish trap called *uulimorouwel* that also had never existed before. After Yarogonga showed his son how to make this fish trap he taught him the chant to use to call drifting logs near the island. He also taught him the magic chant to use before tying the fish trap to the log to prevent sharks from biting him while he was in the water. Now

Yarogonga's son understood how to make fish traps and the magic for using them.

Soon, Yarogonga's brother, Etapwase, came in the form of a tornado to fetch Yarogonga back to his home. Etapwase came into the lagoon late in the day. He came near the island but Yarogonga stood on the beach and blew his shell horn to keep Etapwase from coming to shore. Yarogonga did this because he had not yet finished teaching his son everything that he wanted him to know. Since Yarogonga had no land to give him, he wanted to give his son sacred knowledge (*rong*). Etapwase came to the island four times, but each time Yarogonga blew on his shell horn and kept him away. All the people watched the tornado in amazement as it waited in the lagoon. Finally, Yarogonga instructed his son in making the proper medicine (*tafey*) to give to pregnant women. When Yarogonga had finished, Etapwase came to the beach and took Yarogonga away to their home in the sea between the islands.

In this myth the spirit, Yarogonga, teaches his son how to make a *uulimorouwel* fish trap. The point which Mr. A emphasized to me, and the reason why he had been so animated in our earlier encounter, was that accompanying this skill was instruction in the use of magical chants, *rong*, to make the fish trap successful.

There are various degrees of complexity regarding the construction of fish traps. Some are more easier than others to make. Informants gave me the impression that there were many more different kinds of fish traps in existence in the past but knowledge of these have been forgotten. The more simple kinds of fish traps seem to have entered the *reepiy* (secular) world of knowledge which almost every man learns sometime in the course of his life. A comparable female skill would be the weaving of the traditional *teor* "woven garment". I was told by many elderly women on Lamotrek that in the past the knowledge to weave *teor* was not known to everyone and, in

fact, very few people wore woven garments. It may have been that this skill was affiliated with *rong* at one time, but down through the course of time and necessity the making of some *teor* "woven garments," like the making of some fish traps became part of the *reepiy* domain. There is evidence in the literature that certain kinds of garments were connected to *rong* skills in the not too distant past. Bollig reported in 1927 that women on Truk had to abstain from sexual intercourse "probably because they are subject to the influence of the spirits in a special way" when weaving "the precious waist mats, *nauik*" (1927:33). LeBar also made the following eye-witness report in this connection:

... the ethnographers requested one of the women to weave a few old-style loincloths and men's capes from banana fiber. It developed later that they were expected to supply a bowl of breadfruit poi [EM: pounded breadfruit] to be offered to the spirits during the winding of the warp. Rather than show up our ignorance, the woman's husband made a bowl of poi and one of her classificatory mothers then made the necessary offering (1964b:349, fn. 3).

It is significant in the above passage that an "offering" was required at a special stage in the garment's construction "during the winding of the warp." Such taboos on behavior were common in connection with the exercise of *rong* skills. The taboo in this case was that the "winding of the warp" could not take place without an offering to propitiate the spirits connected with the making of these "old-style loincloths and men's capes from banana fiber."

In the following months that I remained on Lamotrek I learned more about the relationship of other mythological deities with *rong* magical chants

and special forms of knowledge also called *rong* including divination (*bwe*),² weather control and purification magic (*waug*),³ navigation (*paliuw*), canoe making and house building (*senap*), martial arts (*bwang*),⁴ and medicine (*tafey*). I began to understand that when specialized skills were used, *rong* chants were an integral part of the process.

The magic given with the use of a specialized skill would usually take the form of a chant, song, dance, construction of a sacred object, or a combination of all of these arts. The magic permitted the activity to be effective. A sailing canoe would be fast, travellers would arrive safely at their destination, rain would come, strong winds would go, turtles would crawl ashore, sharks would not bite, schools of fish could be called, enemies would be unable to strike a blow. It was believed that the performance of a *rong* song or dance recaptured the power of the spirit that made the act successful.

Systematic, purposeful instruction in *rong* skills usually takes place between kinfolk but not always. The potential for transmission of *rong* to non-relatives has been reported to me on Lamotrek by numerous informants and has been variously reported by other writers including Lessa for Ulithi and Sugito for Elato:

² The spelling of this term is taken from Lessa (1959) and Alkire (1989) as the *Woleaian-English Dictionary* rendering of "*be*" does not conform to how I heard it spoken on Lamotrek.

³ This spelling of *waug* is adopted from the spelling given to me by Lamotrekan informants. No such term exists in the *Woleaian-English Dictionary*. Cf. "*wag*" (Alkire 1989:93) and "*vak*" (Krämer 1937:107, 151, 154, 158).

⁴ The spelling of this term is taken from Lessa (1978) as the *Woleaian-English Dictionary* rendering of "*bang*" does not conform to how I heard it spoken on Lamotrek.

Property in intangible things ... and its transmission, which is both patrilineal and matrilineal, does not always follow along family lines (Lessa 1950a:60).

There were two ways of transmitting *rong*. One was for it to be passed along particularly blood lines. The other was an "apprentice" system (Sugito 1987:310).

Given the hypothesis set forth in Chapter 1, it is a logical assumption that one should look for traditional schooling pedagogies within congregates of *rong* master-apprentice relationships. Sugito suggests the potential of this line of investigation when he writes:

Rong is shrouded in the secrecy of traditional religion and thus may be thought of as holding an important key to the understanding [EM: of] a considerable range of traditional knowledge in the Caroline Islands (1987:281).

Sugito's supposition that *rong* holds the "key" to "understanding a considerable range of traditional knowledge in the Caroline Islands" is an important one. It strongly suggests that a thorough investigation of *rong* skills will illuminate nonformal traditional educational pedagogies that have the potential of being similar to modern-day schooling environments. Before presenting evidence in this regard, however, one must first understand the epistemological foundations of *rong* knowledge and the cast of characters, both teachers and learners, who participate in the education of *rong* knowledge and skills.

Epistemology of Sacred Knowledge

"Epistemology" is defined as "the theory or science that investigates the basis of knowledge" (Whitehall et. al. 1953:586). The logical starting point for investigating *rong* knowledge and skills is a linguistic analysis of the term. Mahony (1970:142) has commented on how the noun form of the term is often confused with the verb form which means "to hear." Krämer (1932:256, fn. 2) also tells us that the verb form of *rong* means "to hear" and includes additional definitions for the noun form. Most of the above ethnographers who have discussed *rong* usually only give the noun form that relates to the magical skills associated with a particular field of knowledge (e.g. navigation). Ishimori's article, "World of *Rong*: Systems of Esoteric Knowledge on Satawal" (1980) is unique in that it clearly identifies *rong* magical knowledge as a system of knowledge within a larger system of skills also called *rong*. The first system he calls "narrow *rong*" and the second "broad *rong*":

Here, we meet two different kinds of *rong*. To avoid confusion, we will call *rong* which means systemized knowledge concerning *yalu* [EM: dialectical variant of *yalius* "spirit(s)"] a "broad *rong*" and we will call *rong* which only represents the spell [EM: magical rite or chant] a "narrow *rong*" (1980:43).

Ishimori further explains the differences between "broad *rong*" and "narrow *rong*":

... "broad *rong*" ... not only contains spells, but it also contains myths relating to *yalu*, how to carry out a magical rite, what to do and what not to do concerning particular *yalu*, the concrete skill (such as how to make a canoe, a type of medicine, how to

tell a fortune), and other things. "Narrow *rong*," on the other hand, only contains the spell ... this is because the spell is the most important aspect of knowledge concerning *yalu*. Without the spell, there would not be any *rong*. (1980:43).

Even Krämer in his three definitions of the noun form does not differentiate between these two shades of meaning for *rong* skills. Unlike other investigators into the "world" of *rong*, however, Krämer does report on the ambiguity surrounding the noun forms of *rong*. In a footnote to a series of Lamotrekan chants glossed "*rong*" Krämer (1937:108) directs the reader to "See Truk p. 256, footnote 2 ... about this ambiguous word." When turning to this reference in Krämer's volume on Truk (1932:256, fn. 2), one finds the following four definitions of "*rong*":

rong = taboo, *rong* = to hear, *rong* = office, *rong* = fence

Krämer's multi-level meanings for *rong* are of considerable importance since they indicate qualitative levels for analysis which impact our understanding of the complexity and scope of *rong* knowledge. These multi-level meanings of *rong* play a role in identifying the similarities and differences between the *rong* and *reepiy* knowledge domains, and more importantly, provide a framework for identifying the basic curricula involved in carrying out *rong* skills. With this in mind, let us take Krämer's definitions as a starting point and discuss them one by one, identifying *rong* cognates from the literature and discussing them in light of ethnographic field data from Lamotrek and the anthropological literature.

In Table 2 (see pp. 97-98) there is a general correspondence in the literature regarding the spelling and interpretation of Krämer's verb form "*rong* = to hear" for the Trukic continuum, with the verb form *rongorong*

Table 2. *Rong* Cognates: *rong* = to hear*

Source	Central Caroline Islands	Trukic Continuum
*Kramer	" <i>rongerong</i> " (Ulithi) ... "to hear" (1935:217)	*a. " <i>rong</i> " (Truk) ... "to hear" (1932:256, footnote 2) b. " <i>rongorong</i> " (Lukunor & Namoluk) ... "ear" (1935:142)
Bollig		" <i>rong</i> " (Truk) ... "to hear" (1927:43)
Elbert	" <i>rong, rongorong</i> " (Puluwat) ... "to hear, listen, obey" (1972:160)	" <i>rong</i> " (Truk) ... "hear, obey, listen to, information" (1947:147)
Goodenough & Sugita		" <i>rong</i> " (Truk) ... "hear, obey, listen" (1980:311)
Hambruch	a. " <i>ou rongare tamol</i> " (Elato) ... "assistant chief...[EM: who is] ...the speaker who transmits the order...of the head chief to the people." (Krämer 1937:115) b. " <i>oxorongerong</i> " (Ulithi) ... "to hear" (Damm 1938:375)	
Mahony		" <i>rog</i> " (Truk) ... "to hear" (1970:142)

Continued

Table 2 (Cont'd). *Rong* Cognates: *rong* = to hear

Source	Central Caroline Islands	Trukic Continuum
Sarfert	" <i>longelong</i> " (Eauripik) ... "to hear" (Damm 1938:147)	" <i>longelong</i> " (Merir) ... "to hear" (Eilers 1935:378)
Sohn & Tawerilmang	" <i>rongorong</i> " (Woleai) "to hear, listen to" (1976:124)	
Sudo	" <i>rongo</i> " (Satawal) ... "to listen" (1979:45)	

being the predominant one present in the Central Caroline Islands. In the dictionaries by Elbert (1972) and Goodenough and Sugita (1980), however, one notices that for Puluwat and Truk, *rong* and *rongorong* also mean "to obey." Of particular interest is Hambruch's observation for Elato (Krämer 1937:115) that *ou rongare tamol* is defined as the title of the "assistant chief" who is "the speaker who transmits the order ... of the head chief to the people." In this case, the verb form has been changed into an adjective describing the *tamol* "chief." The connotation here is that the chief's words are to be listened to and obeyed. Elbert's gloss (1947:147) of the term for Truk includes the additional noun form which means "information." In this respect one can think of *rong* as "news" because the information consists of "items which one hears." Feinberg's study of Anutan epistemology has interesting parallels to my investigation of *rong* which should be mentioned here even though his research concerns a Polynesian outlier which falls outside the established parameters of the present research. In his analysis of Anutan knowledge he writes:

One might suspect that if we were to substitute "information" for "knowledge," the Anutans would, indeed, be found to have a concept of a substantive object, similar to that which we call "knowledge." A precise equivalent to our "information," however, is also absent in the Anutan language. About the closest analogue they have is *rongo*, which, in its plural form, *nga poi rongo*, means 'news'. Primarily, however, the word means 'to hear' or 'to obey', the implication being that 'news' consists of 'items which one hears' (1978:129).

In keeping with the noun form of *rong* for "news," Burrows and Spiro made the following observation in this regard during the late 1940s on Ifaluk when

the chiefs assembled at a high-ranking public meeting house to talk about important issues:

After a dignified silence, the chiefs spoke. First to speak was always Toromann, the lowest in rank, as if "introducing the main speaker." In part the contents of his speech were the same as those of the others, but always he enjoined the people to heed well the words of their chiefs ... Commoners never spoke, except for brief interjections of assent and applause, like "amen-shouting." In this the most frequent expression was *Rongrong!* (Hear, hear!) (1953:190-191).

In the above passage, the expression "*Rongrong!* (Hear, hear!)" has the force of chiefly authority. It is virtually synonymous with Elbert's and Goodenough and Sugita's gloss of the *rong* verb form meaning "to obey." Similarly, when Cantova interviewed islanders from the Central Caroline Islands in Guam and wrote the following eye-witness observation in the early part of the 1700s concerning their behavior towards their "*Tamol*" (chief):

When the *Tamol* dismisses them, they go off with their bodies bent over just as when they came and do not rise until they are out of his sight. His words are tantamount to oracles which they revere ... (1722:235).

From the above two examples, the "news" that one hears from chiefs is, indeed, considered momentous. This was also born out in an incident during my field work on Lamotrek that occurred at Kulong canoe house. A United States Navy ship arrived to inquire if Lamotrek still had unexploded bombs left over from attacks on the Japanese forces which had occupied the island during World War II. In the course of the visit, the officers and

sailors from the ship gathered with the island chiefs at Kulong and I naturally fell into conversation with one of the sailors present. At this time the Lamotrek "chief of foreign affairs," (*tamolnibusash*),⁵ was present to exchange information. After the meeting was over, this chief stopped me on the beach and severely chastised me for "talking" and told me that I "was not to talk" in a meeting of this kind. "Only chiefs talk," he said. I remember very distinctly that he shouted the question, "*Rongorong*?" to me at least four or five times in the course of this "lesson" concerning proper behavior at such meetings. In Lamotrekese, *rongorong* commonly means, "to hear" but in the context of the volume of the chief's voice, this had nothing to do with my ability to hear and everything to do with whether or not I understood and would obey what he was communicating. This example is similar to the circumstance of parents discovering that their children have violated an important rule and who reinforce the notion that the youngsters should not make the same mistake again by angrily saying, "Do you hear me?" In this regard Lutz has made the following relevant comment from her research on Ifaluk:

Although children are believed to learn through watching the behavior of others, a very strong stress is place on their ability to hear and to listen ... Obedience is highly valued, and children are believed to obey when and because they listen and understand language; intention and knowledge become virtually synonymous in this system. It is assumed that correct behavior naturally and inevitably follows from understanding, which should follow from listening (1988:107).

⁵ See Alkire (1965:163).

From the above examples, one can say that to hear or listen and respond to what is being said is manifested in different cultural contexts on Lamotrek. The variations in the specific meanings associated with the verb form of *rong* or *rongrong*, "to hear, listen, obey," and the noun form *rong*, "news," may be understood by looking at its association in different cultural contexts. As observed by Lutz for Ifaluk, the concept of *rong* as a means of communication, varies between parents and children. Elders speak, children listen. This is a one-way communication path. Parents "hear" the children but in general they do not "listen" to the children. Within the traditional political system of chiefly authority, this concept materializes in the form of announcements from the chiefs to the population at large and the fulfillment of the terms of the announcements on the part of the common people. In this case, chiefs become the source of *rong* ("news") and the common people *rongorong* ("listen"). Recalling the above cited passages from Burrows and Spiro and Cantova, these chiefly announcements, *rong*, have the unmistakable stamp of semi-sacred edicts which are in keeping with the sacredness of *rong* skills.⁶

The spelling of the cognates for Krämer's "*rong* = office" definition are the same throughout the Central Caroline Islands with the exception of "*roong*," given by Elbert (1972:161) for Puluwat (see Table 3, p. 103). Also, there is some variation in the Trukic continuum in that "*roog*" is given by Caughey (1970:26) and Goodenough (1951:54). I note, however, that Goodenough modified this spelling of "*roog*" to "*roong*" in his and

⁶ It is tantalizing to speculate on the sacredness of the *rong* verb form "to listen" considering the importance of the oral transmission of information and knowledge in the culture, but a thorough investigation along these lines is beyond the scope of this study.

Table 3. *Rong* Cognates: *rong* = office*

Source	Central Caroline Islands	Trukic Continuum
*Kramer	" <i>rong</i> " (Lamotrek) ... "Chants, <i>alis</i> [EM: <i>alis</i> = spirit(s)]" (1937:108)	*a. " <i>rong</i> " (Truk) ... "office" (1932:256, footnote 2) b. " <i>rong</i> " (Truk) ... "offices or guilds" (1932:256)
Bollig		" <i>rong</i> " (Truk) ... "signifies certain arts and skills which human beings have learned, or heard, from the spirits." (1927:43)
Caughey		" <i>roog</i> " (Truk) ... "special knowledge" (1970:26)
Elbert	" <i>roong</i> " (Puluwat) ... "magic, to practice magic" (1972:161)	" <i>rong</i> " (Truk) ... "magic, magic medicine" (1947:184)
Goodenough		" <i>roog</i> " (Truk) ... "knowledge of certain magics" (1951:54)
Goodenough & Sugita		" <i>roong</i> " (Truk) ... "Any endeavor that requires special knowledge and instruction to perform." (1980:311)

Continued

Table 3 (Cont'd). *Rong* Cognates: *rong* = office

Source	Central Caroline Islands	Trukic Continuum
Ishimori	" <i>rong</i> " (Satawal) ... "we will call <i>rong</i> which means systemized knowledge concerning <i>yalu</i> [EM: <i>yalu</i> = spirit(s)] a 'broad <i>rong</i> ' and we will call <i>rong</i> which only represents a spell [EM: magical rite] a 'narrow <i>rong</i> .'" (1980:43)	
LeBar		" <i>rong</i> " (Truk) ... "magical knowledge" (1963:67)
Lessa	" <i>rong</i> " (Ulithi) ... "magical rites" (1950a:60)	
Mahony		" <i>rong</i> " (Truk) ... "spirit power" (1970:142)
Murdock & Goodenough		" <i>rong</i> " (Truk) ... "magical rites" (1947:36)
Sohn & Tawerilmang	" <i>rong</i> " (Woleai) ... "tradition, knowledge that passes down from father to the son, heritage in terms of wisdom." (1976:124)	
Sugito	" <i>rong</i> " (Elato) ... "knowledge having to do with <i>yalius</i> [EM: <i>yalius</i> = spirit(s)]" (1987:308)	
Tsuchikata	" <i>rong</i> " (Satawal) ... "spell" (Sudo 1979:46)	

Sugita's *Trukese-English Dictionary* (1980:311). These linguistic differences are really of no consequence since they are simply different orthographic spellings for the same word. The distinguishing feature of *rong* knowledge, when compared to *reepiy* knowledge is the former's association with the spirit world. As indicated by Ishimori in the above citation, there is a direct link between *rong* skills and *yalius* "spirits." All of the above ethnographies cited have stated this in one way or another. For instance, Spiro writes:

The arts of the *palu* (navigators) and *zenap* (engineers) were both supernatural dispensation, according to Ifaluk tradition, having been taught by gods and were handed down orally from generation to generation (1949:41).

Mahony for Truk tells us:

... the spirits of the dead taught their descendents new medicines, new dances, the best places to catch fish, and many other things (1970:136).

And Goodenough for Truk:

All beneficent magic connected with all special crafts and all medicines and spells for curing illness were first taught by a spirit to its medium, who in turn passed the knowledge on to his heirs. A spirit gets such knowledge from the sky deities with whom it is in direct contact. All black magic, by contrast, has its origin in the passions of men (1963:133).

The myth recounted above concerning the spirit Yarogonga and the teaching of skills and magical knowledge relating to the construction and use of a fish trap is indicative of this spirit-knowledge connection. Indeed, the concrete knowledge of *rong* cannot be disassociated from the magical knowledge of *rong* which takes the central form of spells, incantations, and prayers.

Krämer notes this distinction when he glosses certain magical Lamotrekan "chants" connected to "*alis*" (spirits) as "*rong*" (see Table 3 above, p. 103). Krämer does not incorporate this idea into his definition for *rong*, however, placing emphasis instead on what he calls the "offices" of *rong*. For our purposes, these "offices" may be included under Ishimori's "broad" conceptualization of *rong*. In order to encompass the basic dualism of *rong*, Ishimori, in contrast to Krämer, combines his "narrow" and "broad" concepts into the following definition: "... *rong* is systemized knowledge of *yalu* [EM: spirit(s)]" (1980:42). It has already been noted that Ishimori's definition serves the useful purpose of integrating *rong* skills and the magical spells, chants, or prayers which accompany their application. Here one may also note Bollig's recognition of the dual nature of *rong* as both "art" and "skill" (1927:43). As shall be shown later on, *rong* skills and chants are often accompanied by various magico-religious paraphernalia, central to which is the pervasive use of young coconut leaves (*ubut*) tied and knotted in a multiplicity of ways. Bollig observed this first hand:

The use of the *ubud* (heart leaf of the coconut) [S & T: *ubut*] is striking in connection with the *rong*. One sees the *ubud* in connection with offerings, divination, medicines, sorcery, in short, on a thousand occasions. There must, therefore, be some connection between the *ubud* and the spirit cult (1927:45).

Mahony also incorporates the dualistic nature of *rong* skills by glossing *rong* as "spirit power" (1970:142). This definition is helpful in many ways because it emphasizes the "action" dimension which underlies all *rong* activities. Although Mahony was mainly reporting on the formularistic and magical aspects of *rong* in terms of medical knowledge and its curative value, his conceptualization may be applied to other *rong* fields of endeavor

as well. Spirit-related knowledge gives one the "power" to cure disease, to navigate the high seas, to build canoes that are strong and fast, to stop typhoons from striking islands, to catch fish, to restore a house, to insure a breadfruit harvest, to go into battle, to divine the future, and to find a mate; in short, all human endeavors where there is a high degree of uncertainty as to the outcome. Elbert, too, recognizes the duality of *rong* skills when he glosses *rong* as both "magic" (the spell) and "magic medicine" (1947:184). The former definition pertains to the meaning of *rong* as spell and the later definition pertains to a *rong* as skill.

Looking in general at the definitions given for this noun-form of *rong*, Krämer's "*rong* = office" stands out as unique. This is a radically different definition from the others given in the literature in that it implies a occupational or professional status such as the "office" of mayor, supervisor, manager, etc. If one examines the body of text from which this footnote and definition are derived, one finds that Krämer clarifies this noun form of *rong* to mean "offices or guilds" (1932:256). For the purposes of this research into nonformal education, the term "guilds" has particular value because it strongly infers that *rong* is associated with occupations and/or professions that involve specialized training in a non-kin setting which may be comparable to modern-day schooling environments.

One way of understanding Krämer's concept of *rong*, as it relates to "office or guild" is to examine the cultural use of the term in connection within the name given to a master of a *rong* skill. There are several linguistic distinctions in the prefixes attached to the root form, *rong* (see Table 4, p. 108). All of these distinctions translate as "master" with the "*sou*" prefix for Truk being equivalent to "*tau*" for Lamotrek and neighboring islands.

Table 4. *Taurong* Cognates: *taurong* = specialist in sacred knowledge

Source	Central Caroline Islands	Trukic Continuum
Bollig		" <i>sourong</i> " (Truk) ..."The <i>sourong</i> is the absolute master in the sphere of his <i>rong</i> " (1927:44)
Elbert		" <i>sourong</i> " (Truk) ..."one versed in magic, magician, sorcerer" (1947:184)
Goodenough		" <i>sowurong</i> " (Truk) ..."one who knows all or a great many <i>roong</i> or bodies of special knowledge" (1980:158)
LeBar		" <i>sourong</i> " (Truk) ..."the <i>soufanfan</i> , master canoe builder, is also <i>sourong</i> by virtue of knowing the magic associated with canoe building" (1963:67)
Lessa	" <i>tamarong</i> " (Ulithi) ..."A magician" (1950a:127)	
Sugito	" <i>taurong</i> " (Elato) ..."specialists...they see <i>rong</i> granted to them by <i>yalius</i> [EM: <i>yalius</i> = spirit(s)]" (1987:309)	

For example, if one knows how to make a *uulimorouwel* fish trap and the *gatogapeyepey* magic to call drifting logs, then that person is called a *taugapeyepey* or "master of calling driftwood." This title or "office" is synonymous with expertise in catching fish since large numbers of fish commonly accompany large floating logs. Accordingly, a master of this particular body of *rong* knowledge may be called a *taurong* but mostly they are referred to in terms of their special skill. LeBar has written for Truk that "the *soufanfan*, master canoe builder, is also *sourong* by virtue of knowing magic associated with canoe building" (1963:67). The fact that a master of one specialized skill may be call a *taurong* does not mean, however, that he is referred to as such. Generally, the distinction on Lamotrek is more in line with the definition given by Goodenough and Sugita for Truk as "one who knows all or a great many *roong* or bodies of special knowledge" (1980:311). The actual social practice on Lamotrek is that such persons are rarely identified as *taurong* and it may take years to find out which persons are, in fact, *taurong* since they generally keep a low profile. I never heard of anyone referred to in public as a *taurong*. In the rare instances that such people were mentioned, if they were mentioned at all, it was always in private and in hushed tones. The magico-religious aura that surrounds the *taurong* is not to be taken lightly. One informant whom I was told was a *taurong* became outraged when I informed him of what I thought was his lofty social status. As it turned out, this was an erroneous perception on my part. He vigorously denied the *taurong* label and was genuinely disturbed that others had ascribed it to him. The accepted belief is that *taurong* are not versed in just one form of *rong* but are masters of especially powerful types of *rong*, with the implication that such persons are capable of

summoning not only "white" (good magical powers) but "black" (evil magical powers) as well. To borrow a phrase from the *Star Wars* film trilogy, they are believed to know the "dark side of the force." To label a person a *taurong* is tantamount to saying that he is "in league with dangerous powers" and, as a consequence, placing him in a vulnerable position as a target for countersorcery.

Although there are a number of examples showing a relationship between *rong* and taboos in the Trukic continuum, I could find no examples specifically mentioning this relationship in the literature for the Central Caroline Islands (see Table 5, pp. 111-112). This is perhaps an oversight in the anthropological literature since my field research indicates that equivalent terminologies are operative for Lamotrek and neighboring islands. For example, Alkire (1965:110) mentions "*meshang*" in connection with a taboo placed on fishing certain sections of the reef and lagoon of Lamotrek due to the death of a chief. The meaning of this term is equivalent to two definitions given in the literature: 1) "*mechen róóng*" given by Goodenough and Sugita (1980:201); and 2) "*medjelinrong*" given by Krämer (1932:276). In addition, Sohn and Tawerilmang define "*meshang*" for Woleai as "a sign which forbids people from trespassing certain areas" (1976:98). The operative feature of these "taboo markers" is the coconut leaves attached to a stake of wood or string to signify a no trespass prohibition on a particular area. In the case of the above *meshang* markers, they are the product of chiefly authority enacted upon the death of a senior member of a chiefly clan. As reported by Alkire (1965:110), all men have the right to fish the reef and lagoon of Lamotrek, but control of these areas is in the hands of the chiefly clans. A year before my arrival on Lamotrek in 1976, the chief (*tamol*) of the northern district of Lamotrek and acting head

Table 5. *Rong* Cognates: *rong* = taboo*

Source	Central Caroline Islands	Trukic Continuum
*Kramer		<p>*a. "<i>rong</i>" (Truk) ... "taboo" (1932:256, footnote 2)</p> <p>b. "<i>rong</i>" (Truk) ... "Then the sorcerer also adorns an idol...carved out of breadfruit-tree wood...which is set up under great <i>kun</i>-trees [EM: <i>kun</i> = pounded breadfruit] without a fence (<i>rong</i>), but is tabu (<i>rong</i>)." (1932:323)</p> <p>c. "<i>medjelinrong</i>" (Truk) ... "taboo" [EM: coconut-leaf marker wrapped around a stake] (1932:276)</p> <p>d. "<i>ulurong</i>" (Truk) ... "banquet which ends taboo regulations." (1932:276)</p> <p>e. "<i>rong un moan</i>" (Truk) ... "taboo...for men" [M: enacted after the death of a male lineage head or chief] (1932:275, footnote 2)</p> <p>f. "<i>rong un fefen</i>" (Truk) ... "taboo...for women" [EM: enacted after the death of a female lineage head or chief] (1932:275, footnote 2)</p> <p>g. "<i>abaran (eboron)</i>" (Truk) ... "decorations" [EM: coconut leaves strung on a string] (1932:151)</p> <p>h. "<i>eboron</i>" (Truk) ... "decorations" [EM: coconut leaves used on warships] (1932:235)</p>

Continued

Table 5 (Cont'd). *Rong* Cognates: *rong* = taboo

Source	Central Caroline Islands	Trukic Continuum
Bollig		<p>a. "<i>rongei nu</i>" (Truk) ..."(to wrap the coconut tree)...as long as the <i>rongei</i> lasts, nobody is allowed to pluck from these palm trees." (1927:19)</p> <p>b. "<i>iken rong</i>" (Truk) ..."<i>iken rong</i>...(<i>ik</i> = fish) plays an important part in connection with the <i>rong</i>." (1927:44)</p>
Goodenough & Sugita		<p>a. "<i>mechen róong</i>" (Truk) ..."sign of prohibition against trespass, made from young coconut leaves (<i>wuput</i>) that may simply girdle a tree or stake or be strung to form an enclosure and the prohibited or restricted area." (1980: 201)</p>
Hambruch		<p>"<i>marr rong anu</i>" (Nama) ..."coconuts and breadfruits are put in one place with the <i>marr</i> [EM: fermented breadfruit], and put into the house of the head chief, <i>marr rong anu</i>." (Kramer 1935:155)</p>

chief of Lamotrek died.⁷ The taboo against fishing and exploiting the northwest section of the lagoon and reef, including the uninhabited resource island of Falaite (see Map 2, p. 19) was not lifted until the summer of 1977, a full year and a half after it had been instituted. Such prohibitions follow from respect behavior (*gassorou*) shown to chiefly status and very probably, because of the association with the *rong* term, are associated with supernatural sanctions as well.⁸ It is significant that violation of this prohibition results in a fine called *gariya*, the same term used in connection with the fine levied against persons who manifest loud boisterous behavior (see Chapter 2 for analysis of *reepiy* in the social context of *gassorou* behaviors). In the case of *meshang* for fishing grounds, the violator's canoe is confiscated until such time as the fine is paid. As far as I know, no canoe has been confiscated on Lamotrek in recent times but I heard in 1987 that a motorboat which was fishing a designated *meshang* site on a Woleaian reef had been confiscated. The violators' motorboat was held until the fine was paid. According to the informant who told me this story, the two fishermen who were in violation of the taboos were seen to be in the *meshang* area by a group of other fishermen and were reported to the Woleaian chiefs. When the boat reached land it was confiscated by emissaries of the paramount chief. The wrong-doers tried to make a case that they had use rights to the

⁷ The paramount chief (*tamolufalu*) of Lamotrek, Elato and of its political domains is a woman by virtue of the fact that she is the sole survivor of the highest ranking subclan of the highest ranking clan (Alkire 1965:36).

⁸ Johannes (1981:64) refers to this tenure system as "... probably the most valuable valuable fisheries management measure ever devised. Quite simply, the right to fish in an areas controlled and no outsiders are allowed to fish without permission. "

outboard motor (leaving the boat in the chief's possession) until such time as they could pay the fine. The chief did not agree with this argument and kept both the outboard motor and the boat until the fine was paid.

Krämer gives three "taboos" for Truk which make use of the term "*rong*" in connection with the death of chiefs (1932:275). In general, the taboo is referred to as "*rong*." In the case of a male chief, the term that is given is "*rong un moan*" and in the case of a female chief, the term is "*rong un fefen*." At this time, the decedent's fruit-bearing trees are put under prohibition by placing coconut-leaf "taboo" markers on them. Accordingly, this taboo is referred to as "*rongei nu*" for coconut trees (Bollig 1927:19) and "*rongulmei*" for breadfruit trees (Krämer 1932:275). Akimichi reports the use of "*merhang*" [S & T: *meshang*] (coconut-leaf taboo marker) in connection with chiefly prohibition of land resources:

When a chief or a member of the chief's clan died, a large portion of the island could be prohibited for use for a long period. The prohibited area was known as *neemerhang* (*nee*: prefix to denote place). During these times food procurement was more difficult, and preserved foods were made and used. The *merhang* practice could also be instituted when someone stole taro or coconut, when someone encroached on another's land, or when someone left food refuse in the bush (1986:18).⁹

⁹ As a crew member on a sailing voyage to collect green sea turtles from the uninhabited islands of Ulor and Toas which are nominally under the jurisdiction of Elato Atoll (but under the eminent domain of Lamotrek), I was cautioned not to leave any food refuse in the bushes but to bury it or dispose of it in the ocean. Informants on that voyage explained that if this were not done then the "owners" would be "angry" (*song*). The implication was that if we did not take care of the islands and "leave them in good shape" then the owners might place a prohibition on using them in the future. Whether this would involve the use of *meshang* coconut-leaf taboo markers was not told to me nor did I think to ask at the time, but given Akimichi's report from Satawal, it is theoretically possible.

The act of placing these taboos on the trees owned by a chief is a reflection of their high rank and a reflection of their sacred status in death as a ghost-spirit entity. There is no overt educational purpose for performing this action because the *meshang* "coconut-leaf taboo markers" are mainly informational in that they announce the enactment of a chiefly prohibition; nevertheless, they do send a message which must be heeded by the community and therefore, in this sense, the message is instructional and falls within the predominant mode of informal education.

The above prohibitions can also be enacted at times other than the death of a chief. Informants told me that on Satawal there are periodic restrictions by the chiefs on the harvesting of coconuts. The purpose is to safeguard coconuts as a food resource in times of shortage. Again, the *meshang* "coconut-leaf taboo markers" are used to prohibit persons from touching the fruit of these trees. A series of songs are sung at the meeting house the evening after the chiefs have the taboo markers put on the coconut trees. The purpose of the songs is to insure that everyone comes together for a head count and not be tempted to steal coconuts (those not present are suspected of violating the prohibition and are fined). No one can cross the boundary line marked off by the taboo markers until such time as the chiefs blow on a shell horn informing the community that the prohibition has been lifted. The taboo on taking coconuts from the trees is called *baaiu* which I was told is related to the making of *meshang* on Lamotrek. The expression for enacting the prohibition is *si be baaiu faliuw*, "we will make the prohibition for the island." The taboo edict of *baaiu* is widespread throughout the Trukic continuum. Krämer received the following information for a "*bai (bei)*" on Lamotrek which most likely is similar to *baaiu* on Satawal:

The importance of the chiefs is expressed by the taboos declared upon their death, which are called *tap* [EM: taboo], and the most important of which is the *bai* (*bei*); the *bailimas* is the taboo imposed on the land in the possession of the deceased which is externally indicated by the fastening of coconut fronds (1937:116).

Krämer also reported "*bau*" in connection with Truk:

Upon the death of a chief, a taboo is set up; it is called *bau* or *rong* ... For example, when the coconut palms are given a belt made out of coconut pinnae, *ubud* (one leaf tied around the trunk= *boau*) (1932:275).

Rubinstein reported the following custom of "*bawu*" on Fais which is similar to that described for Satawal:

Traditionally, the Fais chief could impose a ban (*bawu*) upon harvesting the fallen mature coconuts for several months, until there was sufficient abundance for a large collection and redistribution ..." (1979:284).

The following song is sung when the people have gathered at a *fenap* meeting house on Satawal in connection with the enforcement of a *baaiu* on Satawal. This song was recorded on audiotape at the request of Mr. J from Satawal. Although Mr. J grew up on Satawal he has matrilineal ties to Lamotrek and now makes Lamotrek his home. Mr. J started the song and was joined in the singing by a number of other individuals, including one woman who also had family ties to Satawal. According to tradition, after this song is finished the people of Satawal may return to their homes to go to sleep.

Yaliusetat Song
("Sea Ghost" Song)

1. Oh, I can hear the sound of the sea ghost coming!
2. I got up because I feel it.
3. I feel him coming and he smells windy.
4. He smells like the light wind of the leaves when they
turn yellow.
5. I would like to go with him,
6. To sleep under those small trees near that channel.
7. To settle down.
8. That is yours and this is mine.
9. This kind of fish.
10. That is yours and this is mine.
11. This kind of fish.
12. Hey, Marofar speared that fish!
13. I can hear Serai and Net knocking on the door!
14. Knocking on the door of the channel,
15. Under that big coral head!

This song is unusual in that ghosts of the sea, *yaliusetat*, are generally greatly feared because they commonly afflict fishermen with diseases, sometimes fatal, if they violate a taboo related to fishing. The sentiment expressed in line no. 5 where the central figure says that he "would like to go with" the sea ghost is a particularly disquieting thought for an islander. Very probably, it is included here for dramatic effect. Only a superior person who is ritually pure in body and mind might consider following a ghost of the sea. The two fish named in the song, Serai and Net, belong to Solal — the mythical "King of the Sea" who is thought to live under a large coral head under the ocean. Serai and Net are responsible for telling Solal when

someone has violated one of his taboos.¹⁰ The inference here is that Marofar has improperly killed one of Solal's fish and Serai and Net are "knocking" on Solal's underwater door to tell him about Marofar's misconduct. The counterpoint between the protagonist in line no. 1 and Marofar in line no. 12 is obvious. The former is sufficiently confident of his station in life that he can "walk" with dangerous spirit powers and not be affected by them whereas Marofar commits the blunder of violating a supernatural edict of killing a taboo fish. This song undoubtedly serves an educational purpose since it is intentionally sung to end the gathering at the Satawalese meeting house. The lesson taught is that those who violate the chiefs' taboo on gathering coconuts will automatically endanger themselves, and like Marofar, must suffer the consequences; whereas those who abide by the taboo may rest easily knowing that they are "pure" of heart and in harmony with the wishes of the chiefs. It is not clear, however, from what little information I was able to gather concerning the context of the song's use whether or not it is part of a systematic effort to inculcate the values of honesty and respect for chiefly authority in a public assembly. If the series of songs which include the "*Yaliusetat* Song" are led by instructors appointed for the occasion by the chiefs, and if the songs form what are considered "stages of instruction" which either last the one night of gathering at the meeting house or several nights when the public is supposed to be present, then one might infer this to be a subdominant channel of

¹⁰ One of the common *reepiy* taboos associated with fishing or collecting marine life for food is that Solal gets angry if fishermen harm fish unnecessarily, wound fish without killing them, or wantonly waste fish (throw good food away). The supernatural sanctions against such behavior involve sickness which is visited upon the violator by a *yaliusetat* "spirit of the sea" messenger from Solal.

nonformal education in a predominant mode of nonformal education. If, on the other hand, there are no "teachers" *per se* and the atmosphere is more or less an informal one with no set order of songs (and therefore no set "stages" or systematic process of knowledge transmission), then this would probably classify it as a subdominant channel of formal education in a predominant mode of informal education.

Supposedly anyone can render their own stock of trees prohibited by tying coconut leaves to them, but a personal action of this kind does not carry the weight of chiefly authority and the threat of a fine. Nevertheless, the possibility of supernatural sanctions still exists whenever young coconut leaves are used for such a purpose. Girschner made the following report for Namoluk which is relevant here:

Frequently people also try to protect themselves from thieves, by uttering magic spells over the trees, and then surrounding them with strips of leaves. But this does not always work, because many people do not believe in the charm and consider the whole thing as the wile of a prudent owner who has not used the real magic arts (1911:197-198).

The accepted belief is that offenders will receive the "bite" of the spirit protecting the prohibited site and will become sick, and if the magical rite used in conjunction with the tying of the knots on the trees is a particularly powerful one, the violator may become deathly ill. In this regard, it is also interesting to note an observation by Krämer for "*abaran*" or "*eboron*" coconut leaves used in Truk as "decorations" on warships (1932:151, 235). It seems plausible that the root stem of these terms, "*ran*" and "*ron*," is equivalent to "*rong*" although this is admittedly speculation on my part. If so, the above terms might be translated to mean "it is taboo," referring to the

above warship reported by Krämer. By logical extension, an enemy violation or boarding of the warship would be met, theoretically, by supernatural, lethal "bites" upon the persons involved in the attack. If this supposition is correct, then one might imagine a naval commander learning the special *rong* chants for tying *eboron* coconut-leaf decorations on his warships as part of a curriculum of instruction.

If one compares the taboo terms and their definitions given above in Table 5 (see pp. 111-112) it is evident that there is strong association between the sanctity of chiefly lineage heads, chiefly authority, and the magico-religious, sacred association of *rong* taboos with coconut leaves — especially the young coconut leaves called *ubut*.¹¹ Except for the *meshang* markers mentioned above, the use of coconut leaves as taboo markers has virtually disappeared from Lamotrek. Nowadays, young coconut leaves serve mostly a decorative purpose as adornments for dancers and herbal medicines. Nevertheless, it is worth noting a residual function still associated with the *eboron*-like coconut-leaf knot as a useful means of fencing off an area. In 1987, on Christmas Eve, a section in front of the Catholic church was enclosed with young coconut leaves of the *eboron* type. The next day I learned that someone dressed as Santa Claus in Western clothing with a beard made of first-aid cotton balls had arrived around midnight and used the area to give away presents to the children of the island. One by one they entered the fenced-off area and received their gifts of food from Santa Claus.

¹¹ The study of *ubut* "young coconut leaves" is an interesting area for future research because of its continued use in dances and rituals of all kinds.

In addition to taboo areas, foods may be designated taboo (*rong*). The anthropological literature contains reports stating that certain kinds of fish were prohibited to *rong* specialists in the course of practicing their trade and then there were other fish which only the master of a particular *rong* skill was permitted to eat. In the later circumstance, the fish or fishes were viewed as sacred to the *yalius* "spirit(s)" connected to the *rong* skill. Each specialist knew which kinds of fish only he could eat and those he could not eat. Line nos. 8-11 in the above "*Yaliusetat* Song" are supportive evidence that certain fish were considered the personal property of certain individuals and consequently were not free for the taking. Bollig describes such fish prohibitions for Truk as *iken rong* (in Table 5, p. 112) and makes the case that followers of the "*sourong*" [EM: *sourong* = *taurong* on Lamotrek] were obligated to deliver taboo fish to their teacher because he was in Bollig's words, "absolute master in the sphere of his *rong*" (1927:44-45). Bollig goes on to imply that it was part of the apprentices' education to know the taboos associated with a specialized skill and to abide by the specific delivery arrangement to the *taurong* if they wished to succeed to the profession or "office" of their master. Today, for the most part, food taboos in connection with *rong* skill have disappeared or have been relegated to the nether world of superstition. Few people abide by them, but when misfortune occurs, someone is sure to bring up the food "taboo" as a rationalization for an unwelcome event.

Some writers, such as Bollig and Krämer have suggested that certain fish, animals, and plants were totems of particular Trukese clans but Goodenough (1951) and Fischer (1957) have refuted this possibility. What appeared to be taboos associated with one lineage group or clan were, as Goodenough contends, little more than concentrations of specific skills and,

therefore, *rong* taboos within a particular lineage or clan group. Moreover, not everyone knew or observed the taboos which "belonged" to *rong* trades that were practiced by members within the lineage or clan (Goodenough 1951:84). This points to the fact that knowledge of the taboos associated with each *rong* specialization must have been deliberately inculcated as part of the curriculum of instruction for a pupil or apprentice learning a *rong* skill. Because the taboos were associated with the patron spirit(s) of a *rong* skill, all practitioners of the knowledge were bound to obey the taboos out of respect (*gassorou*) to the spirit(s) affiliated with the skill and their teacher. Those who neglected the the taboos or made a mistake were "bitten" by the spirit(s) associated with the skill and became sick or afflicted by one malady or another, such as ringworm or depigmentation. In such cases, the master-teacher or another person who stood higher in status would attempt to remove the *riya*, or curse, inflicted on the perpetrator as a result of the anger of the spirit(s) associated with the skill.¹² He removed the "bite" of an offended spirit with a special purification ritual (cf. Lessa 1950a:148).

A *rong* practitioner commonly avoided certain foods during the practice of his specialization but after he was finished certain taboos were dispensed with, while others continued for an indefinite period of time that depended on the magnitude of the project and his personal discretion. There were also a multitude of other taboos which a specialist would have to observe in the course of exercising his skill or when teaching it to others. These taboos were taught in lessons called *kapetali yaliuserong* "talk of the spirits of *rong*" which are associated with each *rong* specialization.

¹² See Lessa (1950a:127-144) for detailed information on the taboos required of Ulithian diviners, weather magicians, fish magicians, doctors and navigators.

Goodenough and Sugita (1980:131) report that this concept is expressed in Trukese as "*foos ennuken roong*":

... the special injunctions surrounding every item of magical knowledge (*roong*), such as food tabus and other restrictions upon the conduct of a practitioner and his clients.

One may surmise that all of these taboos formed an important aspect of the curriculum of instruction for learning a *rong* skill. Students were required to learn these taboos because they were believed to be essential to the success of their endeavors. As a general rule the following activities were strictly taboo during the exercise of a *rong* skill or during the teaching of a *rong* skill: 1) contact with females, especially if they were in menses; 2) walking by a menstrual house; 3) sexual intercourse; 4) eating with anyone else other than a master-teacher or other *mwaletab* "taboo men" of similar status; and 4) sleeping near anyone else other than a master-teacher or other "taboo men" of similar status (cf. Lessa 1950a:129-143).

The complex of food taboos varied from *rong* specialization to *rong* specialization and from region to region so that it is difficult to make any generalizations in this regard. Even within a specialization such as navigation there appears to have been a great deal of variety with regard to the kinds of fish that were taboo. None of the name lists which I have collected from navigators specifying the fish that were taboo during a voyage have matched. Nevertheless, Krämer has written the following taboos for navigators of Namoluk:

It is forbidden to eat the following things during a journey: ripe breadfruits, large nuts [EM: coconuts], certain kinds of taro, and certain fish which have spiny fins in front of the tail.

Whoever violates these tabus is punished by diseases like boils, etc. by Anu en marasi [EM: Anu en marasi = "spirit of the rainbow," patron spirit of navigators, also called Yaliulewaiy, lit. "Spirit of the Voyage"] (1935:104).

Sarfert also reported for Puluwat, Pulusuk, and Satawal that certain kinds of fish were not to be eaten by navigators if they were to avoid contracting ringworm (Damm and Sarfert 1935:83). In the list given, at least one of these fish, *bub*, the so-called "trigger fish," has the "spiny fins in front of the tail" mentioned by Krämer above. There does seem to be a strong connection between fish of the *Acanthurus* species, which also includes the "spiny fins in front of the tail" mentioned by Krämer, and food taboos connected to navigators.¹³ Mr. N, a navigator, told me that a fish of this species called *roe* was considered sacred to the patron spirit of navigators, Yaliuluwaiy, and was laid on a sacred portion of the outrigger platform as an offering. Sarfert also reported for Puluwat, Pulusuk and Satawal that a prohibition existed against taking bananas aboard canoes (Damm and Sarfert 1935:114). In this connection, Bérard wrote that bananas are "considered so ominous that the natives believe they will die in case they eat some before their departure" (Freycinet 1828:113; Damm and Sarfert 1935:114). This later reference is evidence that special food taboos were not only enforced *during* a voyage but also for a period of time *before* a voyage was to take place. In fact, throughout the anthropological literature a rigid schedule of taboos presents itself in the application of many *rong* skills. Taboos were

¹³ The design motif associated with the *Acanthurus* species, sometimes referred to as *yarong*, after the name of a fish of the same species, often appears in the traditional sacred textiles called *machiy* as well as in pictures and drawings of traditional body tatoos.

commonly put into force four days prior to the activation of a skill, then another set during the exercise of the skill, and then different set of taboos during a four-day period after completion of a skill. The guiding principle in all of these taboo rituals, it seems, is to placate the spirits involved as well as to enter their "spiritual" domains in a purified state with grace and respect (*gassorou*). These behaviors are believed to promote the desired outcome whether it be a safe journey, a bountiful harvest of breadfruit (or any other product of the land or sea), a fast canoe, or the capitulation of an enemy.

Closely related to Krämer's noun form "*rong* = taboo" is his "*rong* = fence" definition (see Table 6, p. 126). Unfortunately, Krämer does little to explain the meaning of the "*rong* = fence" term; moreover, he perplexes the reader by his interpretations of it in the text. The reasons for this confusion are apparent in the following passage taken from his work on Truk:

Then the sorcerer also adorns an idol ... carved out of breadfruit-tree wood ... which is set up under great *kun* [EM: *kun* = pounded breadfruit] trees without a fence (*rong*), but is tabu (*rong*) ..." (1932:323).

The above convoluted logic regarding the two definitions of *rong* are not explained in the text, nor does Krämer ever describe or diagram a *rong* "fence" in the text as far as I can tell. Elsewhere in the text he also makes the following statement, but without explanation: "A fence, *rong*, *djun* is only rarely present" (1932:224). The term *djun*, likewise, remains a mystery as informants questioned on Lamotrek never heard of this word as a description for a fence of any kind. There is a Lamotrekese term for a fence

Table 6. *Rong* Cognates: *rong* = fence*

Source	Central Caroline Islands	Trukic Continuum
*Kramer	<p>a. "<i>barong</i>" (Lamotrek) ... "hut" [EM: on outrigger platform of a sailing canoe] (1937:122)</p> <p>b. "<i>rong</i>" (Punap & Tamatam) ... "suspended altars" (1935:275)</p>	<p>*a. "<i>rong</i>" (Truk) ... "fence" (1932:256, footnote 2)</p> <p>b. "<i>rong</i>" (Truk) ... "A fence, <i>rong</i>, <i>djun</i>, is only rarely present" (1932:224)</p> <p>c. "<i>rong</i>" (Truk) ... "Then the sorcerer also adorns an idol...carved out of breadfruit-tree wood...which is set up under great <i>kun</i>-trees [EM: <i>kun</i> = pounded breadfruit] without a fence (<i>rong</i>), but is tabu (<i>rong</i>)" (1932:323)</p> <p>d. "<i>rong</i>" (Murilo & Nomwin) ... "grave" (1935:185)</p> <p>e. "Rongenmei" (Truk) ... "in heaven where breadfruit is made" (1932:323)</p>
Elbert	" <i>rehan fanu</i> " (Puluwat) ... "the land's cult site, place of magic" (1972:148)	" <i>rong</i> " (Truk) ... "enclosed" (1947:185)
Girschner		<p>a. "<i>rong en anu</i>" (Namoluk) ... "places which are consecrated to a deity, and where he likes to reside" (1911:193)</p> <p>b. "<i>rongeiset</i>" (Namoluk) ... "holy stone hill" (1911:196)</p>

Continued

Table 6 (Cont'd). *Rong* Cognates: *rong* = fence

Source	Central Caroline Islands	Trukic Continuum
Goodenough & Sugita		<p>a. "<i>mechen róong</i>" (Truk) ... "sign of prohibition against trespass, made from young coconut leaves (<i>wuput</i>) that may simply girdle a tree or stake or be strung to form an enclose and the prohibited or restricted area." (1980:201)</p> <p>b. "<i>róong</i>" (Truk) ... "altar" (1980:313)</p>
Hambruch	<p>a. "<i>parang</i>" (Elato) ... "Alului...His place" [EM: Alului = Yaliuluwaiy, patron spirit of navigators] (Krämer 1937:150)</p> <p>b. "<i>barong</i>" (Ulithi) ... "hut" [EM: on outrigger platform of a sailing canoe] (Damm 1938:330)</p>	<p>"<i>rong</i>" (Ulul) ... "funeral chair for the deceased" (Krämer 1935:232)</p>
Lessa	<p>a. "<i>hamwemwel parong</i>" (Ulithi) ... "sacred...hut" [EM: on the outrigger platform of a sailing canoe] (1950a:159)</p> <p>b. "<i>Tamol liarong</i>" (Ulithi) ... "chief of the middle of the channel" [EM: name of a channel in the reef which is taboo. The "chief" is the spirit who inhabits the channel] (1950a: 135)</p>	
Lutz	<p>"<i>rang</i>" (Ifaluk) ... "sacred sites" (personal communication 1989)</p>	

Continued

Table 6 (Cont'd). *Rong* Cognates: *rong* = fence

Source	Central Caroline Islands	Trukic Continuum
Mahony		"Roogottam" (Truk) ... "spirit power" [EM: name of spirit] (1970:56)
Rubinstein	"mata ranga" (Fais) ... "edge of the sacred ground" (1978:78)	
Sarfert	a. "rang" (Ifaluk) ... "heaven" (Damm 1938:86) b. "rang" (Eauripik) ... "heaven" (Damm 1938:142) c. "rangodam" (Puluwat) ... "hut" [EM: on the outrigger platform of a sailing canoe] (Damm 1935:112) d. "rang" (Puluwat) ... "quadrangular scaffold...is a sort of seat of the spirits" (Damm 1935:202)	
Sohn & Tawerilmang	"rang" (Woleai) ... "sacred place, taboo place where sacred affairs are performed" (1976:121)	
Thomas	"ruung" (Satawal) ... "Ruung is a taboo area. Here it refers to the outboard end of the outrigger platform, where being closest to the outrigger, the residence of Yaleluweil [EM: Yaliuluwaiy, patron spirit of navigators] ... only the <i>palu</i> [EM: <i>palu</i> = navigator]...was entitled to sit" (1987:201)	

or barrier made of sticks, *gur*, but it seems an unlikely phonetic cognate to *djun*. Again, the term, *djun*, is never defined nor described by Krämer and I have been unable to locate any comparable terms in either Elbert's *Trukese-English and English-Trukese Dictionary* (1947) or Goodenough and Sugita's *Trukese-English Dictionary* (1980). The only other clue in the text as to Krämer's meaning of "*rong* = fence" (besides the above references) is given in connection with a cord or string called *pau* which is wrapped around a medicinal bundle used by Trukese breadfruit magicians.¹⁴ In one of the chants performed by the breadfruit magician, the "*pau* cord" is interpreted by Krämer as equivalent to "*rong* = fence" (1932:327). The only suitable explanation which I can deduce from Krämer's use of the "*rong* = fence" term in this context is that the above mentioned "cord" sometimes was used to form a fence around an area for the purpose of making it taboo. The use of the two terms in the above citation, "... without a fence (*rong*), but is tabu (*rong*) ..." adds credence to this speculation. A comparable situation in American society would be the use of twine by gardeners to mark off an area that has recently been planted so as to warn passers by from trampling over it. On Lamotrek and neighboring islands, there is a special kind of cord or string made from twisting together coconut fibers and dyed (purple-black) hibiscus fibers called *yoaforchaal*, literally meaning "string wrapped around."

¹⁴The Trukese *soumei* "master of breadfruit" performed ritual magic to promote a bountiful harvest of breadfruit. On Lamotrek a *soumei* was called *taugatomai* "master of calling breadfruit." The magic which he used was *gatomai* "calling breadfruit." It was believed that breadfruit had to be "called" annually from a spirit-controlled land called Aur in the southern region of Lang "Sky World."

Mr. N, a navigator, when questioned concerning the meaning of *yoaforchaal* said that *yoa* is the word for "string" and *forchaal* is a word that means "black and white mixed together."¹⁵ The *yoaforchaal* "black and white coconut-hibiscus string" is used in connection with many magical rites associated with *rong* skills, most commonly with the production of medicine for children by *tautafey*, or "masters of medicine." It should be understood that "medicine" here is meant in the broadest sense of the word. *Rong* "medicine," or *tafey*, involves not only herbal formulas but combinations of objects, including young coconut-leaf knots (*ubut*), stones, shells, plant life, marine life, terrestrial life, etc. to make an amulet which is believed to effect a change in the status quo. In this sense *tafey* is also applied in connection with *rong* "offerings" (*maipil*) to engage the services of benevolent spirit powers. When questioned on the subject of *yoaforchaal*, Mr. A informed me that some *rong* practitioners used the *yoaforchaal* to make a barrier against trespass and some did not, depending on the kind of "medicine" they were making. Only, in certain situations, was *yoaforchaal* required for the making of a *rong* "fence." My understanding is that it was meant to ward off malevolent spirits and not necessarily humans. At other times, a simple coconut sennit line with young coconut leaves strung on it would suffice for the purpose of creating a taboo area against human trespass.¹⁶ Illustrations

¹⁵ Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976:177) give the definition of *yoa* as "fishing line, string used for carrying baskets; band (as of a watch)."

¹⁶ These enclosures are called *roangoubut* on Lamotrek and were generally constructed outside the *roang* "sacred taboo sites" which were commonly located near canoe houses. See Map 5, p. 78 for location of former sacred taboo sites on Lamotrek.

of this type of enclosure are given by Krämer for Truk (1932:307, figs. 221a-e) and he says the following about them:

Illustration 221 shows the fireplaces which were generally found near dwellings or boat houses. They were protected from one side by a fence resembling a screen against the wind ... sometimes the fences were rectangular (1932:306).

Krämer does not mention the term "*rong*" in the context of the above description but he does describe the enclosure as a "fence." The enclosures pictured were used to make special medicines; consequently, Krämer uses the word "fireplaces" in the text in connection with the making of a fire inside this enclosure to heat the medicine in a bowl. Krämer does not mention the *yoqforchaal* "black and white coconut-hibiscus string" as the material used to hang the young coconut leaves to form the enclosure but it is clear that some kind of string is being used. Another example of this type of enclosure appears in a photograph taken by Sarfert on Puluwat in 1909 (Damm and Sarfert 1935: pl. 28). In the photograph one can see young coconut leaves strung out on a string encircling the grave house of a navigator and resembling, for all intents and purposes, a fence-like barrier. In this connection it is also significant that Krämer collected the word *rong*, meaning "grave," on the island of Murilo (1935:185), which is an island in the Namonuito group. In this sacred context, the grave house (*imweliyalius*, lit. "house of the spirit") of a deceased relative may become sacred ground if the plot of land is the site of burial for a high chief or particularly powerful *rong* specialist such as a senior navigator.

Burrows and Spiro must have observed young coconut leaves used as a "fence" on Ifaluk in 1947-1948 because they made the following reports in this connection:

Coconut leaves, commonly including some live ones from sprouted nuts, may be tied and twisted together around any area where trespassers are not wanted. These barriers are flimsy. There is no attempt to make effective fences of them. Their use is symbolic; they are recognized as tabu signs (1953:47).

The only concealment near our tent was the foliage on the overgrown part of Katelu. We took to using the edges of that, part of the time. Maroligar delicately dissuaded use by intertwining the leaves of the young coconuts about the old site, forming a flimsy barrier, which is a traditional tabu sign. The hint was not lost on us, but now and then, under pressure of time and when we thought we were unobserved, we disregarded it (1953:182).¹⁷

Identifying a taboo enclosure as sacred is an important distinction with regard to understanding Krämer's "*rong* = fence" concept because of the ritual use of coconut-leaf knots (*ubut*) and black and white coconut-hibiscus string (*yoaforchaal*) in demarcating such areas even though they might be temporary. It should be noted that the Katelu taboo site given in the above passage on Ifaluk still existed when I saw it in June 1990 and continues to remain forbidden to foreigners and Ifalukan commoners alike. The site encompasses around 100 square feet of space and it is virtually impossible to see anything except the wall of foliage which surrounds it and the trees

¹⁷As noted in Chapter 2, pp. 80-81, Burrow's and Spiro's indiscretions with regard to the sanctity of Katelu were not uneventful. The Ifalukans blamed them for the bad weather that was unusual for that time of year.

arising from the interior. The status and credentials of the Ifalukans who may enter the area today is something of a mystery as the Ifalukans will not talk about it. It is possible, however, to make some judgement in this matter because of the above reference to Maroligar, who erected the "flimsy barrier" of coconut leaves which both Burrows and Sprio ignored. One may safely assume that Maroligar was in charge of taking care of this sacred site. Luckily, Maroligar is mentioned again in a footnote to a report made by Spiro who tells us that "One afternoon I saw Maroligar divining for a sick woman" (1949:75, fn. 31). From these two reports, one may hypothesize that Maroligar is a master diviner, *taubwe*, and that his credentials as a master in this profession in some way authorize him access to Katelu. One may also hypothesize that his use of coconut leaves in this context is a function of his education as a master diviner.

The *yoaforchaal* "black and white coconut-hibiscus string" is still used commonly today in connection with tying magic bundles of herbs to baby's wrists and ankles to protect them from the dreaded "ghosts of the sea" (*yaliusetat*) when infants travel over the ocean on trips to and from Yap. An exhaustive search of the literature has not turned up any references to *yoaforchaal* by name but a black and white string is pictured in a drawing of a medicinal bundle said to be from Satawal or Pulusuk (Damm 1935:212, fig. 267). In addition, Sohn and Tawerilmang mention a "black and white string" in the context of a definition for a "sacred ceremony" called *tariyeg* on Woleai:

tariyeg ... a sacred ceremony where people get together and get baptized by a magician ... At the time of baptism, each person is given a black and white string with a special plant attached to it (1976:146).

It is not clear in the above passage whether "baptism" refers to a Christian adaptation of some former ritual or not. My field notes make no mention of a *tariyeg* ceremony but Elbert gives the definition of the Puluwatan word "*teriyek*" which is probably a variant of "*tariyeg*" as "to offer drinking coconuts, as to a newly dead spirit" (1972:177). Again, it is possible to note the connection between the making of the black and white string (*yoaforchaal*) and the spirit world. More than likely "baptism" is used in the above passage in a purification sense because of the participation of a "magician" in the ritual. Current thinking among islanders is that magicians, as a legitimate or functioning class of individuals, no longer exists. In public they are referred to as *senap*, meaning "expert" (*senap* also means "canoe builder", "carpenter", and "house builder" when referring to *rong* specialists). In private, magicians may be referred to as *taurong*. More than likely the *tariyeg* ritual bestows a protective amulet upon an individual in the form of *tafey* "medicine" (the "special plant" mentioned in the above passage) which is tied to a person's wrist by means of a *yoaforchaal* "black and white coconut-hibiscus string."

The *yoaforchaal* "black and white string" obviously has ritual significance in *rong* activities and for this reason its use must play a role in the curricula of *rong* instruction. In an effort to track down any cognate terms which may be equated to *yoaforchaal* and its meaning to *rong* skills, there is an interesting reference by Lessa which mentions the tying of an amulet:

... *ioror* ... acts like a fence in keeping evil spirits from seeing the baby or coming into contact with him. *Ioror* is handed down in secret to relatives and close friends, and, just as there

are variations in the words of the spell, so there are variations in the ritualistic gestures ... *Ioror* is especially practiced when there has been a death in the community for it is at this time that the spirits are especially threatening (1950a:204).

When the term "*ioror*" was mentioned to two informants on Lamotrek, they said that this was the word commonly used to describe the stones which traditionally encircled a grave, making a kind of fence around it. There exists one such grave from antiquity on Lamotrek today. In 1987, I stumbled upon a circle of old stones just north of where I was living in the northern part of the village. Mr. A told me that these stones mark the grave of a man from Ulithi named Rolimei (see Map 5, p. 78) who died before German times (before 1900). Legend has it that he became sick during a return voyage from Puluwat and died on Lamotrek. As a result, a Ulithian *sawey* chief designated the site *rong* (taboo). Only old men could go there to fix the small house that was built on the site. Women could not pass through the area but would either have to traverse through the taro patch or swim around the northern part of the island to get to northeast cape of Lamotrek Island. As a result, the area around Rolimei's grave site became overgrown. Nowadays, both sexes frequently use this area, the men gather copra here and the women gather firewood. There can be no doubt that this legend of Rolimei is a true story and that Rolimei must have been a very powerful Mogmog chief, navigator, or both. The story of Rolimei was told to Krämer (1937:119) when he was on Lamotrek in 1909 and to Hambruch (Damm 1938:345), who refers to him as "Aulemai" when he was on Mogmog in 1909. Krämer, who also took a photograph (1937: pl. 9d) of Rolimei's "grave and spirit house," made the following report:

The navigator Rolimei intended to sail from Yap to Mokemok [EM: Mogmog, Ulithi], but missed this island group and finally reached Poloat [EM: Puluwat]; when he wanted to return home from this island, he drifted to Lamotrek where he died" (1937:119).

Damm reports a slightly different version:

Hellwig ... mentions another Mogemog chief, whose name was Aulemai — "long years ago he was blown off his course while on a voyage to Truk; on the homeward journey he landed on Lamutrik [EM: Lamotrek], and died there" (1938:345).

In addition to what my informants told me concerning the connection between *ioror* "fences" and taboo *rong* sites was the connection between *ioror* and *yoaforchaal*. I do not understand the linguistic transformation involved but I shall present it here because of its bearing on the present analysis of symbolic "fences" in connection with *rong* amulets and *rong* taboo sites as part of a general *rong* curriculum. Both informants, Mr. A and Mr. B independently stated that *ioror* was a verb related to *yoaforchaal*; moreover, that *yoaforchaal* is the noun form of *ioror*. This suggests a strong connection between *yoaforchaal* and its use, symbolically, as a protective "fence".

More evidence of this supposition comes from a *rong* chant collected by Krämer on Lamotrek for a medicine given to pregnant women. In the chant, "*forol el*" is interpreted in the text as an "amulet ... like a cigar wound with thread one side white, the other dark" (1937:109, line 12). Later on in the chant Krämer gives an additional description of "*forolo*" in the text as a "amulet hand-ornament" (1937:110, line 35). These descriptions fit that of *yoaforchaal* except for the use of "cigar" as a metaphor. The thickness of *yoaforchaal* "black and white string" is more like twine than a cigar. The

metaphor, however, does fit the definition of *forol* given by informants on Lamotrek which means "something that is wrapped around." A cognate of *yoaforchaal* is given for Truk by Goodenough and Sugita as *senne*:

senne ... (traditionally) an area for a meeting marked off in an *wuut* [EM: Trukese meeting house] by rope lines on which were hung young coconut leaves (*wupwut*) [EM: Trukese *wupwut* = Lamotrekan *ubut*] and on which an *itang* [EM: Trukese "war leader"] had placed a spell so that no one not a qualified member of the meeting could enter without being ill from the spell (1980:147).

The significance of the above description is the connection between *senne* and the use of "rope lines" and "coconut leaves" to restrict entry by unqualified persons, and the spell placed on the line by an *itang*, the highest class of *rong* specialists in Truk. Regarding the significance of *itang* Luomala writes:

The *idan* [EM: *itang*] of Truk are trained specialists in religion, magic, and mythology ... Their tribal importance, prestige, tabus, secret languages, and rigid training recall native scholars and schools of central-marginal Polynesia (1972:719).

Much has been written concerning *itang* but comparatively little has been done to bring together the vast corpus of information on the subject. King and Parker have said the following in this regard:

The study of *itang* would be a major research effort in itself ... Understanding the legends themselves would require the intensive study of the entire body of thought embedded in all the schools of *itang* — something beyond the scope of any research undertaken in Truk to date. Understanding the relationship between myth and event would require intensive

comparative analysis of the oral histories of Kosrae, Ponape, Yap, and the outer islands as well as those of the lagoon islands, aided by archeology (1984:53).¹⁸

Certain taboo areas also became the permanent, private domain of certain specialists and existed without the need to use *yoaforchaal* "black and white string" or *ubut* "young coconut leaves" to ward off trespassers. Such areas are referred to by the same name as that of the noun form "*rong* = fence" despite the fact that a fence is not used to demarcate such areas. Areas such as the aforementioned Katelu taboo site on Ifaluk and a former taboo site in the Lametag area on Lamotrek are examples of this type and were well known and publicly avoided except by certain classes of *rong* specialists who regarded them as their own private domains.¹⁹

With regard to Krämer's definition "*rong* = fence," I think it is erroneous to equate the concept of this noun form of *rong* with a "fence" although temporary coconut-leaf fence-like barriers were undoubtedly present on sacred taboo sites. From research on Lamotrek and evidence

¹⁸ The present study is a step from the "outer islands" perspective in the direction suggested in the above passage by King and Parker. Commentaries on the subject of *itang* include Bollig 1927, Krämer 1932, Murdock and Goodenough 1947, Gladwin 1964, Mahony 1970, Caughey 1970, Riesenbergr and Elbert 1971.

¹⁹ Unlike the Katelu taboo site on Ifaluk, the Lametag taboo site on Lamotrek is no longer taboo. As a result, people can pass through the former Lametag taboo site. Also, dense foliage no longer dominates the Lametag area. Looking at photographs of the Lametag area made by Krämer during his research on Lamotrek, however, we can see that dense foliage did dominate the Lametag area in 1909 (1937: pls. 1b, 4b). Nevertheless, despite the fact that a taboo site no longer exists at Lametag, walkers in the Lametag area are required to bow at the waist with their hands clapped behind their backs (*gabberog*) as a gesture of respect (*gassorou*). This is also the case with walkers who pass by in the vicinity of the Katelu taboo site on Ifaluk.

presented above in connection with the sacred taboo site of Katelu on Ifaluk, these more permanent sacred taboos areas did not exhibit any physical barriers except that which was naturally created by the unbridled growth of trees, bushes and other flora which tended to dominate them. The key concept here is that sacred taboo areas were believed to be inhabited by spirit powers of various kinds. Using Krämer's sense of the term, they were perceived as "fenced off" areas because they were taboo to all but certain groups of ritual specialists and their followers whose behavior was circumscribed by a complexity of taboos related to their specific professions or "offices." Anyone who was not formally qualified or formally educated in the *rong* profession which controlled a sacred taboo area, risked supernatural sanctions if he dared to enter it.

Here, I think, it is helpful to change the definition of Krämer's "*rong* = fence" to "*rong* = sacred taboo site." In doing so, a number of possibilities present themselves, and Krämer's confusing description, "... without a fence (*rong*) , but is tabu (*rong*) ..." becomes more comprehensible because of the inherent association of a *rong* "fence" with the taboo concept and the area which the "fence" encloses. If one accepts this hypothesis that the definition "*rong* = fence" is equivalent to "*rong* = sacred taboo site," then the concept is manifested in the literature in its various orthographic spellings as: 1) a sacred plot of ground,²⁰ 2) a sacred stone hill,²¹ 3) a place in

²⁰ See Elbert 1972:148; Girschner 1911:193; Krämer 1935:108; Rubinstein 1978:78; Sohn and Tawerilmang 1976:121.

²¹ See Girschner 1911:196.

heaven,²² 4) heaven itself,²³ 5) a grave site,²⁴ 6) a sacred channel in a reef,²⁵ 7) a sacred hut located on the outrigger of a sailing canoe,²⁶ and 8) a sacred altar.²⁷

Krämer consistently spells the noun form of "*rong* = fence" as "*rong*" but the differences in spelling by other writers is truly diverse (see Table 6, pp. 126-127). Elbert glosses it as "*rehan*" for Puluwat (1972:148); Girschner gives it as "*ron̄*" for Namoluk (1911:193) which Krämer changes to "*rong*" when he cites Girschner in his research on Truk (Krämer 1935:108); Goodenough and Sugita give it as "*róóng*"²⁸ for Truk (1980:313); Hambruch glosses it "*rong*" for Ulul (Krämer 1935:232); Lessa uses "*rong*" for Ulithi (1950a:135); Lutz uses "*rang*" for Ifaluk (personal communication, 1989); Sarfert consistently uses "*rang*" for Ifaluk (Damm 1938:86), Eauripik (Damm 1938:142), and Puluwat (Damm and Sarfert 1935:202); Rubinstein glosses it as "*ranga*" for Fais (1978:78); Sohn and

²² See Krämer 1932:332.

²³ See Damm 1938:86, 142.

²⁴ See Krämer 1935:185.

²⁵ See Lessa 1950a:135.

²⁶ See Krämer 1937:150; Thomas 1987:201; Lessa 1950a:159.

²⁷ See Goodenough and Sugita 1980:313; Krämer 1935:232, 275; Damm and Sarfert 1935:202.

²⁸ The diacritical marks for *róóng* as a cognate to Krämer's noun form "*rong* = fence" have been kept to differentiate it from Goodenough's and Sugita's rendering of *roong* as a cognate to Krämer's noun form "*rong* = office."

Tawerilmang give "*rang*" for Woleai; and Thomas uses "*ruung*" for Satawal (1987:201).

It is hard to account for the above differences in orthographic spelling except to say that I did discern a subtle difference in the way the "*rong* = office" term is pronounced and the way the "*rong* = sacred taboos site" term is pronounced. Undoubtedly, regional differences in pronunciation of the term enter into this problem as well. From my experience on Lamotrek, the "*rong* = office" term has a long "o" sound as in the English word "row" meaning "to propel a boat with oars." *Rong* is not pronounced with a short "o" sound as in the English word "wrong" meaning "incorrect." In comparison, the "*rong* = sacred taboo site" term is closer to the short "a" sound of *rang*. It is pronounced "*raung*" or "*roang*" as in the English word "row" meaning "to have a noisy quarrel." Goodenough and Sugita gloss the "*rong* = office" term as "*roong*" and the "*rong* = sacred taboo site" as "*róóng*". Although this is acceptable I have chosen not to use this orthography because of the diacritical markings involved, which, as stated in the preface to this work, have been purposely avoided for the sake of making the present study less confusing. Sohn and Tawerilmang gloss the the "*rong* = office" term as "*rong*" and the the "*rong* = sacred taboo site" term as "*rang*". In this case, *rong* is acceptable but *rang*, I believe is not because of the confusion with the alternative definition of *rang* as "turmeric" (S & T 1976:121). So, in order to reach a compromise on this issue but still be able to differentiate the important difference in meanings between the "*rong* = office" and the "*rong* = sacred taboo site" concept, I have chosen to render the later as *roang*. Consequently, in the following text, *roang* shall hereafter refer to a sacred taboo site or area and *rong* shall refer to the specialized knowledge which comes from spirits (*yalius*) as well as the

magical rites or spells, chants, prayers, etc. which form the core of *rong* knowledge specializations. For the purposes of this research, Krämer's "*rong* = taboo" concept is inherent in Krämer's "*rong* = office" and "*rong* = fence" concepts and need not be differentiated linguistically. For example, if one is talking about taboos associated with *rong* specializations, one can indicate this by writing "*rong* taboos." If one is referring to taboos associated with *roang* ("*rong* = fence") sacred taboo sites, one can indicate this by writing "*roang* taboos." Although I have found it helpful to differentiate Krämer's concepts of *rong* ("office") and *rong* ("fence") by changing the spelling and altering the definition of the latter slightly to *roang* (sacred taboo site) in order to make a difficult and complex subject more understandable, it may be somewhat of an academic quibble as to whether Krämer's term for "fence" (sacred taboo site) is spelled *rong* or *roang*. For in the final analysis, *roang* is a place where *rong* is practiced, *rong* instruments are kept, *rong* medicine is left, *rong* taboos are observed, *rong* language is used, and *rong* spirits reside. The gist of this complex analysis into the epistemological foundations of the *rong* knowledge system is that there are multiple and ambiguous shades of meaning for the noun form depending on the context in which it is used, but the uniting factor is that they all connect to the curriculum of *rong* specialists and to the realm of sacredness and taboo.

Sacred Knowledge Education

Generally, *rong* skills are dominated by males. Females participate fully as recognized masters only in the fields of medicine or healing by massage. In this capacity they are *tautafey* "masters of medicine" and

tausheo "masters of healing by massage." This does not mean to say that women are not knowledgeable in other *rong* skills but that they are generally proscribed from practicing them unless there is no male heir to practice them. In this respect, Lessa has made some illuminating remarks with reference to Ulithi which are applicable to Lamotrek and worth repeating here:

In the field of the supernatural, while a woman is excluded from exercising the professions of the wind magician, diviner, fish magician, and navigator, she has an almost equal position with men in some fields of magic. Thus, while she herself may not be a navigator, she is allowed to learn the magic associated with the art and pass it on to her sons. She is permitted, perhaps on sufferance, because male doctors may not touch women patients, to become a healer, with all that this implies with respect to the manipulation of supernatural forces. She works black magic and counter-magic. She makes amulets and good-luck pieces. Although she herself may not practice palm toddy magic, she is permitted to learn it and transmit it to her sons (1950a:233).

Several Lamotrekan informants mentioned that women often learned navigation in the past so as to insure its transmission to their offspring should their husband, father, or father's brother die before passing it on. One islander also remarked that it was helpful for women to have such knowledge so as to retrace what might have gone wrong with a voyage that suffered a navigational mishap. This was done so as to correct errors of judgment on the part of the navigator so that he would not make the same mistake again. In addition, should a navigator find himself confused at sea, a woman on board might sing a special navigation song to help clear the navigators memory and stimulate "the navigator's knowledge" so that he

could resume the correct navigational course. There may be path-finding songs or chants which have enabled navigators to retrace routes to Guam and Saipan (cf. Brower 1983:123, 148-149). These songs or chants are said to have been composed by women. In 1787 or 1788, the famed navigator, Luito from Lamotrek, retraced the route to Guam with "a song from olden times" (Krämer 1937:125; Hezel 1983:103). Oral traditions assert that trade with Guam existed in pre-contact times but was disrupted due to the genocide of the Chamorro population by the Spanish. These songs are passed down but are jealously guarded. I never heard one but I have it from two knowledgeable navigators that they do, in fact, exist. One of these informants told me that he heard a long deceased navigator's name mentioned in one of these songs, and because of this he feels certain that this navigator must have made a round trip voyage between Lamotrek and Saipan sometime in the early 1900s.²⁹

Each type of *rong* knowledge was and is a part-time speciality rather than a full-time profession. All male *rong* masters engage in the full range of subsistence activities including fishing, planting and harvesting coconuts and breadfruit, working to build and repair houses as well as practicing their specialties. Females who are *tautafey* or *tausheo* likewise engage in the full range of subsistence activities which fall to their sex including planting and

²⁹ This voyage to Saipan probably occurred between 1910-1930, before the Japanese enforced a ban on sailing between the islands by taking violators to Yap and putting them in jail. The common belief is that the Japanese felt inter-island voyaging was too dangerous compared to using the Japanese merchant vessels which supplied transportation between the islands. Another reason given for the prohibition on inter-island voyaging is that the Japanese wanted the indigenous population to remain on the islands to concentrate on developing copra as a trade item.

harvesting taro and breadfruit, tending the hearth and fireplace, weaving cloth from banana and hibiscus fibers, and helping with the repair of houses and canoes by providing the necessary materials as well as practicing their specialties. *Rong* specialists are usually mature adults, this being a result of the strict taboos which must be adhered to by *rong* practitioners as well as *rong* learners and apprentices and because of the reluctance of older men and women to transmit their knowledge. Among others, Caughey has remarked on the exclusiveness of *rong* knowledge within the general population:

A few individuals are experts in several different forms of special knowledge, some know one kind, some know fragments of one kind, and a majority know none. Thus, although everyone knows that these forms of special knowledge exist, any given kind of special knowledge is important precisely because few others share the power (1970:74).

Since Lamotrek is a matrilineal society, corporate property in the form of land is passed down through the female line. The only property which may pass patrilineally, beside coconut trees planted on another's land, is incorporeal property such as *rong* knowledge. The situation on Lamotrek is similar to that which has been described for Tobi island by Black:

... virtually the only things which are owned outright are non-material. Medicinal recipes, songs, fishing techniques, all are privately owned. Material items (everything from gardens to home sites, to clothes and cigarette lighters) are much less firmly tied to the individual (1978:219).

The "owner" of incorporeal, or non-material property characteristically holds it for his children and members of his lineage group but this need not always

be the case if a suitable pupil outside the family is 1) accepted by a *rong* master and 2) willing to pay handsomely for the *rong* specialist's knowledge. Bollig summed up the criteria by which a *rong* practitioner in Truk viewed the transmission of his knowledge in the following words:

Egoism and greed play an important part in connection with the *rong*. Whoever pays most is served best. No *sourong* [EM: *sourong* = *taurong* on Lamotrek] looks at anyone who does not have anything or does not want to give anything. No Truk *sourong* moves so much as a little finger out of charity (1927:45).

Since *rong* knowledge is considered one of the four classes of "valuables" (see Caughey 1970:55), the others being land, food, and goods, it rarely is transmitted without recompense. What we in Western society view as simple chants or stories are sources of power and income to the *rong* master and cannot be transmitted to anyone without an exchange taking place involving some form of the other three categories of "valuables" — land, food, or goods. This proved to be a continuing frustration for me in terms of collecting data related to *rong* knowledge domains. It was standard procedure for those who were knowledgeable to expect something in return for talking about the subject of *rong* if they were willing, which was rarely the case. Not having much money to offer for *kapetali rong* "talk of sacred knowledge," I relied on a number of strategies which were based on an "open house" concept. What possessions I had that were considered of value on Lamotrek — mainly cigarettes, coffee, and sugar — were shared with those who were willing to "tell me something," and this in itself was meaningless until I had developed some facility in the Lamotrekese language and the proper respect behaviors and etiquette for approaching

rong specialists. I developed a "watch and wait attitude" strategy. To show too much interest too fast, or to be aggressive in asking questions about *rong*, was generally counter-productive. Generally, I found that communication channels involving kinfolk had to be relaxed first, which necessitated getting to know the families and relatives of *rong* specialists so as to reduce antagonism from those who would be in line for receiving information related to *rong* specialized knowledge domains. Needless to say, this process involved large quantities of time and effort with no assurance that anything would come of it. Those who were willing to share information did so with the understanding that it might be seen on film or published and read by others. Many were not willing to accept this possibility, some were. I knew that some very knowledgeable men wished that I could have had the means to pay them to purchase their "talk of sacred knowledge" (*kapetali rong*) thereby giving them a rationale to share their knowledge without the threat of reprisals from kinfolk or from spirit powers associated with their *rong* skills. But having no budget for this purpose, we both lost the opportunity to put down what knowledge they might have shared. Fischer made the following observation in connection with Trukese and Pohnpeian cultures that is relevant here:

Other goods and more recently, money, are also presented to the teacher in varying amounts to soften his heart, and apparently to appease the wrath of the living relatives and lineage spirits, for it was believed that the latter would afflict the teller with illness or death for letting such valuable possessions go without compensation. The reasoning about the ancestral spirits is no longer explicit as a rule, but the belief persists in both cultures [EM: Truk and Pohnpei] in the danger to one's health in parting with such information without compensation (1954:2).

There is still the feeling that *rong* knowledge is part of the "life force" of the *rong* master, especially among the older generation. For this reason and others, most *rong* magical rites are carried out by the *rong* master in isolation, especially those concerned with the production of *tafey* (medicine) which traditionally accompanied the exercise of all *rong* skills. Krämer noted that he was unable to observe the magical rites associated with the purification of a house on Lamotrek because the *vak* [EM: *waug*] magician, Ikelur told him the following:

... no one must be present while this magic is made with the exception of Faragau [EM: the name of Ikelur's *waug* apprentice?] because Ikelur is afraid that he will have to die otherwise (1937:151).

Magical spells, when they must be spoken in the presence of non-initiates, are often muttered quickly and "under the breath" so as to make them incomprehensible. Burrows said the following in this regard for Ifaluk:

Incantations, which are private property and are kept secret, are whispered rather than sung, and are uttered only in undertones so that the uninitiated may not understand (1958:19).

Much valuable information concerning *rong* knowledge and practices has been lost forever as a result of the varied and problematic conditions which must be met before a *rong* master can teach what he knows. This is precisely the reason why *rong* knowledge that is still in existence retains its value (such as navigation and canoe building techniques). This, of course, is not a new lament of ethnographers who have studied Micronesian cultures. In 1880, Kubary, who was one of the first observers to have done research

in Micronesia, made the following comments in connection with lost navigational information in the Mortlock Islands:

The knowledge of astronomy can only be handed down orally. Generally, it is a son or an especially capable and promising relative, who since his earliest youth has spent a lot of time with the astronomer and who in the course of years has been introduced to the art of navigating, who is initiated into the art. Nevertheless, many a man with that knowledge must have taken his wisdom with him into the grave and minds have not been able to retain all of what was passed on. Present day astronomers, for instance, know the names of constellations which cannot be found in the sky. They are also sure that their ancestors knew the sea route east and south. Tradition mentions Seybollus as the last *pallauu* [EM: navigator] of Lukunor and claims that he knew how to steer canoes to Nukunor (1880:272-273).

Over the years I have come to the conclusion that most of my data concerning *rong* derives not from what I personally wanted to know but what others wanted to tell me. Try as I might to make it otherwise, and ironic as it may seem, information usually came from persons who chose me, not me choosing them. I did not like, trust, or want to have anything to do with Mr. B in the beginning, who became after awhile one of my most trusted and knowledgeable informants concerning *rong* skills. Mr. B has mentioned, on occasion, how we "really did not get along very well at the start." It is somewhat ironic that as a result our shared interest in *rong* skills, shared experiences, and shared adventures on land and sea, we now have a deep respect for each other.

A male youth generally looks to his father, older brothers and mother's brothers for training while a female looks to her mother, her maternal aunts, and her older sisters. Going outside the nuclear family group usually

involves a lengthy, delicate relationship with a lineage member which may last a lifetime in the hope that he or she will teach some if not all of his or her knowledge. For males, this characteristically involves a collection of *gassorou* "respect gestures" such as giving a portion of the fish that he has caught to the *rong* teacher, sharing what tobacco he has with the him, cutting his *gashi*-producing trees (to make palm wine), and bringing bottles of palm wine to share. Instruction never takes place in public because of the secretive, private nature of *rong* knowledge, but is scheduled at an agreed upon location, usually at the master's house, between the hours of 7:00 to 8:00 p.m. This is the socially acceptable time for *kapetali reepiy* ("talk of intelligence") and *kapetali rong* ("talk of sacred knowledge"). The prefix *kapetali* "talk of" is an idiomatic expression for teaching or giving knowledge concerning a body of information. When informants were asked about historical events in connection with Lamotrek or Woleai, for instance, they would call these "history lessons" *kapetali Lamotrek* and *kapetali Woleai*. Lessons in navigation are called *kapetali metaw* "talk of the sea," and lessons in canoe building are called *kapetali tanifalefal* "talk of coconut sennit lines for adzing." Mr. E said the following on Elato in this connection:

The proper time to talk and learn is at *bonginifegaaf* [EM: around 7:00 p.m.]. One cannot speak freely during the daytime. One cannot *kapetali reepiy* or *kapetali rong*, people would be angry.

Ostensibly, the persons who would be angry would be the *rong* master's relatives who would not wish sacred knowledge that is "held" by the lineage or clan to be overheard and thus acquired by non-relatives without payment.

Bolig (1927:211) gives detailed information on the different kinds of "talk" in Trukese society:

The Truk language ... contains categories of words and expressions which are partly spoken among the men only (*kabasen mauan*, men's language), partly among the women only (*kabasen fefin*, women's language). The natives also distinguish between *kabas bodede* (tender language) and a *kabas potakul* (hard, tough language).

Besides this ordinary language, there is also a secret language called *kabasen samol* (chief's language), *kabasen idang* (*idan*-language) [EM: *itang*-language], *kabasen fanu* (language of the country).³⁰ It is only known to the initiated. Also, the language of the spirits (*kabasen onu*) is only the property of those who serve the spirits.

Bolig's *kabasen onu* (lit. "talk of spirits") in the above passage is equivalent to *kapetali yalius* on Lamotrek and is the general term used when teaching *rong* charter myths and magical rites. For all intents and purposes it belongs to the category of *rong*-based oral literature. Non-initiates may have heard something in regard to the general plots or storylines of these myths, or know bits and pieces of different *rong* myths but only the initiated learn detailed information and the *rong* chants that accompany the myths.

The other *kabasen* "languages" reported by Bolig in the above passages relate to different levels of *reepiy* knowledge. Bolig's first set of language terms (*kabasen mauan*, *kabasen fefin*, *kabas bodede*, and *kabas potakul*) pertains to basic *reepiy* knowledge common to every member of

³⁰ Goodenough and Sugita translate *kkapasen fenu* as "legend of the land" (1980:183).

Trukese society. The Trukese expression *kabasen mauan* (lit. "talk of men") is equivalent to *kapetali mwal* on Lamotrek; and the Trukese expression *kabasen fefin* (lit. "talk of women") equals *kapetali shoabut* on Lamotrek. Examples of these have been given in earlier discussions. I do not know if there are equivalent expressions for *kabas bodede* ("tender language), and *kabas potakul* ("tough language") on Lamotrek but I suspect there are. Bollig's second set of language terms (*kabasen samol*, *kabasen idang*, *kabasen fanu*) pertains to specialized *reepiy* knowledge that only chiefs and lineage heads may possess. The Trukese expression *kabasen samol* is the same as *kapetali tamol* on Lamotrek. I do not have any information for this on Lamotrek but I strongly suspect that special language terms used by chiefs may exist or existed in the past due to the so-called "Yapese Empire" network of *sawey* chiefs.³¹ The Trukese *kabasen idang* or specialized *itang* language is not used on Lamotrek though Lamotrekans are aware of its existence on the islands to the east including Puluwat, Pulap, Pulusuk, Tamatam and on islands in the Truk Lagoon.³² The Trukese expression *kabasen fanu* (lit. "talk of the islands") equals *kapetali faliuw* on Lamotrek. This category of *reepiy* knowledge may be considered *reepiy*-based oral literature in the form of special myths and legends. These are different from the *reepiy*-based popular tales and stories (*fiyang*) which are told to children. The "history lessons" mentioned above in connection with *kapetali*

³¹ See Chapter 1, pp. 41-43 for explanation of the *sawey* "tribute system."

³² One of my informants called *itang* a "crooked language" because of its use to deceive and plot against persons without their knowing it in a group setting. Thomas, however, was given a much different interpretation on Satawal where *itang* was described as "the talk of wisdom" and the "talk of light" (Thomas 1987:104).

Lamotrek and *kapetali Woleai* fall in this category and tell not only the history and lore of particular islands, but the clans which settled them. For this reason, these may be considered charter myths which legitimize the historical ranking of certain chiefly clans. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this special knowledge is mostly held by chiefs and lineage heads. In this connection, Spiro (1949:77) reported the following for Ifaluk:

The myths and legends are few and are known only by the chiefs and by Arogeligar. There is no taboo on their public knowledge, but the people seem to show little interest in them.

The chiefs, by virtue of their status, would have special *reepiy*-based knowledge of myths and legends relating to *kapetali faliuw* ("talk of the islands") and the Ifalukan man, Arogeligar, a *tamon alusuia* or "priest-doctor" (Burrows and Spiro 1953:220, 242) would have special *rong*-based knowledge of myths and spells relating to *kapetali yalius* ("talk of the spirits").³³ This knowledge, as indicated by Spiro in the above passage would "be known only by the chiefs and Arogeligar." My field research, however, contradicts Spiro's finding that the number of myths and legends are "few" and that "there is no taboo on their public knowledge." On the contrary, evidence from Lamotrek suggests a very rich body of folklore, some of which is restricted to chiefs, lineage heads, and *rong* practitioners.

Skill at indirect learning is a highly valued trait on Lamotrek. It is, in fact, the normal way to acquire the essential practical skills (*reepiy*) in the "economic sphere" expected of men and women. Those persons who are clever observers and listeners can also acquire fragments of *rong* knowledge

³³ *tamon alusuia* = *tauyalius* (lit. "master of spirits") on Lamotrek.

during daytime hours when specialized skills are taking place. In my conversations with young *rong* apprentices on Lamotrek, they always seemed to be alert to any possibility by which they could pick up new information, particularly in the sphere of specialized fishing techniques. The English expression, "the walls have ears" is an ever-present reality on Lamotrek. On more than one occasion, in the course of a focused learning session concerning some facet of *rong* knowledge, a specialist would cease talking if a "stranger" appeared. What was interesting to me about these occasions was that the "stranger" would often be a great distance away, such that it would be impossible to hear anything, and still the *rong* practitioner would cease all conversation until the "stranger" disappeared. Sugito's comments concerning Elato are interesting in this regard:

I received occasional instruction concerning *rongolibaang*, traditional knowledge of building restoration techniques, from ... [EM: the individual's name here has been deleted in accordance with the policy of this study to avoid identification of living *rong* practitioners], who, fearing that he might be overheard by third parties, requested that all discussions take place in broad daylight in a place where he could see if anyone was approaching from any direction (1987:282).

There is a definite sense of competition with regard to the acquisition of *rong* knowledge on Lamotrek and as well as neighboring islands. The learner must be on guard to present his credentials as unobtrusively as possible to a *rong* master so as not to offend him with his "advances" on his knowledge. But balancing this respectful stance is an underlying cleverness, and sometimes a masked strategy to be "in the right place at the right time" so as to pick up valuable *rong* information whenever and wherever it may present itself. Severance, in his research into traditional fishing strategies on

Losap Atoll in the Mortlock Islands, makes comments in this regard which help to elucidate the competition which exists:

Fishing success is a measure of both individual and kin group status, and there is an element of competition between both individuals and groups. Although patterns of respect behavior are now changing rapidly, they are still sufficiently intact to prevent younger men from asking direct questions about location, bait, hook form, size of catch, and so on, for a particular technique. Thus, while younger men know the basics of this technique from listening to conversations and asking unobtrusive questions, they are usually unwilling to attempt it on their own. I think that at least three constraints on imitation and sharing of a specialized technique are involved here: fear of embarrassment and loss of reputation for unsuccessful attempts; recognition of the substantial effort involved in gear preparation for a complex strategy; and recognition of the possibility of affronting a specialist by trying to imitate him. This might then block further opportunities for transmission of knowledge or even generate reprisal through sorcery (1986:38-39).

Other valuables exchanged as formal payment for transmission of *rong* knowledge are *rang*, a yellow-orange turmeric which is used in *rong* magical rites and for cosmetic purposes, and *teor*, the traditional woven garment made from hibiscus or banana fibers. The amount of payment is a function of the relationship between the master and apprentice and the complexity of the *rong* skill being taught to the learner. In the case of females, the reciprocal arrangement involves "gift" foods of various kinds as well as tobacco. If the pupil is a non-relative, payment for instruction normally involves *teor*. As many as three hundred *teor* may be required for formal apprenticeship to a master navigator. In some cases, the most valuable commodity of all, land, may be exchanged as payment for

transmission of *rong* (Caughey 1970:72 and Borthwick 1977:212). *Rong* is viewed as a means of income since others who lack such skills may hire the specialist to exercise his techniques for their benefit. In order to acquire *rong* "income producing potential" the apprentice must forever after be "in the service" of his or her master in exchange for the knowledge and skills which usually are imparted to him or her in a trickle-down fashion over a lifetime. Even within the nuclear family group, however, the transmission of *rong* knowledge is not necessarily a given fact. Elder masters sometimes deliberately withhold *rong* from offspring whom they consider too young, intellectually deficient, disobedient or lazy. In this connection, Mr. A said:

The *taurong* looks at his children and adopted children and observes their behavior. Who gives him fish and tobacco? Which of their wives sends him food? Those who give most receive most. If they are bad to him, he will not give the knowledge.

Mr. A also told me that if a *rong* specialist feels he or she has suffered an unpardonable offense, they may prohibit other offspring from teaching the offender as well. In the past, this prohibition might remain in effect even after the *rong* master has died. Such sanctions were not idle threats since it was believed that the efficacy of *rong* knowledge depended on the patron spirits of the knowledge, including the departed spirit of the former *rong* teacher who, as a departed soul, was in direct contact with other deities in heaven and was often called upon in times of need. Lessa collected several chants on Ulithi which included appeals to the teacher-spirits of all the men who had used the chant in the past. The following lyrics (Lessa 1950a:151) from a navigator's chant demonstrate this practice:

You Weg!
 Look this way from yonder;
 Inform Pul.
 Pul, inform Wasioi!
 May all of you make your wisdom effective for me.

Traditionally, *rong* skills are learned in early adulthood or middle age, with most instruction commencing between 20 and 40 years of age. The consensus of opinion among masters of various skills is that male teenage youths are too preoccupied with peer group activities and "sneaking around" to see girls to concentrate fully on *rong* studies. Many domains of *rong*, such as navigation and canoe building, are extremely complex and require years of teaching and practice for complete mastery. Masters of *rong* skills are in no hurry to transfer their knowledge to a younger generation and commonly release information in a controlled fashion, waiting until their own death or near death to relinquish the choicest bits of sacred lore. One reason for doing this is to provide a measure of security for obtaining care and attention in old age. It is also said that masters will purposely introduce mistakes or delete important information when teaching non-relatives so as to maintain the "purity" of the knowledge and, consequently, its greater value for kinfolk. This may also be used as a strategy to appease the anger of close kin for teaching valuable information to "outsiders." This strategy could very well account for the differences and contradictions between ethnographic reports given by knowledgeable masters of *rong* skills in the literature in addition to the aforementioned problem of researchers gathering accurate, consistent, ethnographic information about *rong* skills. In this area of study it is an absurd notion for the non-kin, ethnographic researcher to believe that he or she is receiving the unadulterated truth. One would like to think that informants do not deliberately misrepresent information or "play

one for the fool," but more often than not, I have found that masters of a *rong* skill may make up erroneous information to test the questioner and to find out what he already knows. If a *rong* specialist is caught in the act of misrepresenting the facts he feels no shame since it is up to the pupil to discover the error.

Although *rong* knowledge is not owned by lineages or clans as a group, it is expected that masters of *rong* will use such knowledge for the benefit of their kinfolk for little or no charge. In general, the greater number of persons who know a particular *rong*, the less its value. *Rong* knowledge has value in that it must be purchased. Not only does one have to pay in-kind services and perhaps valuable goods (and money nowadays) for formal transmission of *rong* knowledge, one pays a *rong* master for his services "under contract." If medicine is prepared to cure an illness, the amount of payment for "services rendered" is one *teor* "woven garment" worth between \$30-\$50 in today's marketplace. In the case of more difficult medical cases, payment may involve not only woven garments (*teor*) but coconut fiber cordage (*galogal*), and turmeric (*rang*). Payment can amount to hundreds of *teor* in addition to other valued goods to contract the services of a navigator (*paliuw*) to teach navigation or employ a canoe builder (*senap*) to construct an ocean-voyaging canoe.³⁴

Lamotrekans feel it is a matter of pride that they need not hire the services of an individual outside their lineage group to make a canoe, divine

³⁴ Satawal may be the first to teach *rong* skills for money. Courses outside of school have been offered in *paqfius* (stars used in navigational path-finding) and *bwangiwaa* (techniques used in restoring sailing canoes that have capsized or broken apart in mid-voyage). The standard payment fee in 1987 was \$20 for each course, lasting four days and nights.

the future, take them to another island, or any number of other *rong* knowledge-related activities. This is especially true in the *rong* field of herbal medicine (*tafey*), where it is important to be able to call upon individuals within one's own lineage for help in curing sickness. Even so, there are events in island life which often require the services of professionals outside of the lineage group, such as serious injury due to a fall from a palm tree. In such cases, a *tausheo* "master healer by massage" is called upon. Often a woman *tausheo* who is well-known for her ability as a healer will be summoned with *gol* "payment" in the form of one *teor* "woven garment" to come as quickly as possible to the victim's aid. If a *tausheo* accepts the case, then additional woven garments will be paid for his or her work, but only if the patient is cured. If the patient dies, then the *tausheo* will not accept payment. Only success counts.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, *rong* is knowledge of *yalius*, the spirit world, and the magical rites used to communicate with *yalius* are the foundation of *rong*. Having said this, however, one must write in the past tense concerning certain aspects of *rong* skills. With the acceptance of Christianity on Lamotrek in the early 1950s, *rong* as a body of knowledge did not change, but its application has changed. The traditional spirit world no longer maintains a legitimate hold on the minds and hearts of most *rong* practitioners since, by and large they have converted to Christianity. As a result, both the need to communicate with the traditional spirit world (*yaliuselang*) and the usefulness of *rong* magical rites have diminished dramatically. This depends, of course, on the time period which the island groups were converted to Christian ideology. After 1852, the spread of the Protestant doctrine progressed from Kosrae and Pohnpei east to the Marshalls Islands and west through the Caroline Islands (see Hezel 1983).

By 1880, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Micronesia had reached its limits of expansion in the Mortlocks and Truk (Hezel 1983:249). Girschner made the following report from Namoluk in the Mortlock Islands in the early 1900s:

Since Christianity was introduced a few decades ago, the belief in the world of gods and spirits, as well as in the efficacy of conjurations has been shattered. Young people do not believe in these things at all now (1911:198).

It was to be several more decades after Girschner, however, before Christianity in the form of Catholicism spread to the Central Caroline Islands and eventually to Lamotrek in the 1950s.

Certain fields of *rong* knowledge remain viable today because of their practical value as technical knowledge and other *rong* systems of knowledge have been abandoned altogether because of their purely esoteric nature. Most *rong* knowledge these days no longer has a viable *yalius* component. The patron spirits have lost their power over humans though they still survive in various degrees and forms as superstitious influences and do, on occasion, still influence island behaviors.³⁵ In general, however, the core of

³⁵ One rationale that may be attributed to the demise of the spirit world in the hearts and minds Lamotrekans may be the direct result of a communication to the islanders from the spirits themselves. After World War II some benevolent spirits, speaking through a Lamotrek spirit medium (*waaliyalus*), informed the people gathered at the spirit medium's house that they would no longer be able to communicate with the people of Lamotrek. The Lamotrekans who were present during this seance were, of course, alarmed at this prospect but the spirits told the people not to worry and explained (through the spirit medium) that they would be leaving because a "stronger spirit" was coming (Christianity? Modernity?). The impression the spirits gave to those present was that Lamotrek would be better off without them, so they were going to depart gracefully (Metzgar 1979:30).

rong knowledge, the magical rites, are fading away as they cease to be included in the instructional curricula that make up a concrete skill such as the techniques involved in navigation and canoe building. As a result, *rong* "sacred knowledge" has become more and more secularized as elder masters pass on their knowledge with less and less of a *yalius* "spirit" component. In many cases, all that is left of this spirit-knowledge connection is the use of young coconut-leaf knots put on the figureheads of a canoe or tied to a bundle of herbal medicine.

Summary

Rong "sacred knowledge" is viewed as supernatural dispensation from the spirit world and is connected to the human world through the following categories: 1) a system of specialized techniques or a complex of skills which enables a practitioner to successfully accomplish a specific goal; 2) a system of magical spells or chants with particular emphasis on summoning the power and aid of one or more patron spirits in the exercise of specialized skills; 3) a system of taboos and offerings while engaged in the exercise of specialized skills; and 4) a system of sacred objects and sites such as amulets and taboo areas wherein spirit powers are believed to dwell and which play a part in the exercise of specialized skills. Collectively, the above bodies of special knowledge comprise the office, specialization, or trade of a *taurong* "master of sacred knowledge."

Both men and women may learn *rong* "sacred knowledge" but women are usually proscribed from practicing the magical rites associated with the specialized skills. As a general rule, female *rong* practitioners are limited to the fields of herbal medicine and doctoring by massage; but if there is no

male heir to carry on the practice or instruct pupils, then a woman may assume this position. *Rong* "sacred knowledge" is traditionally learned through a predominant mode of nonformal education in a master-apprentice relationship. Since specialized skills are valued as incorporeal property, respect gestures in the form of food, drink and "in-kind" services in the form of assistance in gathering ingredients for the purpose of making medicines and offerings must be demonstrated by prospective pupils before a master-teacher will accept him or her as an apprentice. Formal acknowledgment of a master-apprentice relationship is symbolized by the payment of one or more *teor* "woven garments" and sometimes other material possessions to the master-teacher unless the apprentice is a close-kin member. After the bulk of instruction is completed, instruction may continue over the lifetime of the master-teacher as long as respect gestures and "in-kind" services are continued. Competition for a master-teacher's last bits of knowledge and succession to his or her "office" may be intense if the trade is viewed as a particularly valuable or lucrative one.

Central to the practice and curricula of all *rong* skills is the use of young coconut leaves fashioned into decorative knots and used in a variety of ways. As the symbolic manifestation of one or more spirit powers, the young coconut-leaf knot may function, along with the appropriate chant, either as a propitiatory device to increase the efficacy of a specialized skill or as taboo marker to protect an object or area against trespass. A fence or *roang* "sacred taboo site" for the purpose of exercising a *rong* skill may be created by fixing young coconut leaves to trees or stakes or hanging them on a string. If the string is made of black and white coconut-hibiscus fibers, then it functions not only as a warning device but as protection against malevolent spirit powers.

CHAPTER 4

TRADITIONAL *REEPIY-RONG* KNOWLEDGE NEXUS

"Nexus" is defined here as "a tie, a connection" (Whitehall et. al. 1953:1131). Figure 2 depicts the secular (*reepiy*) and sacred (*rong*) knowledge domains as interlinked systems joined by the behavioral components of respect and competition. From the above discussion on sacred knowledge in Chapter 3, we have seen how the themes of respect and competition provide the dynamics by which *rong* skills are acquired. Without these behaviors, training in *rong* skills would simply not occur. Indeed, they may be considered prerequisite behaviors since a *rong* master would be unlikely to educate an apprentice unless the learner made

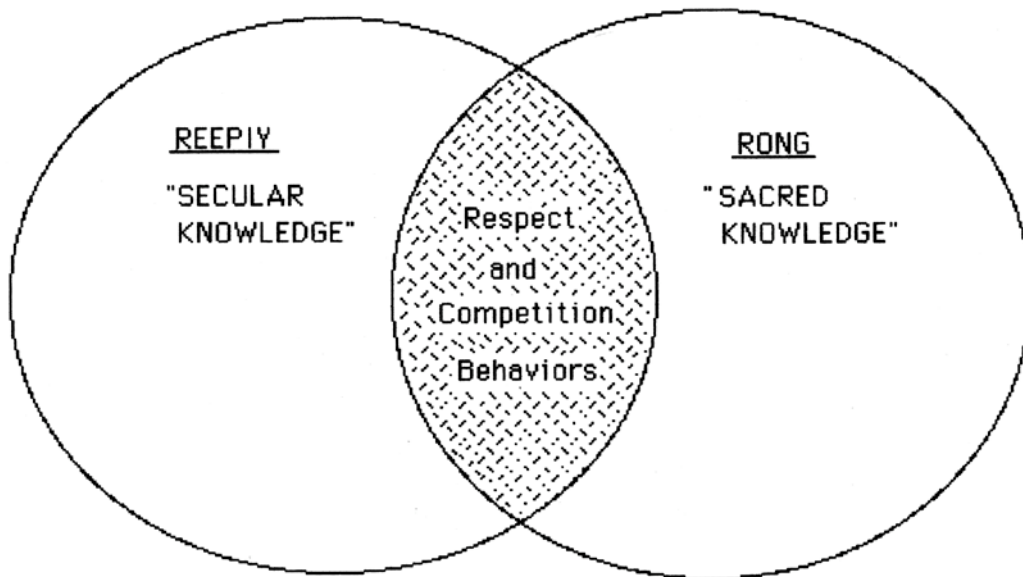


Figure 2. Traditional *Reepiy* and *Rong* Knowledge Domains

the necessary respect gestures (*gassorou*) or payments (*gol*) to the *rong* master. Moreover, since receiving education in *rong* skills is a problematic, difficult process, the learner must have the will to compete (*gaingeing*) for the *rong* master's favor over a long period of time, usually decades.

Earlier, I suggested that the *reepiy-rong* dichotomy put forth by Ishimori and Sugito as an organizing principle and linguistic model for analyzing these "two knowledge systems" was too restrictive. I further submitted that the knowledge domains of *reepiy* and *rong* are not separate, discrete entities but interlinked domains or "spheres" of knowledge with the *rong* domain being a branch or extension of the *reepiy* domain. In order to further demonstrate the linkages between the *reepiy-rong* knowledge systems, they will be compared and contrasted on two levels: 1) the interface where the two domains overlap each other in a social context, providing an informal educative opportunity for the non-*rong* practitioner to learn information concerning *rong* skills; and 2) the interface where the two domains share traits in the behavioral context, showing that the *rong* behaviors of respect and competition are a natural outgrowth of the *reepiy* behaviors of respect (*gassorou*) and competition (*gaingeing*).

Social Context of Education

In the social context, we have seen from the evidence in Chapter 3 that commoners are well aware of *rong* knowledge in many forms, especially with regard to observing *meshang* "taboo markers" and the *roang* "sacred taboo sites" which are the private domains of *rong* practitioners. In addition to these *rong* taboos, children would come in contact with *rong* skills as a function of daily life since every adult is expected to learn how to

make simple forms of *tafey* "herbal medicine" in order to be considered a *reepiy* person and a productive member of his or her lineage group. In addition, male youths learn *rong* lore through their participation in helping to bring a large sailing canoe out of the water and onto the shore. Collectively, these canoe hauling chants are called *pannal wa*.¹ Two such chants were collected on Lamotrek.² The following chant excerpt reveals some navigational information related to star names and the positions of various islands and navigational reference points:³

Pannal Wa Chant No. 1
("Canoe Hauling Chant")

1. We come to that reef — Mairelpul!
[EM: Mairelpul is near Punap Atoll]
2. We come to that reef — Puguelfairiap!
[EM: Puguelfairiap is near Ulul Island]
3. The place where the navigator cracks open a coconut
to anoint himself — Shurtalfalchig!
[EM: Shurtalfalchig is near Punap Atoll]

(Continued)

¹ Burrows glosses *pann* as a "work-song or chantey" (1958:11). Sohn and Tawerilmang define *wa* as "canoe" (1976:162). Thus, *pannal wa* can be glossed as "canoe hauling chant."

² The leader of the *pannal wa*, usually a navigator, starts a lyrical phrase which is answered by the men doing the hauling. The answer comes from the haulers after the dash mark "—" in the text for the chant above. The pulling (and lifting) of the canoe onto the shore are synchronized with the answers given by the workers. As many as twenty to thirty men may be involved with the strenuous task of moving a large 30 foot *waal waiy* "inter-island ocean sailing canoe" (S & T 1976:162) from the water to the shore.

³ This chant is documented in the film, *Lamotrek Atoll* (Metzgar 1983).

4. We will take the star constellation
in the East — Yeliuyel!
[EM: Yeliuyel is Orion's Belt (S &T 1976:332)]
5. And we will come to another reef — Lewichobut!
[EM: Lewichobut is near Punap Atoll]
6. And we take the star in the east — Sarebol!
[EM: Sarebol is Corvus (S &T 1976:332)]
7. To reach the open channel — of Tamatam Atoll!

In the chant above, the *rong* knowledge concerning stars is useless to the uninitiated. Without training in navigation, individuals are unable to chart a course to the places mentioned in the chant.

The other *pannal wa* chant collected is related not to inter-island navigation but to *bwangiwa*. *Bwangiwa* is a system of *rong* knowledge concerned with the techniques needed to overturn sailing canoes that have capsized at sea and to fix parts of the canoe which have broken or been damaged at sea. Obviously, such knowledge can mean the difference between life and death. For this reason, the *reepiy* or "intelligent" navigator always takes along sticks which are stowed on the outrigger in the event that his vessel meets misfortune at sea.⁴ These sticks are essential to the exercising of *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration" skills.

⁴ Even so, not all navigators of sailing canoes these days are knowledgeable in fixing the more difficult breakdowns that can occur, or for that matter the skills required to "right" a capsized canoe. When I visited Lamotrek in 1982 a group of canoes were returning to from Elato when a tornado struck them at sea. Two canoes were driven onto the reef between Falaite and Pугue (see Map 2, p. 19) and the other capsized just off the reef. The crew of the latter abandoned their canoe for fear of sharks and swam to Falaite, the nearest island. The canoe, 22 feet in length, was never recovered. It was in excellent condition having been built only five years earlier. A number of persons on Lamotrek did not believe the story of the crew that capsized and suggested that the real reason why they abandoned the vessel was because no one in their company knew *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration." The most feared breakdowns during a voyage are if the outrigger posts (*giau*) should break or if the bow or stern segments (*patch*) should fall off.

The following *pannal wa* chant has an interesting story behind it and is a good example of how songs and chants on Lamotrek informally educate the public at large in the value of learning a *rong* skill. Sometime in the 1920s a sailing canoe captained by a man named Kiyaat from Woleai, who was staying on Elato, and a man named Lingarau, the owner of the canoe, left Elato for Lamotrek. On the canoe were about seven people including a boy around the age of 12 named Yalimen and his mother (who composed the following chant). When the canoe got through the Lamotrek channel near Madiur (a sandbank on the southern reef) it capsized. The crew could not get the canoe righted because they did not have the knowledge of *bwangiwa* to fix the outrigger which had broken off at the hull (a particularly difficult break to repair). A number of them tried and failed. Meanwhile, the people on Lamotrek deduced that something was wrong and sent a sailing canoe to help them. After a number of the crewmen had tried to fix it, Yalimen, the 12-year old boy, said that he could do it, but they all scoffed at him. Finally, when all others failed, they gave Yalimen a chance to fix the outrigger. To their amazement, he fixed it. After Yalimen did this the crew was able to right the canoe. Ever since, whenever young boys ask to join sailing voyages this chant is a reminder that boys should be allowed to accompany the men even if some of the men may not want them to go. The *pannal wa* chant commemorating this event is presented below in its entirety:⁵

⁵ The Lamotrekese text from which this translation was made is in Appendix A, pp. 402-404. In the course of transcribing this chant into Lamotrekese, with the help of three informants, it became obvious that a word for word translation into English was extremely difficult because of the chant's structure and metaphorical complexity. The result here is a loose translation of the original text. The beginning of this *pannal wa* and first few lines of the chant are documented in the film, *Lamotrek Atoll* (Metzgar 1983).

Pannal Wa Chant No. 2
("Canoe Hauling Chant")

1. We are ashamed
2. Of those young men from this island.
3. How come they did not know
4. The skills necessary for repairing the canoe?
5. And all those techniques they were taught on the
"mat of knowledge"⁶
6. To take care of the sail when it jumps out of the hole
7. And to fix the outrigger when it breaks off at the hull.
8. Those short sticks of wood
9. Are carried on the canoe for use in making repairs.
10. Tiboyah [EM: spirit name]⁷ has shown us that every short
stick is useful.
11. Yaliulemes [EM: spirit name]⁸ is watching over us
when we do the repairs.
12. He is looking down
13. From the top of the mast.
14. He is sitting in that hole at the top
of the mast watching us
15. To see if we are correct in tying the ropes
from the middle
16. In the palm of our hands.
17. "Where are their ideas?"

(Continued)

⁶ "Mat of knowledge" is a metaphorical interpretation of *giyegiy* in this teaching context. Normally, *giyegiy* simply means "sleeping mat." See line no. 5 and note 3 in Appendix A, p. 402.

⁷ A patron spirit of *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration" skills.

⁸ A patron spirit. Yaliulemes is also associated with *bwangifitug* "martial arts," and *bwangifal* "canoe house restoration" skills. Spelled "Alulemez" by Hambruch, he "... helps the men with the caulking so that the boat will prove water-tight. In general he is responsible for the safety of the canoe, and protects it from breaking and helps with repairs" (Krämer 1937:14).

18. The people ask.
19. Now we are in a bad mood.
20. Because when they [EM: the crew] are on the island they
boast that they know how to do everything.
21. They are all together on the canoe and they are
like a special strong tree
22. Or a special axe
23. Or a special breadfruit picker.
24. Those two men [EM: Kiyaat and Lingarau]
25. Were sitting as students and learning
from the "mat of knowledge"
26. And they have slept on the arm
27. Of the master who taught them about
repairing canoes.
28. So why are they confused?
29. And trembling?
30. About the big waves crashing on the sand.⁹
31. You are still young
32. But you are like a man, Yalimen.
33. You are making a hole through the palms of those
men's hands.¹⁰
34. You are running over those men's chests.¹¹
35. He [EM: Yalimen] is swimming around the canoe
and tying those ropes which will fix the outrigger to the hull.
36. He is playing alone¹²
37. Beside that canoe.

There are several features of this song that are of interest. The primary message of this chant, in the context of the routine task of hauling

⁹ The sailing canoe was close to being wrecked on Madiur sandbank, which is located at the channel in the southern reef.

¹⁰ A metaphor for conquering Kiyaat and Lingarau's knowledge of *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration" skills.

¹¹ A metaphor for conquering those who had ridiculed him.

¹² A metaphor for making the repairs look easy.

up a sailing canoe out of the water, is to reinforce the importance for young men in their early teens of the need for them to learn *rong* skills, and the need for adults to transmit these skills. Although it is unusual for such knowledge to be taught to youths around the age of 12, it can happen; moreover, this is the time when older lineage mates begin to impress upon young minds the necessity that they should start thinking about acquiring the skills which are available for them to learn. If a man has reached the age of 30 and not yet started to acquire some of the *rong* skills which his lineage "holds" then he is viewed as someone who is not *reepiy* "intelligent" but *mmang* "stupid." Persons like Yalimen who begin to learn *rong* skills at an early age are thought of as *reepiy* individuals (cf. Caughey 1970:54, 75).

In the early 1950s, Lessa and Spiegelman used thematic tests involving culturally relevant drawings to analyze Ulithian personality traits. Part of the results of their study showed that competition is highest in the 12-21 year-old age group. They explain this phenomenon partly as a function of "the pressure put on people of this age to bring credit to their families" and furthermore, "This competition is in some measure the result of Western schooling, for parents place great value on formal education and want their children to excel" (1954:289). From the expressed sentiment in the beginning lines of the above chant, we also see that such values are present in the traditional educational context as well. The composer of the chant is speaking for the community when she says, "We are ashamed of those young men from this island" and when she asks, "How come they did not know about the skills necessary for repairing canoes?" These are the same "young men" who are chastised later on in line nos. 20-23 when the composer says, "When they are on the island they boast that they know how to do everything" and act like "a special strong tree ... a special axe ... or a

special breadfruit picker." In questioning the informants who were translating the meaning of these lines to me they said, "If these young men are so special then how come they do not know how to fix the outrigger to the hull of the canoe?" Neither are older persons invulnerable to criticism. In line no. 25, the composer of the chant expresses amazement that the captain and owner of the vessel both were "sitting as students and learning all about *bwang* and now they do not remember?" Line nos. 26 and 27 allude to an educational process by which the apprentices sleep "on the arm of the master who taught them canoe restoration techniques." This important educational process will be discussed in the context of formal educational characteristics later in Chapter 5. Besides the informal educative value of the chant in the context of its use as a canoe hauling chant, we also learn something about the relationship between *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration" skills and the spirit world. In line nos. 10-15 we see that the patron spirits Tiboyah and Yaliulemes are thought of as being present on the canoe and watching the activities and conduct of the captain and crew who are on the canoe. From line no. 10 it can be inferred that Tiboyah is viewed as one of the teacher-spirits of *bwangiwa*: "Tiboyah has shown us that every short stick is useful." From line no. 15 we learn that there is a right way and a wrong way to tie ropes. The implication here is that there are certain respectful behaviors (*gassorou*) and taboos (*tab*) that are to be followed by the crew when on board a sailing canoe and that the spirits Tiboyah and Yaliulemes are constantly watching to see whether or not their supernatural sanctions are observed and carried out. Lastly, from line nos. 35-37 we learn something about the general attitude of a person who "holds" *rong* knowledge towards the exercise of his skill. Yalimen is "playing" as he goes about the complex task of tying the ropes and sticks which will

attach the outrigger to the hull of the canoe. The inference here is that a *rong* master is confident that his knowledge is efficacious and enjoys the opportunity of exercising his or her knowledge. Lastly, of particular importance is the reference in line nos. 5-9 to a "mat of knowledge" where the techniques of *bwangiwa* are taught. This is a clear indication of a formal, organized activity for the purpose of instruction that will be discussed in the next chapter.

Behavioral Context of Education

In the behavioral context, the repertoire of *gassorou* "respect behaviors" and *tab* "taboos" for the non-*rong* practitioner are a function of an individual's *reepiy*, or practical knowledge, learned as a consequence of enculturation to Lamotrekan customs and cultural norms. A quite different set of respect and taboo behaviors, however, are operative within the ranks of *rong* masters that were unique from specialization to specialization. The *reepiy* "intelligent" *rong* practitioner had to observe these respectful behaviors and taboos or risk reprisals from within the membership or guild of his specialization. He also risked the possibility of suffering supernatural sanctions in the form of sickness or failure in the application of his skills. These *gassorou* behaviors were not common to islanders in general because non-adherents to a particular *rong* specialization need not observe them; nor did the uninitiated need to observe the taboo restrictions that the *rong* practitioner had to follow, unless he was engaged as a traveler on a sailing canoe, a worker on a *rong*-related project such as building a house or canoe, or was the object of the *rong* practitioner's attention such as divining his future or attempting to cure him of a disease.

In Chapter 2 we saw that there are special words to show respect in social interactions between nephew and uncle, sister and brother that are a function of *reepiy* knowledge. Similarly, there are special words used by *rong* masters to show respect to and communicate with the patron spirits of various *rong* skills. Magical spells are infused with esoteric words called *kapetaliyalus* "talk of spirits" and phrases that only a *rong* master can understand; and, if we believe the reports of *rong* specialists that even they sometimes cannot interpret these spirit words, and I think we should, this does not diminish the relationship between the *rong* practitioner and the supernatural. Just the opposite, these "coefficients of weirdness" as Lessa (1966:62) calls them enhance the special status of the *rong* master as someone who can communicate with supernatural forces. The specialist communicates with the spirit world by virtue of the established jargon which a *rong* patron spirit revealed to the first human who learned the skill. These words, the respect behaviors, and taboos which are associated with the individual *rong* spirit powers form a curriculum which must be learned and obeyed. In a general sense, this information forms the "contract" between a master of a *rong* profession and the spirit power(s) behind the specialization or trade. The initiate agrees to this "contract" when he learns from a *rong* master. If he dares to practice his trade in violation of this "contract," if he ignores the magical rites and taboos associated with his profession, or if he is not *reepiy* and makes mistakes in the observance or execution of the magical rites and taboos, then he will be punished by the spirit power(s) involved. A common mistake occurs when a magical spell is being uttered and the *rong* practitioner hesitates during the incantation with a lapse of memory as to the next word or phrase, before proceeding to recite the next passage in the series. *Rong* spells are supposed to be

delivered without hesitation. Any mistakes automatically invalidate the success of the desired outcome. Bollig made the following observation for Truk:

The *forieru*, unchangeable formulas of prayers and conjurations, are important for the *rong*. Only one who knows them completely is a proper *sourong* [EM: *sourong* = *taurong* on Lamotrek]. It is required that they be said without stopping. It does not matter whether the person concerned knows the meaning or not. In reality, very few of the *sourong* know the meaning of the ancient formulas. If the *sourong* makes a mistake or pauses during the recitation, the *rong* will be unsuccessful (1927:44).

Mahony made this observation also for Truk:

Long, rhythmic chants, full of secret symbolism and full of instructive examples for suppressing, deceiving and outwitting opposing or potentially hostile forces, had to be laboriously committed to memory so that they could be recited without a mistake, and without any hesitation ... (1970:191).¹³

If a *rong* practitioner makes a mistake in reciting a chant, the spirit power(s) behind the *rong* skill might "bite" the owner of the "contract." The conception of this principle is the same as that expressed by Bollig for Truk:

The punishment of a person by an *onu* [EM: spirit] is expressed by the natives in the following idiom: "*onu a ku*, the spirit bit him." This bite manifests itself in various ways, by the swelling

¹³ Chamisso (1836:279) for the Marshall Islands reports that "Special incantations spoken without error help water to flow into the pits, and if the efforts are not successful, something was done wrong and the words were not spoken correctly."

of joints, a stiff neck, paralysis, falling sickness, quick death, etc ... The main principle of discrimination as to who is bitten by the spirits, and who isn't, is contained in the saying: "*onu re se ku nigapeliar*, the spirits do not bite their followers" (1927:26).

The following excerpt from Lessa's chapter on "Law and Social Control" in his *Ethnography of Ulithi Atoll* is a good summary of the types of taboos which *rong* masters must be careful to observe:

Magical specialists must be especially careful to guard against ritual sanctions, for they are surrounded more than anyone else by taboos. Under most circumstances, they may not eat certain foods, touch a corpse, dig a grave, come into contact with a menstruating woman, or have sexual intercourse. Offenders are punished in various ways, but especially by lack of success in their operations. Thus, they make false predictions, fail to create an abundant supply of fish for the community, lose control over typhoons, bungle the treatment of disease, and are bested in fighting against the magic of enemy sorcerers. They may become stricken with disease for their failure to observe taboos, or they may have any number of other things happen to them (1950a:100).

It is worth repeating that ordinary people are also bound by taboos of various kinds which, if not observed, are believed to be punished by automatic sanctions derived from supernatural sources; but the severity and complexity of these taboos are considerably less in comparison to *rong* practitioners.

Navigators, as *mwaletab* "taboo men," must follow certain taboos associated with their profession that manifest *gassorou* "respect" behaviors. For instance, if a sailing canoe comes upon a length of bamboo cane floating at sea, the navigator (*paliuw*) should stop and perform the *Gassorou Sagiur*

chant to the bamboo.¹⁴ He may talk to it in a conversational manner, stroke it in the water, give food to it by throwing coconuts and taro next to it, and in every way treat the bamboo as if it is a real person (cf. Thomas 1987:200). Mr. H told me that it was taboo for a canoe to strike a piece of bamboo floating in the water. "It would be very bad luck," he said, "because it meant that something terrible would happen on the trip." In addition, Sarfert made the following report in this connection from his research on Puluwat, Pulusuk, and Satawal:

... food sacrifices are offered to the Anumarisi [EM: another name for Yaliulewaiy, the patron spirit of navigators] ... Since the bamboo is sacred to him the men turn back in case they find bamboo just when they are getting ready to set out on a voyage, and run across it in a channel passage or before it; this is interpreted as Anumarisi's announcement of rain and wind (Damm and Sarfert 1935:112).

A passage from Lessa's ethnographic research on Ulithi illustrates the taboo "contract" between a *rong* master and his patron spirit(s):

Solang is a benevolent earthly spirit who lives in canoes and is the patron *ialus* [S & T: *yalius*] of canoe-builders, *sallup* [S & T: *senap*]. He is prayed to in order to lend his help in making a good craft. But he insists on the observance of certain prohibitions and oblations. He does not want his carpenters to work late in the afternoon, and *sallup* who do not heed this rule run the risk of a visit from him in which he causes them to make slips with their adzes and cut themselves. He does not wish anyone to build or repair a house on the same island where

¹⁴ Thomas (1987:200-201) gives a translation of this chant which he recorded on Satawal which he refers to as "*atirro* Sagur"

a canoe is being built or repaired. Violators run the risk of death, and there is an added threat from the house spirit, Thuchera, who has a parallel resentment against such dual activity on a given island (1950a:122).

Solang, or Selang as he is called by Lamotrekans, is just one of several spirits involved with the construction of canoes. Above all of them is Luugoileng (lit. god of "Middle Heaven"). Krämer gives Luugoileng, a major deity in heaven, as the inventor of ocean sailing canoes (*waal waiy*) and writes that Luugoileng:

... has many assistants among them Selang, Semalegoror, Semadjek who have been characterized in more detail in the chapter on religion, where their offices are explained in some detail (1937:91).

It is noteworthy that Krämer says that each one of these spirits has a separate "office" related to canoe building that he is responsible to. Consequently, the *senap* must follow the taboos and magical rites associated with these individual spirit powers and their "offices" at each subsequent stage in the construction of a voyaging canoe. Krämer gives detailed information on the taboos and magical rites which accompany these levels of construction, each one of which is overseen by a different spirit of canoe building, which is telling evidence of the complexity of the curriculum of taboos which the canoe builder had to learn in the pre-Christian era.

A number of ethnographers including Krämer (1937:92) and Burrows and Spiro (1953:238) have mentioned the taboo against canoe builders working on canoes at the same time a house is being constructed. In connection with this is the respect behavior called *faiisho*, meaning "welcome," which the workers on the canoe are supposed to say to

individuals who pass by the site where a canoe is being built. Caughey writes, "Among the inventory of respect behaviors (*faayiro*) there is a polite term, *fewuwico* ..." which is applied in Truk if a person happens to walk by a group of people while they are building a house (1970:27). Caughey continues to say:

... to utter this term is equivalent to acknowledging the master builder's special power and status; it is equivalent to saying, "I humbly pay respect to your power, please don't sorcerize my house" (1970:27).

On Lamotrek the custom is similar because workers use the respect term, *faiisho* [EM: a dialectical variant of *faayiro*] when a person passes by. Krämer gives the following interpretation of "*faiiro*" for Lamotrek:

The people who pass the spot are greeted with the greeting of *faiiro*, in order that they may not spoil anything by their possible evil thoughts (1937:94).

Evidently, the threat of a canoe builder attempting to perform sorcery or black magic on the work of another canoe builder was a very real possibility in the past. Lessa reported a story on Ulithi about two sorcerers from Eauripik and Woleai respectively who applied black magic on each other when they were on Ulithi "after each had become jealous over the other's skill in canoe building" (Lessa 1961b:817).

In Chapter 2, I noted that the *fotow* dances performed by men and women in celebration of a large catch of bonito are competitive in that each group claims that they are better than the other in providing food for the community. Just as there is competition in the *reepiy* knowledge domain, there is competition in the *rong* knowledge domain. The above instance of

two canoe builders performing black magic on each other is an example of how this competitive attitude may be manifested. Caughey writes:

Different practitioners of one specialty usually exist in a state of more or less continuous competition, each hoping to best the other and gain a reputation as "number one" (1970:75).

The competition is viewed as a contest to see whose spirit power is greater. If the contest reaches an antagonistic level whereby black magic (*sausou*) is introduced, the spirit power of the *rong* master who wins the sorcery contest "eats" the spirit power of the other *rong* master, which, in the island belief system has the effect of undoing the offending *rong* master's ability to exercise his trade, and perhaps killing the *rong* master as well.

Black magic (*sausou*) was performed on Lamotrek when I was present on the island in 1978. This is a very delicate subject for which I cannot give to many details. The sorcerer who revealed this information to me did so willingly and in detail but for ethical reasons I cannot present it here. I can say, however, that the sorcerer collected *tafey* "medicine" for the purpose of countersorcery and enlisted the aid of a number of other persons, as many as twenty, to assist him. The rationale for having other people collect *tafey* "medicine" rather than do it all alone was the perceived danger of the black magic reversing itself and attacking the maker. By spreading out the number of persons who theoretically might come under attack, the sorcerer reduces the risk of the possibility of the black magic turning against him and "eating" him. Black magic is generally frowned upon in Lamotrekan society, not only because it is non-Christian but because of the belief that the sorcerer who practices black magic will himself die. Lessa reports that this was a common belief throughout the Caroline Islands:

... the sorcerer himself had died ... fulfilling a Carolinian belief that those who sorcerize others are themselves doomed to die (1961a:818).

I heard a number of stories about masters of a *rong* specializations that could no longer function as a result of black magic being performed on him. Mr. R claimed that his adopted father, Mr. Y from Woleai, used to be one of the best navigators to sail between Woleai, Ifaluk and Faraulep. Now, Mr. Y sails no more because he is said to have "lost his knowledge" as a result of someone making black magic against him. A passage from a myth that I collected on Lamotrek about a sea ghost (*yaliusetat*) named Sauwelman illustrates the island belief that ghosts and spirits have the ability to "eat" humans:

Myth of Sauwelman (excerpt)

From his home in the sea, Souwelman saw the fire that a woman had made on Lamotrek and thought, "Ah, there is someone there. I am going to go and eat them." But when he came to the fire he heard the sound of coconut shells crackling on the fire and he was scared of the sound. So he said, "Hey! Who is there?" The women said, "It is only me." Sauwelman said, "Please tell your spirit to quiet down."¹⁵ And that woman said, "No, my spirit tells me that if you are going to eat me then he will eat you first." Sauwelman said, "Please, please, I will not eat you. Tell him that I will not eat you. I will bring you food. So that woman made the fire go down a little bit.

¹⁵ Souwelman thinks the crackling sound coming from the burning coconuts is the manifestation of a spirit power who is in the service of the woman tending the fire.

The metaphor of "eating" as a manifestation of the antagonism that exists between two opposing spirit powers is also given in a chant collected by Krämer for Truk (1932:245). In the chant, a navigator who belongs to a school of navigation named Lemuarefat says, "I want to end it, the captain of the Uorieng" [EM: Uorieng = Weriyeng, a school of navigation]. The Lemuarefat navigator then calls upon this spirit power which takes the form of a fish, to "devour" the Uorieng navigator. The feeling of competition between these two systems of navigation in the chant is so fierce on the part of the Lemuarefat navigator and the potential consequences so devastating to the Uorieng navigator that this chant can probably be classified as black magic (*sausou*). Mahony has reported for Truk that war leaders would recite chants at an enemy "to try and subdue and defeat them" (1970:191). The belief by islanders in the power of such chants to undo a foe was apparently quite real; in Western society we would probably call this behavior "psychological warfare."

I collected a song which is very well known in the Central Caroline Islands which expresses not only the pride that an individual has when he alone "holds" all the knowledge that his family and lineage has to teach him but also the danger in "holding" such knowledge because of the competitive position it places him in. This song is not a *rong* song because it is not used to effect a desired change in a condition, nor is it used for magical, protective purposes. Rather, this song is a public affirmation of the *rong* master's confidence in himself *vis-à-vis* his knowledge. My Lamotrekan informants made it very clear that although the song talks about *rong* skills there is no prohibition with regard to singing it in public. Consequently, we may view this song as similar to the *pannal wa* canoe hauling chants given earlier in that it provides an informal educative opportunity for the non-*rong*

practitioner to learn something about *rong* skills. Informants stated that only those males, however, who have learned all the *rong* skills that are in their family and lineage group are entitled to sing it. According to local memory, this song was composed before Japanese traders established businesses on Lamotrek and Satawal. This would make the composition of the song circa 1920s. Mr. A told me, "Woleai people understand this song, Satawal people, Ifaluk people, Eauripik people, and Faraulep people."¹⁶

Taurong Song
("Master Of *Rong*" Song)

1. You are a *taubwe* "fortune teller" and
a *paliuw* "navigator."
2. You are finished from the *giyegiy* "mats of knowledge"
3. And have all the *repie* "intelligence. "
4. You dig a hole, cover it up, and talk about it.
5. You are like the *langiuw* fish because you are not afraid.
6. They talk about you and plan against you
7. But that young coconut-leaf necklace is your truth.
8. They talk about you and use words against Sauwel [EM:
name of a non-chiefly clan on Lamotrek]
9. But you will speak and your words will always be true.

There are a number of features about this song which deserve attention. First, it is very significant that in the Lamotrekese text the word "*repie*" [S & T: *reepiy*] occurs in line no. 3. Here, "*repie*" refers directly to the *rong* skills of navigation (*paliuw*) and divination (*bwe*) and indicate that these *rong* skills are perceived as being part of the *reepiy* knowledge domain. In other words, the two domains of *reepiy* and *rong* knowledge are interlinked with

¹⁶ The Lamotrekese text from which this translation was made is in Appendix A, p. 405.

the *rong* domain being a branch or extension of the *reepiy* domain. Second, only a *paliuw* "navigator" or *taubwe* "master diviner" can sing this song. Mr. A explained it this way:

When you sing this song to a man, you are saying that you have mastered all the skills of your family — and only you have done this; because you are the same as the fish which swims back and forth very fast, never satisfied where you have been, always looking for new questions. These skills are like your food that you were born with and grew up with and which were given to you by your parents and other members of your family. And now only you are the one who has them. For instance, I am walking to Weriatag¹⁷ and the group there sees me singing this song. I am laughing and I sit down and someone says something to me — asking me a question which only a *paliuw* or a *taubwe* can answer correctly.

The "fish" referred to by Mr. A in the above passage is the *langiuw* fish which is spoken of in line no. 5 in the above text of the song. We may infer from both the context of the song and Mr. A's explanation of it that a learner of *rong* skills behaves metaphorically like the a fish, always going "back and forth very fast, never satisfied" and "always looking for something new." This could very well be an allusion to the constant contact which the learner-apprentice must maintain with his teacher-master if he wishes to progress in acquiring all his master's knowledge. Obviously, the fish is an important metaphor for the kind of behavior that is expected from a student of *rong*. The importance of the fish metaphor appears as well in Mr. B's explanation of the song:

¹⁷ Weriatag is the name of a canoe house on Lamotrek. See Map 5, p. 78.

He is free from everything. He has completely finished his training in all of these skills like *paliuw* and *bwe*. He is like that special fish which we call *langiuw* which is very strong. He is like that fish in that he is always forwarding towards something new. These skills belong to him because he is older and his parents and grandparents knew these skills. When he says something it is always straight, not curved. When he makes the *bwe* it comes out right. And when he goes sailing, he does not sight the island from one side of the canoe or the other. It is always straight in front of him.

It is significant in Mr. B's explanation that the individual who has mastered all the *rong* skills of his family and lineage is seen as being "free from everything." The inference here is that those who have not achieved this status still have to finish their education in the *rong* "held" by their lineage group; moreover, that this status is usually not achieved until a comparatively late age, until after 40, the customary age in the culture when one assumes the full responsibilities of a mature adult (Lessa 1950a:231). The song expresses the notion, however, that attaining this level of accomplishment should not mark the end of one's education with regard to acquiring *rong* skills since the *langiuw* fish is, as Mr. A said, "always looking for something new" and, as Mr. B said, "always forwarding towards something new". The sentiment is that the *reepiy* "intelligent" man is forever engaged in learning something new, but once he has acquired those *rong* skills which are "his food," he has attained all that can be expected of him and therefore is "free." The meaning behind the translation of line no. 4 in the song remains a mystery as no informant was able to tell me what it meant. Very probably the "hole" mentioned has some connection with a

rong ritual of some kind and perhaps some metaphorical, educative function because of the "talk about it" (see above discussion of the concept *kapetali* "talk of" in relation to transmission of *rong* knowledge). Nevertheless, the context of the "hole" must remain, for the time being, unexplained. Lastly, there is the reference to the *giyegiy* "mats of knowledge," also called "*giyegiy*," in line no. 2, referring to the *rong* skills of divination (*bwe*) and navigation (*paliuw*). The significance of these "mats" as mentioned before in connection with a canoe hauling chant (p. 168) will be discussed in detail in the next chapter as an important formal educational characteristic.

The theme of competition also appears in the text of the above song. It appears in the metaphorical context of the *langiuwe* fish which is "not afraid" even though other *rong* masters "plan against you" and "use words against Sauwel." Obviously, the originator of this song belonged to the Sauwel clan, which on Lamotrek, is a non-chiefly clan. In other words, a member of the Sauwel clan will never aspire to occupy any of the traditional chiefly offices other than head of his own lineage group. Nevertheless, individuals can improve their social status and their income producing potential by acquiring *rong* skills.¹⁸ The singer of the song gains courage from the *ubut* "young coconut-leaf" necklace which is a symbol of

¹⁸ This is an area for further research — the hypothetical correlation between those individuals who seek to acquire *rong* skills because of their low-ranking clan status and those who do not because of their high-ranking clan status. Such a study might explain the differences between aspirations and academic achievement goals, not only within the *rong* knowledge domain but also in formal institutional schooling environments.

his status as a *rong* master.¹⁹ The *ubut* necklance is perceived as empowering him to withstand any verbal attacks or plots against him.

For males, a canoe house is viewed as a place where lineage members "hold" various *rong* skills. In former times, there was a *gasulug* "instrument rack" near every canoe house which served the purpose of holding the various *rong* objects that were being used by *waug* and *serawi* "weather magicians." The *gasulug* looked something like a hat rack because it consisted of a tree limb with several branches cut off and stuck in the ground.²⁰ The objects or instruments that belonged to *rong* masters might be hung on the *gasulug* when they were not in use. Generally, however, they were kept high in the meeting house (*fenap*) or in a canoe house (*fal*). The *gasulug* were placed in the sacred taboo areas, *roang*, that existed near the beach at every canoe house (see Map 5, p. 78). Mr. B told me, "Every canoe house had their own *gasulug* because there was *reepiy* at every canoe house." When asked, "What is *reepiy*?" he answered, "Like there is *paliuw* [EM: skill in navigation] there, and *waug* [EM: skill in weather control and

¹⁹ The *ubut* "coconut-leaf necklace" mentioned is the type which is commonly used to adorn dancers throughout the Caroline Islands. It is made from two young coconut leaves which are fastened together with an overhand knot made at one end, and another overhand knot made at the other end, leaving a space for the head to go through. This *ubut* as well as all other types of *ubut* have ritual significance whenever *rong* magical rites are being performed and are thought to symbolize the spirit power that oversees the efficacy of an applied *rong* skill. I could gather no specific name for this coconut-leaf necklace other than *ubut* but Krämer was told that it was called "*ubud vai vei* or *vei vei l'ubudj*" when he visited Lamotrek in 1909 and gives an illustration of it in his published work on Lamotrek (1937:154, fig. 74). This *ubut* necklace it is referred to as a "double knot" *ubut* which is different from the "single knot" type.

²⁰ An illustration of a *gasulug* "instrument rack" is given for Lamotrek in Krämer (1937:156, fig. 76).

purification magic] there." When asked the question, "If a man is *reepiy* then he will know *rong* ?" Mr. B answered:

Yes, if he is *reepiy* then he will hold everything: *senap rele bwe* [EM: be an expert in divination], *senap rele terag* [EM: be an expert in voyaging], *senap rele bwang* [EM: be an expert in martial arts and canoe and house restoration], *senap rele waug* [EM: be an expert in weather control and purification magic], and others."²¹

From the above comment and analysis of the "*Taurong* Song" it is clear that the *reepiy* "intelligent" male attempts to acquire all of the culturally defined valuable trades or *rong* specializations practiced by members of his lineage. The problem which presents itself at this point may be phrased in the following manner: "How does one differentiate *rong* "offices" and which *rong* "offices" manifest schooling pedagogies for educating new members? This is the question that will be addressed in the next chapter.

Summary

Rong "sacred knowledge" does not exist separate and apart from *reepiy* "secular knowledge." As youths grow up and mature they first acquire practical and social skills which are basic and ordinary but at the same time they come in contact with various kinds of objects associated with *rong* specialized skills such as *meshang* "taboo markers" in the form of young coconut-leaf knots and *tafey* "medicines" used to cure the sick.

²¹ In this passage the use of the term *senap* means "expert" rather than the *rong* specialization of canoe building or house building.

Throughout their lives, subdominant channels of informal education in the socio-cultural environment such as canoe chants and popular songs extol the virtues of being able to chart a course to a far away island or fix a damaged canoe at sea. By their teenage years, young people are actively encouraged to begin to acquire some of the *rong* specialized skills which are "owned" by their lineage mates. At this point, the learner does not leave the *reepiy* world of "secular knowledge" behind but expands and develops upon the respect (*gasorou*) and competition (*gaingeing*) behaviors which have served him or her well in acquiring practical and social skills in the subsistence and cultural contexts of daily life.

In acquiring *rong* "sacred knowledge," the learner moves to a higher level of complexity in terms of the types of skills which he or she practices, the taboos which he or she must observe in the exercise of specialized skills, and the respect behaviors shown to his teachers and patron spirits. In the exercise of *rong* skills the question of success or failure is preeminent and a direct function of the degree of *reepiy* "intelligence" of the practitioner in obeying his or her "contract" of magical rites and sacred taboos. There is always the danger that a *rong* practitioner will make a mistake in the repetition of a spell, forget an avoidance behavior associated with a taboo, or get embroiled in a competitive contest that makes him or her vulnerable to sorcery. As a result, the degree of *reepiy* "intelligence" manifested in his or her attempts to deal with these problematic areas will fluctuate depending on his or her degree of success in dealing with the challenges that come with the *rong* "office" he or she practices.

CHAPTER 5

TRADITIONAL *RONG* KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS

As discussed in the previous chapter, Ishimori differentiates the *rong* knowledge domain into two groups: "narrow" and "broad." The first he describes in the following manner:

"narrow *rong* ... only contains the spell ... this is because the spell is the most important aspect of knowledge concerning *yalu* [EM: *yalu* = *yalius* "spirit(s)"]. Without the spell, there would not be any *rong* (1980:43).

To reiterate, the spell or chant itself is called *rong* and it forms the core of the magical rite, often in conjunction with other chants, symbols and materials such as coconut-leaf knots (*ubut*).¹ The second level of the *rong* system he describes in the following manner:

"broad *rong* ... not only contains spells, but it also contains myths relating to *yalu*, how to carry out a magical rite, what to do and not do concerning particular *yalu*, the concrete skill (such as how to make a canoe, a type of medicine, how to tell a fortune), and other things (1980:43).

In the above passage, the reader should note that the curricular elements of myth, magical rite, taboo, and technique ("concrete skill") associated with a *rong* specialization are included in each system of "broad *rong*."

¹ The diversity of the types of *ubut* "young coconut-leaf ornaments" combined with other flora and fauna is truly great and as such constitute a subject worthy of separate study and investigation due to their ritual significance and use in *rong* skills. Unfortunately, only a few of the different types and their relationship to *rong* specializations can be discussed here.

Ishimori collected descriptions of 45 different systems of "broad *rong*." Each one of these descriptions represents "systemized knowledge concerning *yalu*" (Ishimori 1980:43). Unfortunately, Ishimori does not give the indigenous names of these *rong* systems in his listing so this information is difficult to use for comparative analysis, nevertheless, the range and scope of the subject matters he collected — from "*rong* concerning flying fish" to "*rong* concerning driftwood" — indicates the diversity of skills which involve educational apprenticeship. In addition to Ishimori's collection of *rong* skills, a survey of the literature shows that there are 71 other references to specialized skills which are specifically identified as *rong* by Sugito, Lessa, Krämer, LeBar, Mahony, Bollig, and Caughey. This does not mean to suggest that the skills mentioned by these authors are the only *rong* skills described in the literature reviewed for this study. For instance, although Krämer gives detailed information concerning a number of specialized skills in his research on Lamotrek (1937), none of these skills are specifically identified as *rong* skills. It is only in a footnote (1937:108) to a listing of Lamotrekan "chants, *alis*, *rong*" that he tells the reader to "See Truk p. 256, footnote 2 ... about this ambiguous word." Through comparative analysis between his research on Lamotrek and Truk we may assume, however, that the specialized skills which he reports for Lamotrek are examples of *rong* "offices" (Krämer 1932:256) which are similar to those which he describes for Truk.

Specialized Occupations

My research on Lamotrek and comparative analysis of the literature suggests that Ishimori's concept of "broad *rong*" may be subdivided into

congregate sets or general systems of "broad *rong*." For instance, we may deduce that Ishimori's listing of numerous "*rong* concerning to cure disease" falls under the general category of medicine (*tafey*) and that the *rong* master who is an expert in this field carries the title or "office" of *tautafey*. Likewise, we may deduce that Ishimori's listing of *rong* skills "to call" various kinds of fish falls under the general category of marine fertility (*gato mongo tat*) and that the *rong* master on Lamotrek who is an expert in this field carries the title or "office" of *tautat*. Admittedly, these deductions are speculative in light of the fact that Ishimori gives no additional information other than short descriptions for each of the "broad *rong*" skills given in his list, and these without any indigenous names included, but they do serve the purpose here of identifying the range of general occupations and more complex *rong* knowledge systems. Krämer, Bollig, and Lessa are the only authors who I found specifically give the indigenous names of individual *rong* masters and classify them as *rong* specialists of highest rank.² Krämer describes them as "most important *rong*" (1932:257), Bollig calls them "carriers of the religion" (1927:43), and Lessa refers to them as "magicians of primary rank" (1950a:130). Since it is in these *rong* "offices" as Krämer defines them (1932:256) that we may expect to find formal educational characteristics indicative of schooling pedagogies, the following composite list using Lamotrekese cognates³ is presented here:

² See Appendix C, List 1, p. 417

³ See Appendix C, List 2, p. 418.

<u>Rong Master's Title</u>	<u>Specialization "Office"</u>
<i>taubwe</i>	divination
<i>tausheo</i>	healing by massage
<i>tautat</i>	marine fertility
<i>paliuw</i>	navigation
<i>serawi</i>	weather control
<i>waliyalus</i>	spirit medium
<i>taugatomai</i>	agricultural fertility
<i>taugatoig</i>	marine fertility
<i>itang</i>	warfare
<i>tausausou</i>	black magic (sorcerer)
<i>senap</i>	canoe and house building
<i>tauyalius</i>	white magic (shaman-priest)
<i>tautafey</i>	medicine
<i>taubwangifitug</i>	martial arts

My research on Lamotrek generally supports the above listing with only a couple of exceptions and qualifications. First, my Lamotrekan informants did not include the *itang* "warfare" category in their lists of *rong* specializations. Moreover, it should be noted that my glossing of *itang* as specialized knowledge in "warfare" is an oversimplification of a complex knowledge domain that has, as yet, not been thoroughly researched or studied (see King and Parker 1984:53). Riesenberger and Elbert, for instance, learned that the Puluwat islanders classify *itang* information into five categories: "war, magic, meetings, navigation, and breadfruit" (1971:220). This *itang* description is not in conflict with the above identifications of *paliuw* with navigation or *taugatomai* with agricultural fertility. This redundancy can be explained by understanding that the skills of the *paliuw* and *taugatomai* may exist with or without a *itang* rhetorical component. For the purposes of this study, the *itang* specialist will be glossed as "war leader" with the understanding that Lamotrekans only refer to *itang* as a language

(*kapetali itang*) and do not acknowledge it as a body of technical skills.⁴ As mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, the secret rhetoric of the *itang* master is not used on Lamotrek though Lamotrekans are aware of its use on the four Western Islands of Truk — Puluwat, Pulap, Pulusuk, and Tamatam (collectively called Pattiw) — in addition to the islands of Truk Lagoon (see Map 4, p. 40). There does appear to be a limit to the usage of *itang* knowledge in the Trukic continuum. Informants on Puluwat told Riesenberg and Elbert that *itang* is "unknown" on the islands west of Puluwat (1971:220). Thomas, however, collected several examples of *itang* chants from a recognized *paliuw* navigator on Satawal which are given in his book, *The Last Navigator* (1987:97-103, 233-234). This is either a result of family ties through marriage between Satawal and the four Western Islands of Truk or evidence that *itang* rhetoric as a legitimate form of communication or subsystem of *paliuw* lore is recognized within certain ranks of navigators more than Riesenberg and Elbert's Puluwatan informants led them to believe.

In addition to the *itang* "war leader" the *waliyalius* "spirit medium" is not included by Lamotrekan informants in their lists of *rong* practitioners. The exception to this is if the *waliyalius* becomes a *tauyalius* or "master of the spirits" which is equivalent to the occupational status of a shaman-priest who performs white magic (makes curative medicines) on behalf of clients. In order to understand the difference between the *waliyalius* and *tauyalius*

⁴ One informant described *itang* as "speaking in parables." The words used by *itang* specialists disguised a hidden meaning that only other initiated *itang* could understand. See also Chapter 3, note 32, p. 152.

categories, some background information on traditional religious practices is necessary.

Before the conversion of the island population to Christianity in 1953, all Lamotrekans could seek assistance from gods and ancestral spirits which they petitioned in times of need. These traditional spirit powers stood apart from patron spirits who were affiliated with *rong* practitioners. This melange of deities and ancestral spirits had popular support and cult followings which varied from island to island. Some spirits such as Yongolap and Marespa were called "great ghosts" because of their human origins and were worshiped on several islands; others such as Fuss, belonged only to Lamotrek, Elato, and Olimarao; and still others were the individual ancestral ghosts of clans, lineages and families. From time to time, these spirits revealed their presence through one or more human mediums and communicated through them to others. On Lamotrek, spirit mediums or shamans were called *wamware*, "canoe of the flower wreath" or *waliyalius* "canoe of the spirit." Similarly, Ishimori reported the following for Satawal:

A shaman is called *wanuanu*. Since *waa* means 'canoe', *wanuanu* is translated as 'the canoe of a superhuman being' or 'the vehicle of a deity' (1987:244).

Ishimori's definition of *wanuanu* for Satawal is virtually identical to that of *waaliyalius* of Lamotrek. The difference is simply a linguistic one, with the Satawal term a closer variant to the Trukese term *wananu* reported by

Mahony (1970:136).⁵ Lessa made an investigation on Ulithi into the subject of "linage ghosts" and their "mediums" in his article, "The Apotheosis of Marespa" (1976) which is summarized in his book, *Ulithi: A Micronesian Design for Living* (1966). The following remarks by Lessa come from the latter work and are in agreement with information which was reported to me by informants on Lamotrek:

The medium is the means by which advice, warnings, and facts are transmitted. While in a state of possession he trembles a good deal and on occasion may go into an epileptic like fit. He utters the words of the spirit in clear and intelligible language, rather than strange verbiage or incomprehensive mutterings. The information imparted in trance communications pertains to the things that most concern the Ulithian: the feasibility of an ocean voyage, the safety of relatives away from home, the cause of an illness, the attitude of a loved one, the approach of a typhoon, and the like (1966:51).

Informants told me that spirit mediums on Lamotrek were used during World War II "like radios." One spirit is credited with warning the people that an American plane would attack the island on a certain day and later informed them of the exact day an American ship would be seen entering the

⁵ See the following sources for information on spirit medium activities concerning prayers, offerings, dances, and communication with the spirit world: Damm and Sarfert 1935:202; Damm 1954; Goodenough 1963:133-134; Burrows and Spiro 1953:223-226; Krämer 1937:280; Krämer 1932:309, 335; Krämer 1935:117, fn. 9; Girschner 1911:192-194; Browning 1970:27; Ishimori 1987:249; Mahony 1970:46, 136-37; Eilers 1935: 72-73. There are several descriptions in the literature of the various kinds of altars in the Trukic continuum. Damm (1954) has done the most thorough examination of their importance in connection with traditional religion. Goodenough (1963:133-134) provides a detailed description of their use for Truk. Krämer gives an illustration (1932:341, fig. 223) of an altar which he found in Truk which he states came from Lamotrek (1937:151). Also, Holden gives an eye-witness account of how these altars were used to summon island spirits in times of need when he was shipwrecked on Tobi Island (Holden 1836:85-87).

lagoon, signifying their liberation from the Japanese soldiers stationed there (Metzgar 1979:30).

A number of ethnographers have made a connection between *rong* knowledge and the activities of spirit mediums as prognosticators of spirit-related information, among them Krämer (1932:319), Sugito (1987:285), Bollig (1927:43), and Mahony (1970:136). Others, including Goodenough (1951:55) and Caughey (1970:xix, fn. 10) argue that spirit mediums should not be viewed as possessing *rong* knowledge simply as a result of being possessed by a spirit. I agree with Goodenough and Caughey in this matter. Although there is evidence that *rong* skills, especially the formulas for different kinds of medicines used for curing sickness, are the result of communications with spirit powers via dreams and spirit mediums, the main substance of spirit communications in connection with spirit mediums, as reported by Lessa in the above passage, is related to "information" not skills. The fact is that not all spirit mediums are capable of recalling or remembering spirit-related communications and/or spirit-related knowledge which they have received. This undoubtedly accounts for the reasoning behind the fact that informants on Lamotrek exclude spirit mediums from their lists of *rong* practitioners. The exception is if the spirit medium also happens to be the possessor of *rong* knowledge as a result of his or her communications with the spirit world. Such persons become recognized as *tauyalius*. An apprentice then may receive skills from the *tauyalius* in the form of a "contract" of taboos binding him or her to the original spirit power from whence the knowledge originated. In this way, a spirit medium may function as a shaman-priest or magico-religious specialist (cf. Burrows & Spiro 1953:242-243). In addition, the *tauyalius* often seems to be associated with the activities of the *tautafey* in that both of these *rong* masters are

experts in making medicinal formulas which are used in curing sickness. A *tauyalius* may in fact be referred to as a *tautafey* because of his or her vast storehouse of knowledge concerning medicines. The difference between the two, however, is that the *tauyalius* goes into a trance to communicate with one or more spirit powers in order to find out what medicinal formula will cure a patient. The *tautafey*, in contrast, is not necessarily a spirit medium and relies on his knowledge of medicinal formulas to cure sickness. If the *tautafey* is in doubt about what kind of medicine to use he may call upon a *tauyalius* or a *taubwe* as a consultant to identify the source of the sickness.

My Lamotrekkan informants mentioned other *rong* masters of importance who are not included on Krämer's, Bollig's, or Lessa's lists of important *rong* specializations. They are as follows:

<u>Rong Master's Title</u>	<u>Specialization "Office"</u>
<i>waug</i>	weather control and purification magic
<i>taugapeyepey</i>	marine fertility
<i>taugatoliu</i>	agricultural fertility
<i>tauloa</i>	wave and water conjuror
<i>taubwangiwa</i>	canoe restoration
<i>taubwangifal</i>	canoe house restoration

There may be more than one *rong* practitioner within individual knowledge domains and their titles may vary from island to island as well as on Lamotrek itself. Comparing the above two lists of *rong* professions, for example, *tautat* (lit. "master of the sea"), *taugatoig* (lit. "master of calling fish"), and *taugapeyepey* (lit. "master of driftwood") are titles for *rong* masters involved with marine fertility rituals. It is possible for one individual to be called by all of these titles. For instance, a *taugapeyepey*

may also be referred to as a *taugatoig* because both occupations deal with magical spells and medicines to "call" fish. In the case of the *taugapeyepey*, he "calls" large logs of driftwood to the island which is the same as "calling" fish because of the number of fish which commonly surround drifting logs at sea.⁶ A *taugatoig*, however, may not be considered a *taugapeyepey* since not all *taugatoig* "call" driftwood. A *taugatoig* may use special medicines which he deposits under a reef ledge to magically "call" fish to the reef. He may also drag a medicinal bundle behind his canoe through a special channel in the reef as a fertility ritual to "call" fish (cf. Lessa 1950a:132-139). If the *rong* practitioner is the leading figure in practicing marine fertility magic on an island then he might also be given the title *tautat*. In this case, it is likely that he is an expert in a number of marine fertility rituals including "calling driftwood." In addition, he may be referred to by any one of a number of special names including *soyilee*, *sowupwong*, and *temalip* depending on variations in these titles from island to island.

There may also be several different titles for crop magicians involved with agricultural fertility. The two given in the above lists are *taugatamai* (lit. "master of calling breadfruit") and *taugatoliu* (lit. "master of calling coconuts"). There are several other such titles. Alkire gives *tabutobo* as the name of a Lamotrekan "agricultural magician" (1989:93) as well as *falu* as the name of a Woleaian "magician who is especially versed in crop magic" (1968:285). I never heard these names used on Lamotrek but they probably

⁶ I was given the names and descriptions of 14 different kinds of driftwood logs by a Satawalese informant who is a *taugapeyepey* "master of calling driftwood." One type of driftwood is called *yarogonga* — the same name of the protagonist in the "Myth of Yarogonga" (see Chapter 3, p. 89).

refer to *rong* masters who are experts in a number of different *rong* systems of agricultural fertility magic.

The title of *taulao* (lit. "master of waves") is the name given to the specialist who is called into action if ocean waves caused by storms threaten to inundate the island. This can be a real danger since the taro gardens in the interior sections of coral atolls such as Lamotrek are susceptible to damage if salt water should find its way into them. The *taulao* is also hired to make the salt water leave as quickly as possible if the island should be swept over by waves as the result of a major typhoon. Mr. W remembered a small fragment of a *rong* spell he heard for exorcising salt water from the island: "I paddle up, I paddle down ..." In this ritual, the *taulao* takes a paddle and walks around the parts of the island which are covered with salt water. He repeats the chant as he walks. When he finishes his "healing" of the contaminated sections of the island, he sticks the paddle (handle first) into the earth and leaves it there. The belief is that the water will drain off quickly after this ritual is performed. During my research on Lamotrek, I was told that a *taulao* lived on Elato. When I visited Elato and inquired from this man whether or not he was a *taulao*, he vigorously denied it (see discussion of research problems in Chapter 1, pp. 49-55). What little information I have concerning this specialization comes from Mr. W, the oldest man living on Lamotrek who is a *waug* (master of weather control and purification magic). I thought perhaps that the titles of *waug*, *serawi* and *taulao* may comprise the same area of *rong* knowledge but he stated that the *taulao* is an entirely separate class of *rong* practitioners whereas *waug* and *serawi* are related. Lessa substantiates this in his report concerning *serawi* and *tolo* for Ulithi (1950a:144). It is interesting that Chamisso also gives a

early report of what must be variant of the *tauloa* occupation for the Marshall Islands:

A well-known danger threatens all low islands from the sea, and religious belief often holds this rod above the people. But conjuring helps against this. In Radak [EM: Marshall Islands] Kadu [EM: Chamisso's Woleaian informant] saw the sea rise to the feet of the coconut trees, but it was abjured in time and returned to its borders. He named two men and a woman for us who understand this conjuring in Radak (1836:279).

The nonformal educational characteristics involved in the transmission of the above "offices" stem from the systemic nature of the symbols and differentiation of chants which are inherent in all *rong* specializations of knowledge and skills. Sarfert was one of the first ethnologists to report that systems of *rong* knowledge have "symbols" which are associated with various types of specialized skills (Damm and Sarfert 1935:199). From his research on Ifaluk, Satawal, and Puluwat in 1909 he collected two lists of sacred objects that symbolize various spirit powers. The "symbols" from his lists which are used in *rong* rituals include the following objects: paddle, conch shell, coconut-leaf necklace, coconut-leaf knots of various types, shell adze, dancing stick, and spirit effigy with sting ray spines. For the first list of symbols which Sarfert gathered on Ifaluk he says:

The knowledge of symbols (*banewan*) for certain deities is not general either on Polowat [EM: Puluwat] or on Satawal [EM: Satawal]. These *banewan* play an important part in the worship and invocation of the deity concerned (Damm and Sarfert 1935:199).

For the second list of symbols which Sarfert gathered from his research on Puluwat and Satawal he says:

Banewan means the invocation of a deity; several inhabitants of heaven have a sort of symbol (*walewoli*) which plays a certain part in the *banewan* (Damm 1938:91).

The above observations by Sarfert are informative because they point to the underlying systematic structure that chants and ritual objects play in *rong* skills. In the first passage he calls the symbol of a deity "*banewan*," in the second passage he refers to it as "*walewoli*." In addition, Sarfert implies that the term *banewan* has a double meaning in that it also is the general name for an invocation or chant to a deity. The confusion over the usage of these terminologies is called to the reader's attention by Damm who states:⁷

According to another version, Sarfert calls this *banewan* invocation "*waliwol*" (1938:91, fn. 2).

Indeed, elsewhere in the text of Sarfert's data from Puluwat and Satawal I have found other versions where magical invocations and sacred objects are referred by Sarfert as "*balibal*" and "*balebal*" (Damm and Sarfert 1935:202, 208) but after several careful readings I cannot locate the "version" in the text where Damm says a *banewan* invocation is called "*waliwol*." Judging from the context of Sarfert's use of the term "*waliwol*," I think it unlikely that this is a cognate term of either "*balibal*" or "*balebal*." On the contrary,

⁷ Damm wrote up Sarfert's field notes for publication after Sarfert died. Damm also wrote up Hambruch's field notes after Hambruch's death for publication. There was a long delay between the time this information was collected in 1909-1910 and the subsequent *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910* publications on the islands of Truk and the Central Caroline Islands in the years 1932-1938 (cf. Berg 1988:97-100).

it is highly likely that when Sarfert uses the term "*waliwol*" he is referring to sacred symbolic objects which are made out of wood or consist of plant materials and used in conjunction with *banewan* incantations. On Lamotrek, *waliuwel* is defined as anything which is made from plant or tree materials, and sacred objects which are made from these materials are sometimes referred to in this way by *rong* masters.⁸ Following this logic, we may conclude that both the invocations to a spirit power and the symbols associated with a spirit may at times be called "*banewan*" or "*balibal (balebal)*." There is great confusion in the anthropological literature on this point as well as a multitude of different spellings for these terms. The reason for the differences in classification systems of magical incantations and the wide differences of interpretation by ethnologists who have reported on them are probably a result of borrowing throughout the Trukic continuum. Lessa has made the following comment in this regard:

The native terms for magic and magicians are not always clear, probably representing a mixture of both local and imported terms (1950a:127).

The different interpretations by ethnologists in the field regarding the organization of sacred objects and magical incantations used in the practice of *rong* skills may be a function of inaccurate information given by informants or inaccurate interpretations by researchers based on limited information. The example of the difference between Lessa's and Spiro's reporting on the existence and non-existence of black magic on Ifaluk respectively has already been mentioned in this regard. In addition, there is

⁸ Sohn and Tawerilmang gloss "*waliuwel*" as "plant, tree" (1976:163).

disagreement between Burrows and Spiro in the literature as to whether or not *bangibeng* magic was present on Ifaluk at the time they were both doing research there. This example is interesting because Burrows and Spiro were both doing research together on Ifaluk at the same time and yet they arrived at different interpretations concerning the existence of *bangibeng*. The passages below illustrate this confusion. First, the report from Spiro (1949:73) and his accompanying footnote:

The specialists on earth turn to their *alus* [EM: *yalius* "spirit(s)"] for assistance and aid in their undertakings, and the requisite rituals are part of the instruction that the specialist imparts to the apprentice during his training period. These *alus* are the recipients of a token sacrifice known as *io-io*.²⁹

²⁹Sarfert incorrectly calls these *banewan* [EM: *bangibeng*]. The *banewan* is any gift a person gives to another whereas the *io-io* is a token gift offering to the *alus*.

It is difficult to ascertain what Spiro's term "*io-io*" means in the passage above as there is nothing like it elsewhere in the literature that I can find. An educated guess is that Spiro's "*io-io*" is a distant cognate of *baliubel* since *baliubel* amulets and medicines are often left in sacred taboo sites (*roang*) as offerings to spirit powers. The gist of the above text from Spiro is that Spiro is refuting Sarfert's interpretation of "*banewan*" as "the invocation of a deity" (Damm 1938:91). Now, the report from Burrows (1958:11):

Another kind of song — a border-line case — is *bwoongabwoong*, incantation or prayer.

In the above passage, Burrows appears to refute Spiro's interpretation and reaffirm Sarfert's, assuming of course, that Sarfert's "*banewan*" is a dialectical variant of Burrow's "*bwoongabwoong*."

From my research on Lamotrek, the use of these *rong*-related terms is dependent on the type of magic being performed. If the magic is intended to effect a change of some kind such as in the above example of the *tauloa* using a paddle to rid an island of salt water, then the chant and the symbol used (i.e. a paddle adorned with *ubut* "young coconut leaves") would, using Sarfert's spelling, be called *banewan*. If the magic is used to protect the *rong* master from harm in performing his trade, from malevolent spirits who may spoil his work, or from the black magic of other *rong* practitioners who may wish to harm or discredit him, then the chant and the symbol used would, using Sarfert's spelling again, be called *balibal* or *balebal*. It is probably abundantly clear to the reader by now that there is general confusion over the spelling of these terms in the literature reviewed for this study; consequently, it is important for the sake of clarity to render the spelling of these terms as they exist in the current standard orthography given in Sohn and Tawerilmang's *Woleaian-English Dictionary*. Thus, Sarfert's "*banewan*" is equivalent to "*bangibeng*," which is defined as "magic-making ceremony" and Sarfert's "*balibal* or *balebal*" is equivalent to "*baliubel*," which is defined as "magic protection" (S & T 1976:4).

The identification of the terms *bangibeng* and *baliubel* is important because they appear again and again in the context of various *rong* skills. They identify two courses of study which a *rong* apprentice must learn in order to practice a *rong* skill. These courses of study involve not only chants

and spells but also the creation of symbols of various kinds such as the black and white coconut-hibiscus string (*yoaforchaal*), coconut-leaf ornaments (*ubut*), and medicinal objects (*tafey*) which have already been mentioned. These objects can be empowered either with a *bangibeng* chant or a *baliubel* chant depending on the intent of the *rong* master. For the purposes of this study, I gloss *bangibeng* as "empowerment magic" and *baliubel* as "protection magic." *Bangibeng* is dynamic in that it "empowers" or invokes patron spirits of a *rong* skill for a specific purpose such as to cure a sickness, calm the wind or waves, or make an enemy defenseless. In the process of performing *bangibeng* magic, an action or object is infused with the power of one or more spirit powers (*yalius*). In other words, the *rong* master intones a chant related to the transmission of the *rong* he seeks to perform. The belief is that the patron spirit will be summoned to make the performance of the *rong* master's skill effective. In contrast to *bangibeng* magic, *baliubel* magic solicits patron spirits of a *rong* skill to come to the protection of a client or, more commonly, protect the *rong* master himself in the performance of his work. In this way, *baliubel* chants and ritual symbols act as shields to ward off malevolent spirits. Often times *baliubel* chants accompany the creation of a medicine or amulet which is left in the sacred taboo site (*roang*) after they are used. In this way both the *baliubel* chant and the ritual object are looked upon as an offering or sacrifice to a *rong* spirit power. Examples of *baliubel* magic are chants aimed at protecting workers on a canoe from cutting themselves in the process of adzing planks of wood, or praying for protection from the counter-sorcery of other *rong* practitioners who may wish to spoil the *rong* master's work. In this case, both the *rong* master and his assistants adorn themselves with *baliubel ubut* "protective coconut-leaf ornaments." After a canoe is finished the

figureheads at both ends of the canoe (*mataliwa*) are adorned with the *baliubel ubut* as offerings to Selang, a patron spirit of canoe builders.

It is also important to note that within the *bangibeng* and *baliubel* categories there are different classes of chants and symbols.⁹ Each of these have their own individual names and there is an exceedingly large number of incantations and types of ritual paraphernalia. The *fariuwelius* chants, for instance, are an example of the *bangibeng* type. *Fariuwelius* chants on Lamotrek are used by weather magicians (*waug* and *serawi*) along with sacred symbols consisting of coconut-leaf ornaments (*ubut*) and a triton shell horn (*tawi*).¹⁰ On Namoluk, Girschner collected the names of 40 different *foarianu* [EM: *foarianu* = *fariuwelius*] in seven categories: "weather and

⁹ Lessa in his Chapter on "Magic" (1950a:127-159) gives a much different analysis than the one presented here of *bangibeng* and *baliubel* (which he spells "*bwongbwong*" and "*bwalebwol*" respectively) for Ulithi. In Lessa's analysis, "*bwongbwong*" is the name of a "white magician" and "*bwalebwol*" is described as one of six classes of magical objects: "*metalkh*," "*bwalebwol*," "*holbu*," "*ielsol*," "*lios*" and "*rorpai*." My Lamotrekan informants were not familiar with this classification system and moreover had never heard of the *holbu* or *ielsol* types of objects. They were familiar, however, with the *metalkh* as well as the *lios* and *rorpai*. For other spellings and interpretations of *bangibeng* type magic see: "*bangebeng*" (Krämer 1937:138); "*vangavang*" (Krämer 1937:375); "*baneban*" (Damm 1938:199); "*wanewan*" (Damm 1938:274); "*bwoongabwoong*" (Burrows 1958:11); "*banewan*" (Spiro 1949:73); "*pwangipwang*" (Elbert 1972:138); "*pwenupwen*" (G & S 1980:294, alternative definition no. 2); "*bangibang*" (Rubenstein 1979:55); "*bangibeng*" (Sugito 1987: 309, fn. 14). For other spellings and interpretations of *baliubel* type magic see: "*bolebol*" (Krämer 1937:151); "*volevol*" (Krämer 1937:354, 375); "*palupol*" (Damm 1938:200); "*io-io*" (Spiro 1949:73); "*pwalipwal*" (Girschner 1911:195); "*puolupol*" (Bollig 1927:74); "*balebili*" (Rubenstein 1979:286); "*pwenupwenun*" (Mahony 1972:194); "*pwonupwon*" (Elbert 1947:179); "*pwenupwen*" (G & S 1980:294, alternative definition no. 1).

¹⁰ A *fariuwelius* chant with shell horn by a *waug* weather magician is documented in the film, *Lamotrek: Heritage of an Island* (Metzgar 1988).

sea journeys, storm conjuration, enemies, fishing, theft, illness, state of health, and fertility incantations" (1911:195).¹¹ There is little mention of the term *bangibeng* or its variants in the literature for the regions of Truk and Mortlock islands except perhaps for Goodenough and Sugita's definition of "*pwenupwen*" as "love magic" (1980:294). This leads me to assume that the *faruwelius* term assumes a dominate role in connection with reciting "empowerment" spells in the area of Truk and Mortlock islands with *bangibeng* a subordinate type of chant. This may also be the case with the "protective" spells of the *baliubel* type because Girschner says, "*pwalipwal* ... are protection against enemies" but gives "*pwalipwal*" as a subordinate category within the superordinate category of *faruwelius* (1911:195).

Professional Occupations

Higher system *rong* specializations incorporating the above symbols and chants of *bangibeng* ("empowerment magic") and *baliubel* ("protection magic") are identified on Lamotrek by their association with *mwaletab* "taboo men." As mentioned in Chapter 4, these men are bound by severe constraints with regard to their behavior in Lamotrekan society. Although all *rong* specialists are bound by systems of taboos in accordance with their individual occupations when they are engaged in those occupations, the

¹¹ Sohn and Tawerilmang define *faruwelius* as "to utter magic to stop rain or wind" (1976:24). There are numerous variant spellings of this term as it relates to incantations in the literature: "*fore alus*" (Krämer 1937:155); "*faruelu*" (Damm 1938:91); "*foriali*" (Damm and Sarfert 1935:197); "*foarianu*" (Girschner 1911:195); "*forieru*" (Bollig 1927:43, 74, 203); "*feerianu*" (Elbert 1972:13); "*feeruweruuw*" (G & S 1980:118).

mwaletab "taboo men" have the unique distinction of retaining certain taboos for life. Lessa has made the following comments in this regard:

Persons who are sacred and surrounded with taboos include chiefs, priests, high-ranking magicians, warriors, new mothers and newly menstruating girls. Their sanctity is acquired rather than immanent, but it is protected against profanement with unusual rigorousness. For instance, no one may touch the head, face, or back of a magician of major rank or walk erect while he is seated. Cooking, eating, sexual, and other taboos may remain in force for a lifetime (1987:503).

The magicians of "major rank" which Lessa refers to in the above passage who must follow taboos that "remain in force for a lifetime" are equivalent to the *mwaletab* "taboo men" of Lamotrek. All informants that I interviewed stated that this select body of individuals includes four classes of men: *taubwe* (diviner), *waug* (master of weather control and purification magic), *serawi* (weather magician), and *paliuw* (navigator). Some informants included a fifth class, the *taubwangifitug* (master of martial arts).

In his research on Ulithi, Lessa does not use the term *mwaletab* in describing high-ranking *rong* specialists. Instead, he refers to them as "magicians of primary rank" and names five classes of specialists: 1) "*rebwe*" (EM: a dialectical variant of *taubwe*); 2) "*serawi*"; 3) "*pelu*" (EM: a dialectical variant of *paliuw*); 4) "*temalip*" [EM: a cognate of *tautat* or *taugatoig*]; and 5) "*chai*" [EM: a cognate of *tausheo*]. Two of these classifications, "*temalip*" and "*chai*," and their Lamotrekan cognates are not included in the above Lamotrekan listing for *mwaletab* "taboo men."

Alkire, writing about Woleai and Lamotrek, is the only writer in the literature reviewed for this study who has made reference to the expression, *mwaletab* "taboo men" (1989:30, 86-87). In his listing of *mwaletab*, Alkire

gives the names of seven different *rong* practitioners: 1) "*sennap*" [EM: *senap*]; 2) "*pelu*" [EM: *paliuw*]; 3) "*wag*" [EM: *waug*]; 4) "*sarawale*" [EM: *serawi*]; 5) "*taubwe*"; 6) "*soyilee*" [EM: *tautat*]; and 7) "*tabutobo*" [EM: *taugatomai*?]. Three of these classifications, "*sennap*", "*soyilee*," "*tabutobo*," and their Lamotrekan cognates are not included in my Lamotrekan informants' lists of *mwaletab* "taboo men."

When we combine my list, Lessa's list, and Alkire's list, we get the following major ranking *rong* specialists using Lamotrekesse cognate terms:

<u>Major Ranking <i>Rong</i> Titles</u>	<u>Specialization "Office"</u>
<i>taubwe</i>	divination
<i>waug</i>	weather control and purification magic
<i>serawi</i>	weather control
<i>paliuw</i>	navigation
<i>taugatoig</i>	marine fertility
<i>tausheo</i>	healing by massage
<i>senap</i>	canoe and house building
<i>taugatomai</i>	agricultural fertility
<i>taubwangifitug</i>	martial arts

Because of their classification as "taboo men" or "magicians of primary rank," the above list of *rong* specialists and the systems of *rong* knowledge which they represent are set apart from other *rong* practitioners. The "offices" or professions which they occupy have the highest status in the culture apart from the office of *tamol* "chief." This level of complexity in the *rong* system of knowledge is not expressed in the "narrow" and "broad" *rong* systems model put forth by Ishimori. In order to identify the *rong* "offices" which manifest formal educational characteristics similar to those

found in schooling frameworks, the concept of "major *rong*" must be considered.

It is mainly within the "major" knowledge systems of *rong* that are represented by "taboo men" that one finds formal educational characteristics not unlike those which are present in modern day schooling institutions. For instance, a specialized setting for an educational activity is manifested in the Lamotrekan expression *ferag giyegiy* (lit. "unfolding the mat" or "to unfold the mat"). Here "mat" refers to a *giyegiy* sleeping mat made out of pandanus fiber but it is also used as a metaphor for the various kinds of *rong* skills which are formally taught on the *giyegiy* "mat." We find, for example, the "mat" metaphor in the following excerpt from the "*Taurong* Song" (p. 182) presented in the previous chapter:

1. You are a fortune teller (*taubwe*) and
a navigator (*paliuw*).
2. You are finished from the *giyegiy* "mats of knowledge."

We also find the use of the "mat" metaphor in the following excerpt from the "*Pannal Wa* Chant No. 2" (p. 168) given in Chapter 4:

1. We are ashamed
2. Of those young men from this island
3. Because they did not know
4. How to repair the canoe
5. And use all those skills they were taught on the "mat of knowledge"
6. To fix the sail when it jumps out of the hole
7. And to fix the outrigger when it breaks off at the hull.

The "mats of knowledge" (*giyegiy*) play a prominent role as a central organizing principle for formal training of traditional skills. The instruments for teaching high-ranking *rong* skills are characteristically laid out on the

giyegiy "mat" and the *shap* "teacher" instructs the *yauten* "apprentices" who are gathered around the mat. Pupils who are taught in this fashion are said to *tabeey giyegiy* "follow the mat" — a figure of speech which is equivalent to the Western expression "attending school." The noun form of the word *shap* is literally translated as "beginning, origin, ancestor, base, bottom, foundation" and the verb form as "to begin, start" (S & T 1976:131). *Shap* is spoken as "*raap*" on Satawal and the other islands to the east. Thomas defines "*raap*" for Satawal as follows: "'Trunk, or base of a tree; also refers to a master of navigation. The student is the sprout" (1987:295). Elbert defines "*raap*" for Puluwat as "to be an initiated navigator" (1972:149). For Ulithi, Lessa gives "*chap*" and makes the following comment with regard to the "specialist teacher called *iulbwang*" [EM: variant of *taubwang* "master of martial arts"]:

The relation between the *iulbwang* and his Ulithian student seems to have been marked by deference and respect but not the formalized etiquette that apparently prevailed in Truk. A successful pupil, who was himself recognized as a *iulbwang*, carried on in the tradition of the master's specific system, or *chap*, which had been created in the past by some particular innovator (1978:147).

There is a reference in the *Yapese-English Dictionary* to the Ulithian word "*chapel*" meaning "base of bamboo" (Jensen et. al. 1977:9) which agrees with the definitions of *shap* and *raap* as the base or trunk of a tree. Curiously, neither Elbert nor Goodenough and Sugita list a dialectical variant of *shap* for Truk. The closest cognate term for Truk is "*pop* or *popun*" meaning "origin" (Elbert 1947:293) and its dialectical variant "*pwoopw* or *pwopwu*" with two meanings: "1. base, basis, trunk (of tree);

2. source, beginning, origin." The later definition is given a special meaning by Goodenough and Sugita when used with the term "*roong*": "*pwopwun roong*" = "person who knows all the *roong* known by members of his lineage" (G & S 1980:297). Bollig (1927:43) supports this view for Truk in the following statement and his accompanying footnote:

The true carrier of the *rong* is called *popuirong*.¹ He enjoys the utmost trust. The other members of the family who have "heard" something are called *panenrong*.¹

¹ *popun* = stem; *pan* = branch.

From the above definitions we may infer that a symbolic relationship exists between the *shap* "teacher" and the base or trunk of a tree. Metaphorically, a *shap* is the "trunk" of a "tree of knowledge" with the apprentices being conceived as its "branches."

In the educational sense, informants explained that *shap* generally means "teacher" but not just any teacher. Mr. L told me that *shap* means "first to teach." If the student should learn additional information concerning navigation from other *rong* masters at the time the *giyegiy* "mat" is unfolded, or at a later time, the student does not call these instructors "*shap*," but refers to these additional teachers by their real names. The implication here is that the *shap* will remain forever after the source of the apprentice's knowledge concerning a particular discipline of *rong*. The apprentice reciprocates by giving the *shap* the proceeds which he or she receives as payment for the application of the *rong* skill.

A *rong* master does not keep the entire payment for whatever work he or she may be hired to perform but customarily gives the payment to their *shap* "teacher." It is up to the *shap* as to whether or not he or she will keep

all of the payment or give back a portion of it to the *yauten* "apprentice." One informant who was knowledgeable in healing by massage (*sheosheo*) explained to me that if he was paid three traditional woven garments (*teor*) for a job then he was obligated to give the woven garments to his *shapilesheo* "teacher of healing by massage." His *shap* would probably then keep two of the woven garments (*teor*) and give him back one, but it was completely up to his *shap* whether he would do so. As the "source" of his skill concerning the the *rong* knowledge of *sheosheo*, his *shap* would be completely within his rights to retain the entire payment. Moreover, the woven garments are not viewed strictly as payment but as offerings to the patron spirits of the *sheosheo*. Clients give *teor* "woven garments" to a *tausheo* with the understanding that he or she will use them as *baliubel* "offerings" in the exercise of their skill. These "offerings" are then taken to the *shap* who accepts them in the name of the *yaliusilesheo* "spirits of healing by massage."

The teacher of navigation (*shapilepaliuw*) has his students who are *yautenipaliuw* "followers of navigation." The derivation of the term *yauten* meaning "followers" comes from the perception that the learner receives the "contents" (cf. S & T 1976:174) of the teacher's knowledge which he demonstrates on the *giyegiy* "mat" used in the instruction of *rong*. Lamotrekan informants equated *yauten* with the Trukese term *mosow*. Like *yauten*, the literal definition of "*mosow*" is "contents" (G & S 1980:209), but also similar to the alternative meaning of *yauten*, *mosow* can be defined as "member, follower, disciple" (G & S 1980:209).¹² Goodenough and Sugita

¹² For reasons that are not clear, Bollig gives the definition of "pupils" for Truk as "toiro, toirau, or tobou" (1927:47). He also refers to students of a "*soupue*" (master of divination) as *ton olopue* (1927:68).

also give "*panen roong*" as a "person who knows only some of his lineage's *roong*" (1980:311). An examination of the word "*panen*" shows that it comes from the root term "*paan*" meaning "branch with its leaves" (G & S 1980:272). The Lamotrekese dialectical variant of the Trukese "*paan*" is "*paaniu*" meaning "coconut-leaf, coconut frond" (S & T 1976:112). The expression "*panen roong*" may then be a metaphorical comparison of *rong* apprentices to "leaves" or "branches" of a "tree of knowledge" with the *shap* "teachers" forming the "trunk" of the tree. Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976:174) give "*yautenibun*" as "tribute of the land, tribute paid by Outer Islands people to Yap Proper (e.g. gift given during the *sawey* exchange)." This definition pertains to the meaning of *yauten* as "contents"; in this case, contents or resources of the land. In this definition of the *yauten* term, it is possible that *rong* apprentices may be perceived as "resources" of knowledge.

It is possible, when speaking of various kinds of *rong* specializations, to say *giyegiye paliuw* "knowledge of navigation," or *giyegiye bwe* "knowledge of divination." The pupils engaged in learning navigation are said to *tabeey giyegiye paliuw*, or "follow the mat of navigation." For students learning divination, they are said to *tabeey giyegiye bwe*, or "follow the mat of divination." By extension, if a person is asked what kinds of *rong* skills he has learned, he may say *yauteni giyegiye paliuw* "the contents of the mat of navigation."

A number of writers have reported on the use of mats in connection with instruction of specialized skills (see Krämer 1935:272; Brower 1983:122; Gladwin 1970:129; Riesenbergh and Elbert 1971:220; Alkire 1970:41; Bollig 1927:46, 65; Lessa 1959:189; Rubenstein 1979:55;

Mahony 1970:190).¹³ Using the Trukese synonym of "*nos*" for *giyegiy*, Elbert mentions "*nosen ponu*" as the "mat used by *ponu* [EM: navigators] in navigation" and "*nosen pwe*" as the "mat used by diviners" (1947:286). Also, Goodenough and Sugita mention "*nosen penu*" as the "mat used by *penu* [EM: navigators] in laying out instruction in navigation" and "*nosen pwee*" as the "mat use by *sowupwe* [EM: diviner] in laying out instruction in knot divination" (1980:254-255). Consequently, one finds the Trukese expression, "*iir mosowen eew noos* ... they are the contents of the same mat" (G & S 1980:254) meaning that the students have learned together from the same teacher. Using the Trukese dialectical variant of "*los*" for *giyegiy*, Krämer says the following in connection with instruction of navigational techniques:

They spread out mats, *los*, and place little stones on them to show everything, for which they are well paid (1932:305).

Bollig incorrectly refers to "*los*" as a "map" in the following excerpt from his study on Truk. A "map" of star positions is created on the mat through an arrangement of shells but the mat is not, in itself, a map. Undoubtedly, Bollig is talking about the *los* "pandanus mat" since he also makes reference to the fact that the *los* mat is used to instruct diviners:

¹³ An illustration showing the use of a pandanus mat for teaching navigation may be found in Krämer (1935:272, fig. 16). Photos showing the use of mats for instruction in navigational techniques are given in Gladwin (1970:129) and Thomas (1987: between 148-149).

Each *polu* [EM: navigator] movement has its *los*, that is, map, on which islands and reefs, with the distances, are indicated. This map is not drawn but rather is pictorially presented to the pupils with shells put on a mat (*los*), similar to what the *soupué* [EM: diviner] does in the case of the *girot* [EM: shells used for instruction in divination] (1927:136).

The importance of the *giyegiy* "mat" to formal apprenticeship in *rong* knowledge cannot be understated. In a "Departure Song" of a navigator collected by Krämer (1932:245) from Truk we find the following lyrics:

Go as on the mats,
The mats of life.

Krämer tells us the the "mats" mentioned in the song are "*los*, the mat on which stones for learning the courses are laid out" (1932:245). Here, the "mats" are viewed metaphorically as a life sustaining force.

Mats for instructional purposes are also mentioned in island myths. In a story entitled, "Kuling," a bird (a species of plover) is credited with teaching knowledge of navigation to an islander called Ekeman from Pulap. The following excerpt from this story illustrates the educational use of mats:

When Ekeman returned to Kuling, he [EM: Kuling] said, "Sit down, I want to go away; I shall show you all the islands." He took a mat, and laid out small *kirot*-shells, and thus showed him all the places, distances, stars, the winds and currents, in short the entire art of navigation (Krämer 1935:281).

The following excerpt from the myth entitled, "The Story of the *Vei*-Oracle," was written by Father Daniel, a Spanish missionary on Yap and translated by Müller on Yap in 1908. In the story, Thilifeg is a spirit from heaven who is captured trying to steal bananas on Yap. Thilifeg is brought before a chief

who asks him to go to Lamotrek to get fish. Thilifeg performs *vei* divination [EM: *vei* is a dialectical variant of *bwe*] to find out if the expedition will be favorable. The *vei* "oracle" says that a trip to Lamotrek will be favorable for catching fish so Thilifeg and the chief go to Lamotrek. Eventually, the chief convinces Thilifeg to instruct him in the art of divination:

... early in the morning they went to the seashore, where Thilifeg spread out a mat and with red color painted a canoe upon it. Then he counted out pebbles, cut a piece of coconut-leaf and said, "Great oracle for us, we are going to Fonanus [EM: the island of Fonano in Murilo Atoll (cf. Lessa 1959:192, fn. 15)] to beg for fish. Will we get many? Is the great oracle good for us?" Then he tore off the coconut-leaf with his fingernails and cut it, after having consulted it, and explained to the chief that it was favorable (Müller 1918:615-616).

From the above quoted passages, we have seen that the *rong* skills of navigation (*paliuw*) and divination (*bwe*) make use of the *giyegiy* "mat" as a surface where shells or stones are deposited as instructional aids to demonstrate techniques and concepts. According to Lamotrekan informants, the other *rong* systems of knowledge which have *giyegiy* "mats" for the purpose of using instructional aids are as follows: 1) healing by massage (*sheosheo*); 2) canoe restoration (*bwangiwa*); and 3) canoe house restoration (*bwangifal*). For instruction in *sheosheo* (healing by massage), shells or stones are used on a mat to identify anatomical reference points and pressure lines;¹⁴ for instruction in *bwangiwa* and *bwangifal* (canoe and

¹⁴ When a *tausheo* "master of healing by massage" accepts a patient, the first four days are devoted to treatment. Afterwards, the *tausheo* may also use the patient for teaching others without making use of the *giyegiy* "mat" (cf. Alkire 1982:39).

canoe house restoration respectively), knots and various stick constructions are demonstrated on the mat to show how canoes and houses are repaired. After teaching is completed, the instructional aids are wrapped up in the mat and kept for another time.

Rubenstein, writing about Fais, is the only writer in the literature reviewed for this study who has made reference to the expression, *ferag giyegiy* "unfolding the mat" in connection with specialized skills:

Several other male specialists occupations exist, which involve formal apprenticeship (*feragicobo*, literally "unfolding the sleeping mat") in the men's lodge or with the instructor, continuing payments to the instructor both during and after the apprenticeship period, and ritual restrictions upon eating or drinking with other people, or any contact with women (1979:55).

Rubenstein lists five specializations from Fais that may be identified as *rong* systems of knowledge which belong to the category of "unfolding the mat:

... coconut-leaf divination (*bee*, cf. Lessa 1959), self-defense (*bangi*), stellar navigation (*gocoma*), medicinal magic (*bangibangi*), and massage (*doadoa* or *coacoa*) (1979:55).

The Fais terms in the above passage may be compared to Lamotrekese terms as follows: 1) "*bee*" is a dialectical variant of the Lamotrekese *bwe*; 2) "*bangi*" is a variant of the Lamotrekese *bwangifitug*; 3) "*gocoma*" is difficult to identify as a dialectical variant, but its definition clearly places it in the *rong* specialization of *paliuw* "navigation"; 4) "*bangibangi*" may be placed in the *rong* specialization of *tafey* (see above discussion of *bangibeng*); and 5) "*doadoa* or *coacoa*" is a dialectical variant of *sheosheo*. The reader will note that all of these are represented in the above list given

to me by informants on Lamotrek except for Rubenstein's "medicinal magic (*bangibangi*)" which is equivalent to the *rong* specialization of *tafey* on Lamotrek. This is probably not an oversight on the part of my informants or Rubenstein's informants but an indication that any *shap* "teacher" of a *rong* system of knowledge may elect to "unfold the mat" to give formal instruction if he or she so chooses.

A educational opportunity is potentially present whenever an elder invites a younger person to sit on the same *giyegiy* "mat" that they are sitting on. An illustration of this attitude is given in the following excerpt from a story entitled "How Trap Fishing Was Learned on Olimarao":

One night the sons were called by their father to sit with him on his mat. The brothers were quite surprised because they had never been asked to sit with their father in this manner. They sat a number of minutes in respectful silence, and then their father spoke to them. He told his sons that he loved them and believed they could be good to everyone on the island. He said that this time of year was most suitable for teaching, and he would start teaching them so they could some day teach all that they knew and share their knowledge with the other people on the island (Ashby 1983:98).

The above story does not mention what "time of year was most suitable for teaching" but Lamotrekan informants say that it is the *lecheg* "summer season" when the breadfruit begins to ripen starting in May-June.

When I was traveling to Lamotrek in 1990 on the inter-island service vessel, M/V *Micro Spirit*, I met a chief from Wottagai, Woleai who informed me that he had witnessed *ferag giyegiy* "unfolding the mat" for the

rong specialization called *loa* "wave and water conjuring." Despite this fact, several informants on Lamotrek denied that a *tauloa* "wave conjuror" would "unfold the mat" for group instruction. This difference may be accounted for either by regional differences, instructional preferences on the part of *rong* masters, or a differentiation between those *rong* specializations which normally involve group instruction and those which only sometimes do. For instance, only one Lamotrekan informant included *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration" in his list of the *rong* specializations which "unfold the mat" even though there is clear evidence in the "*Pannal Wa* Chant No. 2" (p. 168) that a *giyegiy* "mat of knowledge" was used for instruction.

What is significant about the use of the expression *ferag giyegiy* "unfolding the mat" in teaching *rong* skills is that it is also used in connection with *rong* skills that do not make use of a collection of instruments such as stones or shells to construct conceptual models for the purpose of instruction. The other *rong* knowledge systems named by informants which belong to the *ferag giyegiy* "unfolding the mat" category but ostensibly do not make use of instructional aids are *waug* "weather control and purification magic" and *bwangifitug* "martial arts" (also called *gamashiyor* to distinguish it from *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration" and *bwangifal* "canoe house restoration"). According to Mr. W, a *shap* "teacher" who has taught *waug* "weather control and purification magic," no aids were used in the course of *waug* instruction. Students who learned under Mr. W, however, said that the use of the *tawi* "triton shell horn" was demonstrated (but not blown) on the *giyegiy* "mat" as part of the educational process even though most instruction was a function of *kapetali shag weli giyegiy*, or "only talk on the mat." For *bwangifitug* "martial arts,"

offensive and defensive fighting techniques were demonstrated on the *giyegiy* "mat" by the *taubwang* "master of martial arts" and his assistants.

Repeated interviews with Lamotrekan informants make it clear that the *ferag giyegiy* "unfolding the mat" expression has a double meaning. Not only are *giyegiy* "mats" unfolded to be used as surfaces with which to demonstrate various concepts and techniques but they are also unfolded as sleeping mats by teachers and apprentices when they come together in the men's (canoe) house for formal instruction over a period of time called *faauw bong* "four nights."

The *faauw bong* "four-nights" period of formal instruction takes place in the following order of events. While preparations are being made for an initiation ceremony on the morning before the "first night," the apprentices bring their *giyegiy* "sleeping mats" to the canoe house where their initiation will take place and unfold them. That morning the *shap* "teacher" makes the canoe house and the immediate surrounding area taboo to the uninitiated by placing coconut-leaf *meshang* "taboo markers" around the canoe house or tying coconut-leaf "taboo markers" on the trees surrounding the canoe house. An initiation rite takes place in the canoe house with the public looking on from outside the taboo boundary. Afterwards, the initiates stay in the canoe house for four nights learning, studying, and taking the medicine called *tafey gateram* "medicine of enlightenment" to enhance their learning potential. Bollig (1927:45) says the following about the *tafey gateram* "medicine of enlightenment" for Truk:

All *sourong* [EM: *taurong* "master of sacred knowledge"] have their *safei en asaram* (medicine of enlightenment), which the *sourong* drinks before the official act and also makes his pupils

Elbert also reports for Truk that "*safein asaram*" was used "to 'enlighten' students and dancers, fighters" and "those suffering from the stomach and mental disorders called *neroch* (darkness)" (1947:285).

During the *faauw bong* "four-nights" period of formal instruction initiates are not allowed to drink water or go anywhere outside the taboo boundary except to bathe in the ocean. Food and coconuts are deposited for them by relatives just outside the boundary designated by the *meshang* "taboo markers." An assistant to the *shap* "teacher" collects the food and coconuts and serves the students at meal times.¹⁵ Another assistant collects and administers various medicines to the apprentices. On the day after the fourth night, the *shap* "teacher" removes the taboo surrounding the canoe house. At this time the students drink a special medicine which allows them to "walk around." After the students drink the medicine they close their sleeping mats (*nimi giyegiy*) and return to their homes. The "closing of the mats" signifies that formal instruction is complete.

The day after the "closing of the mats" an *iles* "completion feast of offering" is held as a propitiatory rite to honor the spirit powers who have been called upon during the formal instruction period. To not show *gassorou* "respect" to the spirit powers would be to invite failure in the transfer of the *rong* skills from the teachers to the students and perhaps retribution in the form of sickness and death to those involved. The Trukese

¹⁵ Everyone having contact with the ritual including the *shap* himself must be "purified" with a *baliubel* coconut-leaf knot (*ubut*) and incantation to protect them from the "bite" of the patron spirit(s) associated with the *rong* system of knowledge. Although we were only present to observe and document the *pwo* initiation for navigators on film, both myself and my assistant from Woleai were "purified" with a chant and a *baliubel* charm.

cognate for *iles* is "*asop*" which is a dialectical variant of "*osopw*" (see G & S 1980:99). Elbert defines "*asop*" as "celebration to satisfy spirits when preliminary construction is completed, as of a house or canoe" (Elbert 1947:200). Bollig (1927:35) also describes "*asop*" in similar terms:

The ceremony of the *asop* (*sop* = ready) is performed after an important task has been completed. An *asop* is performed when trees are cut, houses and canoes built, bowls made, and at the weaving jobs of the women. It has approximately the same purpose and course of events as the *osu* [EM: *osu* = offering].

Goodenough and Sugita define "*osopw*" as "completion feast of offering (in house building, canoe building, and other activities" and explain its meaning in the following terms:

... In the case of completion of the frame of a house, it is done to insure the good health and life of its future occupants. Failure to do it will result in their sickness and death because of the spells used in connection with its construction to insure that it will be a proper building (1980:99).

Goodenough and Sugita also give eight examples of *osopw* "completion feasts" for various *rong* activities such as house building and canoe building. These same rituals were performed on Lamotrek but as stated above are referred to as *iles*.

References in the anthropological literature to the *faauw bong* "four-nights" ritual of formal instruction are rare. Sarfert, in his study of navigational knowledge on Puluwat and Satawal, refers to this ritual in the following passage:

During the term of instruction the pupils are subject to a series of taboos, which in the main forbid contact with women. These taboos are strictest for the first four days and nights; then the students may not leave the canoe house under any circumstances, not even for physical necessity. Their food is set down in front of the canoe house by the women, and they go and get it there. When the four days are up, the taboos are no longer quite so strict. Then the student may move freely on the island, although he continues under the obligation of avoiding women and may by no means have sexual intercourse with them (Damm and Sarfert 1935:85).

Sarfert, from his research on Ifaluk, also put together the following list (Damm 1938:93) of taboos involving four-day periods:

If anyone is undertaking *banewan* [EM: *bangibeng* "empowerment magic"], he is tabu for four days [EM: while applying *tafey* "medicine"] ... It applies to the patient too.

Women in the menstrual lodge are tabu during menstruation for four days, or until the end of the period.

If a man is consulting a oracle (*bua*) [EM: *bwe* "divination"] for someone, who wants to travel to a distant island; he is tabu for four days.

Lessa, in his investigation of navigational knowledge on Ulithi refers to a four-day instructional period in which students learn "the magic of navigating":

The student navigator spends a month, through conversations with his teacher, learning knowledge of currents, winds, stars, the sun, and other pertinent phenomena of nature. He also learns how to judge how far a canoe has voyaged at any given time. Then, for four days, he is taught how to handle a canoe, as well as the locations of the various islands within the scope of his vessels. He is shown how to reach these islands by

looking at certain stars, and, for this, stones representing heavenly bodies are placed on a mat. Now, too, for the first time, the student learns the magic of navigating (1950a:141).

Lastly, a student from Ifaluk studying at the Community College of Micronesia in the 1970s wrote the following comments in connection with a four-day period of instruction:

Those who are interested [EM: in learning navigation] will donate something, usually a lava-lava from each student, to the master navigator. The group usually meets for only four days, and so the learners have to try their best during this time. In addition to the master navigator, another expert navigator will be with the group. He is there to insure that the master teaches all of the skills and systems of navigation to the learners without making errors. At this time, the learners are not allowed to go out in the dark and cannot talk to girls (Ashby 1975:147).

Although none of the above passages include the expression *faauw bong* "four nights," the implication is nonetheless present in the "four days" restriction on *rong* participants described above. Furthermore, the significance of this period of time is underscored by Alkire who states, "the number four is basic to ceremonial activities and specialist's knowledge" (1970:68).¹⁶

Several formal educational characteristics similar to those found in a modern schooling system are present in the *faauw bong* "four-nights" period of formal instruction: 1) a specialized setting (in a canoe house); 2) specially designated teachers (master navigator and expert navigators); 3) basic navigational skills; 4) a fixed curriculum (magical skills associated

¹⁶ See also Alkire (1972:149).

with navigating); and 5) a fixed course of study (four days and nights period of instruction).

Certain professions on Lamotrek are marked by differentiation of their sacred knowledge systems into separate fields or disciplines of knowledge each with its own name and separate curricula of instruction. Lamotrekan informants identified these as traditional schools. The members of one school within a *rong* specialization may not belong to another school affiliated with the same profession nor use the *rong* magical rites or chants associated with another school but they may come together as a body for the purpose of initiating, educating, and testing apprentices in basic knowledge and techniques that are held in common. As such they form separate guilds within a larger profession.

Lamotrekan informants commonly identify traditional schools on the basis of three criteria. The first, does the *shap* "teacher" *ferag giyegiy* "unfold the mat"? Second, does formal instruction take place over a period of seclusion for students called *faauw bong* "four nights"? Third, does the *shap* "teacher" end the formal instruction with an *iles* "completion feast of offering"? Apprentices who participate in education-related events of this type are said to *gasukuula* "be schooled."¹⁷

Not mentioned heretofore is that a select group of *rong* specializations manifest initiation ceremonies in addition to the above three formal educational characteristics. At these initiation rites apprentices receive a specially braided *rorpai ubut* or *chochpai ubut* "coconut-leaf bracelet"

¹⁷ *Gasukuula* is the causative form of the word *skuula* which is a borrowed term from the English word "school." See Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976:47,138).

Various interpretations of the root forms of these words are given in the literature. *Roro* (and its abbreviated form *ror*) and *choch* may be defined as "fasten" or "attach." *Pai* is the word for hand or arm. Thus, *rorpai* and *chochpai* literally translate as "fastened to the arm" as in "band" or "bracelet." This interpretation agrees with Krämer who defines "*roros i lepei*" as "fastened to the arm" (1937:104). The terms usually denote coconut-leaf decorations or ornaments, and Sohn and Tawerilmang define "*choch*" as "(to be) decorated with young white coconut leaves" (1976:16), but bracelets of any kind may be called *rorpai* or *chochpai*. The root form of *roro* would seem to be derived from the Mortlocks islands as Girschner (1911:139) gives the definition of "*roron paun (rouroun paun)*" as "bracelet" and gives several examples from Namoluk of bracelets which are not made from coconut-leaf materials. The Trukese dialectical variant of the root form *roro* is *riiri*. According to Goodenough and Sugita, "*riiri*" is defined as "something tied on; band, ribbon; bandage; lashing; bonds; fetters." More importantly is their definition of "*riiriin penu*" as "bracelet and anklet of braided coconut-leaf worn by a navigator as insignia of his status" (1980:310). Elbert also gives "*ririn ponu*" as "braided coconut-leaf bracelet worn by *ponu* [EM: navigator] as a symbol of his position" (1947:171). Significant as well in this context is Lessa's definition of "*rorpai*" as "a ritual to remove taboos; also, the feast and magical objects involved" (1950a:260). In this sense of the word, the initiation of apprentices may be viewed as the removal of the taboos against eating with other navigators.

Islanders often abbreviate the terms *rorpai ubut* and *chochpai ubut* to *rorpai* and *chochpai* respectively with the understanding that the basic material being used to make a coconut-leaf bracelet consists of one or more *ubut* "young coconut leaves." The difference between these two terms is

purely linguistic. The Satawalese dialect uses the word *rorpai* to mean "coconut-leaf bracelet" whereas the Lamotrekese dialect uses the word *chochpai*. I generally use the term *chochpai* in the body of this text unless the ritual being described derives from Satawal, and then the term *rorpai* is used. The *chochpai* "coconut-leaf bracelet" symbolizes the apprentice's initiation or induction into the secret techniques and lore of a particular *rong* school of knowledge as well as a sign or emblem of an apprentice's "graduation" from a specific course of study belonging to a *rong* school.

Summary

Rong systems of knowledge cover a wide range of subject matters with instruction centering on the curricula involved in the transmission of a concrete skill and two additional courses of study: 1) *bangibeng* "empowerment magic" and 2) *baliubel* "protection magic." These courses of study may involve not only spells and chants but also the use of *tafey* "medicines" and ritual symbols as part of a complex magical rite. The *bangibeng* and *baliubel* magical rites are different for each *rong* specialization and vary within specializations as well, forming a curricula of instruction linked to the application of a concrete skill.

High-ranking *rong* systems of knowledge are identified on Lamotrek by their association with *mwaletab* "taboo men." Although all *rong* practitioners are bound by constraints on their behavior during the exercise of their occupations, "taboo men" have the distinction of retaining certain taboos for life. It is at this level in the *rong* system of knowledge that

master-apprentice relationships in the predominant mode of nonformal education manifest the following subdominant channels of formal education: 1) *ferag giyegiy* "unfolding the mat"; 2) *faauw bong* "four nights"; 3) *iles* "completion feasts of offering"; and 4) *chochpai ubut* "coconut-leaf bracelet." These four educational characteristics play a central role in the identification of traditional schools on Lamotrek.

CHAPTER 6

SCHOOLS OF NAVIGATION

Information regarding the initiation ritual and schooling of *paliuw* "navigation" apprentices was gathered in great detail due to the fact that I witnessed a *pwo* ritual on Lamotrek in May 1990. The revival of *pwo* would not have been possible were it not for Mr. N, who still remembered how to conduct the rites of passage involved, and his son, Mr. B, who was one of the five apprentices initiated in the *pwo* ceremony.¹ Mr. N, believed to be between 80 and 90 years of age, retains a "library" of oral literature on navigational lore and knowledge that may be unsurpassed by any other living navigator in the Pacific today. He represents that rarest of commodities in scholarly research: a person whose specialized knowledge is a result of first hand experience and rigorous, formal training in his field, handed down through countless generations in an unbroken chain of masters, each passing on the knowledge that they possessed to a succeeding generation. The last time a *pwo* ceremony was performed on Satawal was

¹ Some aspects of the the *pwo* ritual which I witnessed were different from descriptions of *pwo* events that had taken place in the past. The difference mainly concerns the participants involved and not the ritual itself. For example, only two teachers were involved in the *pwo* which I observed: Mr. N, the head teacher from the Werieng school of navigation, and his assistant Mr. F from the Faaluush school. A third man, Mr. V, was another assistant who acted as cook and steward while the group was secluded in the canoe house for the taboo *faauw bong* "four-nights" period. He was not an initiated navigator nor did he teach navigation to the apprentices during the *pwo* ritual. In the past, his position would have been filled by an initiated navigator. In addition, there would have been a great many more master navigators included as teachers who would assume different roles and responsibilities.

between 1950-1952, no one was quite sure as to the exact year.² Since then it has come closer and closer to extinction with the demise of master navigators qualified to transmit the restricted, magical *rong* navigation chants which, in practice, should only be taught after the *pwo* initiation takes place.

The mass conversion of the islanders in the 1950s to Catholicism coupled with the influence of modern values resulted in opposition to many rituals connected to the traditional spirit world. The last time Lamotrekans were officially certified as navigators in an initiation ritual was in 1949 on Elato. In the 1980s there was a growing awareness amongst islanders that the "good" elements of the traditional belief system should be allowed to co-exist with those of Christianity and that the traditional spirit world (and *rong* skills which come from it) need not be altogether abandoned. This position has been gradually supported by the advent of indigenous islander priests and ministers, newly ordained, who have taken over the roles that were formerly held by religious functionaries from other lands. As a result, the notion of performing the *pwo* ritual gradually gained acceptance, and for the first time in over forty years a few individuals who had been studying

² It may seem absurd to codify the name of this Satawalese navigator who was the last one to be initiated in whose name is so well-known throughout the Pacific, but in keeping with the established policy of this report, I will refer to him as Mr. Z. There are two reports regarding the actual date of Mr. Z's initiation as a navigator. Lewis (1978:134) states that Mr. Z was born in 1932 and was 18 years old when he was initiated in the *pwo* ceremony. This would mean that the last *pwo* ceremony on Satawal took place in 1950. Thomas (1987:118), on the other hand, states that Mr. Z was 15 or 16 years old when he was initiated. This would make the date of the event either 1947 or 1948. To confuse the matter more, I heard on Lamotrek that this ceremony took place in 1952. I am not sure which is the correct date but I believe it was between 1950-1952; in any case, it was the last *pwo* ceremony on Satawal to be performed.

and practicing traditional navigational techniques for many years were "graduated" on Lamotrek and officially recognized by the community-at-large. Nevertheless, despite the revival of the *pwo* rites of passage on Lamotrek, it is not at all certain whether this initiation ceremony and the formal instruction which follows will continue to be practiced in the future.³

In 1866, Captain Zayas, writing about Saipan in the Mariana Islands, made the following report in the *Londoner Nautical Magazine*:

... there was a shipyard where the Carolinians could learn the construction of boats; connected with the shipyard was a school of Carolinian navigation. Anyone who wanted to be independent and in charge of a boat had to pass an exam before a council of pilots (Krämer 1937:127).

More than likely, the "exam" Zayas mentions in the above passage was connected to an initiation rite for Carolinian navigators. The first detailed description of this initiation rite was collected in 1909 by Sarfert on Puluwat. In his notes, Sarfert uses the terms "*bor*" (a dialectical variant of *pwo*) and "*balu*" (a dialectical variant of *paliuw*) to describe certified navigators:

The guardians of nautical knowledge — which in the opinion of the natives was handed down by Alulob [EM: Yaliulap, the highest god] and his sons — are the ship's captains (*balu* or *bor*) (Damm and Sarfert 1935:83).

³ Both Mr. B and Mr. N felt that the best way to preserve the *pwo* ritual for posterity was to capture it on film; consequently, I was allowed to film and videotape the events leading up to, during, and after the *pwo* ceremony.

A dialectical variant of *pwo* is given by Goodenough and Sugita in their *Trukese-English Dictionary* as "*pwpwo*." They define "*pwpwo*" as "instruction in traditional navigation (*penu*) [EM: dialectical variant of *paliuw*]: one who knows navigation, navigator" (1980:303). Another dialectical variant of *pwo* is given by Elbert in his *Puluwat Dictionary* as "*ppwo*." He defines "*ppwo*" as "to be initiated as a navigator" (1972:134). The literal meaning of the word *pwo* remains obscure but Elbert, a linguist, also makes the following statement about "*pwo*" in his *Trukese-English and English-Trukese Dictionary*: "*pwo* ... highest type of *pono* [EM: *pono* = *paliuw*, or "navigator"] said to be so named because he 'pounds' the sea flat" (1947:178)." From the above interpretations it should be obvious that the term *pwo* can be ascribed both to the initiation rite and to an initiated navigator. They are, for all intents and purposes, synonymous in the islanders' conceptual framework.

In more than one interview I questioned Mr. N and other navigators about Elbert's statement above concerning the possible connection between the word *pwo*, meaning "an initiated navigator," and the word *bbo*, meaning "to pound" (S & T 1976:6). All of them denied that there was any relationship between the two terms, consequently, the above metaphorical interpretation for the term *pwo* given by Elbert is unsubstantiated. It should be mentioned, however, that Mahony also makes reference to the "pound" metaphor for Truk in reference to an *itang* "war leader" initiation ritual:

There was actually a formal ceremony which marked the transition to war leader status. Friendly war leaders were called together to participate in a feast, which began with students reciting the secret chants they were supposed to have memorized. As a student recited a verse, he lifted a leaf

covering from a large bowl of breadfruit poi and war leader fish. If his recitation was correct, only he ate from that bowl. For now, all the different verses had been pounded into his body and mind, just as all the different breadfruit had been pounded together to make the bowl of poi (1970:195, fn. 9).

There is also a strange twist to the interpretation of the term "*pwo*" given by Elbert as deriving from the verb "to pound" but denied by informants from Lamotrek and Satawal. According to Ishikawa, stone pounders are referred to as "*penu*" in Tahiti and the Austral and Cook Islands, and "the Maori equivalent to the verb 'to pound' is *penu*" (1972:17-18). The word, "*penu*" is given in the literature for Truk as one of the dialectical variants of *paliuw* "navigator" by Goodenough and Sugita (1980:280).

The *pwo* initiation ceremony that I witnessed took place on May 24, 1990, the day after the earth ovens (*umw*) were prepared to cook the breadfruit and taro for the ceremony. The morning of May 24 commenced the *faauw bong* taboo period of four days and nights for the apprentices' initiation and instruction at Faltaibu canoe house (see Map 5, p. 78). The "closing" of the earth oven that was used to cook the breadfruit (*umw koal*) and the "closing" of the instructor's and initiates' *giyegiy* "sleeping mats" on May 27 brought formal instruction to an end.⁴ As I understand it, *pwo* does not apply to any following instruction that might take place after the ritual *faauw bong* four days and nights period of seclusion.

Using another alternative spelling of *pwo*, Lewis says the following about a "*poa*" initiation:

⁴ The expression *ferag giyegiy* "unfolding the mat" is synonymous with the formal education of *rong* skills. See Chapter 5, pp. 210-211. The expression *nimi giyegiy* "closing the mat" means that formal instruction has ended.

Periodically, when enough responsible candidates have reached the required standard, the whole community is mobilized and an initiation — *poa* — is organized. Initiation is in effect a concentrated four to six month's cram course (1935:83).

Lewis is correct in stating that initiates may continue their learning in the men's house for an indefinite time after the *pwo* rites of passage and until such time as they are ready to *gasheshe* "test" their knowledge by voyaging to a distant island. Reports in the literature vary on the post-*pwo* instruction of new navigators before they attempt a solo voyage. Some writers report that additional instruction continued after *pwo* for one to two months, others say three to four, and still others maintain that instruction may continue for as long as one year before a solo voyage is attempted. The differences in time length seem to be a function of the individual intellectual abilities of the learner and his *shap* "teacher" who, in effect, makes the decision when the initiate is capable of making an unaccompanied voyage. In fact, my field data suggests that there is no set period of post-*pwo* instruction previous to making a "test" sea voyage. Mr. N told me that he left immediately after his *pwo* initiation⁵ took place in 1930s and sailed from Satawal to West Fayu (Pikhailo)⁶ and back to Satawal. His *shap* "teacher" accompanied him in a separate canoe to West Fayu but after they reached this island his teacher left

⁵ Hisakatsu, who was on Satawal from 1931 to 1938, recorded the exact date of his *pwo* ceremony in his journal as June 3, 1932 (see Hisakatsu 1997:138).

⁶ Pikhailo is the indigenous name. West Fayu is the name that incorrectly appears on most Western-produced maps. See Chapter 1, pp. 44-45 for an explanation on how this cartographic error occurred.

him to voyage to Puluwat, leaving Mr. N to sail back to Satawal alone. My interviews with other navigators from Satawal indicate that the uninhabited island of West Fayu is often used by initiated navigators to make their "test" sail. Newly initiated navigators from Lamotrek and Elato, by comparison, often choose Olimarao as their "test" island. After an initiated navigator completes his *gasheshe* "test" voyage successfully, he is privileged to participate in the *gatariy* "ceremonial feast of offering." Mr. B defined *gatariy* in the following way:

When you learn how to navigate, go out sailing and come back, and the people know that you can do it ... then we do this *gatariy*. Then the people cook the food and bring it to the men's house. We all gather, eat the food, and the navigators will talk about the voyage ... about *paafius* [EM: navigational star courses] and other things.

Elbert also reports that the word "*eteri*" derives from the Mortlockese word meaning "finish" and defines it as "break the sex taboo after a long canoe trip with certain ceremonies and magical medicine" (1947:74). Mr. N mentioned that there was a special medicine that the *shap* "teacher" would give to his followers who returned from such trips to allow them to leave the confines of the canoe house after the *gatariy* "ceremonial feast of offering." He also said that this medicine allowed the navigator and his crew to break the taboo against having sexual intercourse with women. A ritual seclusion of navigators and their crews in a canoe house took place for a period of four nights after the completion of a voyage and before the *gatariy* "ceremonial feast of offering" was given. It should be mentioned here also that this four-night taboo period also applied in the past to navigators and their crews before they set out upon a voyage. The intent of this four-night period of

seclusion was to prepare the navigator and his crew to enter and leave the island in an unpolluted, purified, spiritual state. I learned that the medicine which was given to the men to allow them to leave the canoe house and "walk around" is called *tafey kashiuw* (lit. "medicine to chase it away"). Elbert refers to this medicine on Puluwat as "*hafeyay*" and says that it was "taken by a navigator four nights after returning from a trip, before which time he may not sleep with his wife or smoke" (1972:25).

Now that the reader has a general understanding of the *pwo* ceremony, I shall return to a discussion of how an apprentice becomes initiated in the *pwo* ceremony. A master of navigation (*shapilepaliuw*) first teaches the names of stars to his apprentices (*yautenipaliuw*). The basic course of study to become a navigator involves: 1) *paafius* (learning the names of stars); 2) *goshoumw* (naming of stars according to where they rise and set); 3) *gamet* (naming stars according to their positions over the front and end of the canoe, the outrigger, and lee platform); and 4) *wofalu* (star courses to islands). An advanced course of study involves integration of the above courses of study through a series of exercises as well as the introduction of other subsystems of knowledge including *pookof* (creatures of the sea used as navigational aids) and *bugoloa* (interpretation of wave directions). The details of these courses of study and exercises have been explained in several anthropological investigations (e.g. Goodenough 1953; Alkire 1970; Gladwin 1970; Riesenberg 1976; Lewis 1972, 1978; Thomas 1987; Goodenough and Thomas 1987).

When students are thoroughly versed in the basic fundamentals of navigational techniques, the master navigator calls a meeting for all the other navigators to meet in the canoe house of his lineage to perform the *pwo* initiation rite. At this time, other *shap* "teachers" from the same school of

navigation may wish to have their apprentices initiated as well. This is the time that the navigation schools "reveal" themselves because they separate into groups. These schools are called *gaius* "masts." If an apprentice learns from a *shap* "teacher" who belongs to the navigation school of Weriyeng then it is said that he learns *fal gaius* "under the mast" of Weriyeng. The five apprentice navigators from Lamotrek in the *pwo* ritual I witnessed had all studied under Mr. N; consequently, they were being initiated into the school of Weriyeng.⁷ Mr. N knows the names of 12 navigation schools that were represented at *pwo* initiation ceremonies long ago: Weriyeng, Faaluush, Sabu, Fara, Lemarflash, Yaulimarflash, Rara, Yaurara, Malefot, Gapionmalfash, Rongoshig, and Rongolap. Only the schools of Weriyeng and Faaluush are in existence today, all the others having died out. It may also be said that the viability of the Faaluush school is endangered because very few new apprentices are known to be learning the lore and techniques of this school. In contrast to Mr. N, his assistant, Mr. F, belonged to the school of Faaluush. Both Mr. N and Mr. F had been initiated in different *pwo* ceremonies long ago on their home island of Satawal. The rationale for carrying out the *pwo* ceremony which I witnessed on Lamotrek stems from the fact that Mr. N is married to a woman from Lamotrek. His son, Mr. B, who was one of the initiates, was born and raised on Lamotrek. He requested that the *pwo* ceremony be performed on Lamotrek.⁸

⁷ The initiated navigators were between the ages of 26 and 34. Each of these individuals had been studying the basic principles of navigational theory between 10 and 20 years, after beginning voyages with their fathers or relatives in their early adolescent years.

⁸ I learned from several members of the older generation that it was not unusual in the past for a master navigator from Satawal to come to Lamotrek to perform the initiation ritual for navigators born on Lamotrek.

Mr. B, was thinking of including his son of 12 years in the *pwo* initiation but decided not to include him as a participant. Mr. B rationalized that it would not be good to remove his son from his classes in Lamotrek Elementary School. I asked whether or not it would be possible for someone as young as his son to be initiated in the *pwo* ceremony and Mr. B said that it was indeed possible. Apparently, it did not matter that he had yet to master the necessary basics of traditional navigational theory before being allowed to participate in the *pwo* ceremony. This example points to the fact that the *pwo* ceremony is first and foremost an initiation ritual, and secondarily a "graduation" or "certification" ritual for those students who have received training in navigational techniques over a period of years.

In theory, if Mr. B's son had been initiated in the *pwo* ceremony, he would start learning the basics of navigation during the *faauw bong* "four-nights" period with instruction continuing afterwards. Later, he would go on voyages, probably with his father, to apply his knowledge of navigational techniques. The last voyages with his father would represent a final phase of instruction. When his father decided he was ready, he could attempt a solo voyage on his own. As stated above, such voyages are, in fact, required of each initiate who goes through the *pwo* rites of passage in order to be considered a full-fledged navigator. This voyage represents the final "test" of a navigator's ability. Once he has passed this test, the *gatariy* "ceremonial feast of offering" confirms his status as a navigator. I was told that many a so-called navigator has gone through the *pwo* rites of passage but failed to *waiy* "voyage." According to Lamotrekan informants, sailing between Lamotrek and Satawal or between Lamotrek and Olimarao is a minimum requirement for passing a "test" voyage and being judged a competent navigator. These islands are both about 40 miles from Lamotrek. To be

considered a "true" navigator, however, an individual must complete voyages to a more distant islands such as West Fayu. Both Olimarao and Satawal can be reached from Lamotrek within the course of a day but West Fayu usually requires spending one night at sea. My data suggests that many a navigator has been initiated in the *pwo* ceremony but has not sailed any farther than the nearest islands. These men still carry the status of "navigator" despite that fact that they have not voyaged long distances. The meaningfulness of being initiated in the *pwo* ceremony is not lost even if one does not become a full-fledged navigator. Thomas wrote the following about the *pwo* ceremony from information he collected on Satawal which emphasizes that the ritual is first and foremost a rite of passage:

The most important event in a young navigator's life, it [EM: the *pwo* ceremony] not only marked his passage into manhood, but also gained him entrance to a select and privileged class and gave him the right to learn secret, mystical, navigational lore (1987:11).

Sudo (1987:95), from his research on Satawal, also makes the following report concerning the meaningfulness of the certification process for navigators:

... the acquisition of various skills indispensable for men's work and of traditional navigational techniques are regarded as the requirements for "men of the island". These navigation techniques are taught to the boy after he becomes 10 years of age by his father or his mother's male siblings. The learning of navigation techniques from one's kin is regarded as a private matter. However, in order to become a socially certified "navigator" (*panu*), he must undergo the *ppo* (lit. "initiation ceremony for navigators") rituals.

In the above passage, Sudo tells us that apprentice navigators must be initiated in the "*ppo*" (another dialectical variant of *pwo*) ceremony to become "socially certified." This statement supports the general Lamotrekan perception of *pwo* as a "graduation" ritual for navigators. What makes this a formal educational characteristic within a predominant mode of nonformal education is the fact that other navigators besides an apprentice's *shap* "teacher" are also involved in the schooling process. This is born out in the following additional report by Sudo:

Ppo is held for young men who have received private teaching for an average of seven to eight years. The main part of this ritual consists of examining the young man's knowledge of navigation techniques, and further instruction by the older considered to be the most skillful navigator on the island (1987:96).

Besides the above mentioned "most skillful navigator on the island," instruction by other navigators may also take place during *pwo*. Brower, quoting from a Carolinian from Saipan whose ancestry stems from Satawal, has published the following remarks which support the potential of multiple instructors taking part in the education of apprentice navigators:

Certain individuals are picked by certain clans — an individual for each clan — and those are the ones that will actually become navigators. These chosen people, they can't go out. They just sit in the men's house. All the community involved brings food and whatever. If you're a teacher or a student, that's all you're going to do, one morning to the next morning. If I'm your teacher and you're my student, that's all you're going to do, is just learn. You go to sleep, and the first thing that happens when you get up, the teaching starts. The teachers take shifts, some morning to evening, some evening to midnight. Even if you sleep, there's an old man waiting for you to wake up. If

you want to eat, we bring the food in to you. No women allowed. No other men allowed except those men that will bring food. They keep everybody away from there (1983:122).

The *pwo* ceremony and instruction which follows usually occurs during the *lecheg* "summer season." This is the time of year when breadfruit becomes plentiful and pounded breadfruit is an essential, ritual aspect of the *pwo* ceremony. In the days immediately preceding the *pwo* ceremony, the men pick as many breadfruit as they can and the women get taro. Two separate *umw* "earth ovens" are made the day before the *pwo* ceremony, one for the women and one for the men, near the canoe house where the *pwo* rites will take place. The men's earth oven is used to cook the breadfruit and the women's earth oven is used to cook the taro. The *uulong* "ceremonial bowl" is placed between the two supporting posts at the rear section of the canoe house (*gapilifal*). After the food is cooked the earth ovens are opened and the food is pounded separately. When the earth ovens are opened, the bowl is "opened" (turned over) and made ready to receive the food. The pounded breadfruit is put in first. When the bowl is half full with pounded breadfruit the pounded taro is put in to fill the bowl up to the rim. The food remains in the ceremonial bowl overnight so the pounded taro will rise to the brim.

The following morning the initiates' heads and shoulders are ornamented with *mwaremar* "flower wreaths" and their bodies are decorated by their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers with bright orange-red *rang* "turmeric." They wear a special loincloth called *machiyilepwo* "vestment for

pwo"⁹ which has been given to them by the "master of ceremonies" or *taupwo* (lit. "master of *pwo*")¹⁰ for the *pwo* initiation rite. Traditionally, this individual is the oldest, wisest navigator of the school of navigation to which the initiates belong. This person goes by the ranked title of *paliuwelap* (lit. "great navigator"). If the *paliuwelap* also happens to be the oldest, wisest man from the highest ranking school of navigation, then he has the unique distinction of being called *paliuwelapelap* (lit. "greatest navigator").

The cultural significance of what it means to be given the title of *paliuwelap* "great navigator" was made clear to me when I interviewed Mr. Z on this subject on Saipan. In 1989 Mr. Z and his crew had sailed from Satawal to Saipan. I asked Mr. Z if he would be able to perform the *pwo* ceremony because to my knowledge there were a number of eligible navigators from Satawal and Lamotrek who had not been officially recognized. At the time I had this conversation with Mr. Z I did not know that Mr. N would be doing the *pwo* ceremony on Lamotrek. Mr. Z's answer to my question was revealing. He said that he could perform the

⁹ The *machiyilepwo* "vestment for the *pwo* ritual" worn by the initiates on Lamotrek was not traditionally woven from banana fibers but consisted of the blue cotton cloth which is commonly imported by the adult male population to wear as loincloth material. There was nothing special about the *machiyilepwo* that could be seen but I was told that Mr. N put a special *rong* spell on the cloths before giving them to the initiates. After the *faauw bong* "four-nights" taboo period was over, the *machiyilepwo* were returned to Mr. N to save them for another special occasion. There is a similarity here between the *pwo* ceremony and the *kefar* ceremony reported by Rubenstein for Fais. In the *kefar* ceremony, adolescent boys were initiated into manhood by wearing a sacred textile called *machiy* "during a four-day period of seclusion, at the end of which the boy presented it to his ritual sponsor" (1979:65).

¹⁰ Elbert defines "*hawppwo*," which is a dialectical variant of *taupwo*, for Puluwat as "initiator of a navigator; initiated navigator; to be such" (1972:31). Goodenough and Sugita define "*sowupwpo*" simply as "one who knows *pwpwo*" (1980:158).

pwo ceremony but added, "Some people would have to die first." In other words, because there were navigators who were more senior than he, Mr. Z had no right to usurp their authority.

The *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" who performs the initiation rite wears a frigate-bird feather in his hair for the ceremony. He looks at the *teor* "woven garments" which have been brought to the canoe house by the families of the initiates and takes the mid-rib of a young palm leaf, *ubut*, to make a precise measurement using the palm of his hand.¹¹ This measurement determines how much of his knowledge he will give to the initiates. If, in his estimation, the *teor* payment to him is not enough, then he will withhold some of his knowledge. This measurement is performed on the hand, using the fingers as points of reference. The hand measurement determines the amount of food in the ceremonial bowl that will be given to the initiates. The *taupwo* then makes a circle on top of the food using the mid-rib of the palm leaf and marks the center with *rang* "turmeric." The center of this area marks where he will place a special large black species of mother-of-pearl shell called *bwaiyoal*.¹² The sacred *bwaiyoal* shell is

¹¹ In the *pwo* ritual I witnessed, there were 274 *toer* "woven garments" given to Mr. N. In former times there would have been many more but Mr. N only asked for enough *teor* "woven garments" to cover the ceremonial *uulong* bowl. Mr. N told me that normally at least a 100 *teor* would be required from an initiate who was not related to him. After the *pwo* rites of passage were concluded four nights later, he returned all the *teor* except for 9 which he planned to send to his relatives on Puluwat (where his father was born) because he said, "That is where his knowledge of *pwo* came from."

¹² Sohn and Tawerilmang give "*paiureo*" instead of *bwaiyoal* (see 1976:113). Sarfert gives "*baiwol*" for Satawal (Damm and Sarfert 1935:85) and an illustration of the type I saw used in the *pwo* ceremony on Lamotrek (Damm and Sarfert 1935:64, fig. 135). The dialectical variants for "pearl shell" in the literature are "*wai*" and "*puai*" for Lamotrek (Krämer 1937:49), "*bai*" for Satawal (Damm and Sarfert 1935:63), "*pwai*" for Namoluk (Girschner 1911:135), "*boei*" for Truk (Krämer 1935:133), and "*pai*" for Puluwat (Damm and Sarfert 1935:215).

ceremonially placed in the food at the end of the following chant called *galielil bwai*.¹³

Galielil Bwai Chant
("Placing Of The Mother-Of-Pearl Shell" Chant)

1. My special shell, my sacred shell.
2. My special shell, my sacred shell.
3. My special shell, my sacred shell.
4. My special shell, my sacred shell.
5. My shell comes from Laeo [EM: spirit name].¹⁴
7. My special shell, my sacred shell.

After the mother-of-pearl shell is buried in the bowl of food, four woven garments made from banana fibers called *machiy*, which have been tied together, are draped over half of the bowl. Together, this collection of woven garments is called *machiyilekoal* "vestments for the pounded

¹³ The Lamotrekese text from which this translation was made is in Appendix A, p. 406.

¹⁴ "Laeo" in the text of the chant was interpreted to be the nickname of the spirit-deity Luugoileng (lit. "Middle Heaven"). Sohn and Tawerilmang define "Luugoileng" as the "name of the person who was a legendary king in the folklore of the Trukic continuum" (1976:89). Nicknames for spirits are not uncommon in the Caroline Islands. For example, Burrows collected a song on Ifaluk about the spirit Mwarisepa whose nickname is given as "Mware" (1963:383-384, 391). Likewise, Alkire (1965:121) gives the name "Ilef" for a spirit that was believed to exist on Lamotrek in the 1960s whose full name I learned to be Ilefilimar.

breadfruit."¹⁵ The *teor* "woven garments" given by the relatives of the initiates are put on top of the ceremonial bowl by the assistants to the *taupwo*. There may be as many as 1000 *teor* given, depending on the number of apprentices who are initiated.¹⁶ The initiates go up to the ceremonial bowl one by one and stretch their right arm over the pile of woven garments. As the *taupwo* fastens the *rorpai* "coconut-leaf bracelet" around their right wrist, he intones the following *rorpai paliuw* chant:¹⁷

Rorpai Paliuw Chant No. 1
("Bracelet For The Navigator" Chant)

1. Push it, push it, push it into a clear, open place.
2. Push it, push it, push it into a clear, open place.
3. Pushing it, pushing it into a clear, open place.
4. Those men are pushing their canoe and you are pushing your canoe.
5. Those men are pushing their canoe and you are pushing your canoe.
6. Their rock, your rock, their rock from the reef, your rock from the reef.

(Continued)

¹⁵ Mr. N, as *taupwo*, had his own special loincloth (which was a traditionally woven *teor* made from banana and hibiscus fibers) called *machiyilekoal* "vestment for the pounded breadfruit" which he wore only for the *pwo* ceremony. In traditional times, the *machiyilekoal* was made from four *machiy* loincloths and sewn together to form a cloak similar to the *morop* or *pinu* type reported for Truk. The ritual significance of the *machiy* is further evidenced by Bollig who reports that Trukese *itang* "war leaders" wore the *machiy* "vestment" (see 1927:169).

¹⁶ The current rate of exchange for a *teor* "lava lava" is between \$30 and \$50 each, depending on stylistic designs that are woven into the fabric. If 1000 *teor* are given to a *taupwo* to pay him for instruction of initiates then his payment at today's rates would amount to some \$3000 to \$5000 dollars.

¹⁷ The Lamotrekese text from which this translation was made is in Appendix A, p. 407.

7. Their wood for canoe repair, your wood
for canoe repair.
8. [EM: meaning unknown]
9. [EM: meaning unknown]
10. [EM: meaning unknown]
11. The knowledgeable [EM: word untranslatable] man
is initiated
12. And your coconut-leaf bracelet signifies that you
are a navigator.

The words in line nos. 8-10 above are of an archaic nature and so strange as to render them unintelligible. The distortions may be an attempt at being both esoteric and poetic.¹⁸ As the *taupwo* performs the above incantation, the assembled navigators speak words of advice to the initiate.¹⁹ They tell the initiate that he will throw away all of his bad thoughts, be pure of heart, serve his crew, never abandon them, never leave them behind, and never sail away from a fleet of canoes. After the *taupwo* finishes tying the coconut-leaf bracelet to the wrist of the initiate he takes a special amulet called *melang* and also ties it to the right wrist. Inside the *melang* amulet is a piece of reef rock (*porou*) which is symbolic of a navigator's strength and courage at sea. As the *melang* is tied to each initiate's wrist with *yoqforchaal* "black and white coconut-hibiscus string," the *taupwo* performs the following *rorpai paliuw* chant:²⁰

¹⁸ See discussion of "coefficients of weirdness" in Chapter 4, pp. 173-174.

¹⁹ Informants claim that long ago there were as many as 50-60 navigators present for a *pwo* ceremony. They would offer words of advice *en masse* as each initiate stepped up to the bowl to receive the *rorpai ubut* "coconut-leaf bracelet."

²⁰ The Lamotrekese text from which this translation was made is in Appendix A, p. 408.

Rorpai Paliuw Chant No. 2
("Bracelet For The Navigator" Chant)

1. This bracelet is hot, this bracelet is hot
2. This bracelet is miraculous, this bracelet is miraculous.
3. The heat from my arm and the miraculous power
from my arm shatters.
4. When I put my arm up, it tears the heavens above.
5. When I put my arm down it, it destroys and tears
everything below.
6. Annihilates, annihilates, annihilates the stone
foundation made by human hands.
7. This powerful advice, this strong and forceful
counseling is only for my son.
8. This powerful advice, this strong and forceful
counseling is from my heat
9. This strong and forceful advice is for ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says the
name of the initiate]
... under my mast ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says the name of his
school of navigation (in this case ... Weriyeng)]
10. Because this strong advice and forceful counseling is
only for my son.
11. Strong advice and forceful counseling that comes from
my heat.

When the *taupwo* refers to a non-relative as "son" in the above chant, he is speaking metaphorically. Nevertheless, the use of the word "son" affirms the fictive, father-son relationship which a *shap* "teacher" and *yauten* "apprentice" are supposed to maintain for the rest of their lives. After the initiates have received the *rorpai* bracelets and *melang* amulets, they are now officially *pwofeo* "new navigators." The *taupwo* approaches the ceremonial bowl and begins to chant and pull out the sacred *machiyilekoal*

"vestments for the pounded breadfruit" from underneath the hundreds of other *teor* "woven garments" which cover the bowl.²¹

Machiyilekoal Chant
("Vestments For The Pounded Breadfruit" Chant)

1. Lemgei, Lemgei [EM: spirit name]²²
2. Who is this who can pull these *machiy* "vestments"?
3. These *machiy* "vestments for the pounded breadfruit" that cover the great bowl for me ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says his name]
4. Because I ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says his name again]
... and Luugoileng and Yaliulap [EM: spirit names]²³
5. Pull these *machiy* "vestments for the pounded breadfruit" which cover the great bowl.
6. This pounded breadfruit which is for me ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says his name]
7. These *machiy* "vestments" are for what?
8. *Machiy* "vestments" for navigation.
9. *Machiy* "vestments" for life.
10. Life for these men ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says the names of the initiates]
11. Under my mast ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says the name of his school of navigation (in this case ... Werieng)].

²¹ The Lamotrekesse text from which this translation was made is in Appendix A, p. 409.

²² Lemgei is the name of a prominent female spirit-diety in Carolinian mythology. She is usually referred to as the daughter of Yaliulap or the wife of Luugoileng.

²³ Luugoileng and Yaliulap are the two most prominent god-like spirits in Carolinian mythology. Yaliulap literally means "Great Spirit." He is the "highest" god or spirit in Carolinian mythology whereas Luugoileng is the god or spirit of "Middle Heaven."

After pulling the *machiyilekoal* "vestments for the pounded breadfruit" out from under the large pile of *teor* "woven garments" covering the ceremonial bowl, the *taupwo* wraps the *machiyilekoal* around his waist. He then removes all the other *teor* from the top of the bowl. After he has uncovered the bowl, he walks just outside the rear of the canoe house and gets down on his hands and knees to face the bowl. He starts the *pigikoal* "tapping of the pounded breadfruit" chant and slowly approaches the bowl. The *pigikoal* chant incorporates a second participant — a spirit entity — with the *taupwo* taking on both voices:²⁴

Pigikoal Chant
("Tapping Of The Pounded Breadfruit" Chant)

1. [Navigator] I am crouching in.
2. I am crouching on the ground where the great bowl sits.
3. The bad spirits will go away.
4. I am looking at the spirits of ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says the name of his school of navigation (in this case ...Werieng)]
5. I am looking at the spirits of ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says the name of his school of navigation (in this case ...Werieng)]
6. They are near the bottom of the great bowl.
7. Now they are rising higher on the great bowl.
8. They stand on Tonaachaw mountain.²⁵
9. The spirits of pounded breadfruit, they died under that pounded breadfruit.

(Continued)

²⁴ The Lamotrekese text from which this translation was made is in Appendix A, pp. 410-412.

²⁵ Mt. Tonaachaw is located on Moen Island in the Truk Lagoon.

10. The spirits of pounded breadfruit, they died
in the Liugulo sea lane.²⁶
11. Who is that who stands and climbs up the rim of
Luugoileng's magic bowl?²⁷
12. Who is that who stands and climbs up the rim of
Luugoileng's magic bowl?
13. [Spirit] Who do you think it is? It is I.
14. [Navigator] Who are you?
15. [Spirit] Who do you think it is? It is I.
16. Who do you think it is? It is I.
17. I am a pure man.
18. [Navigator] How long have you been a pure man?
19. [Spirit] I have been a pure man since time began,
since time began, since time began.
20. I have been a pure man since time began,
since time began, since time began.
21. [Navigator] Luugoileng's frigate bird will come
down and take away
22. Take away the curse on the pounded breadfruit
23. That lies on the pounded breadfruit
24. That rests on the pounded breadfruit
25. And from this man ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says his name].

At this point in the chant, the *taupwo* uses the fingers of his hands to scoop around the circle marked earlier with the *rang* "turmeric" on the top layer of the food. As he digs deeper and deeper with his hands he continues chanting:

²⁶ The location of the "Liugulo sea lane" is uncertain. Mr. A thought that it might be located between the Mortlock Islands and Truk Lagoon. There are only two lists which I have found in the literature which give the names of sea lanes north and south of Truk. In a list collected by Sarfert from a Puluwatan navigator, "Lugidol" appears as the name of the sea lane north of Truk between "Ruk" [EM: Truk] and "Rua" [EM: Ruo] in Murillo Atoll (Damm and Sarfert 1935:106). This very possibly may be the one mentioned in the chant.

²⁷ Luugoileng is a prominent spirit-diety in Carolinian mythology. See note 23 above, p. 249.

26. Because of the stirring
27. Stirring of the pounded breadfruit
28. Cutting and molding of the pounded breadfruit
29. Cutting and molding of the pounded breadfruit
30. Pounded breadfruit
31. Going down
32. Going down
33. Pounded breadfruit
34. Pounded breadfruit
35. To the center
36. To the center
37. To the center of the pounded breadfruit!

The *taupwo* takes out the *bwaiyoal* "mother-of-pearl shell" with the initiates' food and puts both the shell and the food in a basket. As he does so he calls out the name of his *gaius* "school of navigation."²⁸ Additional baskets of food are filled and for each one the *taupwo* calls out the name of a school of navigation until 12 schools of navigators have received their share of the food. According to Mr. N, the names of all the schools were called in the past and their portions of food set aside even if a school was not present to collect its share. This fact was born out in the *pwo* ceremony performed on Lamotrek. Twelve baskets of food were set aside even though only members from the schools of Weriyeng and Faaluush were present. After the food is set aside for the *pwofeo* "new navigators" and the various schools of navigation, the entire membership of navigators participates in a ceremonial feast.

²⁸ In this case, the Weriyeng school of navigation.

For comparison purposes, the only detailed description of an initiation ceremony for navigators found in the ethnographic literature is presented below. Though not an eye-witness account, it was collected by Sarfert in 1909 from Puluwat:

A large wooden bowl (*habi unudja*) is filled with food; a large black shell (*baiwol*) [EM: *bwaiyoal*] ... is stuck into it and finally all the gifts are placed on it, which were presented as payment at the beginning of the course. Finally the students themselves come and lay their right stretched out hands on it in order to have a charm (*melan*) [EM: *melang*] tied around their wrists. This *melan* is a coral stone wrapped in a woven mat and tied with hibiscus fibers. The captains wear these charms when they set out on long voyages. They are supposed to keep bad weather and rain away. After the ceremony a big banquet is held and is later followed by dances of any kind (Damm and Sarfert 1935:85).

The *melang* "charms" mentioned in Sarfert's report above were removed from the initiates' wrists by Mr. N on Lamotrek after the *faauw bong* "four-nights" taboo period was completed. They were told to get them from him when they ventured out onto the sea.²⁹ They are supposed to continue to wear them until such time as they completed a major voyage. After they had "proven" themselves and been given the *gatariy* feast, their *melang* amulets would be tied up with the sacred *bwaiyoal* shell which was kept high in the rafters of the canoe house where they had been initiated. In the past, hanging *bwaiyoal* and attached *melang* hung in all the canoe houses as remembrances of *pwo* initiation rituals which had been performed. Mr. N

²⁹ Sarfert reports "... on Tametam this charm is used as *banewan* [EM: *bangibeng* "empowerment magic"] and that a long and threatening speech is addressed to bad weather and accompanied by the shaking of fists and strange sounds." (Damm and Sarfert 1935:85, fn. 2).

named several canoe houses on Satawal where such *bwaiyoal* were kept and which were designated as "*bwaiyoal* Weriyeng" or "*bwaiyoal* Faaluush" depending on which school of navigation had performed a *pwo* ceremony in a particular canoe house.

In the *pwo* initiation rite I witnessed on Lamotrek, the ceremonial feast took place around 12:00 p.m. but there was no dancing or partying afterwards. After the *pwo* initiation ceremony and feast, Mr. N of the Weriyeng school, and his assistant, Mr. F of the Faaluush school, who carried the title of *peshelepaliuw* "legs of the navigator," began their instruction of the *pwofeo* "new navigators" in earnest. The entire afternoon was spent reviewing basic navigational knowledge. By nightfall, all the basics had been covered and Mr. N and Mr. F began instruction in the sacred lore of navigation, mainly focusing on *baliubel* and *bangibeng* chants that are used on land and sea. In contrast to the previous subjects in basic navigational concepts and techniques, much of this esoteric information was new to most of the initiates, including Mr. N's initiated son, Mr. B.

The instructional environment for *pwofeo* "new navigators" must have been considerably different in the past when as many as 50 to 60 navigators were present. Sarfert describes such a scene:

The pupils are taught simultaneously in groups of from two to three. Frequently other captains join in the instruction. One, for instance, may be talking about the stars, another may lecture on special sailing information, another on geography, and still another about the living organisms of the water and the air which may serve as valuable means of orientation to the navigator (Damm and Sarfert 1935:84-85).

In the above passage, Sarfert states that knowledge of sea life was an important subject for group instruction. This information contradicts what I learned on Lamotrek regarding *pookof* — a highly restricted system of knowledge regarding a multitude of creatures which a navigator may come across in the course of a voyage.³⁰ The *pookof* system of "sea life" was not taught during the "four-nights" ritual seclusion of new navigators on Lamotrek; nevertheless, it is possible that *pookof* names may have played a role in the *pwo* instruction in former times. Gladwin, for instance, from his research on Puluwat, states that knowledge concerning "sea life" formed an important part of initiation rituals:

Sea life enters heavily into the recitations and chants of initiation ceremonies for navigators, and into the songs composed for their wives to sing while they are at sea (which used to be first sung at their initiations), but never in all of this are anything more than the names revealed, without identities (1970:206).

It is significant in the above passage that Gladwin says, "... never in all of this are anything more than the names revealed, without identities." This remark underscores the secrecy of *pookof* "sea life" information. No real knowledge is transmitted, only names without descriptions. There is also evidence from the literature which suggests that during large *pwo* gatherings in the past the testing of new navigators incorporated contests between navigators and schools of navigation to see who could out do the other in feats of memory. Some navigational exercises, such as the "Torch of the

³⁰ Thomas describes "*pookof*" as "the series of sea creatures arrayed about each island" and gives a list of Satawalese names and their descriptions (1987:252-260).

Lagoon of Anuufa" exercise and "Lashing of the Breadfruit Picker" exercise (Riesenberg 1972:35-56; Goodenough and Thomas 1987:5), seem to have served no "true" navigational value except for making the *shap* "teacher" proud of his students (Thomas, personal communication, 1988). Gladwin states that certain navigational exercises have "absolutely no practical value" and goes on to make the following comments about their use in pre-*pwo* instruction:

They, along with other schemes for linking together islands and clusters of islands, were taught by master navigators to their students so that the latter could show off their knowledge during initiations, this possibly being the Puluwat equivalent of fraternity hazings. When these tasks of memorizing were added to sea life [EM: *pookof*] it is a wonder that anyone lasted through the course of study. With the end of initiations interest in the island sequences seems to be declining. It is probable that the current crop of students are not taking them very seriously (1970:207-208).

As far as I can tell, students of navigation still take the study of *pookof* "sea life" seriously. This is, in fact, the one system of technical knowledge that I was told was genuinely different between the Weriyeng and Faaluush schools of navigation. Gladwin also reports that the sea life inventories between these schools may be similar but their identification systems are totally different (1970:204-205). For instance, a Weriyeng navigator may sight the same bird over the ocean but give it a different name than a Faaluush navigator or put it under a different star. In general, however, the differences in navigational techniques between the Weriyeng and Faaluush schools appear to be minor. Gladwin, who studied traditional navigation on Puluwat, has noted that there are differences in star courses, reference

islands, and weather forecasting between the two schools but that these differences "are either trifling or not such as to affect the functional integrity of the system" (1970:160, 187, 200). What does affect the system are the differences in taboos and *rong* magical rites between the schools of navigation. For unknown reasons, the following were taboo to Faaluush navigators: 1) carrying bamboo on a sailing canoe, 2) including bananas as part of the food supply on a sailing canoe, and 3) transporting women on sailing canoes who had not born children. Krämer mentions for Truk that "bananas in the boat" were believed to "lead to wrong courses" (1932:300). Sarfert reports for Puluwat that "it is considered a great calamity if bananas are found in the boat" (Damm and Sarfert 1935:114). Another writer, Bérard, who was one of the first Europeans to travel with Satawalese islanders on a canoe trip in in the early 1800s, also reports that bananas were "considered so ominous that the natives believe they will die in case they eat some before their departure" (Freycinet 1828:113; Damm and Sarfert 1935:114). Werieng navigators were under no such restrictions which was one of the reasons given by informants belonging to the Werieng school as to why the Werieng school is ranked higher than the Faaluush school. Besides these taboos, the two schools use different magical chants and types of ritual paraphernalia. Müller collected information in 1909-1910 while in Yap which indicates that the Werieng school used only young coconut leaves "which they tied to the masthead, the bow, and the stern" whereas the Faaluush school tied coconut leaves "to the bow and stern, and banana leaves to the mast" (1917:295).

Very little is generally known about the other schools of navigation other than their names, and even these are reported differently by individual navigator informants on Lamotrek. For instance, Mr. J listed Werieng,

Faaluush, Sabu, Fara, and Lem (a nickname for the Lemarflash school) but Mr. H listed Weriyeng, Faaluush, Sagiur, Fara, and Rara. In this second list we find that the Sabu school is missing but the Sagiur and Rara schools have been added. One thing that navigator informants agreed upon is that these schools are status-ranked. This means that in theory (but not necessarily in practice) the school which is "higher" has privileges over those schools which are "lower" in rank. For instance, the Weriyeng school is said to have priority over all other schools with regard to leading a fleet of canoes. If there is a difference of opinion between captains of two different schools, the captain who belongs to the lower-ranking school is supposed to follow the lead of the higher-ranking captain. This deference is expressed as *gassorou* "respect" to the *gaius* "mast" which is *tagiyat* "higher." If two sailing canoes are leaving an island, the Faaluush captain is supposed to *gassorou* "respect" the Weriyeng captain by letting him lead the way. The difference in status is symbolically represented by the location on the mast of the canoe where Weriyeng and Faaluush captains tie off their ropes. The Weriyeng captain will tie his rope higher up on the mast than the Faaluush captain. In practice, however, the ranking of schools appears to be hotly contested. The example was given in Chapter 4 of a chant by a "Lemuarefat" (Lemarflash) navigator who calls upon his spirit power, which takes the form of a fish, to "devour" the "Uorieng" (Weriyeng) navigator in order "to end it, the captain of the Uorieng" (Krämer 1932:245). Competition between schools of navigation also exists between the Weriyeng and Faaluush schools. This may be illustrated by one of the lessons which Mr. N gave to the *pwofeo* "new navigators" during the "four-nights" period of formal instruction. In a number of interviews before the *pwo* initiation ceremony, Mr. N always ranked the Faaluush school in the

second position under the Weriyeng school; but after the *pwo* initiation rite, he ranked it last (see Table 7, p. 262). Mr. N's rationale for the change in status of Faaluush from the number two position to the last position illustrated the "moral" or "lesson" of a charter myth concerning Weriyeng and Faaluush which was recited by Mr. N in the course of this lesson. The myth of Weriyeng and Faaluush is presented here not exactly as Mr. N told it to the new navigators but paraphrased with explanations of certain points added by his son, Mr. B:

Myth of Weriyeng and Faaluush

On the island of Punap lived two brothers, Weriyeng and Faaluush. They had the same father and same mother. One day they decided to go out into the open sea. They took many different kinds of birds and fish with them to drop in the ocean (the ones navigators use today in the system of sea life called *pookof*). Faaluush was sitting in the back of the canoe and Weriyeng in front. Weriyeng would tell Faaluush when to drop a bird, fish or shark into the sea, but Faaluush tricked Weriyeng. When they were paddling, Faaluush would drop a bird or fish without Weriyeng knowing it, than another, and tried to trick Weriyeng so that he would not know where he had dropped them. Pretty soon Faaluush said that they had run out of birds and fish. Weriyeng thought this was strange because his plan was to go very far. He wondered if Faaluush had tricked him. They paddled back to their island and Weriyeng continued to wonder why Faaluush had tricked him.

One day Faaluush told Weriyeng that they would sail to Truk to get some *rang* "turmeric" and other things. After they were very far from Punap, Faaluush kicked Weriyeng out of the canoe into the ocean. Faaluush told his crew members not to pick Weriyeng up. They left Weriyeng and went straight to Truk. Meanwhile, Weriyeng swam around until he found a

large piece of bamboo floating in the water and climbed inside it.³¹ He said some magic words and made the current come so that he would drift back to Punap.

When Weriyeng reached Punap he went to his wife's house and he told her, "When Faaluush comes back from Truk, do not tell him that I am here."

In the old days, whenever canoes would return from far away islands, they would prepare a big *uulong* "ceremonial bowl" of pounded taro for a *gatariy* "ceremonial feast of offering" and the highest navigator would dip his hands into the bowl and call the members of each one of the different schools of navigation. The members would come and get their share of taro from the bowl. So Weriyeng told his wife, "Before Faaluush distributes the taro I will go inside this bowl and you put the taro on top of me." Soon afterwards, Faaluush came back from Truk. He went to his mother and told her a lie, "I have bad news for you. I feel very bad because my older brother was very sick in Truk and he died. We buried him there and I came back to tell you." But Faaluush had a plan in mind — he was trying to marry Weriyeng's wife. That's why he wanted to kill Weriyeng. After talking to his mother he went to Weriyeng's house and he entered but Weriyeng climbed up and hid himself under the rafters of the house. Faaluush entered the house and told Weriyeng's wife, "I have news for you." "What is that?" she asked. "Your husband is dead." "What happened?" And he told her that Weriyeng had gotten very sick and died in Truk. Weriyeng's wife thought a moment then asked, "So when is your *gatariy* feast?" Faaluush answered, "We will do that tomorrow." The next day after Faaluush had visited Weriyeng's wife, the women went to the taro patch to get the taro for the bowl. With her sisters, Weriyeng's wife

³¹ The Lamotrekese word for bamboo is *baaiu* but in this myth it is given the honorific name of Sagiur because it was "sent" to Weriyeng by Yaliulewaiy, the patron spirit of navigators. Some navigators list Sagiur as one of the schools of navigation, others contend that the name only applies to the bamboo. This discrepancy remains a mystery. A chant called "*Gassorou Sagiur*" is spoken when navigators encounter pieces of bamboo at sea. See Chapter 4, pp. 175-176.

filled up the bowl with taro for the *gatariy* "feast" knowing that Weriyeng was lying at the bottom of the bowl. Some men went with Faaluush and they took the big bowl from Weriyeng's wife's house to the canoe house where the food would be distributed. Faaluush stood near the big bowl and called out the name of one school of navigation and dipped his hands into the bowl to distribute the taro. His hands went straight into Weriyeng's mouth. Weriyeng bit off all of Faaluush's fingers and Faaluush fell down dead from fright beside the bowl. Weriyeng jumped out and told everyone to forget what had happened to Faaluush and that he would continue the work. So Weriyeng called out the names of the different schools of navigation and parceled out the food to all the navigators who were present. This is why Weriyeng is the highest school of navigation.

The moral of the story as told by Mr. N is that the followers of the Faaluush school of navigation lost their place in the hierarchy of navigational schools because Faaluush did not *gassorou* "respect" Weriyeng. Nevertheless, it is evident from the lists of other navigator informants on Lamotrek that Faaluush is commonly ranked just under Weriyeng in status. The fact that Mr. N in several interviews previous to the *pwo* ceremony always gave the rank of the Faaluush school in the second place just below Weriyeng also confirms this common belief. It is hard to explain this change in Faaluush's rank during the "four-nights" instructional period except to infer that it serves a purely pedagogical function aimed at emphasizing the importance of *gasorou* "respect" behaviors between navigators as well as legitimizing the higher rank of the Weriyeng school in relationship to the Faaluush school. The same story entitled "Vorieng" was collected by Krämer with minor variations on Punap in 1909 (1935:278-279). Elbert reports for Truk

Table 7.

Navigation School Rankings by Mr. N
Before and After the *Pwo* Ceremony on Lamotrek in 1990

Before the *Pwo* Ceremony After the *Pwo* Ceremony

1. Weriyeng	→	1. Weriyeng
2. Faaluush	→	2. Sabu
3. Sabu	→	3. Fara
4. Fara	→	4. Lemarfash
5. Lemarfash	→	5. Yaulemarfash
6. Yaulemarfash	→	6. Rara
7. Rara	→	7. Yaurara
8. Yaurara	→	8. Malefot
9. Malefot	→	9. Gapioumulfash
10. Gapioumulfash	→	10. Rongoshig
11. Rongoshig	→	11. Rongolap
12. Rongolap	→	12. Faaluush

that it is "Fanuch" who is "defeated by Weriyeng" (1947:78). Goodenough and Sugita also report for Truk that "According to legend, *Weriyeng* and *Faanuuch* engaged in a debate or contest, and the followers of each claim the victory for their side to the present day" (1980:367). The alternative version of this myth is given by Burrows and Spiro for Ifaluk (1953:90-91) and Krämer for Woleai (1937:290-291). In both of these versions, the roles of the two brothers are reversed. It is Weriyeng who tries to kill Faaluush and it is Faaluush who triumphs over Weriyeng. Each school, it seems, has presented the myth the way it best serves to advance its position in the hierarchy of navigational schools. A Faaluush navigator from Woleai told me that a person from the Faaluush school will privately contend that he is higher in rank than a person from the Weriyeng school and vice versa; nevertheless, both will *gassorou* each other when they meet at sea by blowing the triton shell horn when they depart. The difference in versions between these stories may also be a function of the frequency with which the two different schools are found in the Trukic continuum. From the literature and my interviews with informants, the Weriyeng school appears to have had more followers in the region of the Caroline Islands around the Mortlocks and the Western Islands of Truk (Puluwat, Pulusuk, Tamatam, and Punap) whereas the Faaluush school has had more followers in the islands in the region of Ulithi and Woleai.³²

³² The only reference in the literature surveyed for this study which suggests that a school of navigation existed in the Mortlock Islands appears in Girschner who lists "Wiriam" as a "god" who "stands under" another "god" called "Anun marasi" (1911:185-186). There is no doubt in my mind that "Wiriam" is one and the same as Weriyeng because "Anun marasi" is an alternative name for Yaliulewaiy, the patron spirit of all navigators. In mythological terms, Weriyeng is perceived as being the son of Yaliulewaiy or Paliuwelap, who often play similar roles in navigation myths.

Whatever the ranking, there can be little doubt concerning the diversity of navigational schools that once existed in the not too distant past. In 1909, Krämer collected a list of 12 names which he referred to as "auxiliary navigators" from Sopi, a navigator on Lamotrek (1937:122).³³ When compared to Mr. N's first list in Table 7 (see p. 262) we find some interesting similarities and differences with Table 8 (see p. 265). Of particular significance is the coincidence of 5 names between both lists and the disappearance and addition of others. Also significant is the fact that Krämer checked his list of names between two different Lamotrekan informants. In the second version by another informant named Urupo, he was told that "Vorieng" (Weriyeng) was placed at the bottom of the hierarchy of navigational schools (Krämer 1937:122, fn. 1). Was this a joke by a Faaluush navigator at the expense of a Weriyeng navigator who happened to be present at the time? Or was this a reversal of the same principle by which Mr. N (of the Weriyeng school) placed the Faaluush school at the bottom of the hierarchy of navigational schools? It is impossible to make a conclusion one way or another in this matter but the distinction between the status-ranking of the Weriyeng and Faaluush schools does reaffirm the underlying competition and rivalry between the two schools.

³³ Ms. "L" of Lamotrek, who was over 90 years of age, nearly the oldest woman on Lamotrek in 1990, stated that Sopi was indeed an important navigator on Lamotrek. She recalled that Sopi was the one who took the *sawey* tribute from Lamotrek to Wottagai, Woleai sometime in the early 1900s. See Chapter 1, pp. 41-43 for discussion of the *sawey* "tribute system."

Table 8

Navigation School Listings on Lamotrek
in 1909 and 1990

Lamotrek 1909

Lamotrek 1990

Informant: Sopi
(after Krämer 1937:122)

Informant: Mr. N

"Each navigator has his own spirit"

Navigators' "masts"

1. Alulapelap		1. Weriyeng
2. Maselelog		2. Faaluush
3. Tarailemetau		3. Sabu
4. Vorieng	→	4. Fara
5. Faludj	→	5. Lemarflash
6. Gapiumolefadj	→	6. Yaulemarflash
7. Sabug	→	7. Rara
8. Fogara	→	8. Yaurara
9. Olopelipen	→	9. Malefot
10. Madjebol	→	10. Gapioumulfash
11. Lebutobut	→	11. Rongoshig
12. Uman	→	12. Rongolap

We may assume that Krämer's list of names may be used to identify individual navigational schools because Krämer tells us:

The large number of spirits is to be explained by the fact that every navigator has his own spirit whereas Aluluei [EM: a dialectical variant of Yaliulewaiy] is common to them all (1937:122).

Here, I am making the assumption that the "spirits" referred to by Krämer in the above passage are the names of ancestral teacher-spirits who, during their human lives on earth were the innovators of the individual schools of navigation. This assumption is based on numerous interviews with navigator informants from Lamotrek, Satawal, Elato, and Woleai who all maintained that the founders of the various schools of navigation were once human beings who received their knowledge from the spirit Yaliulewaiy (same as "Aluluei" in the above passage) which literally means "Spirit of the Voyage." In addition to this name, Yaliulewaiy is also called by a host of other names associated with the rainbow (Krämer 1935:103, 104, 115; Damm and Sarfert 1935:208; Girschner 1911:149, 183). In some Carolinian myths, Yaliulewaiy is looked upon as the father of several children who learned navigation. For example, a number of names associated with the navigational schools listed by Mr. N on Lamotrek appear in the following excerpt from the myth entitled, "Kulung" (cf. Kuling, see p. 216), collected by Krämer on Fais:

Myth of Kulung (excerpt)

Luluei [EM: Yaliulewaiy] and his wife Ilabuluei lived on the island [EM: Punap] with their children Vorieng [EM: Weriyeng], Faludj [EM: Faaluush], Sabu, Fangala, Levutavut, Olopalipel, Umal, Kapiomulifadj [EM: Gapioumulfash], Sagul [EM: Sagiur], and Paluelap [EM: Paliuwelap]. Paluelap married the woman Lisabag of Pollap [EM: Punap] and his sons were Rongothik [EM: Rongoshig] and Rongelap [EM: Rongolap]. Paluelap received from his parents the food which he gave to the Kulung [EM: a beach bird, species of plover]. In return, the Kulung introduced him to the art of navigation. (1937:384).

I have separated the names out from the above passage and compared them with the names given by Mr. N in Table 9 (see p. 269) so as to make identification easier. The inclusion of the names "Rongothik" and "Rongolap" is significant because they are synonymous with the names "Rongoshig" and "Rongolap" given by Mr. N. An epic cycle of myths in the literature associated with these two brothers has been reported in a variety of versions in the literature in connection with the major mythological deity of Paliuwelap.³⁴ Although Mr. N did not include this cycle of myths in his education of the *pwofeo* "new navigators" during the "four-nights" instructional period, they were told to me on various other occasions. The plot line of these tales serves an instructional purpose, the message of which is that Rongoshig receives all of Paliuwelap's knowledge of navigation because he gives him food, whereas Rongolap only

³⁴ See Krämer 1935:284-286, 1937:285-291; Damm and Sarfert 1935:226-234; Lessa 1961a:103-104; Elbert 1971:9-43; Ashby 1983:95-97; Thomas 1987:103-104. This epic cycle of myths is organized around the mythological character and father figure of Paliuwelap (usually spelled "Paluelap" in the literature). Lessa (1961a:27-34, 98-105) has analyzed the essential features of this epic myth.

receives partial instruction because he does not give his father food.³⁵ Rongoshig shows *gassorou* "respect" not only to Paliuwelap but also to the spirits which he meets in the course of his sailing adventures. Rongolap, in contrast, does not *gassorou* "respect" his father and consequently does not learn the proper *rong* chants or etiquette to effectively communicate with and win over the spirits he meets in the course of his adventures. Rongolap's lack of knowledge with regard to the spirits he meets gets him into trouble and provides the motivation for Rongoshig to sail off to rescue him.

The dominance of Rongoshig over Rongolap is expressed in Mr. N's hierarchy of navigational schools similar to the way Werieng is placed above Faaluush. Moreover, the characterizations of the characters in the myths are very similar. In fact, some islanders interchange the names of the brothers for the same story.³⁶ This has occurred, for instance, in connection with the story given above where Faaluush attempts to kill Werieng. A version of the same myth was collected by Sarfert from a navigator on Puluwat but the roles of Faaluush and Werieng were played by Rongolap and Rongoshig respectively (Damm and Sarfert 1935:226-228). The similarity between these characters also extends to their respective

³⁵ This lesson is selected in the definitions which are given for *rongoshig* and *rongolap*. Sohn and Tawerilmang define *rongoshig* as "detailed information, detailed knowledge" and *rongolap* as "superficial information, superficial knowledge" (1976:124). The connection between these definitions and the amount of *rong* knowledge acquired by each brother is directly dependent on their respective observance of *gassorou* "respect" behaviors towards their father, Paliuwelap. Thomas, who collected a version of this story on Satawal, says the following: "The moral of the story, I took it, was that one should respect one's elders and learn from them traditional skills and right behavior" (1987:104).

³⁶ Thomas reported for Satawal that some islanders claim that Rongolap and Rongoshig are, in fact, Faaluush and Werieng (1987:103).

Table 9

Navigation School Listings on Fais in 1909
and Lamotrek in 1990

Fais 1909

Lamotrek 1990

Informant: Moloaedjeg?
(after Krämer 1937:384-385)

Informant: Mr. N

"Luluei [EM: Yaliulewaiy] and his
wife Ilabuluei lived on the island
[EM: Punap] with their children."

Navigators' "masts"

1. Vorieng	→	1. Weriyeng
2. Faludj	→	2. Faaluush
3. Sabu	→	3. Sabu
4. Fangala	→ ? →	4. Fara
5. Levutavut		5. Lemarflash
6. Olopalipel		6. Yaulemarflash
7. Umal		7. Rara
8. Kapiomulifadj		8. Yaurara
9. Sagul		9. Malefot
10. Paluelap		10. Gapioumulfash
11. Rongothik		11. Rongoshig
12. Rongelap		12. Rongolap

relationships with Paliuwelap or Yaliulewaiy (depending on the myth) who essentially are viewed either as father-teachers or patron spirits. Paliuwelap and Yaliulewaiy are also treated in like fashion in various mythological accounts so as to be virtually indistinguishable. In some myths Paliuwelap is the father of Yaliulewaiy and vice versa. As Krämer reported, "It is really of no importance whether Alului [EM: Yaliulewaiy] is the son of Paluelap [EM: Paliuwelap] or is Paluelap himself, because in navigation they are identical" (1937:150). This idea is supported by the following lyrics to a chant collected by Sarfert on Puluwat in which an offering is made to Paliuwelap and Yaliulewaiy at the opening of the *gatariy* "ceremonial feast of offering":

Baluelob [EM: Paliuwelap] and Alluluei [EM: Yaliulewaiy], I am making this *atari* [EM: *gatariy*], I am going to eat. Come Baluelob and Alluluei, come from heaven and eat! (Damm and Sarfert 1935:227)

A spirit effigy called *gos* with two faces representing both Yaliulewaiy and Paliuwelap was formerly used by navigators in their magical rites, primarily to ward off storms.³⁷ The *gos* "spirit effigy" had a very important function in both *baliubel* "protection magic" and *bangibeng* "empowerment magic" and has been reported for nearly all the islands between Yap and Truk. Alkire makes the following comments from his research on Lamotrek which are illustrative of the

³⁷ Also glossed "weather charm" (see Dwyer and Dwyer 1973) the name *gos* derives from sting ray spines which protrude from the bottom of the figure. Krämer reported for Lamotrek that the sting ray spines "are greatly feared in combat and are considered one with the god Saulal ... [EM: Saulal is lit. "King of the Underworld" and is believed to be the ruler of all the spirits who live in the sea] ... the wood represents the god Aluelap [EM: Yaliulap is the ruler of the heavens] and the cement unites the two" (1937:156). In this way the spirit effigy unites the three primary worlds of Carolinian mythology: island, ocean, and sky.

importance of the *gos* "spirit effigy" both as a symbol of a navigator's office and its use in magical rites:

... the weather effigy [EM: *gos* "spirit effigy"] is an important item in the navigator's paraphernalia, for with it he will ward off bad weather during his voyages and turn storms away from his island of residence. The effigy can be carved by anyone with woodworking ability. From two to six sting-ray spines are bound to its base and overlaid with coral cement. When completed, the navigator takes the effigy to a particular coconut tree, which may have been given to him by the individual from whom he learned navigation and which is located near his canoe house. Here he recites a chant and Yalulawei [EM: Yaliulewaiy] is asked to protect the navigator through the effigy wherever he travels. The *hos* [EM: dialectical variant of *gos*] can now be taken on a canoe and when not in use is kept at the canoe house. It is never taken to a dwelling house (1965:119).

In the above passage, the navigator takes the *gos* "weather effigy" to his coconut tree "which may have been given to him by the individual from whom he learned navigation and is located near his canoe house." This tree is very probably in the *roang* "sacred taboo site" which belongs to his school of navigation where numerous rituals connected to *baliubel* magic were performed in the name of Yaliulewaiy and associated spirit powers. When I witnessed the spirit effigy used as an instrument for *baliubel* "protection magic," it was swung back and forth across the chest, lightly touching each shoulder as it was moved, the entire action accompanying the invocation. When I witnessed the *gos* "spirit effigy" used as an instrument for the *bangibeng* "empowerment magic" called *gosilifei* it was swung by navigators in a stabbing motion, pointing the sting ray spines in the direction of the (imagined) high waves that threatened to capsize the canoe. The incantation to Yaliulewaiy was supposed to have the effect of calming the sea.

Sarfert notes for Ifaluk that the *gos* effigy was the "*banewan* [EM: *bangibeng*] of Aluluei [EM: Yaliulewaiy]" (Damm 1938:91) and for Puluwat it

was used in "*balebal* [EM: *baliubel*] magic" (Damm and Sarfert 1935:208). I collected two separate types of chants on Lamotrek used with the *gos*. One type, *baliubeli gos*, was used for protection magic and the second type, *bangibeng gos*, was used to "kill" strong waves and storms.³⁸ For some reason, there are no reports in the literature for the *gos* "spirit effigy" south of Truk. In questioning Mr. N on this matter, he said that the *gos* was used in the past by navigators from the Mortlock Islands. Since Kubary (1880, 1889) makes no mention of it, use of the *gos* "spirit effigy" may have been discouraged after the arrival of Protestant missionaries in the 1870s.³⁹

Long ago, there was a special navigator's hut called *pamaru* located on the outrigger platform near the stabilizer pontoon (*tam*). The *gos* "spirit effigy" of Yaliulewaiy would be placed inside the hut along with other sacred instruments — triton shell horn, amulets, medicines, young coconut leaves, and spirit offerings. The area on the outrigger where the *pamaru* "house of Yaliulewaiy" was located is called *roangotam*. Mr. N also referred to the navigators' hut on the outrigger platform as *roangotam* but said, "The real name is *pamaru*." This is undoubtedly the same "hut" reported as "*rangodam*" by Sarfert for Puluwat (Damm and Sarfert 1935:112). The *roangotam* was taboo to everyone except the navigators as it was

³⁸ A navigator from Ifaluk performs a chant with the *gos* "spirit effigy" in the film entitled, *Precarious Balance* (Smithsonian Institution 1988) which very probably belongs to the *baliubel* category. Mr. J from Lamotrek performs a *bangibeng* chant with the *gos* in the film, *Lamotrek: Heritage of an Island* (Metzgar 1988).

³⁹ There are several names for this Janus figure but *gos* is the most common. Its features and use have been variously described by numerous authors: Alkire (1965:119) and Krämer (1937:155) for Lamotrek; Alkire (1989:90, fn. 20) for Woleai; Krämer (1937:368, 377) for Fais; Sarfert (Damm 1938:55, 91), Burrows and Spiro (1953:92), and Burrows (1963:93-94) for Ifaluk; Hambruch (Damm 1938:179-80) for Faraulep; Hambruch (Damm 1938:330) and Lessa (1950a:152, 157, 159) for Ulithi; Krämer (1935:274) for Punap; Freycinet (1828:113) and Damm (1935:114) for Satawal; Damm (1935:114, 208) and Brower (1983:151) for Puluwat; Krämer (1932:300) for Truk; and Müller (1917:300) for Yap.

believed to be sacred to Yaliulewaiy. It was here that the navigator would keep the *gos* "spirit effigy" and perform *gosilifei* magic in combating the spirits of wind, wave and other perceived enemies, including persons who he had reason to suspect were making *sausou* "black magic" against him. A photograph by Krämer shows a Lamotrekan navigator, Urupo, holding both the triton shell horn and the *gos* "spirit effigy" performing an incantation on the *roangotam* section of the canoe outrigger (see Krämer 1937: pl. 4c). It is no coincidence that Urupo chose this spot as the place to stage his *gosilifei* chant for Krämer's camera. The *roangotam* was also the sacred site on the canoe where the navigator would lay offerings to Yaliulewaiy. One of the few descriptions of this process in the literature is given in a chant collected by Müller (1917:297) in connection with a Faaluush navigator making an offering to Yaliulewaiy in preparation for a voyage to Ngulu. The Faaluush navigator husks a young coconut and fastens it in the *roangotam* area on one of the poles of the outrigger frame near the outrigger pontoon. The following lyrics from this chant indicate the reasoning behind the offering:

Here is the offering for you,
 Nunvei, [EM: alternative spelling of Yaliulewaiy]
 May your spirit devise nothing bad
 Against me, may you be well-disposed toward me.

The *roangotam* area on the outrigger of a voyaging canoe served a function very much like the *roang* "sacred taboo sites" which were found on land. Not only is *roangotam* the site where a coconut is offered to Yaliulewaiy by the navigator, but once the coconut is placed there, no one else may touch it. It appears also that some sacred objects which were used in the course of a journey such as amulets and medicines may have been taken from the *roangotam* on the canoe and

deposited by the navigator in his *roang* on land. The following observation from Krämer concerning the Lamotrekan navigator named Urupo certainly suggests this possibility: "Urupo ... upon the return from a voyage placed one [EM: a medicine pouch] underneath a *mog* tree" (1937:138). Once a navigator returned from a voyage, the *tafey* "medicine" offerings which remained on the canoe would be deposited in his *roang* "sacred taboo site" on land out of harms way. In contrast, the *gos* "spirit effigy" was not placed in the "sacred taboo site" after a voyage. It was taken from the *pamaru* "house of Yaliulewaiy" on the canoe and hung either from the king post at the front of the navigator's canoe house or from one of the cross members on the roof near the ridgepole.

Krämer was told on Lamotrek that the face on one side of the *gos* "spirit effigy" represents Paliuwelap. The face on the other side represents Yaliulewaiy (1937:156). On Fais, he learned a different story. The effigy figure is perceived as looking in two different directions: Yaliulewaiy and Faaluush look out from one side of the figure to the west (in the direction of Ulithi) and Yaliulewaiy and Werieng look to the east (in the direction of Woleai and Lamotrek). Here we find that two schools of navigation are symbolically represented in the *gos* "spirit effigy" and that both have a directional orientation which roughly corresponds to the regions where each school has traditionally had the highest representation. According to Mr. Y, a Faaluush navigator from Woleai, the Faaluush school "came up" to Woleai from Ulithi. According to Mr. N, the principle domain of the Werieng school extends east from Olimarao to the Western Islands of Truk. As mentioned earlier with regard to the "Myth of Werieng and Faaluush," the fact that Werieng is mainly portrayed as the victor over Faaluush in the islands between Lamotrek and Puluwat, and that Faaluush is mainly portrayed as the victor over Werieng in the islands of Ifaluk and Woleai, would seem to suggest a difference in regional orientation. It is interesting to speculate that the

reason for this orientation may be a result of the differences in navigational knowledge, especially *pookof* "sea life" between the two schools, but this hypothesis is difficult to prove. It should be mentioned, however, that Gladwin has made a much different interpretation regarding the regional orientation of these two schools of navigation based on his research of the differences between the knowledge systems which were reported to him by two informants on Puluwat, one of whom belonged to the Weriyeng school and the other to the Faaluush school. Gladwin states that the results of his study suggest that the navigator from the Weriyeng school knew the sailing directions between "far more islands in the extreme Western Carolines" while the navigator from the Faaluush school knew "sailing directions to the east ... extending from around Ponape eastward to Ebon in the Marshalls and Makin in the Gilberts" (1970:202). I am not sure how to interpret Gladwin's findings except perhaps to point out that the differences between his informants' knowledge of sailing directions may have been more a function of their individual expertise rather than a difference in regional knowledge between the schools of navigation. One thing is for certain, however, Mr. N made a point of instructing the *pwofeo* "new navigators" as to the islands from which the different schools of navigation came from within Micronesia:

<u>Navigation School</u>	<u>Home base and/or Island of Origin</u>
1. Weriyeng.....	Punap
2. Faaluush.....	Punap
3. Sabu.....	Namoluk
4. Fara.....	Namoluk
5. Lemarfash.....	Namoluk
6. Yaulemarfash.....	Kapingamarangi
7. Rara.....	Kapingamarangi

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|--|
| 8. | Yaurara..... | Kapingamarangi |
| 9. | Malefot..... | Sonsorol |
| 10. | Gapioumulfash..... | Nimetaw (lit. "middle of the ocean," not
the name of an island) |
| 11. | Rongoshig..... | Kapingamarangi |
| 12. | Rongolap..... | Kapingamarangi |

From the above list we may deduce that these twelve schools of navigation did not necessarily retain membership on Lamotrek or Satawal but represent, rather, a roster of navigation schools that Central Carolinian navigators might encounter in their voyages between the islands. The islands near the top of the list, for instance are geographically closer to Lamotrek and Satawal than those at the bottom of the list. This suggests that contacts with schools at the bottom of the list probably did not take place as a general rule unless voyages of trade were attempted, for instance, in the region of Kapingamarangi or if sailing canoes were blown off course, for example, in the region of Sonsorol. One of these schools, Gapioumulfash, has no identifiable island origin except that it "belongs" to *nimetaw*, the "middle of the ocean." On questioning Mr. N on this point no additional details could be learned. Mr. N did, however, relate a legend telling how contact with the Malefot school of navigation had been established long ago when a vessel from Sonsoral was met by a vessel from Satawal in the sea lane between Woleai and Faraulep. Mr. N also told me that he personally met an old man from Namoluk who was said to be the last navigator from the Sabu school of navigation. This meeting took place when Mr. N sailed as a youngster of 13 or 14 years of age with his uncle to Satawan in the Mortlock Islands. Mr. N. also claimed that this Sabu navigator took the *gos* "spirit effigy" on voyages between

the islands.⁴⁰ This is an interesting piece of information because *gos* "spirit effigies" have not been reported for the Mortlock Islands in the ethnographic literature. Other than this navigator from the Sabu school, Mr. N never met another navigator who did not belong to either the Weriyeng or Faaluush school. It is also worth noting that I asked Mr. N how it could be that the Rongoshig and Rongolap schools of navigation originated on Kapingamarangi when there are two islands in the Marshall Islands by that name. Mr. N answered by saying that the islands of Rongerik and Rongelap were said to be discovered by Rongoshig and Rongolap from Kapingamarangi.

Unfortunately, there is no corroborative evidence from the literature other than a handful of myths to support any of Mr. N's information concerning the origin of the various schools of navigation. The origin of the Faaluush school in the above list from Mr. N is given as Punap which agrees with the information presented above in the "Myth of Weriyeng and Faaluush" but contradicts a report by Mr. Y, one of my navigator informants from Woleai, who stated that the Faaluush school "came up" from Ulithi. This also does little to explain why the Faaluush school is mentioned more often in the literature for the region of Ulithi, Fais, and Ifaluk. The only explanation I can think of is that the Faaluush school somehow "skipped over" all the islands from Punap to Ulithi and, as it gathered more members, established itself on Woleai and Ifaluk. There is, in fact, some linguistic evidence which suggests that Ulithi and the outer islands of Palau were settled directly from the region of Truk. Jackson puts forth the following possible migration scenario:

⁴⁰ Thomas gathered information about the Weriyeng and Faaluush schools of navigation on Satawal but notes, "No one I interviewed remembered details of the Sapu [EM: dialectical variant of Sabu] and Fara schools" (1987:119).

... a possible next development might have been the separation of the ancestors of the Ulithians, who might have travelled [EM: from Truk] through the atolls until they encountered Yap, which was already populated ... They then selected the largest atoll in the area for habitation: Ulithi. Later, the ancestors of the modern Woleaians also left Truk to settle the atolls between Truk and Ulithi ... (1983:439).

There is also evidence from folklore which, though unsubstantiated, suggests that the Faaluush school may have separated long ago from the Weriyeng school and travelled west to Ifaluk from Punap. Burrows and Spiro (1953:90-91) collected a variant of the the Weriyeng and Faaluush myth on Ifaluk which they entitled, "Why Valur [EM: Faaluush] Changed His Name to Sagol [EM: Sagiur?]." The point of the story in this version of the myth is that Faaluush is victorious over Weriyeng's attempt to kill him, but in his anger, Faaluush leaves Punap, travels to Ifaluk and changes his name. A more plausible explanation might be that Faaluush was banished from Punap because of his attempt on Weriyeng's life and therefore changed his name but, of course, this is pure speculation on my part. Whatever the reason, the Sagiur school does appear elsewhere in the literature. Elbert, in fact, mentions "Haakur" (a dialectical variant of Sagiur) for Punap in his *Puluwat Dictionary* and says that "he was the first navigator" (1972:22). We also find "Sagiur" in Sohn and Tawerilmang's *Woleaian-English Dictionary* defined as the "name of a branch of a navigational school" (1976:126). The name Sagiur often appears along with Faaluush in various lists. I have already mentioned that Sagiur was included along with Faaluush by one of my informants on Lamotrek. Sagiur and Faaluush are also mentioned together as one of the "children" of Yaliulewaiy in the list of names (Table 9, p. 269) from the myth collected by Krämer on Fais (1937:383-384). In addition, Müller (1917:295) reported their

existence as two of "seven ranks of captains classes" from information which he collected in 1909 from Tatse, a chief from Ngulu.⁴¹ Although Ngulu is not strictly considered part of the Trukic continuum (see Map 4, p. 40), one may include this evidence because of its proximity to the Central Carolines and the probability of regular contact with navigators from the Central Caroline Islands.

Tatse's report to Müller given in Table 10 (see p. 280) not only ranks eleven "captain classes" in order of their status but also identifies the magical instruments which separate these "captain classes" from one another. This information is significant for a number of reasons. First, the differentiation by Tatse of "captain classes" on the basis of magical implements and formulas demonstrates one of the major distinguishing features that separate one school of navigation from another — the magical rites used by a navigator as a member of a particular class or school of navigation. From the information in Table 10 we see that materials used in magical rites by various navigation schools involved young and old coconut leaves, banana leaves, medicines of various kinds, black and white cords (probably *yoaforchaal*), and young sprouted coconuts. More importantly, however, is the distinguishing factor of "magic formulas that differed in value" which we may assume are *rong* chants and spells. For instance, though Goselapalap and Werieng both use young coconut leaves (*ubut*), they have different *rong* chant "formulas." Also, Faluts and Gosalan we are told "had the same leaves ... but different magic." In addition, Fogara and Gosalol used black and white cords (*yoaforchaal*) but had "different magic." From this evidence it is

⁴¹ Müller refers to Tatse as one of the "few who appeared to me to be really reliable sources" (1917:vii).

Table 10.

Navigation School Rankings and
Associated Magical Rites on Ngulu in 1909

Informant: Tatse
(after Müller 1917:295-296)

"Seven ranks of captains' classes"	Associated Magical Rites
1. Gosilapalap..... 2. Oriyan [EM: Weriyeng]	1. & 2. Both worked only with young coconut pinnae (<i>vut</i>) [EM: <i>ubut</i>] which they tied to the masthead, the bow, and the stern, but they had magic formulas that differed in value.
3. Faluts..... [EM: Faaluush]	Tied coconut pinnae to the bow and stern, and banana leaves to the mast.
4a. Savu..... [EM: Sabu]	Had only banana leaves.
4b. Sagur..... [EM: Sagiur]	Had two kinds of <i>falai</i> [EM: Yapese word which is equivalent to <i>tafey</i> "medicine"] of unknown nature
5. Fogora.....	Made use of the leaves of old coconut trees and of nuts that had just sprouted.
6. Fogara.....	Used one black and one white coconut-fiber cord [EM: possibly <i>yoaforchaal</i>] in connection with his magic formula.
7a. Gositsigetsig.....	Had two kinds of <i>falai</i> [EM: medicine] which were wrapped in a dry coconut-leaf sheath, he pounded and tied to the canoe.
7b. Gosalan.....	Had the same leaves as no. 3 but different magic.
7c. Gosalol.....	Had two white and two black cords [EM: possibly <i>yoaforchaal</i>] of the kind as no. 6 above but different magic.
7d. Gaugulugos.....	Only beats against the canoe with his hand.

clear that the central, distinguishing element that really separates one "captain class" or school of navigation from another is the *rong* chant itself. The fact that "Gaugulugos ... only beats against the canoe with his hand" also implies that a *rong* chant and a bit of action may be all that is necessary to invoke a spirit power connected to a school of navigation. This reminds me of a conversation I had one day with Mr. H, a navigator from Lamotrek, about the different schools of navigation. I was trying to determine what navigational techniques, if any, identify one school of navigation from another. Mr. H waved these considerations aside and made a comparison which I thought at the time was rather whimsical but now believe to be quite insightful. Mr. H said that the names of the different schools of navigation are similar to different religious groups such as Catholic, Protestant, Seventh Day Adventist, etc. Each of these sects has its followers, religious symbols and dogma just as each school of navigation has its followers, magical symbols, and *rong* spells.

The information in Table 10 above shows that navigation schools are not necessarily ranked individually but two or more schools of navigation may belong to the same rank, such as Sabu and Sagul in the no. 4 position and Gositsigetsig, Gosalan, Gosalol, and Gaugulugos in the no. 7 place. This suggests that positions of rank are not necessarily fixed but fluid, especially with regard to the lower end of the hierarchy. Consequently, it may be that Mr. N's statement regarding a rigid status-ranking of navigation schools as a hierarchy wherein each *gaius* "mast" must *gassorou* "respect" the one above it may be a simplification. There seems little doubt, however, that a hierarchy did exist where schools of navigation could be called upon to defer to the wishes of higher-ranking navigators such as their right to lead a fleet of canoes or to carry out specific tasks. A navigator *gosilifei* chant which I collected from Mr. J of the Werieng school suggests that the Sabu and Fara schools were under the authority of the Werieng school. During the

recitation of the following chant a navigator waves a *gos* "spirit effigy" of Yaliulewaiy, patron spirit of navigators, at an approaching storm:⁴²

Gosilifei Chant
("Spirit Effigy Magic" Chant)

1. I am calling that spirit
2. So he will come.
3. That spirit, Marasi⁴³ who lives in the middle of the ocean.
4. I am asking the coconut-leaf oracle [EM: *bwe*] to find out about my life.
5. We people, this sailing canoe, and Marasi
6. Are in that coconut-leaf knot [EM: the knots used in *bwe* divination]
7. We cannot escape and travel anywhere in the world we want.
8. It is like we are tied down together in that knot so we will not die.
9. I am telling the wind and waves to clam down.
10. This is the adze [EM: metaphor for the *gos* "spirit effigy"] that I am going to use to cut you down.
11. And the power of the storm will leave.
12. When we distribute the food we leave some food on the outrigger⁴⁴ near the pontoon for Marasi.
13. Whose skin changes like the octopus. [EM: metaphor for the way Marasi (a.k.a. Yaliulewaiy) changes colors like the rainbow]

(Continued)

⁴² Mr. J from Lamotrek performs this *gosilifei* chant with the *gos* "spirit effigy" in the film, *Lamotrek: Heritage of an Island* (Metzgar 1988).

⁴³ When asked about the identity of Marasi, Mr. J said that this was another name for Yaliulewaiy (lit. "Spirit of the Voyage") — the patron spirit of navigators. Girschner learned on Namoluk that "Anu en marasi" was "the god of the rainbow and of navigation" (Krämer 1935:104). Goodenough and Sugita define "*enuun mwarisi*" as "god of the rainbow, god of *penu* [EM: navigators]." See Also Thomas (1987:291-292).

⁴⁴ This outer section of the outrigger is the sacred *roangotam* site discussed earlier on pp. 272-273.

14. We leave this food so he will give us straight sailing directions.
15. And so we will not die.
16. He advises us that we should get our food
from uninhabited islands.
17. I curse those navigators who do not do this.
18. The food they bring should be dumped
in the middle of the ocean.
19. Which school of navigation will have to do this? Sabu or Fara?
20. They will have to talk it over with the members of
the school of Weriyeng.
21. Hey, star of Punap Atoll!
22. Hey, *machmaach*! [EM: Yapese word for magician]
23. You will look for my life, I ...
[EM: navigator says his name here]
... underneath the mast [EM: metaphor for school of navigation]
of Weriyeng.
24. I curse those navigators who step on this effigy
of you in your house of floating bamboo
25. Storm!
26. You will clear up now.
27. Be gone!

The inference in the above passage is that food taken from populated islands is not "pure" and therefore not suitable as an offering to Yaliulewaiy, the patron spirit of all navigators. Also, the implication is that Weriyeng navigators, because of their high status, may be more vulnerable to becoming ritually polluted by contact with unsanctified food; consequently, the question in the chant of who will dispose of the food is posed. For reasons that are not clear, the Faaluush school is not mentioned and it falls either to the Sabu or Fara school to handle the job of taking the unsuitable offering and dumping it in the middle of the ocean. It is easy to see how such tasks might begin to grate on the sensitivities of members belonging to a lower-ranking school who are perceived as subservient to Weriyeng. Such information brings new meaning to the lyric from a Lemarflash school of

navigation chant: "I want to end it, the captain of the Vorieng [EM: Weriyeng]" (Krämer 1932:245). A plausible explanation for the ranking of the Sabu, Fara, and Lemarflash schools of navigation under Weriyeng and Faaluush may be related to the jurisdiction of each school. From Mr. N's report regarding the origin of the various schools of navigation, we see that the Sabu, Fara, and Lemarflash schools, unlike Weriyeng and Faaluush, are associated with the Mortlock Islands. Since Lamotrek and its neighbors in the Central Caroline Islands appear to be the primary domain of the Weriyeng and Faaluush schools, it follows that navigators belonging to schools from other regions would be accorded a lower rank. It should be mentioned, however, that Goodenough and Sugita have reported that the Weriyeng school of navigation "is said to be followed mainly in eastern Truk and the Mortlock Islands" in contrast to the Faaluush school which "is followed by the atolls to the west of Truk and by the western islands within Truk" with no mention of the Sabu school (1980:366-367).⁴⁵

Another significant aspect of Tatse's list of eleven navigator "captain classes" is that the schools of Weriyeng and Faaluush are ranked in the no. 2 and 3 positions below Gosilapalap, a "captain class" or school of navigation which is not reported elsewhere in the literature. Since field data suggests that it is customary for navigators (from Lamotrek to Puluwat) to invariably place Weriyeng and Faaluush at the beginning of their lists, the Gosilapalap school of navigation is an anomaly. When we examine the list of "auxiliary navigators" under the patronage of Yaliulewaiy which Krämer collected on Lamotrek (see Table 8, p. 265) we also find three "spirits" or schools of

⁴⁵ Goodenough and Sugita mention another school of navigation for Truk called "*Faanewu*" which has not been reported for Lamotrek or elsewhere in the literature (1980:367).

navigators placed above Weriyeng and Faaluush: Alulapelap, Maselelog, and Tarailemetau. It is difficult to assess the meaning of these names of navigators over and above the Weriyeng and Faaluush schools of navigation. In an effort to do so, however, I shall examine the other references to their cognates which appear in the literature.

Cognates for the names Alulapelap, Maselelog, and Tarailemetau are extremely rare in the literature and in the case of Gosilapalap virtually nonexistent. It is worth noting, however, that Gosilapalap and Alulapelap both share the synonymous suffix *lapalap/lapelap*. Sohn and Tawerilmang define *lapelap* as "(to be) greater, larger, bigger" (1976:82). If we translate these names literally then we arrive at the following possible interpretations: Alulapelap = "Greatest Spirit" (from *alu* = *yalius* "spirit") and Gosilapalap = "Greatest Sting-Ray Spine." There are two other references besides Krämer's to Alulapelap in the literature. The first reference is not a name but an adjective used to describe Marasi, the "spirit of the rainbow" and it is from an *itang* "war leader" chant collected by Bollig (1927:77) on Truk: "... Maresen, Maresen, *onulapelap*." The adjective "*onulapelap*" here is a dialectical variant of *alulapelap* since *onu* and *alu* both translate as "spirit." Bollig translates "... Maresen, Maresen, *onulapelap*" as "Maresen, Maresen, you are the greatest spirit." This agrees with my translation of Alulapelap given above. The second reference by Girschner (1911:185) for Namoluk is more revealing because it pertains to the name Anulapalap which Girschner glosses "the ruler of the warriors."⁴⁶ The proper noun Anulapalap here is a dialectical variant of Alulapelap since *anu* and *alu* both translate as "spirit."

⁴⁶ In Hawaii the rainbow "is also a symbol of aggressiveness" associated with the warrior" (Valeri 1985:250).

Also significant for the purposes of this analysis is information from Girschner that "Anulapalap's son" is called Rasim. This is significant because Rasim is another alternative name for "rainbow," and like Marasi he is synonymous in Carolinian mythology with Yaliulewaiy.⁴⁷ Turning now to cognates in the literature to the name Maselelog, we find Maselelau given by Krämer for Fais as one of the "brothers" of Yaliulewaiy (1937:368).⁴⁸ For Tarailemetau there are two possible cognates. Eilers reports for Sonsorol that Tautu uerimetau is the name of a spirit who "invented the sail for the canoe" (1935:65) and Burrows and Spiro report for Ifaluk that Teraolemetau is considered one the "brothers" of Yaliulewaiy (1953:88). Synthesizing this information suggests that the blurring of mythological deities with the names of navigators who are believed to be the human founders of the various schools is not unusual. The names of Gosilapalap, Alulapelap, Maselelog, and Tarailemetau are all intimately associated with Yaliulewaiy either as synonyms in the case of the first two or as "brothers" in the case of the later two. This distinction is different from the other names, such as the brothers Weriying and Faaluush and the brothers Rongoshig and Rongolap, who are commonly described in the literature as the "children" of either Yaliulewaiy or Paliuwelap (see passage from Fais myth and discussion of Rongoshig and

⁴⁷ Goodenough and Sugita (1980:308) define "*resiim*" as "rainbow" and indicate that Resiim is the name for "traditional god of the rainbow" and state that Enuun Mwarisi is a synonym. Sohn and Tawerilmang define "*rasium*" as the "vertical design on both sides of a canoe" (1976:122). This traditional design on canoes is symbolic of the rainbow and of the patron spirit of navigators.

⁴⁸ One navigator informant on Elato mentioned a patron spirit by the name of Masaleloug which is probably the same name Maselelog which we are investigating here. Unfortunately, I could learn no further details about this Masaleloug other than the fact that he was mentioned in connection with the following patron spirits: Yaliulewaiy, Yaliulemes, Teletalang, and Yaronog.

Rongolap above). In death, the founders of the various schools, have been raised to the level of tutelary spirits holding a middle place between men and the celestial deities. The chain of relationship goes something like this: through initiation in the *pwo* ceremony a navigator is viewed as the "son" or follower of Weriyeng, who in turn is viewed as the "son" or follower of Yaliulewaiy (alias Paliuwelap, Marasi, Rasim, Gosilapalap, Alulapelap, etc.) and his brothers Maselelog and Tarailemetau.

From this evidence we may make the rival hypothesis that the names Alulapelap, Maselelog, Tarailemetau, and Gosilapalap do not represent individual navigation schools at all, but titles of rank which are separate from the schools themselves. This rival hypothesis finds expression in Table 11 (see p. 288), where Krämer's list of navigator names from Lamotrek given in Table 8 is compared with cognates from the other lists. Only the order in Krämer's list of 12 names has been kept in sequence in Table 11; the other names are taken out of order for match/mis-match comparison and frequency analysis. An examination of Table 11 shows that only three classes or schools of navigation appear to be present in all four lists — Weriyeng, Faaluush, Sabu and their dialectical variants. The correspondence between the names Weriyeng, Faaluush, and Sabu suggests that these three schools of navigation have had a major influence in the region of the Central Caroline Islands between Satawal and Yap. The presence of the myth concerning Weriyeng and Faaluush throughout the Central Caroline Islands also suggests that these schools are of great antiquity. In Table 11, there also appears to be a correspondence between the names Alulapelap and Gosilapalap. This correspondence is evident

Table 11.

Frequency of Navigation School Cognates

Lamotrek 1909	Fais 1909	Lamotrek 1990	Ngulu 1909
Informant Sopi	Informant Moloaedjeg	Informant Mr. N	Informant Tatse
(after Krämer 1937:122)	(after Krämer 1937:384-385)		(after Müller 1917:195)
Name	Name	Name	Name
1. Alulapelap	Paluelap		Gosilapalap
2. Maselelog			
3. Tarailemetau			
4. Vorieng	Vorieng	Weriyeng	Oriyan
5. Faludj	Faludj	Faaluush	Faluts
6. Gapiumolefadj	Kapiomulifadj	Gapioumulfash	
7. Sabug	Sabu	Sabu	Savu
8. Fogara	Fangala	Fara	Fogara
9. Olopelipen		Olopalipel	
10. Madjebol			
11. Lebutobut		Levutavut	
12. Uman	Umal		
13.	Sagul		Sagur
14.	Rongothik	Rongoshig	
15.	Rongelap	Rongolap	
16.		Lemarflash	
17.		Yaulemarflash	
18.		Rara	
19.		Yaurara	
20.		Malefot	
21.			Fogora
22.			Gositsigetsig
22.			Gosalan
23.			Gosalol
24.			Gaugulugos

in that of all the names listed only these two have the synonymous suffix *lapelap/lapalap*. Moreover, this match is strengthened by the fact that these names have not been moved from their number one positions in the original ranking. The names Paluelap and its dialectical variant, Paliuwelap have been moved to the no. 1 position because of the possibility that if these are ranked titles, then they would rank at the top of the list because Paluelap/Paliuwelap is viewed as being synonymous with Yaliulewaiy as a high-ranking patron spirit of navigators. No name comparable to Alulapalap, Gosilapalap, or Paluelap (Paliuwelap) is present in Mr. N's list, but the reader will recall that the ranked title of *paliuwelap* is given to the navigator who is the oldest and wisest member of his school and that of *paliuwelapalap* to the oldest and wisest navigator from the highest ranking school on an island. Using this logic, we may place the names Paliuwelap or Paliuwelapalap at the top of Mr. N's list to reflect their status *vis-à-vis* Weriyeng, Faaluush, etc. In making this comparison, we find a definite correspondence between the names Alulapalap, Paliuwelapalap, and Gosilapalap. This fact would seem to indicate that there is a strong association of some kind between these names and is supportive of the rival hypothesis that not all the names given in the above lists are indicative of navigation schools but may, instead, be ranked titles or classes of navigators separate from the schools of navigation themselves. The unaccounted for names of Maselelog and Tarailemetau, which have no comparable cognates may also be reflective of some class or rank of navigator above the schools of Weriyeng and Faaluush.

The question that must be answered at this point is, "What type of class or school of navigation could have possibly outranked both the Weriyeng and Faaluush schools of navigation?" I have reason to believe

that evidence from the literature points to the former existence of one or more separate classes or schools of naval commanders who received special education in military warfare. In the discussion above I made reference to the fact that Girschner describes Alulapelap in Carolinian mythology as "the ruler of the warriors" (1911:185). Also mentioned above was Anulapelap's son, Rasim, who, like Yaliulewaiy manifests his presence in the form of a rainbow. Not mentioned above is that Rasim appears in Carolinian mythology as a god of war (Krämer 1935:96; G & S 1980:308). Thus, we see that there are threads of evidence which link Alulapelap, Rasim, and Yaliulewaiy with warfare. In addition, the name Gosilapalap is also linked with warfare. The reader will recall in the discussion above that the root word in this name is *gos* "sting-ray spine" and that the name Gosilapalap may be literally interpreted "Greatest Sting-Ray Spine" or "Greater Effigy of Yaliulewaiy." In addition, there is a connection between *gos* "sting-ray spines" and weapons used in warfare. For instance, Krämer reported for Lamotrek that the sting ray spines "are greatly feared in combat" (1937:156). Kubary also writes about the use of sting-ray spines in warfare:

The fear of being wounded by the spine of the ray is quite general on the Caroline Islands, and consequently this is used, on all the islands, for the most dangerous spears ... on Mortlock, Ruk [EM: Truk] and in the west [EM: Central and Western Caroline Islands], it is used as a thrusting lance, or is used for an assuredly successful throw at very short distances (1889:57).

The following report by Bollig for Truk leaves little doubt that a spear spiked with the spine of a sting-ray was the favored weapon of choice:

The main weapon of the Truk people was the spear. Some spears are nothing but simple, pointed mangrove aerial roots, others are made of strong timber, the sides and the tips being equipped with the spike of the ray. The spikes of the ray are attached to the spears by means of bast, over which coral chalk is rubbed (1927:107).

With this evidence it is not hard to imagine a naval commander taking the *gos* "sting-ray spine" as a symbol of his rank.

Given the paucity of evidence concerning classes or schools of navigation, however, it is impossible to prove or disprove this rival hypothesis with certainty but there is evidence in the literature that suggests that war leaders received formal training in military strategy and passed through a graduation ceremony not unlike that discussed in connection with the *pwo* initiation ritual. The major portion of this evidence comes from Truk and is related to information pertaining to *itang* "war leaders." It has already been mentioned that *itang* as a class or specialization of *rong* masters on Lamotrek has been vigorously denied by Lamotrekans but this does not exclude the possibility that *itang* schools evolved from a specialized class or rank of navigators within individual schools of navigation. The first report supporting this possibility comes from Mahony and concerns instruction of *itang* "war leaders" in Truk:

When opinion had coalesced around a particular individual as a good candidate for war leader, he was required to go through a more or less formal training program. This training was similar in some respects to the schooling needed to

learn navigation, divination, canoe building or any of the more complicated arts.

When teacher and students reached some sort of mutual accommodation, a prospective student planted a variety of bananas known as *iipar* ('it's red') and waited for them to mature. When one or more of the plants leaned sufficiently in the direction of the rising sun, they were considered hot enough to furnish the educational tools required, and training could commence.

Bunches of these bananas were cut down and brought to the men's house of the instructor. There, groups of bananas were arranged on a large mat, and moved around in simulation of opposing flotillas of war canoes, groups of warriors, islands, and so forth. They were used, in other words, as implements for simulating battle conditions and conducting war games (1970:190-191).

The obvious parallel here between the education of navigators and war leaders is the use of "a large mat" for the purpose of arranging instructional aids. The Lamotrekese expression *giyegiye paliuw*, or "mat for navigation," has a Trukese equivalent here in the expression *nosen itang*, or "mat for war." Goodenough and Sugita say the following about "*nosen itang*":

The mat is spread with red bananas or other items whose arrangements constitute the framework of instruction. The pupils sit around the mat and the *itang* [EM: war leaders] on it, giving his instruction and demonstrations (1980:253).

According to Mahony there appears also to have been an ceremony for *itang* "war leader" initiates:

There was actually a formal ceremony which marked the transition to war leader status. Friendly war leaders were called together to participate in a feast, which began with students

reciting the secret chants they were supposed to have memorized. As a student recited a verse, he lifted a leaf covering from a large bowl of breadfruit poi [EM: pounded breadfruit] and war leader fish. If his recitation was correct, only he ate from that bowl. For now, all the different verses had been pounded into his body and mind, just as all the different breadfruit had been pounded together to make the bowl of poi (1970:195, fn. 9).

The above described *itang* initiation ritual and the *pwo* ceremony are comparable. In the above passage, "friendly war leaders" attend the ceremony to test initiates knowledge of secret chants just as members from various navigation schools come to test the knowledge of *pwofeo* "new navigators." In addition, the ritual use of pounded breadfruit in "a large bowl" over which "secret chants" are spoken may be likened to the *uulong* "ceremonial bowl" in the *pwo* ceremony which is uncovered by the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*." Furthermore, Bollig (1927:48) writes that "the *idang* [EM: dialectical variant of *itang*] wear *meti*, a wrap similar to Gothic vestments and made of banana fibers" and that this garment was the *itang*-dress (Bollig 1927:77). It is very possible that this *meti* is a dialectical variant of the *machiy* worn by the *taupwo* when he performs the *pwo* initiation rite. Mr. N explained to me that when the four *machiyilepwo* "vestments for *pwo*" are tied together and laid upon the *uulong* "ceremonial bowl" they resemble the Trukese *marop* "poncho-like cloak." This information becomes especially significant when we consider that the *taupwo* puts on the *machiyilepwo* "vestments" for the sacred uncovering of the bowl at which time all of the *toer* "woven garments" are removed from the top of the *uulong* "ceremonial bowl." After the woven garments are removed, the initiates are initiated as *pwofeo* "new navigators." LeBar has stated that when *marop* are made from banana fibers they are called "*meci*" (1964a:155, fn. 4). These references to

"*meti*" and "*meci*" suggest an ancient tie between the *machiy* "ritual vestment" worn by both navigators and war leaders as a symbol of their status and rank. Moreover, the following lyrics from an *itang* chant collected by Bollig (1927:77) on Truk illustrate how the "*meti*" (*machiy*) mentioned below is symbolically identified with the power and status of *itang* "war leaders:"

I am in the trunk of the tree,
I walk around and I do not die.
I am the man who travels,
I walk and I do not die.
Blood-stained skin, blood-stained cloak
Tongue, juice of the blood-stained *meti* [EM:
dialectical variant of *machiy*].

A number of writers have remarked on the connection between the *paliuw* and *itang* specialists. Bollig writes: "The *polu* [EM: a dialectical variant of *paliuw*] belongs to the same secret society as the *idang* [EM: *itang*]. What the later are on land the *polu* are at sea" (1927:135). Caughey has written that an *itang* master:

... knows how to conduct a fleet of canoes in a formal sail between two places (not a straight line), and he knows how to deploy the warriors when planning an attack on another community (1970:73).

Besides Truk, *itang* "war leaders" as naval commanders have also been reported for the Mortlock Islands by Krämer:

The usual naval battle lead by an *itang*, starts with a fight at a distance ... by means of slings and arrows, and passes on to a hand-to-hand fight with spears and knives, which were also used for the cutting of the tackle (1935:95).

For Puluwat, Elbert has defined "*yitang*" (*itang*) as an "expert on lore, especially concerning navigation (*ppalu*) [EM: dialectical variant of *paliuw*], breadfruit, fishing, planting" (1972:281) and says:

... *yitang* [EM: *itang*] information is classified into five categories: war, magic, meetings, navigation, and breadfruit (1971:220).

The connection between *paliuw* "navigators" and *itang* "war leaders" is further reinforced by the congruence of the navigator *gos* "sting ray spine" and identification of *itang* "war leader" schools. The Trukese word "*machew*" means "stingray tailbone" as well as "school of *itang* (G & S 1980:197). In addition, King and Parker write for Truk, "There are at least seven schools of *itang*, called *machew*" (1984:53). For Puluwat, Elbert reports that one "*yitang* ... sphere of knowledge" called "*marew*" [EM: a dialectical variant of *machew*] is associated with "knowledge of war" (1972:219-220).

In addition, it is particularly significant that some names of *itang* "war leader" schools are reported to be the same names used by *paliuw* schools:

There are several kinds of *idang* or *idang* schools. I am familiar with the following: Niweiteput, Lerongun, Ulap with four branches, Lemorefat, Warie, Usem, Ulug; Failu with its branch Lepo, also Lisem, Lefau, Fan abund (Bollig 1927:46).

An examination of the above names shows that three of the *itang* "war leader" schools mentioned by Bollig correspond to dialectical variants of the names of the navigation schools mentioned by Mr. N: Lemorefat (Bollig) = Lemarfash (Mr. N), Warie (Bollig) = Werieng (Mr. N), and Fan abund

(Bollig) = Faaluush (Mr. N).⁴⁹ Also important in the above passage is that the two navigation schools of Lemorefat (Lemarflash) and Warie (Weriyeng) are said to be "branches" within the greater *itang* school of Ulap and that the navigation school of Fan abund is said to be a "branch" of the greater *itang* school of Failu. This information suggests that schools within schools may have existed in the past. Applying this information to Lamotrek, it allows for the possibility of a Alulapelap school of naval commanders existing within the Weriyeng school of navigation; a Maselelog school of naval commanders existing with the Faaluush school of navigation; and a Tarailemetau school of naval commanders within the Sabu school of navigation. Given the paucity of evidence it is impossible to reach a conclusion on this issue; indeed, it is still possible that these names are not representative of naval military schools or ranked titles of naval commanders at all, but represent separate high-ranking navigation schools similar to the Weriyeng and Faaluush schools. Their disappearance as high-status navigation schools remains a mystery, however. The rationale given to me by navigator informants for the greater number of navigators belonging to the Weriyeng school today as opposed to the lesser number representing the Faaluush school is that the former enjoys a greater popularity because of

⁴⁹ It is possible to make this correspondence on the basis of comparative analysis between two pieces of evidence. The first comes from Bollig himself who says, "The best *polu* [EM: *paliuw*] schools are Warieng and Fan abund" (1927:136-137). From this statement we may deduce that Bollig's "Warie" in the text is a nickname for Weriyeng. The second piece of evidence comes from Krämer's published research on Truk in which he says, "one distinguishes various types of *pallu* [EM: *paliuw*] as: *lemuarefat*, *vorieng*, *fenudj*" (1932:244). From this statement we may make the following matches: 1) Lemorefat (Bollig) = Lemuarefat (Krämer) = Lemarflash (Mr. N); 2) Warieng (Bollig) = Vorieng (Krämer) = Weriyeng (Mr. N); and 3) Fan abund (Bollig) = Fenudj (Krämer) = Faaluush (Mr. N).

its higher status. If this is true, then it would seem that the Alulapelap, Maselelog, Tarailemetau, and Gosilapalap schools should not have become defunct. The only plausible argument that I can suggest for their disappearance in the ethnographic record after 1909 is that they were qualitatively different from the Weriyeng and Faaluush schools. Following this logic, it is a reasonable assumption that this qualitative difference pertains to the association of these schools with warfare. It is probable that the forced cessation of warfare between island groups in Truk and the Mortlock Islands by Germany in the late 1800s brought about the swift disappearance of the *itang* "war leader" as an active participant in societal affairs (cf. Gladwin and Sarason 1953:63-64). In other words, the elimination of warfare made useless to various *rong* masters whatever knowledge of military tactics, naval skills, and war magic they possessed. Thus, the demise of schools related to warfare on a mass scale, including naval schools, was dramatic and irreversible.

The above evidence is not conclusive but it does suggest that the names Alulapelap and Gosilapalap are affiliated with warfare and the possibility that they represent a second level or degree of education beyond the Weriyeng and Faaluush schools of navigation. Again, there is evidence from the education of *itang* specialists in Truk which supports this possibility:

There were two lesser degrees which a man passed through before he became a full-fledged *itang*. These (and the degree of *itang* itself) could be held by more than one person at a time ... (Fischer 1954:37).

Translating the above passage into the organization of schooling as I have described it for *paliuw* "navigation," I submit the following hypothetical three-stage scenario for the formal education of naval commanders in the Trukic continuum before the 1900s:

- 1) A new navigator receives his first "degree" of achievement after passing a course of apprenticeship with his *shap* "teacher" by being initiated in a formal ceremony (variously referred to as *rorpai ubut* and *pwo* on Satawal and *chochpai ubut* and *gapaliuw* on Lamotrek). After initiation, the new navigator's knowledge is tested by an assembly of navigators from various schools and he receives additional instruction from members of his own school, including the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" who is usually the oldest and wisest navigator belonging to his school.
- 2) When his *shap* "teacher" feels that he is ready, the new navigator attempts a solo voyage to a distant island. If he accomplishes this feat then he receives a second "degree" of achievement which confirms his status as a navigator by being honored with a *gatariy* "ceremonial feast of offering" to Yaliulewaiy "Spirit of the Voyage."
- 3) At this point in a navigator's career he may receive additional instruction in naval military strategy and skills. Once he has mastered this information he receives a third "degree" of achievement and is admitted into a class of "naval commanders" after participation in a formal ceremony not unlike the *pwo* ritual which further tests his

knowledge and provides instruction in magical lore and rites connected with naval warfare. He is now certified to command a fleet of canoes into battle or lead a fleet of canoes in a formal sail between two islands.

It may be that only a navigator who belonged to the school or rank of Alulapalap or Gosilapalap was entitled to wear a special hat as a symbol of his authority as a naval commander. Mr. N described a special hat that only the leader of a fleet of canoes could wear and demonstrated what it looked like by constructing one for me. The hat is fashioned out of young coconut leaves (*ubut*) and adorned with specific types of coconut-leaf knots called *mataliyalius* (lit. "eyes of the spirit") and *yaliulap* (lit. "highest spirit").⁵⁰ This hat is remarkable because it has heretofore not been reported in the ethnographic literature for Micronesia. The name for the hat, *bosh*, is also significant because it literally means "turtle shell" (S & T 1976:12). In this context, the *bosh* "hat" metaphorically acts as a "shield" protecting the naval commander, not unlike a helmet in Western societies. Although Mr. N did not specifically indicate that the *bosh* "hat" was worn in naval battles, he did specify that only the leader of a fleet of canoes could wear it and that this leader carried the rank of *paliuwelap* "great navigator." Once the *paliuwelap* puts on the *bosh* "hat" all the rest of the navigators must follow. If any of the canoes following the one the "great navigator" is using are faster, they must avoid the windward side of his canoe. They may sail

⁵⁰ Krämer gives an illustration (1937:154, fig. 73) of a *mataliyalius* coconut-leaf ornament which he refers to as "*metal alus*" and an illustration (1937:111, fig. 63) of a *yaliulap* coconut-leaf ornament which he refers to as "*elulap*."

abreast of his canoe on the leeward side but not ahead of him. The *bosh* "hat" not only identifies the person who is the naval commander but also is used by the "great navigator" as an instrument of countersorcery. Mr. B said, "When people see this hat on the navigator they are scared because they know that he is protecting himself." It should be noted that Mr. N did not mention the *bosh* "hat" in the context of his instruction of the *pwofeo* "new navigators" during the *faauw bong* "four-nights" period of instruction. This information was learned in the course of focused interview sessions between Mr. N, his son, Mr. B, and myself.

No discussion of the pedagogy associated with the various schools of navigation would be complete without including a few additional observations concerning the curricula of instruction during the "four-nights" taboo period of seclusion and instruction of the *pwofeo* "new navigators." As mentioned earlier, the major bulk of instruction during this period concerned education in navigational lore and chants. Mr. N spent an entire evening devoted to a *bangibeng*-type "empowerment chant" called *sumetaw* (lit. "opening the sea").⁵¹ The *sumetaw* chant is only used in an emergency situation where a navigator has lost his way, usually as a result of being blown off course by a storm. If a navigator has not been able to make landfall after searching for 20 to 30 days then Mr. N said, "He has used up his knowledge" and should recite the *sumetaw* chant to "open the sea" for him. Before reciting this chant a navigator ties coconut leaves to the prow figurehead (*mataliwa*) at the front of the canoe and the gaff (*ira mwai*)

⁵¹ Thomas collected a version of a "opening the sea" chant which is translated in his book, *The Last Navigator* (1987:199-200). A comparison between Thomas' translation and the original Lamotrekese text of the *sumetaw* chant given to me indicates that they are different in content. This would not be unusual for I collected two different *gosilifei* chants from Mr. N and Mr. J, both of whom belong to the Weriyeng school.

supporting the lateen sail. He then takes a triton shell horn and blows on it ten times before reciting the verses of the *sumetaw* chant. Between verses, he blows one time on the shell horn. After performing this magical rite, the ocean is said to be "open" to him and he should reach landfall within three to four days. The use of the *sumetaw* chant is a method of last resort to change a desperate situation; nevertheless, it must have failed many a doomed navigator and crew. In the early part of this century Bollig made the following report which graphically illustrates the inherent danger of inter-island voyaging:

A Japanese steamship encountered a drifting canoe between Truk and Ponape, on which a decayed corpse was lying — the sole remains of the crew (1927:135).

Another chant which was taught to the new navigators during the "four nights" of instruction was the chant *Gassorou Sagiur*. This chant was mentioned earlier in Chapter 4 as an example of the importance of *gassorou* "respect" behaviors. The chant is used when bamboo are encountered floating at sea. Food offerings are made to the bamboo by throwing coconuts and taro into the water next to it. Navigators who belong to the Weriyeng school say that Yaliulewaiy sent the bamboo to save the life of Weriyeng after he was thrown out of the canoe by Faaluush (see above "Myth of Weriyeng and Faaluush," pp. 259-261). The bamboo is perceived as "the house of Weriyeng" and is sacred to him. Thus, bamboo at sea is associated with both the patron spirits of Yaliulewaiy and Weriyeng and it is for this reason that offerings are made. The common word for bamboo is *baaiu* (S & T 1976:3) but here bamboo is given the honorific name of

"*sagiur*."⁵² It is interesting that this is the same name ascribed to one of the schools of navigation. Unfortunately, I was unable to get an adequate explanation for the use of this name in connection with the bamboo nor was I able to obtain a translation of the *Gassorou Sagiur* chant itself. Thomas, however, gives a translation of this chant in his book, *The Last Navigator*, which he collected from a Weriyeng navigator on Satawal and refers to it as "*atirro Sagur*" (1987:200-201). Moreover, Thomas reports that "Sagur" was a "legendary chief of Pulap" (1987:200) which agrees with what one informant, Mr. H, told me on Lamotrek. Mr. H also said that Sagiur must have been a very powerful chief if navigators are traditionally required to give offerings to any bamboo which they encounter at sea. Given the importance attributed to Sagiur in the above references and the fact that his name is used as an honorific expression for bamboo, it is strange that Sagiur is not represented in Mr. N's list of navigation schools. Sagiur is reported, however, in the following contexts: 1) as a "school of navigation" for Woleai (S & T 1976:126); 2) as one of several "children" of Yaliulewaiy for Fais (Krämer 1937:384-385); 3) as the changed "name" of Faaluush for Ifaluk (Burrows and Spiro 1953:90); and 4) as a "captain class" for Ngulu (Müller 1917:195). This discrepancy is difficult to account for but may be explained by the myth variant, "Why Valur [EM: Faaluush] Changed His Name to Sagol [EM: Sagiur?]" collected by Burrows and Spiro on Ifaluk (1953:90-91). The final line of this myth states:

⁵² In addition to defining "Sagiur" as "a navigational school," Sohn and Tawerilmang also define "*sagiur*" as an honorific expression which means "to look" (1976:126).

He [EM: "Valur" (Faaluush)] changed his name to Sagol [EM: Sagiur], the name of the kind of bamboo he had used for a canoe when Werieng [EM: Werieng] threw him overboard at sea (1953:91).

From the above passage we may infer that a member of the victorious Faaluush school of navigation took the name of the bamboo, Sagiur, for its own. Consequently, it is possible that the Sagiur school of navigation is a "branch" of the Faaluush school of navigation which evolved locally after the Faaluush school arrived in the Ulithi-Woleai-Ifaluk area and was either unrepresented or unrecognized by Werieng navigators from the Puluwat-Satawal-Lamotrek area. Again, without additional evidence it is impossible to make any satisfactory conclusion regarding the enigma of why the Sagiur school is not recognized by navigators from the Puluwat-Satawal-Lamotrek area. Indeed, there is one report which contradicts the possibility that the Sagiur school was a local creation and suggests that it, among others, was introduced from some now unknown island east or southeast of the Caroline Islands. In 1909 Ruepon, the high *sawey* chief of Gatchepar Village in Yap, responded to the list of "captain classes" (see Table 10, p. 280) given to Müller by the Nguluan chief, Tatse:

... the founders of five of the captain classes mentioned here, including Savu [EM: Sabu] and Sagur [EM: Sagiur] were originally demons in the land of Yimal (not Mal), which is located under *eliel* when one is standing in the land Gatau (Kusaie) (Müller 1917:195).

An examination of Müller's original German text shows that *Dämonen* is used for "demons" in the above passage. Could it be that these "demons" were once human beings from "the land of Yimal" who later became deified

in the form of patron spirits for each individual school of navigation? There are two reasons for this interpretation. First, the following definition for "demon":

In mythology, (a) a spirit, or immaterial being holding a middle place between men and the celestial deities; (b) tutelary spirit (Whitehall et. al. 1953:458).

Second, Weriyeng and Faaluush, for example, hold a middle place as ancestral teacher-spirits between their followers and their celestial patron spirits: Yaliulewaiy and Paliuwelap. As already stated, this middle position finds its expression in navigation myths by referring to Weriyeng and Faaluush as "children" of Yaliulewaiy or Paliuwelap. The second reason for ascribing a human origin to the "demons" reported by Ruepon is that his description of the location of "the land of Yimal" in the above passage suggests that Yimal was the name of a real island somewhere beyond the Caroline Islands in the eastern part of Micronesia or southeast of Micronesia.⁵³ Consequently, we may postulate that these "demons" were, at one time, human beings who sailed within the Yapese sphere of influence,

⁵³ The mystery island of "Yimal" is also mentioned in a chant entitled, "History of Yonulug," said to have come from Mogmog, Ulithi (Müller 1918:807-810). The chant was given by Ruepon to Müller and tells of an epic voyage by the navigator Yonulug who leaves from Mogmog, Ulithi and sails east through the islands of the Carolines to Kosrae, then to "Yimal," back to Kosrae, then to another mystery island called "Masoliol," then back to Kosrae, on to various other mystery islands and eventually makes his way back to Ulithi. There is also corroborative evidence from Hambruch which suggests that Yimal really did exist. In a report from Mogmog, Ulithi the mystery islands "Imal" and "Mathaliol" exist in proximity to each other (Damm 1938:353). Hambruch's report is different in that the islands mentioned are described as the possessions of "Yonelap" in whose name tribute is sent to Yap (see Chapter 1, p. 41 concerning the *sawey* tribute system and the legendary "great ghost" Yongolap).

who settled in Caroline Islands, and who later were recognized as founders of various schools of navigation, two of which were Sabu and Sagiur. It is worth noting here that Mr. N placed the home base of the Sabu school of navigation in the Mortlock Islands, but this does not exclude the possibility that this school of navigation was introduced from some other region of the Pacific, perhaps driven by a storm or the result of an ancient drift voyage from eastern Micronesia or western Polynesia.

Returning to the *pwo* rites of passage witnessed on Lamotrek, an important curricular theme was repeated again and again during the "four-nights" period of instruction. Specific kinds of fish were caught and specific types of foods were prepared so that the *pwofeo* "new navigators" would learn how to release themselves from the taboo of eating these foods. Essential to this process was the administering of a *baliubel* "protection" chant and *rorpai ubut* "coconut-leaf bracelet." These *rorpai* "bracelets" were exactly like the ones which Mr. N tied on the wrists of the initiates when they stretched their right arms over the ceremonial bowl (*uulong*) during the *pwo* ceremony. The following fish were caught during the *faauw bong* "four-nights" period of instruction: *roe*, *matecha*, *langiuw*, *sarish*, *yarong*, *bela*, *mwarefash*, *poros*, *lipapa*, *tag*, *garengaap*. Each time one or more of these fish were caught, the new navigators would make coconut-leaf bracelets (*rorpai ubut*) for themselves. One by one, each "new navigator" would stretch his right arm over the fish and Mr. N would perform a *rorpai paliuw* chant (see pp. 246-247) while tying the bracelet on the initiate's wrist. This particular rite is called *rorpai ig* "bracelet for fish." After Mr. N had instructed the new navigators how to perform the chants, he told the new navigators to recite them with him. In unison, the new navigators would practice saying the words as Mr. N tied the bracelets onto the arm of each

initiate. These bracelets were not removed until the end of the "four-nights" taboo period by which time several coconut-leaf bracelets ornamented the right arm of each new navigator. The *rorpai ig* "bracelet for fish" ritual frees the new navigators to eat the above named fish. It also serves to educate the new navigators as to which fish are ritually taboo to them during a voyage. After a voyage is completed the taboo against eating these fish is lifted by performing the *rorpai ig* "bracelet for fish" rite. Disregarding the taboo against eating these fish is interpreted as an offense against Yaliulewaiy which in the past was believed to result in sickness and navigational errors being visited upon the violator.

In addition to fish, the new navigators were also sworn to taboos against eating certain kinds of food from the land during a voyage. This ritual is called *rorpai monga falu* "bracelet for food from the land" and was performed in the same manner as the *rorpai ig* rite. The following foods were presented to the new navigators during the "four-nights" period: *poiium* (pounded taro), *shepar* (ripe breadfruit that has fallen by itself to the ground), and *wish* (a stalk of bananas). It is interesting that one type of food in this category was not included during the "four-nights" period. It was only later, on Yap, that I learned of the plan of Mr. B and the other new navigators who had traveled to Yap to acquire a large bunch of small coconuts called *liutetel* and perform the *rorpai monga falu* rite over them. The *liutetel* coconuts are unique in that more than thirty coconuts may be present together in a cluster. The *liutetel* coconuts were not available on Lamotrek for the rites of *pwo* and Mr. N had given the new navigators the authority to perform the *rorpai monga falu* rite for each other when it

became possible for them to do it on Yap.⁵⁴ The plan was for the new navigators to acquire a suitable bunch of *liutetel* coconuts, after which Mr. B would conduct the rite for each of the other new navigators. When Mr. B finished the *rorpai monga falu* rite for each of the new navigators then one of them would be chosen to do it for him. Unknown to me on Lamotrek was an essential ingredient to the *rorpai ubut* "coconut-leaf bracelets" which I also learned about at this time quite by chance. Mr. B told me that not only did they need to find a suitable bunch of *liutetel* coconuts but they needed to find a special root which is needed for braiding the coconut leaves into the *rorpai ubut* bracelet used in the *rorpai monga falu* rite. The root is called *wegaral giliyaw* (lit. "root of the *giliyaw*") and is taken from a tree of the banyan family (Lessa 1977:152).⁵⁵

On the morning of May 27, 1990 the last day of the "four-nights" ritual period of instruction and seclusion, Mr. N took a shovel and filled in the dirt which had been removed to make the sacred earth oven, *umw koal*, (lit. "pounded breadfruit oven") for cooking the breadfruit used in the *pwo* ceremony. Freshly cut palm fronds were placed over the site. This act of "closing" the ground oven began a series of events which were designed to formally bring an end to the rites of *pwo*. The new navigators drank

⁵⁴ All the *pwofeo* "new navigators" except one left Lamotrek after the *pwo* rites of passage and traveled on the inter-island ship, the M/V *Micro Spirit*, to Yap. The reason for this journey to Yap was job-related. Each of them had employment responsibilities which necessitated their return to Yap.

⁵⁵ Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976:61) gloss *giliyaw* as "a kind of hard-land tree (*fiscus prolixa*).\" Lessa states, "In Ifaluk the aerial roots are sometimes used for preliminary lashing on a canoe before the permanent lashing of sennit is put on; an aerial root may be used as a mast for a canoe" (1977:152)

medicine that morning as they had done previously every morning and late afternoon during the "four-nights" period. This time, however, the medicine which they drank on this occasion morning was not called *tafey gateram* "medicine of enlightenment" but *tafey rigfi imw* "medicine for hurrying to the house." *Tafey rigfi imw* was administered to allow the new navigators to leave the canoe house and return to their homes. A number of other events marked the end of *pwo*. Mr. N took the ceremonial bowl (*uulong*), washed it in the lagoon, and returned it in a "turned over" position to the rear of the canoe house (*gapilifal*). Afterwards, Mr. N removed the four *meshang* "taboo markers" which had made the canoe house forbidden to everyone who was not a participant in the *pwo* rites of passage. After the taboo markers were removed non-participants could enter the canoe house, but in general, this did not happen until a couple of days later after the *iles* "completion feast of offering" since most people expressed concern that the *yaliusepwo* "spirits of *pwo*" were still lingering about.

The next day on May 28 the *iles* "completion feast of offering" was held outside the canoe house.⁵⁶ The *ilesepwo* "completion feast of offering for *pwo*" brought the *pwo* ritual to a formal conclusion. The feast is presented as an propitiatory offering to the *yaliusepwo* "spirits of *pwo*" to insure a successful transfer of navigational knowledge to the *pwofeo* "new navigators." In conjunction with the feast, a final batch of medicine called *tafey gesaiyalu* was prepared and drunk by the new navigators to formally release them from the taboos associated with the the *pwo* rites of passage.

⁵⁶ Unlike the *pwo* ceremony feast which was held inside Faltaibu canoe house.

After the *iles* "completion feast of offering," the new navigators returned the special loin cloths (*machiyilepwo*) which Mr. N had given them to wear for *pwo*. Mr. N said that he would save them for another special occasion. Mr. B told me that when the *machiyilepwo* get too old they are not thrown away but burned. Finally, after the *iles* feast the new navigators, Mr. N, and his assistants may "touch" water. They are no longer restricted to drinking coconuts and bathing exclusively in the sea. Now they may drink water and bathe in the brackish ponds found on the island. Since the taboo against visitors to Faltaibu had been lifted, a drinking circle was held outside the canoe house that evening. The men of the community were invited to bring their bottles of palm wine (*gashi*) and ask Mr. N questions if they wished. Ostensibly, the purpose of this gathering was to give an opportunity to those persons who were not initiated to learn something about navigation, but as far as I could tell, no one put any direct questions to Mr. N and the occasion turned out to be nothing more than a social get-together.

On the day after the *iles* "completion feast of offering" Mr. N designated one of his own coconut trees near the canoe house a *roangopaliuw* "sacred taboo site of navigators." A simple but dramatic ritual marked this occasion. Particularly noteworthy were the feelings of surprise by those present surrounding this event since no one had any foreknowledge that Mr. N had one final rite to perform. After the *iles* feast the previous day, everyone had all thought that all the rites connected with *pwo* were finished. Indeed, it seemed almost an afterthought that Mr. N remembered or decided to designate one of his coconut trees as a *roangopaliuw* "sacred taboo site of navigators." Mr. N instructed his assistant, Mr. F, to collect the necessary young coconut leaves (*ubut*) for this purpose. Once these were gathered, three of the five new navigators who

happened to be present at the time were told to stand with their backs against the trunk of the tree. Mr. N waved the young coconut leaves back and forth in front of them like a wand, lightly striking their chests with them, all the while reciting a chant. After he was finished with the chant, Mr. F helped Mr. N wrap young coconut leaves around the trunk of the tree to mark the tree as a *roangopaliuw* "sacred taboo site of navigators." These leaves are called *melang gapitalipwo* (lit. "amulet for the anointment of initiated navigators"). Between the young coconut leaves encircling the tree and the trunk were placed the leaves called *lel* and the specially knotted young coconut leaves called *yaliulap*.⁵⁷ The new navigators removed all of their coconut-leaf bracelets (*rorpai ubut*) and gave them to Mr. N. Mr. N took these bracelets and the medicinal pouches which had been used to make the medicines for the new navigators (e.i. *tafey gateram* "medicine of enlightenment") and deposited them at the base of their sacred tree. Later, Mr. N told the new navigators to turn over their *melang* bracelets to him for safe keeping during the interim period until such time as they voyaged over the open sea. After collecting the *melang* bracelets, Mr. N tied them to the sacred *bwaiyoal* "mother-of-pearl shell" along with a young double-knotted coconut-leaf. Mr. N hung this assemblage from a roof purlin (*gapangag*) high in the rafters of the front section of the canoe house (*matalifal*) as a sign that a *pwo* initiation ritual had taken place at Faltaibu canoe house. Mr. N told me that whenever a school of navigation conducted a *pwo* ceremony in the past the *bwaiyoal* shell used in the ceremony would be hung up as an

⁵⁷ The leaves of *lel* come from the morinda tree or shrub (S & T 1976:83). The morinda is a "genus of trees and shrubs belonging to the *Rubiaceæ*. Dyes are obtained from several species" (Whitehall et. al. 1953:1094).

emblem and lasting reminder of the new navigators who had been initiated. In this respect the *bwaiyoal* shell and whatever magical paraphernalia had been attached to it became symbols of the graduation of a group of *pwofeo* "new navigators." Mr. N said, "*Bwaiyoal* are in every canoe house on Satawal," but when I checked with Mr. B, I determined that they no longer exist. For one reason or another, these *bwaiyoal* have all disappeared. One explanation for their disappearance is that a major typhoon struck Satawal in 1958 which destroyed all the canoe houses. Another explanation is that they were sold to tourists.

Though he does not refer to the *pwo* ceremony by name, Gladwin makes the point that navigators form a special group separate from the rest of the population:

At his initiation the neophyte was sponsored by his instructor, reflecting honor on both. Sometimes several men were initiated at once. The change in status of the student was obvious, but the teacher also grew in stature through being the one privileged to "uncover the bowl," that is, to perform the act which symbolized the right of his student to eat in the company of navigators (1970:132).

From this passage, we may conclude that initiated navigators form a fraternity of ritual specialists that incorporate specific taboos related to whom they may eat within a social context. This restriction on eating does not extend, however, to other *rong* masters of high rank (*mwaletab* "taboo men") who are viewed as men of equivalent status (cf. Lessa 1950a:130). Before conversion to Christianity, navigators were only allowed to eat with other men who were considered "ritually pure" which, according to my informants on Lamotrek, included the following *rong* specialists: *waug* "masters of weather control and purification magic," *serawi* "masters of

weather control," and *taubwe* "masters in divination."⁵⁸ These groups were further distinguished in Lamotrekan society by their identification with permanent *roang* "sacred taboo sites" in various locations within the village like the a *roangopaliuw* "sacred taboo site of navigators" mentioned above which Mr. N dedicated to the new navigators. The most important of these *roang* sites was Lametag — the most sacred area on the island — which was used by specialists in navigation, weather control, and divination (see Map. 5, p. 78). Male practitioners from one *rong* specialization could not enter the *roang* "sacred taboo area" of another *rong* specialization which they were not affiliated with unless they were administered the proper *baliubel* "protection magic." All women were strictly forbidden from these areas even if they were knowledgeable in *rong* skills such as *sheosheo* "healing by massage" or *tafey* "medicine." Male *rong* specialists might gain access to *roang* areas which did not belong to them for the purpose of depositing medicines and amulets which they had used for *baliubel* "protection magic" or *bangibeng* "empowerment magic," but only the *rong* masters of *paliuw*, *waug*, *serawi*, and *taubwe* could use the coconuts or other resources located on *roang* "sacred taboo sites." For an example of how these sites are used, Bollig reports for Truk how someone may be permitted to enter *roang* "sacred taboo site":

Every *sourong* [EM: "master of sacred knowledge"] also has his particular sacred tree, under which the chest of *safei* [EM: "medicine"] and *osu* [EM: "offering"] is put. Nobody

⁵⁸ The taboo against *mwaletab* "taboo men" eating with other persons who are not *mwaletab* has not been enforced since the adoption of Christianity.

may venture to approach this tree in order possibly to pick its fruit. If the *sourong* has to send somebody to the tree for some reason, he first rubs him with *amaras* to make him immune to the bite of the spirit. But the person in question may approach the tree only from the east (1927:45).

The "*amaras*" mentioned in the above passage belongs to the *baliubel* type of "protection magic." Bollig explains:

An important protection against a spirit's bite is *amaras*, the juice of bitter tasting herbs. The juice is rubbed on the body and also the house poles in order to frighten the spirits away (1927:29-30).

The *roang* "sacred taboo sites" where medicines are collected are considered natural preserves. Each *paliuw*, *waug*, *serawi*, and *taubwe* specialist had his own "sacred taboo" coconut tree within a *roang* "sacred taboo area." The coconuts from these sacred trees were used to make sacred anointments and potions such as the *tafey gateram* "medicine of enlightenment" that was administered during the *faauw bong* "four-nights" period of instruction during the *pwo* ritual. Besides coconuts, other materials used for ritualistic purposes including flora and fauna from the land and sea could be gathered elsewhere; but after they were imbued with sacred power they were considered "hot" and dangerous and consequently were left after use in *roang* areas where they would not hurt anyone not affiliated with a specialist's school of knowledge.

One final comment should be made with regard to the perceived differences by informants with regard to navigation schools. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the *pwo* initiation ritual for *paliuw* "navigators" is synonymous with the expression *rorpai paliuw* "making the

bracelet for navigation" on Satawal but is referred to both as *gapaliuw* (lit. "to make a navigator") and *chochpai paliuw* "making the bracelet for navigation" on Lamotrek. From interviews with informants who remembered navigator initiation rituals performed on Lamotrek dating back to the early 1920s, it appears that the initiation ceremony was either conducted differently on Lamotrek or that there were variations in the initiation ceremonies performed by different schools of navigation. Instead of the one large *uulong* "ceremonial bowl" used in the *rorpai paliuw* (*pwo*) navigator initiation ceremony described above, Lamotrekan informants reported that several smaller bowls were used in the *chochpai paliuw* (*gapaliuw*) navigator initiation ceremonies which they witnessed. In the later case, the initiates would stretch their arms over their individual bowls of food and the *paliuwelap* "great navigator" would tie the *chochpai ubut* "braided coconut-leaf bracelets" on their wrists. The *melang porou* was also used as part of this ceremony but it appears that the *bwaiyoal* shell was not. This may explain why, when one knowledgeable navigator from Woleai was asked to describe the difference between the *rorpai paliuw* (*pwo*) ceremony and the *chochpai paliuw* (*gapaliuw*) ceremony, he answered, "The *pwo* ceremony is higher." This remark fits the general pattern of responses by other informants which indicated that the *pwo* ceremony is more complex than the *gapaliuw* type. My interpretation here is that the *pwo* initiation rite (Satawal-derived), when compared to the *gapaliuw* initiation rite (Lamotrek-derived), was more complex in the number of magical chants and ritual paraphernalia that were used.

CHAPTER 7

SCHOOLS OF WEATHER CONTROL

Field data concerning the initiation ritual and schooling of *waug* "masters of weather control and purification magic" was limited due to the fact that the last graduation of students in this profession took place on Lamotrek in 1949. Nevertheless, considerable information was collected through focused interviews with Mr. W who functioned as one of the principle teachers and four of his living students who were initiated and instructed by him at that time. Mr. W, believed to be about 90 years of age, was the oldest man living on Lamotrek in 1990. He told me that he was born on Lamotrek before a fierce typhoon struck the island in 1907. I was able to confirm this fact from Krämer's 1909 study of kinship relations on Lamotrek (1937:19-28). Krämer recorded not only Mr. W's island name and the fact that he was "small" in 1909, but more importantly, identified the Lamotrekan man, Ikelur, as his adopted uncle. Mr. W told me that Ikelur was his *shap* "teacher" in *waug* "weather control and purification magic." Ikelur figures prominently as Krämer's (1937:151-152) informant with regard to "rain magic" and "house purification" and identifies these skills with the profession of "*vak*" (a dialectical variant of *waug*). Krämer gives both an illustration (1937:152, fig. 70) and photograph (1937: pl. 2d) of Ikelur dressed in a ceremonial *waug* costume made of coconut leaves.¹

The schools of *waug* "weather control and purification magic" are defunct. There are no students formally learning these skills today. From

¹ This costume is identical to the one which Mr. W wears in the film, *Lamotrek: Heritage of an Island* (Metzgar 1988).

the last initiation ceremony (*chochpai waug*) in 1949 which graduated seventeen students, five were still living in 1987. One these students, Mr. S, whom I had interviewed on the subject in 1987, died in 1988 and another, Mr. M, whom I was unable to interview in 1987 because he was "off island" suffered a stroke in 1988 which left him partially paralyzed and unable to speak. At this time their elderly teacher Mr. W was also in failing health and was unable to remember past events clearly.² It was not until 1990 that I was able to interview the remaining three students who had all been "off island" in previous years. Mr. D, Mr. S, and Mr. T, all between 60 and 70 years of age, confirmed much of what I had been told earlier by Mr. W and Mr. S and provided new data as well. Only general facts concerning the education of *waug* "weather magicians," however, was forthcoming from these interviews; nevertheless, these facts provide important data concerning formal educational characteristics similar to those described in Chapter 6 for *paliuw* "navigators."

Compared to the schools of navigation, there are few concrete concepts or models which an apprentice must learn to become a *waug* "master of weather control and purification magic." It appears that these models mainly involve training in the ability to forecast weather conditions by recognizing special patterns of cloud formations at sunrise and sunset and judging patterns of wind direction and strength. No physical models of these phenomena were constructed for demonstration purposes, all education

² I first began focused interviews with informants on Lamotrek concerning traditional schooling practices in 1987. Mr. W told me that if I had asked him questions about the initiation ritual for *waug* back in 1978 when we had first met he would have remembered more; "But now," he said, "I have forgotten everything." Unfortunately by 1987 it did seem that he was suffering from some form of dementia.

being a function of what Western societies call "on the job" training through practical observation and oral communication between teacher and student. Besides recognition of these weather patterns, the bulk of education in *waug* "weather control and purification magic" was concerned with learning the various *rong* chants, instruments, and magical rites connected with *waug* spirit powers. Unlike informants initiated in the *pwo* rites of passage for navigation, informants in *waug* "weather control and purification" gave the impression that they had no prior training.

The profession of *waug* "weather control and purification magic" was divided into two groups. The master-teachers were called *waug*, and student-apprentices were called *serawi*. The difference between these two groups was explained to me in the following manner: all *waug* practitioners are *serawi* "weather magicians" but not all *serawi* "weather magicians" are *waug* practitioners. Both types of specialists were called upon when destructive storms threatened the island community but generally only *waug* specialists performed the *touber* "purification rite." If a *serawi* apprentice performed the *touber* "purification rite" it was at the request of his *waug* teacher. Lessa (1950a:148, 188, 240) has described for Ulithian *serawi* a "purifying type of magic called *rorpai*" which appears to be equivalent to the *touber* "purification rite" of Lamotrek and writes:

In the past, the weather magician [EM: *serawi*] used to have the auxiliary role of performing the *rorpai* ... *Rorpai* rites remove taboos (1950a:131).

One Lamotrekian informant when questioned on this point told me that the *rorpai/chochpai* "coconut-leaf bracelets" used in initiation rites were not connected with the *touber* "purification rite" so the use of the term by

Lessa's informants remains something of a mystery. It may be that in a broader interpretation the *rorpai* "coconut-leaf bracelet" used in initiation rituals removes the taboo on teaching *rong* "specialized knowledge."

The *touber* "purification rite" was of considerable importance in pre-Christian times. As mentioned earlier, *mwaletab* "taboo men" (navigators, weather magicians, and diviners) were forbidden to come in contact with menstruating women at all times. This concept extended to any objects, places, or instruments associated with women during their menstrual period or the act of giving birth. Sohn and Tawerilmang define "*touber*" in the *Woleaian-English Dictionary*:

... to perform a religious ceremony in which one throws spears, rocks, etc. toward a menstrual house to protect a new-born baby from evil ghosts; protected by magic (1976:156).

According to my Lamotrekan informants, the *touber* "purification rite" was used not only in connection with menstrual houses which were always separate from the home, but also on the residence of a woman who had given birth. In addition, the paths leading to and from her residence were "purified" so that a *mwaletab* "taboo man" such as a *waug*, *serawi*, *paliuw*, or *taubwe* specialist could enter her house or travel the paths in the vicinity of her house without becoming defiled. The *touber* "purification rite" was also performed on a canoe which had been used for a burial at sea. After the canoe returned to the island, it was not brought ashore but remained anchored in front of the deceased person's canoe house for four nights, after which the canoe underwent the *touber* ritual. Informants remarked on several occasions that the purpose of the *touber* rite was to "scare dangerous spirits away." For reasons that are unclear, *touber* "purification magic" was

connected with *waug* "weather magicians." Only a *waug* practitioner was authorized to perform the *touber* "purification rite" and he did it as a community service. In contrast, a *serawi* was not allowed to perform the *touber* "purification rite" unless he was instructed to do so by his *waug* teacher. It is significant that Krämer gives a "magic song for house purification" for Lamotrek in 1909 called "*alis ali touber*" (lit. "spirits of *touber*") and identifies the "*vak*" specialist (*waug*) as the practitioner of this magical rite. In this connection, Krämer makes the following revealing comment:

The *alus* [EM: spirit] Roiang was sent by Aluelap [EM: Yaliulap, lit. "Great Spirit"] to request that the houses were to be cleaned and all signs of blood and birth stains were to be removed (1937:152).

Nowhere else in the literature does the spirit name "Roiang" reported above appear in the ethnographic literature. This leads me to suspect that Krämer may have misinterpreted the Lamotrekan term *yaliuseroang* "spirit of a sacred taboo site" for "*alus* Roiang." *Mwaletab* "taboo men" were prohibited from entering a *roang* "sacred taboo site" if they mistakenly came in contact with a menstruating woman or entered the dwelling of a woman who had given birth before it was "purified" by the *waug* specialist. It follows that the *yaliuseroang* "spirit(s) of a sacred taboo site" are viewed as the progenitors of this taboo and the *touber* "purification rite." These taboos became more or less nonfunctional when Lamotrekans converted to Christianity. Menstrual houses no longer exist on Lamotrek.

Both *waug* and *serawi* "weather magicians" were called upon to exercise their skills when storms threatened the island, but usually only at the request of the island chief. For this service, the *waug* was paid a *toer* "woven garment." The relationship of *waug* and *serawi* was likened by informants to the general of an army. When a storm or typhoon threatened the island, the *waug* and his *serawi* followers assembled at a canoe house which then became taboo to everyone else. Both *waug* and *serawi* "weather magicians" went out to "fight" storms. They did not go out individually but in teams and took shifts throughout the day and night if the fury of the storm continued unabated. They spread out at a distance from each other on the beach to blow their shell horns and perform the magical chants which they believed would drive the bad weather away. In the islanders' belief system, a triton shell horn (*tawi*), along with appropriate chants (*fariuwelius*), would summon patron spirits who would drive the storm away. After one group of weather magicians was exhausted, they retired to the canoe house to rest, whereupon another group would go out to continue the "fight" against the storm. Coconuts and food were provided by the community while the *waug* and *serawi* engaged in their work. These food stuffs were deposited just outside the *meshang* "taboo markers" which were placed around the canoe house.

Certain taboos were followed by *waug* and *serawi* specialists when they exercised their skills similar to those imposed during the *pwo* ceremony. They were not allowed to drink water or leave the canoe house except to fight the storm. They were supposed to chant continuously, only stopping between verses to blow their shell horns. While chanting, they were supposed to face the wind and rain without blinking their eyes. Mr. W's wife, Mrs. P, often remarked that when Mr. W was called upon to

"fight" a storm that he would often be gone for days at a time. When he finally returned home, his eyes were bloodshot from constantly looking into the wind and rain. After returning from the beach to the canoe house, Mr. D said that the *waug* and *serawi* participants would put the ember tip of a burning stick into their mouths (but not touching the mouth) as a restorative ritual to "heat" their words before they went out again.

Lessa has described in detail the ritual activities of *serawi* "weather magicians" for Ulithi. He documents an example of "one of the long series of incantations" which was given to him by his Ulithian *serawi* informant, Mukhlema, and says the following about it:

It takes about fifteen minutes to recite the longest series of incantations, but, in any case, the spell is repeated over and over again, with rests in between, until the wind has shifted away from the atoll. It may be necessary to continue the performance all day and all night (1950a:130-132).

Typhoons are a constant threat to communities who live on low, coral atolls such as Lamotrek. The last major storm that struck Lamotrek and Elato in 1958 caused extensive damage. Houses were destroyed, trees blown down, and taro swamps were contaminated with salt water. Alkire, who visited Lamotrek four years later in 1962, made the following observations:

... the effects of the 1958 typhoon were still noticeable. It was only after this length of time that sufficient coconuts were again available for making copra and enough breadfruit was harvested so that some of it could be preserved. If an individual coral island were subject to such storms more often than once every three or four years, the island would be virtually uninhabitable (1965:18).

Oral histories suggest that the islands Pague and Falaite of Lamotrek, the islands of Toas, Ulor and Falipi of Elato, and the island of Olimarao were all inhabited at one time but were abandoned as a result of typhoon damage. Typhoons which have struck Lamotrek before 1958 have been reported for 1907, 1845, and 1815 (Krämer 1937:2-3; Alkire 1965:18, 26). The same typhoon which hit Lamotrek in 1907 took 200 lives on Woleai (Krämer 1937:185). The typhoon that hit Lamotrek in 1845 left it virtually uninhabitable, causing survivors to emigrate to Yap, Saipan, Truk and other islands in the area (Senfft 1904:13). It was only many years later that part of the population returned (Senfft 1905:54). The 1815 typhoon is reported to have resulted in numerous deaths on Lamotrek and abandonment of the entire atoll (Alkire 1965:26).

The islanders' fear of destructive typhoons accounts for the high status of *waug* and *serawi* "weather magicians" in the social organization of *rong* specialists. Lutz has written:

... it is these typhoons, as much as any other single environmental factor on Ifaluk, that have helped to produce the contemporary social organization and emotional configuration of the island (1988:22).

When middle-aged informants on Lamotrek and Elato were questioned about the 1958 typhoon, they all told stories which left no doubt as to their anxiety towards such storms. On four occasions when I was present on Lamotrek, major storms passed close enough to Lamotrek that the canoe houses were secured with heavy ropes so that they would not be blown away. One of these storms in 1987 was a fully developed typhoon. This typhoon did not strike Lamotrek but caused the sea to rise up to the top level

of the shoreline, threatening to inundate the island with salt water. During each of these events there was intense speculation amongst the community as to the strength of the storm and its proximity to Lamotrek. Radio weather reports were listened to often. In the case of the aforementioned typhoon of 1987, a number of persons moved their families inland to higher ground, seeking safety from coconut trees that might fall on their houses and the flooding that would result if the sea water should breach the shoreline. Only one other destructive typhoon besides the one that struck Lamotrek in 1958 was remembered by persons who were alive at that time. This was the typhoon of 1907. It is worth noting that Mr. W was able to tell me his chronological age with some accuracy, unlike many other elderly persons, because he remembers being a small boy when the 1907 typhoon struck Lamotrek. The most recent typhoon in the islands neighboring Lamotrek that has resulted in extensive damage was typhoon June in 1975 which washed over Ifaluk, destroying crops and water supplies (Lutz 1988:23; cf. Smithsonian Institution 1988). It has been estimated that six to ten years may be needed before an island eco-system can fully recover from even a minor typhoon such as this (Alkire 1978:14). When compared to other islands in the Central Caroline Islands, informants stated that Lamotrek generally fares better than other islands when it comes to being the victim of a typhoon. Indeed, this is the rationale given most often by informants for the interpretation of the name "Lamotrek," meaning "island of good season" or "summer island," because typhoons generally do not strike the island. Nevertheless, it appears very probable that the average person can expect to experience a number of severe storms during his or her lifetime and one or more of these will develop into a typhoon that will be life-threatening. In 1909, a sixty-year old man on Fais told Krämer that he had survived five

typhoons (1937:319). In 1947, Burrows and Spiro interviewed four middle-aged informants on Ifaluk who told them that they had endured six typhoons in their lifetime, one of which was so severe that the sea washed over the island and carried some people to their deaths (1953:25). In 1909, Sarfert learned that a severe typhoon had struck Sorol five generations earlier which had killed everyone on the island except for two women (Damm 1938:227). Girschner reports that a typhoon struck the southern Mortlock Islands in 1907 and killed more than 200 people (1911:126). In contrast, Bollig observed in the early part of this century that "heavy typhoons have not occurred on the islands of Truk as long as the people can remember" (1927:226). This may account for why weather magicians are rarely reported for Truk in the ethnographic literature, and when they are reported, they are not described as high-ranking *rong* specialists. One solitary report from Truk which is of interest and which may be identified with *waug* or *serawi* practitioners comes from Bollig:

They [EM: the Trukese] are very much afraid when a thunderstorm is approaching. Some blow the shell, others wave their arms forcefully in order to divert it. There are even cunning people who maintain that they are able to render storms, especially typhoons harmless by cooking them (*um*) (1927:209).

The mention of "*um*" in the above passage is interesting because this undoubtedly is a reference to the *umw* "earth oven." The ritual significance of the *umw* "earth oven" has already been described in connection with the preparation of breadfruit and taro for the *pwo* initiation ceremony for navigators. The ritual use of the earth oven in connection with the activities of *serawi* is implied here. Unfortunately, I did not think to ask my

Lamotrekan *waug* and *serawi* informants if they knew of a similar ritual. Bollig also makes an interesting eye-witness observation of the effect of a number of shell horns, when blown in unison. He writes, "Several conches together in various pitches produce a concert which might soften stones" (1927:240). The reader might well imagine the dramatic impact of a *waug* and his *serawi* followers, defending an island against a storm, all blowing their shell horns (*tawi*) at the same time in an effort to drive it away.

Now follows a general description of the formal educational characteristics of the traditional schools of *waug* "weather control and purification magic." In contrast to the schooling of navigators which usually takes place during the *lecheg* "summer season" when breadfruit are plentiful, the schooling of weather magicians may take place either during the *lecheg* "summer season" or the *yefang* "winter season." The *yefang* "winter season" roughly corresponds to the months between September and March and is a time of variable winds. One informant said that this was considered a suitable time for instruction in weather magic because "the spirits would come down," meaning that tornados, waterspouts, and other wind-related phenomena including typhoons were most likely to happen at this time.

The last schooling of *waug* initiates took place on Lamotrek during the *lecheg* "summer season" of 1949. Two schools of *waug* "weather control and purification magic" were present at the initiation ceremony: Yaronog and Teletalang. Yaronog and Teletalang are credited with being the founders of the two different systems of weather magic. The magical rites used by the Yaronog and Teletalang schools differed in value. The Yaronog school was said to rank higher than the Teletalang school but this may be a function of the fact that all of my informants on this subject belonged to the Yaronog school. Unfortunately, no members from the

Teletalang school have survived, so this view cannot be independently confirmed. Nevertheless, it is significant that these schools were status-ranked as was reported for the schools of navigation, Weriyeng, Faaluush, etc. Like Weriyeng and Faaluush, Yaronog and Teletalang are described as brothers in a *waug* charter myth. All of my informants claimed that they knew nothing more about this charter myth except for Mr. S who would reveal no more than the following storyline:

Myth of Yaronog and Teletalang (excerpt)

Yaronog and Teletalang went on a trip and came to a mountain [EM: Truk].³ A cloud would not let them go to the mountain so they made magic with a shell horn and broke up the cloud.

Mr. S claimed that this charter myth was taught to him by Mr. W after the initiation ritual (*chochpai waug*) that took place in Lugal canoe house in 1949. When I first learned about this charter myth from Mr. S, he told me to ask Mr. W for details since it was he who had taught him the story. I immediately questioned Mr. W if he could remember the story. Unfortunately, this inquiry came too late as his mind was failing him and he was unable to remember much at all by 1987. In 1990, the only thing that he could recall was the *touber* ritual of initiation which he performed for the students in Lugal canoe house in 1949. For reasons which are not clear, Mr. D initially told me that he knew the "Myth of Yaronog and Teletalang" but

³ The Lamotrekese word for mountain is *shug* which is synonymous with the high islands of Truk. The name "Truk" also translates as "mountain" in the Trukese language. See "*chuuk*" and "*Chuuk*" in Goodenough and Sugita's *Trukese-English Dictionary* (1980:330).

later denied it. These incidents are examples of how difficult it is to acquire accurate information concerning *rong* information. I believe that neither Mr. S or Mr. D felt comfortable about sharing the myth with me as long as their *shap* "teacher," Mr. W was still alive. The prohibition against sharing *rong* information which is viewed as the incorporeal property of a particular group has been discussed in Chapter 3.

Although brief, the above myth fragment reveals a couple of important facts concerning schooling in *waug* "weather control and purification magic." First, the brothers Yaronog and Teletalang in the above *waug* charter myth are similar to the brothers Werieng and Faaluush in the *paliuw* charter myth. Both make trips to Truk and both are representatives of two different schooling systems within a common *rong* specialization. This suggests a basic structure or design symmetry within high-ranking *rong* specializations based on dual opposition. In other words, these charter myths seem to provide a metaphor for the dualistic balance and ranking of schooling pedagogies within larger schooling frameworks.⁴ Second, the *waug* charter myth focuses on the value of the *tawi* "shell horn" as the principle instrument used in weather control. From this we may infer that the central focus of instruction during the ritual *faauw bong* "four-nights"

⁴ Alkire has written extensively on dualistic and quadripartite divisions as they relate to various aspects of Micronesian culture: "systems of measurement" (1970:70); "concepts of order" (1972:491-492); "ranking and stratification" (1977:86); and their value in "clarifying the structural logic and consistency of individual systems" (1982:41). Rubenstein has discussed the dualistic symmetry of *machiy* ceremonial textiles from Fais as reflections of "basic social structural relations" (1986:73). See Chapter 5, pp. 221-222 for quadripartite division in connection with the *pwo* ritual *faauw bong* "four-nights" period of seclusion and instruction.

seclusion of students revolves around the use of the *tawi* "shell horn" and the chants associated with it.

One informant stated that the schools of Yaronog and Teletalang had different spirits associated with their systems of knowledge as well as different styles of chanting. He gave the example that a member of the Yaronog school would chant a different number of verses than a member of the Teletalang school before blowing the *tawi* "shell horn." A Yaronog weather magician would chant two verses and blow on the horn whereas a Teletalang weather magician would chant three verses. The fact that different schools of weather control had different types of magical chants or spells is supported by evidence given in a report on Ulithian *serawi* "weather magicians" by Lessa:

As for the ritual of weather magic, it involves a centering around a spell and certain paraphernalia. The latter is the same in all cases but spells are of three types, giving rise to three classifications of magic; viz., *holohol*, *hopar*, and *teletalang*. The origin and significance of these classes is not known. A magician has his own particular spells, which he shares only with his teacher and others who have learned from him, but despite this they always fall into one given class. Spells run in series. Thus, the *holohol* series consists of fourteen constituent incantations for typhoons, and a lesser number for sending away unwanted rain, as well as for moving the direction of the wind, whether it be a typhoon or other wind (1950a:131).

In the above passage, Lessa tells us that there are different spells associated with different "classifications" of weather magic and that each "class" of spells is only shared between a teacher who has knowledge of one "class" of weather magic and his students. This description fits the criteria of a fixed course of instruction used in this study for identifying separate schools

within a *rong* specialization. As I have noted in connection with navigation schools, the central feature of the curricula for navigation schools which identifies one navigation school from another is the difference in magical chants, ritual paraphernalia, and taboos. Therefore, it seems likely that the "*teletalang*" class of spells mentioned in the above passage is equivalent to the Teletalang school of weather control reported for Lamotrek. If so, then the "*holohol*" and "*hopar*" classes of spells may also be identified as separate schools of weather magic. Comparative evidence from the literature suggests that this may be the case. Dialectical variants of the term "*hopar*" have been reported in connection with weather magic in other parts of the Trukic continuum. For the islands of Namoluk and Lukunor in the Mortlock Islands, Krämer describes "*opar*" as "conjuring the storm ... fighting the typhoon" (1935:108). Girschner also gives "*oapar*" as "conjuring the storm" for Namoluk (1911:195). For the Namonuito Islands north-west of Truk, Krämer defines "*ou pare*" as "rain magic" (1935:234). Of particular importance is the following observation by Sarfert (Damm and Sarfert 1935:208) for Satawal and Puluwat: "*obar*" magic is rain magic performed by the *serau* (= rain specialist)." This later report clearly suggests that Sarfert's "*obar*" is equivalent to Lessa's "*hopar*" and that "Sarfert's "*serau*" is synonymous with Lessa's "*serawi*". The fact that "*hopar*" and its variants were not mentioned by my Lamotrekan informants as a school of weather control is not particularly significant. More than likely there are regional variations where one school may have representatives on one island but be absent on another. We have already seen how the Sagiur school of navigation has been unreported for Lamotrek, Satawal and the Western Islands of Truk but is mentioned for Woleai, Ifaluk, Fais, and Ngulu.

Another example that has been given is the navigation school of Faanewu which has only been reported for Truk (G & S 1980:113, 367).

The possibility that the "*holohol*" and "*hopar*" classes of magic as described by Lessa represent the names of schools of weather control does not mean that the names given to other classes of magic are identical to that of traditional schools. *Fariuwelius* chants which were used to stop wind and rain, for instance, were a class of chants said to be used by *waug* and *serawi* specialists belonging to both the Yaronog and Teletalang schools of weather control.⁵ Similarly, *gosilifei* chants used for stopping storms were used by *paliuw* specialists belonging to both the Weriyeng and Faaluush schools of navigation. Identifying the names of traditional schools through comparative analysis of the names given to magical chants in the ethnographic literature seems highly problematic; nevertheless, given Lessa's statement that certain "classifications of magic" such as "*holohol*, *hopar*, and *teletalang*" are affiliated with different groups of teachers and students, the possibility cannot be ruled out. Consider, for example, the Puluwatan word "*falelang*" which is defined by Elbert as "magic to reduce rain by chanting with an adze and imitating falling rain" (1972:7). Is this another name for a school of weather control or simply a class of magical chants similar to the *fariuwelius* type? It is impossible to make any kind of judgement in this matter since no additional information is provided by

⁵ *Fariuwelius* chants are reported in connection with many different kinds of *rong* skills. Girschner, for example, gives the names of forty different *foarianu* chants [EM: *foarianu* = *fariuwelius*] used by specialists in seven categories: "weather and sea journeys, storm conjuration, enemies, fishing, theft, illness, state of health, and fertility incantations" (1911:195). See Chapter 5, pp. 206-207 for discussion of *fariuwelius* chants in the context of *bangibeng* "empowerment magic."

Elbert. There is, however, comparative evidence given by Krämer for Satawan in the Mortlock Islands which suggests that "*falelang*" may be the name of another school of weather control. Krämer's observations are also of considerable significance because they give detailed information on the ritual activities of a "secret society" of weather magicians. Krämer reports that "Fangileng" is a "wind spirit" which the Soutapuanu "secret society" attempts to drive away with a special "*tapuanu*" dance mask (1935:118). It is not clear how Krämer made a mistake in naming the above mentioned mask "*tapuanu*" and translating it as "holy spirit." I first became aware of this error when Mr. B informed me that "*tapu*" is not a word in the Mortlockese language and that the real name for the mask is *tapwanu*⁶ from the verb "*tapw*" meaning "to chase away." A correct translation of the mask would then be "to chase away the spirit" (cf. Goodenough and Sugita 1980:338, 353). Despite Krämer's misrepresentation of the name for the mask, his descriptions of its use are nevertheless valuable to include here for comparative analysis with the schools of weather control on Lamotrek:

A clan Soutapuanu is also supposed to exist, but I did not put it down in the list [EM: of clans represented on Satawan Island]. It seems to be a secret society, that is a society which performs the dance with the masks [EM: *tapwanu*], which was probably tabu.

A *soutapuanu*-man performs dances and sings with the mask. The dances have the purpose of fighting the wind, that is against Fangileng, where the wind spirit is thought to dwell, also in the east.

⁶ Goodenough and Sugita (1980:338) gloss "*tapwpwaanu*" (*tapwanu*) as "mask-like spirit head carved of wood and set up on gable end of Mortlockese canoe house or meeting house."

Falefol or *falofal* was the big house in which the ceremony took place. Today they still fasten the masks to the supporting pillars of the canoe houses, or they are carved [EM: into the wood of the pillars].

In March and April, food was accumulated at the *falofal*. We went to the *falofal*, the house of the Tapuanu [EM: *tapwanu*] on our first visit on Satoan [EM: variant spelling of Satawan] on January 16, 1910 and took its beautiful supporting pillar which was decorated with a head with us.

The performance of the dance was as follows: somebody called, "Who are you? The mask answered, "Uh, Uh," while it was fighting with the dancing rod.

They performed the dances for us on the beach.

Hellwig [EM: a German anthropologist] obtained a mask on Eten, on Truk; they are used in May to keep the wind god, Fangileng, away. But this only seems to be an imported act which reveals the purpose for Ku [EM: indigenous name for Mortlock Islands]. It is very probable that the masks are not only used for the ripening of the breadfruits but also to drive the wind away, like the sea-signs [EM: *gos* "spirit effigies"] on the central islands [EM: Central Caroline Islands, e.g. Lamotrek].

From the above passages we find that only the initiated were allowed to use the *tapwanu* mask and it is significant that Krämer compares its purpose in driving the wind away to that of the *gos* "spirit effigy" in the Central Caroline Islands which was also used to fight storms not only by navigators

but also by weather magicians on Lamotrek.⁷ We also learn that food devoted to the *tapwanu* "secret society" was accumulated on an annual basis in March and April at *falefal* canoe house. It seems likely that this might also have been an occasion for initiating and schooling new members in weather magic. Krämer does not identify the name of the weather magic used by the "*soutapuanu*-men" but he does make it clear that it is directed at the wind god "Fangileng." Is this "Fangileng" synonymous with Elbert's "*falelang*" magic? The dialectical similarities are suggestive but unlikely to prove equivalent. It is possible, however, I believe, for the purposes of this study, to equate the *soutapuanu* weather magicians of Satawan with the *serawi* weather magicians of Lamotrek. The fact that both are secret societies which make similar use of ritual paraphernalia supports this assumption. The question now is, "What is the name of the school of weather control that these "*soutapuanu*-men" belonged to? Was it Fangileng? Circumstantial evidence would seem to indicate this except for the fact that traditional schools on Lamotrek were not named after malevolent spirit powers who are being attacked but, rather, benevolent spirit powers who would come to their aid. If Krämer misunderstood his informants and the wind-god Fangileng was, in fact, a patron spirit of the

⁷ There is an illustration in Krämer (1937:157, fig. 78) of a wooden "idol" together with an illustration (1937:157, fig. 77) of a *gos* "spirit effigy." The figure of the wooden idol is associated in the text with an illustration (1937:152, fig. 70) of a "*vak*" (*waug*) weather magician. The face and figure of this wooden "idol" has a striking similarity to the *tapwanu* "to chase away the spirit" idol of Mortlock Islands depicted in Krämer (1935:118, fig. 65). The face of this figure also finds expression in the *tapwanu* masks (see Krämer 1935:119, fig. 66a; pl. 3). Nowadays, these masks have been popularized as "devil masks" for the tourist trade in Truk.

soutapuanu who received offerings of food between the months of April-May, then it would be possible to assert that Fangileng or *falelang* might have been the name of the school of weather control. Without additional evidence, however, it is impossible to determine this with certainty.

The schooling of *waug* "masters in weather control and purification magic" on Lamotrek was organized along the same pattern as the schooling of *paliuw* "navigators." Group instruction of students did not commence until after apprentices were initiated (*chochpai*) in a formal ceremony.⁸ Before the initiation ceremony took place, student-apprentices (*yauten*) had either engaged in a one-on-one learning relationship with their *shap* "teacher" or, at the very least, been formally accepted by him. This formal acceptance was symbolized by the unfolding of the students' and teachers' sleeping mats (*ferag giyegiy*) in the men's (canoe) house the morning of the initiation ceremony. After the initiation ceremony, students and members from the schools or guilds representing the specialization of weather control on the island would join in a ceremonial feast of offering to their patron spirits. After the feast, the initiates were sequestered in the men's house for a period of *faauw bong* "four nights." From early morning to late at night, the initiates would receive intensive instruction from a group of instructors. Mr. W, who was a member of the Yaronog school of *waug* "weather control and purification magic," told me that there were other instructors besides himself from the Yaronog and Teletalang schools on Lamotrek who were involved in teaching students. It is not entirely clear to me, however,

⁸ Each school of *waug* had its own type of *chochpai* "coconut-leaf bracelet" which it used for the initiation rite and subsequent instruction. All of them were braided like the ones used by navigators in their initiation ceremonies but, also like navigation schools, each school had "different things" inside it which were unique to the *yalius* "spirits" of the school.

whether or not teachers from the Yaronog and Teletalang schools of *waug* engaged in group instruction over the entire *faauw bong* "four-nights" period or if only Yaronog teachers were involved. Moreover, I was unable to determine whether or not apprentices from both schools were initiated at the same time. Evidence from initiation ceremonies of navigation schools described in the literature and obtained from my own research suggest that a limited joint effort on the part of the schools represented on the island took place immediately after the initiation ceremony and feast but ended in the evening with the start of the *faauw bong* "four-nights" period. Members of another school who remained after this time did so as learners and not teachers. I was told, for example, that certified navigators from one navigation school (such as Faaluush) could "stay back" after the initiation ceremony for members of another school (such as Werieng) for a "refresher course." When I expressed surprise that a member of one school would be allowed to learn the skills and techniques of another school, I was told that it was indeed possible for an individual to learn the skills, techniques, and lore of another school but that it was taboo for him to practice them. In other words, a navigator may be aware of the specialized knowledge (e.g. *pookof* "sea life") and magical rites (e.g. *baliubel* "protection chants," *bangibeng* "empowerment chants," and *tafey* "medicine") that belong to another school of navigation but he is not licensed to use them; he is only authorized to use the *rong* which belongs to his school.

After the "four-nights" period of instruction was over, an *iles* "completion feast of offering" was given to honor the spirit powers who had been summoned with chants to transmit *rong* knowledge to the initiates and to bring an end to formal instruction. The end of schooling was symbolized

by the students and teachers folding up their sleeping mats (*nimi giyegiy*) and returning to their homes.

Now follows a description of the initiation ceremony and curricula of instruction for *waug* "specialists in weather control and purification magic" as reported to me by informants who participated in the last weather control initiation ceremony to take place on Lamotrek in 1949.⁹ All the families of the students who were to be initiated collected *teor* "woven garments" and brought them to Lugal canoe house where Mr. W was going to give instruction in *waug* "weather control and purification magic." The food was prepared for the initiation rite and was placed in several bowls and brought into the canoe house. When everyone got together the initiates were already decorated with flower wreaths and turmeric cosmetic. One by one, the initiates held their hands above the bowl of food that was in front of them. Mr. W chanted some special words and tied a *chochpai* "coconut-leaf bracelet" on their wrists. After this, Mr. W made a cross-sign on each of students' forehead with *lap* "red clay" and also applied *lap* "red clay" marks on each of their shoulders as well. Krämer gives a detailed description of these markings for a "*vak*" (*waug*) of Lamotrek:

⁹ Certain kinds of information were omitted by informants in all my interviews of the surviving members of the 1949 *waug* initiation ceremony, such as what kinds of food were brought to the canoe house for the initiation ceremony and how and when distribution of this food took place. Using the organizational aspects of the *paliuw* "navigation" initiation ceremony discussed in the previous chapter as a model, the feast for the *waug* initiation ceremony probably occurred immediately after the ceremony was over and before formal instruction began.

The sorcerer has a red cross painted on his forehead and its vertical line reaches down to the root of his nose; in addition he appears with one red line each from the tip of the shoulder to the arm-pit and a vertical line from the lower end of the breast-bone approximately to the navel (1937:154).

There is also an illustration in Krämer (1937:152, fig. 70) of the weather magician, Ikelur, in full costume (*ubut* "young coconut leaves") holding the *gobai* "magic wand" and showing a *lap* "red clay" cross painted on his forehead.¹⁰ The cross-sign can also be seen on a wooden "idol" (Krämer 1937:157, fig. 78) which almost certainly was connected with the ritual activities of the *waug* specialist. In 1948, Lessa took a photograph of a Ulithian *serawi* "typhoon magician" (1964:6, fig. 2) in a costume holding what appears to be a *gobai* "magic wand." It is impossible to tell whether or not the *serawi* in Lessa's photograph has a cross painted on his forehead or is wearing any other *lap* "red clay" markings. Other than this, the costume is identical to the outfit of the "*vak*" weather magician depicted by Krämer for Lamotrek in 1909.¹¹

After Mr. W applied the *lap* "red clay" markings to the initiates he then put *ubut* "coconut-leaf knots" on a *gobai* "magic wand" and performed a *touber* "purification rite" for each of the apprentices. This rite focused on

¹⁰ In 1978, Mr. W wore a *waug* costume and carried a *gobai* "magic wand" which is documented in the film, *Lamotrek: Heritage of an Island* (Metzgar 1988). This outfit is identical to the one documented in Krämer's published work on Lamotrek except that Mr. W did not have a cross painted on his forehead nor any other *lap* "red clay" markings on his body. See Krämer (1937:154) for description of *gobai* "magic wand."

¹¹ See Alkire (1965:122) for a photograph of a navigator wearing the same *ubut* costume but wielding a "*hos*" (*gos* "spirit effigy") instead of a *gobai* "magic wand."

the *ttouwttouw* "spearing" of the foreheads of each one of the students and the recitation of the following *touber* chant:¹²

Touber Chant No. 1
("Purification Rite" Chant)

1. I step with a spear to the *roang* "sacred taboo site"
2. I step with a spear to the *roang* "sacred taboo site"
3. Those spirits guard that place.
4. Those spirits guard that place.
5. I spear the dolphin
6. I spear the whale.
7. I spear the dolphin,
8. I spear the whale.
9. I spear the forehead of ...
[EM: says the name of the initiate]
10. I tell the spirits to go away from ...
[EM: says the name of the initiate]
11. Who stands in the *roang* "sacred taboo site."
12. And those spirits will leave!
13. And those spirits will leave!

Krämer took a photograph on Lamotrek in 1909 showing the weather magician, Ikelur, pointing the *gobai* "magic wand" at the forehead of a sitting man (1937: pl. 2d). Informants who were shown this photograph agreed that this was the *touber* "purification rite." They said that this was not, however, an example of a person being initiated but an example of a *serawi* follower being "purified" after mistakenly coming in contact with a menstruating woman.

¹² This *touber* chant is documented in the film, *Lamotrek: Heritage of an Island* (Metzgar 1988).

After the initiates received the *touber* "purification rite," Mr. W formally began instruction by "unfolding the mat" (*ferag giyegiy*) for *waug* "weather control and purification magic" in the canoe house and the initiates learned about *waug* for four days and nights (*faauw bong*). In an interview with Mr. W concerning what was taught on the mat, he said that he "only talked about the spirits of *waug* while sitting on the mat." I took this to mean that no conceptual models were diagramed or demonstrated on the mat in contrast to the schooling pedagogies of navigation, divination, or healing by massage. This does not imply, however, that nothing was demonstrated on the *giyegiy* "mat" by Mr. W or practiced by the seventeen students who were learning from him. Four different types of instruments were reported to be demonstrated: the *tawi* "shell horn," the *gos* "spirit effigy," the *tela* "adze," and the *gobai* "magic wand." Each lesson was symbolized by *chochpai* "coconut-leaf bracelets" tied to the students' wrists. The tying of these bracelets was called *gabechbech* "to make hot" and the bracelets were different for the Yaronog and Teletalang schools of *waug*. The concept of *gabechbech* "to make hot" is indicative of the perceived relationship between "heat" and formal education. A student who is "hot" is an avid learner, stimulated, eager, and a formidable thinker. In Western society we would say such a student is "self-motivated" and "able to think for himself." Mahony (1970:167) has reported on the concept of "hot" in connection with *rong* specialists for Truk:

...to be a *sow roog* [EM: *taurong* "master of rong"], not simply a *sow safei* [EM: *tautafey* "master of medicine"] — to be, in other words, someone who knows much more about a spirit power than simply the good side of the medicine—is to become someone who is in much more intimate touch with the spirits and the variety of their powers. When you know the side of a

spirit power that makes it hot, your own person and your own speech become hot by association, and deserving of as much awe and respect as is usually accorded the spirits themselves. Indeed, this very principle lies at the basis of much of the power and personal prestige of traditional Trukese war leaders (*iitag*) [EM: dialectical variant of *itang*].

According to one informant, when a *waug* teacher taught the use of the *tawi* "shell horn," each student had his own shell horn to practice the series of *fariuwelius* chants which he learned to use with it.¹³ All the shell horns were positioned with the mouth down and *ubut* "young coconut leaves" tied to them in the characteristic *bugobug* "one knot" design. The students would wait until the teacher told them to turn their shells over, and then they would all do so at the same time. It was taboo to turn the shell over at the wrong time lest "it suck the wind to come." In other words, this improper act might summon a storm or typhoon. After the students had turned their shells over, they would practice chanting but they did not actually blow on the shells at this time. I learned about two *fariuwelius* chants for controlling storms. The following *fariuwelius* chant was given by Mr. W:¹⁴

¹³ The triton shell (*Charonia tritonis*) is the only type of *tawi* "shell horn" used in performing weather magic.

¹⁴ Mr. W performed this *fariuwelius* chant for me using a triton shell horn. The first two verses of this chant are documented in the film, *Lamotrek: Heritage of an Island* (Metzgar 1988).

Fariuwelius Chant No. 1
("Storm Magic" Chant)

1. I am hitting the triton shell to make the sky clear
2. I am hitting the triton shell to make the sky clear
3. The wind will die down
4. The waves will die down
5. The rain will die down
6. The spirit of the storm will die down
7. And the spirit of the tornado will pass.¹⁵
8. You! Go away!
9. Go away!

(Triton shell horn is blown)

10. Take the evil away from the clouds¹⁶
11. Take the evil away from the clouds
12. Take the evil away from the clouds
13. Take the evil away from the clouds
14. Take away the strong wind that comes from the clouds
15. Take away the heavy rain that comes from the clouds
16. I am ...
[EM: weather magician says his name]
... and I am staying on this island Lamotrek.
17. You waves die down and flatten out
18. You waves die down and flatten out

(Triton shell horn is blown)

(Continued)

¹⁵ In the chant the spirit of the tornado is called Etapwase. He is a well known and feared wind spirit throughout the Trukic continuum.

¹⁶ I have translated the Lamotrekese word *riya* used in the chant here as "evil." The term *riya* has many other connotations. See discussion of *riya* in Chapter 2, pp. 75-76.

19. Take the evil away from the clouds
20. Take the evil away from the clouds
21. Take the evil away from the clouds
22. Take the evil away from the clouds
23. Take away the strong wind that comes from the clouds
24. Take away the heavy rain that comes from the clouds.
25. I am ...
[EM: weather magician says his name]
... and I am staying on this island Lamotrek.
26. You waves die down and flatten out
27. You waves die down and flatten out.

(Triton shell horn is blown)

28. The tornado that comes down will sneak away
29. The tornado that comes down will sneak away
30. It will exhaust itself
31. It will exhaust itself
32. The tornado that comes down
33. Will not pass through those pandanus trees lining the beach.
34. Langi and Sepi [EM: spirit names]!
35. If the tornado comes close to those trees
36. Make it die down like the flame of a fire.

(Triton shell horn is blown)

37. The tornado that comes down will sneak away
38. The tornado that comes down will sneak away
39. Spirit in the tornado
40. Go away!

(Triton shell horn is blown)

The following *fariuwelius* chant was given to me by Mr. D, who was one of Mr. W's students:

*Fariuweli*us Chant No. 2
("Storm Magic" Chant)

1. I am hitting the triton shell to make the sky clear
2. I am hitting the triton shell to make the sky clear
3. The wind will die down
4. The waves will die down
5. The rain will die down
6. Yarimaligasha [EM: spirit name]! Go and kick that storm
7. Kick it down to the West
8. Make it go away from the land
9. And go wash it away from the sky
10. I cut it like grass!
11. I cut you!

(Triton shell horn is blown)

12. Gamanshigo [EM: spirit name], you go and wash that storm away
13. Wash it off
14. Wash the black cloud
15. Wash the ghost of that storm
16. And take it all to some other place.

(Triton shell horn is blown)

17. Sepi and Marasi [EM: spirit names], where did you come from?
18. And which direction do you follow?
19. Which direction do you take from the
20. Place where Luugoileng [EM: spirit name]¹⁷ stays?
21. Which side did you come from?
22. You throw it away.

(Triton shell horn is blown)

¹⁷ Luugoileng is the god of "Middle Heaven." See Chapter 6, note 14, p. 245; also note 23, p. 249.

In the above *fariuweliu*s chants, several spirit powers are summoned: Langi, Sepi, Yarimaligasha, Gamanshigo, and Marasi. Of these, Marasi is the same patron spirit as Yaliulewaiy that was mentioned earlier in connection with *paliuw* "navigators." Indeed, with regard to weather control, there is some overlap between the two specializations. At sea, a navigator would use the *tawi* "shell horn" and *gos* "effigy spirit" to calm storms, and on land a weather magician would also use these instruments to drive dangerous storms away. They did not, however, intrude on each other's domain. For instance, it was not the responsibility of a navigator (*paliuw*) on an island to participate with weather magicians (*waug* and *serawi*) while they were fighting a storm, nor was it the responsibility of a weather magician on a sailing canoe to drive a storm away — this was the navigator's job. One informant stated, however, that a navigator might call upon a weather magician to act on his behalf if the navigator felt that a dangerous wind warranted the weather magician's expertise. Lessa was given essentially the same report for Ulithi:

The *serawi* never acts on his own initiative but waits until he is summoned by a chief or the council of elders. He is asked to act whenever an island is struck by a typhoon, or whenever it needs water. If at sea, the *serawi* acts on orders from the navigator (1950a:132).

The fact that a *waug* or *serawi* "weather magician" might be requested to perform magic during a voyage is indicative of his equivalent status to the *paliuw* "navigator." Krämer (1937:53) gives dramatic evidence of just such an occasion in his preface to a chant used for "expelling the tornado, *saubarere*." He writes, "All the men shout while they tie themselves with

ropes to the boat." In a footnote to this chant, Krämer includes the following additional information:

Etibaso and Saubarere [EM: wind-spirits who are associated with dangerous tornados] have already destroyed many boats; therefore a knower of chants always takes care of the conjuration (1937:53, fn. 1).

The above descriptions provide a graphic picture of a life-threatening situation where a tornado is bearing down on a canoe and the men are tying themselves to the boat so they will not be thrown from it by the force of the tornado. At this time the "knower of chants takes care of the conjuration." It is very likely that "the knower of chants" in this case might be a *waug* or *serawi* weather magician since, by virtue of his training, he is a specialist in controlling tornados. For instance, in "*Fariuwelius* Chant No. 1" above, lines 28-40 are specifically directed at expelling a tornado. It is also significant that when a *waug* or *serawi* weather magician went into action on a sailing canoe that he used the *tawi* "shell horn" and *gos* "spirit effigy" and performed his chants on the *roangotam* sacred area of outrigger platform. As mentioned above in connection with the *roang* "sacred taboo sites" of navigators, the *roangotam* was generally ritually taboo to all persons except the captain-navigator.

There is also evidence from the literature which suggests that navigators did function, on occasion, as weather magicians on land. Burrows and Spiro include a weather chant in their published research on Ifaluk which was given to them by Tom, their navigator informant, about whom they make the following comments:

With regard to the weather, however, its course is not only predicted, but it is also controlled. If the divination indicates continued storm, an incantation is recited which can control the weather. Only the navigators know the technique. He sits on one of the stone piers, and blows a conch horn. He then points it into the storm, and recites the appropriate verses (1953:236).

Burrows and Spiro's statement regarding weather incantations that "only the navigators know the technique" is misleading because there may have been no recognized *waug* or *serawi* weather magicians on Ifaluk at the time Burrows and Spiro did their research. Nevertheless, it is possible that a navigator would assume this role if neither a *waug* nor *serawi* weather magician were in residence on the island. Surprisingly, the following report by Burrows suggests this possibility:

In 1947, the official incantation for warding off a storm was one of Tom's [EM: name of Ifalukian informant]. It was sung, with a conch-shell trumpet blown at the beginning and end of every line of the incantation, and accompanied by waving gestures either to the right or left, to wave the storm aside. The first time we saw the spell tried, its success was spectacular. The storm parted and went by on both sides of the atoll. The second time, the incantation was not strong enough: Tom kept on chanting until he was drenched. Apparently Tom's spell did not succeed often enough, because when we returned in 1953, he was no longer the official storm exorcist. The task had been entrusted to another master craftsman, Gabwileisei, who had an incantation from Woleai (1963:97).

In the above passage, another man named Gabwileisei assumes Tom's role as the "official storm exorcist" for Ifaluk. Burrow's assumes that this is a result of Tom's failure in diverting storms from the island. This may, in fact, have been the case if both Gabwileisei and Tom were both on Ifaluk in 1947, but Burrow's does not clarify this point. If, on the other hand, Gabwileisei

was a recognized *waug* or *serawi* weather magician who left Woleai and took up residence on Ifaluk sometime after 1947, then it would be logical for Tom, a navigator, to give up this post to him.

It is also important to note that the name "Sepi" appears in both of the *fariuwelius* chants presented above. Mr. W told me that he learned the about *waug* "weather control and purification magic" from his uncles, Ikelur and Sepi. Interestingly enough, Krämer confirms that Ikelur and Sepi were brothers and that they were uncles of Mr. W in his kinship study of Lamotrek in 1909 (1937:20, 25). Krämer (1937:151) also identifies Ikelur as a "sorcerer, *vak*" [EM: *waug*] and reports that he collected "storm magic songs" from both Ikelur (1937:159) and Sepi (1937:158). The fact that both Mr. W and his student, Mr. D, call upon the spirit of Sepi in the above chants to help drive storms away is an example of the apotheosis of former teachers to patron spirits within a particular *rong* school.

In addition to learning how to use the *tawi* "shell horn," the *gos* "spirit effigy," and the *tela* "adze" to control weather, students also learned how to use the *gobai* "magic wand" to perform the *touber* "purification rite." As mentioned above, this ritual was mainly performed to remove the prohibition against *mwaletab* "taboo men" coming in contact with the place of residence of a menstruating woman or new mother. The following chant is an example of this type:

Touber Chant No. 2
("Purification Rite" Chant)

1. Step, step,
2. Step to them,
3. The ghosts of the house,
4. I spear the dolphin,
5. I spear the whale.
6. I spear the dolphin,
7. I spear the whale.
8. You are going to leave
9. You ghosts of the house.
10. Fly away, fly away,
11. Leave the house.
12. Go into the middle of the sea.

This chant¹⁸ is remarkably similar to the "*Touber* Chant No. 1" presented earlier (see p. 338). Both use the dolphin and the whale metaphors and the intent of both chants is to give protection. As with the performance of *fariuweliu*s chants, the *waug* specialist is not allowed to drink water when he performs the *touber* rite. There is also some evidence that the *touber* rite was used as part of a medical cure if a sickness was attributed to a violation of a taboo. Krämer writes:

When a sick person is treated with the *gobai* [EM: "magic wand"], the magician first takes the stick and describes a circle around the face, and then two circles around the tip of the nose, the left shoulder, the right shoulder, the right shoulder, the left shoulder, the navel and the hair and finally the wand is driven into the ground in back of the sick person (1937:154).

¹⁸ Krämer collected a different version of this chant which he refers to as "*Alis ali touber* ... magic song for house purification" (1937:152-153).

In this respect, the *waug* specialist as "purification magician" served other *rong* specialists who had violated a taboo of some kind but who were not trained in purification magic. For this service the *waug* specialist was paid with a *toer* "woven garment." Field data suggests that the only *rong* specialists who could perform purification magic on their own behalf were *paliuw* "navigators" and *taubwe* "diviners" if they knew it. It seems that not all navigators and diviners had knowledge of the chant required to perform the purification ritual. Mr. N, who performed the *pwo* ceremony, knew the purification rite for navigators who had unwittingly violated a taboo (came in contact with a menstruating woman) and called it *pwotefaal* "return to *pwo*." Mr. N said that the *pwotefaal* restored the ability of a navigator to carry out his skills and eat in the company of other navigators.

At the end of the *faauw bong* "four-nights" period of instruction, the newly graduated weather magicians were allowed to choose a coconut tree in the *roangowaug* "sacred taboo site of weather magicians" which used to exist on the north side of Lugal canoe house (see Map 5, p. 78). After they chose their trees, Mr. W performed the "Touber Chant No. 1" on each of the trees. This act made the trees taboo for everyone besides the new weather magicians to eat the coconuts which fell from the trees, to drink the coconuts, and to make coconut oil from the copra nuts. The trees belonged to each new weather magician because now they were *mwaletab* "taboo men" — men who could not eat with women or come in contact with menstruating women.

When the *faauw bong* "four-nights" period was ended, the male relatives of the student's went fishing for the *iles* "completion feast of

offering" to finalize the graduation of the new weather magicians. Mr. D and Mr. T explained their graduation as *serawi* "weather magicians" in 1949 this way:

Mr. D: Now each one of the students has the responsibility to go down to the beach and to face the wind with the triton shell horn in his hands.

Mr. T Yes, after we graduate, if any strong winds or typhoons come, then we are free to use the taboo triton shell horn and use the *fariuwelius* chants to chase the wind and rain away. That's our duty when a storm comes. While the storm continues we must sleep in the canoe house. When we are on duty for the storm, we relieve each other. While some sleep in the canoe house, others are on the beach facing the storm. After the storm, we go down to the beach to clean up the horizon.

Mr. D: Yes, after sunset and early in the morning before sunrise, we clean up the clouds after the storm. When we do this, it helps, its worth it.

It was only after their graduation that Mr. D and Mr. T were allowed to blow the *tawi* "triton shell horn" and use the *fariuwelius* chants, and only when they were actually engaged in fighting a storm.¹⁹ Follow-up instruction after

¹⁹ In the film, *Lamotrek: Heritage of an Island* (Metzgar 1988), Mr. W is seen blowing a triton shell horn and performing a *fariuwelius* chant. In the film Mr. W goes through the motions of blowing the shell horn but no sound was actually produced. This was because it is still taboo to blow the shell horn on Lamotrek unless one is sounding an alarm, calling the people to a meeting, or in celebration of New Years Eve (an adopted Western custom). The sound of the shell horn for the film was actually recorded at sea (where it was not forbidden) and "dubbed" over those parts where Mr. W is going through the motions of blowing the shell horn.

their graduation continued for a period of four to five months on a nonformal basis with Mr. W. During this time they practiced using the triton shell horn and studied cloud formations at sunrise and sunset in order to predict the weather. Using traditional techniques to predict the weather still has value on Lamotrek although weather magic itself is, for the most part, no longer practiced.²⁰ As far as warnings of storms and typhoons go, however, the islanders rely these days almost entirely on their radios.²¹

²⁰ A result of the conversion of the Lamotrekans to Christianity.

²¹ I say, "the islanders rely these days almost entirely on their radios" because there is a system of predicting storms still used by navigators called "the fighting of the stars." In each month there are one or two "fighting stars" which are said to coincide with storms. See Thomas (1987:268-271).

CHAPTER 8

SCHOOLS OF DIVINATION

Bwe "divination" is more or less a lost art on Lamotrek. Only one recognized master of divination, Mr. U, survives today on Lamotrek and he is senile. Extremely limited information was obtained from him with regard to his education in *bwe* "divination" and none whatsoever with regard to an initiation ritual that other knowledgeable informants claimed was associated with *bwe* "divination" schooling. Mr. U learned the profession of divination directly from his father but did not participate in an initiation ritual nor did he claim to know anything about an initiation ritual for *bwe* "divination." The last graduation ceremony for *bwe* "divination," if there was one, must have taken place before 1907 as no living person on Lamotrek could remember having witnessed one. Consequently, comparative analysis of ethnographic reports in the Trukic continuum were relied upon to bring evidence to the Lamotrekan view that schools of *bwe* "divination" existed in the past.

Every elderly informant questioned on the subject, including those who were recognized as *paliuw* "navigators" and *waug* and *serawi* "weather magicians," claimed that an initiation ceremony for *bwe* "divination" (*chochpai bwe*) did exist in the past. For this reason, the descriptions of *paliuw* and *waug* schooling pedagogies given in the previous chapters will have to be relied upon as models of similar events for the schooling of *taubwe* "master diviners."

Krämer was unable to learn anything about *bwe* "divination" on Lamotrek in 1909. This is curious considering the amount of detailed information which he and his wife were able to collect on a wide range of

rong specializations during their stay on the island.¹ In 1937 Krämer writes, "No details could be learned about oracles by lot, nor was anything known about the 16 demons" (1937:159). The reference to "16 demons" by Krämer pertains to the spirits who occupied seating positions on the *waalibwe* "canoe of destiny," a mnemonic model that was used for prognostication and teaching divination.² This statement by Krämer, if nothing else, shows the Lamotrekan's reticence to talk about *bwe* "divination" when evidence indicates that divination skills were, in fact, practiced on Lamotrek at the time Krämer was present on Lamotrek. Support for this assertion comes from my own research and from Alkire, who has discussed the traditional importance of the diviner for Lamotrek and Woleai as an active participant in the diagnosing of illness:

Diagnosis on Woleai and Lamotrek basically involves the identification of a specific or class of illness-causing "ghost(s)" or "spirit(s)." This information is provided by a diviner. The patient, or someone on behalf of the patient, asks a *be* [EM: *be* = *bwe*] "knot" diviner to undertake this job (1982:31).

Despite Krämer's inability to learn about the "oracles by lot" on Lamotrek, he and others did learn about *bwe* "divination" on other islands in the Trukic

¹ Augustin and Elizabeth Krämer stayed on Lamotrek from November 21 to December 19, 1909 (Krämer 1937:9). Elizabeth Krämer was the expedition artist as well as responsible for gathering information relating to weaving techniques in Micronesia (Hellwig 1927:186). Many of the illustrations and all of the watercolors which are included in the *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910* volumes are the product of her observations. Augustin Krämer makes reference throughout his work to information which she gathered in the course of her relationships with women who became her informants.

² See Girschner (1911:200) for "*wanepwe*, canoe of destiny." See also Lessa (1959:90); Bollig (1927:66); Müller (1917:375); Damm (1938:274).

continuum and provided valuable early data for comparative analysis. Indeed, in contrast to the paucity of information which exists concerning the education of diviners as ritual specialists, a great deal more is known concerning the techniques which were used by them. Lessa has consolidated much of this material in his definitive comparative study of *bwe* "divination" in his article, "Divining from Knots in the Carolines" (1959). In addition, Alkire (1970:13-16; 1982:31-33) has investigated the *bwe* "divination" system for Woleai and Lamotrek. In so far as a general description of *bwe* "divination" is necessary to understand the basic process involved, the following summary by Lessa is given here:³

The art of divination consists in the interpretation of knots made in a series of palm-leaf strands. The magician holds a green palm leaf in his hand — a complete frond, if much is to be divined; several leaflets, if less is concerned. He then utters an incantation to Horal, the spirit of divination, and to his teacher-ghosts. Next, he strips the frond and makes random knots in four separate leaflets, counting the knots in each leaflet and adding the total number for all four. Finally, he interprets the number of knots (Lessa 1950a:130).

Two different systems of *bwe* "divination" using *ubut* "young coconut leaves" still exist on Lamotrek. The most complex system is the four-strand technique described above by Lessa in the above passage which is called

³ This method for *bwe* "divination" is documented in the film, *Lamotrek: Heritage of an Island* (Metzgar 1988). See Lessa (1969:353-362) for an analysis of the similarities between *bwe* and the Chinese *i pu* which forms the basis of the *I Ching* or "Book of Changes." Lessa reports that the *bwe* system of divination "is so similar in its methodology and permutations to the ancient Chinese *i pu* ... as to merit attention as one of the few known examples of the movement of specific cultural traits from China into the South Seas."

bwe unus and a single-strand technique called *bwe ias* (Elbert 1947:176). The later system is rarely performed and field data as well as ethnographic evidence from the literature suggest that the *bwe ias* system was not taught in a school-like setting nor had any ceremonial significance.

Much of the information concerning the traditional schooling of diviners is given by Bollig, who, in 1927, reported on the educational aspects of the Trukese divination systems of "*pue*" (a dialectical variant of *bwe*):

The manipulation of the *pue* [EM: *pue* = *bwe*] varies. The most important and solemn *pue* is *girot*. The *soupu* [EM: master diviner] makes the *girot* in the *udd* [EM: *udd* = men's (canoe) house] in the presence of his pupils. Women are not allowed to watch. As a matter of fact no woman is allowed to make any kind of *pue*. In the *girot*, small shells are placed on a mat in the following way ... (1927:65-66).

It is significant in the above passage that a special kind of divination using sea shells called "*girot*" was only performed in the men's (canoe) house and only in the presence of pupils. This corresponds to one of the most important of traditional criteria for formal schooling which has been mentioned in connection with *paliuw* "navigation" and *waug* "weather control," namely the use of a canoe house as a schooling site. In addition, the "*girot*" form of divination makes use of a "mat" upon which "small shells are placed." This corresponds to another important traditional criteria for formal instruction, namely *ferag giyegiy* "unfolding the mat" for the purpose of demonstrating conceptual models, ritual paraphernalia, or talking about spirits and lore related to a *rong* knowledge domain. Bollig uses the descriptive word "solemn" in the above passage which suggests a

ceremonial aspect to the educational process which, in fact, he describes later on:

The *soupue* [EM: master diviner] too has his pupils, the *ton olupue*, who have to help him with the *girot*. A good pupil needs four to five months in order to learn *girot*. Prayers and offerings, the so-called *asop* [EM: *asop* = *iles* "completion feast of offering"] are also associated with the *girot*. One who is not *ton olupue* may not share the food connected with the *asop*. The remains of the food, as well as the scraps of the *ubud* [EM: young coconut leaves], are put down at the sacred tree of the *soupue* (1927:68).

The "*asop*" ceremony described in the above passage is equivalent to the Lamotrekan *iles* "completion feast of offering" which ends the *faauw bong* "four-nights" period of seclusion and formal instruction.⁴ It is significant in the above passage that Bollig says, "One who is not *ton olupue* may not share the food connected with the *asop*." In other words, only graduated students were allowed to participate in this feast. Moreover, Bollig tells us that "scraps of food" and "*ubud*" (*ubut*) coconut leaves associated with the ceremonial feast were deposited at the "sacred tree" of the diviner-teacher. Bollig does not tell us specifically the ritual importance of the "*ubud*" (*ubut*) coconut leaves but we may infer that they are either the *chochpai ubut* "coconut-leaf bracelets" which were used for the initiation and instruction of students or they are the *ubut* "young coconut leaves" used for the purpose of divination. The reader will recall that after the *iles* "completion feast of offering" for the the *pwofeo* "new navigators" discussed earlier, Mr. N took the *rorpai ubut* (*chochpai ubut*) which the initiates had worn during the

⁴ See Chapter 5, p. 223 for descriptions of *asop* in the literature.

faauw bong "four-nights" period of formal instruction and deposited them at the base of a special coconut tree called *roangopaliuw* "sacred taboo site of navigators".

The importance of *bwe* "divination" in the affairs of Caroline islanders has been observed by numerous writers since it was first reported by Cantova (1722:233-234) in the early 1700s. In 1909, Sarfert made the following observations the use of "an oracle made of leaf knot strips (*bua*)" on Puluwat:

Before any sort of enterprise — whether it is as small a job as going fishing in the lagoon or an every day occurrence like a walk to Alei [EM: island which is part of Puluwat Atoll] or a more important affair, e.g. the purchase of a canoe — an oracle made of leaf knot strips (*bua*) [EM: *bua* = *bwe*] is consulted. The quest for the knowledge of fate play a very important part on the island and is very pronounced (Damm and Sarfert 1935:213).

In 1927, Bollig underscored the importance of divination in Truk when he wrote, "Nothing is done without *pue* [EM: *pue* = *bwe*], no fishing, no house building, no trip, no medicine" (1927:65). In the late 1940s Lessa observed that diviners still devoted themselves "to answering inquires about the advisability of a voyage, the welfare of sea travelers, and the prospect of catching fish" (1966:66). In 1977-1978, when I first visited Lamotrek, I witnessed the art of *bwe* actively being used for making decisions on fishing and turtle-hunting voyages to uninhabited islands. During my last stay on Lamotrek in 1990, however, I never saw it performed but discovered remnants of knotted *ubut* "young coconut leaves" in various places on the island which indicted that some individuals were still exercising the skill.

It is important to reiterate that the *girot* form of *bwe* "divination" is different from the method most commonly used involving *ubut* "young coconut leaves." The *girot* form was ceremonial in that special sea shells or stones were reserved only for instruction or prognostication if the event being divined was of extraordinary importance. The *girot* form is named after a sea shell which is used to identify the 16 spirits on the "canoe of destiny." Krämer remarked for Pulap that the "*girot*-snails are frequently used instead of stones" for the purpose of instructing navigators (1935:273). Mahony has also reported the use of sea snails as teaching aids for instruction in divination:

When divination is taught, for example, small seashells (*kiiroc*) are set out on a pandanus mat and arranged into each of the sixteen possible combinations, the whole set of combinations suggesting the outline of a canoe (1970:266).

The *girot* or "*kiiroc*" sea shells mentioned above are called *lefiroch* on Lamotrek and were identified by Mr. N, the navigator, as the instruments used in teaching *bwe* "divination" for Satawal and Lamotrek.⁵ In addition, several Lamotrekan informants identified the *lefiroch* shells as the sacred tools of Faragavus, the last Lamotrekan *taubwe* "master diviner" known to have used them in the 1940s. Several informants told me that Faragavus kept the *lefiroch* shells in a *imweliyalus* "spirit house" called *imwel Lefagemai* "house of Lefagemai" which was located in the Lametag area in the jurisdiction of the oldest, highest ranking *taubwe* "master diviner."

⁵ Other dialectical variants in the literature for *girot* are "*kiroch* ... species of shell, black or red spots" (Elbert 1947:184) and "*kiiroch* ... sea snail (*Nerita polita* L.)" (G & S 1980:172).

According to local custom, Faragavus, as *taubwe* "master diviner," was responsible for taking care of this *imweliyalius* "spirit house" and making offerings to Lefagemai.⁶ During World War II the *lefiroch* shells along with some other sacred objects were removed from the "house of Lefagemai" to Lugal canoe house where they were stored high up on the kingpost in the front near the ridgepole. Ostensibly the reason for the removal of the *lefiroch* shells and other sacred objects was that the islanders were afraid that the Japanese soldiers would steal them. It is believed that early in the 1950s these sacred objects were given to Shigeru Kaneshiro, a Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands staff anthropologist. It is not known where they currently may be found.

Differentiation of *bwe* "divination" into separate identifiable schools on Lamotrek using the ceremonial *lefiroch* shells was not reported. The only information relating to this system of *bwe* "divination" which might prove significant was that the shells were laid out in the pattern of a sailing canoe for instructive purposes and that this sailing canoe had two names: *waalibwe* "canoe of destiny" and *waal Goral* "canoe of Goral." It is probable that the patron spirit "Horal" reported to Lessa (1950a:130) by his Ulithian informants is the same Goral reported to me by my Lamotrekans informants. Furthermore, Goral is said to be the original *shap* "teacher" of *bwe* "divination" on Lamotrek. But for some reason, despite the fact that he is viewed as the founder of *bwe* "divination," the followers of this system are not called the Goral school of *bwe* divination by Lamotrekans but simply *taubwe* "master diviners." The reason for this is probably due to the fact that

⁶ Through the spirit of Lefagemai tribute offerings were made to Yap. See Krämer (1937:82)

no other known schools of *bwe* "divination" are remembered on Lamotrek today other than the one associated with the patron spirit-founder Goral. Other evidence which suggests that Goral was the founder of a school of *bwe* "divination" derives from a charter myth concerning the origins of *bwe* "divination." The particulars of this myth were communicated to me by Mr. B as follows:

Myth of Goral (fragment)

The canoe of Goral came up from Sonsorol in the west paddling with their outrigger facing north and then when they reached Kosrae they came down with their outrigger facing south.

It is worth noting that this myth was presented to me as a true myth — an actual event. As the canoe of Goral sailed between the islands, the art of divination was taught to the people they met. In the above passage, going "up" means sailing east and coming "down" means sailing west. On the canoe with Goral were the "16 spirits" of *bwe* "divination" who functioned as his crew. The names of these 16 spirits play a key role in the interpretation of the knotted *ubut* "young coconut leaves" of *bwe* "divination" because they occupy specific positions on the mythical canoe of Goral (*waal Goral*). The positions of the 16 spirits on the canoe serve as a mnemonic model to identify 16 pairs of coconut-leaf knots which are interpreted by the diviner. Using these 16 combinations (each with its own spirit name) a total of 256 permutations (each with a name entirely apart from the 16 basic pairs) are possible because of the pairing of the two sets of coconut-leaf strands (Lessa 1959:95-96; Alkire 1970:13-15, 1982:32-33).

The diviner has to learn the names and omens of a total of 256 combinations. This task is complicated further by the fact that the social status of the client requires varying interpretations as does the kind of question being asked (Lessa 1966:65). Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976:7) list eleven general areas of concern for which specific types of questions are asked in "be" (*bwe*) divination:

beel baubeu ... divination to determine if fish will be caught; *beel bil* ... divination concerning trolling; *beel maliumel* ... typhoon divination; *beel melaw* ... divination to determine if all the voyagers will reach an island alive or if a sick person will be alive; *beel mwaaiunal* ... divination to determine if the residents will be happy when the canoe returns; *beel nag* ... divination to determine if fishermen will 'see' the fish on the canoe; *beel niwa* ... divination to determine if fish will be taken into canoes; *beel pelal maliumel* ... divination to determine the strength of the wind; *beel tefaal* ... divination to determine if the canoe will return to its island of origin; *beel tog* ... divination to determine if the canoe will reach its intended destination; *beel waiy* ... divination on interisland canoe voyages.

Goodenough and Sugita (1980:291) list eight categories for "pwee" (*bwe*) divination:

pween atake ... divination of how a garden will grow; *pween attaw* ... divination of luck in fishing; *pween fanafan* ... divination of how a new canoe will perform (consisting of *pween mwittir* for speed and *pween possun* for stability); *pween manaw* ... divination of life (to determine whether a sick person is likely to live or die); *pween manaw noon moowun* ... divination of survival in war; *pween mwaiyisa* ... divination of attitude (to determine whether a sick person's attitude is oriented toward living or dying); *pween ngngupwir* ... divination of force (to determine whether a person's affection

will go on for ever or will quickly end); *pween raan* ...
divination of weather.

Given the daunting challenge of committing the above information to memory, it is not surprising to find reports of formal apprenticeship lasting one to five months in the literature (Bollig 1927:68; Lessa 1959:98).

It is interesting that Goral is not represented in the Lamotrekan system of *bwe* by a position on the canoe nor in the names of the 16 pairs of combinations. A similar case is reported for Namoluk by Girschner who collected a myth which also tells of the coming of the art of *bwe* to the islands. In this charter myth for *bwe*, "Supunemen was a god, who understood the art of divination" (Girschner 1911:200). Supunemen's role is similar to Goral's. Supunemen and his 16 boatmen on "*wanepwe*, the canoe of destiny" sail between the islands and teach divination to the islanders they meet. Also like Goral, Supunemen's position on the canoe is not identified with sea shells or stones in the "*girot*" form of *bwe* nor does he enter into the interpretations of the knots (Girschner 1911:199-200). Similarly, when the names and knot combinations of the 16 spirits of the canoe of Goral are compared with those of the canoe of Supunemen, one finds a high level of consistency (see Table 12, p. 364).⁷ Allowing for differences in dialect and the potential for nickname equivalents, only in the category of the "3 + 3" knot combination does there appear to be a

⁷ The spelling of the Lamotrekan spirit names in Table 12 for the Goral school of *bwe* are taken from Sohn and Tawerilmang's *Woleaian-English Dictionary* (1976:330). Lessa compared the lists of spirit names reported by Müller for Ngulu (1917:375), Walleser for Yap (1913:1063), Krämer for Fais (1937:375-76), Krämer for Truk (1932:337-338), and Girschner for Namoluk (1911:199). Lessa found "few exceptions" between them (1959:95).

significant variation in the spirit name from Tegaulap (Lamotrek) to Toalefailan (Namoluk). The question that must be asked, of course, is whether or not this minor variation in spirit names is significant enough to identify the Supunemen "canoe of destiny" as a separate school of *bwe* "divination" from the Goral "canoe of destiny"? I believe the potential does exist. For the sake of argument I will refer to the Lamotrekan system of *bwe* "divination" as the Goral school and the Namolukan system as the Supunemen school. From Girschner's description, it is possible to say that the methodologies used by both of these schools were virtually identical but where they differ is in the one spirit name for the "3 + 3" knot combination. As we have seen for the *rong* specializations of *paliuw* "navigation" and *waug* "weather control," the conceptual models and techniques used by the schools within each of these specializations are basically the same but the schools within each specialization are differentiated on the basis of the spirits and accompanying magical rites associated with each school. To put it in hypothetical terms, the Goral system of divination may be different from the Supunemen system of divination because of the difference in curricula of spirit powers which are to taught to learners. Applying this hypothesis to the "canoe of destiny" which functions as the core system for *bwe* "divination," any variation in the names and knot combinations of the 16 spirits on the "canoe of destiny" may be indicative of a separate school of *bwe*. I must admit, however, that the evidence in this case is not convincing and more comparative information is necessary before it is possible to say that the two systems of *bwe* are different enough to justify this hypothesis. It may be, for instance, that a significant variance in the two systems of

Table 12.

Divination Knot Combinations and
Spirit Names on the "Canoe of Destiny"

	Lamotrek	Namoluk	Truk
	Goral School	Supunemen School	Pukulimer School
		(after	(after
Knot Combo	Name	Name	Name
4 + 1	Inifar	Ilifar	Ineper
3 + 1	Langeperal	Laneperen	Ngereperen
2 + 1	Ilebai	Inipwai	Inepoi
3 + 2	Magoomweiu	Momo	Mesauk
4 + 2	Ilefaauw	Inifau	Inepou
4 + 3	Beingeg	Pwainek	Porongek
4 + 4	Sawiiyag	Sauya	Sauia
3 + 3	Tegaulap	Toalefailan	Poula
1 + 1	Tilifeg	Tilifek	Telefes
3 + 4	Lisheoliwel	Lithanwel	Nitaluen
2 + 4	Ilemmail	Inemain	Ilemein
2 + 3	Mesiug	Mesauk	Mamau
1 + 3	Libbul	Lipul	Nipun
1 + 4	Bugolimar	Pukenemar	Pukulimer
2 + 2	Ilagoomal	Inoaeman	Inomau
1 + 2	Sauppes	Saupith	Sofis

divination can only be revealed at a deeper level in the system — the interpretation of the knot combinations. In this respect, Alkire has written that many men from Woleai and Lamotrek are familiar with the system of *bwe* "divination" with regard to the 16 spirit names and making the combinations of knots:

... but only qualified diviners have mastered the two concluding steps, which are 1) the name of the mythological or legendary event associated with each of these spirit combinations, and 2) the omen (*maralibe*) derived from that event (1982:33).

I was unable to collect any information on Lamotrek related to "the two concluding steps" mentioned by Alkire in the above passage, but a limited amount of this information does exist in the literature. The names of all 256 combinations for Namoluk were reported by Girschner (1911:199-208), and he is apparently the only investigator to have published a complete list of names for these combinations. Lessa (1959:96) has reported that some of the names (*maralibe*) on Girschner's list include descriptions of the omens connected with them. Alkire has also published some information in this regard but makes it clear that the value of this information for comparative analysis is problematic:

In the above instance the *Ilubwai* — *Magomoi* (2/1 : 3/2) combination is called *limongoi* and in most cases the omen is bad. The diviner, then has to master the names and omens of a total of 256 combinations. The names of particular combinations will also vary between diviners. For example, the above name may be assigned to a different combination of spirit names by different informants. In widely separated areas as, for example, Namoluk (Girschner 1912:201-208) and Woleai, the name of the combination may be completely different since most such names are associated with local events

of the past. Since there is so much variation between diviners and between areas in names of combinations and the omens of particular readings, it is not possible to arrive at any systematic association of particular combinations of numbers and names with propitious or inauspicious omens (1970:15).

Alkire's last sentence in the above passage strongly suggests a multiplicity of curricula associated with *bwe* "divination" and the existence of separate schools. Even within a particular school of divination (e.g. Goral) there must have been a large variation between the names of combinations and omens associated with these combinations due to differences in localized events over decades if not centuries. If there was one single factor which may be pointed to as the unifying theme which a group of diviners might hold in common, and which formed the basis of their mutual schooling, it was probably the teacher-spirit or mythical founder to whom ritual offerings and appeals were made. Lessa (1950a:148) has written for Ulithi that appeals were made to "Horal" [EM: Goral] who was also "said to be the ancestor and prototype of all *rebwe* [EM: master diviners]," but I have found no evidence in the literature specifically stating that ritual offerings or appeals were made to Supunemen. There is, however, evidence that appeals and offerings were made to spirit-founders of *bwe* and it comes from the writings of Bollig (1927:67-68) for Truk:

When a *soupue* [EM: master diviner] needs an *ubud* [EM: young coconut-leaf frond] for his purposes, he steps up to the coconut tree, grasps it, and sings ... [EM: this song of appeal is included in the text but omitted here] Then he climbs the tree, cuts the *ubud* off, and carries it into his house. The two lower leaves are bent downwards and together. They must not be used for the knots because they are considered to be the *asor* [EM: offering] for Pukulimer, the chief of the *girot*. He is supposed to have been the first *soupue* [EM: master diviner].

Pukulimer, besides being named the founder of a system of *bwe* in the above passage, is also given a place on the "canoe of destiny" as one of the 16 spirits whose names are identified with knot combinations. Table 12 shows Pukulimer associated with knot combination 1 + 4. Again, making allowances for dialectical variants, there is very little variance between the names of combinations between the Pukulimer model of the "canoe of destiny," the Goral model, or the Supunemen model.

In the myth of Supunemen collected by Girschner on Namoluk, Pukulimer participates with the other spirits on the "canoe of destiny" to teach islanders they meet in their travels:

Myth of Supunemen (excerpt)

Then they taught Sakau the art of divination, and sailed to Pulwot. Pukenemar wanted to go ashore but Supunemen did not want to. They sailed to Djuk [EM: Truk], then to Losop, to Namoluk, Etal, Modj, Kitu, Lukunor and Oneop, and everywhere they taught the art of divination to one person ... Then Inifau was charged with the task of teaching the people of Nagatik. Pukenemar does it on Fonaïpe (Ponape), Langeperen on Pinelap, and Lipul on Mokil (1911:200).

The "Myth of Supunemen" is reminiscent of the "Myth of Kulung" collected by Krämer (1937:384-385) for Fais which gives the names of several founders of schools of navigation identified by Krämer on Lamotrek as the "children" of Yaliulewaiy, the patron spirit of navigators (see Table 9, p. 269). The myth of Supunemen has the potential of being used for the same purpose. In other words, in addition to Pukulimer, the other 15 spirits who occupy positions on the "canoe of destiny" may be viewed as founders of separate schools of *bwe*. Variations in the names of the 16 spirits collected

by different investigators may be accounted for, like the variance in the names reported for separate schools of navigation, to the apotheosis, over time, of especially influential diviners to teacher-spirits in the above "canoe of destiny" charter myth excerpt. If this hypothesis is true, then the lists of spirit-boatmen for the "canoe of destiny" may be viewed not so much as distant, celestial deities but as rosters of former human beings who founded enduring systems of divination.

The skills of navigation, weather control, and divination are all thought to be the result of supernatural dispensation and handed down orally from generation to generation. The celestial deity most often credited with teaching mortals divination is Paliuwelap, who also taught islanders navigation and weather control (Lessa 1950a:131). A certain amount of confusion enters the picture here because one can also cast Supunemen and Pukulimer as a celestial deities from their portrayals in the above myth collected by Girschner. But it is really of no importance whether Goral, Supunemen, or Pukulimer are thought of as deities or founders of schools of *bwe*, because in divination they are identical. What is significant is that all three of these teacher-spirits are associated with the ceremonial form of "*girot*" divination which was the basis of formal instruction for apprentices in *bwe* "divination."

The only evidence in the literature pertaining to the conceptual models used by *bwe* diviners for the ceremonial "*girot*" divination is based on the "canoe of destiny" pattern for sailing canoes. Yet, Bollig reports that there is another pattern which is based on rowing canoes that also used the ceremonial "*girot*" divination. This report, which is unique, is important because it is clear evidence that two major schools of divination existed in Truk:

There is still another pattern of the *girot*, which resembles a rowing canoe and has different meanings. One *soupue* [EM: master diviner] knows this pattern, the other one, another. In order to learn which *girot* he favors, you ask him: "*Masoan meden?*" at which he answers: "*Ua akamara* (sail canoe) or *ua fadil* (rowing canoe) (1927:66).

The key words in the above passage are, "One *soupue* [EM: master diviner] knows this pattern, the other one, another." In other words there were two identifiable conceptual models of divination which were mutually exclusive. The specialist in one pattern was not learned in the other. Instruction in the techniques based on one model were not the same as instruction for the other model because the curricula were different. Consequently, two separate schools co-existed, both of which were versed in the ceremonial "*girot*" form of divination, which in turn implies that initiation ceremonies were mandatory for training and certification. Unfortunately, Bollig does not describe the model for the rowing canoe or tell us if the same 16 spirits for the "canoe of destiny" occupied positions on it or not, but he does tell us that the "pattern ... has different meanings." Consequently, an entirely different curriculum of omens was operative for the rowing canoe model of *bwe*. It is tantalizing to speculate that this "rowing canoe" pattern of "*girot*" divination may have been developed by Trukese *itang* "war leaders" specifically for use in warfare; but without any concrete evidence to support this hypothesis other than the fact that rowing canoes were used in naval battles in Truk Lagoon (Krämer 1932:91) and that *bwe* divination played a critical role in predicting the outcome of these battles (see Bollig 1927:65; Krämer 1932:268; Lessa 1978:146), the underlying purpose of the "rowing canoe" system of *girot* divination will remain a mystery.

CHAPTER 9

OTHER SCHOOLS

Schools of Martial Arts

The *bwangifitug* "martial arts" specialization is also called *gamashiyor* to distinguish it from *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration" and *bwangifal* "canoe house restoration." For reasons that are not clear, all three of these specializations may collectively be referred to as *bwang* (cf. Sugito 1987:301). Informants would often use the term "*bwang*" indiscriminately in the course of an interview and it was often difficult to know which specialization was actually being described unless they were asked to specify the field of knowledge — martial arts, canoe restoration, or canoe house restoration. Why all three of these *rong* knowledge domains should be combined under one linguistic heading is something of an enigma since they are not taught together but individually. In other words, one person may know *bwangifitug* "martial arts" but not know *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration" or *bwangifal* "canoe house restoration." This connection between *bwang* as a system of fighting and as an aspect of canoe repair and house construction suggests that an individual who is accomplished at *bwang* is similar to an engineer with knowledge of vector forces.

No information concerning individual schools of martial arts was available on Lamotrek although it is believed that various schools of martial arts did exist in the past. Several informants had heard of schooling in *bwangifitug* "martial arts" but no informant claimed to have witnessed such an event. Ms. C said that her father had "unfolded the mat" for martial arts sometime before she was born. Since Ms. C is approximately 60-some years

of age, this would indicate that the last formal graduation of apprentices in martial arts probably took place in the 1920s before Japanese tradesmen settled on Lamotrek and Satawal. Although it is not clear whether or not an initiation rite was involved, formal instruction proceeded in the same manner as with other high status *rong* skills. The *shapilebwang* "teacher of martial arts" would *ferag giyegiy* "unfold the mat" in a canoe house for *faauw bong* "four nights" and then give an *iles* "completion feast of offering" to mark the graduation of students. Offensive and defensive fighting techniques were demonstrated on the *giyegiy* "mat" by the *taubwang* "master of martial arts" and his assistants who belonged to the same school of *bwangifitug* "martial arts." After four days and four nights of instruction the students were tested by sending them out of the canoe house. One by one each student would try to enter the canoe house by fighting their way in. Students would be challenged at the entrance to the canoe house by an instructor. Those who made it through became *taubwang* "masters of martial arts." Those who did not were told to sit outside. A custom existed whereby a person from another school of martial arts could, if they wished, challenge one of the graduates to a fight after the *faauw bong* "four-night" period of formal instruction but before the *iles* "completion feast of offering" had taken place. The *shapilebwang* "teacher of martial arts" could not refuse this request and would select one of his newly graduated students to fight the challenger. If the challenger from the different school defeated the student then the *shapilebwang* "teacher of martial arts" would loose all of the *toer* "woven garments" which had been given to him as payment by the families of the students. If this happened, the teacher would immediately *nimi giyegiy* "close the mat" and no *iles* "completion feast of offering" would be given. The entire graduation of all the students involved would be declared null and

void due to the perceived ineffectual transmission of the *rongolibwang* "specialized knowledge of martial arts" to apprentices. Such actions demonstrate the underlying forces of competition and rivalry which existed between the schools of *bwang* which, as discussed earlier, are present in various degrees within other *rong* specializations as well.

Lessa and Velez-I (1978:140) have written a comparative analysis of *bwang* "martial arts" in their article, "*Bwang*, A Martial Art of the Carolines," which focuses on Lessa's detailed collection of data concerning the Ulithian system of offensive and defensive techniques techniques. The reader should consult this source for historical as well as specific information relating to the training and curricula of *bwang* specialists. Although the authors do not cite any names for schools of *bwang* "martial arts" from Ulithi, the authors deduce from comparative analysis of published and unpublished information dealing with Truk that different schools of martial arts must have existed on Ulithi in the past:

It will be recalled that Elbert had listed three such systems or schools of fighting for Truk and said something about their origins. Similar information concerning Ulithi is not available, but there can be no doubt that different techniques from different schools existed there, too, and might be utilized for the same action. Both Carolinian versions, it must be emphasized, were martial systems designed by and for warriors and were important parts of the general cultural patterns adopted for warfare (1978:147).

The three "schools of fighting for Truk" referred to by Lessa in the above passage are called Wonoto, Fanapuch, and Neuma (1978:140). Elbert gives the following descriptions for these schools in his *Trukese-English and English Trukese Dictionary*: 1) "Wonoto ... a school or system of fighting,

as boxing, wrestling, judo, or fighting with clubs and spears; named for a legendary character who defeated his rivals, Fanapuch and Neuma" (1947:230); 2) "Fanapuch ... a schooling or system of fighting, as boxing, judo, knifing, clubbing, wrestling; names for a legendary character who was defeated by Wonoto" (1947:77); and 3) "Neuma ... school or system of fighting and of *pwen* [EM: *pwen* = *bwang*], named for a low island near Uman [EM: an island in Truk Lagoon]" (1947:134).¹ Again, as for the schools of navigation, weather control and divination, we find a charter myth associated with the founders of different schools of martial arts. Unfortunately, no published record of the myth of Wonoto, Fanapuch, and Neuma exists in the literature but from what little information is given by Elbert, it appears that status-ranking of martial arts schools did exist. This ranking of schools finds expression in the "defeat" of Fanapuch and Neuma by Wonoto, thereby legitimizing the higher rank of the Wonoto school. The next reference to *bwang* schools also comes in the form of dictionary definitions by Goodenough and Sugita who list the same three schools as Elbert but spell two of them differently: 1) "Wonoto" (1980:377); 2) "Fannapuuch" (1980:113); and 3) "Newuma" (1980:235). Goodenough and Sugita also give equivalent definitions of these schools repeating the same myth given by Elbert. In addition to these schools, three others are listed: 4) "Anapenges ... a school or system of fighting" (1980:12); 5)

¹ It is worth noting that in the course of gathering data for this study on Yap in 1990, I happened to meet an islander from the Mortlock Islands south of Truk and asked him if he knew anything about these schools of martial arts. He told me that he had only heard about the school of Wonoto. This statement would seem to suggest that like the Werieng school of navigation only the highest ranking schools within *rong* specializations have survived.

"Faanchennukka ... a school or system of fighting" (1980:114); and 6) "Raanapuuch ... name of the legendary founder of a school of judo-like fighting" (1980:395).

Other than names and the fact that the founders of the separate schools listed above for *bwang* "martial arts" play roles in a charter myth, very little else is known about them. Some rare comments regarding the Trukese schooling of martial arts come to us from Bollig:

The young crew was systematically trained in schools of war. An experienced warrior who knew many devices for hand-to-hand fighting took over instruction in a secluded house. He showed his pupils how it was possible to seize the opponent and disable him in spite of knife and spear. These schools of battle remain secret in order not to disturb the other tribes [EM: clans]. During the instruction master and pupil stand opposite each other. First the master calls the name of the grip which they are about to practice and then he says to the pupil: "*asidiei*, attack me." Now both hit the upper thighs with their hand. Then the pupil attacks the master, and he parries the attack by means of the grip which they are supposed to learn (Bollig 1927:109-110).

Bollig's graphic description basically supports the information given to me above by Lamotrekan informants. Additional information collected by Goodenough also suggests that an initiation ritual for the graduation of Trukese warriors existed:

Returning to military training of the broader kind, Goodenough's field notes on the subject say that it was intensive over a period of a month's time and was required of all young men on Truk between the ages of eighteen and nineteen. The social classification of such young men changed after their schooling from that of *enuwen aat* to that of *enuwenusich*, which they remained until the wearing out of the

loincloth they had received at puberty. This heralded a significant change in their status in the community. Thus Goodenough illustrates that martial training served an important part in the rites of passage of young males in Trukese society.

The badge of having completed the training and entered the class of fighting men was the *pinu*, a poncho-like cape woven of banana fibers and decorated about the neckhole with red perforated shell disks traded in from the Mortlocks. The cape could only be worn by men who had completed this military training (Lessa 1978:146).

Two facts stand out from the above passage which indicate that an initiation rite not unlike that which has been described earlier for navigators and weather magicians may have existed for warriors. First, it is significant that the young Trukese men who successfully completed martial arts instruction received a "badge" of certification, in this case a "*pinu* ... poncho-like cape." In the course of this analysis on traditional schooling pedagogies we have seen that only those *rong* knowledge domains which incorporate initiation rituals as an integral component of formal instruction make use of "badges" to certify students as ritual specialists. Navigators, weather magicians, and diviners all received specially braided *chochpai* "coconut-leaf bracelets" as part of the certification process. The second fact from the above passage which is significant is that training was "intensive over a period of a month's time." From comparative analysis of the instructional periods for navigators, weather magicians, and diviners, we have seen that formal study was extremely intensive, especially for the first four nights, after which regular, continued instruction usually lasted over a period of one to three months. Other *rong* specializations did not involve such intensive instruction although it was not uncommon for training to be given on an

infrequent basis over a period of years. These similarities are not enough to prove conclusively that Lamotrek had anything comparable to the rather rigid martial arts program required for all young able-bodied Trukese men, or even to say that an initiation ritual for martial arts instruction on Lamotrek existed, but there are other curious connections as well. In the *pwo* initiation rite for navigators on Lamotrek, the initiates were given a special loincloth called *machiyilepwo* "vestment for *pwo*" to wear four days and four nights. Mr. N also wore a *machiyilekoal* "vestment for the pounded breadfruit" which in traditional times was made from four *machiy* loincloths sewn together to form a cloak similar to the *pinu* type reported by Goodenough above. In 1909 or 1910, Krämer took a photograph of two young Trukese "men in festival dress" wearing a specially decorated loincloth (1932: pl. 8c). Unfortunately, the reason for this "festival dress" is not explained by Krämer in the published text of his research on Truk, but when I was in Madrich, Yap, I showed a copy of this photograph to a gathering of chiefs from Lamotrek, Woleai, Satawal, and Ulithi. They identified the "festival dress" worn by the two young Trukese men in Krämer's photograph as a *machiy*-type "vestment." The ritual connections between the *pinu* "cape" described above by Goodenough which served as a "badge" of completion in martial arts training and the *machiy* "vestments" worn at the *pwo* initiation ceremonies strongly suggests that an initiation ceremony existed for schools of martial arts in Truk. A similar practice probably also existed on Lamotrek long ago but I did not collect conclusive evidence in this regard from informants. Only one man, Mr. A, maintained that *bwangifitug* "martial arts" should be included along with *paliuw* "navigation," *waug* "weather control and purification magic," and *bwe* "divination" as a *rong* specialization which performed an initiation ceremony. It should be

mentioned that Mr. A proved himself in general to be a most reliable informant; consequently, his view in this matter should not be lightly cast aside, especially in light of the corroborative evidence presented above from Truk.

Schools of Canoe and House Restoration

The schooling of apprentices in *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration" and *bwangifal* "canoe house restoration" involves the use of special types of sticks and knots as instructional aids. The use of these sticks and the tying of special knots are demonstrated on the *giyegiy* "mat." No information concerning differentiation of these specializations into separate systems or schools of knowledge was available on Lamotrek, but like other *rong* knowledge domains which *ferag giyegiy* "unfold the mat," formal instruction took place over a *faauw bong* "four-night" period of ritual seclusion. Evidence for this is contained in the "*Pannal Wa* Chant No. 2" which was presented in Chapter 4 (see p. 168) and discussed in Chapter 5 (see pp. 210-211). Unlike the aforementioned schools of *paliuw* "navigation," *waug* "weather control," *bwe* "divination," and *bwangifitug* "martial arts," there is no evidence that apprentices went through a *chochpai* "initiation ritual." Nowadays, these skills are still being learned on Lamotrek but instruction takes place on a nonformal basis over an indefinite period, in an unspecialized setting and usually in a single master-apprentice relationship between close relatives.

A navigator generally seeks instruction in *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration" techniques because these skills are not only valuable if his canoe should become disabled during a voyage, but also because they are not a part

of his formal instruction as a navigator. Unlike *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration" techniques, formal instruction in *bwangifal* "canoe house restoration," is never separate from the skills involved with the construction of men's (canoe) houses (Sugito 1987:279-280, 301). Like masters of martial arts, specialists in this field can be referred to as *taubwang* but they are usually called *senap* "master craftsman" (S & T 1976:129) because they use red paint and coconut-fiber string for making measurements like *senap* "boat builders" when constructing canoe houses.

Schools of Healing by Massage

No information concerning the differentiation of *sheosheo* "healing by massage" into separate systems or schools of knowledge was collected on Lamotrek although the use of different techniques between practitioners of *sheosheo* "healing by massage" was mentioned in a focused interview session with Ms. O, the oldest woman on Lamotrek. My inability to gather more detailed information concerning *sheosheo* was due to the difficulty of carrying out focused interview sessions with the four recognized female masters of the skill living on Lamotrek. Nevertheless, Alkire has suggested that separate, individual *sheosheo* schools may exist:

There are either regional differences, or perhaps two schools of massage, because the anatomical models used by informants on Lamotrek differ from those used on Woleai; the Lamotrek model is the most elaborate (1982:38).

Alkire (1982:38-39) also gives detailed information concerning the Lamotrekan "model" of massage mentioned in the above passage, including

the magical rites and chants used in the the course of treating a patient and the fact that patients are used for the purpose of instructing assistants. He writes, "No outsiders are permitted to observe these teaching sessions." Mahony has also written that Trukese experts in "bone setting":

...identify the various landmarks or *faan* located all over the body. These terms are all secret, and novices may spend months, sometimes even years, committing all these secretly named body locations to memory (1970:201).

Knowledge of *sheosheo* "healing by massage" is one of the most valued skills still being practiced on Lamotrek today (cf. Borthwick 1977:146-147). Many of the most skillful practitioners appear to be women, perhaps because this is one of the few *rong* knowledge domains where women are permitted to excel. They perform massage for the mending of broken bones, correction of dislocated joints, contraction of boils, stomach aches, rheumatism and asthma. Alkire describes the techniques, magic, and training of *sheosheo* specialists in considerable detail in his article, "The Traditional Classification and Treatment of Illness on Woleai and Lamotrek in the Caroline Islands, Micronesia" (1982). In his article, Alkire gives a systematized anatomical model which is used for instructional purposes (1982:38, fig. 1). There are two ways that this *sheosheo* model may be used for teaching purposes. The first case involves *ferag giyegiy* "unfolding the mat" and diagraming the model with either shells or stones similar to the way that navigators create their "star charts" (*paafius*). The shells or stones in the *sheosheo* anatomical model represent reference points for applying massage. Instruction may take place in a canoe house or a private dwelling (if the apprentices are women) and lasts for *faauw bong* "four-nights,"

ending with an *iles* "completion feast of offering." In the second case, instruction involves the use of a patient as a model to instruct apprentices. Alkire appears to have witnessed this first hand:

For this purpose he [EM: the *sheosheo* "healer by massage"] uses a red dye to mark the pressure points on the patient's body as he names each; the apprentices repeat each name. The masseur also demonstrates the correct massage techniques for various types of injuries. No outsiders are permitted to observe these teaching sessions (1982:39).

In 1990, a unique set of circumstances on Lamotrek allowed me to observe first hand the process by which a person may become apprenticed to a *tausheo* "master of healing by massage." Mr. K suffered a serious fall from a palm tree in an accident on Pague, one of the uninhabited islands of Lamotrek Atoll. After he was transported across the lagoon to the main village, a *tausheo*, Ms. Q, was summoned. When it was determined that Mr. K had a fractured leg and dislocated vertebrae, Ms. Q sent for some *tafey* "medicine." Up to this point I was allowed to witness and record on film the flurry of activities which surrounded Mr. K, but after the medicine arrived some hours later the area was made taboo to all outsiders. Those who wanted to help could stay and become assistants to the *tausheo*. Others, like myself who had other responsibilities were restricted from the area. Those who stayed to assist Ms. Q had to obey various taboos over a *faauw bong* "four-night" period. They were not allowed to mingle with anyone in the community except the *tausheo* and her assistants, perform any of their regular daily tasks such as making palm wine (*gashi*) or cutting wood. Nor were they allowed to eat the fish called *neg*. The morning after the first "night" of the *faauw bong* "four-night" period, *ubut* "young coconut-leaf

knots" called *yaliulap* (lit. "great spirit") were attached to the coconut trees surrounding the homestead (*bugot*) where Mr. K lay. The *yaliulap* coconut-leaf knots were used as *meshang* "taboo markers" around the homestead. At this point all food arriving at the homestead had to be deposited outside the perimeters of the *meshang* "taboo markers." The fifteen persons who assisted the *tausheo* in her responsibilities were bound by various food taboos within this sacred zone and were given the title, *bes*. After *faauw bong* "four nights" taboo period, the *bes* assistants were released from the taboos which had restricted their behavior and were allowed to go home. The next day an educational event called *tigerang* (lit. "marking with turmeric") took place. Visitors were invited to sit on the *giyegiy* "mat" next to the patient, Mr. K, and the *tausheo*, Ms. Q. At this time Ms. Q demonstrated some of her knowledge by marking specific points on Mr. K's body with turmeric and calling out the names and identities of these locations. The next day, the *iles* "completion feast of offering" was held to formally end the taboo period. From the above description, a number of similarities are evident between the the rituals described above and formal instruction in navigation and weather control: 1) the use of *meshang* "taboo markers" to create a restricted educational site; 2) a formal time period of *faauw bong* "four nights" during which time participants are bound by taboos which are tied to the spirit powers being summoned; 3) the use of the *giyegiy* "mat" for the demonstration of knowledge; and 4) the use of the *iles* "completion feast of offering" to bring a formal end to the taboo period.

Schools of Canoe Building

Individuals who receive formal training in *senap* "canoe building" are also said to *gaskuula* "be schooled" despite the fact that the schooling process in learning canoe construction does not involve an initiation ceremony, or the unfolding of a mat for instructional demonstrations, or formal instruction over a period of four days and nights. In this respect the traditional schools of *senap* are anomalous and form a special case unlike those found in any other *rong* specialization. The end of the formal instructional period for apprentice canoe builders is marked, however, by an *iles* "completion feast of offering" which takes place after the rites of *poufar* have been performed in honor of the patron spirits who are believed to have overseen the work on a sailing canoe. Lamotrekan, Satawalese and Woleaian informants all stated that the *poufar* ritual could only take place if the *senap* "canoe builder" decided that the canoe being built would be capable of sailing on the high seas. Such a canoe requires the addition of a *goshoulibong* "gunnel" (guard rail) to the upper-most horizontal part of the canoe sides to protect water from coming into the hull. Only canoes that include the *goshoulibong* "gunnel" in their construction can receive the *poufar* rites.

The only mention of *poufar* found in the ethnographic literature is given by Krämer for Lamotrek who reports:

... *poufar*. It is not until this day that the boat rests on the keel ... The planks that were previously cut are put in place but for the time being they are only temporarily fastened with hibiscus fibers ... (1937:95).

This report confirms what my Lamotrekan informants told me, which was that the *poufar* ritual took place after the the keel section (*pun*) was completed and the strakes (*pap*) and prows (*patch*) attached.² In other words, the canoe is not completely constructed at this time but the shape and dimensions of the hull are more or less fixed. At this stage of construction the most important work has been accomplished which will determine a canoe's performance.

The *poufar* ritual also played an important role in the education of apprentices as *senap* "canoe builders" even though there was no initiation rite involved. Krämer does not describe *poufar* as a ceremonial occasion but implies as much when he writes that "a song, *lulur* is sung on this occasion" and "the canoe is filled up with coconuts and food for the god." Captain Wilson, credited with "discovering" Lamotrek in 1797, wrote the following observation of canoe construction which clearly indicates that the completion of the keel was a cause for ceremony:

When the first strake or bottom is completed, there is great entertainment at offering, and so on till the whole is finished when the festivity is greatest (1799:399).

If a canoe builder was giving instruction in canoe building techniques, he would teach an apprentice to perform the *poufar* ceremony rather than do it himself. If he had more than one apprentice, only one student would be chosen to perform *poufar* rites. Informants stated that they had seen canoe builders belonging to the schools of Tanigesh and Taningulu perform the

² The spelling of these terms for the various canoe parts is from Alkire (1970:27).

poufar rites on separate occasions in the 1940s but that the *yalius* "spirits" involved were different as were the *rong* chants. At the completion of the *poufar* ceremony, the offering of food (*iles*) was divided amongst the *senap* "master canoe builders" from all the different schools present. Mr. A said that the canoe builders from the different schools would come to check to see if the apprentice who performed the *poufar* rites knew the *yaliusepoufar* "spirits of canoe building." Consequently, the performance of the *poufar* rites by an apprentice was looked upon as a test of his knowledge. Certification of the apprentice's official status as a *senap* "canoe builder" did not come, however, until after he had built a voyaging canoe (with *goshoulibong* "gunnel") and was recognized by the community at large.

A formal educational site in the canoe house for *senap* "canoe building" is still created today in canoe houses on Lamotrek by making a layer of wooden chips in the course of adzing the hull of a sailing canoe. This process is culturally defined as *ferag giyegiy Selang* "unfolding the mat of Selang." Selang is a patron saint common to all the schools of canoe building in the Central Caroline Islands. Consequently, the wooden chips metaphorically represent a *giyegiy* "mat" upon which the techniques of canoe construction are demonstrated. At this time apprentices are also called upon by the *senap* "canoe builder" to assist in carrying out the measurements required to shape the hull. The lessons concerning the various measurements, however, are not communicated verbally while the work is being done on the canoe since there are usually other persons who are present who are not considered apprentices but simply helpers (who, nevertheless, may aspire to become apprentices). Lessons are given at the house of the canoe builder in the evening hours. The master canoe builder gives instruction concerning the work which he plans for the next day and

talks about problems which students may have encountered in the course of performing the work that day. Other master canoe builders from the same school may also participate in these classes as instructors. This gives both teachers and students an opportunity to talk about the techniques which they must learn without revealing valuable information to non-apprenticed workers in the canoe house.

The schools of *senap* "canoe building" are identified by the word *tal*, meaning "rope" or "line" (S & T 1976:143). The *tal* "rope" or "line" in canoe construction is used for making the measurements needed to shape the hull of an outrigger sailing canoe. The measuring line itself is called *tanifalefal* "line for adzing" and is considered sacred. It can only be touched by the *senap* "master canoe builder" or his students. Lamotrekan informants remembered the names of four different schools of canoe builders which existed on Lamotrek in the past: Tanigesh, Taningulu, Taniguch and Tanimwera. Now only canoe builders of the Taningulu school exist on Lamotrek. It is believed that members of the Tanigesh school still exist on Eauripik but nowhere else in the Caroline Islands. Sohn and Tawerilmang identify "Tanigesh" as the "name of a school of canoe building" for Woleai (1976:145). Sohn and Tawerilmang also state that "Gobutog" is a synonym for Tanigesh (1976:62) but this synonym was unknown to my Lamotrekan informants. Alkire (1970:32) gives four "classifications" of canoe builders for Woleai: "*taningulu*" (Taningulu), "*taniguch*" (Taniguch), "*tanifulu*" and "*tanigobwitog*."³ In 1909, Krämer (1937:93) reported four "types of

³ Alkire (1970:32) also describes the different methods of hand measurement used by the Tanifulu, Taningulu, and Taniguch schools of canoe building to produce the asymmetry of canoe hulls.

measuring lines, "*tal*" for Lamotrek, three of which which are dialectical variants of three of the names of canoe building schools mentioned by Lamotrekan informants: "*taligedj*" (Tanigesh), "*talingulu*" (Taningulu), and "*taligudj*" (Taniguch). A canoe building school not remembered by my Lamotrekan informants but reported to Krämer in 1909 was called "*talimotaisam*." It is significant that Krämer identifies "*talimotaisam*" in the text as "spirit of the 1st sib" (1937:93). Here, Krämer is referring to a legendary chief named Motaisam, whose lineage is connected to the ruling clan of Mongalifash, and whose spirit dominates the sacred area of Lametag. In the past there were two categories of canoes, *paapa* and *gaawaliu* (S & T 1976:112; cf. Alkire 1970:24). Now, only the *paapa* type is still constructed in the Caroline Islands. Data from my field research and from Alkire (1970:24) suggest that the *gaawaliu* design was exclusively affiliated with ruling chiefs. It seems plausible then, that "*talimotaisam*" represents a school of canoe builders who produced *gaawaliu* canoes. Support for this view comes from Alkire who has written, "The *gaawaliu* differed from the *papa* in the form of its prow (*mat*) and the curvature of a portion of its hull" (1970:24).⁴

Similar to the practice on Lamotrek, Bollig reports for Truk that "canoes are differentiated according to the method of measuring" and mentions "*saniged*" which is a dialectical variant of the name Tanigesh. Bollig also lists two other names which I interpret to be canoe building schools: "*sanin Ku*" ("Ku" is the traditional name for the Mortlock Islands) and *sanin Poluot* ("Poluot" = Puluwat Atoll).

⁴ Krämer (1937:373, fig. 192) provides an illustration of a "*gaosal*" (spirit boat) which is modeled after the *gaawaliu* type.

In 1990, canoe building skills were actively being learned and practiced. There were four recognized *senap* "master canoe builders" on Lamotrek with a total of sixteen students apprenticed to them. All of these master canoe builders reported that canoe building schools were traditionally identified by different measurements used in canoe construction and the different spirit powers, magical rites, and taboos associated with them. It was impossible for a *senap* "canoe builder" from one school to attend the school of another. In fact, the techniques of one school were said to be jealously guarded from other schools and the different schools existed more or less in perpetual competition with each other as to which school or guild constructed the strongest and fastest canoes.

CHAPTER 10

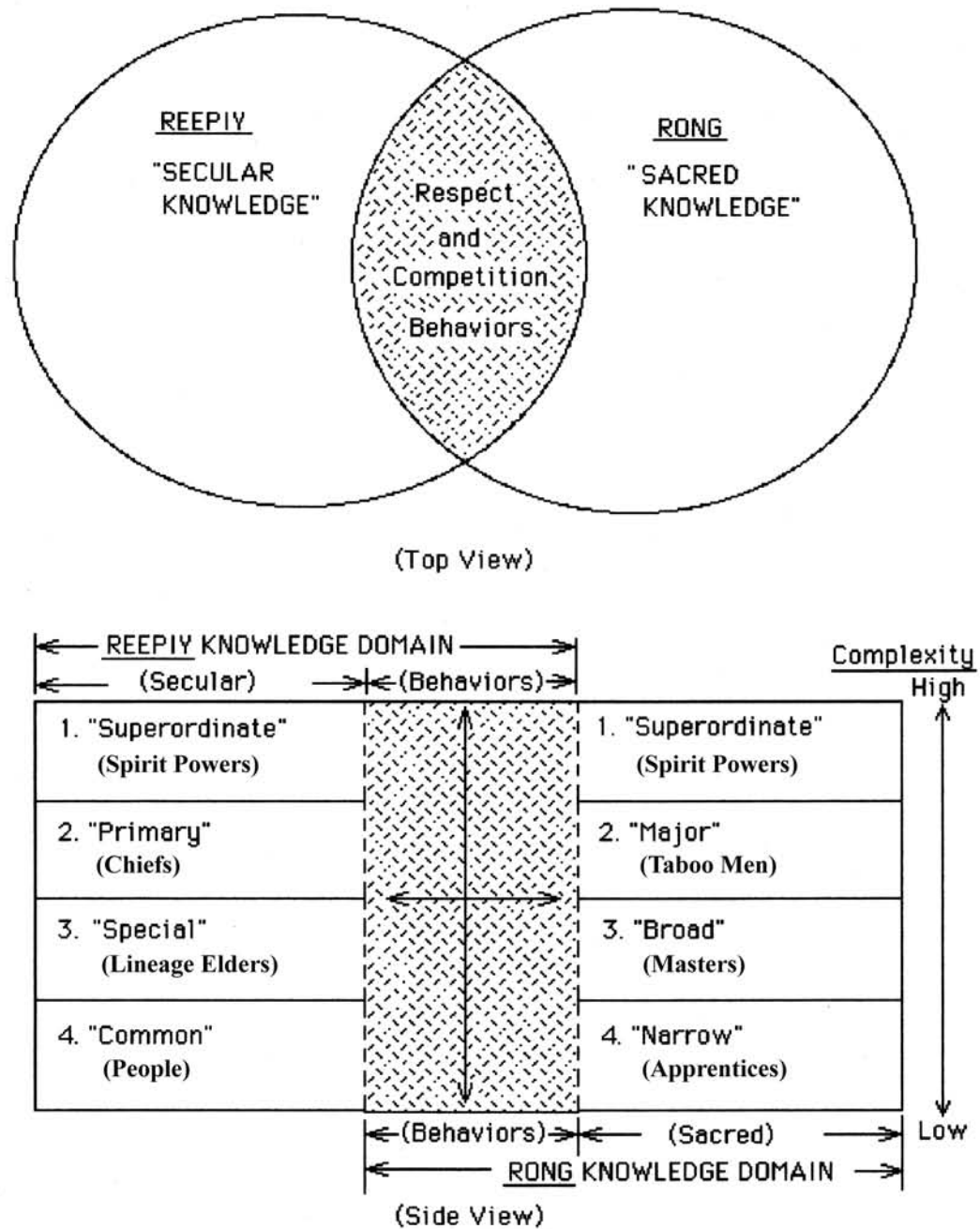
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This case study of Lamotrek with comparative analysis of the literature on the Trukic continuum has been an attempt to describe traditional education in Micronesia with the purpose of identifying traditional schooling pedagogies not unlike those found in modern schooling institutions.

The results of this research concerning the organization of traditional knowledge is expressed in Figure 3 (see p. 389) as a "macrosystem" model of traditional knowledge relationships and status levels. Figure 3 is an elaboration on Figure 2 in Chapter 4 (p. 163). The upper half of Figure 3 is a "top" view showing the relationship between the *reepiy* "secular knowledge" and *rong* "sacred knowledge" domains and the lower half is a "side" view showing the levels of traditional knowledge within each domain. The entire macrosystem is conceived as two interlinked spheres of knowledge with education taking place between the two domains and between levels within the domains.

Knowledge acquisition within this macrosystem is dependent on the age of the learner, clan affiliation, and his or her exercise of respect and competition behaviors in association with lineage elders, chiefs, *rong* masters, and deities from the spirit world (e.g. spirit mediums' and *rong* masters' perceived relationship with gods, goddesses and ancestral spirits). Lamotrekans start acquiring practical knowledge after they are born at level no. 4 ("common" *reepiy*) in the *reepiy* knowledge domain. As they grow older they learn special *reepiy* knowledge affiliated with their clan and

Figure 3. Traditional *Reepiy* and *Rong* Knowledge Macrosystem



lineage such as origin myths, genealogies, and land-tenure ownerships. By the time they become a lineage elder at level no. 3 ("special" *reepiy*) they are expected to have acquired all the practical skills related to everyday living as well as special knowledge connected with their clan and lineage group.

Standing above these two levels in terms of knowledge complexity are chiefs at level no. 2 ("primary" *reepiy*). From evidence presented in Chapter 2, we have seen that chiefs hold a great deal of knowledge concerning land tenure rights, island history and lore (especially taboos) in trust for the welfare of the lineages, clans, and community. This knowledge may be viewed as specialized or "primary" in that it serves as a governing mechanism by which inter-island affairs are conducted, threats to the security of the community are dealt with in light of historical precedents, and a harvesting schedule for marine and terrestrial resources are directed according to a seasonal timetable. This specialized knowledge, however, is not a result of supernatural dispensation (*yalius*) and, therefore, not related to *rong* knowledge. Nevertheless, all chiefs by virtue of their birth and succession to high office in the lineage or clan framework, whether they are knowledgeable in a particular *rong* specialization or not, have the power to designate groves of trees, tracts of land, whole islands, or reefs under their authority as *roang* "sacred taboo sites" as part of their storehouse of *reepiy* "secular knowledge." The only other individuals who may exercise similar powers are *rong* specialists. This suggests that in the past there was probably more of a blurring of roles between high chiefs and ritual specialists in the sanctity of their persons and their powers. In addition, the use of the term "*rong*" to describe chiefly pronouncements and prohibitions indicates that chiefs in the past were perceived to have innate spirit powers by virtue of their "high" birth. Consequently, the *rong* "sacred knowledge"

domain of skilled specialists does not, in the Lamotrekan view, represent a higher order of skills but is on par with the *reepiy* "secular knowledge" domain and economic, social and political skills of chiefly authority.

In the island belief system all knowledge, *reepiy* "secular knowledge" and *rong* "sacred knowledge," is viewed as being "held" by deities in the spirit world. At the top of the *reepiy* "secular knowledge" domain in terms of complexity and status stands a mixture of spirit powers at level no.1 ("superordinate" *reepiy*). Before Lamotrekan conversion to Christianity, gods, goddesses and ancestral spirits were petitioned by offerings and incantations to descend upon suspended altars which hung in the main meeting houses (*fenap*). These altars were called by several names, one of which is *roang* "sacred taboo site." Even today, the former sites of traditional meeting houses throughout the Central Caroline Islands are imbued with sacredness because of their association with legendary chiefs, ritual specialists, and patron spirits who frequented these meeting houses in the past. The sacred areas of Lametag on Lamotrek and Katelu on Ifaluk have been discussed as examples of such sites.

Lineage members, when they die, are believed to have the potential of acquiring new knowledge and skills as a result of their association with deities in the spirit world. The anthropological literature is replete with references to islanders attempting to make contact with the spirit world in the hope that a god, goddess, or ancestral spirit will communicate a prophecy, diagnose the answer to a problem, or give an inspired remedy to cure a malady. Those who were successful in this regard became recognized spirit mediums and were viewed as oracles of benevolent patron spirits. Theoretically and ontologically these spirit mediums may be viewed as one "channel" by which *rong* knowledge originally entered the human world.

Other sources of *rong* knowledge in addition to spirit-deities such as Yarogonga in the "Myth of Yarogonga" were the result of islanders' dreams and visions. The knowledge and skills which were revealed through dreams and visions had the potential of being passed down from generation to generation in the form of *rong* "sacred knowledge." In Figure 3, for example, the *rong* apprentice at level no. 4 ("narrow" *rong*) learns the spell or chant that was given or established through the supernatural dispensation of a spirit power (*yalius*) as the core of a *rong* system of knowledge. *Rong* systems of knowledge which belong to *rong* "masters" at level no. 3 ("broad" *rong*) involve instruction in the following basic curricula: 1) the techniques of a concrete skill or set of skills; 2) the associated myth concerning the spirit power(s) connected with the skill(s); 3) the *bangibeng* "empowerment magic" and *baliubel* "protective magic" used to summon spirit power(s) to make the skill(s) efficacious; and 4) the taboos which must be observed during the exercise of the concrete skill(s). At the very least, a *rong* apprentice will learn how to make some form of *tafey* "medicine" since this is viewed as the means by which a *rong* practitioner receives protection and/or power from the spirit world. The more complex *rong* systems of knowledge require additional levels of technical skill and knowledge.

Accompanying most but not all *rong* magical rites is the ubiquitous use of young coconut leaves (*ubut*) knotted in a variety of ways. Most important is the use of coconut-leaf ornaments to make an object or an area taboo. Using Krämer's conceptualization of this practice, the intent is to "fence off" the object or area from unauthorized persons or malevolent spirit powers. The spirit power(s) associated with a *rong* skill may inhabit not only *tafey* "medicine" but also other sacred objects, symbols, or instruments

used in the exercise of *rong* skills such as the *yoaforchaal* "black and white coconut-hibiscus string," the *gos* "spirit effigy," or *tawi* "triton shell horn." The acquisition of *rong* knowledge gives the practitioner not only the authority to practice sacred skills such as navigation and weather control but also the authority to partition off *roang* "sacred taboo sites" used in the practice or instruction of these skills. Although some "sacred taboo sites" are temporary and marked only by a "fence" of coconut-leaf knots hung on a string, others may be designated as permanent areas which only apprentices of a *rong* master may enter without fear. The distinguishing feature of these permanent areas is the unbridled growth of flora which forms a natural preserve of plants and trees for the exclusive use of *rong* masters and their apprentice-graduates.

In acquiring *rong* skills there is a hidden curriculum of *reepiy* behaviors. A thorough knowledge and understanding of a repertoire of respect behaviors (*gassorou*) is necessary to convince a *rong* master that a potential apprentice is worthy of instruction. Without exception, payment of some kind is required, either in the form of service to the *rong* master by his children or kinfolk, or by service and goods involving *teor* "woven garments" in the case of non-kin pupils. Accompanying respect behaviors is a commitment on the part of the learner to compete (*gaingeing*) for the dispensation of a *rong* master's storehouse of knowledge, often over a period of several years, perhaps decades, until the last precious bits of a teacher's sacred knowledge are revealed. Those who learn the most *rong* accrue more status in society. The saying, "knowledge is power" is most definitely true in the case of *rong* skills as goods and services naturally come to those who retain sacred knowledge as a function of being hired to exercise their special knowledge. As a result, competition between *rong* practitioners belonging

to the same profession is not uncommon and in the past sometimes resulted in the use of black magic in order to gain hegemony in their profession.

In acquiring a *rong* skill, the learner moves to a higher level of complexity in terms of the taboos which he or she must observe. These taboos are based upon the themes of purity and isolation. The *rong* practitioner makes every attempt to remain unpolluted by influences which might interfere with the performance of his or her *rong* specialization. The prohibitions normally center on avoidance behavior in relation to eating taboo foods, making contact with taboo objects, and associating with taboo persons. The observance of these taboos form a basic curriculum which, if not learned thoroughly and devoutly, is believed to result in the violation of the "contract" between the *rong* practitioner and his spirit power(s) with a resultant loss or failure in the exercise of a *rong* skill. In the past, a male *rong* specialist who unwittingly violated the basic taboo against coming in contact with a menstruating woman either informed his *shap* "teacher" to perform the purification rite (if it was part of his training) for him, or sought the aid of a *waug* specialist who was versed in *touber* "purification magic." Today, practitioners of *rong* specialized skills are still expected to know the ancient "contract" of taboos that was established by the spirit power(s) associated with a *rong* specialization even if, in practice, these sanctions are no longer rigorously followed as a consequence of Christian conversion.

From the discussion of *rong* systems of knowledge in Chapter 5 we have seen that there were many different kinds of *rong* masters and categories of *rong* systems of knowledge. We have also seen that a certain select group of *rong* masters occupy a special status in Lamotrekan society. These individuals, who are always men, are called *mwaletab* "taboo men" because of the permanent taboos which they must follow in the

exercise of their skills. Their distinct status as high-ranking professionals is expressed in level no. 2 as "major" *rong*.

Above the "taboo men" stand the patron spirits and ancestor teachers in level no. 1 ("superordinate" *rong*) who are among the same group of spirit powers who occupy level no. 1 in the *reepiy* domain ("superordinate" *reepiy*). Patron spirits and the ancestor teachers of former *rong* practitioners are invoked to transmit their power and protection in the exercise of *rong* skills. Before Lamotrekan conversion to Christianity, these spirits and ancestors were believed to inhabit the sacred taboo sites (*roang*) which only the initiated could enter. The patron spirits of *rong* masters are represented mainly by the sacred medicines (*tafey*), coconut-leaf ornaments (*ubut*), black and white coconut-hibiscus string (*yoaforchaal*), and other ritual paraphernalia which were deposited after use in sacred taboo areas belonging to individual *rong* masters. These sacred objects were perceived as being "hot" because of the spirit powers associated with them. It is for this reason that non-initiates were careful not to trespass on sacred taboo sites because of the danger of their being "bitten" by the spirit powers infused in the sacred objects that were left there. *Rong* masters from one specialization could not enter the *roang* "sacred taboo site" of another specialization unless they were also followers of the spirit powers associated with the specific system of *rong* "sacred knowledge" which they practiced. In other words, no one who was not a follower of an "office" or guild identified with one of the high-status *rong* specializations could enter the sacred taboo site controlled by them, not even a chief unless he was also a follower of the *rong* specialization that had jurisdiction over the prohibited area.

The evidence presented in this study strongly suggests that a non-Western, model-based configuration of traditional formal and nonformal education still exists within Lamotrekan society. Traditional formal schooling finds expression primarily in the culturally-defined, formal educational characteristics of "coconut-leaf bracelet" (*chochpai ubut*) and "unfolding the mat" (*ferag giyegiy*). Traditional nonformal schooling lacks the "coconut-leaf bracelet" (*chochpai ubut*) component and finds expression only in the culturally-defined, formal educational characteristic of "unfolding the mat" (*ferag giyegiy*).

With regard to traditional formal schooling, formal certification or graduation of an individual in a *rong* system of knowledge is marked by the giving of symbols of initiation and achievement in the form of coconut-leaf bracelets (*chochpai ubut*). These symbols of initiation and/or achieved status are intimately linked with the following five formal educational characteristics: 1) group instruction of students (*yauten*) by more than one designated teacher (*shap*); 2) specialized setting (*ferag giyegiy*); 3) definitive timing (*faauw bong*); 4) fixed course of study (*rong* system of knowledge); and 5) fixed curriculum of techniques (e.g. *tafey*), magical rites (*bangibeng* and *baliubel* magic), and taboos (*tab*).

With regard to traditional nonformal schooling, formal certification or graduation does not occur. Certification takes place on an informal or nonformal basis with recognition by lineage mates and the population-at-large of those persons who are selected or hired to practice a *rong* "office" or specialization. An example of informal certification of an individual's expertise in a given *rong* specialization is the *pannal wa* "canoe hauling chant" which testifies to the achievement of a 12 year-old boy's skills in *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration." An example of nonformal certification of an

individual's achievement in a *rong* specialization is the public performance of the *poufar* rites by an apprentice in connection with *senap* "canoe building." In this case, the apprentice is not formally recognized as a *senap* "canoe builder" but a framework for nonformal certification is created by the process of informal evaluation by guild members within the formal context of the *poufar* ceremony.

The same five formal educational characteristics listed above in connection with *rong* specializations which manifest formal schooling pedagogies are also found in various degrees within *rong* specializations which manifest nonformal schooling pedagogies. The only deviation from the general pattern of schooling as described by these five formal educational characteristics is found in the *senap* "canoe building" specialization. In this case, the formal educational characteristic of "unfolding the mat" takes metaphorical form in the context of a layer of wooden chips which form the "mat" upon which the hull of a canoe rests and which frames the educational site for the training of apprentices. Also, the formal educational characteristic of definitive timing in this case does not conform to the *faauw bong* "four-nights" period of seclusion and instruction which characterizes the other traditional schooling pedagogies. Here, the timing of instruction follows the different stages of canoe construction.

The *rong* specializations which involve instruction but are not culturally defined as "unfolding the mat" do not manifest traditional schools because this educational characteristic is a prerequisite for group instruction. Nevertheless, the potential exists for any *rong* specialization to manifest this organizing principle for the purposes of group instruction if the *shap* "teacher" of the *rong* specialization so decides. As general practice, however, only certain *rong* specializations commonly do.

Traditional formal schooling pedagogies on Lamotrek similar to those found in modern schooling institutions are most clearly manifested in Figure 3 at the level of "major" *rong* specializations represented by "taboo men." It is only at this level that students received formal certification of graduation in the form of a distinctive bracelet (*chochpai ubut*) as the direct result of an initiation ritual. The *rong* specializations on Lamotrek which are known to have manifested initiation rituals as an inherent part of the certification of apprentices were *paliuw* "navigation," *waug* "weather control and purification magic," and *bwe* "divination." In addition, there is the possibility that *bwangifitug* "martial arts" should also be included in this category but data from Lamotrek and the ethnographic literature is inconclusive on this point. Traditional formal schooling survives today only in the *rong* knowledge domain of *paliuw* "navigation."

Traditional nonformal schooling pedagogies on Lamotrek are manifested in Figure 3 at the level of "broad" *rong* specializations. Only a few of the many *rong* systems of knowledge found at this level are known to have manifested pedagogies which *ferag giyegiy* "unfold the mat." Examples of specializations which have been discussed earlier in this context are *bwangifitug* "martial arts," *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration," *bwangifal* "canoe house restoration," *sheosheo* "healing by massage," and *senap* "canoe building." Traditional nonformal schooling still survives in all of these *rong* knowledge domains except for *bwangifitug* "martial arts."

In the Lamotrekan view, it appears that the schools affiliated with the disciplines of navigation, weather control, and divination may have constituted a traditional formal schooling system designed to produce graduates who would eventually fill important advisory roles and functions connected to the exercise of chiefly authority. This possibility finds

expression in the fact that *paliuw* "navigators," *waug* "weather magicians" and *bwe* "diviners" were reported to have permanent *roang* "sacred taboo sites" located at Lametag, the traditional site of chiefly authority on Lamotrek, and that "high" chiefs contracted these ritual specialists to perform services on behalf of the community. For instance, *paliuw* "navigators" would sail to Woleai in order to send "tribute" from Lamotrekan chiefs to their *sawey* counterparts in Yap; *waug* "weather magicians" would control storms that threatened the prosperity of the island; and *bwe* "diviners" would gauge the propitiousness or inauspiciousness of chiefly endeavors by forecasting the future. If a traditional formal schooling system was operational in Lamotrekan society, more supportive evidence of its existence may be found in the following areas: 1) the interrelationship of ascribed vs. achieved status and 2) the possibility of an aristocracy based on knowledge. These are areas for further research.

APPENDIX A

SONGS AND CHANTS IN VERNACULAR WITH TRANSLATIONS

The indigenous texts on the following pages are presented as they were transcribed for me by informants. I have made no attempt to conform the spelling of the Lamotrekese words in these original transcriptions to the standard orthography used by Sohn and Tawerilmang. Orthographies vary from island to island in the region and between individuals living on the same island. The orthographic systems used by my informants varied considerably. A few years after the *Woleaian-English Dictionary* was published in 1976 my Lamotrekan informants started to adopt the dictionary system and substitute the letter "g" in words that they had formerly written using the letter "h." For example, during my first visit to Lamotrek in 1977-1978, informants were using *hang* for "I" and "me" but after my second trip in 1982 most of them were writing "*gang*." Similarly, informants earlier wrote *hosa* for "you are" but later changed the spelling to *gosa*.

***Fotow* Song No. 2**
("Celebration For A Large Catch Of Fish" Song)

Men's Part:

1. Silo, Silo, hola fere chobut.
Pig, Pig, go have sexual intercourse with those women.
2. Be hang itewaie fe.
Because I am not going to have sexual intercourse with them.
3. Beipinisailag¹ biyowul Mesaitaw
It is a taboo associated with my *biyowu* fish trap in
Mesaitaw channel.

Women's Part:

1. Silo, Silo, hola fere mwal.
Pig, Pig, go have sexual intercourse with those men
2. Be hang itewaie fe.
Because I am not going to have sexual intercourse with them.
3. Beipinisailag² geligel.
It is a taboo associated with harvesting taro from my garden.

¹ Satawalese-Trukese taboo term. The taboo against having sexual relations with the females is effective at the time when one is planning to take the fish trap out of the water. This taboo is effective when taking a fish trap into the water as well. I recalled on one occasion that I requested to examine an male islander's fish trap as he was getting it ready to put in on his canoe to take into the water. He was not certain whether or not he should let me touch it for fear that I might have had a sexual liaison the night before. Only after convincing him that I was "safe" did he allow me to touch his fish trap.

² Satawalese-Trukese taboo term. The taboo against having sexual relations with the males is effective at the time when one is planning to enter the taro garden.

Pannal Wa Chant No. 2
("Canoe Hauling Chant")

1. Gaifi sauwai — Yagili ye!
We are ashamed
2. Tarimani fol — Yuwei!
Of those young men from this island.
3. Nge meita — Remangiy!
Because they did not know
4. Ye tai yi chowuw — Rere!
How to repair the canoe
5. Gare tali gar — Giyegiy!³
And use all those skills they were taught on the
"mat of knowledge"
6. Me to torol — Yuwetoro!
To fix the sail when it jumps out of the hole
7. Mwa til wapougul — Lu moluwwe!
And to fix the outrigger when it breaks off at the hull.
8. Biunul ira — Yiteite!
Those short sticks of wood
9. Male mile lan — Ni gebangnge!
Are carried on the canoe for use in making repairs.
10. Tibyah yesa — Tibeiyee!
Tiboyah has shown us that every short stick is useful.
11. Nge Yalumes — sali bangnge!
Yaliulemes is watching over us when
we do the repairs.
12. Yebwe la ga — Suro suro!
He is looking down
13. Me wel mechel — gausule!
From the top of the mast.

(Continued)

³ A *giyegiy* is a sleeping mat woven out of pandanus leaves (S & T 1976:62), but here it is used metaphorically to mean a "mat of knowledge" used by a master teacher to instruct apprentices in *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration" techniques.

14. Yemesa gare — Yefile!
He is sitting in that hole at the top
of the mast watching us
15. Yesowagit — Talipouwe!
To see if we are correct in tying the ropes
from the middle
16. Melnipe — Chanime!
In the palm of our hands.
17. Sa log yiya — Tippere?!
"Where are their ideas?"
18. Mwali yeliwe — Lifeluwe!
The people ask.
19. Bonere ga — Tipe buto!
Now we are in a bad mood.
20. Nge ye gaiu mwali — Liyere!
Because when they [EM: the crew] are on the island, they boast that
they know how to do everything.
21. Nge resa chu — Ngakile!
They are all together on the canoe and they are
like a special strong tree
22. Sopale gai — Yiteite!
Or a special axe
23. Iyaatali yak — Kotiwe!
Or a special breadfruit picker.
24. Nge ire me — Ruwemale!
Those two men [EM: Kiyaat and Lingarau]
25. Re sur alni — Giyegiye!
Were sitting as students and learning
from the "mat of knowledge"
26. Nge re ye lung — Ngu paiulu!
And they have slept on the arm
27. Taubangi me — Yeligenge!
Of the master who taught them about
repairing canoes.
28. Feita gosa — Pireiryire?!
So why are they confused?

(Continued)

29. Ngo go lugu che — Yegilie?!
And trembling?
30. Loabugoli yaro — Rolipiye!
About the big waves crashing on the sand
31. Nge gachimo — Sarebuche!
You are still young
32. Gose mwalug — Go Yilile!
But you are like a man, Yalimen.
33. Gosa bwi yang — Nge paiule!
You are making a hole through the palms of those
men's hands.
34. Go rig lani — Segaiere!
You are running over those men's chests.
35. Yetor li yal — Le malupe!
He [EM: Yalimen] is swimming around the canoe
and tying those ropes which will fix the outrigger to the hull.
36. Nge ye wurugal — Leyalie!
He is playing alone
37. Me lugulu fal — Lanuwe!
Beside that canoe.

Taurong Song
("Master Of Rong" Song)

1. Go taubwe ngo go paliuwe.
 You are a *taubwe* "fortune teller" and
 a *paliuw* "navigator."
2. Go tal me nigiyegiye
 You are finished from the *giyegiy* "mats of knowledge"
3. Muchul sheoi repie
 And have all the *repie* "intelligence. "
4. Nge go sa gaile liugue, nini bwa lagoon mwiril
 sesaubago ngalie.
 You dig a hole, cover it up, and talk about it.
5. Faiu mwatorou we langiuwe yaashe ige.
 You are like the *langiuw* fish because you are not afraid.
6. Chopetiw siul mwaresh
 They talk about you and plan against you
7. Mo ubut bwal gaingeinge.
 But that young coconut-leaf necklace is your truth.
8. Shagiu maliel Sauwel tamolu
 They talk about you and use words against Sauwel [EM: name of a
 non-chiefly clan on Lamotrek]
9. Egauwele lagoon shagiu etai por mangimeng.
 But you will speak and your words will always be true.

Galielil Bwai Chant
("Placing Of The Mother-Of-Pearl Shell" Chant)

1. Yai yai bwai yeshig, yai yai bwai yemal.
My special shell, my sacred shell.
2. Yai yai bwai yeshig, yai yai bwai yemal.
My special shell, my sacred shell.
3. Yai yai bwai yeshig, yai yai bwai yemal.
My special shell, my sacred shell.
4. Yai yai bwai yeshig, yai yai bwai yemal.
My special shell, my sacred shell.
5. Yai bwaiyeta, yai bwai Laeo.
My shell comes from the Laeo [EM: spirit name].
6. Yai yai bwai yeshig, yai yai bwai yemal.
My special shell, my sacred shell.

***Rorpai Paliuw* Chant No. 1**
("Bracelet For The Navigator" Chant)

1. Sei gigi, sei gigi, sei mal mal, sei malemal.
Push it, push it, push it into a clear, open place.
2. Sei gigi, sei gigi, sei mal mal, sei malemal.
Push it, push it, push it into a clear, open place.
3. Sei gigi, sei malemal.
Pushing it, pushing it into a clear, open place.
4. Ir ra seigi war gel go seigi wamu.
Those men are pushing their canoe and you are pushing your canoe.
5. Ir ra seigi war gel go seigi wamu.
Those men are pushing their canoe and you are pushing your canoe.
6. Ir fai, gel fai, ire porou, gel porou.
Their rock, your rock, their rock from the reef, your rock from the reef.
7. Ir laash, gel laash.⁴
Their wood for canoe repair, your wood for canoe repair.
8. Ligligit sou, ligligit sou
[EM: meaning unknown]
9. Iuteo teo wa
[EM: meaning unknown]
10. Re mesang sanga sail mesanga
[EM: meaning unknown]
11. Mal matafa male meongoriu peoi goa ruru
The knowledgeable [EM: word untranslatable] man is initiated
12. E paliu ububta e yoam.
And your coconut-leaf bracelet signifies that you are a navigator.

⁴ Sohn and Tawerilmang gloss *lash* as "pine tree" (1976:82). An informant said that this wood is used for repairing canoes in *bwangiwa* "canoe restoration."

Rorpai Paliuw Chant No. 2
("Bracelet For The Navigator" Chant)

1. Rou besh besh, rou besh besh
This bracelet is hot, this bracelet is hot
2. Rou mal mal, rou mal mal
This bracelet is miraculous, this bracelet is miraculous.
3. Beshi beshil pai nge malemelal pai.
The heat from my arm and the miraculous power
from my arm shatters.
4. Pai epweta e ropie lang emeokuk lang.
When I put my arm up, it tears the heavens above.
5. Pai e pwe tiw e ropie loal e meokuk lol.
When I put my arm down it, it destroys and tears
everything below.
6. E meokuk, e meokuk, e meokuk pei paii.
Annihilates, annihilates, annihilates the stone
foundation made by human hands.
7. Yati yati yatinnai.
This powerful advice, this strong and forceful
counseling is only for my son.
8. Yati yati ytil beshi.
This powerful advice, this strong and forceful
counseling is from my heat
9. Yatil besh kar tagel mal ye gangiu iye ...
This strong and forceful advice is for ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says the name of the initiate]
... me fal gaiu laplepal yai ...
under my mast ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says the name of his school of
navigation, (in this case ... Werieng)]
10. Beigawe yati yati yatinnai.
Because this strong advice and forceful counseling is
only for my son.
11. Yati yati yatil beshi.
Strong advice and forceful counseling that comes from my heat.

Machiyilekoal Chant
("Vestments For The Pounded Breadfruit" Chant)

1. Lemgei, Lemgei
Lemgei, Lemgei [EM: spirit name]
2. Iyo mine yashgal ikaltato mo reue
Who is this who can pull these?
3. Mashiel koal ye yal male ngang ...
These *machiy* "vestments for the pounded breadfruit" that cover the
great bowl for me ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says his name]
4. Bwe ...
Because I ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says his name again]
... Lugeileng and Yalulap
... and Luugoileng and Yaliulap [EM: spirit names]
5. Mine rashgal iultato mo rewe mashiel koal
Pull these *machiy* "vestments for the pounded breadfruit."
6. Ye yal mal ye iye ...
This pounded breadfruit which is for me ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says his name]
7. Bwe igawe mashiel meta?
These *machiy* "vestments" are for what?
8. Mashiel paluyal
Machiy "vestments" for navigation.
9. Mashiel moiylalail
Machiy "vestments" for life.
10. Male milel ...
Life for these men ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says the names of the initiates]
11. Fal hoiu laplapal yai ...
Under my mast ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says the name of his school
of navigation (in this case ... Werieng)].

Pigikoal Chant
("Tapping Of The Pounded Breadfruit" Chant)

1. [Navigator] Nge iya ite long.
I am crouching in.
2. Nge iya itengiyalepeoluli kaki.
I am crouching on the ground where the great bowl sits.
3. Siuga liusu rang yaliu rang.
The bad spirits will go away.
4. Ye neg iya mamera yaliusuli ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says the name of
his school of navigation (in this case ...Werieng)]
5. Ye neg iya mamera yaliusuli ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says the name of
his school of navigation (in this case ...Werieng)]
6. Bwe reiku fal machigil.
They are near the bottom of the great bowl.
7. Nge re ibweeib woal mareyal.
Now they are rising higher on the great bowl.
8. Nge reiku woal Tolachaw.⁹
They stand on Tonaachaw mountain.
9. Nge yofulu koal yolei rema fal mai yaliu.
The spirits of pounded breadfruit, they died
under that pounded breadfruit.
10. Nge yelulu koal yaliu nge remai shuwei Liugulo.
The spirits of pounded breadfruit, they died
in the Liugulo sea lane.
11. Ye nge iyo we rewe yaliu gatarata weligamal
spaialu ye yal male ye Lugeilengilo?
Who is that who stands and climbs up the rim
of Luugoileng's magic bowl?

(Continued)

⁹ Mt. Tonaachaw is located on Moen Island in the Truk Lagoon.

12. Ye nge iyo we rewe yaliu gatarata weligamal
spaialu ye yal male ye Lugeilengilo?
Who is that who stands and climbs up the rim of
Luugoileng's magic bowl?
13. [Spirit] Ye nge iyo go? Bwe ngangiu.
Who do you think it is? It is I.
14. [Navigator] Yenge yal iyo go?
Who are you?
15. [Spirit] Ye nge iyo go? Bwe ngangiu.
Who do you think it is? It is I.
16. Ye nge iyo go? Bwe ngangiu.
Who do you think it is? It is I.
17. Ye nge ngang mwolemesi.
I am a pure man.
18. [Navigator] Ye nge yeel mwoleme sililet la go?
How long have you been a pure man?
19. [Spirit] Ye nge nagang malmesil igeig we igeigewe, igeigewe.
I have been a pure man since time began,
since time began, since time began.
20. Ye nge nagang malmesil igeig we igeigewe, igeigewe.
I have been a pure man since time began,
since time began, since time began.
21. [Navigator] Yasaf we rewe lai Lugeileng yeppwitiw yepoulaloo
Luugoileng's frigate bird will come down and take away
22. Riayl koalel
Take away the curse on the pounded breadfruit
23. Semwail koalel
That lies on the pounded breadfruit
24. Yool koalel
That rests on the pounded breadfruit
25. Me woal male ngang iye ...
And from this man ...
[EM: the *taupwo* "master of *pwo*" says his name]

(Continued)

26. Bwe igawe ruwa
Because of the stirring
27. Ruwa koalela
Stirring of the pounded breadfruit
28. Koalela ruya
Cutting and molding of the pounded breadfruit
29. Ruya koalela
Cutting and molding of the pounded breadfruit
30. Koalela
Pounded breadfruit
31. Yaiwa
Going down
32. Yaiwa
Going down
33. Koalela
Pounded breadfruit
34. Koalela
Pounded breadfruit
35. Lugoichigi
To the center
36. Lugolapa
To the center
37. Lugel koal!
To the center of the pounded breadfruit!

APPENDIX B

LIST 1

LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* REFERENCES*

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. <i>vak</i>	sorcerers ... fight against the storm with ray spines on their wands	Lamotrek	Yes	Krämer (1937)	156
2. <i>taubaang</i>	housing restoration	Elato	Yes	Sugito (1987)	301
3. <i>taubaang</i>	<i>Bangiwa</i> ... knowledge for righting a craft which has capsized at sea	Elato	Yes	Sugito (1987)	301
4. <i>taubaang</i>	<i>Bangiyaramat</i> ... stands for "grappling techniques"	Elato	Yes	Sugito (1987)	301
5. <i>tauyalius</i>	<i>Tauyalius</i> was once a sorcerer who delivered oracles	Elato	Yes	Sugito (1987)	285
6. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning flying fish	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
7. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning fortune telling	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
8. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning oceanic voyage	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
9. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning reef named <i>oneki</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
10. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning reef	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
11. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning self-defense techniques	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
12. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning sharks	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
13. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning special <i>yaliu</i> [EM: spirit] called <i>imanufu</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
14. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to avoid natural disaster	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
15. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to build or reconstruct a canoe house	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
16. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call breadfruit	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
17. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call coconut	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
18. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call octopus	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
19. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call <i>pati</i> fish	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
20. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call taro potato	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
21. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call thunder	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
22. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call <i>tinu</i> fish	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
23. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call <i>worik</i> fish	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
24. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure child's disease [EM: called <i>cos</i>]	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
25. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure disease called <i>marporitkal</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
26. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure disease called <i>marpukupuku</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
27. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure disease called <i>marsenipik</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
28. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure disease called <i>maryaynap</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
29. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure disease called <i>nipuropuro</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
30. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure external injury	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42

*Citations in the above "MASTER'S TITLE" category and citations in the "SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION" category are marked "Yes" in the "RONG" category if one or both citations are referenced as "*rong*" or a dialectical variant of *rong* in the author's "SOURCE" publication. For a list of dialectical variants of *rong* cognates for the "*rong* = office" definition see Table 3, p. 103.

APPENDIX B

LIST 2

LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* REFERENCES

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
31. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure female disease	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
32. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure people who receive psychological shock	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
33. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure sprain and bruise	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
34. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to drive off tornado	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
35. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to find out which <i>yaliu</i> [EM: spirit] will cure the disease	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
36. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to revive drowned people	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
37. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to right an over-turned canoe	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
38. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to stop rain	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
39. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to stop rain (different <i>yaliu</i>) [EM: different spirit]	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
40. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to stop storm	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
41. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to stop storm (different <i>yaliu</i>) [EM: different spirit]	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
42. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning unspecified <i>yaliu</i> [EM: spirit]	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
43. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning waves	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
44. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call back missing person	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
45. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning love magic	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
46. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning <i>atkinikin</i> fortune telling	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
47. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning unspecified <i>yaliu</i> [EM: spirit]	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
48. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning bonito	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
49. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning getting canoes back if they are lost	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
50. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning canoe building	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
51. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning driftwood	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
52. <i>hasupsup</i>	black magician	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	147
53. <i>rebwe</i>	diviner	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	129
54. <i>chai</i>	doctor	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	140
55. <i>temalip</i>	fish magician	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	132
56. <i>pelu</i>	navigator	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	141
57. <i>serawi</i>	weather magician	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	131
58. <i>tamarongol bwongbwong</i>	general practioner in white magic	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	146
59. <i>tamarongol ialus</i>	to dispel spirits who moan in the village or woods	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	146
60. <i>tamarongol ikh</i>	promotes a good catch of fish for his client	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	145

APPENDIX B

LIST 3

LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* REFERENCES

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
61. <i>tamarongol in</i>	house magician	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	145
62. <i>tamarongol ira</i>	to get rid of whatever spirit may be residing in a tree	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	146
63. <i>tamarongol pei</i>	frees burial spot of the spirit residing there	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	146
64. <i>tamarongol wa</i>	canoe magician is never separate from the canoe carpenter	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	144
65. <i>tamarongol hachi</i>	to create an abundant flow of sap from coconut trees	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	146
66. <i>tolo</i>	smoothes the waves ... for canoes, or if they endanger the island	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	144
67. <i>iulbwang</i>	<i>bwang</i> ... specialist-teacher	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	147
68. <i>soufanafan</i>	master canoe builder	Truk	Yes	LeBar (1963)	67
69. <i>souiim</i>	master house builder	Truk	Yes	LeBar (1963)	108
70. [EM: not identified]	massage for blows (<i>rawan ffen</i>)	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	201
71. [EM: not identified]	carving (<i>fanafan</i>)	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	165
72. [EM: not identified]	massage for falling down (<i>rawan pewtitiw</i>)	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	201
73. <i>ewarewar anu</i>	people who had demonstrated some facility in contacting spirits	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	136
74. <i>iitag</i>	war leaders	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	167
75. <i>sowsafei</i>	someone who knows ... the good side of the medicine	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	167
76. <i>sowatomei</i>	breadfruit caller	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	164
77. <i>wananu</i>	People who had demonstrated some facility in contacting spirits	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	136
78. <i>waytawa</i>	People who had demonstrated some facility in contacting spirits	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	136
79. <i>souatoton ik</i>	increaser of fish	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	43
80. <i>soupue</i>	diviner	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	43
81. <i>souboud</i>	master of harmful magic	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	43
82. <i>soufalafal</i>	canoe builder	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	43
83. <i>uanonu</i>	he speaks with the spirit ... and obtains many a revelation	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	43
84. <i>polu</i>	The <i>polu</i> belongs to the same secret society as the <i>idang</i>	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	135
85. <i>souatamai</i>	increaser of breadfruit	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	43
86. [EM: not identified]	the weavers drink a preventive medicine	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	168
87. [EM: not identified]	people ... able to render storms, especially typhoons harmless	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	208
88. [EM: not identified]	<i>roa</i> ... They perform massage for the correction of dislocated joints	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	200
89. <i>idang</i>	versed in medicine and sorcery	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	46
90. <i>souatamai</i>	increaser of breadfruit	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	5

APPENDIX B

LIST 4

LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* REFERENCES

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
91. <i>soumai</i>	increaser of breadfruit	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	5
92. <i>soupueni va</i>	one who knows how to turn such vessels in the water	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	132
93. <i>sousafei</i>	medicines ... paralyze the evil influence of the spirits	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	200
94. <i>soutip</i>	soothsayer	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	203
95. [EM: not identified]	<i>pwann</i> ... holds and throws ... useful in fighting	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	72
96. <i>itag</i>	master of the esoteric	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	73
97. <i>sousafey</i>	medical expert	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	72
98. <i>sowufanafan</i>	master carpenter	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	73
99. <i>sowupewut</i>	sorcery expert ... specializes in techniques for harming others	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	73
100. <i>sowuyimw</i>	master builder	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	73
101. <i>sowupwe</i>	diviner	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	71
102. <i>sowurawa</i>	massage expert	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	72
103. <i>lukula</i>	One who kills by means of prayers ... <i>paut</i>	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
104. <i>lerong</i>	One who kills by prayer with another god	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
105. <i>atman</i>	One who kills by prayer with another god	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
106. <i>souimalis</i>	sleep inducer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
107. <i>lerangun</i>	spear sorcerer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
108. <i>souboe</i>	soothsayer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
109. <i>soufel</i>	Bone-fracture healer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
110. <i>silelap</i>	carpenter and boat builder	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
111. <i>onuponup</i>	curer by prayer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
112. <i>boin</i>	diarrhea curer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
113. <i>souset</i>	first fisherman	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
114. <i>sousafei en rup</i>	frambesia curer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
115. <i>souim</i>	Housebuilder	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
116. <i>sennap</i>	Housebuilder	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257

APPENDIX C

LIST 1

LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* RANKED HIGHEST*

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	RANK	SOURCE	PAGE
1. <i>rebwe</i>	diviner	Ulithi	Yes	Highest	Lessa (1950a)	129
2. <i>chai</i>	doctor ... in massaging, setting bones	Ulithi	Yes	Highest	Lessa (1950a)	140
3. <i>temalip</i>	fish magician	Ulithi	Yes	Highest	Lessa (1950a)	132
4. <i>pelu</i>	navigator	Ulithi	Yes	Highest	Lessa (1950a)	141
5. <i>serawi</i>	weather magician	Ulithi	Yes	Highest	Lessa (1950a)	131
6. <i>soufalafal</i>	canoe builder	Truk	Yes	Highest	Bollig (1927)	43
7. <i>uanonu</i>	canoe builder	Truk	Yes	Highest	Bollig (1927)	43
8. <i>polu</i>	The <i>polu</i> belongs to the same secret society as the <i>idang</i>	Truk	Yes	Highest	Bollig (1927)	43
9. <i>souatomai</i>	increaser of breadfruit	Truk	Yes	Highest	Bollig (1927)	43
10. <i>souatoton ik</i>	increaser of fish	Truk	Yes	Highest	Bollig (1927)	43
11. <i>soupwe</i>	diviner	Truk	Yes	Highest	Bollig (1927)	43
12. <i>idang</i>	versed in medicine and sorcery	Truk	Yes	Highest	Bollig (1927)	43
13. <i>souboud</i>	master of harmful magic	Truk	Yes	Highest	Bollig (1927)	43
14. <i>souboe</i>	soothsayer	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257
15. <i>soufel</i>	Bone-fracture healer	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257
16. <i>silelap</i>	carpenter and boat builder	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257
17. <i>onuponup</i>	curer by prayer	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257
18. <i>boin</i>	diarrhea curer	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257
19. <i>souset</i>	first fisherman	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257
20. <i>sousafei en rup</i>	frambesia curer	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257
21. <i>souim</i>	Housebuilder	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257
22. <i>lukula</i>	One who kills by means of prayers ... <i>paut</i>	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257
23. <i>lerong</i>	One who kills by prayer with another god	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257
24. <i>atman</i>	One who kills by prayer with another god	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257
25. <i>souimalis</i>	sleep inducer	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257
26. <i>lerangun</i>	spear sorcerer	Truk	Yes	Highest	Krämer (1932)	257

*Citations in the "MASTER'S TITLE" and "SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION" categories are both marked "Highest" in the "RANK" category if referenced in the author's "SOURCE" publication. See "magicians of primary rank" (Lessa 1950a: 130); "most important *rong*" (Bollig 1927: 34, 43-76); and "most important *rong*" (Krämer 1932: 257).

APPENDIX C

LIST 2

**LITERATURE REVIEW OF RONG RANKED HIGHEST
WITH
LAMOTREKESE COGNATES FOR MASTERS OF SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE**

MASTER'S TITLE	LAMOTREKESE COGNATE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE	LITERATURE COGNATES
1. <i>rewbwe</i>	<i>taubwe</i>	divination	see Appendix D: List 2 p. 420
2. <i>chai</i>	<i>tausheo</i>	healing by message	see Appendix D: List 6 p. 425
3. <i>temalip</i>	<i>tautat</i>	marine fertility	see Appendix D: List 10 ... p. 429
4. <i>pelu</i>	<i>paliuw</i>	navigation	see Appendix D: List 1 p. 419
5. <i>serawi</i>	<i>serawi</i>	weather control	see Appendix D: List 3 p. 421
6. <i>soufalafal</i>	<i>senap</i>	canoe building	see Appendix D: List 5 p. 423-424
7. <i>uanonu</i>	<i>waliyalus</i>	spirit medium	see Appendix D: List 7 p. 426
8. <i>polu</i>	<i>paliuw</i>	navigation	see Appendix D: List 1 p. 419
9. <i>souatomai</i>	<i>taugatamai</i>	agricultural fertility	see Appendix D: List 9 p. 428
10. <i>soutoton ik</i>	<i>taugatoig</i>	marine fertility	see Appendix D: List 10 ... p. 429
11. <i>soupue</i>	<i>taubwe</i>	divination	see Appendix D: List 2 p. 420
12. <i>idang</i>	not represented on Lamotrek	warfare	see Appendix D: List 11 ... p. 430
13. <i>souboud</i>	<i>tausausou</i>	black magic	see Appendix D: List 12 ... p. 431
14. <i>souboe</i>	<i>taubwe</i>	divination	see Appendix D: List 2 p. 420
15. <i>soufel</i>	<i>tausheo</i>	healing by message	see Appendix D: List 6 p. 425
16. <i>silelap</i>	<i>senap</i>	canoe building	see Appendix D: List 5 p. 423-424
17. <i>onouponup</i>	<i>tauyalius</i>	white magic	see Appendix D: List 7 p. 426
18. <i>boin</i>	<i>tautafey</i>	medicine	see Appendix D: List 8 p. 427
19. <i>souset</i>	<i>tautat</i>	marine fertility	see Appendix D: List 10 ... p. 429
20. <i>sousafei en rup</i>	<i>tautafey</i>	medicine	see Appendix D: List 8 p. 427
21. <i>souim</i>	<i>senap</i>	house building	see Appendix D: List 5 p. 423-424
22. <i>lukula</i>	<i>tausausou</i>	black magic	see Appendix D: List 12 ... p. 431
23. <i>lerong</i>	<i>tausausou</i>	black magic	see Appendix D: List 12 ... p. 431
24. <i>atman</i>	<i>tausausou</i>	black magic	see Appendix D: List 12 ... p. 431
25. <i>souimalis</i>	<i>taubwangifitug ?</i>	warfare	see Appendix D: List 11 ... p. 430
26. <i>lerangun</i>	<i>taubwangifitug ?</i>	warfare	see Appendix D: List 11 ... p. 430

APPENDIX D
LIST 1
LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* COGNATES
FOR MASTERS OF
NAVIGATION

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. <i>pelu</i>	navigator	Lamotrek		Alkire (1965)	127
2. <i>pelu</i>	navigators	Lamotrek		Alkire (1989)	86
3. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning lost canoes	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
4. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning oceanic voyage	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
5. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call thunder	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
6. <i>palu</i>	fully initiated navigator	Satawal		Thomas (1987)	11
7. <i>palu</i>	navigator	Ifaluk		Burrows (1949)	85
8. <i>palu</i>	navigator	Ifaluk		Spiro (1949)	41
9. <i>pelu</i>	navigators	Woleai		Alkire (1970)	40
10. <i>pallu</i>	captain of the canoe	Woleai		Krämer (1937)	272
11. <i>paliuw</i>	canoe navigator, powerful magico-religious functionary	Woleai		S & T (1976)	114
12. <i>pelu</i>	navigator	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	141
13. <i>palui</i>	captain	Fais		Krämer (1937)	377
14. [EM: not identified]	stellar navigation (<i>gocoma</i>)	Fais		Rubinstein(1979)	55
15. <i>bor labelab</i>	<i>bor</i> -captain, <i>labelab</i> -great	Puluwat		Damm (1935)	113
16. <i>hawppwo</i>	initiator of a navigator; initiated navigator; to be such. See <i>ppwo</i>	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	31
17. <i>ppalu</i>	navigator, captain; to be one; to learn navigation	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	132
18. <i>ppwo</i>	to be initiated as a navigator	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	134
19. <i>toom</i>	canoe captain, chief captain of a fleet, navigator	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	184
20. <i>toman</i>	canoe captain, chief captain of a fleet, navigator	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	184
21. <i>pallauu</i>	astronomer	Lukunor		Kubary (1880)	273
22. <i>polu</i>	The <i>polu</i> belongs to the same secret society as the <i>idang</i>	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	135-136
23. <i>pono</i>	expert in seamanship, navigation, astronomy, meteorology, and ... magic	Truk		Elbert (1947)	171
24. <i>sowupwpwo</i>	one who knows <i>wpwo</i>	Truk		G & S (1980)	158
25. <i>penu</i>	navigator; expert in navigation, seamanship and related arts	Truk		G & S (1980)	280
26. <i>ppwpwo</i>	instruction in traditional navigation (<i>penu</i>); one who knows navigation	Truk		G & S (1980)	303
27. <i>pallu</i>	captain	Truk		Krämer (1937)	244

APPENDIX D
LIST 2
LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* COGNATES
FOR MASTERS OF
DIVINATION

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. <i>taubwe</i>	diviner	Lamotrek		Alkire (1989)	93
2. <i>sarawale</i>	diviner	Lamotrek		Alkire (1989)	93
3. [EM: not identified]	divining instruments (<i>bwe</i>)	Lamotrek		Alkire (1989)	90
4. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning <i>atkinikin</i> fortune telling	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
5. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning fortune telling	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
6. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to find out which <i>yaliu</i> [EM: spirit] will cure the disease	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
7. [EM: not identified]	<i>pwe</i> , a method of divining the future by tying knots in palm fronds	Satawal		Thomas (1987)	295
8. [EM: not identified]	knot divination (<i>bwe</i>)	Woleai		Alkire (1970)	13
9. <i>taube</i>	soothsayer, fortune teller	Woleai		S & T (1976)	146
10. <i>rebwe</i>	diviner	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	129
11. <i>sarawii</i>	diviner or magician	Fais		Rubinstein(1979)	52
12. <i>tabutobo</i>	diviner or magician	Fais		Rubinstein(1979)	52
13. [EM: not identified]	coconut-leaf divination (<i>bee</i>)	Fais		Rubinstein(1979)	55
14. <i>hawpwe</i>	diviner	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	31
15. <i>tsiep</i>	soothsaying	Tobi		Eilers (1936)	109
16. <i>soutip</i>	soothsayer	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	203
17. <i>soupue</i>	diviner	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	43
18. <i>sowupwe</i>	diviner	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	71
19. <i>sou pwe</i>	one who knows forecasting by <i>pwe</i>	Truk		Elbert (1947)	210
20. <i>sowuyateemen</i>	divinations to detect criminals	Truk		G & S (1980)	159
21. <i>sowupwe</i>	one who is versed in the <i>pweewunus</i> form of divination	Truk		G & S (1980)	158
22. <i>sowuwo</i>	one who knows how to interpret omens	Truk		G & S (1980)	159
23. <i>souboe</i>	soothsayer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257

APPENDIX D

LIST 3

**LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* COGNATES
FOR MASTERS OF
WEATHER CONTROL**

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. <i>vak</i>	sorcerers ... fight against the storm with ray spines on their wands	Lamotrek		Krämer (1937)	156
2. <i>wag</i>	magicians	Lamotrek		Alkire (1989)	93
3. <i>sarawale</i>	diviner	Lamotrek		Alkire (1989)	93
4. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to avoid natural disaster such as typhoon or food shortage	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
5. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to drive off tornado	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
6. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to stop rain	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
7. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to stop rain (different <i>yaliu</i>) [EM: different spirit power]	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
8. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to stop storm	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
9. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to stop storm (different <i>yaliu</i>) [EM: different spirit power]	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
10. <i>serawi</i>	weather magician	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	131
11. <i>sarawii</i>	diviner or magician	Fais		Rubinstein(1979)	52
12. <i>tabutobo</i>	diviner or magician	Fais		Rubinstein(1979)	52
13. <i>serau</i>	<i>obar</i> magic is rain magic practiced by the <i>serau</i> = rain specialist	Puluwat		Damm (1935)	209
14. <i>serau</i>	<i>atowueinu</i> ... which is supposed to make coconuts grow well	Puluwat		Damm (1935)	210
15. [EM: not identified]	<i>peeyilang, peeyilangiy</i> ... to cause storms by magic	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	126
16. [EM: not identified]	<i>wuruuw</i> ... weather forecast	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	214
17. <i>haweyiko</i>	sorcerer who chants to stop rain	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	30
18. <i>hawuruur</i>	weather forecaster; to be such	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	31
19. <i>soutapuanu</i>	to fight the dangers of the typhoon ... serves the ripening of the breadfruit	Namoluk		Krämer (1935)	117
20. [EM: not identified]	weather magician	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	208
21. <i>sowuno</i>	weather conjurer	Truk		G & S (1980)	157

APPENDIX D

LIST 4

**LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* COGNATES
FOR MASTERS OF
MARTIAL ARTS, CANOE RESTORATION, AND HOUSE RESTORATION**

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. <i>taubaang</i>	housing restoration	Elato	Yes	Sugito (1987)	281
2. <i>taubaang</i>	<i>Bangiwa</i> ... knowledge for righting a craft which has capsized at sea	Elato	Yes	Sugito (1987)	301
3. <i>taubaang</i>	<i>Bangiyaramat</i> ... stands for "grappling techniques"	Elato	Yes	Sugito (1987)	301
4. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning self-defense techniques	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
5. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to build or reconstruct a canoe house	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
6. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to right a overturned canoe	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
7. [EM: not identified]	<i>pwang</i> ... repairing of canoes at sea, building houses, and a form of judo	Satawal		Thomas (1987)	295
8. [EM: not identified]	<i>bang</i> ... expert knowledge of house or canoe building	Woleai		S & T (1976)	4
9. <i>taubeng</i>	good at putting up an overturned house or lashing a house against a storm	Woleai		S & T (1976)	146
10. <i>iulbwang</i>	<i>bwang</i> ... specialist-teacher	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1978)	147
11. [EM: not identified]	self-defense (<i>bangi</i>)	Fais		Rubinstein(1979)	55
12. [EM: not identified]	<i>yapwang</i> ... to teach the techniques of righting canoes and fighting	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	250
13. [EM: not identified]	<i>pwang</i> ... righting a canoe; heavy construction	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	138
14. <i>hawpwangin imw</i>	specialist in righting an overturned house ... lashing a house against a storm	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	31
15. <i>apwan</i>	fencing instructor	Namoluk		Girschner (1911)	170
16. <i>apwang</i>	fencing instructor	Namoluk		Krämer (1935)	60
17. <i>soupueni va</i>	one who knows how to turn such vessels in the water	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	132
18. [EM: not identified]	<i>pwann</i> ... holds and throws ... useful in fighting	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	72
19. <i>sou pwen</i>	<i>pwen</i> ... disarming a foe; house construction; ... righting a swamped canoe	Truk		Elbert (1947)	177
20. <i>sowupwen</i>	master of Trukese judo	Truk		G & S (1980)	158
21. [EM: not identified]	<i>pwann</i> ... disarming a foe; ... house construction; .. righting a canoe	Truk		G & S (1980)	290

APPENDIX D

LIST 5

LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* COGNATES FOR MASTERS OF CANOE CONSTRUCTION AND HOUSE BUILDING

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. <i>sennap</i>	carpenter or canoe builder	Lamotrek		Alkire (1965)	127
2. <i>sennap</i>	canoe builders	Lamotrek		Alkire (1989)	86, 93
3. <i>sellap</i>	House Construction ... builder	Lamotrek		Krämer (1935)	90
4. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning canoe building	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
5. <i>sennap</i>	Master canoe builder	Satawal		Thomas (1987)	296
6. <i>sennap</i>	carpentry on canoes and public buildings	Ifaluk		Burrows (1949)	85
7. <i>zenap</i>	engineers	Ifaluk		Spiro (1949)	41
8. <i>sennap</i>	canoe builders	Woleai		Alkire (1970)	24
9. [EM: not identified]	<i>bang</i> ... expert knowledge of house or canoe building	Woleai		S & T (1976)	4
10. <i>taufalewa</i>	canoe builder	Woleai		S & T (1976)	146
11. <i>senap</i>	canoe builder, master craftsman	Woleai		S & T (1976)	129
12. <i>sinap</i>	an architect	Faraulep		Damm (1938)	179
13. <i>tamarongol wa</i>	canoe magician is never separate from the canoe carpenter	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	144
14. [EM: not identified]	Canoe construction (<i>felafel'li wuwaa</i>)	Fais		Rubinstein(1979)	54
15. <i>helap</i>	canoe constructors	Puluwat		Damm (1935)	112
16. <i>hawfala waa</i>	canoe builder	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	30
17. <i>hallap</i>	canoe or house builder	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	27
18. <i>senap</i>	carpenter	Tobi		Eilers (1936)	98
19. <i>soufalafal</i>	making houses, canoes	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	43, 71
20. <i>sowufanafan</i>	master carpenter	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	73
21. <i>sowuyimw</i>	master builder	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	26
22. <i>sannap</i>	canoe builder	Truk		Elbert (1947)	189
23. <i>sowuwimw</i>	master builder (of houses)	Truk		G & S (1980)	159
24. <i>sennap</i>	<i>sannap</i> ... canoe builder ... <i>sineenap</i>	Truk		G & S (1980)	147
25. <i>sowufanafan</i>	master canoe builder	Truk		G & S (1980)	156
26. <i>silelap</i>	carpenter and boat builder	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
27. <i>souim</i>	House builder ... Takes the measurements for <i>ut</i> and <i>im</i>	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
28. <i>sennap</i>	House builder ... Takes the measurements for <i>ut</i> and <i>im</i>	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
29. <i>soufalafal</i>	ship builder	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	242
29. [EM: not identified]	carving (<i>fanafan</i>)	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	165

APPENDIX D
LIST 5 (cont'd)

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
30. <i>cennap</i>	main task is to build an Ut	Truk		Kubary (1889)	58
31. <i>silelap</i>	main task is to build an Ut	Truk		Kubary (1889)	58
32. <i>soufanafan</i>	master canoe builder	Truk	Yes	LeBar (1963)	67, 68
33. <i>souiim</i>	master house builder	Truk	Yes	LeBar (1963)	64, 68
34. <i>sowufanafan</i>	master canoe builder	Truk		LeBar (1964b)	345
35. <i>sowuimw</i>	master house builder	Truk		LeBar (1964b)	345

APPENDIX D

LIST 6

**LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* COGNATES
FOR MASTERS OF
HEALING BY MASSAGE**

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. <i>tausheosheo</i>	massage person	Lamotrek		Alkire (1989)	38
2. <i>peluuaifelu</i>	massage person [EM: lit. "navigator of the island"]	Lamotrek		Alkire (1989)	86
3. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure sprain and bruise	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
4. <i>tausheo</i>	masseur	Woleai		S & T (1976)	147
5. <i>chai</i>	doctor	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	140
6. [EM: not identified]	massage (<i>doadoa</i> or <i>coacoa</i>)	Fais		Rubinstein(1979)	55
7. <i>hawreere</i>	masseur	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	31
8. <i>hawfaal</i>	one who diagnoses and treats bruises and injuries from falling; masseur	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	30
9. <i>sou san</i>	bone setter by massage	Truk		Elbert (1947)	201
10. <i>sowurawa</i>	masseur, master of massage	Truk		G & S (1980)	158
11. <i>sowusan</i>	one who knows <i>san</i> ; masseur, bonesetter	Truk		G & S (1980)	156
12. <i>soufel</i>	Bone-fracture healer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
13. [EM: not identified]	massage for blows (<i>rawan ffen</i>)	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	201
14. [EM: not identified]	massage for falling down (<i>rawan pewtitiw</i>)	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	201

APPENDIX D

LIST 7

**LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* COGNATES
FOR SPIRIT MEDIUMS* AND MASTERS OF
WHITE MAGIC**

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. <i>waliyalus</i>	medium ... (canoe or vehicle of the <i>yalus</i>) [EM: <i>yalus</i> = <i>yalius</i> (spirit)]	Lamotrek		Alkire (1965)	117
2. <i>waliyalus</i>	An individual ...recognized as a medium was such for a particular ghost	Lamotrek		Alkire (1965)	117
3. <i>tauyalius</i>	<i>Tauiyalius</i> was once a sorcerer who delivered oracles	Elato	Yes	Sugito (1987)	285
4. <i>taubwongbwong</i>	intercession with the gods	Ifaluk		Burrows (1949)	85
5. <i>tamon alusuia</i>	the religio-medical specialist	Ifaluk		Spiro (1949)	73
6. <i>waitaua</i>	he is seized by them [EM: spirits] and becomes a <i>auwarawar</i> [EM: spirit medium]	Namoluk		Girschner (1911)	193
7. <i>waetoea</i>	Each one of these divinities has its own special priest, <i>waetoea</i>	Namoluk		Girschner (1911)	193
8. <i>anu uan nu marr</i>	priest ... to make <i>au ar uar anu</i> [EM: call the spirit]	Nama		Krämer (1935)	155
9. <i>taghag</i>	priest, who presides over the <i>Tautop</i> [EM: patron spirit of the island]	Sonsorol		Kubary (1889)	93-94
10. <i>uanonu</i>	in this condition he speaks with the spirit and obtains many a revelation	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	43
11. <i>Au-na-ro-ar</i>	information from the spirits can be received through the ... <i>An-na-ro-ar</i>	Truk		Finsch (1889)	320
12. <i>sowuyawarawar</i>	spirit caller, spirit medium (as one who causes a spirit to be present)	Truk		G & S (1980)	159
13. <i>sowuyosor</i>	traditional priest ("leader in offerings")	Truk		G & S (1980)	159
14. <i>wananu</i>	People who had demonstrated some facility in contacting spirits	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	136
15. <i>waytawā</i>	People who had demonstrated some facility in contacting spirits	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	136
16. <i>ewarewar anu</i>	People who had demonstrated some facility in contacting spirits	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	136

*Spirit mediums (*waliyalus*) are not included by Lamotrekans in their lists of *rong* practioners. The exception to this is if a spirit medium becomes a master of white magic (*tauyalius*) which is equivalent to the occupational status of a shaman-priest. Bollig (1927: 43) and Mahoney (1970: 136) list spirit mediums as *rong* specialists; thus, "Yes" is marked in the above "RONG" category regarding their reports. Goodenough (1951: 55) and Caughey (1970: xix, footnote 10) on the other hand argue that spirit mediums should not be viewed as possessing *rong* knowledge simply as a result of being possessed by a spirit. See pp. 193-197 for a discussion of this issue.

APPENDIX D
LIST 8
LITERATURE REVIEW OF RONG COGNATES
FOR MASTERS OF
MEDICINE

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. [EM: not identified]	<i>tafey</i> [EM: medicine]	Lamotrek		Alkire (1982)	30
2. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning special <i>yaliu</i> [EM: spirits] called <i>imanufu</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
3. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure child's disease called <i>cos</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
4. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure disease called <i>marporitkal</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
5. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure disease called <i>marpukupuku</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
6. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure disease called <i>marsenipik</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
7. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure disease called <i>maryaynap</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
8. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure disease called <i>nipuropuro</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
9. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure female disease	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
10. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to cure people who receive psychological shock	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
11. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to revive drowned people	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
12. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning unspecified <i>yaliu</i> [EM: spirits]	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
13. <i>sousafay</i>	master in medicine	Satawal		Thomas (1987)	296
14. <i>tautafey</i>	druggist, medicine expert, medical specialist	Woleai		S & T (1976)	147
15. <i>totafei</i>	herb specialist	Ulithi		Lessa (1950a)	237
16. [EM: not identified]	<i>bangibang</i> ... medicinal magic	Fais		Rubinstein(1979)	55
17. <i>tugutarei</i>	medicine ... <i>tafei</i>	Tobi		Eilers (1936)	98
18. <i>sow safei</i>	someone who knows ... the good side of the medicine	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	167
19. <i>sousafei</i>	medicines ... paralyze the evil influence of the spirits	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	200
20. <i>sousafey</i>	medical expert	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	243
21. <i>sousafei</i>	<i>safei</i> ... medicine, take medicine, magical medicine, magic, charm	Truk		Elbert (1947)	188
22. <i>sowuppeyinen</i>	magic and medicine relating to the illness in infants caused by Ppeyinen	Truk		G & S (1980)	158
23. <i>sowuwachar</i>	magic and medicine to cure sickness caused by <i>achar</i> sorcery	Truk		G & S (1980)	158-159
24. <i>sowurongen oos</i>	spells and medicines caused by the sea spirits called <i>oos</i>	Truk		G & S (1980)	158
24. <i>sowurongen saat</i>	spells and medicines relating to the spirits called <i>chenukken</i>	Truk		G & S (1980)	158
26. <i>sowusafey</i>	one who knows how to prepare medicines	Truk		G & S (1980)	156
27. <i>boin</i>	diarrhea curer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
28. <i>sou safei en rup</i>	frambesia curer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257

APPENDIX D

LIST 9

**LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* COGNATES
FOR MASTERS OF
AGRICULTURAL FERTILITY**

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. <i>tabutobo</i>	agricultural magicians	Lamotrek		Alkire (1989)	93
2. [EM: not identified]	<i>koto maay</i> ... to call breadfruit	Satawal		Akimichi (1986)	19
3. [EM: not identified]	<i>koto mwongo</i> ... to for food	Satawal		Akimichi (1986)	18
4. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call breadfruit	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
5. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call coconut	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
6. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call taro potato	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
7. <i>falū</i>	a magician who is especially versed in crop magic	Woleai		Alkire (1968)	285
8. <i>tamrongol hachi</i>	to create an abundant flow of sap from coconut trees	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	146
9. <i>serau</i>	<i>atowueinu</i> ... which is supposed to make coconuts grow well	Puluwat		Damm (1935)	210
10. [EM: not identified]	<i>atomei</i> ... fertility magic ... deals mainly with increasing the breadfruit production	Puluwat		Damm (1935)	202
11. <i>hawmaay</i>	one who chants magically to cause breadfruit to bear	Puluwat		Elbert (1972)	31
12. <i>saumai</i>	says prayers ... which one hopes will then produce good crops	Namoluk		Krämer (1935)	118
13. <i>souatomai</i>	increaser of breadfruit	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	5
14. <i>soumai</i>	increaser of breadfruit	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	5
15. [EM: not identified]	<i>ato mai</i> [EM: call breadfruit], <i>ato nu</i> [EM: call coconuts] ... produce by magic	Truk		Elbert (1947)	284
16. <i>sowuyotoomey</i>	breadfruit summoner	Truk		G & S (1980)	159
17. <i>sowatomei</i>	appealed to the good spirits by ... putting medicine on the breadfruit trees	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	164

APPENDIX D

LIST 10

**LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* COGNATES
FOR MASTERS OF
MARINE FERTILITY**

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. <i>soyilee</i>	fish magicians	Lamotrek		Alkire (1989)	93
2. <i>sowupwong</i>	<i>koto yiik</i> ... is subdivided into five kinds	Satawal		Akimichi (1986)	19
3. <i>sowupwong</i>	<i>Koto Kuus</i> ... is magic for calling the octopus	Satawal		Akimichi (1986)	20
4. <i>sowupwong</i>	<i>Koto Mengar</i> ... is magic to call flying fish	Satawal		Akimichi (1986)	20
5. <i>sowupwong</i>	<i>koto yapeyipey</i> [EM: to call driftwood]	Satawal		Akimichi (1986)	19
6. <i>sowupwong</i>	<i>Koto Yikaniweniwor</i> ... is magic to call reef fish	Satawal		Akimichi (1986)	20
7. <i>sowupwong</i>	<i>koto yarengaap</i> ... asks the goddess of tuna and bonito to bring fish toward the island	Satawal		Akimichi (1986)	19
8. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning bonito	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
9. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning driftwood	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
10. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning flying fish	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
11. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning reef named <i>oneki</i>	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
12. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call octopus	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
13. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call <i>pati</i> fish	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
14. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call <i>tinu</i> fish	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
15. [EM: not identified]	<i>rong</i> concerning to call <i>worik</i> fish	Satawal	Yes	Ishimori (1980)	42
16. [EM: not identified]	<i>katoaragnap</i> ... calling shipjack tuna, <i>katoepaipai</i> ... calling floating logs	Satawal		Thomas (1987)	293
17. <i>temalip</i>	fish magician	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	132
18. <i>tamarongol ikh</i>	promotes a good catch of fish for his client	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	145
19. <i>soyilee</i>	fish magician	Fais		Rubinstein (1979)	53
20. <i>soyileelapa</i>	great fish magician	Fais		Rubinstein (1979)	53
21. [EM: not identified]	summoning drift-logs (<i>faga gapeyepey</i>)	Fais		Rubinstein (1979)	53
22. [EM: not identified]	fish magic ... <i>vangevang ele ig</i>	Fais		Krämer (1937)	375
23. [EM: not identified]	<i>adoik</i> ... fish magic	Puluwat		Damm (1935)	210
24. [EM: not identified]	<i>taakich</i> ... torch flying fish	Losap		Severance (1986)	36
25. [EM: not identified]	<i>tul menger</i> ... torch spear flying fish	Losap		Severance (1986)	36
26. <i>mangolil</i>	fish magic	Tobi		Eilers (1936)	110
27. <i>souatoton ik</i>	increaser of fish	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	43
28. [EM: not identified]	<i>ato ik</i> [EM: call fish] ... produce by magic	Truk		Elbert (1947)	284
29. <i>sowuyotoowik</i>	fish summoner	Truk		G & S (1980)	159
30. <i>souset</i>	first fisherman	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257

APPENDIX D

LIST 11

**LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* COGNATES
FOR MASTERS OF
WARFARE**

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. <i>itang</i>	the talk of wisdom	Satawal	[EM]	Thomas (1987)	293
2. [EM: not identified]	<i>yoroowroow</i> ... chant to induce sleep magically, so as to immobilize a foe	Puluwat	[EM]	Elbert (1947)	292
3. <i>yitang</i>	expert on lore	Puluwat	[EM]	Elbert (1947)	281
4. <i>souimalis</i>	sleep inducer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
5. <i>lerangun</i>	spear sorcerer	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
6. <i>souianu</i>	master of the spirits ... individually they are also known as <i>itang</i>	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	269
7. <i>idang</i>	versed in medicine and sorcery	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	46
8. <i>iitag</i>	war leaders	Truk	Yes	Mahony (1970)	190
9. <i>sowuyimwaanis</i>	specialist in a form of sorcery used in war	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	159
10. <i>sowuneerongun</i>	specialist in <i>neerongun</i> magic ... he treated those wounded by war clubs	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	157
11. <i>sowufen</i>	specialist in treating wounds from knives or sling-stones	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	156
12. [EM: not identified]	<i>achemwir</i> ... magic that makes people unable to function in sport or war	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	34
13. [EM: not identified]	<i>eenenippew</i> ... magic that makes people unable to function in sport or war	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	63
14. [EM: not identified]	<i>fanepew</i> ... magic that makes people unable to function in sport or war	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	111
15. <i>itang</i>	specialist in rhetoric ... military, diplomatic history, lore, and magic	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	85
16. <i>itangupwpwun</i>	an <i>itang</i> of the highest grade	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	85
17. <i>nepwpwo</i>	most advanced grade in the Sopwunupi school of <i>itang</i>	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	235
18. <i>chooyiro</i>	one who knows <i>itang</i> lore	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	329
19. <i>ache</i>	one who knows <i>itang</i> lore	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	19
20. <i>sowupachaw</i>	shark conjurer ... He treats those wounded by knuckle-duster or shark-bite	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	157
21. <i>sowupoko</i>	shark conjurer ... He treats those wounded by knuckle-duster or shark-bite	Truk	[EM]	G & S (1980)	158
22. <i>itang</i>	highest grade of <i>itang</i>	Truk	[EM]	Elbert (1947)	93
23. <i>choiro</i>	second highest grade of <i>itang</i>	Truk	[EM]	Elbert (1947)	63
24. <i>acho</i>	lowest of the three grades of <i>itang</i>	Truk	[EM]	Elbert (1947)	40
25. <i>itag</i>	master of the esoteric	Truk	Yes	Caughy (1970)	73

APPENDIX D

LIST 12

**LITERATURE REVIEW OF *RONG* COGNATES
FOR MASTERS OF
BLACK MAGIC**

MASTER'S TITLE	SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE OR INTERPRETATION	ISLAND	RONG	SOURCE	PAGE
1. [EM: not identified]	sorcery (<i>saoso</i>)	Lamotrek		Alkire (1965)	119
2. [EM: not identified]	<i>sausou</i> ... black magic	Woleai		S & T (1976)	128
3. <i>hasupsup</i>	sorcerer, or black magician	Ulithi	Yes	Lessa (1950a)	147
4. <i>souboud</i>	master of harmful magic	Truk	Yes	Bollig (1927)	43
5. <i>lukula</i>	one who kills by means of prayers ... <i>paut</i>	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
6. <i>lerong</i>	one who kills by prayer with another god	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
7. <i>atman</i>	one who kills by prayer with another god	Truk	Yes	Krämer (1932)	257
8. <i>sowupewut</i>	The sorcery expert ... specializes in techniques for harming others	Truk	Yes	Caughey (1970)	73
9. <i>sowuppewut</i>	expert in sorcery; sorcerer	Truk		G & S (1980)	158

INDEX OF MYTHS, LEGENDS, AND FOLKTALES

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<i>Rorpai Paliuw</i> Chant No. 2 ("Bracelet For The Navigator" Chant)	248
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<i>Gosilifei</i> Chant ("Spirit Effigy Magic" Chant)	282
<i>Touber</i> Chant No. 1 ("Purification Rite" Chant)	338
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