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The Story of Raga: A Man's Ethnography on His Own Society (III) Marriage

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INTRODUCTION

This is the third part of an English translation of a hand-copied book which was written in the "Raga" language by the late Rev. David Tevimule in 1966. "Raga" is a language spoken by the people of North Raga (northern part of Raga or Pentecost Island) in Vanuatu. The work consists of twenty chapters, which cover various aspects of North Raga culture: its origin myth, kin relations, graded system, chiefs, initiation rite and customs ranging from birth, marriage, to death. In this paper I translate Chapters 8 and 9 in which Rev. David Tevimule describes customs concerning marriage.⁽¹⁾ Although he starts his description from the birth of a girl and refers to the custom of so-called infant betrothal, his main concern is on the marriage ceremony.

I

Here I present some materials concerning marriage ceremony which were collected during my field researches. Marriage ceremony is classified into two kinds, one of which is called *kastom marit* (custom marriage) in Bislama (Vanuatu pidgin) and the other of which is *jos marit* (church marriage). *Kastom marit* is usually referred to as *lagiana* in Raga language and is thought to be based on *halan*

lagiana (the road of the marriage) which has been practiced from before. I will describe this kind of marriage ceremony, which I tentatively call traditional. It is equal in major points to the ceremony which is described by Rev. Tevimule but is different in some minor points.

A traditional marriage ceremony is composed of three stages. The first stage is held on the day before marriage in the village of the bride and the bridegroom respectively. This is the pre-stage of the marriage ceremony. In each side they prepare for the day of marriage. The second stage is held in the village of the bride on the day of marriage. At this stage, people of the bridegroom's side take the bride and her belongings to the village of the bridegroom. After the second stage, all the attendants move to the village of the bridegroom, where the third stage is held. Here the bride wealth is bestowed to the bridegroom.⁽²⁾

In this way, the people of the bride's side as well as those of the bridegroom's side lastly come together to the village of the bridegroom, where the big banquet is given. The people of the bride which is called *atatun vavine* (the side of the woman) are composed of the *tama* (father) of the bride, her *vwavwa* (father's sister), the bride's cluster members, and her moiety members other than the bridegroom's *tama* and *vwavwa*.⁽³⁾ The same classification is also applied to the people of the bridegroom (*atatun mwalaḡelo*: the side of the young boy). Those people are entertained with a lot of kava and meals cooked in the earth-oven in the banquet, which is managed by the real father of the bridegroom.

Kava is a beverage prepared from the roots of the plant with the same name (*Piper methysticum*). Kava is usually planted in the field

far away from the village. It is not an easy work to bring a lot of kava roots from the field to the village. This is, however, just an initial step to produce a kava drink. There remains the process to prepare a beverage from its roots. First, kava roots are cut into small pieces. Then you pick a handful of these pieces with the left hand and a serrated stone with the right hand. The kava pieces are thus grounded and twisted by both hands. A little water is added to the smashed kava roots and they are kneaded. Some amount of liquid comes out from squeezing these kneaded roots. It is not drinkable yet. It becomes drinkable when it is filtered by a sheet of coconut fiber and is served in a coconut cup.⁽⁴⁾

The food in the earth-oven is called *vwawwaligi*. When *vwawwaligi* is made, first of all, you have to have many stones burned by firewood in the earth-oven. After the stones are well heated, they are removed from the oven. Then leaves of heliconia (*Heliconia indica*) are laid on the heated bottom of the earth-oven, and raw foods wrapped up in the same leaves are put on them. After the oven is filled with foods, they are covered again with these leaves. Finally, the heated stones, which have been removed from the oven in the prior step are put on these leaves (Photo 1). When the stones cool down after several hours, the cooking is finished. *Vwawwaligi* is a kind of baking in a casserole. In this way, *vwawwaligi* requires many stones to be burned, a lot of pieces of firewood which burn stones, and leaves of heliconia by which the ingredients are wrapped. The classificatory fathers and father's sisters of the bridegroom are asked to fetch firewood from the field, to bring stones to be burned from the stone ground one can find such kind of stones, to bring leaves from the field, and so on.



Photo 1

Here is an example to illustrate this procedure. Suppose that the marriage ceremony is held at A village and a man of B village (who is a classificatory father of the bridegroom) is requested to fetch firewood for earth-oven. The date of the works is fixed by the real father of the bridegroom. On the day, this man sets to work with the assistance of the people of B village. The firewood is cut down from the field owned by the people of B village. The field which has a lot of pieces of firewood and is near A village is selected. They start to work in the morning. The lunch is served in A village. Since the other works such as collecting leaves, bringing stones, and so on are also done on the same day, a lot of people who come from several villages in North Raga eat lunch in A village. After lunch, they work again till evening when they go back to A village. In the village, kava and supper are prepared by the people of A village. People who finished working are served to drink kava. After drinking kava, each of them is given a basket filled with meals (taro or yam and meats etc.)

for supper and they go back to their own village with these baskets.

Through the marriage ceremony, there are two kinds of North Ragan wealth, which play important roles, that is, big red mat and pig. There are four kinds of mat in North Raga. One is a big white mat called *bwamaita* which is woven of pandanus leaves. Another is a big red mat called *bwanmemea* which is the *bwamaita* dyed red. *Bwanmemea* is often referred to as simply *bwana*. Another mat is a small white mat called *barimaita* which is also woven of pandanus leaves. The other mat is a small red mat called *barimemea* or simply *bari* which is *barimaita* dyed red. *Bwana* or big red mat is a kind of traditional money and plays an important role in the life of North Raga. *Bari* or a small red mat is used for a supplement of big red mat in the case of exchange or payment. Small red mat is also used as a traditional dress. Women used it as a loincloth and men as a G-string.

Pigs are classified into three kinds, that is, sows (*dura*), bisexual pigs (*ravwe*), and boars. There is no special Raga name for a boar and it is usually called *boe* which is the general name for a pig. Both of bisexual pigs and boars have tusks but now we can not find bisexual pigs in North Raga. Boars are classified according to the size of the tusk (Figure 1). Boars which do not have tusks yet are called *udurugu*. Boars whose tusks are just coming out from the lower jaw are called *bololvaga*. You can know that it has small tusks only when it opens its mouth. When its tusks come out of the mouth piercing the upper lip, the pig is called *tavsiri*. Boars whose tusks are curving and reach cheeks are called *bobibia*. Boars which have rounded tusks are called *mabu*, the meaning of which is to rest. It is called *mabu* because the tips of the tusk comes back to the bone of the lower jaw

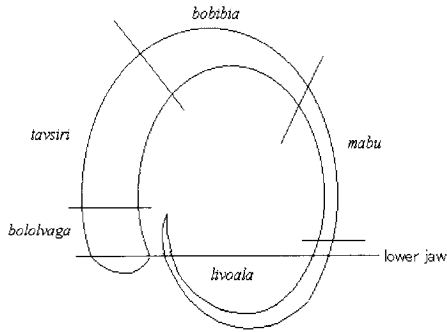


Figure 1

and stops there. Boars whose tusks are growing more and start to draw second arc are called *livoala*.

II

(1) First stage in the village of the bridegroom

On a day before marriage, people come together to the village of the bridegroom. They are *atatun mwalaḡelo*. Today, a kind of *bwalaitoa* (joking behavior) is occasionally held. Snake has an important role in this joking behavior. The classificatory mothers of the bridegroom dance *savagoro* dance in the meeting house (*gamali*) while outside the meeting house, the father's sisters of the bridegroom dance *tigo* dance with long bamboos in their hands in which snakes are packed. Then the latter group goes into the meeting house and they strike the bamboo on the floor of the meeting house in order that the snakes may come out. A great uproar occurs. They grasp the snake and tear off. The father's sisters block the door of the meeting house with

flames of palm torches in order that the classificatory mothers can not go outside (Photo 2). After that, the father's sister goes out of



Photo 2

the meeting house with a piece of snake in her hand. She is given a big red mat in the form of *hunhuni*. This is said to have been the original custom of the Central and was introduced to the North recently.⁽⁵⁾

After this kind of *bwalaitoa*, comes *hunhuni* in which the bridegroom puts the end of an unfolded big red mat over his head and gives it to his classificatory father or father's sister who worked for the preparation of the banquet of the following day or will do some kind of work in it (see Photo 3). The men who were requested to fetch firewood, stones for the earth-oven, leaves for cooking, and kava plant from the field are all given big red mats in *hunhuni*. The man of B village in the above example who is requested to fetch firewood is given a big red mat in this manner.⁽⁶⁾ The men who are requested



Photo 3

to make kava beverage, carry buckets of water for kava making, peel taros or yams, kill a cattle in order to prepare side dishes in the banquet of the following day, and to do *savagoro* dance after following day's ceremony are also given red mats in this scene.

As was mentioned above, a man who is requested to fetch firewood cuts them down from the field of the land of a person of the same village as him. As for the leaves for cooking, the real father of the bridegroom usually says, "You take them from my field or my son's field" . In spite of such a suggestion, the man, who was asked for the work, often takes them from his own field since these leaves grow quickly and are not so valuable. But kava is usually cut down from the field of the real father of the bridegroom. As for stones for the earth-oven, every place is accessible for this task.

There are some differences between *hunhuni* to the fathers and that to the father's sisters. In the former case, a big red mat is given

to each man while in the latter case some small red mats are added to a big red mat. Such small red mats are usually given to the father's sister of the bridegroom with no expectation of returning gift. This kind of gift is called *tabeana*. In the case that several small mats are given to the father's sister, these mats are sometimes regarded as *vuro*, which means a debt. This is often informed to the mat-receiver orally. If a mat is given as *vuro*, a mat of the same value should be given back in future to the mat-giver who is basically the real parents of the bridegroom (the return gift is called *sobwesobwe*).⁽⁷⁾

In this way, many mats are necessary for the real parents of the bridegroom, to whom many mats have been given in advance by their relatives. On the day of *hunhuni*, the father's sisters as well as the classificatory mothers and sisters of the bridegroom come to his village with a lot of mats. The mats of the former are given to his real parents as *vuro* which should be given back in the future to the father's sisters, while those of the latter are given as *tabeana* which means that there is no obligation to do a return gift to them.

The big red mat transacted in *hunhuni* is regarded as *mwemwearuwwa*. *Mwemwearuwwa* is an intermediary category between *tabeana* and *vuro* in the sense that a return gift is not needed with *tabeana* and it is a must with *vuro* while it is "expected" with *mwemwearuwwa*. In the other words, although a mat-giver is not able to demand a return gift to the mat-receiver, the latter is expected to do it in the fixed manner. Suppose a classificatory father A is requested to fetch firewood and is given a big red mat in *hunhuni* from the real father B of the bridegroom D. A is expected to give back a big red mat to B in the case of the marriage ceremony of A's son C in which A asks B for cutting firewood or the other work and puts a big red mat

over the head of C and gives it to B (Figure 2).

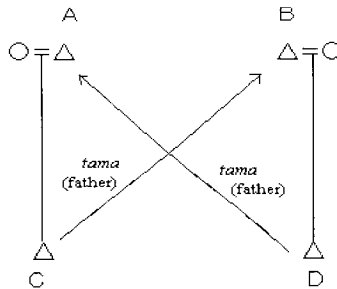


Figure 2

(2) First stage in the village of the bride.

In the village of the bride, things which the bride brings with her on the day of the marriage are prepared. They consist of two big sacks woven of pandanus leaves called *tanbunia* and daily commodities such as an alcohol lamp, a bush knife, a suit case, dishes, seats, cups, dresses and so on.

Sacks are filled with mats. One of the two sacks is filled with one big white mat, many big red mats, and many small red mats. These are basically prepared by the bride's real mother and real father and are to be owned by the bride. This action is called *hohogoniwa* and the day is also named *hohogoniwa* of so-and-so (the name of the bride). The other sack was filled, as was observed in a marriage ceremony by me in 1981, with one big white mat and six big red mats. These are prepared by the bride's fathers and are put in the sack by her father's sisters. Her real father prepares two red mats, one classificatory father prepares one white mat as well as one red mat, and three classificatory fathers prepare one red mat respectively. These

five fathers of the bride including her real father play important roles in the marriage ceremony as well as her marriage life. I refer to them here as the bride's FATHERS.

FATHERS are the receiver of the bride wealth, which consists of pigs. The information about the number and status of pigs is announced in advance to the people of the bride's side. FATHERS, considering how many mats are equal to what status of pig, put their own mats in the sack. In this marriage case, the bride wealth consists of five pigs, that is, *bobibia*, *tausiri*, 2 *bololvagas*, and *udurugu*. Real father of the bride who puts two big red mats in the sack will get *bobibia*, the classificatory father who presents a big white mat and a big red mat will get *tausiri*, and each of other three classificatory fathers who give a big red mat will get the remaining pigs respectively. Six red mats the FATHERS of the bride put in the sack will go to the bridegroom although the white mat will be owned by the bride.

Some of the daily commodities and money are given to the bride by her kin. The bride's kin in this context means the members of her moiety and her *tama* (fathers) and *vwavwa* (father's sisters) who are in the other moiety. The moiety members who are her *tarabe* (mother's brothers), her *tua* (sisters), or her *hogosi* (brothers) mainly give money to the bride. Such a present is called *tabeana* but some men think such a gift is a kind of *mwemwearuvwa*. The bride's classificatory fathers who give her an alcohol lamp, a bush knife, or a suit case are different persons from her FATHERS mentioned above. Those things given by them or the bride's father's sisters should be reciprocated by big red mats in the scene of *hunhuni* which is held later on the same day.

In *hunhuni* many classificatory fathers or father's sisters of the

bride besides those mentioned above are given big red mats. Although the big banquet will be held in the village of the bridegroom the following day, today's banquet in the village of the bride should be arranged by the real father of the bride. Classificatory fathers who are asked to cut down firewood, or do the other works are also given big red mats here. The classificatory fathers or father's sisters who previously gave big red mats as *vuro* to the parents of the bride will take *sobwesowbe* (return gift) in this *hunhuni*. Persons who always give assistance to the bride or FATHERS and their wives may also become the mat-receiver here, while the mat-giver is basically limited to the FATHERS and their wives.

III

(1) Second stage

On the day of the marriage ceremony, first of all, the bride with things such as big sacks and commodities is taken over to the people of the bridegroom's side. In the house of the bride, people of the bride's side are seen to cry. Then the mothers, sisters, and father's sisters of the bridegroom go with making a big noise. This is a kind of *bwalaitoa*, that is, a joking behavior. In this scene, the father's sisters pour muddy water on the mothers and sisters or the former tickles the latter (see Photo 4). After that, the bride led by one of her father's sisters goes out of her house. They put an unfolded big red mat over their heads so that the bride may not visible clearly (see Photo 5). In some marriages, *hunhuni* is held near her house. Although in olden days, the bride killed a tusked boar at this time,



Photo 4



Photo 5

now she only taps the head or skull of the tusked pig by a walking stick. This was and is one of occasions for a woman to get a pig-

name.

There is a graded system for woman in North Raga.⁽⁸⁾ Women enter the graded system by killing pigs of prescribed status and number. See figure 3. When she kills a tusked boar to enter a new grade,

Name of the grade	Pig to be killed	
	status	number
<i>mwei</i>	<i>udurugu</i>	1
<i>mitari</i>	<i>bololvaga</i>	1
<i>mwisale</i>	<i>tavsiri</i>	1
<i>mitalai</i>	<i>bobibia</i>	1
<i>motari</i>	<i>mabu or livoala</i>	1

Figure 3

she gets a new name after the name of the grade. This is the pig-name (*iha boe*). For example, a woman of the lowest grade *mwei* may be named *Mweimaiana* while a woman of *motari*, the highest grade, may be named *Motariala*. As mentioned above, nowadays the bride does not really kill a pig but usually tap the head of the pig by a walking stick. However this is enough to get a new pig-name.

After such a scene, the bride led by her father's sister moves to the middle of the ceremonial ground (*sara*) in the village. The bride's things such as two big sacks and commodities which are brought to the village of the bridegroom are put there and the bride with her father's sister who is covered with an unfolded big red mat and the real father of the bride stand by these things. The people of the bridegroom are gathering in the end of the ceremonial ground and make *hunhuni* in which some of the classificatory fathers and father's sisters of the bridegroom are given big red mats. These persons will

play a role of taking the bride as well as the bride's things. After *hunhuni*, they walk over to those people standing in the middle of the ceremonial ground, circulate them, and touch the hem of the clothes of the real father of the bride in turn. This means that they receive the bride and the bride's things from him (see Photo 6).



Photo 6

A raw yam is put on one sack in which mats were packed by FATHERS. One of the mothers of the bridegroom brings this sack while the other sack is carried by one of the mothers of the bride. One of the sisters of the bridegroom (not necessarily his real sister) gnaws a bit of the raw yam and spits it out. This is said to mean that her brother (the bridegroom) "spits out" his semen to the bride. This yam is cooked and eaten only by the sisters of the bridegroom. Then, all of the attendants move to the village of the bridegroom. On the way to the village of the bridegroom, a kind of *bwalaitoa* was held before but is not held in recent marriage ceremonies. I observed

only one case in 1974 in which a man hit persons with island broom.⁽⁹⁾

(2) Third stage

In the village of the bridegroom, the bride wealth is given to the FATHERS of the bride. Prior to the opening of the ceremony, many posts have been set on the ceremonial ground in two lines. One line is called *gain boe* (post of pig) and the other is called *gain lĩĩlĩĩiana* (post of *lĩĩlĩĩiana*). Pigs fastened to the posts in the former line are the bride wealth (*volin vavine* = the payment of the woman) and they go to the FATHERS of the bride.

The bride wealth is sometimes prepared only by the bridegroom and sometimes by his relatives. When his real father presents pigs as the bride wealth, these pigs are regarded as *tabeana* to him. In this case, the mats the FATHERS of the bride put in the sack are all owned by the bridegroom. When the other relatives of the bridegroom such as his classificatory father, his brother, his sister's son or any relatives present pigs as the bride wealth, these pigs are regarded to be compensated. Usually these gifts are compensated by the mats of the FATHERS of the bride. For example, in the case that the bridegroom presents his own *bobibia* and *bololvaga*, his real father *tavsiri* and *udurugu*, and his classificatory father *bololvaga* and six big red mats were put in the sack by the FATHERS of the bride, five mats will be owned by the bridegroom and one by his classificatory father.

On the ceremonial ground, big red mats the number of which is the same as that of pigs are put besides them. These mats which are called *raun loḡo* (leaf of laplap: laplap is a kind of pudding) go to the father's sisters of the bride. The pigs fastened to the posts in the

latter line are used in *liñiliñiana* which is the scene of the exchange of pigs and big red mats.

Two more posts are built on the ground between these two lines of posts. A note of 1000 vatu is attached to one of these two posts.⁽¹⁰⁾ This is called *tavven bibiliana* (the payment for the dirty works) which is given to the real mother or parents of the bride from the parents of the bridegroom. This is said to be the payment for the personal needs of the bride when she was a baby. To the other post of these two is fastened a sow called *duran vavine* (a sow of the woman), which is given to the real mother of the bride from the parents of the bridegroom.



Photo 7

Now the bridegroom gives a big red mat to his classificatory father who is also chief (*ratahigi*) in the *hunhuni* manner.⁽¹¹⁾ Then the bridegroom stands by the posts to which many pigs are fastened. The chief mentioned above gives the bridegroom advices about life in a big

voice (see Photo 7). After that, the FATHERS of the bride and their wives walk to the bridegroom on the ceremonial ground, circle around him and all of the pigs, and touch the hem of his clothes respectively. They bring all of the pigs and big red mats. This is the scene in which the bride wealth is given to the father of the bride. Pigs as bride wealth are those fastened to the posts in one line, the number of which is usually five. The other many pigs are the object of the exchange in *liñiliñiana*.

In *liñiliñiana*, each of the mother of the bride puts some big red mats over the head of the bride and says to the bridegroom, for example, "Father, your three big red mats and ten small red mats are there (*Bwanamwa, tata, gaitolu mai malomwa hañvulu*)."⁽¹²⁾ The mother of the bride refers to the bridegroom as father because she is his daughter (*nitu*) (Figure 4).⁽¹³⁾ Then the bridegroom comes to the bride to take these mats (see Photo 8).



Photo 8

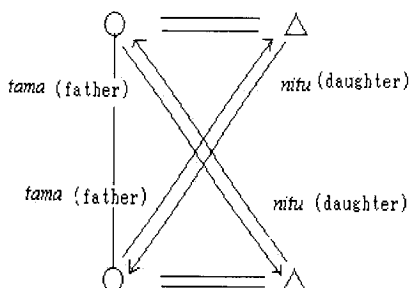


Figure 4

Those women prepare these mats assuming that these mats may have equal value to so and so status of pig. The exchange of mats and pigs in *liñiliñiana* is roughly based on the equivalence rule shown in Figure 5. In one marriage ceremony, twenty three persons presented mats in *liñiliñiana*.

status of pig	mats
<i>udurugu</i>	1 big red mat
<i>bololvaga</i>	2 big red mats and 5 or 10 small red mats
<i>tausiri</i>	3 big red mats and 10 small red mats
<i>bobibia</i>	4 big red mats and 10 small red mats
<i>mabu</i>	5 big red mats and 10 small red mats
<i>livoala</i>	6 big red mats and 10 small red mats

Figure 5

The number of persons who present mats is sometimes over that of pigs. In this case, some persons who can not find pigs to be

exchanged with mats go back home with their mats. Sometimes the owner of the pig does not agree that the presented mats have equal value to his pig. In this case, the exchange is not settled. In certain marriage ceremony, although a woman presented three big red mats and ten small red mats in order to get *tausiri*, there remained no *tausiri*. Then the woman lastly decided to exchange two big red mats and ten small red mats with *bololvaga*. In an another marriage ceremony, a woman presented four big red mats and forty small red mats to get *livoala*. The exchange was successfully transacted in this case.

After *liñilñiana*, the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom. One of his sisters puts a green leaf of coconut on the floor as the sitting place of the bride. She is given a small red mat for this action. The real father of the bride says, "This is your sitting place, my daughter, forever forever (*Tanomwa haḡe geki mwei vai tuai vai tuai*)."

Then begins *bwanlailai*. Here the real mother of the bride gives big red mats to the sisters or brothers of the bridegroom who assisted meals, kava, mats in the marriage ceremony.

While *bwanlailai* is performed in front of the house of the bridegroom, three earth-ovens are set in the meeting house, where *uwawaligis* are made. In the first oven named "the oven for all," tubercles such as taros or yams and the meats of the beasts such as pigs which were killed for the today's banquet or recently cattle are cooked. These meals are for all of the attendants to the ceremony. The meals cooked in the second oven named "the oven for the father of the bride" are only for the fathers and the father's sisters of the bride. The third oven named "the oven for the mother of the bride" supplies the meals for the maternal kin of the bride such as the

bride's mothers, mother's brothers, brothers, sisters, and children etc. The meals cooked in the third oven is specially called *umu* which contains cooked sow. The sow cooked in this oven is usually presented by the parent of the bridegroom, sometimes by his mother's brother. A big red mat called specially *bwanan umu* (a big red mat of *umu*) as well as five or ten small red mats are given to the person who presents the sow by the mother of the bride. I observed in a certain marriage ceremony that the real mother of the bride presented a big red mat and a classificatory mother ten small red mats.

Before taking *umu* from the oven, one of the classificatory mothers of the bride treads on stones which were put on leaves of heliconia covering *umu*. This means that a child of this woman will marry in the near future. In the case of the marriage ceremony above mentioned, a woman who presented ten small red mats for *umu* treaded on the stones.

In olden days, after the marriage ceremony, the attendants went back to their own village except the FATHERS of the bride and their wives, who slept in the village of the bridegroom. The following day, they went back home with *tanmosi*, which was a special *wavwaligi* made by the bridegroom all night. He killed a fowl for each couple and cooked it in *wavwaligi*. Now many people of the bride's side sleep in the village of the bridegroom. Next day, all of them go home with meals in baskets which are also called *tanmosi*.

Notes to Introduction

- (1) I already translated Chapters 1 to 5 into English in "The Story of Raga I" (Yoshioka 1987), and Chapters 6 to 7 in "The Story of Raga II" (Yoshioka 1988). As for the vocabulary of Raga language, see Yoshioka and Leona 1992. I am grateful to my colleague Masayuki Kato for his helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.
- (2) After such a traditional marriage ceremony (or in some cases before the ceremony) young couple has a church marriage. Now most people of North Raga are Christian. I observed the traditional marriage ceremony nine times during my field researches in 1974, 1981-1982, 1985, 1991, 1992, 1996, and in 1997. Here I describe the traditional marriage ceremony mainly based on the observation of that which was held on 25th in September in 1981. It is supplemented by the data of other marriage ceremonies which are basically similar to that of 1981 in spite of the gap of time.
- (3) North Raga has matrilineal moieties which are themselves divided into four groups which I named cluster. As for the kin terms, see Yoshioka 1985 and 1988.
- (4) This is how to make kava beverage in North Raga. In the southern islands in Vanuatu, kava roots are chewed instead of being smashed by a stone.
- (5) The meeting house (*gamali*) has been described in the anthropological documents as the men's house. It is called men's house because women have been said to be prohibited to enter into it. In North Raga, however, a special woman who finished certain rituals has been traditionally allowed to enter into it. See Yoshioka 1994.
- (6) However the people of his village who assisted him are given nothing. For

- them, the lunch, the supper, and kava are *tavwe* (payment) for their works. But the taros or yams which are cooked for lunch or supper are given to the people of A village from those of B village in advance. In this way, the payment for the work (*tavwe*) in this case is consisted mainly of the work for cooking. See Yoshioka 1998.
- (7) A big red mat (*bwana*) given as *vuro* is often called *bwanmosi* while a small red mat (*bari*) given as *vuro*, *barimosi*. The return gift for *bwanmosi* is often called *bwanvwalwwaluu*, while that for *barimosi*, *barivwalivwaluu*.
 - (8) The graded system for men will be discussed in "The Story of Raga V."
 - (9) In this case, a hitting man might be *tama* (father) of the bridegroom while hit persons were those of the side of the bridegroom such as his *ratahi* (mother), his *tarabe* (mother's brother), his *tua* (brothers), and his *hogosi* (sisters) etc.
 - (10) Vatu is a currency of Vanuatu.
 - (11) *Ratahigi* is a traditional political leader who is in the highest grade *vira* in the graded system of North Raga. *Ratahigi* is translated as *jif* (chief) in Bislama. See Yoshioka 1998 and also Nari and Yoshioka 2001.
 - (12) A small red mat is called *malo* (G-string) when it is given to men.
 - (13) Today, not only the mother of the bride but also her mother's brothers participate in *liniliniiana* as mat-giver. They also call the bridegroom their father.

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VEVHURIN RAGA

Tavaluna 8

1) Be dura nu vahuhu atamani i vavine, sa mwata nu vahuhu nituna atamani i vavine. Kera geki ran lagi ram bav ira nitura. Ram ivusi mai nitun houn talai i matmaita. Ta naturi vavine kea gaiviha, naturi atamani hen ivusi.⁽¹⁾ Ira lagi gairua raru bav nitura mwalaḡelo ramuru gita vavine vwate nu ros atatu. Ramuru lai nitu boe sa bwana, ramuru lai nitura mwalaḡelo men tai man simaño. I kea mwa dai simaño gin boe sa bwana⁽²⁾ mwa en gi vuron vavine⁽³⁾. Niu mwa hav vora te niu mwasigi ta ihana be binihi marahi, be naturigi vi vora ta bwativun non ginau boe sa bwana kea. Vavine ros atatu havan mwalaḡelo.⁽⁴⁾ Nu haḡo nituna.

2) Naturigi atamani, ira gitaḡoro ram uloi waḡa be U U. Be naturi vavine, gitaḡoro ram bev gin silo gaivua be imwa dului rav roñoē be tasalana ata Ute taragaiana.⁽⁵⁾ Ira hei ram iloe be vavine. Ram lai bari, naturigi nu hunia⁽⁶⁾ lalai bilan vwavwa goḡonai, bwatuna be binihi marahi. Mwahavana vavine mwa haḡo atatu, aloan tamana abena atamani. Hogisin tamana vi lai damu vi wehi toa vi valinia vi vugea vi laia gi gan vavine, gabe nituna nu vora ta vavine, vwavwa bilan vavine haḡo atatu nituna atamani. Atatu

The Story of Raga

Chapter 8

- 1) A sow gave birth to a boy and a girl, and a sea snake had a male child and a female child. They got married to each other and had their children. They are numerous together with the descendants of a giant clam and a white button shell. Although the number of female children was not known, the males slightly outnumbered the females⁽¹⁾. A married couple who had a baby boy seeks for a pregnant woman. They two give a piglet or a big red mat (to this woman), and they let their baby boy cut his young coconut. In this way (it is said) he cuts a young coconut with a pig or a big red mat⁽²⁾. A pig or a big red mat given to the pregnant woman becomes her debt⁽³⁾. The coconut (mentioned here) is not a real one but such a phrase has a deep meaning, that is, the starting point of everything of a newborn was from such a pig or a big red mat. The pregnant woman is a relative of (this) boy⁽⁴⁾. (Now) she has given birth to a baby.
- 2) If a newborn is a boy, the midwives shout "U, U" in the same way as one calls a canoe. If a girl, they say that *tasalana ata Ute taragaiana*⁽⁵⁾ in such a big voice that people in all houses can hear it. Everybody knows that a newborn is a girl. They bring a small red mat and a child has it over its head and gives it to her father's sister⁽⁶⁾ seriously because it has a serious meaning. Suppose that when a woman gives birth to a baby, there is her father's sister's son. Her father's sister will bring yams, will kill a fowl, will cook them in the earth-oven,

dului ram iloe be naturi vavine kea aloan tamana nu van ġoroe huba, raru vi lagi vai noñoiha.⁽⁷⁾ Tuhuba vavine haġo atatu vi eno gubweñ hañvulu vi garuhi bibilin voroana. Naturi vavine mwa daulatoga tauluna 10 sa hañvul doma, ratahin daulato vi hiġe bilan vwavwa vi vugeri⁽⁸⁾ bwanana, gabe nu lai mahalei ġoro daulato.⁽⁹⁾ Take mwalaġelo i daulato ramuru hav lagi te radu. Be daulato nu ilo bwana non ratahina take vi matagu vi lalagi⁽¹⁰⁾ radu.

- 3) Taman mwalaġelo i ratahina raru vi gita boe gaitolu sa gailima, muan boe livona nu en lol iluna sa bobibia, bwanmemea gailima sa hañvulu. Nitura men lagi. Kunia mulei tabwalugu⁽¹¹⁾ vi lihilihi.⁽¹²⁾ Vi lai bwanmemea lalai bilan vwavwa sa havana vwate vavine lavoa i non lavoa non vavine vi lol non lihilihi. Kea vi lihi ginau hañvulu doma sa 20. Be nitun ratahigi,⁽¹³⁾ liu 50. Tamana vwate vi lai boe, boe livo kea vi wehia vi lol ginaganiana. Be tabwalugu nitun ratahigi vi wehi boe mabu sa livoala.⁽¹⁴⁾ Boñi ira vavine rav lol siñisiñi rav tigo vi rani. Ira bilan vwavwa rav lai tabwalugu be vi gagaru an tahi. Rav hamai nin tahi i gem wehi boe ba hae lol gamali⁽¹⁵⁾ i gem lihi ginau duluai matboñon gamali. Keki huri nitun ratahigi ñano.

will take them out of the oven, and will give them to her as her foods in the case that this woman has given a female baby and the child of her father's sister is a boy. Everybody knows that the father's sister's son of the woman (who has just given birth to a female baby) has secured this female baby and that they two will marry someday⁽⁷⁾. Well, the woman who had a child will lie down for ten days and (on the tenth day) she will wash dirty things from her childbirth. The female child grows into a girl called *daulato* when she is ten years old or more, (then) her mother finds out her father's sister and unfolds⁽⁸⁾ a big red mat in order to give it to her, who made *mahalei* and secured this girl⁽⁹⁾. But the boy and girl do not marry yet. Even though the girl has known the meaning of the big red mat given by her mother, she is afraid of the boy and is *lalagi* (to him)⁽¹⁰⁾ yet.

- 3) The father and mother of the boy prepare three or five pigs, the first of which has tusks growing up to its sideburns i.e. *bobibia*, and five or ten big red mats. Their child is going to marry. In the side of the girl⁽¹¹⁾, she performs a ceremony called *lihilihi*⁽¹²⁾. She gives a big red mat to her father's sister or a highly ranked female relative, and this highly ranked woman operates her *lihilihi*. She purchases more than ten or twenty things (in this ceremony). If she is a child of a chief⁽¹³⁾, more than fifty. One of her fathers brings a tusked pig which she kills for a meal. If she is a child of a chief, she kills *mabu* or *livoala*⁽¹⁴⁾. At night women beat the slit drums and they make a *tigo* dance till daylight. The father's sisters of the girl let her bathe in the sea. After coming back from the sea, she kills a pig in order to enter into the meeting house⁽¹⁵⁾, and she purchases everything in front of the meeting house. (But) this is the case of a daughter of a chief only.

4) Nitun atatu hivhivo ram lol lalaḡovanana n̄an la imwan tamana vi lihi ① sori ② bari sa bari gairua ③ uli ④ lalau ⑤ bunbune sa bunbune gairua sa gaitolu ⑥ livon boe vi tagarae sa livo gairua be nu wehi boe gaiviha vi tagara livo haḡe kunia. Nitun ratahigi vi tagara livo hañvulu. Livo keki vi tagarae batena ira tamana rav loli sa ira havana rav lol bolololi.⁽¹⁶⁾ Be nitun atatu n̄an nu hiruga gin bwanmemea i boe take bilan uteloloara dum i ginau dului keki nu vahal nituna, bwatuna nu hav lol te didini rovoga lol talu sa nu hav lai te bilan dura.

5) Haḡe tamana mwa hora non nituna. Nora mahalei bwanmemea, toa nu wehia gabe tabwalugu nu vora. Tamana nu habwe boe livo huba i boe gaiviha mulei gi volin vavine. Tamana vi n̄is gubwen gaiono sa gaivwelu,⁽¹⁷⁾ hohov lalaḡova huri ginaganiana i kea nu hahara nituna huba lol gubweñi dului huri halan ginau dului. Keki gaha vi hora nituna vai aben tamaragai vwate be vi haharae gin mataisao. Kunia n̄an mulei tabwalugu, tamana nu haharae sa tamaragai vavine sa tamaragai atamani. Lagia ran wehi boe gi bigin vwavwaligi nu wehi dura ran valinia la imwa. Dura vwaligi kea ihana umu.

- 4) In the case of a daughter of the lower ranked men, they prepare everything in the house of her father and she purchases (the following things), ①ornament leaves attached in the back called *sori*, ②a small red mat or two small red mats, ③a dye, ④a feather, ⑤ one, two or three dried leaf umbrellas called *bunbune*, ⑥ a tusk of a pig which she puts around her arm, or two tusks, the number of which depends on how many pigs she kills. A daughter of a chief puts ten tusks around her arm. She puts them in this way when her fathers or her relatives hold *bolololi* ceremonies⁽¹⁶⁾. If she is a daughter of an ordinary man who is poor for red mats and pigs but who has only his garden, he can not give her a chance to take these things. This is because he did not work hard in his garden or he did not have his sow.
- 5) Then the father of the boy sends a messenger for him (to the father of the girl). Their *mahalei* is a red mat and a fowl which was killed when the girl was born. The father of the boy already found a tusked pig and some other pigs for a bride wealth. He takes six or seven leaves out from the stem of cycad (*Cycas circinnalis*)⁽¹⁷⁾, and he begins to prepare for a banquet. He already taught his child about the road of everything on a past day. Now he sends his child to an old person who will confer knowledge on him. Same is found with the case of a girl. Her father or an old female person or an old male person taught it to her. On the day of marriage, they will kill pigs for the meat cooked in the earth-oven (in the meeting house) and a sow will be killed which was cooked in the earth-oven in the house. A sow which is cooked in the earth-oven is called *umu*.

6) Haḡe ira taman vavine, ninovi ran lalaḡoḡo, be kera gaivasi rav haḡo volin nitura bului tamana. Kera gaivasi ram mai mai bwanmemea gaivasi gi buluin non tamana nu ḡol nituna ginia. Ira bilan vwavwa ran lai tabwalugu ram hiv an tahi sa hala behe mwa hav iloe te be vaigougo vi lagi, ta rav la vava rai votu kea vi gita batoia ta si hav hudaligi tehe. Amua tamaragai nu haharae ta nu vev dau huri ute vai noñoiha. Mwarani taman mwalaḡelo mai ratahina raru lai bwanmemea gaituvwa bari ivusi. Ta hogosin mwalaḡelo, be hogosina sibona sa hogosina nitun tamana vwate, kea vi lai bwanmemea vi haḡoe, i hogosina vwate vi lai barimemea vi haḡoe. Bwanmemea gairua gaiḡolen vavin lagi vwate. Mwalaḡelo vi hunia gi bwanan ihei gaituvwa nin ira havan tamana,⁽¹⁸⁾ ta taman mwalaḡelo mai ratahina i tuan ira ratahin mwalaḡelo ran tomare ran haḡo bwana ivusi ḡoleḡole gaibwalbwalo huri tabwalugu, teltele huri mwalaḡelo.⁽¹⁹⁾

7) Haḡe ira atatun mwalaḡelo ram botui vanuan tabwalugu. Ira ratahin mwalaḡelo mai ira hogosina ram ban ram du matboñon imwa. Taman tabwalugu vi haroro la imwana aben tabwalugu vi uloinia be mwei namen liñigo garigi gom lagi nin imwadaru. Haḡe huin tabwalugu mwa ruru mwa dei.⁽²⁰⁾ Ira hogosin atamani lagi ram lai bari gaituvwa ram detel tabwalugu ginia, i vwavwa bilan tabwalugu vwate vi

- 6) Then the four (classificatory)fathers of the girl who came together to her village the previous day will get the bride wealth of their child with her (real) father. These four men came here with four big red mats which were supplemented to that of her (real) father, who prepares for (the marriage of) his daughter with these mats. The father's sisters of the girl took her to the sea or any place and (at that time) she does not know that she will marry the following day. They walk out and reach (the sea), then she understands her circumstances. But she does not ask about it. (Because) the old person already taught her about such a happening in the future. Next day, the father of the boy and his mother bring one big red mat and many small red mats. A sister of the boy, who is his real sister or a sister of the child of his another father, will bring a big red mat with her and another sister will bring a small red mat with her. One of two big red mats is used for an outfit of the girl who are going to marry. The boy will put the other big red mat over his head and give it to one of his classificatory fathers⁽¹⁸⁾. The father, mother, and mother's sisters of the boy bring many big red mats which are used for (the payment to) the performance of whips of the girl's side and that of snakes of the boy's side⁽¹⁹⁾.
- 7) Now the people of the boy arrive at the village of the girl. The boy's mothers and sisters go to the entrance of the (girl's) house. The father of the girl enters into her house and he says, "My daughter, I let you go today, you marry out from our house." Then she trembles and cries⁽²⁰⁾. Sisters of the boy who is going to marry bring one small red mat and they put it to the waist of

tagahi dagai barin tabwalugu gabe nu to maia. Vwavwa kea mwa g̃ahalai ramun bari gara la gaon tabwalugu. Gaon tabwalugu mwasin gao wasi be unu sa gaovuña. Haḡe hogosin mwalaḡelo vi hagai bwanmemea gabe nu haḡoe. Vwavwa bilan vavine vi vugeri bwana kea vwavwa i tabwalugu ramuru du aten bwana ram mai vai lol sara.

Tavaluna 9

- 1) Haḡe taman vavine vi lai taiva vi hagainia be ramen uvua. Taman tabwalugu vi lai boe, nituna vi wehia vi ware ihana be mitalai sa mwisale sa mitari hano be ihan bilan vwavwa sa ihan tamana, ① Mitalaihuhu, kunia ihan tamana Molhuhu, ② Mwisaleliliu, tamana Moliliu, ③ Mitaribani, tamana Molbani, sa vi ware ihan havana vwate nu mate huba tuai gabe vavine. Be si motari kea nitun ratahigi Motariala, tamana Viraala.⁽²¹⁾ Tamana mwa avo mwa hahara nituna mwa do aben boe mate i tañbunia gabe ira tamana gailima ran hogon bwana ninovi alolona. Gairuan tañbunia non ratahin tabwalugu kea nu taua mwa hen to dagai mau. Haḡe nogonan avoana taman tabwalugu be nom vavine i masan tasalamwa nom taña mwa eno. Ta taña gea damu gaituvwa nu en aluna, hogosin mwalaḡelo vi lai damu vi gasia.

the girl. And one father's sister of the girl takes off the (old) small red mat which has been the loin clothe of the girl. This father's sister of the girl puts the fringes of the new small red mat into her waist belt. This belt of the girl is really strong vine, that is called *unu* or another vine called *gaovunga*. Then a sister of the boy will submit a big red mat which she have had (to the father's sister of the girl). The father's sister of the girl unfolds the big red mat and puts it over her head as well as the girl's head. With this big red mat being put over their heads, they go to the ceremonial ground.

Chapter 9

- 1) Now the father of the girl brings a trumpet shell and hand it to those who blow it. He brings a pig and his daughter kills it, which results in her taking a name of *Mitalai* or *Mwisale* or *Mitari* so and so named after her father's sister or her father (for example); ① *Mitalaihu* if her father's name is *Molhu*, ② *Mwisaleliliu* if her father is *Moliliu*, ③ *Mitaribani* if her father is *Molbani*, or she will take over the name of a female relative who was dead long time ago. If (a woman of the grade of) *motari* is a child of a chief and her name is *Motariala*, her father is *Viraala*⁽²¹⁾. (After she kills a pig,) the father speaks to and advises to his daughter who is standing near the dead pig as well as a big sack (woven of pandanus leaves) into which her five fathers put big red mats the previous day. The second big sack which is of her mother is placed a little away from the first one. Then in the end of his speech, the father of the girl says, "Your woman, a pig which your wife has killed, and your big sack are there." On the big sack, there has been a yam which the sister of the boy will take and gnaw.

2) Ratahin mwalaḡelo nu lai bwana, mwalaḡelo vi hunia la bwatuna vi uloi ihan havan tamana vwate vi veve be bwanamwa tata. Ira ratahin mwalaḡelo ram bugeri bari vataha bilan vwavwa.⁽²²⁾ Vwavwa ram gaisigo gin ariu bwaro ram huri atamani gabe mwalaḡelo nu hun bwanana. Ram bano, taman mwalaḡelo vi haḡo bwana vi tomuai mwalaḡelo, vwavwa ram huri mwalaḡelo. Rav dalis tabwalugu mai tamana, taña, damu, boe mate, rav la dalisia varua rav harav bugin taman tabwalugu.⁽²³⁾ Hogosin mwalaḡelo vi lai damu vi gasi aluna. Ratahin mwalaḡelo vwate vi ros tañbunia. Ratahin vavine, ira tuana ram ros non tañbunia, kea non vuvugeri alolona. Lolovono lalai ira tuan tabwalugu, gabe daulato dodolua ram lalagi mwalaḡelo lagi maira tuana dodolua.

3) Haḡe kekhadogaha tatan atatu gailima ram samara la hala. Vwavwa bilan mwalaḡelo ram samara mai nora teltele be rav wehi ira ratahin mwalaḡelo maira hogosina, sa rav garuhira gin wai sa bili sa taniavu. Ira ratahin tabwalugu gabe ira tasalan tamana dodolua ban dagai ram doron be rav bulbul tagainira rav veve be kekea, be ramen gan bwañon tabwalugu sa rav haḡo huhuna. Ta vwavwa bilan tabwalugu ram dul dagai ira ratahina i tabwalugu mabutu alun bilan ira vwavwa. Ira ratahina ram gele avoana non tabwalugu nu togo gi vavin togo⁽²⁴⁾ radu nu av leilei ira tasalan tamana mai get marahi sa rovoga hahavwani sa vwañavwañan boe. Ratahin tabwalugu ram bugeri bwanmemea lalai vwavwa bilan mwalaḡelo

- 2) The mother of the boy brings a big red mat which the boy puts over his head. He calls the name of one of his classificatory fathers and says, "Your big red mat, my father." The mothers of the boy unfold a small red mat for each of his father's sisters⁽²²⁾. These father's sisters walk with green reeds as their sticks after a man to whom the boy has given a big red mat by putting it over his head. They walk. The boy's father carries a big red mat under his arm who is walking ahead of the boy, after whom his father's sisters walk. They turn around the girl, her father, big sacks, a yam, and a dead pig. They turn around them twice and they lightly touch the hem of the clothes of the girl's father⁽²³⁾. The sister of the boy takes a yam and gnaw it. One mother of the boy shoulders one big sack. The mother and sisters of the girl shoulder their own big sack in which their big red mats and small red mats are placed. The girl's sisters are seized with sorrows. All of them are *lalagi* to the marrying boy as well as all of his brothers.
- 3) Now five groups of people are mischievous on the road. Father's sisters of the boy are so mischievous that they beat mothers and sisters of the boy by snakes (being grasped in their hands) or that the former pours water, mud or ashes on the latter. The girl's mothers, who are wives of the girl's distantly related fathers, try to bring their faces close to the face of the girl shouting *kekea* in order to kiss her, or they try to grasp the girl's breasts. But father's sisters of the girl push them away and the girl somehow goes to her father's sisters. Her mothers throw back her (own) words which were uttered to them, when she was still a little girl⁽²⁴⁾, that she would not do such a thing as carrying a heavy basket, working hard or feeding pigs.

huri teltele.⁽²⁵⁾ Ira taman tabwalugu ram lai gaiviviligi huhugave i dame, ihei nona 50 sa 100 mwa du la hala be vi wehi hei nin ira hogosin vavine lagia. Ratahin mwalaḡelo vi vugeri bwana haḡe vi ravae na atatu gabe taman tabwalugu⁽²⁶⁾ haḡe rav siv laḡao. Ira mwalaḡelo rituai havan lagi ram bosa rau⁽²⁷⁾ mwa dabahu vava rav votu.

4) Haḡe ira vavine ram samara liu ran votu la vanua. Mwalaḡelo vi tai non gai, tamana vwate vi vahoe lol sara, gai gailima gain boe, gain liñiliñiana varana vwate. Rav uv taiva huri livon muan boe⁽²⁸⁾ gi matan boe gabe tabwalugu nu wehia. La varan boe gaivasi bilan atatu gaivasi ran hogon bwana ninovi bului taman tabwalugu, i raun loḡo gailima sa gaiviha gabe bwanmemea. Atatu lagi mwa doroi tuan mwalaḡelo gin bwatun boe mate gabe tasalana nu wehia, vi toroi⁽²⁹⁾ tuana ban dagai nin mwasin tuan sibona.

5) Haḡe mwalaḡelo vi tu vi tau limana alun gai muan boe aluna, tamana vwate sa non ratahigi gabe mwasin havana⁽³⁰⁾ vi avo aluna vi haharae gin halan ginau rituai, sobe mwalaḡelo bwatigoruga vi

Her mothers unfold big red mats which are given to the father's sister of the boy for the performance of the snake-beating⁽²⁵⁾. Her fathers bring whip-like branches called *huhugabe* and *dame*. Each of them who has fifty or an hundred whips stands on the road in order to beat anyone of brothers of the girl who has just married. The mother of the boy unfolds a big red mat and the father of the girl takes it⁽²⁶⁾. Then they pass by. Some of young men who are relatives of the married boy make a noise⁽²⁷⁾ by hitting leaves on their rounded hands until they reach (the boy's place).

- 4) Now Women are more mischievous. A party reaches the village of the boy. The boy cuts off branches and one of his fathers sets them into the ceremonial ground (as posts). Five posts make one row which is called the post of the pig and the other row is called the post of *lingilingiana*. They blow trumpet shells in order to show the status of the first pig⁽²⁸⁾ which is the substitute of the pig the girl killed. (The other) four pigs are fastened to the posts of the (first) row, which are given to four men who packed big red mats in the girl's big sack with her (real) father the previous day, and (besides them), there are five or so big red mats which are called leaves of laplap (*raun longgo*). The married boy gives the head of the pig his wife killed to his brother. He gives⁽²⁹⁾ it to his (classificatory) brother who is in a remote position far away from his true brother.
- 5) Then the boy stands by and puts his hand on the post to which the first pig is fastened. One of his fathers or his chief who is his true relative⁽³⁰⁾ speaks to him and teaches some moral

bwatigoruga vi hulu vagahia lol matan sinobu be kea voso sa bugurana sa vonosleoana sa nu hav roñ te tamana mai ratahina. Avoana vi nogo taman tabwalugu gailima mai ratahina ram alo boe mai dura, liñiliñiana, raun loḡo. Rav aloe varua, rav harav bugin atatu lagi. Taman tabwalugu vi vataha kera gaivasi gin boe, vi vataha vwavwa bilan tabwalugu gin bwana raun loḡo. Ira ratahin vavine, muana mwa bugeri bwana gaituvwa sa gairua i bari gailima sa hañvulu, vi taua la bwatun tabwalugu, vi uloi ahoan tabwalugu be bwanamwa tata malomwa gailima sa hañvulu. Ira ratahina rituai rav vugeri nora kunia rav tata dului la mwalaḡelo vi liñira tasalan bwaligana⁽³¹⁾ gin boe i dura.

- 6) Haḡe vavine vi van la imwan ahoana. Hogosin ahoana vi vora rau niu bwaro, vi vohainia tabwalugu vi to alolona, ta ratahin tabwalugu vi lai bari huri rau niu kea. Ratahin tabwalugu vi vugeri bwanan ira tuan mwalaḡelo mai ira hogosina, kera ñan gabe ram bului mwalaḡelo gin bilara ginagianiana sa malogu sa bwana seresere memea. Loḡo vi manogo, mwalaḡelo vi hun bwanan atatun tamana vwate raru vi van la imwa vi voro loḡo. Ratahin tabwalugu vwate vi varahi vatun umu ta kea gabe nituna mwa dogo vi siv lagi vai noñoiha. Ta varahi vatu mwa du huri nitun vira mai motari be motari nu vugeri seresere gailima i bari memea vudolua, vira nu hogon seresere hañvulu. Kea haḡea motari vi hiḡe motari vwate vi varahi

principles to him. If the boy is lazy, this man scolds him in the public saying that he is idle, he is like a shell, he is noisy, or he does not listen to his parents (but everything is finished today). After his speech, five fathers and mothers of the girl come and turn around pigs, a saw, *lingilingiana*, and big red mats called *raun longgo*. They round twice and they touch the hem of the clothes of the married man. The father of the girl distributes pigs to these four men and big red mats called *raun longgo* to father's sisters of the girl. The first woman among the mothers of the girl unfolds one or two big red mats as well as five or ten small red mats, and puts them over the head of the girl, then calls the husband of the girl and says, "Your big red mats, my father, your g-strings are five or ten." Some of her mothers unfold their big red mats in this way, to all of whom the boy is related as their father. The boy lets go these wives of his *bwaliga*³¹⁾ with pigs and saw.

- 6) Then the girl goes into the house of her husband. The sister of her husband breaks off a green coconut leaf and throw it. The girl sits down on it. The mother of the girl brings (and gives) a small red mat (to her) for this coconut leaf. The mother of the girl unfolds big red mats and gives them only to those brothers or sisters of the boy who helps him in preparing kava, food, or big red mat. When the laplap is finished, the boy puts a big red mat over his head and gives it to one of his fathers. They two go into the house and they pour coconut milk on the laplap. One of the mothers of the girl treads on the stones of the earth-oven of *umu*. This means that a child of this woman will marry some day.

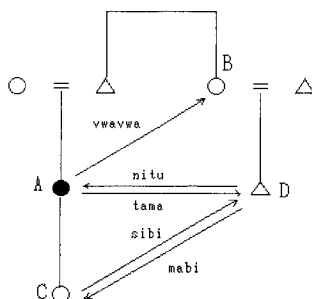
vatu, binihiva be motari vi lol kunia batena nituna vi lagi vai noñoiha, kea vi lol kunia. Sinobu ram bisalsala nin ira bwaligan mwalaḡelo gailima i tasalara gailima ram maturu vai rani. Gabi vi oda vi wehi gara toa gailima rav vugea. Ira lagi rav taura la hala rav avo duleinira.

But in the case of treading on the stones (in the marriage ceremony) of a female child of *vira* and *motari*, *motari* unfolds five big red mats and one hundred small red mats and *vira* (already) packed one hundred big red mats in a big sack (in the day of *hohogoniwaa*.) In this way, *motari* will search another *motari* who will tread on the stones of the earth-oven of *umu*. This means that *motari* will do the same thing when her child will marry some day. People go home leaving five *bwaliga* of the boy and their five wives, who sleep (here) until morning. The boy makes fire and he kills five fowls for their foods and he cooks them in the earth-oven. (Then) the married couple will see them off on their way and say good-by to them.

Notes to Vevhurin Raga & The Story of Raga

- (1) From the beginning to this point, the story is mythic. In "The Story of Raga I", Rev. Tevimule described the origin myth, in which a giant clam and a white button shell play important roles. It is not clear why he started the story of Chapter 8 with the children of sow and sea snake.
- (2) This is an idiomatic phrase concerning infant betrothal. The phrase of *mwa dai simaño gin boe sa bwana* (*mwa* = he, *dai* = to cut, *simaño* = a young coconut which is filled with coconut juice, *gin* = with, *boe* = a pig, *sa* = or, *bwana* = a big red mat) is used when the parent of a baby boy gives a pig or a big red mat to a pregnant woman, who calls the mother of the boy *vwavwa* (father's sister), with intention that if she gives birth to a girl, they let marry their child to this girl. See also Note 7.
- (3) This also means that if the pregnant woman gives birth to a girl, she should "give" her child as a wife to the boy who cut down a young coconut, which results in the payoff of her debt.
- (4) The pregnant woman is *nitu* (mother's brother's daughter) of the boy. See Figure in Note 7.
- (5) The meaning of *taragaiana* is not clear. *Ute* is a name of place and is changeable to another place name in this phrase, such as *tasalana ata Gihage taragaiana*.
- (6) The meaning of *hunია* is "to put the end of an unfolded big red mat over one's head and give it to one's father or father's sister". This is performed in *hunhuni*. See Section II of Introduction.
- (7) In North Raga, a man can marry his *mabi* while a woman her *sibi*. The situation is explained by the following figure. A is a woman who has just given birth to a female child. B is her father's sister who has a male child. B and her husband already gave A a piglet or a big red mat (*mwa dai*

simaño gin boe sa bwana). This time, B presents meals to A and C. The father's sister's son of A is D who calls C *mabi*.



- (8) *Vugeri* (or *bugeri*) means “to unfold”, which is used when one unfolds a big red mat in order to put the end of it over the head of someone to give it to his/her father or father's sister. This is a scene of *hunhuni* described in the Introduction.
- (9) In the above figure, B gives meals to A when A gives birth to a female child. This meal is called *mahalei*.
- (10) *Lalagi* (*lala* = to be afraid) is a kind of kinship term. It is applied by a woman to her *sibi*, that is, her potential husband.
- (11) The male and female categories in North Raga are shown in the table of the next page. Rev. Tevimule uses different categories such as *daulato*, *tabwalugu* and *vavine* to indicate the bride while *mwalagelo* or *atatu* to indicate the bridegroom. In this paper, however, I translate *daulato*, *tabwalugu* and *vavine* as a girl if these terms refer to the bride. In the same way, *mwalagelo* and *atatu* used for the bridegroom are translated as a boy.
- (12) *Lih* means “to purchase”. *Lihilihi* is a woman's ceremony which seems to be done before marriage. I will present a detailed description of *lihilihi* in “The Story of Raga V”.

male category	female category	glossary
<i>naturimemea</i>		baby
<i>naturigi</i>		child
<i>mwahiuboa</i>	<i>huhugasbora</i>	male child whose voice begins to break and female child whose breasts begins to grow.
<i>mwalaḡelo</i>	<i>daulato</i>	boy and girl
<i>mwaraḡelo</i> or <i>mwalaḡelotuturu</i>	<i>tabwalugu</i>	boy who begins to have a beard and girl who begins to have the menses.
<i>atatu</i>	<i>vavine</i>	general term for man and woman
<i>bwatavwe</i>		old person whose hair becomes white
<i>tamaragai</i>		very old person

- (13) *Ratahigi* is translated as *jif* in Bislama, which means “chief” in English. It is not a hereditary chief but a man in the highest grade in the graded system.
- (14) See Figure 1 in Introduction.
- (15) This is also woman's ceremony called *haroroagamali* (*haroro* = to enter, *a* = into, *gamali* = meeting house). A woman who finished this special ceremony can enter into a meeting house freely into which women are generally prohibited to enter. I will describe it in “The Story of Raga V”.
- (16) *Bolololi* is a ceremony concerning men's graded system. Men can enter into a higher grade by killing pigs and purchasing several emblems in *bolololi* ceremony. This will be described in “The Story of Raga VI”.
- (17) This is a traditional way of counting. The literal translation of *tamana*

vi n̄is gubwan gaiono sa gaivwelu is "his father will take off six or seven days".

- (18) The meaning of *havana* is "one's relative" and although it is used for one's moiety members in some cases, it is usually used for one's cluster members. *Havan tamana* is thus usually used for the male members of the same cluster as one's real father. These persons are also called *tama* (father). In this way, *havan tamana* is translated as the classificatory father.
- (19) In Section 3 of Chapter 9, Rev. Tevimule writes that the the father's sisters of the bridegroom beat his mothers or sisters by snakes while the fathers of the bride beat her brothers by whips. This is a kind of *bwalaitoa* (joking behavior).
- (20) *Huin tabwalugu mwa ruru mwa dei* literally means "the bones of the girl tremble and she cries".
- (21) There are four men's grades in North Raga. The first grade is *tari*, next *moli*, third *livusi* (or *udu* or *garai*), and the last *vira*. A man who got to *vira* grade is called *ratahigi*, which is translated here as chief. A man who is in any grade is given a name containing the name of his grade. For example, the name of a man in *moli* is *Molmemea*, *Molture*, *Molhuhu* and so on while that of a man in *vira* is *Viradoro*, *Virawahai*, *Viraala* and so on.
- (22) In this case, small mats are unfolded on the ground, which are given to the father's sisters of the boy. However they are not put on the head of the boy. The small red mat is not given in the form of *hunia* except that it is given together with the big red mat. In the same scene of today's marriage ceremony, the boy's father's sisters are given big red mats, not small red mats, in *hunhuni*. See Section III in Introduction.
- (23) When something is given in the ceremony, the receiver makes this action.

Same is the case of *hunhuni*. A mat-receiver who is the father or the father's sister of the mat-giver goes around the giver a few times and touches the edge of the clothe of him/her.

- 24) Although I translate *vavin togo* as a little girl here, *vavin togo* (*vavin* = *vavine* = woman, *togo* = to stay) exactly means "a little girl who does not have an experience of being in love yet".
- 25) As was said in Note 8, the term *bugeri* (to unfold) is used in the scene of *hunhuni*. In *hunhuni* in the marriage ceremony, it is usual that if the big red mat is given to the father's sister of the bridegroom, the bridegroom puts the mat over his head, which is unfolded by his parents, his mothers or his sisters. So the description of Rev. Tevimule that the mat is unfolded by the mother of the bride is curious. This description is also inconsistent with the writing in Section 6 of Chapter 8 that the parents and the mother's sisters of the bridegroom prepare many big red mats to give them to the performers of the snake-beating as well as the whip-beating.
- 26) Here Rev. Tevimule writes that the mother of the bridegroom unfolds a big red mat which is given to the father of the bride. Same curious situation as in Note 25 appears. Because the mat which is unfolded by the bridegroom's mother is put on the head of the bridegroom, which should be given to his father or father's sister, not to the father of the bride. It is not clear whether the customs described by Rev. Tevimule here are of old days and are not found today, or his description is simply mistaken.
- 27) *Bosa rau* is an action that one hits a leaf against his palm by the other hand in order to make an explosive sound.
- 28) The literal translation of *ram uv taiva huri livon muan boe* is that "they blow trumpet shells for the tusks of the first pig". There are many kinds of rhythms and sounds of a trumpet shell according to the status of pig, that is, the grade of its tusks. In this case, the status of pig which is

fastened to the first post is indicated by the blowing of the trumpet shell.

- (29) *Toroi* (or *doroi*) means "to give something to eat in the same way as *mwemwearuvwa* which is a giving with expectation of return gift (see Introduction)." In this case, the brother of the bridegroom who gets the head of the pig is expected to give back the same thing to this bridegroom in the future in his own marriage ceremony. Although the receiver of *mwemwearuvwa* should be the giver's father or father's sister, that of *toroi* is not limited to special relatives.
- (30) Since *havana*(relative) usually means one's cluster member, *mwasin havana* (true relative) is used for genealogical relatives or very close kin in the same cluster.
- (31) The mothers of the bride call the bridegroom father(*tama*), while the latter calls the former daughter(*nitu*). These women are the wives of the fathers of the bride, whom the bridegroom calls *bwaliga*.