RESEARCH

Kerstin J. S. Werle

Landscape of Peace

Mechanisms of Social Control on Lamotrek Atoll, Micronesia

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For Yen Hans Yatilug

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Introduction

The anthropological work presented here deals with the cultural identity people project onto certain places in Lamotrek. My research is a part of a project supported by the Volkswagen Foundation on "Person, Space and Memory in the Contemporary Pacific" under the leadership of Professor Dr. Jürg Wassmann (Heidelberg University). In our interdisciplinary project, researchers from the field of cultural anthropology and also from related disciplines, such as, psychology, linguistics and geography have covered various aspects of which the following only represent a small selection: How do ethnopsychologies change under the effects of globalisation? How do differentiated experiences of the globalised world and multi-local cultures affect ideas of personhood and belonging? These questions have a special significance for Lamotrek because the traditionally mobile Micronesians very quickly become adaptive to new cultural spaces. The influences on their own society are correspondingly great as will become evident in my work.

Is identity transformed by the freedom to select a certain lifestyle? How are individual decisions relevant to concepts of identity and personhood influenced by different experiences? These areas of interest concerned with the relationships between the individual and society describe the central problems and processes which occur in the context of individualisation and Christianisation. In this work, I will show, with regard to Lamotrek, that no one-sided conclusion can be reached. On the contrary, the individual can apply his agency to create an overall Lamotrekese identity.

How does awareness of the fact that one is part of a nation, a world-region or a transnational culture influence a sense of collective identity vis-à-vis the "other"? Which factors, precisely, shape feelings

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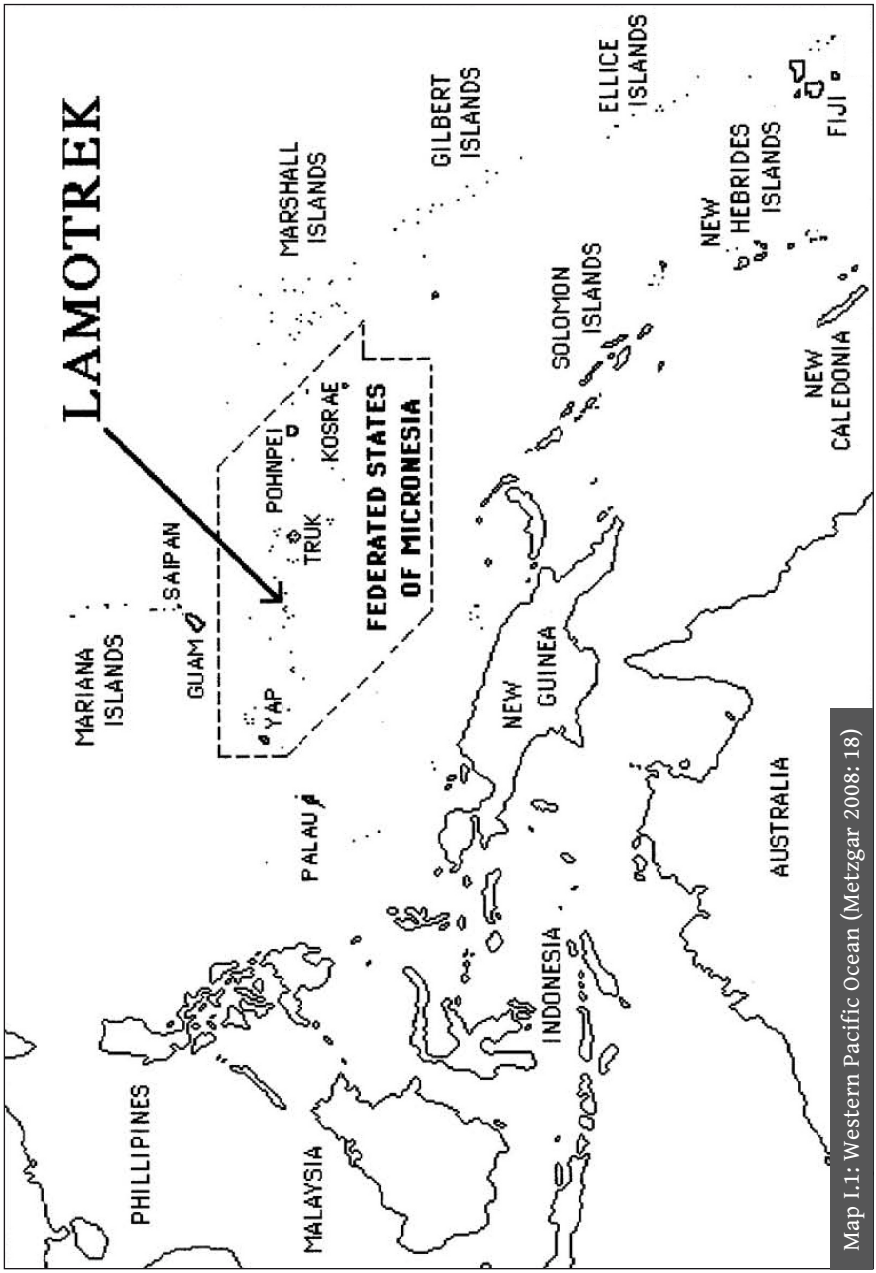
of belonging? How do the new nation-states employ indigenous cultural symbols to mark their distinctiveness? Since the traditional trading and tribute system of the *sawai* in the Caroline Islands has forfeited its direct importance, the *rei metau* (people of the sea) are increasingly considering themselves to be inhabitants of one – or often two or more at one and the same time – of the individual islands which have to be constantly repositioned in the balance of power with Yap. I, therefore, also investigate cultural symbols such as the traditional wrap-around skirt or *lavalava* within this context.

However, the starting point of my part of the project was particularly focussed on the investigation of gerontoethnological issues and developed in the course of the field work into an analysis of generation relationships, mechanisms of social control and peace-keeping in a so-called small-scale society. In my preparation at the beginning of 2006, I primarily worked through the gerontological literature and searched in the material on the region of Micronesia, which was partly already familiar to me, for information on the cultural dimension of ageing processes in the Caroline Islands. In July 2006, together with my husband, I travelled to Guam and Yap and from there on to Lamotrek at the beginning of August (see Map I.1 on next page).

Considering that when we arrived on Yap it was far from clear where we would be conducting our field work, we decided quickly on Lamotrek. Not only had Prof. Donald Rubinstein, Ph.D., and Dr. Carmen Petrosian-Husa recommended Lamotrek to us, the island also seemed to us, for other reasons, to be favourable for cultural-anthropological research. Lamotrek is, except for Satawal, the Outer Island of Yap which lies furthest towards the east, has very active contact to the district centre of Yap and is regularly visited by a supply and passenger ship (approximately every six to eight weeks, see Picture I.1).

Culturally, the people there live relatively independent of Yap, although most of them regularly travel to the main island (see Picture I.2). There is a Lamotrekese community on Yap, in Gergei, where, immediately upon our arrival, we were made welcome. A comparison between little Lamotrek and its big brother Yap seemed to make sense. The Lamotrekese society is considered among the Outer Islands of



Map I.1: Western Pacific Ocean (Metzgar 2008: 18)

Picture I.1: MS Hapilmohol I

Picture I.2: *rei metau* (people of the sea) meeting at the dock on Yap

Yap to be one which deals self-confidently with its cultural inheritance. The people maintain the traditions but are also open to influences – and also visitors – from outside. Last but not least, an important factor for our decision was the fact that Lamotrek's taro plantations are, relative to the population and the landmass, particularly large. We neither had to fear that our presence would unduly burden the island community nor that we would go hungry. In the anthropological literature, Lamotrek has a special position within the Caroline Islands. In 1965, William Alkire wrote a monograph with a comprehensive description of the socioeconomic relationships on the island. In addition, Alkire has written various articles about Lamotrek. Eric Metzgar investigated traditional navigation and published his data on traditional knowledge and education in his dissertation (1991) as well as making several films. Carmen Petrosian-Husa carried out intensive research on Lamotrek for her dissertation (1994). In addition, members of the Hamburg South Seas-Expedition visited the lagoon in 1910. We are all indebted to the researcher couple Augustin Krämer and Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow for an extensive catalogue on the society of that time (Krämer 1937), which covered various areas including descriptions of the material culture, political relationships, religion and medicine, among others.

The decision to welcome us into their home was made by the Lamotrekese themselves. Both Carmen Petrosian-Husa and Donald Rubinstein had informed their friends from the various Outer Islands about our upcoming visit. Larry Raigetal from Lamotrek took action: although he lives permanently on Yap, he introduced us to Chief Manuel Taromwai who was staying on Yap at the time and arranged for the family of his cousin on his father's side, Elisabeth Leyaroferig, and her husband Xavier Yarofalyango to be our hosts. As far as we know, it was the first time that anthropologists working on a research project on Lamotrek were not accommodated at the home of a chief, but stayed with "common folk" (Xavier Yarofalyango is the Headmaster of the school on Lamotrek).

From August to December, we lived with Elisabeth and Xavier and spent January with them on Yap. From February to May, we stayed at

their house on Lamotrek without them, because they had other commitments on Yap. In June, we were back on Yap and, for a week, we even followed the Lamotrekese paths and contacts to Palau, before returning to Germany. I spent the months from September 2007 to February 2008 analysing my data. In June 2008, my first child was born. From October 2008 to December 2009, I finally wrote my dissertation. In May 2011 my second child was born.

In his standard work *Social Anthropology* (1951), Edward Evans-Pritchard recommends spatial and temporal distance between the research and the evaluation and presentation of the results as a methodological principle of field work. In addition to the extensive stationary research work, he found the consideration of the data to be a complex and time-consuming undertaking. He, therefore, estimates a period of approximately ten years to be necessary to complete a classical ethnographical study (Evans-Pritchard 1972: 76). A book about field work is, therefore, perhaps a perspective snap-shot of the life of a society, but more than that, however, a reconstruction of the picture from the past which the researcher had made of the community. Correspondingly, the episodes and relationships which I describe in this work deal with past events. The people, with their various concerns which, thereby, show through, are now in different life situations, with different impressions and experience which significantly influence their world outlook. Still, I hope that they feel accurately represented and can identify with my constructions of them. However, I have modified, abbreviated or changed the names of my Lamotrekese friends except in such places where an anonymisation would be incorrect or nonsensical. For example, the High Chief of Lamotrek, Elato and Satawal is in this study and in reality Veronica Lefaiyob – "Everyone knows that!" (Field Notes 08/2006). I accept full responsibility for the subject matter described.

If I include the time I spent studying anthropology in Göttingen and, particularly, Heidelberg in my preparations for my research, field work and the writing up of the study, then ten years have gone by during which I have been anthropologically occupied with the Pacific region. I have not spent all of the time working on my dissertati-

on, but have devoted my attention to many other projects in my professional and private life. In this way, I have experienced various phases of closeness and distance in connection with my research, aspects which also decisively influence life on Lamotrek, and which should satisfy Evans-Pritchard's methodological demands. Away from Lamotrek, my thoughts often circled around the basic question of all the people in every community, i.e. the question of belonging. Ultimately, my work is also concerned with exactly this set of questions: what does belonging mean on Lamotrek to each individual, in what way does he or she experience himself or herself as part of the community, an age group, a generation, a landscape or a we-concept? And how does this belonging change in the course of a lifetime?

In his diary, Georg Forster already wrote about his travel experience in the Pacific in a way that showed this *Lebensraum* to be particularly suited to thinking in "terms of connections": "Surrendering completely to the impression that this sight made on me, I almost involuntarily sank back into my own thoughts and the image of those three years which I had spent on the ocean and which determined my entire fate appeared before my eyes. The immeasurability of the ocean takes hold of the observer, darker and deeper than the starry skies. There on the calm unmoving stage, eternally inextinguishable lights twinkle. In contrast, here nothing is fundamentally separated; a grand entirety, and the waves merely a fleeting phenomenon" (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin/German Academy of Science in Berlin 1958: 236, my translation). Indigenous authors also see in the Pacific Ocean a connected island world instead of individual cultural units separated by the body of water: "[T]he sea is our pathway to each other and to everyone else, the sea is our endless saga, the sea is our most powerful metaphor, the ocean is in us" (Hau'ofa 2000: 130; cf. also Hau'ofa 1994).

The omnipresent change in life which is divided into areas of nature and culture is particularly evident in the Pacific regions and, in times of recent alarming climate developments, a subject for everyone. If one lives, as I do at present, in the middle of a large landmass, the ocean appears to be wide, formidable and not only unpredictable

but also uncontrollable. For the inhabitants of the island regions of this earth, the picture is certainly different. According to Hau'ofa's observations, a water world can also influence and be influenced and, for example, be a medium of communication in indigenous navigation. Here, the waves have a shape, from their movements, contact points from the "stand points" of the navigator on his ship and the nearest island can be read (Finney 1994; Frake 1985; Gell 1985; Gladwin 1970; Hallpike 1979; Lewis 1994; Thomas 1997). Sight is in this area, in contrast to deep jungle regions in which, for example, hearing can be more important (cf. also Feld 1996: 97), the most important sense in orientation. Therefore, it is not surprising that the explorers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries influenced painting and mainly the painters formed the European impression of the South Seas (Smith 1960). The design of the lavalava, the most important article of clothing and medium of exchange of the women of the Central Carolines, is based on a light-dark contrast which can be seen from far away. The fine patterns woven into the ends are also easily distinguishable from the light background from further away.

The primary method for the cultural-anthropological collection of data is the interview in all its forms of application (Beer 2008; Froschauer & Lueger 2003; Hauser-Schäublin 2008; Schlehe 2008; Sökefeld 2008). My research questions fit into the framework of cognitive anthropology, because they are concerned with cultural knowledge and aspects of mental attitude and evaluation (Antweiler 2008: 246). Feelings of belonging, unfamiliarity and familiarity are areas in which processes of perception and emotive dimensions play their roles. "In contrast to earlier methods in cognitive anthropology and also in contrast to those of discourse-oriented anthropology, these new methods allow an analysis of the extent of social sharing and differentiation (in relation to individual or subgroup culture) or the pattern of synchronised distribution and diachronous diffusion of cognition throughout the members of a group, e.g. with respect to age, gender, network position or social status" (Antweiler 2008: 246, my translation). Among "newer methods", Christoph Antweiler includes "free listing", "card sorting", "triad test", "rating", the "frame tech-

nique" and the "repertory grid method" and, above all, their interconnections and combined implementation (2008: 239-245). The "space games" build their own methodological direction within cognitive anthropology, with the help of which data on orientation in space can be collected. Thereby, important results come to light, such as the difference between an egocentric and a geocentric view of the world (Wassmann 1998a, 2006a). The cognitive methods are used in social and behavioural sciences to collect data and make an understanding of communication processes possible. "Such understanding, the ultimate goal of all sciences, requires the careful analysis of observations to assess their relationship to currently accepted knowledge. Major advances in our understanding usually require systematic observation, classification, interpretation, and study over a period of time" (Weller & Romney 1988: 6-7). Cultural knowledge, processes and content of thinking include, for example, the implicit rules for correct everyday dealings. Thereby, cognitive anthropology is particularly concerned with that part of collective knowledge that is individually available and implementable. This contains so-called schemata, such as the script for a visit to a restaurant (for instance, the various rules for choice of table in Germany and the USA) but also the theoretical organisation of perceived reality. Antweiler formulates: "It deals with often implicit knowledge which people need to make sense of their social environment and how this cultural knowledge is learnt, memorized, used in action, changed and handed on" (2008: 233, my translation). Naomi Quinn in her edited book *Finding Culture in Talk* (2005a) explains in more detail:

> A schema is a generic version of (some part of) the world built up from experience and stored in memory. The schema is generic (...) because it is the cumulative outcome of just those features of successive experiences that are alike. Although schemas can change, those built on repeated experiences of a similar sort become relatively stable, influencing our interpretations of subsequent experiences more than they are altered by them. To the degree that people share experiences, they will end up sharing the same schemas – having, we would say, the same culture (or subculture). The social world is constructed in such a way that many of our

> experiences – the language we speak, for example, or the way we are brought up as children, or the built environment we inhabit – are indeed shared. Hence, many, many of our schemas are cultural ones (2005c: 38, emphasis in the original).

I feel particularly obligated to discourse-analytical cognitive anthropology because I believe that shared understandings provide a key to superordinate (inter-) cultural understanding and comparison. To investigate these schemata and these shared understandings about identity, it would be most appropriate to speak to people from all social levels and all circumstances. It would make little sense only to apply participant observation because partly unconscious cultural processes in the people are involved. These are often not recognisable in normal everyday conversations, but they also have no subcultural framework of their own as the schemata in a doctor's surgery or similar places have. Thus, as researcher, one cannot just simply observe and wait if one only has a limited amount of time at one's disposal, besides which one needs a cultural context which should be outlined by the local people. The cognitive methods mentioned above help to narrow down the topic more exactly; in the further course of research, however, interviews then take on an increasingly central role. Even though the people on Lamotrek enjoy talking about their personal history, "[i]ngenuity and trial-and-error will certainly be required to locate such topics and design the right questions to ask about them" (Quinn 2005c: 40). To gather enough data for intensive discourse analysis, I have also integrated many short interviews, also with different people.

When I went through my field data and planned each next step, I concentrated primarily on key words and the reasoning of my friends. I particularly found the patterns important which were the same (or different) in various discourses with various people. As was important for my interviewing and as Naomi Quinn has indicated, "the premise behind interviewing was that people's talk on a subject is the best available window into its cultural meaning for them. I came to see my analytic approach as the reconstruction, from what people said explicitly, of the implicit assumptions they must have had

in mind to say it" (2005c: 45). She recommends regarding discourses exactly like cultural artefacts and examining their content. In my field work, I oriented myself along those lines but also investigated artefacts, such as, for example, the lavalava, to find, therein, condensed cultural knowledge (cf. especially Hutchins 1995).

In the practical sense, my work was made up of constantly questioning people all over the place and I arranged special appointments for longer interviews. Thereby, I recorded conversations with the permission of the interviewees, with my Sony Minidisc Recorder. In addition, I always had a notebook and pen with me and made notes under headings which I then worked on in the evening or on the next day. The people became used to my notes and even started to dictate certain information to me. This fitted in very well with my efforts to put the control of the discourse into the hands of the speaker to curtail my bias as far as possible. Since I write quickly, I was often able to make notes verbatim; or to request a short pause to make the notes and then to check them with the speaker; without significantly disrupting the flow of the conversation. In this way, I collected lengthy discourses on tape as well as short pieces of conversation on minidisc or verbatim (or as headings). I also made free listings together with the Lamotrekese, by letting them dictate to me whatever came into their heads. In this way, in the course of my year of research, I gathered a great deal of material of which what is presented in this work can only be a part. Throughout this book I document direct references to this collection of data with the words "field notes" in parentheses to make my approach as transparent as possible.

During my research, I was able to delve into various topics in varying depth by sharpening my sensibility for certain topics from free association to building and questioning items. Subsequently, I was able to re-view my material gathered up to this time point from new perspectives. Quinn (1995b) also writes of an organic (in contrast to mechanical) approach, in which one step evolves from the previous one. To this end, she recommends an opportunistic utilisation of materials, methods and theories.

In the following chapters, I shall first discuss the respective thoughts and theories of various authors who influenced, stimulated or guided my analysis. The basis is always formed by the same methodological approach: interviews in various degrees of systematisation, and from these, the investigation of shared understandings on the basis of a cognitive anthropological perspective. Cognitive anthropology looks for cultural meanings which I will reconstruct for the purpose of illustration from my data and present with the help of theoretical approaches organised in respective chapters.

My readings in the anthropology of landscape supplemented my methodological approach from cognitive anthropology. Belonging to various social groups and classifying oneself within the community *in the process* of living and ageing often turned out to be implicit categories of perception and action of the people on Lamotrek. In the analysis of identification processes with external structures, such as, real places or even imagined space, the cultural patterns of orientation of these individual actors become clear. At the same time, the approach of landscape anthropology makes a reflection of one's own position in the field possible which seemed particularly important to me. Not only is my trust in the ocean as pathway to every imaginable place, inner and outer, as described by Hau'ofa (see above) missing. I can also hardly internalise the depth of the importance of different places on Lamotrek or the entire small area of land which the inhabitants imagine to be doomed in a few decades because the sea level is rising.

In the field work for this study, I relied on the analysis of conversations (and myths) because discourse is, in my opinion, the most obvious form of building relations between people that can be investigated anthropologically. Just as in the other methods of cognitive research, in discourse analysis it is necessary to search for regular patterns of behaviour and assessments, to collect their variations, to isolate the elements and to abstract a typical course. In a second part of the research, for example, the subliminal norms for emotions and memories with regard to relatives can then be extracted from discussions on the line of ancestors (Lamotrek Census, Werle & Werle 2007).

In combination with the participant and systematic observation, the landscape-anthropological investigation on Lamotrek brought me a perspective understanding of Lamotrekese identity construction. In this context, I understand ageing as a temporally and spatially determined journey-through-life. Men and women experience this process very differently which, for the body of knowledge which the people of Lamotrek see as their culture, has far-reaching consequences. Whereas the men attempt to pack their knowledge and skills into mobile units, the women interweave the two inseparable from the land on which they live and which influences them just as much as they give it its form.

In Part 1, I address this feminine side of Lamotrekese life and explain against the background of the culture bearer, the lavalava, how the women straddle two worlds, the traditional values of their matrilineal society and the possibilities offered by the international knowledge-based society. My analysis of the cultural artefact lavalava is the start of my investigation. Therein, the discourse on the connection between the women and the land and the men and the ocean is reflected.

Subsequently in Part 2, I introduce the anthropology of landscape in its epistemological and methodological dimensions, to pursue the community-building importance of designing the landscape. The creation of a remote holy place on Lamotrek is an example of the active construction of future memories. Even though these memories might be ambivalent due to the combination of Lamotrekese tradition and Christian ideas, they do indeed influence the present for the whole of the community.

In Part 3, I explore the importance of emotions in the process of the building of identity and trace, in particular, the consequences of individualisation which, in the context of abuse of alcohol, takes on its own Carolinian twist. In conflicts, communication through concrete places and their inherent connection to families and codices of behaviour offers the chance of an amicable solution without loss of face. The emotion word *ssig* (furious, bad or hot tempered) was a key word for me and a catalyst for this cognitive-psychological analysis.

In my conclusion (Part 4), I take a close look at the connections between land, clan and identity, and show how deeply entangled they really are. For my Lamotrekese friends their whole life course depends on how they relate, actively and through inherited family ties, to their land on the islands. Thus, the "peace culture" (see title of this book) as which the Carolinian culture is frequently coined cannot be accomplished effortless. Peace itself is a process which is mirrored in the Lamotrekese landscape. The risks for peace are a defective gender-balance, western or monotheistic religion and alcohol abuse. Public peace, after all, is a gender- and age-related issue.

To conclude my introduction, I would like to briefly mention linguistics. The people of Lamotrek have, since the onset of the American era, been learning English in school and they use this language in various contexts, also as *lingua franca*. They then call themselves 'Lamotrekan' or 'Lamotrekese', according to the extent to which they wish to make clear the difference between their own culture and the western Americanised world. As a moment of differentiation, the use of 'Lamotrekese' provides a clearer distance, also because, at the same time, it reminds us of 'Japanese', the colonial influence directly preceding the American period. For my predominant use of the word 'Lamotrekese', there is the added fact that my hosts have close family ties with Japan and partially view their identity as being influenced by Lamotrek, the USA and Japan. I believe that the chosen term best expresses this threesome.

The spelling of the indigenous words in the text is aligned as far as possible with the *Woleaian-English Dictionary* compiled by Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976) which seemed to me widely used by the Lamotrekese themselves. The other systematic dictionary published in the language area of the Central Carolines is Jackson's and Marck's *Carolinian-English Dictionary* (1991). Linguistically, Lamotrek belongs to the territories of the Trukic Continuum, which stretches from Chuuk to Palau and includes all the atolls and islands of this region except for the large islands Yap and Palau (Metzgar 1991: 28). The languages of the many islands are related to each other, sometimes they even seem to be dialects of one and the same language. Sohn und Tawerilmang

compiled their dictionary on the basis of Woleaian use of language which is very similar to Lamotrekese. However, this has no official or otherwise standardized orthography and the people of the Carolines write in their own individual style. Since I am genuinely concerned with identification processes I used the spelling of my Lamotrekese friends whenever they stressed an especially Lamotrekese outlook regarding a certain topic. As I say, I have kept in line with the *Woleaian-English Dictionary*, but also used words which are not to be found in it. Their spelling is then based on the Woleaian system or they were dictated to me by the people on Lamotrek (see glossary at the back of this work).

Part I

Washing Away Our Lavalava? Women, Tradition and Power on Lamotrek Atoll

The women on Lamotrek have a special status in the community because the clans administrate and pass on their land and their political influence through the maternal lines. The result used to be a power gradient from women to men, which was balanced by the public freedom of speech and conduct which men held. In a dualistic view of life, the people could always think in terms of relationships: the one cannot manage without the other. Since the colonisation and Christianisation of the Caroline Islands, the gender-balance is in a process of reversal. Through the amalgamation with the western patriarchal social systems, the association of the male gender with public space and the female gender with land, house and family cements the disadvantage felt by women who are dependent on men to make their voices heard. Women of different ages experience this situation of unequal opportunities differently, as I will illustrate using the example of the cultural symbol and most important female article of clothing, the lavalava (see Picture 1.1). The young women feel that it is not fair that they should not be able to conduct themselves as freely as the men. However, this freedom means a certain degree of instability as the more mature women well know. Ultimately, the older women still consider themselves to be the key figures in Lamotrekese society whose scope is, at the most, a little more curtailed than it used to be.

Since the sea is traditionally a male domain, with the title of this part I intend to raise the question of whether the influences from the western patriarchal system will eventually drain the women of their power and literally wash away the cultural female force – then not only the lavalava would lose its colours but also the Lamotrekese culture in general.

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Picture 1.1: Lamotrekese lavalava *(teor)*

The Importance of the Lavalava on Lamotrek

On the island of Lamotrek in the central Carolines, the lavalava (*teor*) is not only the most important article of clothing for women but also an article of value and a bartering object. The word *lavalava,* which came from Samoa, was already used early on in Yap and in *lingua franca* English is now an established general term for a piece of material woven and worn by the women of the Outer Islands of Yap. Carmen Petrosian-Husa, whose research was focused on the lavalava (*teor*), describes it in her dissertation *Lavalava* (1994) as a "textile of fibres or yarns made by the women on the Outer Islands of Yap on a backstrap loom with which tension is produced on the warp. These textiles are woven in simple plain weave. The terms for these fabrics differ according to what material they are made of, their patterns, the interior patterns of the dark longitudinal stripes and also depend on whether the lavalava is intended to be worn by a man or a woman" (Petrosian-Husa 1994: 76-77, my translation).

The size of a lavalava can be adjusted, within the limits of the warping bench and loom on which it is woven, according to the size of the wearer or to the purpose of its use. Carmen Petrosian-Husa reports the length of a lavalava as being between 120 and 148 centimetres, the width between 40 and 54 centimetres and lengths of the fringes between 12 centimetres, when they are plaited and, otherwise, 29 centimetres (1994: 97-98). Thereby, she also measured lavalava woven as loincloths for men (shorter and narrower), but not worn any more these days except for certain rituals. The variability in length of lavalava depends upon the distance between the upright pegs on the warping bench. Some benches are built with an additional fifth hole, for extra-long textiles. A man on Lamotrek wears a *thu* (loincloth), bound from a wide and long strip of cotton material, or

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western clothes (i.e. shorts and sometimes a T-shirt). Sometimes the women tie such a *thu* as an extra skirt over their lavalava, to protect them from getting dirty from the work in the taro patch, to have something extra on during their menstrual period or to intentionally set themselves apart from the fashion and rules of dress on the island, which is mostly of interest to the young women.

The design of a *teor* (lavalava) is based on light-dark contrast, which is produced by dark longitudinal and horizontal stripes on a light background. Admittedly, with the polyester yarn from Asia and America used nowadays, the women have a variety of colours at their disposal that can weaken the contrast described, even if only rarely. Moreover, at right angles to the broad warp stripes, fine supplementary weft patterns (*tabo*) are woven into both ends of a lavalava. In contrast, the classical men's lavalava (*neere mwal*) have no patterns and are woven in black and white (see Picture 1.2) or blue and white, very occasionally also red and white (Field Notes 08/2006, 09/2006).

The traditional lavalava made of hibiscus and banana fibres (see Picture 1.3) – the name of which, "*teor yengaang*", indicates the way they were made, because "*yengaang*" means 'work' – serve as a particularly valuable medium of exchange and payment for funerals and for other important occasions and, accordingly, are still produced quite regularly although less often than the normal lavalava produced to be worn. The women store them together with certain other memorabilia in their *shiim* (a sort of trunk) and keep them ready for special events.

Every woman who stays longer than two weeks on Lamotrek, even visitors from other countries and cultural areas and local women must, in general, conform to the rules of dress and wear a lavalava. As it is the only article of clothing, this means that one has to be topless except when working hard out in the sun, for instance, in the taro patch, or when the weather is particularly cool, in heavy storms or rain and in the case of certain illnesses or physical impairment (for example, a woman is allowed to wear a shirt of some kind if she has had, for example, a breast amputation). On boat-trips, T-shirts can also be worn even in the lagoon and, therefore, still in the region of in-

Picture 1.2: Men's lavalava *(neere mwal)*

Picture 1.3: *teoriu yengaang* (traditional lavalava)

fluence of Lamotrek, and also when visiting the uninhabited islands of Pugue and Falaite in the Lamotrek Lagoon. For Lamotrekese men the same rules exist, but are less strictly adhered to. For example, T-shirts can be worn on fishing trips. Women on Lamotrek feel responsible for their island culture and try to maintain the dress rules. They produce the fabrics and wear them proudly. A woman would never be seen naked on Lamotrek, and, likewise, men rarely take everything off when dancing in the men's house. In zones of mixed genders, both women and men are more likely to go topless and respect the public order. Every change in clothing emphasizes physical aspects of the persons involved which is felt to be a massive interference or opening of one's private sphere.

Carmen Petrosian-Husa writes: "The women possess an established position within the community, therefore, their products – and not least the lavalava – enjoy a particular high esteem. As long as they were produced from local materials, only a certain number of lavalava could be made because of the restriction in resources and working hours. In contrast, the current overproduction has led to a devaluation. At the same time, however, it is the lavalava, which have maintained recent traditional life, since they still are worn for all important 'rites de passage' and life situations, whereas the ropes also produced for such purposes in pre-colonial times by the men are no longer produced in sufficient numbers. How great the change is which the community is undergoing on Lamotrek is absolutely clear to the *rei metau* [people of the sea]. With the help of laws and rules, they are trying to orient their lives on the basis of these traditions and not let them be lost, thereby, the lavalava have proved to be the main support of the culture" (1993: 69, quoted from Petrosian-Husa 1994: 491, my translation and addendum).

The lavalava are so very important because it is the women who make them. Not only do the women on Lamotrek consider themselves to be preservers of the culture, but also the men are involved by making use of the traditional knowledge from their mother's side. In the meantime, also the ropes needed for such exchange activities as only concern men are again being made and used in many ways to build

houses and boats. They are also sold on Yap and Palau. On Palau, they are a treasured building material for the traditional men's houses (*bai*), which are built of wood without nails, bound together only by rope. These ropes are no longer made on Palau (Field Notes 05/2007).

The connection between a matrilineage and its land is particularly emphasised in the Carolines. Although possession of land can in certain situations also be transmitted through paternal ties or through adoption relationships, most of the inheritance and entitlements to land occur through the matriclans and especially through the matrilineages. It is difficult, nowadays, to understand the cultural logic of matrilineal inheritance still unaffected by the influence of Euroamerican ways of life. A reconstruction of gender and power relationships before colonial and missionary influences must remain in part speculative. In comparison to a patrilineal kinship system, as exists on some of the high islands in Micronesia, or even the double descent which some scholars have described to be existent on Yap (Schneider 1962, 1984; Labby 1976), the matrilineal structure opens society to outside contact. My Lamotrekese friends think: If a man brings a partner from her home and after marriage shelters her in his family, if the children count as his family, then a move will only be necessary for him and his wife once in a lifetime. Cut off from her parental network, the woman is then busy with trying to explore and define the boundaries of her new world. It is different in the flat atolls of the Caroline Islands: here the women have their roots in their land, they can also travel, but can shelter their children in the circle of their mother's family. Hence, a stable but still flexible structure can grow within which the men as sons and mother's brothers can feel connected to their homeland, at the same time staying flexible. Figuratively speaking, they circle like satellites around the centre of their lives, the women. The network of relationships works as multiplicator, if men are at home on several islands, i.e. if they marry outside. If they have children, they are almost equally as strongly connected to their wife's land as to their homeland.

The special value of the land may stem from the minuscule size of the islands, and perhaps as well from the multiple connections bet-

ween the individual islands. It is considered to be the most sacred possession of the people. Strictly speaking, the people are only administrators because the land continuously lives on while the people come and go. The closeness of the women to the land allows them to be part of this appreciation: they work in the gardens (even if the men do support them and, for example, in the clearing of the land, put their whole strength into it) and they dig trenches in the earth when necessary. Although most of the tabu places on Lamotrek are on low hills, they are then characterised by holes, for example, water holes or shallow hollows in the ground, called "*leo*". Also, according to the traditional view of the Lamotrekese, the soul of a person lives in a *leo*, which could be translated as "soul bottle" (Field Notes 06/2007). The first drops of fresh water (*leo*) on a taro leaf after a typhoon can be collected and used as medicine. They ensure the survival of the inhabitants because the wells are now brackish and the rain barrels may be destroyed. Therefore, the people on Lamotrek speak of their power which can save lives. Less intensive, but useful for many problems, are also the drops of fresh water present every morning on the taro leaves. In this context, there are, in Lamotrekese everyday life, many ways and means in which, by use of the word "*leo*" (which can also just mean bottle), a reference is made to the importance of the land, which takes in all the people and which is administered by the women.

The women particularly express their strong connection to the land in another context as well. As will become clear in the course of this work, the incest taboo between sister and brother is a formative element of the social order. In everyday life, this ban on contact is shown in the gender-specific division of work. The men mostly work at sea, on the beach and in the bush and in the border regions of the island, whereas the women are occupied in the taro patches, the vegetable beds and at the house. If men and women meet each other, the women bend forward by stretching their backs straight from their hips or they go down on their knees, crouch down or crawl past the men. The women should always be lower than the men, particularly the women's pubic areas should never be at the same height as the

men's heads. Seated men stand up immediately when they see a woman walking by, particularly if she is related to them (on their mother's side) and, thereby, make it possibe for her to pass by standing straight. The avoidance is, in this context, obviously central but the connotation is a woman's bond with the ground and the earth, and the detachedness, even the distance of the man from the ground. The one builds on the other and they have mutual dependency. This dualistic structure influences the living together of the genders over all the generations.

Gender Roles and Pictures of Ageing

During my initial research period on Lamotrek from August to December 2006, I came to appreciate the cultural instruction the teachers' work provides for the island in a special way. There are not only the culture teachers who train the children in traditional skills and techniques that form a good part of Lamotrekese life and conduct but, adding to this source of local knowledge, the other class teachers are aware of their responsibility to make their pupils sensitive especially towards Lamotrekese topics such as the gender roles and their importance for Lamotrek's society. Since I wanted to research life courses and personal histories of the people in this place out in the Central Carolines in order to acquire a sense of how one experiences ageing on a Micronesian island, I asked the current second grade teacher, Thomas Hapitmai, if he would like to help me out in an anthropological experiment: to ask his pupils to draw a picture of their grandparents. Hapitmai not only "helped me out", but managed to motivate his class to create little pieces of art that convey loads of cultural and personal symbolism and meaning.

Children's drawings have been subject to psychological research for a long period of time. However, in recent anthropological writings, children are hardly to be found, because they are a less well appreciated group when it comes to cultural analysis (Loo & Reinhart 1993). The common assumption is that children, being still in the process of amassing cultural knowledge and values, cannot provide the scientists with a coherent picture of what life really is about. On top of that, the interpretation of drawings and pictures is considered to be difficult and often misleading: how can we say definite things about art, especially if it is produced by infants? How can we "read" the messages conveyed in the drawings properly?

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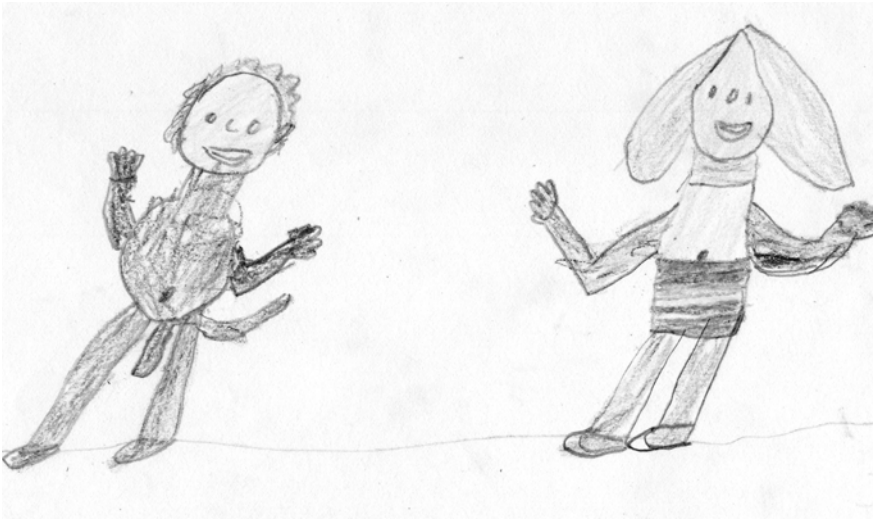
In fact, some of these concerns guided me when I decided to work together with Hapitmai. The drawings of children between 8 and 9 years of age have been classified by psychologists to incorporate "intellectual" and/or "visual realism" (cf. Luquet 1927 as classic reading in this regard). A child at this age already has a sense of what is expected of him or her when it comes to everyday conduct, daily preoccupations and native environment. This means that the child does not draw things as he or she sees or lives them, but rather how he or she has learned to represent them.

The task Hapitmai gave the children in *kapetali lamocheg* (the indigenous language on Lamotrek) was: "Please draw a picture of your grandparents!" From my scientific point of view, this task is in its plainness well formulated, because, as was previously shown for countries other than the FSM, the children normally adapt this question to the needs of their own culture. Cornelia Hummel, Jean-Charles Rey and Christian L. Lalive d'Epinay wrote about this topic in *Images of Aging: Cultural Representations of Later Life* (Featherstone & Wernick 1995). In this study, "the results show that the majority of the characters, grandfather or grandmother, are represented separately" (1995: 158). We collected eight DIN A4 drawings by three boys and five girls (two pupils being excused from classes because they were ill in the week of the drawing task), intricately worked and brightly coloured.

In all the drawings, the grandparents show colourful displays of the traditional Lamotrekese attire (see Picture 1.4): the grandmothers wear bright lavalava (*teor*) with delicate patterns (*tabo*) in the front, or even the traditional kind (*teoriu yengaang*) with fewer colours but impressive Hibiscus strings. The grandfathers wear their loincloths (*neere mwale*) tied in the old style. Some of the ladies display flowers in their hair or behind their ears and carry the local taro basket (*shiugiubel*) made out of coconut leaves together with the digging stick (*goot*), while their husbands are ready to cut their tuba (*falubwa*) with a knife or spear some fish for dinner. A few representatives also carry walking sticks (*gurugur*) – due to old age and rough pathways.

What is most striking for me as a cultural anthropologist is the fact that – be it coincidence or the full range of life style possibilities on



Picture 1.4: Lamotrekese grandparents

Picture 1.5: Lamotrekese grandparents holding hands

the Outer Islands of Yap – four of the pictures show the grandparents standing next to each other but at a discreet distance, and four of the pictures present the couple holding each other's hand (see Picture 1.5). In the study mentioned above, "the analysis splits the countries into three groups. A first one includes Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and the Netherlands, where the elder is represented alone in almost 90 per cent of the drawings. The second group consists of Bulgaria and Guatemala, countries where the elder is drawn alone in between 75 and 80 per cent of the cases. India, where the majority of the drawings show the elder represented accompanied (75 per cent), seems to be an exception" (1995: 158), and according to my results Lamotrek seems to be an exception, as well.

I think that the children wanted to underline the cooperation between the women and the men which is already apparent, because there are always two of them pictured. But holding hands while heading to work in the taro patch or fishing on the reef, or walking together with weak legs on rough ground, is a sign of the gender-specific division based on the dualism deeply rooted in Micronesian culture (Alkire 1977; Rubinstein 1979). Even though many islanders have salaried occupations and take on the so-called western life style, the children on Lamotrek know how important cooperation and sharing is for survival and well-being on the islands. Modern education has brought about much progress and even positive innovations, but at the core of any development is the sharing (*gogo*) and solidarity (*dipseo*) which is crucial to survival.

Moreover, the Lamotrekese customs and traditions may help the people to adapt to the living conditions of the future. These children's grandparents experienced different colonial and/or imperial powers coming to their island, bringing news and goods and trash from nations as far away as Germany. Although they know about many other ways of leading a life in this world of humans, they wear their traditional clothes with pride, they invite the beholder of the drawings to come and catch a glimpse of their culture (some of them literally waving hands) and show no signs of rejection or fear to the outside world, even though their strength is declining (and they need walking

aids). For they rely on the local food, the region's materials and their traditional inventiveness to continue to preserve the expert knowledge needed to survive on the Outer Islands and to cope with difficult, always changing and surprising environmental conditions.

The Maternal Realm: *likoa* (baby girl) and *saugaaw* (baby boy)

When a baby is born on Lamotrek, relatives and clan mates, as well as friends of the parents gather and prepare for a celebration. The women may have already stayed with the new mother (see Picture 1.6) during labour, and will now go to the taro patch to gather taro and prepare (see Picture 1.7) and cook the food for the mother, and also for close family members and attendants. Thus, for four days after the birth, some of the women will always be around the house of mother and baby (who are supposed to rest) to look after food preparation and household chores. Others will prepare, for instance, a pot of sweet taro at home and send it to the new mother or combine the food gift with a visit. The men will go out fishing together and unite their efforts for a big catch which can hopefully serve the mother and her family, but also all the fishermen's families. This joint food production is carried out for four days after which the baby has been introduced to the Lamotrekese world. The "normal" work, such as breadfruit harvest, building houses or weaving on the loom are abandoned by all adults (see Krämer 1937: 113 for the same feast celebrated a hundred years ago) for these four days (*faawbong*: literally "four nights").

Now mother and baby must stick to special precautions for four months. In the olden days, people were especially alert in liminal situations or moments of crisis when spirits could easily enter the realm of the living (Krämer 1937: 113). Today the Christian belief has watered down the traditional cosmology and the new mother will be attended by the health assistant trained in western medicine (who gives lectures for local midwives, too). Thus, the explanation for a certain form of behaviour may constantly be changing, but precautions

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Picture 1.6: Pregnant woman

Picture 1.7: Women preparing taro together

for mother and baby are still in place. A pregnant woman told me the following:

> Here when we have a baby, I think we concentrate on the baby for four months. Then we can go and do whatever we like, the normal work. This has not changed from the time when my mum had her first baby. Maybe we can do other things earlier than my mum could, because others take care, too. My grandma told me, in the olden days this was not allowed. There were certain places the young mother and baby could not go: all the men's houses, Lametag (the highest place on Lamotrek), but also the taro patch. Things could happen in case they went there anyway, ghosts could come. They only went out of the house to take a shower and then went back inside again and stayed there. That was for four months, but maybe even longer (Field Notes 10/2006).

Hambruch and Sarfert give the following related record for Puluwat, Hok and Satawal (Lamotrek's neighbours) in 1909:

> At dusk the souls return to Earth driven by their yearning to see their families. This gives them the chance to investigate what these have been doing in their absence. If they have taken care of their dead (...), the ´nōen are peaceful and help them in every way, otherwise they make the people ill and cause them to die, they literally "eat the people up", as the inhabitants say. This explains the differentiation into **good** (ánü; Satowal: j´älüfís) **and evil** (s´ōmä; Satowal: jälüb´ŭt) **spirits**. Particularly, the small children are threatened by the spirits. If, for instance, there is a grave near a house, the dead person will most gladly visit this hut "to press the eyes of the children closed, until they die". There is a whole range of háfe´ï (= medicines) (...) against such danger. In addition, the inhabitants anxiously make sure that the children do not play around outside once it has got dark (Damm 1935: 200, emphasis in the original, my translation)[1].

1 "Mit Sonnenuntergang kehren die Seelen von Sehnsucht nach ihren Angehörigen getrieben zur Erde zurück. Bei dieser Gelegenheit forschen sie nach, was diese in ihrer Abwesenheit getan haben. Haben sie für ihre Toten gesorgt (...), so sind die ´nōen friedlich und helfen ihnen in jeder Weise, andernfalls machen sie die Menschen krank und lassen sie sterben, ja „fressen" die Menschen auf, wie die Eingeborenen sagen. Daraus erklärt sich die Unterscheidung in gute (ánü;

Lamotrekese women mention that the following rules used to be obeyed. The mother and baby stayed in the delivery house (*imwelpeol*), located alongside the beach to which she had moved a few days prior to delivery, for the four days right after the delivery. There they would be treated with local medicine (*tafey*). After that or after a few more days if she so wished, mother and baby moved to the *imwelpeopeo* (an extra little hut beside the main living house on her property) to get through the "bad nights" (*bongngaw*). Then she could move on to her normal living house where she would stay most of the day seated or reclining with her baby; this period was called *mateolnimw* (literally "the sitting inside the house"). During this time, she would not even go to the well, but would be supplied by a close female relative with fresh water to bath herself and her child. After one month the new mother started going to the well every day to bath her baby in water enriched with local medicine (*tiweshaliu*: "down in the water"). In the baby's second month, the mother would dare to go to the taro patch for the first time again to get some good smelling local medicine for the baby. Otherwise, though, the work in the taro patch (see Picture 1.8) was "taboo" for four months after the birth (Field Notes 10/2006).

The close attachment between mother and baby continues as long as the mother is breast-feeding her child. On Lamotrek, mothers' milk is highly regarded and especially in times of environmental crises such as typhoons, breast-feeding is crucial to the baby's survival. Thus, there is no definite limit to the time span of nursing. Lamotrekese women say that teenage mothers or mothers of a first child often cannot breast-feed longer than six months, and it is the experienced

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Satowal: j´älüfís) und böse (s´ōmä; Satowal: jälüb´ŭt) Totengeister. Besonders die kleinen Kinder sind von Geistern bedroht. Ist z. B. in der Nähe eines Wohnhauses ein Grab, so sucht der Tote gar zu gern diese Hütte auf, um den Kindern „die Augen zuzudrücken, bis sie sterben". Gegen derartige Gefahren gibt es eine Reihe von háfe´ï (=Medizinen) (...). Außerdem achten die Eingeborenen ängstlich darauf, daß die Kinder mit Einbruch der Dunkelheit nicht mehr im Freien umhertummeln" (Damm 1935: 200, emphasis in the original).

Picture 1.8:
Woman working in the taro patch

mothers who can go on breast-feeding for two or three years. Younger women also tend to prefer other work and might not have the patience that is needed for working with the baby. One twenty-year-old woman said, with a wave of her hand to include the middle-aged women with up to ten children and even old women who were sitting with us: "These ladies can go on breast-feeding until the kids are big enough and able to walk... until they can run away! [laughing]" (Field Notes 10/2006).

Babies are named in their first few days (but sometimes not before they are a few months old) after the four-day-long celebration. Until then they are simply referred to as *likoa* or *saugaaw* (baby girl or baby boy). "After that we just call them their name" (Field Notes 10/2006), says a young woman. Since all Lamotrekese are baptized into the Catholic faith they are given a so-called Christian name which has proved to be more convenient for foreign missionaries and priests as well as colonial administrators and helps in different bureaucratic contexts, e.g. when the Lamotrekese travel to other countries. In the first half of the twentieth century, it sometimes was the priest himself who chose the Christian name for a person but, nowadays, it is often the child's parents or close relatives.

The Lamotrekese name which serves as a last name in official contexts, is, most of the time, a unique neologism for every individual. Thus, people from the outer islands of Yap often recognise individuals (and on top of that their family relations) from other islands by their unique local name. The adoptive parents and/or the child's grandpa-

rents have a say in the name selection. People combine syllables from names of living or deceased ancestors to create the new baby's name (e.g, -yango + -til = Yangotil, Ile- [feminine prefix like Le- and Lega-] + -yango + -tiw = Ileyangotiw) or choose meaningful words taken from the Lamotrekese environment (Latigmwai = one of the four corner posts in a meeting house; Yetigral = a certain kind of thunder). Local naming is an act of integrating a new human being into the social world of Lamotrek. It is crucial for the baby's identity as a relative and clan mate within his or her matrilineage and within a history of bilateral ancestors, connecting him or her to a system of rank (with regard to clan affiliation) and land ownership, and determining future relations to other Lamotrekese and outer islanders in general (see Rubinstein 1979: 105-110 for Fais Island). Cultural identity is transmitted to a great extent through the local name.

Christeleen is a *likoa* (baby girl) and lives with her mother most of the time. She is the second child of a Lamotrekese woman and has an older brother. Her brother, already four years old, freely plays with age mates and other children, but also keeps an eye on his little sister. It is in playing and attending to Christeleen that he can win a little bit of his mother's attention. Since the mother is occupied with breastfeeding her baby girl whenever demanded, she is not supposed to take on too many other tasks of the daily routine. Of course, she should care for both of her children and check on their wants and daily diet. But her sisters can look after food production and cooking for the whole family while she is bringing up the baby girl. This principle can also be found in kinship terms: mother and mother's sisters will be addressed by the same term *silei* (my mother) by a child.

Beginning Before Life Starts: The Practice of Adoption on Lamotrek

Christeleen's mother visits Christeleen's adoptive mother once or twice a week to strengthen the bond between the two that was created shortly before the baby was born. As soon as Christeleen is able to walk she might regularly spend some time with her adoptive mother, without her biological mother being around. Adoption is a central principle in Lamotrekese social ties. Through adoption people create a common spirit which includes, but at the same time exceeds, a common family bond. In the literature on Micronesia, adoption is a central theme, because of its exceptional complexity (Brady 1976; Carroll 1970; Damas 1983; Gallagher Goodenough 1970; Goodenough 1955; Ritter 1981; Weckler 1953). Children can spend time with their adoptive parents and their biological parents throughout their life, most likely they will stay in the houses of both sets of parents for reasonable periods of time and they will be accepted as family members by both families alike. It is astonishing that the scientists of the Hamburger Südsee-Expedition who otherwise produced really extensive volumes about the Caroline Islands and Lamotrek (Krämer 1937; Damm 1935) do not specially mention adoption and fosterage.

By the time a woman's pregnancy is evident to the outside world, relatives and friends can start thinking about adopting the child. Reasons for the adoption can be simple, e. g. fond feelings towards the pregnant sister, cousin, daughter or niece, or towards the baby's father. Personal considerations are also important when an individual or couple is childless and wants to have adopted children, as are general thoughts about care and providing for one's old age: "Recognizing the value of children as security in old age, adoptive parents may seek to ensure a close bond between themselves and their adoptive

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children, by negotiating an early change in residence from the child's natal *bogota*" (Rubinstein 1979: 246).

The distribution and administration of property is yet another topic, since the adopted children are affiliated with their parents' land. Clan connections also play an important role, because it is through adoption that additional associations can be established, the dominance of the matriclan can be balanced, and the harmony between men and women, between different lineages and between the clans can be enhanced. Thus, it is not uncommon to adopt kin members, either to strengthen the kinship relation or to create family bonds when the previous relation is not seen as important or is not known or present at the current time. Finally, the child's well-being can be decisive in the case of illness or death of one or both of the parents (in the first few years of a child's life).

Anthropologists have found that the practice of adoption in the Micronesian culture area provides the children with a multitude of persons to whom the child closely relates (Rubinstein 1979: 267). This is useful in times of crisis (such as typhoons) and scarcity of resources (shortly after typhoons and up to some years afterwards) but, especially in these times, the adoption rate can also decrease as Rubinstein has stated for Fais Island: "Adoption means food (...) and when there's no more food on the island, nobody is willing to adopt children" (1979: 232). However, on top of that it is a major factor for identity construction when Micronesians conceptualise themselves as deeply connected to more than one *bogota* (estate). Family experience, emotions and a sense of self can be memorised and "stored" in places; a place thus serves as a human mnemonic (Küchler 1999: 54; see also Bender 1996; Casey 1987; Kahn 1996; Mageo 2001).

On Lamotrek, every adult of twenty years and more has between one and nine adopted children; people with biological children of their own have four adopted children additionally, on average (Lamotrek Census, Werle & Werle 2007). Every adult has been adopted in his or her childhood and spent some time at his or her adoptive parent's household. Every second Lamotrekese adult has stayed on his or her adoptive parent's *bogota* (which can be located on Lamotrek,

but also on the other Caroline Islands) for up to four subsequent years. There even exists a family tradition in adoption which creates adoptive family lines: "This is our adopted daughter Eddwina with her baby... and we will adopt her baby, too. We haven't decided on the name yet. I have to talk to my wife about that first. We are very happy about our adopted daughters!" (Field Notes 01/2007). There is a tendency to invest adoptive ties with an increase of emotional intensity. On Lamotrek, affection between child and mother and between child and mother's brother are not expressed too openly – these bonds are seen as close and taken for granted through the matrilineal descent principle. However, children are supposed to show their love for the father by demonstrating respect towards him as well as honouring him on special occasions, equally, affection between child and adoptive parents can be indicated openly to distinguish this connection from normal friendship and companionship. This contributes to a child's view of the world as Rubinstein notes for Fais: "This emotional disengagement from one's closest kin, coupled with the psychological message that adoptive and other potential parents are there when needed, and that sentiment is 'turned outward,' as it were, from the immediate family, means that for Fais children, the loss of a parent must appear much less frightening and catastrophic, I feel, than for a young American child whose immediate family essentially constitutes its social universe" (1979: 268).

Adoptive parents (singles and couples alike) bring taro, coconut and fish to their adopted baby and his or her family, make a sleeping mat and sometimes the pannier or cradle, hold and baby-sit the child. They provide a (second) home for adopted children from roughly two years of age, onwards (especially if the real mother is pregnant again or nursing a younger baby; see also Gallagher Goodenough 1970: 325) or host them on holidays, weave a girl's first lavalava or give a boy his graduation outfit, too. They also bequeath their adopted child a piece of their land, coconut trees or canoes. The adoptive parents' contribution to a baby's well-being is so substantial that parents rarely reject any future adoptive parents, and sometimes there are two or more (couples of) adoptive parents per child. Since the islanders have

converted to the Catholic faith, adoptive parents also are godparents and take part in the brief church ceremony when the baby is named and blessed by the priest.

Young children often cannot distinguish between their biological and their adoptive parents which is due to the kinship terminology: *silei* (my mother) and *temai* (my father) are equally used for both biological as well as adoptive mothers and fathers. If they do not stay at their adoptive family's household permanently, children will regularly visit their adoptive relatives to have shared experiences which will deepen the common ties (see also Donner 1987). This is when, at the latest, other people get to know their neighbours' adopted children: on holidays it is customary for adopted children to visit their adoptive parents, eat a meal at their place and "sit there a while" (and talk); "Everybody can see the family bonds on holidays!", people say (Field Notes 11/2006).

Relations through adoption function the same as biological family connections with one exception: persons who are cousins by way of adoption can still marry; the incest taboo modelled on the sister-brother relationship and binding also for cousins does not constitute a restriction for adopted cousins.

"You First Learn to Start the Fire": Girls' Chores on Lamotrek

"A fairly common view of development is that our personalities are fixed during childhood. Research does not generally bear this out, as indicated by considerable plasticity in development even at very young ages (Brim and Kagan 1980), between adolescence and adulthood (McFarlane 1964) and into old age (Fiske and Chiriboga 1990)" (Holmes & Holmes 1995: 474). On Lamotrek, the skills a person has are seen as being developed fairly early during childhood. Subsistence activities make up a good part of the local identity and people speak of them as *yengaangil faliuyei* (the work of my island). Children are supposed to learn the daily chores by observing adults and only specialised knowledge is taught within the framework of extra training. Although they are left to play freely of their own accord, whenever a child accompanies adults it takes part in their activities (Field Notes 10/2006). There is no clear distinction between adults' and children's spheres, but a certain emphasis on sharing makes people work together at all times. Of course, there are some kinds of work which are not conducive to a child's health or too strenuous or demanding for him or her. Still, people always try to integrate the smaller ones, even if merely be through adaptation of the activity to the child's capacities.

When I asked young adults on Lamotrek what they had done in their childhood, when and how they had learned certain procedures, they liked to connect what they had learned with the knowledge and skills of their grandparents (see also Holmes & Holmes 1995: 100; Nahemow & Adams 1974: 161). A young lady asked her grandmother and came back to me with the following statement: "My grandma, she first learned to start the fire, then how to weave a basket. When she

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Picture 1.9: Women working on an *uum* (earth oven)

Picture 1.10: Children braiding *mwaremwar* (floral wreaths)

became a teenager, she started to weave the lavalava. Then she started to learn planting and all that. Cooking she learned all the time, but that's the easiest one. Today it's still the same: we also learn it that way" (Field Notes 10/2006).

Whereas making the fire is central in a little girl's daily life (see Picture 1.9), little boys are occupied mostly with fishing. They play on the beach or in the water, construct fishing gear in miniature from local materials and go fishing at the seashore. Often they just stand at the waterline and hold their fishing line in the water – after some practice with ever greater success. They prepare their catch right away on the beach and eat together with their peers, or they bring it to their mother's house where the women will prepare it later on.

Little girls play around the house and compound, collect flowers for *mwaremwar* (floral wreaths; see Picture 1.10) and see to the cooking fire (*yafi*) which is burning most of the day. They help out in any way they can and find themselves in a community of women of various ages. Whereas the boys spend long hours of the day together with children of the same age, girls are part of the women's sphere.

Although this division of men's and women's spheres which is reflected in children's places (Fog Olwig & Gullov 2003) has a long tradition on Lamotrek, the beach is a place in between. Usually the men spend their days out fishing and when they come back, they stay in the men's houses. Although the men's houses are located along the seashore, they are not situated on the beach but a little further up on the island, between beach and main road. The women go to the taro patch and the bush (to gather firewood), and afterwards they stay around the house and prepare the food for the whole family, including the fish which the men have brought up to the house.

In the mornings when the men are out fishing, the women and children can bathe in the sea, but as soon as men gather in the meeting houses, the women make sure they are not to be seen anywhere near. If they want to take a shower later in the day, they go to certain beach areas where there is no men's house and where it is unlikely they will meet anybody of the opposite sex. The men try to avoid meeting the women in the morning – either by taking a shower ear-

Picture 1.11: Holiday barbecue on Falaite Island (Lamotrek Lagoon)

lier or by moving a little way out of the main bathing areas – but they are free to move in the water any other time of the day. In fact, they are so close to it when residing in one of the men's houses that they often jump into the water to cool down.

Before the curfew was imposed (seven p.m. for school children, half past nine for adults) on Lamotrek which nowadays limits walking around the island at night, many people used to meet at the beach after sunset. In the twilight, boys and girls (and even men and women) could come closer without any restrictions in etiquette. "Because at that time the people maybe didn't understand the Catholic faith properly", says a forty-year-old man (Field Notes 01/2007). And his brother-in-law mentions: "Mary and me we were engaged, only six years old, but already engaged – imagine...". I asked him, joking: "So where did you go for your honeymoon?" – "Down to the beach, everybody honeymoon there; that time was different from now." Games were played and everybody could join in without losing face in public. Little fires were lit and people told stories to each other and recounted

myths and fairy tales. The situation must be envisioned much as Rubinstein reports for Fais Island in the 1970s:

> Along the beach the children enjoy complete freedom from village restrictions, and here they largely live their childhood – by day swimming and racing in the water, shell-fishing along the reef, sailing toy boats, paddling behind driftwood floats, playing house and building rough shelters; at night singing and dancing exuberantly around bonfires, wrestling, playing hide-and-seek or anarchic games of tag, and, by spying on their older brothers and sisters, being initiated into the more sensual and directly sexual life of adolescents (1979: 81f.).

The other side of this somewhat liminal place for the people of Lamotrek was: "So that their time will be occupied – not like now, when the kids steal the betel nut and the tuba" (Field Notes 01/2007). This kind of beach life can, thesedays, only be found on an uninhabited island in the lagoon like Falaite where people go for a weekend camp (see Picture 1.11) or an afternoon picnic.

Moving Down, Becoming a Woman

Picture 1.12: Little girl wearing traditional skirt made out of leaves

The celebration for a girl's first menstruation is her most vital moment of integration into the world of the women. It is not held for every girl immediately but girls who get their first periods within a short time of each other, over a few months, are celebrated together in a group. Before this moment, the girls are regarded as children; they practise but neither the conduct of respect (*gassorow*) nor acceptance of more responsibility are expected of them. With the onset of puberty, their lives change abruptly. They are awarded the status of fully-fledged adults. The *gabiitiw*-celebration (*gabiitiw*: to make it come down, to let it move down) introduces the girls not only to useful knowledge and secrets about the sexual side of life but, rather, symbolically emphasizes the strong ties of the women to the earth and the land on Lamotrek. In this sense, the name has, on the one hand, to do with their menstrual blood, on the other however, with a girl who, from now on, will have to get used to being close to the ground and, thereby, justify her position as woman and cultural instance or even as a basis for island life. The new woman can now

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grow taro herself and go "down" into the taro patch. As a sign of her new status, she wears the *teor* (lavalava). Like all festivals on Lamotrek, which signalise the important moments in life's course, the *gabiitiw* lasts four nights and four days.

These days, at the start of the celebration, the girls who are seen as *siu metal uluto* (girl immediately before her first menstruation) are dressed in skirts made of leaves, they used not to have anything else to wear anyway and always wore grass skirts (see Picture 1.12). Since these have to be wound around them several times and tied with a special technique, the wearing of a grass skirt has become an important aspect of the festival. Those being initiated are rubbed with turmeric (*rang*) and adorned with garlands of flowers. The aunts, sisters or other women take them into the sea at regular intervals and then adorn them again as described. Between times, the girls are allowed to rest and eat and pass the time by singing. After they have slept in the community centre or at a home on the island, pandanus mats are laid out for the girls at a central place so that they can sit down. Boys and men stay far away and if a boy dares to "spy", he is made a laughing stock of by the women and/or chased away. Around the place where the girls are sitting, the group of women organise the cooking for four days together, making various taro dishes.They sing many songs loaded with knowledge, talk about the life of an adult women on Lamotrek and explain it to the girls, introduce them to the details of respectful conduct and make repeated allusions to sex. For the young women, this is not only new and unfamiliar but partly also shocking or threatening and, for this reason, the older ones are careful to praise the new members and to help them feel safe. The celebration culminates in theatrical dancing, accompanied by a lot of screaming, wild shouting and uninhibited movements. The girls are allowed to laugh and do this, as far as I observed, quite extensively, though often they are amazed at their female relatives whom they have not experienced behaving like this before.

At a *gabiitiw* (girls' initiation ritual), there are also many tears. For all the women taking part in the festival, it provides an opportunity for self-reflection, looking back at the stages of their own lives whe-

Picture 1.13: Girls at a gabiitiw (girls' initiation ritual)

ther or not a *gabiitiw* was organised for them. Particularly, in the sixties, seventies and eighties, a *gabiitiw* was fairly rare. According to the outlook at that time, the festival was not really compatible with the Catholic faith or the resources were considered to be too scarce. After all on these four days, the men are expected to go fishing and, especially on the last day of the celebration, present the women with a large catch, if possible also including a turtle. If this is not successful, the lack of protein and, in particular, the lack of supplies from the men is a bad omen for the near future of the island community, besides which the men lose the respect of the women. Especially the fathers of the girls being initiated are obligated to making a special effort; some even think they have to provide the petrol for the communal fishing expedition of the men.

The sadness that overcomes those women who are reminded by the *gabiitiw* (girls' initiation ritual) of their blows of fate or feel the burden of the responsibility of the women for the island life or wistfully think of their childhood is repeatedly swept away by the extre-

me joyfulness felt by all the women on these days. All routines and daily chores are ridiculed, people are caricatured, the strict taboo which otherwise lies over everything which can in any way be connected with sexuality is completely upturned. For a few days, the women's world is topsy-turvy.

Commenting on the *gabiitiw* (girls' initiation ritual; see Picture 1.13) now taking place on Lamotrek, an old lady pulled a face and then laughed. The girls were singing too loudly, it even hurt the ears! Besides which, these were all new songs – she could not understand many of the words, sometimes even not whole passages or whole songs when they were in English. The songs used to be quieter and sung in a traditional manner in rhythmical singsong (she sang a few bars of a song). Children used to have no clothes to wear except grass skirts. Therefore, they really looked forward to the *gabiitiw*: they would at long last be allowed to wear a lavalava. It was also difficult to get the materials and make the lavalava. If they could already weave, they were allowed to wear a *teor* (lavalava) after the *gabiitiw* (girls' initiation ritual); if not, or if their parents did not want them to wear a *teor* (due to inadequate respect behaviour), then they still had to wait. The *gabiitiw* was, however, at all times, the starting signal for the work in the taro patch (Field Notes 04/2007).

In addition, a young woman told me that she found it such a shame that she had not had a *gabiitiw* arranged for her. She was born on Palau and lived there with her mother up to the age of three. Thereafter, she lived on Lamotrek until she was fourteen:

> "That's why I say, I really grew up here, the time in Palau was when I was still small, I cannot really remember that time." She went to school on Palau and lived with her mother. "I really missed Lamotrek, my grandma and my aunties. Palau is good, too, but I'm used to the lifestyle and everything here – that's why I was always looking forward to coming here in summer or so. So when I came back last summer – you remember? We came on the same trip! – my auntie gave me the lavalava, 'because', she said, 'maybe you already had your period when you were still in Palau, you are already old enough for the lavalava!' So she gave me one and I started wearing it – actually as soon as I arrived here. But my grandma

> got mad: 'Why, we haven't celebrated the *gabiitiw* yet?!' And when you have worn the lavalava once, you cannot go back to normal clothes like skirts again. You have to stick to the lavalava. So I was really sad. I would have liked to celebrate the *gabiitiw*. Now the people treat me differently. When you already wear *teor* (lavalava), you are already considered grown up, like an adult. You are supposed to show respect. I already go to the taro patch now. The first time I really had problems with my skin afterwards: it was all itchy and red on my arms. Then they told me to use coconut oil before going in the taro patch, and that helps a lot. But sometimes the sun is really strong and it almost feels as if you were fainting or so! I took part in the retreat last year. But that was only about religion. And there, there was the group of students and that of the youth or older ones. I didn't go with the adults, but I was still in the group of students. It was also nice, but we only learned those church things. It was not about starting a new stage, like growing older or so. Now these girls here, they will be young women."

The age cluster of *shoabut* (women) is united through the daily work in the taro gardens. Only on special occasions like the birth of a child does a woman keep away from the patches. In addition, she should not work in the gardens during her menstruation, because the taro could be affected and grow in a poor quality. Since every woman takes up her work on her own responsibility, the menstruation restrictions with regard to the taro crops were gradually loosened over the years. Eric Metzgar reports that in 1989 the taro quality was poor and the chiefs decided to maintain a stricter taboo again (1991: 63f.).

The Value of Women

In conversations with older people on Lamotrek, it becomes clear that relationships based on the partnership that should prevail between men and women must not be publicly displayed by walking about hand in hand (Field Notes 12/2006). The impulse to display such affection appears to be stimulated by western concepts in recent times. For the older people on the island, the gender-specific division of labour is an expression of the omnipresent sharing. Through the individualisation brought about by Christianity and westernisation, which emphasises the relatively powerful position of every single person and leaves little room for clan relationships, the gender relationship gets caught in a process of change. Thereby, the developmental processes seem to function illogically as will be seen in the following section.

The name of each individual Lamotrekese, given according to tradition, is bestowed upon the baby by its relatives in the weeks following the birth. These traditional names are usually unique, composed of syllables taken from the traditional names of people closely or distantly related, whether already dead or still alive, and combined together to make a new, unique name with a pleasant sound. The "Christian" names, introduced by missionaries and nowadays required by the priest when a child is christened, are also composed of components of western names or chosen from the Christian-western tradition. A person in Lamotrek is accordingly clearly identifiable from his traditional name on his own island but also in the rest of the Caroline Islands. The Christian name, however, is often very widespread. The people of the Outer Islands of Yap have mostly begun using their traditional name as their surname for legal purposes (e.g. passports, school registration). What used to be used for one's assi-

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gnment to an island or a clan on the basis of name elements is, nowadays, an expression of personal individuality. Still, even this *status quo* is perhaps only a transition to other naming customs since families that are particularly open to western influence choose a common family name for their children and consider the Christian first name as an individual characteristic. Accordingly, the forenames among older people are often the traditional Lamotrekese names and among the younger ones the modern Christian names.

Significantly, this common family name for the children is in all current cases on Lamotrek the name of the father of the children (Lamotrek Census, Werle & Werle 2007). For it is the Lamotrekese men who first – completely in keeping with the traditional Lamotrekese system – left their island for educational programmes and jobs and enjoyed the direct advantages they experienced in a patriarchal society away from the island. These days, women also attend schools and colleges, however, this is not as much of a matter of course as it is for the men. Since the traditional role of the woman on the Caroline Islands emphasises her (powerful) connection to land and household, the combination with western-Christian ideas forces a problematical change in the female image, which the simplifying gender-analysis literally conjures up. "These domestic roles continued after foreign contact, reinforced by nineteenth-century Christian missionaries who taught that 'a woman's place is in the home,' an idea that reflected Euroamerican biases of the day. These influences concentrated women's attention on the private, domestic sphere and discouraged attempts to take part in public affairs in the community at large" (Marshall & Marshall 1990: 40). The complex balance between men and women is based on partnership and team work. This forms a power structure which takes physical strength, life's phases and life's crises into consideration and imposes rights and obligations on both men and women. This all consequently favours individual negotiations and a dialectic a:b equals a1:b1-analogy has appeared which according to Bourdieu (1976: 56) is, in its simplicity, one of the most powerful and unchangeable structures existing. Precisely with the help of the Christian ideology, individual women in the Caroline Is-

Picture 1.14: Women walking dressed in lavalava and *thu* (extra wrap-around skirt)

lands can, these days, take on leading positions, primarily in groups supported by the church, and in bureaucratic positions at the state and national levels, as described by Mac and Leslie Marshall in *Silent Voices Speak* (1990) (cf. also Flinn 1992; Heinemann 1995; Souder 1987; Wilson 1995). In contrast at home patriarchal structures creep in.

On Lamotrek, particularly the young women demand their share of western goods and knowledge and the right to exercise more of their own choices. They convey these claims in part by their choice of clothing when they wear a *thu* as a second skirt over their lavalava (see Picture 1.14), or wear western skirts and trousers on Yap and likewise want to wear such garments at home, or wear T-shirts and bras. Not only for the (female) lineage eldest, but also for the rest of the female society on Lamotrek, behaviour connected to clothing is a constant theme for position-fixing. They are more than aware of the importance of their lavalava as culture-bearer as emphasised by Carmen Petrosian-Husa; the demands of the young women for autonomy and self-expression of their individuality is, however, all-important

for their role in a changed gender relationship, also beyond the cultural sphere of Lamotrek, as the following example will show. I use italics to highlight opinions and summarized discourse in passages put forward by my Lamotrekese friends.

We are bathing in the sea late in the afternoon to escape the heat of the day for a while before dusk will set in and provide relief. As always, we are wearing our lavalava even in the water. C. has left her *thu*, which she usually wears wrapped around her lavalava, on the beach secured by a stone. I had already noticed her at a women's meeting as she again had to pay a fine of a lavalava, as a penalty for a violation of the island dress code. *On Palau, women can wear what they like*, C. thinks that is good. Otherwise she is happy to be at home again (Field Notes 03/2007). She is already in her early twenties and an accepted member of the group of adult women, but she can still enjoy her youth, at least until she becomes a mother. During our swim, C. asked me whether I had yeast to make alcoholic drinks. The young women sometimes secretly drink. *In a sense, this secrecy is absurd*. C. is the only girl in her family to have attended college. She has neither husband nor children. Her brothers on Guam wanted her to go back to college to complete her training: "Somebody has to bring in the cash you know". *On the islands, life is simple, everything is free. However, to survive in the world of today, one also needs money, for example, if one needs to go into hospital.* "We need both local food and money to survive here", the young woman summed up. *On Palau, where she went to college, the women are better off than on Lamotrek. There a woman is equal to money, getting married is – for the man's family – really expensive.* And, at this point, C. took the theoretical step that I had heard in so many conversations and interviews: *here it is (also) good to have daughters*. Not just being a women but having daughters is a family advantage in the Lamotrekese clan structure. The land belongs to the women's lines, but C. says: "We live on somebody else's land", *because so many inheritance transactions and the giving away of land over the generations have taken place – but, at some point, the land always comes back to its original owner.*

The husband is needed to work on the land of his wife and her family. However, it is not a serious problem if a woman does not have a husband but has children, above all, girls. With daughters, possession remains in the family and the parents are cared for when they are old. To be pitied are people without daughters, such as, Leyaroferig or Letawersiug. But here on Lamotrek it is still good that even the childless old people are cared for by their nieces or adopted daughters – as Rose takes care of Letawersiug. Probably, Rose would one day inherit Letawersiug's possessions... Care is always guaranteed here "because we share everything!", says C. (Field Notes 03/2007).

The island's dress code is also discussed. C. reveals to me, however, that she is willing to pay the fines in order to demonstrate her own conception of fashion from time to time. After all, she is also used to dressing differently. And the penalty consists, ironically, of the object of her resistance, the *teor* (lavalava). She cannot escape entanglement in the multi-purposed object.

The far-reaching importance of the lavalava as an expression of identity and autonomy will become clear in the next section, in which an influential middle-aged woman reports on *teor* (lavalava) in ritual contexts.

A Woman Reports

I got my first lavalava from my mother in 1987 when I was thirteen years old (Field Notes 09/2006). It was a peig besh (white peig, a certain design of lavalava). This depends on the individual taste of the person giving the gift; there is no special pattern for the first lavalava. The girls start wearing lavalava after their first period. In contrast, they can actually start to weave at any time, mostly at around eight years of age. I first learned to wrap the threads around the pegs of the base of the loom called the shoou. When my legs got long enough to operate the loom *(biisal)*, I began to weave. I was about ten years old. Unfortunately, my mother could not teach me at that time because she was off-island. I had to try to work on my own and study the problems and, with the help of old lavalava, teach myself to weave. For really difficult patterns I asked my aunts for advice.

Every woman has a shiim (lavalava storage) at home, in which lavalava and things of personal importance are kept (for example, a photograph and a strand of hair from my deceased great uncle on my father's side). If a relative dies, you take lavalava out of this storage to dress the deceased (when distant relatives die you take them out of a different pile which you have on the side for everyday – also to wear yourself). I always take care to have forty or fifty lavalava in my shiim, if times are going to be hard for my family.

For each grave, many lavalava are necessary. The corpses of women are dressed in five to ten lavalava, in addition, thirty to forty-five mats are laid in the grave. The corpses of men are dressed in a number of the narrower men's lavalava (neere mwale). It should look aesthetic, for very thin people there should not be too many, for fatter people there can be more teor. I think a limit to the number of lavalava would be wise – sometimes the men can hardly carry the coffin.

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Naturally, you cannot really intend the lavalava in your shiim for anyone in particular but you have to plan a bit to have the right teor ready in the case of a death. My biggest worry is that I could be off-island when a close relative dies. At least, I would like to be able to tell my sisters and aunts by radio to take this or that teor out of my shiim and give it to the deceased in his grave.

The people here are of the opinion that they can shake off their responsibility for each other with the Bible. Recently, the son of a Lamotrekese woman who had lived on Satawal died. In the past, the relatives from Lamotrek would have brought mourning lavalava to the parents of the deceased while they waited at their home. It would always have been perfectly clear where each lavalava had come from. These days, in contrast, a collective parcel is packed from the "people, relatives and friends from Lamotrek". In the parcel, there is a limited number of lavalava. Many women find that good because they do not have to be ashamed if they have not got a lavalava ready to put in the parcel. They justify themselves by saying: "We are one heart!" – that is what is written in the Bible. But you can also be one heart if everyone knows from whom each teor is. And if you do not have one ready to contribute, then you can say: "I'm sorry, but I did not have the time" or so. I think everyone should speak directly and stick up for themselves and not hide behind the Bible. I am afraid that, otherwise, our cultural knowledge is gradually going to be lost (Field Notes 09/2006).

The Value of *Teor* (Lavalava)

In her article *Talks about a Changing World* (1994), the German anthropologist Verena Keck lets young Yupno men from Papua New Guinea voice their opinions by describing a debate on tradition and modern trends. In this text, both the inherent logic of the debate and the contradiction between thought and argument resulting from the ambivalent situation of the Yupno, who live in the village and earn their money in town become clear. My description of parts of a women's meeting on Lamotrek, which took place in April 2007, follows Keck's method (Field Notes 04/2007, on the same theme 09/2006). The wishes of the women on Lamotrek to pursue an emancipated path are often in conflict with their role of preserver of cultural knowledge, as was discussed in the previous sections.

During the meeting (see Picture 1.15), the women discussed various incidents of violations of the community's rules. Especially the young women are apparently drinking too much now and again, which does not benefit their reputation. The men say they cannot take drunken women seriously. By renouncing alcohol, which was ordered by High Chief Lefaiyob years ago to ensure that the children always had a sober contact person, the women earn the respect of the men (cf. also Marshall & Marshall 1990). At first for a whole year, all of them, i.e. members of both sexes drank no alcohol (Petrosian-Husa 1996: 129). However, for the men, whose only really permanent possessions are the coconut palm trees (Petrosian-Husa 1996: 132), the making and consuming of alcohol virtually have the function of providing identity, thus, they started to drink again. The young women who still have not yet settled into stable roles as mothers are particularly at risk of being disdained by the men. The older women would like to prevent this from happening. They are worried about the

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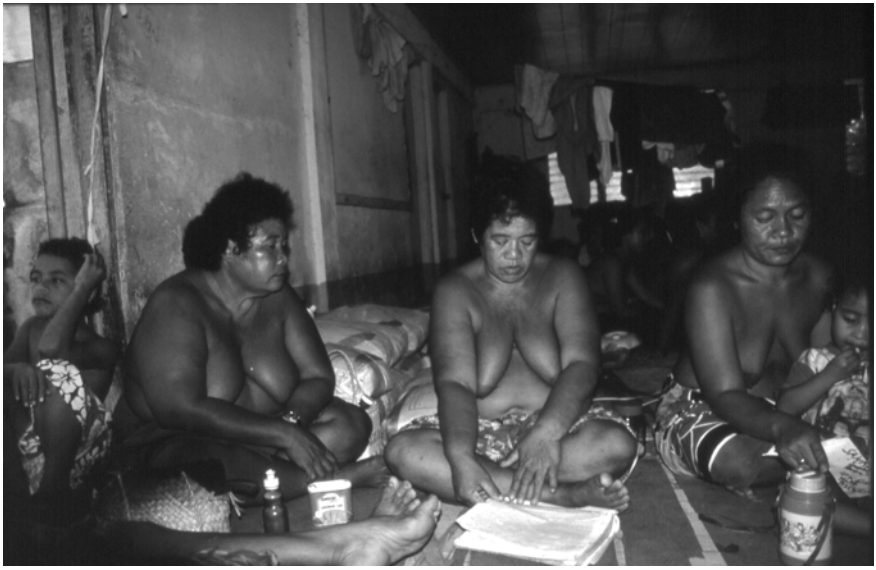

Picture 1.15: Women's Meeting 2007

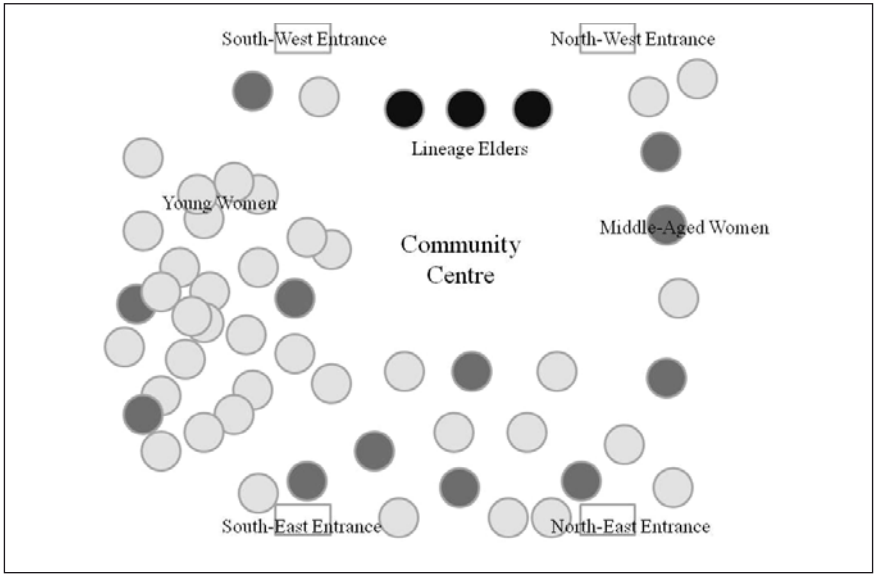

Figure 1.1: Seating order at women's meeting 2007

changes in the relationships between the sexes. At the same time, they see the freedom and the opportunities which are available to their daughters and granddaughters in an open modernizing society.

Those women who occupy a position in a transitional generation – "traditionally" raised but living in a "modern" style – admire their daughters for these opportunities. The lavalava serves, thereby, both as a fine and a definitional marker, when the women decide together what should be paid for which offence. This is, at the same time, a signal to the men that the women are capable of controlling their ranks with their own "currency". For the men, growing up, in relation to offences and/or consumption of alcohol, is a theme I have dealt with separately.

At the last women's meeting, it had been decided which offences should be penalised. For the following offences, at least one *teor* (lavalava) should be paid to the female community to punish the offender: stealing of the flowers for garlands (*mwaremwar*) and chains, wearing a *thu* (loin cloth or extra wrap-around skirt) long, down to the ankles, wearing only a *thu* (without a lavalava), wearing a T-shirt, stealing taro branches and leaves, drinking tuba with men.

2:15 p.m., Community Centre: Elena opens the meeting in her capacity as eldest of the lineage, after she has asked the women who have been sitting outside to come in (see Figure 1.1). A few have followed her request. Esther makes the first speech, reading from a large sheet of paper full of notes. The first point is concerned with the fines – she reads in a loud and authoritative voice what fines there should be (i.e. for the prevalent offences laid down at the last meeting) and whether and how many infringements there have been in this area.

The teenage Mara comes late and stands outside the window, and is immediately invited to come in so that she can be questioned about Sarah stealing flowers, which Mara had witnessed, and furthermore, about whether she had been drinking *falubwa* (palm tree wine). Her mother Petra comments on the situation. Another topic is the unauthorized harvesting of drinking coconuts. Pia, also the mother of a teenage daughter, says curtly that there cannot be a *bakiinga* (fine) for

every little thing. The elderly Letalimesiug voices her opinion quietly and slowly and talks about how such things used to be dealt with.

Pia says there should be *bakiinga* (fine), if the young women were drunk and her daughter (who was absent at this moment) had actually been drinking. As far as the others are concerned, Pia naturally does not know exactly whether they have ever got drunk (and when).

Joseppa says that perhaps all of them had celebrated a bit too much at their last *giubiul* (party)?!

Sonya and Fanny had apparently been drinking; Pia had already confirmed the fact of Fanny's drinking. Sonya's mother says she asked Sonya who said she had not drunk anything. She did not know about Fanny.

Esther spoke up: so how can we summarise?

Up to now, the women have been seeking to clarify what had happened. Now their discussion diverges, depending on the age groups. The young women follow the strategy of acknowledging their behaviour but of playing down its importance, thereby dispelling the criticisms of the others.

Jennifer (in her mid-twenties) apologises at length and says that she has a guilty conscience and is sad about incurring a *bakiinga* (fine). She had not drunk anything but had paid her *bakiinga* to the men anyway (during the weekly meeting of the men in the men's house). She does not want to say anything here against the women but she has not yet managed to weave a lavalava as her *bakiinga*. She feels wrongly accused. The other "suspects" sit still and say nothing.

The discussion turns to the curfew – why did they ignore the curfew? Jennifer says she had been visiting a friend when she suddenly realised that it was 9.20 p.m. and she then left. On her way home, she saw that inside Kulong (men's house in the middle of the island in which Chief Taromwai lives) a film was still being shown, so she stopped there for awhile. Afterwards she hurried home to her tin-roofed house – maybe no-one would have seen *that*. It was not all that late, anyway...

As the meeting continues, a few people are talking, when suddenly the older Mary speaks up loudly – Petra and Joseppa make signs to

her to wait until the others have finished but she thunders on: the suspects should admit all on their own whether they deserve a fine or not (Mary is sitting directly behind the suspects). At this point, the young women are verbally pushed out of the circle of women and accused one by one.

Jennifer specifies what happened again: she had wanted to borrow some shampoo etc.

Sonya is addressed directly by Joseppa, as to what she had done. She says she had just gone to watch a film but had not drunk anything. Letalimesiug (Chief Taromwai's wife) says the people should then no longer come to watch films. General reflection and quiet talk ensue.

Martina then speaks to Sarah: she was, on that particular Sunday, not out with the "drunken girls"? Sarah answers she does not know what Martina is talking about. Mary remarks slightly sourly: "We all meet up here, all have been asked before – now is not the time for discussion. God only knows what happened – and He knows it guaranteed. Our children are smart, they just want to trick us!" Martina quietly repeats, "We should not be hasty and should let everybody have her say."

Catrina asks, "Is there only *bakiinga* for drinking alcohol, or what?!" Pia says, "Maybe, it is too much *bakiinga*?!".

Elena summarises: "Should we fine them or not? The children deny all fault!"

The elder Letalimou says, there should be *bakiinga* (fine) – after all, in Sonya's case, it was obvious.

Jennifer says, it would be unfair to penalise one and not the others. Besides which, she points out that, on Elato, drinking is allowed for women. She had asked the girls who came from Elato: "Have you been drinking?" and they had responded "Yes" – so at least they're being honest. Sonya says that she was not the one who had been drinking at Wennisol (a compound on Lamotrek). She was at that moment, long before she was questioned, already back at the north end and was not caught at Wennisol. She had really not been there.

Pia says that someone had told Carlos that Julia and Erica had been drinking. But many other names had been mentioned... Joseppa says that she does not really know what Carlos (her husband) was talking about. Mary says all of them should get a *bakiinga* (fine).

Elena asks what should be done – after all, here on the island things should be fair. With that question she draws all the young women back into the discussion, and this position is maintained when they are later spoken to as children.

Petra says that she thinks "the children here" (her own included) have not done anything wrong; as far as Jennifer is concerned, she knows, however, with certainty about a few incidents. However, since Jennifer should not be unfairly treated, all of them should be fined. Jennifer says, "but she and she have not done anything wrong".

A general discussion continues about the difference between *bakiinga* (fine) for drinking alcohol and for breaking the curfew (in the case of drinking, the stem of the tuba blossom belonging to the man involved and from which the liquid had been tapped should even be cut off!).

The group has not yet reached consensus because points of disagreement keep appearing. Now the women attempt to close the trench on the side of the mothers – they should shoulder more responsibility.

Clarissa says that it is difficult for Fanny to pay her *bakiinga* to Ileseotil for throwing rubbish into Ileseotil's taro patch. It had been decided that she should pay either with a lavalava or by working for Ileseotil. But Ileseotil does not tell her what to do.

Esther says, in a loud and booming voice, that Clarissa was part of the group that had suggested and decided on this sort of punishment and it is problematical if she is now complaining, after the event. It is also clear that it is not possible for the old Ileseotil to simply approach Fanny and call her to work. Moreover, the girls should listen to their mothers, the mothers, for their part, should watch their daughters and ensure they are behaving themselves. What is the matter, that the parents no longer have their children under control?!

Elena says that if parties cannot be trouble-free, then there should no be no more parties! The men would punish the boys – and there the chiefs are always present (in the men's meetings). It is difficult for the chiefs to keep an eye on everything – also the women's side. Therefore, she could hardly believe that the women could not settle their problems. If they were already holding a meeting now, they must be able to decide fairly on punishments. It is bad when the women, instead of doing their work should be going to watch films – the children are running around unsupervised. We should not accept that women are drinking (*hashi*) and showing no respect for the man of the house (by drinking)! "We certainly have to do something, we will have to start fining people (*sibwe bakiinga*)!"

Jennifer says she thinks the *bakiinga* (fine) is OK, but she does not wish to have to carry on talking about it any longer – "*bakiinga* and good". But Elena says that then there will be offences again and again, in this way nothing will get any better. "You will just get your *bakiinga* and have another rest (*gaseoseo*)!"

Pia speaks and Esther responds to her, "So, you are someone who is in favour of letting her children be punished?" – "Yes, exactly," Esther admits, because many of the mothers have a guilty conscience about punishing their children but with this lackadaisical regiment, the island cannot be kept in order.

In the following exchange it becomes clear that the young and the old are really not so unalike.

Old Ileseotil asks how it could possibly happen that the girls (and the boys) could meet up in the evenings unsupervised. "Must the TV always be turned on somewhere? Must the children always be running around in the evenings?" Ilesouyango (in her late forties) says there is nothing wrong with a bit of TV... Elena thinks it is wrong, though, when the children do not know where their parents are, when they run around (with no particular purpose) and vice versa. Martha (in her early thirties) mentions nervously that some of the children are often seen running around in the evenings, that they show no respect at home, and they cause trouble on her property: the mothers should be penalised! (Everyone laughs at Martha's feigned anger.)

Why is there no TV in the afternoons, only in the evenings, Martha wants to know. It makes her very annoyed that her children are always off in the evenings to watch television and do not show or learn any respect. Clarissa apologises: yes, she often watches TV in the evenings. She feels that some of the teenagers who come along are confused: should they sit down inside the house, should they remain outside? She invites the girls inside, the boys stay outside. Still, they are all confused – "Is there *bakiinga* (fine) for that?" Esther says, "then there will just not be any TV any more". Clarissa says that everyone enjoys it so much, though...

Martina addresses the *teraifil* (young women), and says that *mosuwe* (earlier, in the olden days) it was not customary that girls went looking for the boys even if they wanted to get married. The boys had to come. These days, the girls go looking for the boys – what on earth are they thinking? – The young women are convulsed with laughter, the older ones say they should not be laughing, this here is very serious!

Elena complains, the girls laugh, Joseppa quotes two lines of a song, Elena continues complaining: "If you throw yourselves at the men, they might take you at first – you are easy to get – but if you get sick, they will throw you away (*gasheey lago*)! If you women would respect each other then you would be more careful about your behaviour towards the men, otherwise, the men will not really love you and you won't even love yourselves."

Esther agrees, but adds that one should love one's parents and not go flirting around on the other islands, rather one should concentrate on school. It is not good when children and young girls are already having affairs and babies... And, thereby, men and marriage are really hardly of importance. It is much more important to go to school.

However, the girls chime in with, "we are just so poor". Esther then says, "that is why you should go to school, so that one day you can earn money, otherwise you will never have any money!" Esther continues, saying that it used to be much better here, women used to be much smarter: first they got married and then they had children. Admittedly, they did not go to school as long, so that they could easily

Picture 1.16: Woman walking to the community centre

have their children earlier. These days, they have the opportunity to go to school, and they should make use of that instead of getting pregnant so early.

The *teraifil* (young women) will one day be *shoabut tugufaiy* (old women), therefore, an understanding of each other is, in the view of the Lamotrekese women, guaranteed if you forget about chronological time. Life is repeated for them in cycles.

Joseppa says, "We are talking to you about good relationships on our island. Whether you stay here or come back here from school you should conduct yourselves well. Many pick up bad habits from elsewhere and hold onto them here. When we leave this meeting, every one of you should know what she can do better."

Elena says, the *teraifil* should forgive her for her harsh words against them, she is just worried about them. Esther repeats that drinking tuba (*hashi*) is really not allowed here, that must be stopped. Joseppa says, "You are our children – from time to time, we will meet to talk about everything." Common property is repeatedly broken or destroyed, they should all please look and report on who destroys what and how.

Jennifer says that she would never tell on anyone. But Joseppa says they should not be afraid of open discussion because, in this way, they could avoid all the girls constantly having *bakiinga* (fine) imposed on them.

Esther then says that if there were nothing else to be discussed, she would like to bring up another point. When this meeting is over, they should all be proud of what good work had been done by the women for the women in the last hour inside the Community Centre (applause from all sides; see Picture 1.16).

Furthermore, they should continue to work on constructive ideas: they should help each other with "women's work". This would include, in Esther's opinion, harvesting taro, gathering firewood, collecting coral stones, keeping the island clean. "However, they should only do all this if ordered by the older women (*shoabut tugufaiy*) and under instruction, because we are the strong women" says Joseppa. "In this way, we can feel and show our strength", says Esther.

The next day I heard some of the women complain that the meeting had only been about *bakiinga* (fine). Esther told me of her plans for the women's meeting: the women should divide themselves into groups that would clean the taro area, the woods, the paths and the properties. Additionally they would plant vegetables and celebrate the birth of a baby by bringing food for two days, using the vegetables that had been planted, so that the mother would be able to get back her strength. They would also assist by cooking food on the "four nights of death" so that the work would not fall entirely upon the women on the father's side of the deceased. Lastly they planned to introduce a day to honour the men, when the men would be served vegetables and *uot* (sweet taro), and in return the men would be asked not to make *falubwa* for a week but only sweet tuba, so that the women could make *luush* (coconut molasses).

Sovereign *Shoabut Tugufaiy* (Old Ladies)

"The women, they know very, very much, especially about their relatives from other islands. Even if I have never seen them and they bow in front of me, oh, I know that this is my cousin or so and I have to respect her. I won't tell bad words to her, and I will know that I have to stay away from her. This is a very important feature of our culture where the relationship between sisters and brothers is central", says a man from Lamotrek (Field Notes 11/2007). Without the *shoabut tugufaiy*, the old ladies, who represent the "relationship conscience" on the island, the cultural identity of the Lamotrekese would lose a significant amount of its power.

The old ladies, under the auspices of the eldest of the lineage (or their deputies when they are off-island) are in charge of, for example, cleaning up the island, which Esther actually wished to have mentioned in the women's meeting. To that end, the women are divided into groups and regularly cleaned the public areas and paths on the island as well as private properties where the owners are not capable of taking care of it themselves. First, the rubbish is collected and disposed of, and then the weeding is done, public green spaces (abandoned estates and ruins from Japanese times) are redesigned and, if necessary, flowers planted, areas and paths are re-surfaced with coral stones and smoothed over. Afterwards, the women celebrate the completion of their work by cooking and eating together.

In the context of the Students' Retreats, which I describe in the second part, the women even managed to motivate the young men to help in the process of cleaning up. Although the young people on Lamotrek are normally involved, particularly in the daily routine, it was an innovation that boys and girls were carrying out the same work together and were not separated, as usual, into gender-specific working groups (Field Notes 10/2006, 11/2006).

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In these activities, a decisive moment of the power of the *shoabut tugufaiy* (old women) is that age is equal to knowledge, though not to physical age and/or deterioration. The latter happens, according to the accounts of my friends, mostly to old men who are then cared for selflessly by the women and children: "After the service on Sunday, the women went back to Gapilam to visit Esther's grandfather. The men on the island had each brought four coconuts, and they had sat in the house in silence and accepted cigarettes, but had already left before the women arrived. Roughly twenty-five women now sat down in the house. First, they sang hymns, then they prayed and finally they sang again. They then talked quietly. Donesia (assisted by Patricia and Trinidas) fanned her grandfather to give him fresh air and wiped his mouth now and again with a paper towel, which she put into an empty tin. Donesia's son Lance sat on her lap" (Field Notes 11/2006).

One woman spoke of her father: "When my father became infirm with age, he wanted to drink even more. He was sometimes even unfair and *ssig* (angry and bad-tempered), demanded larger amounts. At some point, because this accelerated his illness, he could no longer walk around anymore, then he stopped drinking but smoked like a chimney. Then came the time when that also was no longer possible, because he could only lie down. Then he was *bushobusho* (foolish, silly) and acted like a small child. He talked incoherently, scratched my arm when he wanted to say something and wanted to lie in our arms all the time like a baby. If I had to go out, he got furious and barked at me: 'Where are you going?'; 'Um, I just have to prepare the food, I will be back in a minute' – in that way, I could get away for a moment" (Field Notes 04/2007).

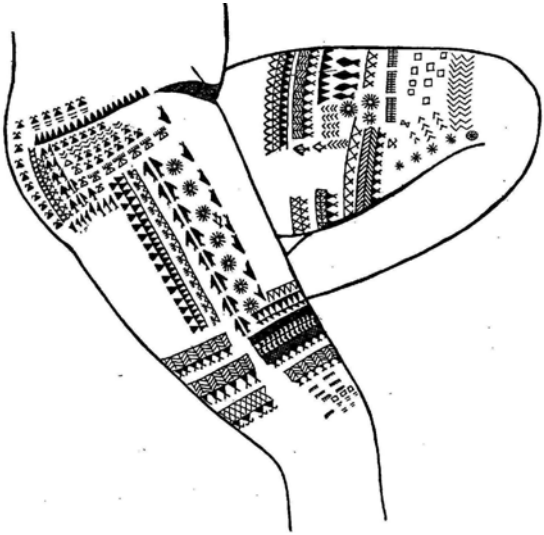
In contrast, old ladies, although they, naturally, also become ill – and are provided and cared for – maintain their status as competent women. I understand the women's relation to the land as a crucial factor in these differing theories of how men and women experience ageing on the islands. In order to control their grounds properly they must remain competent, whereas men may happily become *bushobusho* (foolish, silly). This still is a loss to the community with respect to

knowledge and participation, but the men as well as the lower ranking clan members can more easily be looked after and be deposed from any powerful office. In conversations about the *shoabut tugufaiy* (old ladies), my friends repeatedly emphasised their knowledge and abilities which I should investigate and record for future generations, even if this no longer seemed possible because of old age dementia (Field Notes 10-12/2006, 01-04/2007). For the present-day western society, Bryan Turner writes: "In fact we might say that we find difficulty empathizing with our own process of aging because we subjectively cling to an image of ourselves as unchangingly young. Goethe was thus perfectly correct to say that age takes us by surprise, because it is only as a consequence of some major event, such as the death of a close friend or a serious illness which we have suffered, that we are forced into an awareness of our own aging. (...) There is a necessary disjuncture between the inner self and the image of the body" (Turner 1995: 249-250 and 259). In contrast, on Lamotrek, people resist such a disjuncture. Especially the women begin at an early age to "make themselves old", by presenting themselves as old (*tugufaiy*), if their reputation is under consideration, as can be seen in the description of the women's meeting above. In addition, they constantly surround themselves with other women (as men do with men) of all age brackets and, thereby, have the chronological-biological progress of life in front of their eyes. Thus, the recovery of an old lady following a serious illness appears to be almost an incidental trifle: "When my father was dying, my mother also became very ill, she had serious diarrhoea which she could not hold and was vacant. She did not even realise that she was defecating all over the place. My elder sisters then took her to Yap, put Pampers on her and took her into hospital where she stayed for a while. The diarrhoea was serious and her belly was completely bloated. At that time, I thought my mother would die. She no longer recognised where she was, talked to people who were not even there. For example, Jack and Rachel got up and went, as she thought, to the *malum* (cooking house), as she informed anyone who asked, but that was the wall of her hospital room. In the end, she unexpectedly recovered. I believe, you can get such an illness if you ha-

ve had too many children. Having so many children pummels your brain. You are constantly worrying about all the children, particularly when, as is the case with my mother, most of them are abroad. The problem is, every child takes a bit of you with him, so that you become confused and, at some point, you lose control of yourself. Sometimes, things go round in circles in my head and I am afraid I am slowly going mad" (Field Notes 04/2007).

The worry about and the responsibility for the family accompanies a woman all her life. Beatriz Moral describes how the absence of a concept of individuality increasingly marginalises the women in a modern, individualised, Christian and democratic society on Chuuk and exposes them defenceless to the violence of the men (1998: 273-284). On Lamotrek, it is, in contrast, the individual identity of the old women which functions as a unifying medium for the group of women, altogether. Traditional tattoos, for example, which express individual identity are becoming rarer today. Thus, the power to "design" womanhood on Lamotrek which once was the domain of all women, is now limited to old ladies and may soon be lost. That is one reason why the elders so vehemently try to "teach" the youngsters. Still, it is only in the absence of men and, sometimes, even of children when they weave together at an isolated place, in an uninhabited house or an old shelter and talk about designs and manufacture of lavalava, that the traditional tattoos become a topic of conversation (see Picture 1.17). In the past, Lamotrek women were tattooed only in places covered by the lavalava (and some old women still carry these tattoos today). The article of clothing and the tattoo belong together. For example, around the hips, along the lumbar region and on the inside of the thigh up to the pubic hair, a frigate bird (*gataf*) was "painted" in the skin. "It is for decoration and men like to see that", say the women (Field Notes 11/2006, cf. also Petrosian-Husa 1994: 78-79). Although Krämer reports on more conventional tattoos from the knees to the ankles and from the elbows to the wrists, I found no woman with these tattoos in the present Lamotrekese population.

On Lamotrek, therefore, only as a united group can the women provide a strong position for individual old ladies. If the old people



Picture 1.17: Women's tattoos (Krämer 1937: 40)

have to go to Yap, for treatment at the hospital, the situation changes because life there demands money. Now perhaps a male relative with income will be the one who takes care of the old people. This care will be extensive in that it is a signal to the younger ones what treatment one wishes for oneself in old-age. And the women try, even on Yap, to preserve their community spirit: they visit the hospital (daily) and prior to that collect gifts of food to relieve the burden of the main caretaker of the old person. If, as in such a case, the solidarity of the women becomes a safeguard against age and ill health, it is clear how important the cultural understanding between the generations is, in general, and the lavalava as standard-bearer of the traditional culture, in particular.

The idea of a connection between people and certain places recurs time and again on Lamotrek. Just as a person identifies himself with a place, the place is also, to some extent, dependent on the people living there (for discussions of the dialectic between people and land elsewhere in Micronesia see Labby 1976; Throop 2010). As the des-

cription above shows, people think that loss of orientation and ensuing confusion can be the result of migratory movements and the consequent loss of relatives. If the grandchildren emigrate, for example, the grandmother possibly suffers from "displacement" as a form of separation, akin to bereavement, much worse than the children themselves. The context of home dissipates when they leave and it can no longer be put back together by those who stay. In the next part, I will employ theoretical insights from writings on the Anthropology of Landscape to further investigate this close relationship between people and places that particularly affects the mental balance of women, because they represent the land. The lavalava is, in this context, a part of the identity of a woman that is transportable: for every journey, one receives gifts of lavalava and, with them, takes a part of Lamotrek with oneself around the world.

Part II

The Place of Faith: A Lamotrekese Case of Landscaping

The invention of ritual structures, the collective perception of cultural rituals and their maintenance are everyday phenomena on Lamotrek. William Alkire (1989a) writes about the tabu zones (*rong*), Eric Metzgar attends thoroughly to the tradition of knowledge through rituals in his dissertation (1991, see also 2004). In his book *The Rites of Passage* (1960) Arnold van Gennep distinguishes several phases of a ritual and describes their structure. In the real life situation we find smooth transitions from one phase to the next, but the main elements of separation, liminality and reaggregation, build the structure of each and every ritual. The religious training on a place called "Sunrise" on Lamotrek is an example of a ritual in van Genneps terms in that the different phases are clearly specifiable. Still it is important to note that the ritual structure "retreat" could only become vivid through the participation of all Lamotrekese inhabitants. Though the event was carefully planned and guided, it could not have gained much influence without the collective conception of places as points of orientation for communal action and the communications about this commonplace on the island. The meaning of places is the subject matter of the Anthropology of Landscape.

The Anthropology of Landscape is a theoretical approach that has been gaining more and more attention and finding increasing application in anthropological research since the end of the 1980s (Kühling 2007: 176f.). Combining a theoretical model with methodological approaches, it investigates the relationship between cultural phenomena and the geographical environment in which people live and with which they identify. From the point of view of landscape anthropology, culture and landscape take part in a process that the anthropolo-

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gist can dynamically investigate and present from many different aspects. The complexity of this process, however, can only be comprehensively discussed at the theoretical level. At the practical level of the regional examples further aspects of indigenous life or other areas of anthropological research must, in my opinion, be combined with the methods of landscape anthropology, for a landscape and its importance to be analysed. Here, I shall first explain the concept of landscape and the theoretical implications of landscape anthropology in order to illustrate the epistemological pre-conditions for working with this set of complex themes. An important dimension of landscape anthropology becomes clear merely through the researcher's constant awareness of his own position within the current research, and of his principles of thought and his concepts is vital for the interpretation of the results. In the further course of the work, I shall illuminate the individual aspects which are relevant to my regional example.

Landscape as an Area of Unspoiled Nature

The cultural symbol is an important aid to orientation within the social structure. Individual symbols convey, in a simple and compact manner, complex contents to which members of a community relate in different ways. Hereby in any one moment, those particular elements will be interpreted and communicated that just then make sense to the recipients. However, the contemplation of this process is a separate procedure which must be actively pursued.

In his article "Sexual Cosmology: Nature and Landscape at the Conceptual Interstices of Nature and Culture; or, What does Landscape Really Mean?" Kenneth R. Olwig argued that behind notions such as landscape, nature, nation and culture lies a hidden discourse which underlines the legitimacy of those who wield power in society (1995: 307ff.). Thus, landscape anthropology should, following Olwig's interpretation of the notions, expose and analyse the power structures which are so very firmly integrated into our linguistic thought processes that we are no longer capable of adequately challenging them. However, in this enterprise the anthropologist ventures into a region lacking clearly defined boundaries which always causes problems in scientific processes. Each of the power structures (Bender 1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1999) to be illuminated can be localised in the indigenous world of thought and in reality, as well as in the work and thought processes of the anthropologist himself. Whose linguistic thought does he wish to study, the power structures in what and in whose domain to reveal? Thus, the scientific landscape complex is surrounded by sets of problems, such as, representation, interpretation and ideology in the anthropological portrayal (Clifford & Marcus 1986; Cosgrove & Domosh 1994; Geertz 1964, 1972a, 1972b; Smith 1994). I shall first turn to our western linguistically informed notion

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of landscape in order to narrow the limits of the concept of landscape of the (western) anthropologist.

Conventional understandings equate landscape with the natural environment, envisioned as painting. The hidden discourse which influences our prevailing interpretation of landscape becomes evident in this viewpoint. The words landscape and nature can sometimes be used almost synonymously. In earlier usage the word 'landscape' emphasized the social construction of the countryside at the hands of the inhabitants, rather than landscape as an aspect of nature. Both terms, landscape and nature, have undergone a shift in Germanic and in Romanic languages which must be regarded in close connection. The building of towns and territorial states in the late middle ages transformed the term landscape to refer to environment, particularly an environment controlled by a political or financial centre and formed in contrast to the hinterland, a rural area outside the zone of "progress" (Williams 1976: 66, cf. also 1973). Ute Luig and Achim von Oppen emphasize the special importance of this shift: "With this shift of meaning, landscape began to be regarded from a particular (outside) point of view, and at the same time, as a much smaller entity than before" (1997: 10). In addition, they associate this development in particular with northern Italy during the early renaissance. According to Luig and Oppen, the urban elite there developed a special "thirst" for space. This space was not only sought as a sphere of accumulation or exploitation but was also destined to contribute to personal gain in status through the acquisition of palaces and estates. This meaning of landscape found expression, for the first time, within new visual styles in the perspective painting of the sixteenth century.

These painting styles spread as technique and concept through much of Europe so that, from then on, landscape art put its stamp on the concepts of landscape and nature. Even in the Germany of the nineteenth century, landscape no longer implied the original connotation of a loose alliance of cultural identity reflected in a region, but approximated more nearly the present meaning of the word 'nation' as territory. "This landscape was, however, analysed primarily as the tangible physical surface of the earth" (Olwig 1995: 312). In addition,

landscape was divided into a "natural" landscape that preceded the people, and a "cultural" landscape made by the people. Olwig explained this division in the meaning on the basis of the political structures of the times which were also mirrored in scientific efforts, for example, geography. "This kind of geography provided a justification for a *Blut und Boden* ideology which was important to an emergent state seeking to incorporate Germanic peoples from within the boundaries of other states (1995: 312; emphasis in the original).

Landscape, therefore, also became a synonym for land. Originally, the word 'land' united the concepts of nature and culture into a homogeneous concept, while nature as a separate concept is difficult to grasp: "[N]ature is, as Raymond Williams laconically puts it, 'perhaps the most complex word in the language'" (Williams in Olwig 1995: 309, cf. also Williams 1972: 146). The synergetic strength of the root *nat* from nature, related to native and nation is noteworthy. Its origin lies in the Latin word *nascere* which, among other things, means "to become" and "to be born".

Olwig summarises the scope of the concept of nature politically: "The inborn natural nature of native and nation (...) is thus a product of a natural i*nnate* creative birthing principle which makes growth and development, and the rebirth inherent in the processes possible" (1995: 310; emphasis in the original).

Accordingly, the accepted meaning of nation as a community based on birth precedes the meaning of delineated territory. In this sense, there is a correlation between the accepted meaning of nature as a kind of character of the culture of a certain community and of nature as a kind of character of the place at which a community lives. The concepts of nature and culture are in the process of shifting.

Landscape as Cultivated Nature

In the original sense, nature meant the inner disposition, the creative force of life. Culture was considered to be protection and cultivation of this natural quality. "The ultimate root meaning of culture is the Latin word *colere* which had a range of meanings such as 'inhabit', 'cultivate', 'protect', 'honour with worship'..." (Olwig 1995: 313). This meaning of culture as a way to allow the dispositions to ripen in fruitful ground is like nature. Culture was first an aspect of nature. Olwig particularly emphasizes this relationship of the concepts in that he asserts: "Culture, in a classical sense, was society's way of participating, via care (e.g. of the land), in a cyclical natural process in which the natural, in-born potentiality of society and its environment was made manifest" (1995: 313).

Through the spread of landscape painting from the sixteenth century onwards, the cultural importance of nature was, however, complemented by new aesthetic components. Also in the literature, since those times, an emphasis on the natural world can be observed. Increasingly, nature, therefore, became an independent entity, separate from the social world – and, thereby, from culture – or even perceived in a tense relationship to it. This development reflects the victory of reason during the time of the renaissance and enlightenment in Europe. Earth and universe were considered to be organised analogously to the principles of nature and, therefore, also to be understood on the basis of analytical reasoning (Luig and von Oppen 197: 10; cf. also Collingwood 1960: 3-13). "Around the same time, in the 16th and 17th century, the term 'nature', originally denoting the quality of something and later the inherent force driving every earthly thing, became an abstract singular for the material world as a whole" (Luig & von Oppen 1997: 10, footnote 10; cf. also Lovejoy 1964: 15-16).

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In this development of the conceptual belief which lies behind nature, culture and landscape, the influence of Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) played an important role: "It has been said of him that by 1810 he was, with the exception of Napoleon, the most famous man in Europe" (Smith 1960: 152). Thus, it is not surprising that his concepts of earthly reality spread far afield. In his treatises, von Humboldt explored how written sources, landscape painting and botanical illustrations could serve to familiarize Europeans with the multiple manifestations of nature (Smith 1960: 152). Thereby, he emphasized that every region of the earth has its own physiognomy that can only be captured by the landscape artist. "The azure of the sky, the lights and shadows, the haze resting on the distance, the forms of animals, the succulency of plants and herbage, the brightness of the foliage, the outline of the mountains, are all elements which determine the total impression characteristic of each district or region" (von Humboldt in Smith 1960: 152).

The gradual process which the concept of nature is going through is summarized by Olwig as follows: "[N]ature became one with the environments used to symbolise the natural" (Olwig 1995: 318; cf. also Olwig 1984:1-10). This newly defined nature is for von Humboldt not so much something which man carries within himself as part of his own 'nature' which he, therefore, is completely familiar with, but rather an aspect of life which must be actively researched. Man must, first of all, clearly learn from the scientist what it is that unites him with or separates him from nature. "Nature is for thoughtful observation, unity in multiplicity, association of the manifold in form and mixture, embodiment of natural things and natural forces as a living whole" (von Humboldt 1992: 52, my translation) which man is faced with.

A systematic study of nature in this sense became a central challenge to scientific efforts. Following the style of Carl von Linné's (1707-1778) classification of plants and animals in his work *Systema naturae* in 1740, further classification schemata were devised. The data for the empirical completion of these schemata were increasingly also gathered from expeditions in the Pacific region. These expediti-

ons were initiated and financed by the British Crown and organised by The Royal Society which was founded already in 1660. In 1768, at the same time as Captain Cook's South See expeditions, the Royal Academy was founded which was to analyse the results of the research within a scientific framework. Hereby, the work of the hired graphic artist who sketched the elements of the new environments and, thereby, conserved the observed objects for analysis in the mother country in a certain manner, played a central role. In the further development of the cooperation between travellers and scientists at the end of the 18th century, types of landscapes, thus also classifications, were established which were to systemize the newly gained impressions. Bernard Smith describes the relationship between science and painting which in this period of scientific history took shape as follows: "The origins of typical landscape may be traced in the topographical and the picturesque modes of landscape-painting; and the new form arises partly in response to the increasing impact of science upon art, and partly as a result of the discovery by Europeans of the beauty of the world beyond Europe" (1960: v). In this sense the standardisation of landscapes and the development of the idea of organised evolution run parallel to science.

Thus, landscape in itself mirrors the different accepted meanings and changes in the meaning of nature over the course of time (Thomas 1984). The understanding of nature in the 18th century was, thereby, bound closely to science. Whereas the classical philosophy of art prizes the perfection of nature in itself, its perfect forms and systems, in natural science things were more closely observed, documented and, most importantly, made the subject of experiment. Here, nature had thus forfeited its aura of inviolable perfection. In contrast, methods of observation and techniques for the scientific treatment of the previously unknown natural phenomena developed into a new guiding principle which offered a standard for explorers and travellers. Humboldt provided a unification of the two lines of thought in that he made the highest artistic demands on landscape painting for scientific purposes: "It is the artist's privilege, having studied these groups, to analyse them: and thus in his hands the grand and beauti-

ful form of nature which he would portray resolves itself (...) like the written works of men, into a few simple elements (von Humboldt in Smith 1960: 153).

Captain Cook's expeditions with the *Endeavour* and the *Resolution* at the end of the 18th century were exemplary for the perfection of the scientific methods:

> Some future faunist, a man of fortune, will, I hope, extend his visits to the Kingdom of Ireland; a new field, and a country little known to the naturalist. He will not, it is to be wished, undertake that tour unaccompanied by a botanist, because the mountains have scarcely been sufficiently examined; and the southerly counties of so mild an island may possibly afford some plants little to be expected within the British Dominions... The manners of the wild natives, their superstitions, their prejudices, their sordid way of life, will extort many useful reflections. He should also take with him an able draughtsman (White in Smith 1960: 3).

In this appeal to future members of expeditions, Gilbert White thus specifies the most important principles of the expeditions of that time: firstly, unfamiliar worlds should be accurately and fastidiously documented, special emphasis was, thereby, placed on flora and fauna of the regions visited. Secondly, also the indigenous population, if existent, should be studied since the knowledge gained therefrom should be deployed as a reflection of one's own society. Thirdly, the assistance of a graphic artist should not be dispensed with because only with detailed illustrations of the subjects examined could scientifically correct evaluations be rendered possible in the future.

On Lamotrekese grounds the reflections on landscape take a completely different starting point. Space is limited to the island's boundaries and every piece of land is named, has its history of owners and inhabitants, and carries its own character. The character of each strip of land is not merely extracted to show a static picture, but is condensed in or amalgamated with the clan characteristics of the currently owning clan. A shaping of this landscape in process is not, as in western anthropological history or thought, produced through the abstracted landscape painting which takes its viewpoint and imprints

certain meaning into the picture, therefore marking the land. In contrast, this landscape is shaped by the way people talk about it, how people work the land and how they approach it, for example as individual or clan member, as group or single person, as sisters, as family or as the community as a whole. Thus, the pictures of landscape Lamotrekese may have in mind are communication devices. Their main function is to provide for a basis for identification for individuals and groups, not to separate nature from culture. Lamotrekese are not occupied with arguing that the cultural is natural and therefore implementing an overall power structure from owner to worker etc. Other than that they convey messages and pictures about island life and clan life in their shaping of the land in order to give meaning to their lives and to create their history. My goal is to learn to understand the Lamotrekese environment on the basis of these aspects important to the indigenous population. For my research partners and also for a scientific and/or interested audience, I should now like to make selected cultural processes and problem situations transparent. This Lamotrekese landscape cannot take on a static form or imply power structures. But it can very well be the discursive basis for a Lamotrekese landscape of identity.

Lamotrek: Topography and Landscape

The coral atoll Lamotrek lies at a latitude of 7° 30' north and a longitude of 146° 20' east. The neighbouring islands Elato (approximately 14 nautical miles west) and Satawal (approximately 40 nautical miles east) belong politically to Lamotrek which provides the High Chief for all three areas. My husband and I visited this group of Caroline Islands in 2006 and 2007 to carry out anthropological research on Lamotrek (see Map 2.1).

When the *Micro Spirit* (see Picture 2.1) anchored in the late evening in the Lamotrek Lagoon, it seemed to me to be in the middle of the night because with only a narrow crescent moon and the tropical transition from day to night which is very short, the darkness engulfs all land and sea already in the evening. My senses were wide awake and ready to absorb all the new impressions. From the 'swimming island' *Micro Spirit*, we climbed into a small motorboat to go ashore. Three small fires showed us the way and signalled the limits of access for the boats – in the north, the middle and the south of the western shore, they provided orientation. Only a light breeze was blowing, sounds wafted gently from the middle of the island towards the water.

Gradually, the contours of the island, shaped by the outer fringe of coconut palm trees became silhouetted against the Pacific Ocean. Was this border really where the land ended? What lay behind? In which direction lay the rest of Lamotrek? Upon arrival at the shore, we disembarked and trudged behind our host mother up the beach behind which lay the land, a little way along a path which led us further along up a gently inclined dirt track. Soon we arrived at a concrete house, Elizabeth lit the way inside with a torch and ignited a kerosene lamp. There it was, our new home for the coming months.

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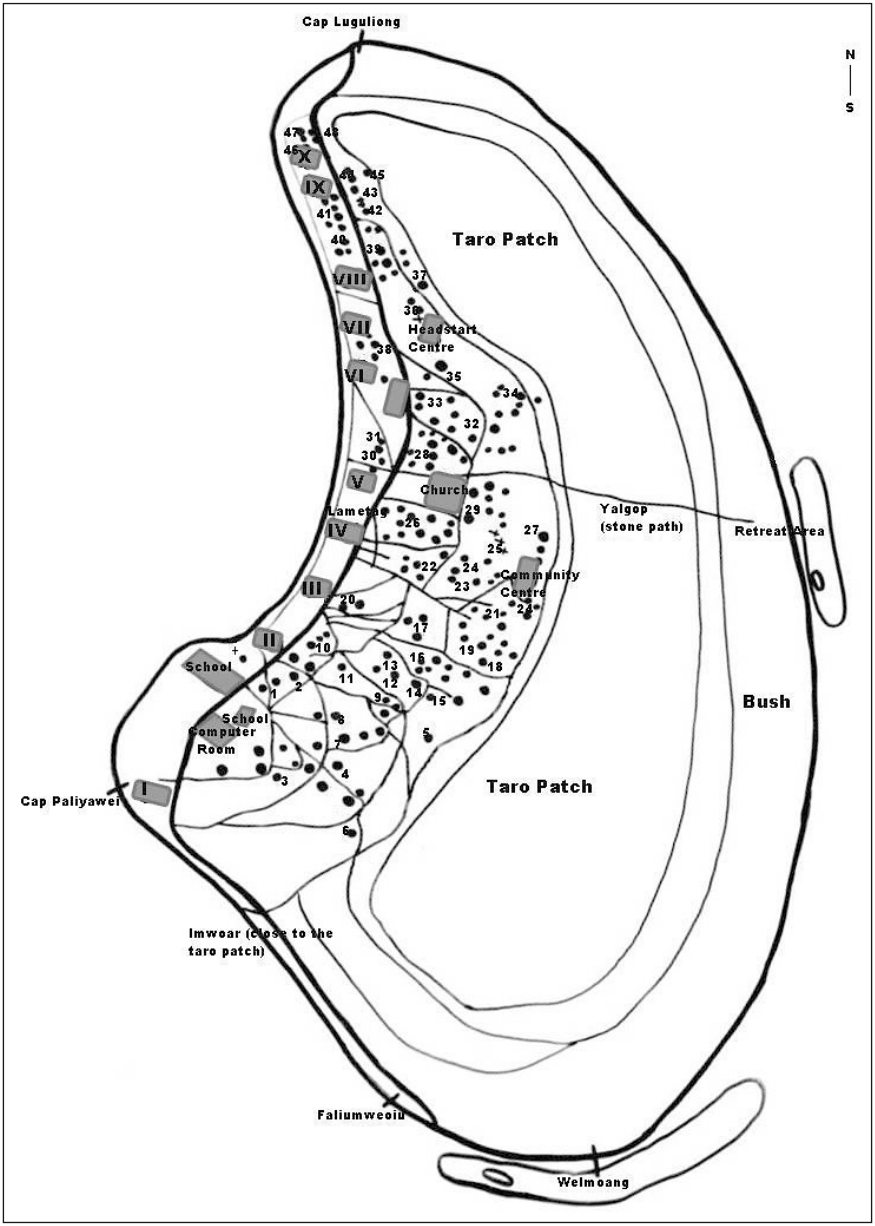

Map 2.1: Lamotrek Island

Legend

On this map the main island of Lamotrek Atoll, Lamotrek Island, is shown. The other two islands in Lamotrek Atoll, Pugue and Falaite, are not displayed here. Traditional houses (imw), concrete or FEMA houses and cooking houses (malum) are represented by dots of varying sizes, roughly according to the relative size of each original house. Most of the paths are only little trails and their direction can change due to usage – this map cannot be used as a basis for judicial matters. The following are the names of the compounds (bugota) on which the houses are located, and very often they correspond to the traditional names of these houses.

\+ Archaeological site: Trader Lewis' base
1 Matalmais and Welifal
2 Fairoshig
3 Faalmaifeoiu
4 Wotiw and Peiliwer
5 Gatiyewish
6 Leormwaal
7 Ralimwai
8 Gatiyengaw
9 Legawo
10 Yeisa
11 Wennesh
12 Faliyaro
13 Leyash
14 Fareig
15 Nimarawraw
16 Lourtiw
17 Lewo
18 Lemoi
19 Yaupil
20 Gapilfal
21 Sarishe
22 Gatolyal
23 Leyang
24 Sebwaig
25 Old cemetery (nowadays there are also graves on almost every compound which are not included in this map due to limited space)
26 Lemar
27 Falgashiyou
28 Falgiliyaw
29 Wenisol
30 Gasurlamw
31 Old radio station
32 Wettip
33 Gapilam
34 Shiulgilfeo
35 Falgewan
36 Imw Yaiulap
37 Gatibeol
38 Womeras
39 Welipeopeo
40 Geisish
41 Gawshag
42 Gapilimwegral
43 Gafilyang
44 Falmairaw
45 Maigurub
46 Lechib
47 Falmwashog
48 Maroalpig

The mens' meeting houses bear the following names:

I Faltangi
II Falteibu
III Yapeoiu
IV Lugal
V Kulong
VI Falmera
VII Gatiyerish
VIII Werietag
IX Lebul
X Falebul

Just then, we became aware of distant wailing. The father of our host, Xavier, had recently passed away and the people had waited with the funeral ceremony until his sons could come back from the main islands, in this case Yap and Pohnpei, to take part. The dead man had already been buried but his grave had not been decorated. A few minutes after we had arrived, we joined the stream of mourners and walked to the place where the father had lived and now was buried. There we joined the ranks of the mourners and listened and observed. The route from our house to the grave had seemed long to us – slow steps taken in a crowd of people can make thirty meters seem far, especially when these are filled with sounds, smells, sensations of the feet on the ground etc. During the following days, it took us some time to understand how our houses were connected because we could hardly believe that in that night we had walked from Fairoshig to Peiliwer and not to the other end of the island.

After a few days, we became properly aware of this imagined distance and we discovered that along the short stretch of pathway between the two properties there was a world of difference. At the moment, coconut palms, bananas, papaya palms, pandanus palms, lemon trees, sweet potatoes, various shrubs and, more than anything, flowers and flowering trees grow there (on Lamotrek, there are also bread fruit trees, the indigenous apple tree and various types of taro. The people sometimes plant hot peppers, sugar cane, pumpkins or cabbage in small amounts and tobacco in larger amounts). There are rats, lizards, hermit crabs, coconut crabs, chickens, cats, dogs and various insects. Not far from the compounds, pigs are kept whose grunts can be heard all around and sometimes frigate birds circle overhead.

Moreover, diverse routes cross in this area. From the school, you can pass by Fairoshig and get further into the centre of the island, you cross Yakiso, one pathway joins the main pathway of the island with a rearward or more inward one which is mainly used by women and one can walk cross-country through the bushes to the south coast. From Peiliwer, you can see the edges of the Taro marsh areas that fill the centre of the island. Behind, there is scrub and coconut palm land which rises to the other side of the coast until the beach

Picture 2.1: MS Micro Spirit anchoring at Elato

descends to the sea more rocky and craggy than on the lagoon side. The denseness of all the areas providing different experience in such a restricted place helps to avoid the dreaded 'island fever' – it seems that both strangers and inhabitants of the small islands run risks of suffering nervous breakdowns due to the limitedness.

The first terms for direction that we learned right at the beginning of our stay were *buulong* (inwards) and *buuwei* (outwards). With these words, rough descriptions of routes which function quite well can be made. The inhabited part of Lamotrek (in whose lagoon lie the uninhabited islands Falaite and Pugue) is concentrated in a strip of land between the western beach and the taro marsh which becomes wider towards the centre. The properties are individually arranged and between them there are small pathways. However, the boundaries are not particularly obvious.

If one does not yet know the name of the property and, most importantly, the name of the owner, it is difficult to get from A to B because whatever route one takes, one almost always crosses private property. In order to cross, one has to have permission or at least a

good reason, for instance, a concrete goal. Since it is not always practicable in everyday life to verbalise one's exact movements in meticulous detail, the markers *buulong* and *buuwei* help to give a direction to the path as long as it keeps going, i.e. is designed by the walker.

If one is walking along on Lamotrek, one involuntarily crosses, as described, one private property after another and shouts greetings in all directions. The occupants of the *bugota* (compounds) shout back greetings, inviting the passer-by to eat (which is conducive to prestige and social status, as I will explain in more detail later) and, either following a polite refusal of the invitation or after the meal, they will ask him where he is going. *Buulong* and *buuwei* are possible answers or, if one is passing-by in the middle of the island, *iyefang* (north) or *iyeor* (south).

The axes east and west are largely avoided in this pathway ceremonial. On the one hand, they touch upon the gender-specific division of labour, i.e. the gender separation and are, therefore, not mentionable without exact consideration and classification of the dialogue partner. When, for example, the men go to the men's house on the west side of the island, or go to the beach or go fishing, then they say "to the ocean". Or when the women go towards the east to the garden to harvest the taro, the wording is "to the garden". The incest taboo between sisters and brothers and between female and male cousins forbids them to be present together in the outer areas of scrub and the seashore which are under less social control.

Even more is achieved by the concealment of the west-east axis. In verbal discourse, Lamotrek seems to be a land defined according to north and south with a flexible or, at least, unclear width. If one walks from the far north to the south (or vice versa), my Lamotrekese friends feel that one has to walk a long way. How long, then, must an undefined distance be! The people here make use of their verbal agency to create space. If they go *buuwei* or *buulong*, their goal can be anywhere between their present location and the middle of the island or the coast(s). The individual sense of space originates in concrete places through their localisation in relation to ocean and land and, most importantly, in the social structure. The places have an identity

in the memories and experience of the actors, are historically developed and emotionally occupied. They belong to people who are, for example, related or not to the passer-by, or friends or are connected by some experience and, thus, localised in the social hierarchy and in social space.

In the following, I would like to substantiate these statements about the Lamotrekese landscape theoretically before I come to the collaborative establishment and shaping of a completely different world from the one which is everyday life on Lamotrek.

Art, Science and Landscape

In the debate on any landscape, historically developed processes of interpretation resonate. The way, for example, in which we make use of the Lamotrekese landscape for intercultural comprehension is preceded by an understanding which is strongly object-oriented. In contrast, to my mind, Lamotrek is a socially constructed environment used and thus also created by actors.

For the European landscape painting of the early eighteenth century, such views of nature, culture and science still played a minor role. However, a transformation in art was soon to follow. On the one hand, a scientification of painting began to emerge, on the other hand, this painting had a formative effect on the scientific conception of landscape. Early landscape painting and, therefore, also the concept of landscape were fashioned by a classical view of art. Art should reveal divinity and, in this sense, praise God and his creation. However, the development of science initially caused scientists to question their religious beliefs: "As scientists came to question the teleological position implicit in the view of nature as a great chain of being, they tended to seek an explanation for the origin and nature of life in the material evidence provided by the earth's surface" (Smith 1960: 4). At this point, a transformation in the meaning of the concepts nature, culture and landscape emerges very clearly and of the words derived from them, such as, nation and national state. Nature now became a surface, a process of objectivation stepped in. If previously nature and culture formed a unit, they now became detached from each other, in that they no longer appeared to be a continuum, but rather science and art, understood as culture, originally a way of praising divine creation and unity, now analysed nature as an opposing phenomenon. In it, basic principles were to be found: "[f]or such things held the

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clue to the meaning of nature and the origin of life" (Smith 1960: 4). However, the perfection of scientific techniques was to decide on the success of this undertaking, no longer the perfection of nature itself waiting to be discovered. One of the techniques, landscape painting, was awarded the creative force previously belonging to nature itself: "Its meaning is transferred from an artistic symbol, to the concrete world depicted in that symbol. One consequence of this process is that the original Germanic meaning of landscape, as an enclosed area identifiable with a people, is replaced by a meaning in which landscape becomes a scene, projecting into infinity, defined by a given individual viewpoint" (Olwig 1995: 318).

The immanent semiotic change therein has this inner sequence: first, a painted landscape is a concrete natural occurrence, of which one has a conception and which one characterises by an abstract meaning, for example, by a normative conception of what a natural order of things and all that conforms to it should be. In his Theory of Signs, Ferdinand de Saussure (1967; 1997) distinguished between such a concept as designated (French, *signifié*) and its linguistic counterpart as articulated or denoted (French, *signifiant*). Together, *signifié* and *signifiant* build a sign (French, *signe*) which can be a word, a symbol or a metaphor (Saussure 1967: 76- 79ff.; 1997: 117ff., 138ff.). The painting displays its relationship to the abstract in that it refers to an external and concrete phenomenon, known to the beholder, for example, a pastoral scene, which in a given culture will be identified with the abstract meaning which articulates the denotation, i.e. the painting. This pastoral scene is, therefore, a natural form of this society. "The placing of plants, animals, and primitive peoples in their appropriate environmental situation became a matter of increasing importance for the landscape-painter. In this tendency lay the implicit recognition of the intimate connexion between the objects in a landscape and the environmental and climatic situation of which the landscape as a whole was both a representation and a symbol" (Smith 1960: 4).

Since the work of art refers to an external reality, there must be for this external reality, for example, the pastoral life situation, a

convention in arts. The pastoral environments pictured in the works of art must then no longer have any direct correlation to the real world.

At this point, the shift in the concepts can be observed. The meaning of the word landscape is no longer, first and foremost, used for "articulation" (the picture), but will be transferred outwards. Landscape becomes the external reference of the painting, for example, of a concrete pastoral environment. At the same time, the term nature changes its meaning. "Nature" is no longer primarily the designated abstract meaning, but, in particular, the artistic articulation (the picture) which then becomes the artistic reference (a physically given landscape). The power of definition over the concrete content of the concept is displaced for the sake of those who create pictures, pursue science and share their data and results. This process is further assisted by the increasing realism in the landscape painting of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through which the *artistic units of articulation* (for example, pictures) increasingly reflect real places (according to Olwig 195: 319). "When landscape and nature become one with a physical environment, this environment does not cease to bear value-laden, normative meanings concerning the natural. On the contrary, those meanings become even more naturalized because they no longer appear to derive from an artistic scene composed by a subject, an author or artist, but from objective physical reality itself" (Olwig 1995: 319).

The perspectivity of the view steps into the background, whereas, either the subject of the painting which looks more real than reality or the painter exercises the power of definition. It is charged with emotion in that it allows identification with antithetic units. Thus, as a counterpart to civilization, an assumed truculence can, for example, be fascinating to the observer. Without the realisation that our view is controlled by the painter (and, nowadays, at least just as important by the photographer), the situation pictured seems to us to be captured perfectly and real. Thereby, it is the artistic perspective that is so important for landscape painting: "It is the same framework which provided the basis for the technique of projection, through a square

frame (or 'window') which made landscape painting possible" (Olwig 1995: 328). This structure of landscape painting colonizes the older concepts or meanings of nature, culture, landscape and nation. This *designating* landscape in painting privileges the intellectual and physically detached, visual perception of the world which was common at the time of the great expeditions at the outset of modern science. The older understanding of the process of the forming of the land by means of ritual, cultural or physical involvement on the part of the human being is reduced to a concept of the landscape as scenery, a momentary surface composition. Olwig views this shift in the meaning as being carried to extremes these days in the United States of America: "The ultimate expression of the American concept of nature, nation and landscape, was achieved when Jefferson's visage (along with that of other founding fathers) was carved into the side of a mountain in Mt. Rushmore National Park" (1995: 338).

In this light, nature is to be understood as a God-given physical environment, a raw material for research and industry and independent of culture or even opposed to it. Landscape, in contrast, is moulded by the agency and definition of single individuals who with their decision on the perspectives also determine the message of individual pictures to society. When people design the landscape surrounding them, as I shall describe later for Lamotrek, they decide at least how often certain pictures will be visited, perhaps even also how they should be interpreted and accordingly what they mean. "Unless we are cognisant of the complex of meanings which inform these concepts we will only be using landscape (...) as a way of expressing that which we cannot, or will not say openly about nation, nature and culture" (Olwig 1995: 339).

Landscape and Anthropology

Anthropological literature deals with landscape in many different ways and tries to capture the complexity of the concept of landscape. For the scientific reference to landscape, the development of the various disciplines is of vital importance. Natural science and humanities are historically mutually involved. A description of culture from the perspective of art built the basis for a landscape which Humboldt wished to make use of to reveal the 'spirit of nature'. This spirit then underwent a structural transformation from which landscape, natural science and the humanities emerged as complex, distinguishable systems which, at the same time, were interconnected. Eric Hirsch made an effort to provide a comprehensive view and classification of the concept in that, in his book *The Anthropology of Landscape* (1995) published together with Michael O'Hanlon, he tried to formulate a uniform basis for landscape anthropology.

Eric Hirsch begins his introduction with the programmatical title "Landscape: Between Place and Space". With this title, he draws a triangle between the comprehensive concept of landscape and the two aspects place and space and sends out the call: "The black box of landscape requires 'opening' and its contents themselves brought into view" (1995: 1).

An example of the limiting scientific line of vision which takes in an isolated section of the landscape and makes it a basis for a description of the culture is given by the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski. In his work, he makes use of the landscape of a given place as framework for his literary treatise on the data gathered. In *Argonauts of the Western Pacific,* he guides the imagined view of the reader with the often quoted invitation: "Imagine yourself suddenly set down surrounded by all your gear, alone on a tropical beach close to a native

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village, while the launch or dinghy which has brought you sails away out of sight" (1953:4). Only after a certain period of a scientific coming-to-grips with the researcher's new environment and life in an unfamiliar society can the perspective of outsider be dispensed with in favour of that of the insider. The process of change from an external to an internal perspective, of analytical concepts and cultural experience, makes comparative work possible for anthropologists. This is stamped by a particularly reflexive approach to "landscape". The researcher's own personal experience of space changes in the course of the research as I have described above for my research, he passes through a process which ties in with the etymological development of the concept of landscape. At first, he has his own conception of nature and culture, of the subject and object of his research, of the central and peripheral topics of his work. The landscape is, in this context, different from his familiar environment. While he is intensifying his occupation with the local situation, the landscape around him begins to gain more depth until it has itself become a symbol for the research data. An example for this process is my description of Lamotrek's landscape in this part. While at first I had difficulties to bring together the overwhelming sounds, smells and distances at arrival, caused by the burial ceremony, I later found the island to be divided in micro-spaces. Each plot of land is bounded and named. The permanent awareness people have of owners and history of each and every place on Lamotrek contributes to the sense of the island being larger than it actually is (approximately one square kilometre). In the scientific text, the researcher even uses the space to place himself into the indigenous landscape, thereby, preparing a legitimation and an authentification by means of authorship, as achieved by Malinowski (1953: 4).

"[T]he conventional (Western) notion of 'landscape' may be used as a productive point of departure from which to explore analogous local ideas which can in turn be reflexively used to interrogate the Western concept" (Hirsch 1995: 2). Thereby, it is questionable whether western concepts can foster understanding, if critically examined, or whether they strongly limit the view already from the outset.

Catherine Lutz provides conclusive arguments for the latter, in that, in her book *Unnatural Emotions* (1988), she compares the concept of person in the Euro-American space with the prevailing concept on Ifaluk (Micronesia). In the western polarisation of the concepts of feeling and understanding, nature and culture etc. – which are also found in landscape anthropology – she sees the reason for a discourse on emotion which neither manages to incorporate individual-psychological nor cultural dimensions. In contrast, in the anthropological literature, we find recommendations to link classical concepts: "Michelle Rosaldo has suggested the felicitous notion that emotions be seen as 'embodied thoughts' (1984: 143); Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) talk of the 'mindful body' – each suggesting possible routes around the difficulties presented by the dualisms of our traditional ways of thinking about issues of mind and body, of nature and culture, of thought and emotion" (Lutz 1988: 4).

However, dichotomies also considerably structure these approaches: "Those dualisms create our compulsion to ask for a strict accounting of what is biological in the emotions and what is cultural and to seek the essence of a psychobiological process behind the stage front of cultural and linguistic forms" (Lutz 1988: 4).

Lutz rather favours an approach which accords indigenous concepts priority over western concepts, in order to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the universal aspects of personhood. With respect to emotion, in this book, I would like to follow on from there, although my original position as western anthropologist on Lamotrek does not let itself be negated, but rather must be constantly taken into consideration and reflected upon. Landscape anthropology offers, for this purpose, the necessary concepts.

Hirsch wishes to more exactly limit and more clearly define this general aspect of anthropological work as interpretation of indigenous concepts by developing a model for landscape anthropology. For this purpose, he retraces the etymology of "landscape". Hereby, he evaluates, in agreement with the analysis introduced above, landscape painting and its popularity in the England at the close of the seventeenth century as a milestone of the concept of landscape.

According to Hirsch, painters such as Poussin, Claude and Salvator Rosa staged a landscape in their paintings which meant something to the beholders (1995: 2).

In the Arcadian and idyllic scenes of landscape painting, a potential was embodied that people tried to realise through their social and economic means in the town. Hirsch says: "There is a relationship here between an ordinary, workaday life and an ideal, imagined existence, vaguely connected to, but still separate from, that of the everyday" (1995: 3). The first of these two living environments is the more important for Hirsch. It describes a concrete actuality such as we act out, as we are, in our everyday social life, a "place". This life, present in the background, suggests the potentiality in the envisioned that we could also be different from what we actually are (1995: 3), a "space". Space, in this sense, is the collective natural and cultural resources people make use of to define place. The depiction of the landscape, thereby, relates to the foreground as well as to the background of social life and is characterised as a western concept which, however, is an expression of this universal relationship between foreground and background. Accordingly, all people connect this everyday life with potentials of the unfamiliar, ritual life or of extreme situations.

As is commonplace in Austronesian languages, the Lamotrekese language offers, in this context, a specific which does not occur in European languages. The connection between space and place described above can, however, be grasped with reference to the social structure. Lamotrekese speakers distinguish in the first person plural between the inclusive "we", *giish*, and the exclusive "we", *hamem*. *Giish* includes the listeners to whom the words just said are directed. *Hamem* separates one group of them from one or more listeners. In "*Giish sibwe lago woal Yap!*" (We are going to Yap!) all are included, also the receivers of the information. In "*Hamem gaibwe lago tiutiu*" (We are going to bathe), the speaker is talking about himself and his group which does not include the listeners. Thus, we find here the principle of the whole and often rather a potential than a real case in the inclusive we, which applies to all the fellow-citizens and, therefore, must remain

imprecise. The listeners can, in this context, have a different opinion. What has just been concretely said resonates in the exclusive we, which removes the active reality from the framework of the whole of the society and raises it above the social background. For the people of Lamotrek it is, accordingly, a familiar idea to emphasize, against a background of possibilities, the possible relationships, the possible ingroup, the entire-we, a concretely conceived and defined we, something new, even a momentary identity. Consequently, neither a contradiction nor a polar dichotomisation, but rather a cultural flow of communication, specific for the situation results.

In addition, the two forms of the first person plural create a social landscape which leads beyond the boundaries of the island. If one considers oneself as belonging to the various *hamem*-groups, there is always a *giish*-group which includes memberships of the subgroups. In the first instance, this *giish*-group is the island society, then the other Caroline Islands, perhaps also the Federated States of Micronesia or even the entire ocean. The most important thing is the affiliation within the boundary, i.e. with *hamem* and *giish*, the speakers of Lamotrek have a means at hand even in the wording of discrimination to constitute a group structure. Through the distinction between a person and his fellow citizens, no differentness is suggested but rather cooperation and an association is established between human beings.

The Anthropology of Landscape as Reflexive Theory

In the cultural process of landscape, the anthropologist still has an exceptional position of outsider who observes this process as he would a picture. In geog-raphy, the word itself was, up to now, a static concept and was understood as a figurative description of the environment surrounding us. Landscape was considered to be a part of the earth's surface. According to Hirsch, a single pole, i.e. the abstract coordinate system of space as opposed to the concrete place is, hereby, separated in order to portray landscape as a whole (1995: 9). Relationality and process-like character are obviously thus ignored (cf. Cosgrove 1984). To overcome this drawback, Hirsch wishes to develop an anthropological perspective in debates on landscape which to date have been, if anything, central themes in disciplines such as geography and history of art. In addition, he wishes to create a framework within which cross-cultural studies on landscape could be carried out. Such a framework is, according to Hirsch, lacking in anthropology and also in related disciplines (1995: 6).

In my opinion, this framework can only be provided if landscape is seen as a sequence of places. Mathematical space must be completely neglected here, because it cannot contribute anything to the understanding of cultural and anthropological-psychological phenomena. The sequence of places can, under these conditions, be detected under the surface landscape, in contrast, the landscape alone has no indigenous meaning with regard to content but is only a figurative surface for the anthropologist. An in-depth analysis of an anthropological kind requires the method of participant observation and gradual immersion in a given cultural framework and can, therefore, only be applied to several places at the same time in a limited fashion. A better solution is a series of individual studies in culturally or individual-

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ly important places which can then be compared with each other. In this conception, landscape serves as a metaphor for the scientific line of vision but not for indigenous attribution of meaning. Hereby, the metaphor "belongs to the most important aids in our attempts to partially understand such phenomena which we cannot understand as a whole" (Lakoff & Johnson 1998: 221). The indigenous attribution of meaning can be discussed on the basis of individual landmarks or places. Thus, Hirsch tries to bridge the gulf between poles, such as objectivism and subjectivism by an elegant means. Situative truth, however, depends in every single case on our concept system "which again is anchored in the individual and collective experience which was made by the members of our culture in the continuous dispute with other people and with our physical and cultural environments and which is permanently measured against this experience" (Lakoff & Johnson 1998: 221). In every phase of anthropological research, it must, therefore, be kept in mind, that the etymological and scientific-historical developments of the concept decisively influence the investigations.

Landscape in Anthropological Practice

Barbara Bender's interpretation of the concept of landscape is more strongly based on scientific methods than Hirsch's writings and can, therefore, in my opinion, be seen as a reasonable extension. In her introduction to *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives* (1993), she explains how landscapes are formed by human beings and, therefore, unite complexity with power structures. Thereby, the surface of the land plays a role in contemporary western societies, whereas in other parts of the world what is localised above or below the surface can be more important. For Bender, it is, therefore, a pivotal interest of landscape anthropology to allow the western perspective to step into the background in favour of other perspectives and to emphasise that landscape as experience for human life is too important to limit it to a certain time (for example, the seventeenth century), a certain place (for example, England) and a certain class (for example, the upcoming middle class) (according to Bender 1995: 1). Rather, people relate to landscape in different ways according to their habitus, i.e. their gender, age, social class, social level, social and economic situation (cf. Bourdieu 1990: 52ff.). Thus there are different spatial (horizontal and vertical) and temporal axes (past and future) along which landscape is established individually and collectively mythologically: "Each individual holds many landscapes in tension" (Bender 1995: 2).

In this spatial and temporal system of coordinates, landscape is polysemously and dynamically experienced instead of being statically defined. People create landscapes and expose their identity within this process repeatedly to change in that they form or change it or renew it completely according to their bond with the landscape. History, politics, social conditions and cultural perception form a point of interception in the concept of landscape which is full of suspense. As an

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example of the diversity of the concept of landscape, Bender quotes the novel *The Enigma of Arrival* (1987) by Vidiadhar Suraiprasad Naipaul. In the novel, Naipaul describes his relationship to certain landscapes: "[W]hen I grew to see the wild roses and hawthorn on my walk, I didn't see the windbreak they grew beside as a sign of the big landowners who had left their mark on the solitude... had planted woods in certain places (in imitation, it was said, of the positions of Trafalgar – or was it Waterloo?). I didn't think of the landowners... I thought of those single-petalled roses and sweet smelling blossom... as wild and natural growths" (1987: 24).

In Bender's subsequent analysis of Naipaul's novel, it becomes clear how densely and dynamically landscape is experienced. "I hope that the reader (...) will have recognised, more generally, the way in which his landscapes are both spatial and temporal, the way in which, at one and the same time, they serve a palimpsest of past activity, incorporate political action, encompass change – both past and present –, are half imagined or something held in the memory, are about identity, or the lack of identity, roots or the lack of roots" (Bender 1995: 9). Naipaul's view of landscape is influenced by his history, and identity, by his ever-changing personality. This personality is, however, also influenced and altered by the landscape which surrounds him and with which he is forced to deal. Exactly the different aspects of dealing with landscape is what interests Bender:

> The reader may be perplexed at the seemingly eclectic coverage offered in this book – prehistoric, historic, contemporary, the overdeveloped and underdeveloped world, town and country – and by some of the juxtapositions. The intention is to force a recognition of the multiplicity of experience through time and place; to relativise 'our' own experiences and to recognise both their particularity and that they are a part of a process and therefore continually open to change; and, finally, to permit an exploration of the ways in which people, differently engaged and differentially empowered, appropriate and contest their landscapes (1995: 17).

On Lamotrek in 2006, the people dealt with the landscape in a special way, i.e. they shaped it as well as being shaped by it. In the following, I will draw a picture of the development of an initiation landscape and of the design of an identity marker in space and time.

Building (the) Place: Lamotrekese Landscape and Initiation into the Adult Catholic Community

Émile Durkheim conceived of time and space as collections of moments and regions mediated through collective life (Durkheim 1915). Thus, a Lamotrekese life history may be arranged around important rituals performed by the community, and the Lamotrekese landscape can be described with the help of important places on the island, either important to an individual or in some way special in the society's view. The retreat weekend is a performance of this kind of collective life, defining and placing the Lamotrekese concept of person in island time and based upon certain places.

The Belgian scholar Arnold van Gennep analysed rituals which mark the transition of one stage of life into another one. He provides a framework by means of which, on the one hand, rituals can be classified, and on the other hand, different phases within a single ritual can be distinguished: separation, transition and incorporation (van Gennep 1960: 1-13). I will illustrate a ritual which can be understood mainly as a transition ritual, an initiation, but in a second look is an incorporation ritual into the Catholic Church, too. As van Gennep already pointed out, liminality is a very important element of transition rites. In the liminal phase roles are reversed and the rules of the everyday life put to rest. In my Lamotrekese case study of a religious retreat, the participants must leave the group, the family, their home (separation), experienced a liminal phase on the uninhabited side of the island (transition), and came back to the community with a new status as young adults and church members (incorporation). The *communitas* which the neophytes experienced on the place called "Sunrise" provides for the symbolic power of the transition ritual in that it negates the normal social structure. As an antistructure it helps to

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cement the norm by defining the opposites of behaviour conforming to Lamotrekese custom.

During the preparations for the Students' and Youth Retreat and on the Retreat weekends, in October and November 2006, within two weeks, the parents of the young people themselves created and developed a special landscape of feelings which, in retrospect, should increase the significance of an initiation. On Lamotrek, there is an ambivalent relationship to tradition, since the pre-Christian beliefs are closely associated with it which, however, are nowadays dismissed as outmoded and as superstition in favour of Christianity. When the first Catholic missionary came to Lamotrek in 1938 and began to baptize the population, the local traditional beliefs prevailed which had, up to then, outlasted the German and Japanese colonial times.

The people believed in a pantheon which was embedded in a complex system of spheres: the spheres of the human beings, of ghosts and of ancestors, of the elements and forces of nature, of gods. Unlike the colonial rulers before him who imposed a system of administration, the missionary preached his message and conveyed the impression that he wished to help the inhabitants. Soon after, a church was donated by the Catholic mission which, following an agreement with the Mengaulifash Chief at that time, was situated in the middle of the island. The church is a refuge of the greatest God and must be built at the holiest place, it was probably declared – so that it was erected opposite Lametag. Lametag is a slightly elevated place in the middle of the western side of the island. Height and depth are of substantial meaning in the social order of places, because in cases of storms and floods elevated places are "stronger" than other places. At the same time, such central geographic locations strengthen the chieftainship system and are its expression, too. During the subsequent decades, beliefs came in waves. If sometimes local knowledge which coincided with belief in ghosts and traditional faith was frowned upon and only secretly practised, there were other times in which both forms of religion were regarded to be standing on equal footing, side by side.

In efforts to reactivate local traditions which have been observed since the late 1970's (when the first environmental problems, notions

of loss of culture etc. started to become apparent), the Lamotrekese system of beliefs was accorded the function of expert knowledge. Thus, two dimensions of the belief system were underlined: it can be appreciated just like the catholic faith and be of equal, or even greater use in everyday life; and, it is objectifiable knowledge which even can persist the contact with western cultural assets and can be traded alike. Communicated as myths and stories, in techniques of magic and massage, in rituals associated with harvest cycles or weather or climate predictions, there is so much information which should not be lost. Thus, these blocks of knowledge nowadays rank as everyday wisdom *and* expert knowledge and serve as a basis for Lamotrekese life on whose safe fundament (Catholic) beliefs – coming from abroad – are lived out.

In the traditional system, due to the matrilineal inheritance on Lamotrek, the initiation of the girls was socially essential. On the occasion of the first menstruation, a celebration lasting for four days was held which included elements of withdrawal and separation from the island society, instruction in seclusion and integration into the adult world. Since the arrival of the missionary, this initiation has been performed sporadically. These days, families conscious of their traditions celebrate the first menstruation of their daughters together. According to how many girls can take part in the celebration, either all of the island inhabitants or some of them will be included in the ceremony, whereby, the women celebrate with their girls and the men have to stay away and go and catch fish together. For the boys and young men, there was, traditionally, a longer and smoother transition into the adult status which they reached in their early thirties. The elements of adulthood included skills such as fishing, building a house etc., also the founding of a family and the necessary choice of a new home (on Lamotrek with the wife or on another island).

In the Christian religion, the initiation of the boys and girls takes on a greater emphasis which is not compatible without conflict with the social organisation on Lamotrek. Boys and girls must be integrated into the Catholic congregation, independent of gender, marriage rather stands at the beginning of the transition to adulthood than at

its end. In this sense, the children on Lamotrek are included, for example, they go to communion to the altar with their parents or other adult relatives at Christmas or Easter, but do not, however, receive any altar bread. On Lamotrek, there are two catechists who lead the church services. At irregular intervals, a priest comes from Yap or from abroad to Lamotrek and holds communion for the young people during the normal Sunday service. Thereafter, these young people may also receive altar bread.

Such a ritual is not very impressive, so that except for this small change in status on the way to adulthood and in combination with the American legal coming of age at 21, which is also nominally made use of by the Lamotrekese, a gap remains. The girls and especially the boys must be accepted as adults at some point. The margins are, however, set externally not by the island traditions. The initiation exclusively for girls is, thus, dysfunctional since the Catholic religion emphasises the paternal transfer of beliefs, knowledge and power. In October and November, 2006, the Lamotrekese parents wanted here to make a point and used the surface "landscape" as effective alternative to an initiation according to classical standards. Communion was left as it was and wherever it had not yet taken place it was integrated.

Following consultation with the trainee Catholic priest Moses, his catechist assistant Jeso and the theology student PJ, the church elders on Lamotrek decided that a Retreat could be celebrated. They had already heard a few ideas from other islands because such a ritual had already been conducted on Woleai and Satawal. In both cases, a region of the island was closed for a weekend for non-participants to ensure that the religious meeting would not be disturbed. Now the Lamotrekese parents were ambitious, not only is Lamotrek the seat of the High Chief of the island group of Satawal-Lamotrek-Elato, but also has the reputation of having a firm social organisation with functioning social control, an island life relatively strict according to the cultural guidelines and a wealth of experts in local traditions. Moses and his colleagues arrived for the weekend. The task of the week before was to create the place and the basis for the success of this Retreat.

The youngsters from Lamotrek and Elato who wanted to take part in the Retreat had signed their names in a list pinned onto the door of the church. Space and suitable conditions had to be created for ninety-eight people to be able to join in the internal and external change of scene.

On the Sunday before the beginning of the Retreat, Moses, Jeso and the theology student PJ introduced themselves at the service and called upon the congregation as arranged with the elders to organise their Retreat themselves. Because of the many participants, there were to be two events on the next two weekends, one for young students and one for all the other young people who had not yet received communion. These included drop-outs and young adults who up to then had simply not had the time for the visit of the priest. Moses, Jeso and PJ would assist, they said, and take over the religious instruction and the organisation of the church service for the first communion of the participants. Therefore, from 9.15 a.m. to 10.30 a.m., the woman discussed in front of the church what food should be provided for the pupils for their first Retreat from the coming Friday to Sunday morning and who should prepare it. It was decided that each house should provide five large taros and a few coconuts. The women wanted to buy flour and sugar together and collect rendered pig's fat from everyone to make pastries for breakfast for the children. For a short time, ramen (Japanese instant noodles) was considered but on the island the stocks of ramen were not large enough, it was said. The rations of meat and fish were to be defined later in consultation with the men.

On Monday afternoon, the parents of those students who had put their names on the Retreat list met together to tidy up and clean the area where the place for the Retreat was to be located. For the whole week, it was forbidden for all the young people who were to be initiated and for all the students (i.e. all those who did not belong to the adult congregation) to trespass into the bush or the east coast of the island. The island police made additional patrol rounds for this reason. The place was still designated "somewhere" in the middle of the island, east of the taro patch. Aunts and uncles of the ones to be in-

itiated also helped if they were godfathers or godmothers of the youngsters. Thus, it was the entire adult generation which had to be active to be as many as the number of participants. First, rubble and copra had to be removed because the eastern side of the island had been banned for the harvest since Typhoon Owen. Branches and dead foliage were raked together and even trees cut down. On Tuesday, the landscape designers started to build a platform out of stones and corals (see Figure 2.6).

Already excited about the choreography of this initiation, a mother told me on Tuesday evening that the children should be sent there on Friday without being able to take any luggage with them. The parents would have packed and brought the luggage secretly – and the children should feel glad upon their arrival and their hearts should feel warmed. On Saturday evening at 10 p.m., the children should sit with Moses in a circle through whose centre a pathway led (which went back into the interior of the island) and should just have heard about the angels in the Bible, then the mothers dressed in white sheets and carrying candles should arrive along the path – like the angels! Then there would be some discussion together with the children about the Bible... The fathers should stay home and take care of the smaller children or should meet up at the men's house at the drinking circle (Field Notes 10/2006).

The parents made a safe path leading from the Stone Path towards the coast. The platform was banked up in front of the coast in the form of a circle (see Picture 2.2).

Around this circle was a pathway which was lined with corals and sand, the path led to the right to a heart-shaped platform (see Picture 2.3) with the 'working title' "Sunrise" – from there the young people should watch the sunrise – and behind that to the girls' tent, to the left, the path led to another level area on which the boys' tent was built.

This construction work (see Picture 2.4) all took place parallel to the normal work and duties of the parents which caused many things to be left undone during this week. Besides which the young people had to be diverted and kept away to create and preserve the charac-

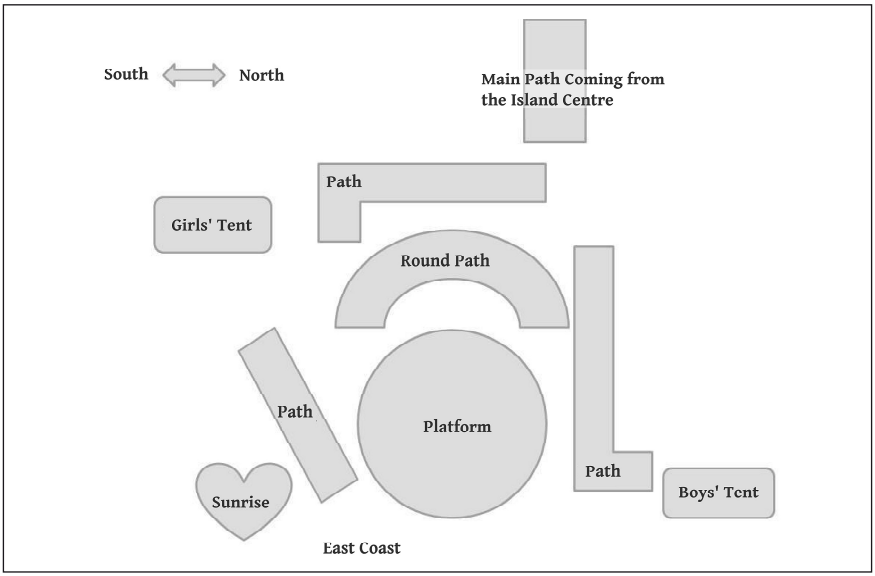

Figure 2.6: Retreat Place

Picture 2.2: Platform

Picture 2.3: Platform "Sunrise"

Picture 2.4: Community members working at the retreat place

ter of this special place, the remoteness and the differentness: it should be a holy place. The tension that became apparent from the start between the children and the juveniles and their parents served to create distance between them. In the course of the week, the young people were more or less systematically pushed out and away from their normal everyday lives and homes usually providing them with familiar patterns. What that felt like for both sides should become clear from the following description of the situation (Field Notes 10/2006).

> When I had taken my shower, the mother returned. She had just had a swim and was standing by the blue barrel to have a shower and I sat in the front doorway and asked her what she had experienced today. She was just telling me when her son came back and asked rudely why there had been nothing to eat at lunchtime and why she had not been there when we came home in the evening – he had seen other mothers at home, why was she hanging around somewhere else and not taking care of her guests? Why was there nothing to eat?
>
> The mother started to answer but he immediately rudely interrupted her. He demanded a betel nut from her and sat down to prepare it. He apologised to me and said he was really annoyed with his mother! I saw that he had been drinking tuba – in his eyes and in his bearing etc. so I asked him about that.
>
> He said, immediately after cutting the coconut blossoms, he had drunk four beakers full because he was so irritated with his mother; and now he was going to continue drinking. I said, he should eat something first and not be so silly as to be boozing on an empty stomach. But his opinion was: "Sorry, but that's the way it has to be!" and he left. I looked at the mother, she was crying. She repeated all her son had said and told me all that she had been doing today – besides which she and her sister had instructed her niece to fry bananas for everyone for lunch but she hadn't done that. She had already been scolded for that, but this niece had finished weaving a lavalava as I then discovered.
>
> In addition, the mother was very worried about the Retreat. The "appearance of the angels" could backfire: The mothers should come along the stone path in the dark, separately, and each with a candle in her hand. During the rehearsal, the mothers in front kept to the rules but

those farther back were all haywire – the mother remarked: "Those mothers just look like their kids, they don't listen carefully!"

Then the son returned, completely drunk, and had had another swim (as my husband told me later, because in the men's house, where the men had given him tuba he was twice thoroughly sick) – the mother asked him why he had showered yet again. He answered rudely, because he likes to shower. He wore his thu (men's loincloth) as he had years ago as a little boy, with a naked bottom (except in the middle) and like a loincloth in the front. Then he told me again that he was so upset that there was nothing to eat and that he would carry on drinking. Thereby, quietly and without saying anything, he dropped half a betel nut into his mother's hand.

The next morning, the mother greeted her son demonstratively loudly with: "Good morning, my son!", otherwise they didn't speak at all...

Defining Spaces

On Friday, at the beginning of the Retreat, the children gathered in the church to prepare for the experience with hymns and religious instruction. Fathers and mothers, meanwhile, brought their luggage, which had been packed in the morning without the knowledge of the children, to the site of the Retreat. For each participant, there was a mat to sleep on, a lavalava (wrap-around skirt) or a *thu* (men's loincloth) for the evening and one for the next day, shampoo, soap, a pillow, song books, a container of fresh water to shower, a few betel nuts with lime, pepper leaves and small pieces of cigarettes, a festive lavalava or *thu* for Sunday and a spray deodorant, as well as a letter from an angel (which the godparent had written for the child). Thereafter, the mothers went to the church to bid the children farewell, singing and weeping, while the children were forced into thinking that they had to go to the Retreat with no provisions of any kind. Accordingly, a few children were quite upset and also cried at the parting. They were ceremoniously rubbed with turmeric and given wreaths of flowers to wear, then off they marched in a line towards the east to the Stone Path.

Their route led them away from the church, which organises the congregation, to the taro patches of the mothers which symbolise motherly security and provision. The Stone Path which is partly paved with smoothed cobblestones to curb the wildness leads through the taro patches. Due to its exact course along the west-east axis of the island, it is the counterpart to the main path running from north to south in the housing area. Since, however, it does not encompass the entire width of the island, unlike the main path which covers the whole distance from north to south, but only the cultivated part of the taro patches, it leaves the width otherwise unmeasured: in front

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lies the inhabited part of the island with the properties of the families, behind stretches the bush (which is indeed also divided into areas belonging to families and individual persons but has been left almost completely untouched since the harvest ban) and the beach. Thus, the Stone Path leads on from the west and the lagoon side in a well-defined way, at the level of the church even, i.e. in the middle of the island and guides the people into the unknown in the east.

At the end of the Stone Path, the paved path which the parents had constructed especially for the Retreat began. At first, with a gentle slope and then, at the end, fairly steep, this path led further towards the east. Due to the slope, it was not possible to see what was at the end until one arrived there: at the edge of the cliffs towards the ocean, a level area opened out which had a round platform in the middle. This was sheltered by a tarpaulin. To the left and to the right lay the communal tents of the boys and girls and between the platform and the beach another small heart-shaped area extended which concealed the transition between land and sea. The parents had, therefore, skilfully managed to create, in a small space, a separation between everyday life and Retreat, had established the circle of children who were to be initiated together in the landscape and had signalled that the hearts of the children should be opened from the basis of their circle to the horizon. For the ocean unites the people from the different islands (whether visible on the horizon or far away) if they perceive themselves as belonging together through time and space. In this respect, the island landscape presents sharp outlines: a Lamotrekese man requested on his deathbed to be buried with his head in the direction of the island of Puluwat where he originally came from. In that way, he could, in death, be near his family there.

Contacts in Seclusion

From the point of view of the island community, the Retreat proceeded in relative concealment. Moses and his colleagues, as well as the Religious Education teachers and a few assistants attended to the youngsters. Fathers and the other men went fishing, mothers and the other women gathered taro and cooked the food together. Thereby, between the church and community centre which is at the heart of the inhabited part of the island, several fires with large pots and grills were lighted to cook and barbecue the food. Approximately at the appointed time, a delegation of women now brought this food, carefully packed in portions (in small coconut fibre baskets or wrapped in leaves) to the far end of the Stone Path where a large tarpaulin had been hung up as a curtain. The women could neither see what was on the other side nor could the young people detect from the Retreat site that something was happening behind the curtain or indeed what was happening at all because the Stone Path is bordered by trees and bushes and the curtain, therefore, completely sealed off the field of vision. The mothers thus placed the food (and each day also a canister of fresh water) behind the curtain and notified the leaders of the Retreat of the delivery by walky-talky. They immediately then left again by way of the Stone Path. Moses' assistants could then collect the food without there having been any direct contact between the community and the participants in the initiation. This restriction on contact between those inside and outside the ritual space equals the way a *rong* is created on Lamotrek for the healer and participants when local medicine is being prepared and administered. Therefore, the Retreat drew upon existing cultural models for seclusion.

On the Saturday evening of the first Retreat, the activities slowly became more urgent in that the atmosphere became festive and the

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Picture 2.5: Platform "Mount Zion" with tarpaulin

island community could make their appearance. Mothers (and aunts) and fathers (and uncles) met up at 8 p.m. along their pathways to the church and on the church square itself, disguised themselves with white clothing and sheets, and had candles in their hands. They were nervous but also happy that they would soon be able to see their children even though these would not recognise them. Some of the men were slightly drunk since they had met up in their drinking circle already in the afternoon and then again in the evening. The atmosphere took on a festive mood also for this reason. It was pitch dark (because the sun goes down on Lamotrek already at 6 p.m.) – at the Students' Retreat it was cloudy, at the Youth Retreat stormy and rainy. The weather increased the drama of the situation, because abandoning the whole event not to expose the youngsters to the weather had been considered, but they had voted to continue – which made the parents proud.

The procession followed its course from the church to the platform (see Picture 2.5) which, in the meantime, had been named "Mount Zion" and took ten minutes the first time and more like twenty minutes

the second time. By means of the walky-talky, it was agreed when the parents should pass through the curtain. When they arrived at the platform, the young people were sitting on the platform with their backs towards the outside of the circle, with their eyes closed, absorbed in meditation. The "angels" lined up with their candles around the platform; each one stood behind his assigned child to give him or her the letter. In the letters, there were encouraging words, such as "Trust in God", "You are strong", "We love you" etc. Also "Stay as you are" or "Develop your abilities" were popular sentences from the angels. During the formation, the angels sang songs.

Suddenly, three devils jumped onto the platform! They were almost naked, had long tails fastened to their waists, gesticulated and behaved obscenely, and even struck some of the youngsters. They tried to pull the youngsters up to drag them with them. They had come jumping up onto the platform from north and south, now they tried to get away from the platform to the west, only to immediately jump up again. From the landscape point of view, they came, figuratively speaking, along the main path (which runs along a parallel axis on the lagoon side) and turned out to be demons. They tried, and were often successful, to break through in the direction of the community to the middle of the island. Thus, they were up to no good.

This performance was accompanied by much laughter, one or the other of the youngsters allowed himself to be drawn in and danced a few steps on the platform before he uproariously sat back down and clung to his neighbour. Moses and his colleagues also tried to subdue the demons, but they were too agile and strong! Only when the angels started to sing again were the demons scared off and ran away: they jumped down from the platform towards the ocean to the east and were swallowed up by the darkness. Thus they were defeated, away into the unknown (and could return at any time if the participants would allow them?). Singing, the angels also retreated down the pathway and to the Stone Path to arrive back in the middle of the island as mothers and fathers. Along the Stone Path, they took off their white disguises and told each other about their impressions, laughingly met up with the three men who had played the demons and one angel

landed, on account of his alcohol consumption in the early evening, on his back in the taro patch and was collected later by the members of his drinking circle.

Entry of the Initiated and Return to Society

On Sunday morning, the women picked up the initiated youngsters at the end of the Stone Path. The men were waiting at the church. On the curtain between the Stone Path and the pathway to the Retreat, they had written with Edding marker in large letters: "Welcome to Mom! We love you". Then they welcomed the young people, rubbed them with turmeric and sprayed them with perfume, singing all the while. The youngsters looked at the ground and many were crying. Then they moved off again in a line to the church. There they were greeted by the men and draped with wreaths of flowers.

With this choreography, the women showed their attachment to their children which would remain even when the children were grown up. Now, they could also be assimilated into the group of those who identified with the Christian religion and for whom the father's authority, therefore, would become increasingly more predominant. However, the close relationship to the Lamotrekese tradition was repeatedly underlined: at the end of the church service which was organised by the young people and the fathers (or other men), the catechist Yeso danced below the altar (see Picture 2.6). On the other side of the church, near the entrance, one father soon began to dance the traditional men's dance.

In the afternoon, the women returned to the church, in and around which the young people spent most of Sunday, because they still needed warmth, their hearts still had to be retrieved from the Retreat (Field Notes 10/2006). In addition, Yeso wanted to inform them of their duties as adults before he left for home (Satawal). Subsequently, the young people danced a hula in front of the Lugal, the men's house in the middle of the island. Here also, the connection between traditions and modern trends reappears: a dance as is com-

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mon on the island is presented in an interculturally motivated way, i.e. in Hawaiian hula-style. Soon, the parents were also dancing: they imitated the dancing of the children in an exaggerated way so that, literally, caricatures were to be seen, they pulled faces, shouted wildly, made obscene gestures and movements, waggled their breasts and their bottoms. Hereby, the transition from childhood to adulthood was acted out in a dance, and, additionally, generational tensions between children and their parents were put to stage. The older generation was mocking the introduced dances of the younger generation.

On Monday morning, there was yet another dance, because all Lamotrekese celebrations and rituals last four days. This time, in addition to the obscene behaviour of the adults, some of the people danced like the "devils" at the Retreat. They were chased away, after which they danced 'normally'.

The modern day Lamotrekese society is influenced by tensions between categorical poles, such as tradition and the modern world, individual and society etc. – for this, the present changing of the dance for the celebration of the integration of the young people into adult society is only one, though a particularly suggestive, example. Hereby, however, contrasting pairs of young adults (who dance the hula) and experienced adults (who dance in the Lamotrek style) additionally result. The Christian religion also generates a rational model for further discussion which unifies human common sense and religious belief. The church teaches that God is the creator of nature which is, in turn, graspable with the help of human common sense. The paradox which arises, i.e. that nature and man were created by God and, therefore, the whole of creation must be understandable from the perspective of part of the whole, cannot be solved. In the system of belief that prevailed on Lamotrek before Christianity, possible "inconsistencies" could be creatively solved: there were various models of situations, behavioural patterns, explainable and unexplainable things, because there were many spirits and deities. From my conversations with Lamotrekese friends, it becomes clear that the attention of the people is always focussed on binding elements, group dynamics etc. The mechanisms of differentiation which are strengt-

hened by Christianity, patriarchal social ideals, free market economy etc. are phenomena that are, on the one hand, too young and, on the other, too comprehensive and massive to be already completely dissolved and absorbed in a Lamotrekese identity, as a whole.

Picture 2.6: Yeso is dancing again outside of church

Follow-up

The memories which the landscape created for the Retreat can trigger in individuals will be highly varied. In all, a feeling of togetherness with one's peers and with the island society was produced by the connecting pathways (see Figure 2.6). The young people were shown that the unknown, scenically represented in the landscape can be purposefully crossed and that the future of the youth is to be actively planned. The spheres of men and women remain separate but, for the formation of a community, both sides are equally important. On the basis of their matrilineal connection to Lamotrek and their associated roots inscribed in the land, the young adults can realise many contacts to people from other islands and other places. The Christian belief should provide a means with which to feel that they belong and to show solidarity with other people.

For the children who had not yet taken part in communion, a children's Retreat was held on the third Sunday which included, in a shortened version, the various steps of the rituals, such as meeting in church, separation from the familiar, instruction (scripture lessons) in isolation, and return to the community. They, too, were, therefore, requested to understand the identification process, inscribed in the landscape.

In retrospect, the responsibility for the Retreat was borne by the entire community. Originally, the parents were in control, but they had to trust in the interest and help of many others who, because they had no children of their own of juvenile age, had not fully identified with Retreat activities. Many people found the procedure fairly chaotic: but, in particular, it was the mothers who felt misrepresented in the church. In the programme of the church service, besides the young people, only the men took active part, it was the men who

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held speeches, who spoke to the youngsters as adults and gave them advice for their lives. As the most important message, the relationship between father and child ran through: based on the Christian teachings of Father and Son. The women were left only with the singing of hymns with their children and they made extensive use of this means of making an impression. There is also the strong Marian traditional in Catholicism which can be a counterbalance to the patriarchal emphasis. The Lamotrek community of Catholics exploits this possibility through patron saint festivities and worship, but during the Retreat it was not put into action. The public expression, on the one hand, of the children's separation from their parents and absorption into the community church, and on the other hand, of the parents' love and attachment to the children, took all attention. In a culture that generally minimizes ceremonies marking individuality (birthdays, first hair-cuttings, weddings etc.) these newly invented traditions must be carefully choreographed to be effective and meaningful for both parents and children. But the cultural differences between the generations left the mothers with a feeling of imperfection regarding the Retreat.

The women are disproportionately strongly involved in the various church groups on Lamotrek. There are Bible lessons where they meet and when guests must be greeted on the island, for celebrations or for public holidays, the members of the various church groups come together to plan a programme, to collect lavalava for good causes or make decorations. Through these activities and their strong presence during the church services – and thereafter, because they then meet up in front of the church, whereby almost weekly a women's meeting takes place, whereas the men come together in the men's houses and/or hold the weekly collective men's meeting – they balance out the male dominance in the church as best they can.

How the new generation of church members will cope with these aspects of combination of cultures remains to be seen. Following the second Retreat, the two groups of students and youths joined together. This was Moses' suggestion: "Moses did not force us to combine, but he liked it very much, so it was our choice and we combined

the two groups into one" (Field Notes 11/2006). They call themselves "Shooting Stars" and hope to preserve or even strengthen their bond with time.

These worlds of experience, made changeable by time and space, which are manifested to the anthropologist encoded in the landscape, are not organised in human memory in chronological order. "Whether remembering the details of physical existence, or poetry, or political events, what remains in memory for the long durée is what has significance for us individually or collectively" (Mageo 2001b: 1). These individual or collective ascriptions of meaning take place within the process which the philosopher Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) summarises under sensory topics (Pompa 1979; Shotter 1986; Vico 1979). Because of the connection between emotions and concrete places in such a memory process, social common places or cultural structures arise.

Part III

Emotional Landscapes: The Construction of Reality in Conflict

In dealing with landscape anthropology at the theoretical and methodical levels, broad fields of communication (intercultural) are opened up. Not only can individual recollection and collective memory be observed in specific places, but also cultural structures whose interpretation is spatiotemporally fixed can be investigated. We perceive the process "culture" as a smooth historical continuum because recollections are an important part of it. Thus, our memory is the "most important sense organ" (Degen & Huber 1992: 58, my translation), because it fills the world which we perceive with meaning. Even so, science cannot deliver any valid theory of memory but only speculate on its mode of operation: "If a constellation of neurons were activated it would stimulate further constellations which could activate still more constellations" (Degen & Huber 1992: 58, my translation).

In this sense, memory is rather a site of construction which uses the "past of the future" (Degen & Huber 1992: 60), the present, to recapitulate on experience. Feelings are crucial and formative to the extent that they already fill every new incident with meaning and quality. This process of ascription and perception of meaning in social interaction on the basis of an "emotional insight" and the corresponding "emotional landscape" is closely associated with the concepts of landscape analysed in this work and renders what is individually experienced easier to grasp. In my opinion, this range of topics provides a meaningful extension of the notion of landscape in anthropology which can be broadened by the elements dealt with in the following section.

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The Culture of Emotions

In psychology and anthropology, research on emotion is concerned with the basic question of whether feelings are universal in human beings or rather primarily culturally shaped. In this respect, it takes a new look at the debate on individual-cultural worlds of experience and collective-biological patterns which are also important in landscape theory. Thereby, particularly two main problems complicate research on emotion: on the one hand, there is the question of how to gather the data in the first place (Rubinstein 1989: 151, 154). Does it have more to do with measurement of neuronal activity in the brain, pulse frequency or heart rhythm, or should emotion words be analysed culture-specifically? On the other, the object of the research itself is not clearly defined. How can concepts be more finely tuned when their definition is strongly dependent on the eye of the beholder?

Wulf-Uwe Meyer, Achim Schützwohl and Rainer Reisenzein formulate the problems of definition in their *Einführung in die Emotionspsychologie* (*Introduction to the Psychology of Emotion)* as follows: "The concept of the function of the definition of emotion was probably responsible for the fact that there is hardly one textbook or a summarising chapter in a book on emotional psychology which does not begin by complaining about the absence of a generally accepted definition of 'emotion'" (Meyer, Schützwohl & Reisenzein 1993: 22, my translation). They, however, try to avoid complaint and instead provide a working definition of emotions. Accordingly, emotions are "incidents of, for example, joy, sadness, anger, fear, pity, disappointment, pride, shame, guilt, envy and further varieties of conditions similar enough to the ones mentioned" (1993: 22, my translation).

Furthermore, such "incidents" have certain common characteristics: "(a) They are the prevailing states of mind of the individuals; (b)

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they differ according to type or quality and intensity (...); (c) they are, as a rule, directed towards some object (...); (d) individuals who are in one of these states of mind usually experience something characteristic (...), and often certain physical changes (...) and behavioural patterns (...) occur" (Meyer, Schützwohl & Reisenzein 1993: 23f., my translation).

In these physiological components of emotions, Paul Ekman sees a basis for his assumption that emotions are universal, i.e., for every human being, independent of his culture, experience and personal history, they develop similarly. Ekman differentiates between complex patterns of emotion and the "emotional expressions" he investigated (Ekman 1997: 315). These latter are manifested in universal facial expressions and constitute a means of communication: "I think we use emotion words – *anger, fear, disgust, sadness*, and so forth – as a shorthand, an abbreviated way to refer to the various events and processes that make up the phenomena of emotion. Each word refers to a different set of these organised, integrated processes" (1997: 320; emphasis in the original).

In this sense, the six basic emotions of fear, anger, disgust, surprise, sadness and joy which ethologists [sic]/behavioural scientists like Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, in studies on different cultures, repeatedly isolately point out (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1966, 1997; Eibl-Eibesfeldt, Schiefenhövel & Heeschen 1989) as being "biosocial phenomena" (according to Ekman 1997: 315) are valid. However, precisely the social level of emotions, complicated to investigate, puts the biological collection of data in a repeatedly difficult situation: facial expressions resulting from a limited combination of muscle contractions in the human face can be decisive or give some direction to an act of communication, but have to be interpreted culture-specifically.

This explains the "forced-choice tests" – a procedure popular in the field (Reddy 2001: 13). Respondents were shown pictures of facial expressions which were to be classified according to a list of words, namely, the six words for basic emotions. Often the investigator felt it necessary to explain to the respondents the situation in which the person in the picture was when he was making the specific face, i.e.,

the appropriate social situation was, as it were, included. William Reddy evaluates this fact by writing: "Thus, evidence for a few, universally recognised (and therefore biologically based) facial expressions of emotions was at best ambiguous – and this, after twenty years of work by many researchers" (2001: 13).

In his book *The Navigation of Feeling* (2001), Reddy further addresses the problem of how those emotions which do not result in facial expressions but rather influence an inner dialogue could be observed scientifically: Anger can be felt entirely without external signs and would then not satisfy the communication aspect postulated by Ekman (1997). These considerations lead Reddy to challenge the separation between the concepts of emotion and cognition and like Meyer, Schützwohl and Reisenzein (1993) to question whether the ambiguous results of (psychological-biological) research on emotion can be accounted for already in the definition of the concept. Thus, he unites emotion and cognition in his new word "cogmotion": "If a sudden sense of fear redirects attention to a dark corner of the room, why not conclude that this sense of fear *is the cognition* of the potential danger of that corner?" (Reddy 2001: 14; emphasis in the original).

This definition of emotion as a moment of cognition in (social) interaction comes quite close to anthropological research on emotion and its attempts at definition. Michelle Rosaldo says: "Feelings are not substances to be discovered in our blood but social practices organized by stories that we both enact and tell. They are structured by our forms of understanding" (Rosaldo 1984: 143). In this sense, the biological components of emotion, all forms of physiological agitation, should not be completely ignored although they remain unimportant for the expression and function of emotions. Anthropological research turns to the learned, the cultural and, thereby, interpretive components of emotions (Reddy 2001: 36; Lutz 1985, 1988; Lutz & Abu-Lughod 1990; Lutz & White 1986; Lyon 1995; M. Rosaldo 1980, 1983, 1984; R. Rosaldo 1984). On Lamotrek, emotions are emplaced.

In anthropological tradition, Catherine Lutz investigates how emotional meanings, fundamentally structured by certain cultural systems and certain social and material environments are learned

and remembered (Lutz 1988: 4). For this purpose, during her field work on Ifaluk Atoll (Micronesia), she collected words that describe emotions called emotion words. According to Lutz, these provide an understanding of the social structure and culturally transmitted knowledge of the inhabitants of Ifaluk. Thus the word *song*, for instance, which Lutz translates as "justifiable anger" shows what legal philosophy prevails on this atoll and how the people act out their social relationships (1988: 121). Characteristic of Lutz's book *Unnatural Emotions* is her analysis of the basic concepts, belonging to each individual culture, of emotion, person, society etc. In western society, she shows the epistemological separation of feelings from rationality which, in her opinion, hinders scientific research on emotions. Already from the outset, a boundary is drawn which contradicts Lutz's experience of the concept of person on, for example, Ifaluk. With the help of her anthropological material, the anthropologist attempts to deconstruct western dualism:

> These views can be treated, however, as items in a cultural discourse whose traditional assumptions about human nature and whose dualisms – body and mind, public and private, essence and appearance, and irrationality and thought – constitute what we take to be the self-evident nature of emotion. This book uncovers some of the cultural assumptions found in Western thinking about the emotions and contrasts them with those I encountered during fieldwork... (1988: 3).

In contrast, Eleanor Gerber attempts to neutralise the contradiction between concepts of the west and the epistemology of non-western societies, by proposing an intermediate level between emotion as psycho-biological reaction and a socio-cultural interpretation. For Gerber, every emotion has a biological basis which is shown in a collection of affective patterns, "emotional patterning", and partially influences the subjective experience of emotion. However, this inborn patterning is culturally redefined so that one can hardly speak of a direct experience of the biological schema (Gerber 1985: 122ff.).

Anthropology, therefore, agrees to an intermediate discourse in research on emotion. Thus, similarly to Gerber, also Margot Lyon, in

her text *Missing Emotion*, assigns biological, cognitive etc. aspects to a culturally superimposed emotional experience: "[E]motion is more than a domain of cultural conception" (1995: 248). She criticises the dark side of constructivist research on emotion as pursued, for example, by Lutz and various others: "[A] cultural constructionist perspective entails the persistence of the problem of the relationship between the 'inner' mental representations and 'outer' cultural representations, and thus the dominance of a psychological frame (1995: 252).

Emotions within the Framework of the Cultural-Anthropological Concept of Landscape

Together with Rosaldo, Lyon argues against a forced separation of feeling, perception, understanding etc., by introducing an integrative perspective which unites emotion and cognition at the level of the body, thereby ending the dispute on biological or cultural patterns: "Emotions, like ideas, are located in the self and thus the two, emotion and cognition, are linked: emotions can be seen as 'cognitions implicating the immediate, carnal <me> – as thoughts embodied'. Emotions 'are about the ways in which the social world is one in which *we* are involved'" (1995: 253; emphasis in the original).

Anthropological research on emotion should, therefore, concern itself – like landscape anthropology – with the *processes* in which collective symbols etc. generate power. Thereby, those processes are important which result from the experience and history of an individual in a given culture (investigations with a psychological basis), as well as those resulting from social interaction (according to Lyon 1995: 255). An emotionally charged conflict situation in which individuals make use of their movements in space and towards certain places to communicate appropriateness in social cooperation must be analysed with multidisciplinary perspectives in research on emotion incorporating the Anthropology of Landscape.

The emotional-anthropological approach stimulates the Anthropology of Landscape by focussing on the culture and dynamics of social phenomena as processes. It is not only concerned with the meaning of an isolated emotional experience but attempts to analyse the *framework* within which emotional interaction takes place. Thereby, the classification of each emotion depends on the context: the expression of feeling can be an inner dialogue, an act of communication or an assessment.

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In Hirsch's terminology, this framework of interaction would be the landscape (Hirsch 1995). For the observer or the researcher, the focussed perception of a particular framework of interaction, for example, the Melanesian landscape, creates a degree of abstraction (as in painting) through which he can recognise superior structures. Thereby, landscape does not constitute a passive image but absorbs the person of the researcher, and his individual, as well as sociocultural experience. In this sense, a perspective of landscape anthropology is not only a cultural-anthropological research *process*: "Operating at the juncture of history and politics, social relations and cultural perceptions, landscape is a concept of high tension" (Bender 1996: 324).

Through the inclusion of the scientist in the context which he is investigating, a closer approach to the "native's point of view" (1953: 25) postulated by Bronislaw Malinowski is aimed at. Initially, he keeps to his view of the locally experienced landscape which is influenced, for example, by western concepts, but then he addresses the indigenous perception of landscape by carrying out a cultural-anthropological investigation in order to embed both factors in an overall concept with understanding. Within this method, the "Western notion of landscape" and "analogous local ideas" stimulate each other (Hirsch 1995: 2).

In what way are human interactions with the landscape (as a natural and cultural process) rooted in (historically) consolidated social relations, to what extent are "emotional structures" (Bender 1996: 323) recognisable?

Steven Feld attempts to answer this question by looking at perceptions as well as emotions in the context of the Kaluli in the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. He argues with Henri Bergson: "While perception measures the reflecting power of the body, affection measures its power to absorb" (Bergson 1988: 56). During his fieldwork in the rain forest of Papua New Guinea, Feld soon realises that with the western principle of "seeing is believing" (1996: 94), reflected in the traditional concept of landscape research, he cannot immerse himself in the world of the Kaluli. Life in the Bosavi region is much more strongly influenced by hearing, since sounds – not only

sight – support daily orientation in the dense forest. This aspect of the natural environment in the area of research involves the researcher in the emotional world of the people: "Sound, hearing, and voice mark a special bodily nexus for sensation and emotion because of their coordination of brain, nervous system, head, ear, chest, muscles, respiration, and breathing" (Feld 1996: 97).

Sounds from the environment are classified as landmarks and spatial estimation of orientation, i.e. they have a locus as well as a time and sounds mark timepoints. Thereby, tension arises between things clearly heard and those hidden from the eyes, if one acoustically discerns much earlier what one only much later can see. Feld sees this dialectic structure reflected in the music and poetry of the Kaluli: "Linking experience and expression, this same tension adheres in Kaluli poetic concepts – for example, the intersensory desire to interpret songs, conversations, arguments, or stories by 'turning over' (*baluma*) their surface to reveal their *heg*, 'underneath', or *sa*, 'inside'" (1996: 98f.; emphasis in the original).

In their songs, places such as rocks, waterfalls, glades, rivers etc. whose physical structure is reflected in the acoustic experience of the Kaluli, gain meaning as phenomena which have an inner life and a (hidden) past. These places are named and thus serve not only spatial orientation but also the social and emotional navigation through the landscape of Bosavi.

Names indicate, for example, affiliation to persons or families and, furthermore, serve as memory aids: "Memories – of food, work, labor assistance – are magnetized to those names, making place a fused locus of time and space" (Feld 1996: 107). A certain, named waterfall, for instance, described in a song as fast flowing, falling, turbulent, splashing, sparkling and slowly flowing (1996: 108) recalls memories associated with experiences at this waterfall, evokes and recaptures a metaphor for life as a river, as originally keenly felt feelings of sorrow at the loss of a beloved person are calmed with time but flow on further in an eternal stream. Edward Casey illustrates this memory process:

> Moving in or through a given place, the body imports its own em-placed past into its present experience: its local history is literally a history of locales. This very importation of past places occurs simultaneously with the body's ongoing establishment of directionality, level and distance, and indeed influences these latter in myriad ways. Orientation in place (which is what is established by these three factors) cannot be continually effected *de novo* but arises within the ever-lengthening shadow of our bodily past (1987: 194; emphasis in the original).

Culture as a Process of Collective Localisation

Similar to the way in which Feld describes the landscape of the Kaluli in the Highlands, Miriam Kahn investigates social life in Wamira and the coast of Papua New Guinea: "The Wamiran landscape resounds for Wamirans with narratives of collective history and personal experience" (1996: 167). She first describes her own approach to the setting of her fieldwork which is full of feelings of uncertainty and foreignness. For the Wamirans, however, their landscape is a constant reminder of the myth of the origin of Tamodukorokoro, as well as a reflection of the importance of social relations which revolves around provision of food, caring for others and sharing. Landmarks and places serve, therefore, as reminders and as a moral authority (Kahn 1996: 176). The process in which the researcher together with the people in Wamira and its landscape finds herself is, all in all, primarily a place at which emotions occur: "But ultimately, places are, for Wamirans as they are for me, profoundly emotional territories" (1996: 168). This statement can also be made for Lamotrek.

The myth of Tamodukorokoro sheds light on the way in which the Wamirans experience their native place. In this myth, a woman from Wamira marries a native of a mountain village in his village. After a while, she wishes to return to Wamira to see her family and introduce her child. On the way, she meets the snake monster Tamodukorokoro who is actually rumoured to be her husband. Tamodukorokoro attempts to hinder her from moving on. She manages, however, to get to Wamira to her brothers who now try to kill Tamodukorokoro. After many assaults on Tamodukorokoro's life and limb in connection with food, he leaves Wamira but not without taking his wife and her sister. Thereafter, he tries, in various places, to find somewhere to live but cannot stand the distress of being within eyeshot of Wamira. He, the-

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refore, crosses the bay and settles in Iriwavo (Fergusson Island). Having arrived, he sits down with a wife on each side, all three with their backs towards Wamira. Tamodukorokoro and both of his wives turn into stone and are now the three cliffs which can be seen from Wamira on the other side of the bay (Kahn 1996: 174).

The Wamira attribute their current food shortages to their ambivalent and ambiguous attitude towards Tamodukorokoro which is characterised by sympathy, as well as rejection. Ultimately, they drove him away, for which they are still "paying", for example, with the exceptionally dry climate. In this process of connecting current events with memories of the past at the emotional level, the information about Tamodukorokoro which has been culturally handed down is just as apparent in the landscape as individual experience, for example, the way to friends or the home, the family etc. which are inscribed in the surroundings: "The landscape surrounds the people with a sense of shared history rooted in the past and memorialized in the present through shared symbols" (Kahn 1996: 178). On Lamotrek, people go to the houses of absent friends to feel inner proximity. This image of a "background potentiality" in the "foreground actuality" (Hirsch 1995: 4) also explains – for Miriam Kahn, initially strange – the anxiety of the Wamirans that she was in Wamira without father or mother, without loved ones and, worst of all, she had nobody connected with her as far as food and provisions were concerned. Thus, Kahn observed in her daily interactions with the Wamirans: "They imply a profound kind of social deprivation brought about by being bereft of place and context" (1996: 175). The place "home" is thus not a place which is primarily in itself important, but gains importance when activities, such as eating together shape it and when the people at this place are reminded of previous social interactions by their accompanying feelings.

Social interactions within a culture or among people of different cultures are endowed with meaning through the emotions felt by the participants. Only this assignment of meaning makes it possible to communicate with others and later to reactivate the interaction process in their thoughts. Thereby, the person is permanently involved

in a movement which reflects the *inner* "landscape of feeling", with cultural traditions and internalised values and norms and past experience in the *outer* landscape, the political-chronological history and the partners in communication and interaction in a continuum which is as consistent as possible. Culture evolves in the emotional management of experience in memory processes, for instance, the localisation of history in names of cliffs etc. Thus, for example, Miriam Kahn and the Wamirans share the same culture in certain places, when their mutual interaction can be embodied in the landscape: "I had become Wamiran by literally becoming part of Wamira" (1996: 188). Feelings and memories thus constitute a process which, according to Kahn, makes the world comprehensible in the first place: "[C]ultural history is interpreted through the naming of places, houses, stones, valuables, and so forth. Social relationships are inscribed in named places, connecting people and things in placed events. The result is a historical topography that gives a landscape a human meaning" (1996: 193). On Lamotrek, a similar identity of man and landscape prevails. When islanders travel, one says their names out loud when one passes their house, particularly during festivities. As an example, on New Year's Eve, the people go from one home to another and wish everyone who has recently been present here or there 'good luck', including (absent) guests and visitors.

It is my belief that the gradual shift of the main focus of observation away from the landscape to some concrete place, which Kahn here theoretically undertakes, is the necessary transition from landscape theory to landscape-anthropological methodology. The turn to the micro-level at the same time illuminates macro-level aspects. Of course, it is also important on Lamotrek how the various households (*bugota*) are interconnected and which axes the main paths touch, etc. But a vital picture of the Lamotrekese emotional view on life is created by a close look on one place and its socio-cultural interactions.

Emotions as Expression of Social Norms

In her ethnopsychological thesis *Unnatural Emotions* (1988), Catherine Lutz examines emotion talk on Ifaluk (Caroline Islands, Micronesia) in the 1970s. Her analysis focuses on three indexical emotion terms, *fageoiu* (compassion/love/sadness), *song* (justifiable anger), and *metagu* (fear/anxiety), as well as on the Ifaluk concept of personhood. While her findings were highly informative for the debate between universalistic and relativistic approaches to emotion studies, and her theoretical statements opened up a way to transcend the body-mind dichotomy which haunted natural sciences and social sciences alike, historical changes have given rise to the fact that today the concept of *song* (justifiable anger) is not situated as much at the core of Carolinian personhood as Lutz observed in the 1970s. *Fageoiu* (compassion/love/sadness) and *metagu* (fear/anxiety), though, are still working effectively to organise interpersonal relationships, even in the individualised setting of Catholicism on the islands.

Lutz states: "People told me on many different occasions that a parent *must* at times become justifiably angry with his or her child, 'or the child will not know the difference between right and wrong'" (1988: 165). She introduces the concept of justifiable anger to the western reader to show Ifaluk everyday (emotional) life on the one hand, and on the other to deconstruct ethnocentric views on emotions in general. One such ethnocentrism in both emotion studies and in lay understandings of emotions at her time was that emotion and thought are separated, thinking being a quality of rational mind/brain functions and feeling being a rather suboptimal feature of bodily perception of the world that must be controlled by reason. Since her book was published, a number of relevant cross-cultural studies have shown how important emotional intelligence is to beha-

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ve correctly in any given society. Also, evidence from the neurosciences lets us understand how the human brain constantly monitors and maps the body in relation to any kind of stimuli and how it uses the manifold pathways of bodily (as a whole, human) communications to make sense of what happens (Damasio 1999, 2003). The difference between right and wrong, rational and irrational behaviour, or knowledge and intuition makes space for discursive understanding of social reality. In the following pages I will sketch an incident of social reality connected to the perception of emotional states and the identification with certain places. I will show both, the discursive understanding of a situation between individuals as well as a non-verbal discourse on what is right and wrong, mediated through movement between places.

At dawn on Monday, a thunderstorm coated Lamotrek's sky in warning colours; noises from wind and rain held everybody in a state of anxiety and alert. Of course, we would have been warned had a stronger storm been noted at the weather stations, but at all times this additional humming in the air, the absence of bird song and the electrical tension distressed all of us. Since it was A.'s birthday, his wife E. could not retreat to her sleeping mat and draw her cover over her head as she usually does in the face of strong winds. A. could not hide from his comrades' attention and had to carefully monitor all the good that people were trying to make him enjoy on this day: as a compassionate Lamotrekese man of honour he must at all times remember to give more than he receives from lower-ranking members of society and not to upset the elders, but to preserve the sensitive balance of power between rank, gender and generation. His son D. had been preparing a small party and food together with his father's sisters on their compound as is customary on such occasions. The food was supposed to be brought to E.'s and A.'s house later to feast on A.'s birthday when the men's circle at the meeting house (see Picture 3.1) was over. Now D. was rampaging about in the yard and, shortly after that, falling from one fit of tears into the next.

While trying to find some *falubwa* (fermented coconut toddy) at some relative's house for the planned party, D. and his friends had

Picture 3.1: Men's house on Lamotrek

left the drinking circle at the men's house too early. Some men had accused the boys then of getting drunk in secret and A. had begun giving his long lecture on responsibility, devotion and respect. Not wanting to contradict his father in public, D. had gone back to his parents' house and told everybody, "It's not true! They are lying!". A. had continued lecturing at the house, trying to find a way to express his rage. Commenting on these incidents in the evening and on the following days, people characterized A. as *ssig* (angry). The notion of *song* (justifiable anger) was not used in this context nor in most other contexts I observed.

In the literature concerning Lamotrek and its surrounding area, we find evidence for strictly practiced respect behaviour, including the bowing gesture made in front of or near a higher ranking person or a sacred place, which was enforced before the mass conversion to Christianity in the last century and since then has been declining in the various sections of Lamotrekese society. In comparing observations he made during several stays on the island in 1977, 1990 and 1999,

Eric Metzgar explains the loss of respect towards traditional taboo sites with the growing trust in the Catholic Church, especially since typhoon Owen hit Lamotrek in 1991 and the Lamotrekese hid and were saved inside the concrete church building. After Owen, people no longer bowed in front of Lametag, in former times the highest place on Lamotrek, and gradually stopped judging events and conflicts by a moral interpretation based on negotiations with higher ranking persons around them. They continued learning about the importance of humility, brotherly love and compassion in the Christian belief system and were introduced to a moral code judged by God only and interpreted and represented through the Church.

Whereas in the 1970s God could be said to be much like an island chief in his concerns about man and his power to structure social life, people today are not situated in an egalitarian relationship to Him but in asymmetrical affiliation. When Lutz was doing fieldwork on Ifaluk she observed: "Each time a person declares 'I am *song*' [sic] is a gambit or bid in an effort to install a particular interpretation of events as the definition of that situation to be accepted by others" (Lutz 1988: 162, my addendum). Thirty years later, I observed that the only one being capable of true "justifiable anger" was God Himself. Still, the ideal person should be "calm, generous, hard working, and modest" (Lutz 1988: 115) to be worthy of God's *fageoiu* (compassion/love). Although a century of colonial rule, as well as being part of a globalised world, have certainly influenced Carolinian social change, the traditional power relations have provided for individual intentions and autonomous action in interpersonal settings with values of cooperation, peace and sharing still being at the core of Lamotrekese society. "It is perhaps only in a society in which autonomous action to ensure individual survival is neither socially encouraged nor ecologically or economically feasible that nurturance will become central to the definition of power…", says Lutz. However, since nurturance is already associated with power, the second part of her statement characterizes the actual relationship between the well-off and the needy: "For it may only be in that context that caring for others creates the greatest dependency in the recipient and control in the caregiver" (Lutz 1988: 143).

What I am seeking, then, is an understanding of the above situation on Lamotrek based on what seems to me to be an inherent connection between individual goals and profits, religiously motivated brotherly love, respect for others of higher rank and a bond between nurturance and power. With a history of interpersonal definitions of morality and ethics and the predominance of the Catholic faith today, each person has to communicate his or her state of affairs to discourse partners who have had different experience, have lived under differing political rule, and have formulated other ethical or moral codes. The analysis of these communications is especially interesting with regard to intergenerational dimensions where history, social change, life course and individual experience intertwine. In addition to this, understanding individual actors from a small-scale societal frame may open up new insights for individualised actors in larger settings. Focus on the involvement of the actors in the landscape allows a close connection between the macrolevel and microlevel of the Lamotrekese society.

An Extended-Case on Lamotrek

I collected and processed the data for this condensed version of a conflict situation on Lamotrek using the extended-case method. The extended-case method is defined as a "detailed investigation of specific events or chains of events from which general theoretical principles can be deduced" (Rössler 2008: 192, my translation; see also Mitchell 1983: 192). The method was developed for British social anthropology when structural-functional approaches proved no longer good enough to successfully carry out research in central and southern Africa which was influenced by industrialisation, urbanisation etc. In this context, Max Gluckman who was mainly responsible for the extended-case method thought that the tension between various social groups, namely, the Zulu, the colonial authorities and the white settlers and the accompanying social change were responsible for the heterogeneity of local society (Rössler 2008: 191f.). In the extended-case method, the centre of interest lies in the commonplace dealings of concrete persons in their social practice. Since Gluckman was a trained lawyer, he understood social interaction as a system of cases (*legal* cases). "The analysis of a specific social situation, of the inauguration of a bridge in 1935 (Gluckman 1958, originally 1940) emphasised the competition between *individual actors* with respect to resources and status within the framework of contradictory, inconsistent norms and rules" (Rössler 2008: 192, emphasis in the original, my translation). The extended-case method, therefore, becomes useful when transformation processes allow complex structures to be only vaguely visible. Social processes can then be intensively investigated and made transparent within an open analytical field (Rössler 2008: 197; see also Garbett 1970: 215ff.; van Velsen 1967: 145). Here, I describe events connected with a birthday celebration as an exten-

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ded-case, but the text is interspersed with their interpretations which can obviously only be accomplished in the research process, one after the other.

The following description of a case and its backgrounds, consequences for what happens further and relevance for the cultural field is based on a chain of events which took place on Lamotrek in 2006 (Field Notes 12/2006). In this description, I have constructed characters who are reminiscent of persons who live on Lamotrek but show more explicit types of contours as would ever be the case in reality. Since the island society is relatively small, readers who are familiar with Lamotrek will certainly recognise one or the other episode and also the people involved in this condensed narration. All the same, I would like to put on record that I am fully responsible for the content and references in this chapter and, above all, I am presenting my analysis of life on Lamotrek. Other people might have a completely different attitude and might interpret aspects in a different way. All in all, however, it can be said that the correlations between clan, rank and the individual which I describe are based on extensive research on Lamotrek and in the Caroline Islands and my results meet with the approval of the residents.

That Monday in November was a typical day in my fieldwork on Lamotrek (see Picture 3.2): research work and private matters were intermingled with each other and resulted in participant observation in the classical sense (DeWalt & DeWalt 2002: 4). Today was A.'s birthday and we got up early after an unsettled, stormy night. A. went straight to school in the morning to write a thank-you letter to the governor for the new flagpole. The R.E. (Religious Education) teachers M. and R. came to the house because they had an appointment later in the day with A. to talk to him about reproaches against them that they had been behaving in an unauthorized way and not in accordance with the wishes and norms of the parents and the island society. For this reason, they had been admonished and now wished to emphatically apologise to the headmaster. In the meantime, they had accepted that they would not get anywhere with their ideas without making a compromise with the elders, therefore, they were behaving

Picture 3.2: Lamotrek Island seen from Falaite's beach

themselves submissively and conscious of their guilt according to the island rules. They were too nervous to go directly to A. and first came to his wife for advice. She comes from the Sauwel Clan which is well known for its interventions on behalf of the chiefs (even Alkire primarily mentions a non-chiefly clan's most senior male member as "adze of the clan", Alkire 1965: 33; according to my data, however, this aspect extends to many more members of the clan, particularly those who, by marriage, are linked to chiefly clans). As they were sitting in the doorway and E. had no time for them immediately, I interviewed M. on the subject of the tattoo on the back of her neck which she had had made on the occasion of the retreat. It was a souvenir tattoo which preserved her solidarity with the event on her body (see also D'Alleva 1998: 136).

Since it appeared to me that on that morning no festivities would be taking place for A. and I did not want to intervene in the afternoon or evening, I cooked him fried rice for his lunch. M., R. and then also E. watched me inquisitively while they were deliberating on what

they should now do as R.E. teachers – they had made remarks at public meetings in front of the men and not observed the etiquette, either to speak right at the end or, still better, to inform a male teacher or the headmaster of their concern so that he could put it forward for them. In the public meetings at which men and women are present or when just the men meet, women are not allowed to put themselves in the limelight by making speeches, even less by verbal confrontation. They are the ones who are associated with the land by right of inheritance, they embody the structures which their brothers and sons administer in their names. In contrast, the men only have limited access to the land and property since, even if they can accumulate both, they must still pass it down on their sisters' sides or to their own children, which means via a different clan. This narrows their creative influence on the situation of the following generations (and also their potential to "immortalise" themselves). If they cannot find a suitable match on the island to marry and/or start a family, the men must also go to another island. Thereby, their influence as uncle, namely the mother's brother, melts away considerably. Now, in order to preserve a balance in a man-woman relationship, it is the man who functions politically in public. Thus, they cannot by tradition, dictate anything fundamental but have a wider scope of interpretation and organisation within the boundaries set by the women. These days, the system is faltering because men and women are living under the impression of a West-American patriarchal system.

M. and R., as educated women, felt themselves to be perfectly capable of discussion with the men – and, thereby, forgot the demands of etiquette and, most importantly, its background. Precisely as teachers, the conservative school administration holds them responsible for the passing on of the traditions to the upcoming generation and to set a good example. In the meantime, they had realised all this themselves: the meeting with the headmaster was, therefore, if anything, symbolic, but for this very reason, all the more important as a signal to the island society. The appearance of the two already hours before the appointed time and their sitting on the doorstep visible from a long way off was part of the choreography of compromise.

Since, on Lamotrek, one shows one's appreciation with food, I chose to make lunch as a gift. When someone has a birthday, it is usual that he distributes the food that his wife and sisters have cooked to important people and friends. Since I was busy at the house, I could not go to A.'s home and help there. I, therefore, had the idea to at least provide something for lunch. M., R. and E. were already trying my food – there would certainly be a few more guests who could be "honoured" in this way. When A. came to the house, I was able to present him with the fried rice. He was highly delighted and began to eat immediately – he was only disturbed when children were sent by their parents to bring him small gifts of betel nuts, two or three, as a tribute to his person.

When the break was over, A. hurried back to school to continue writing his letter. Because of the constant little congratulatory visits, he had not got very far in the morning. N. brought me a garland of flowers for A. which I should present to him, also and most importantly, in my own name although it was from her. N. is A.'s affinal niece, the daughter of his wife's sister and from this side of the family, just due to the inheritance laws, one does not expect much attention. A man is a guest on the land of the lineage of his wife. N. wanted to give him a present, though, because of her fondness for him and made use of the indirect way via me: since A. well knew that my garlands could not look anywhere near as good, A. would soon realize that it came from N., my classificatory cousin on my 'mother's' side and, therefore, more or less my sister. I ceremoniously presented A. with the garland.

Behind me came M. and R. who had agreed on the exact time for the visit to A. with the help of young messengers. Then came a few more teachers who were not teaching at that moment and the two ladies could, therefore, officially present their apologies. There followed a debate on the R.E. lessons and how children's retreats should be organised, who should be responsible for what and who should be able to make decisions.

E. had, on account of the visit, not been able to do any more preparation; but being the wife, she was hardly under any pressure, any-

way, since she knew that A.'s mother and sisters were already cooking. We also had other arrangements together for today, for example, dancing practice for the festival of the Immaculate Conception on December 8th and a meeting of the women on the same theme and also already a conference for Christmas.

The organisation for A.'s birthday and the coordination of the preparation would have been his children's responsibility, especially his daughter's if he had had one. His oldest son was off-island and so his second oldest son D. was obliged to organise the evening.

There were enough helpers since A. in his function of mother's brother/uncle has many nieces and nephews who honour him as a father is honoured in European society. It was a chance for D. to demonstrate what position he would like to take on, if he stayed on the island – many young men leave Lamotrek to study, work, marry, start a family (see Hezel 2001: 82, 143ff.; Flinn 1992: 35ff. for Chuuk). Their influence on the island community and particularly on the next generations is diminished because they can no longer actively administer their property. In addition, they are not present to keep an eye on matters of inheritance. However, today D. was able to benefit from his agency.

Already in the morning, D. was out and about to avoid A., on the one hand, and, on the other, to talk to all the others about the birthday party. When he came home for a moment, E. offered him something to eat because on a parent's birthday a child is expected to be demonstratively selfless and, for instance, not to think about eating. D. had a snack and continued on his way. He did not have much time because in the early afternoon when school was over, A. went to the men's house in the middle of the island (not to his own in the south), accompanied by "his" boys and men to open the drinking circle. Today, all the young men and the adults were present since they all wanted to pay their respects to A. The Lugal is not only the meeting house used by the chiefs on the island but is situated right in the centre of the community and, therefore, has greater symbolic power. For A. today, it would also be a special honour that, also because of his position as headmaster, he should and could celebrate in the Lugal.

Picture 3.3: Coconut blossom cut and fixed for juice production

In many ways, the whole celebration had to do with alcohol since alcohol is a uniting element for men of different generations (Marshall 1979: 97, 99ff.). Traditionally, they are naturally also united by their work and by the gender-specific division of labour which separates the male and female spheres. The women are seen to be bound to the land and remain together during the day in the centre of the island on their compounds, in the gardens and in the taro patch. The men are seen as being bound to the ocean and are relegated to the margins of the island, the bush, the beach, to the ocean or to the men's houses. From the afternoon on, they work together every day in the men's houses – each man in the men's house which is nearest to the property of his wife, i.e. to his home (before marriage, he belongs to the men's house of his mother's property, switches, therefore, in the course of his life) – and drink *falubwa. Falubwa* is a palm wine, made from the fermented juice of coconut blossoms. These are cut in a special way (see Picture 3.3), so that juice runs out which is mixed with yeast and collected in a coconut shell.

Without the yeast, the juice (*hashimem*) is a favourite drink of the children and the basis for *luush* (coconut syrup) used as sweetener in the preparation of food. Every man makes palm wine from his own coconut palm tree, is only allowed to drink it, however, when he officially belongs to the men's circle, when he has attained a certain age or maturity. Young men who are almost adults bring their wine to their future circle and sit with the others but do not yet drink or only small amounts under guidance and supervision. D. is also at this stage. Secret drinking is, naturally, widespread among the young men on the island and is tolerated by the adults as long as it remains within certain limits. Again and again, this subject is the cause of conflict, because the youths test the boundaries set by the grownups and overstep them, occasionally. Thus, alcohol serves as a central instrument of communication as to the adult status of the young men on Lamotrek. Coconut palms are not owned like the land etc. as member of the clan, but rather as an individual. They are, thus, a specific means of individualisation and identification.

Of course, already during the previous week, D. had shortened his cutting rhythm and increased his yield, to be able to present A. with an extra bottle of *falubwa* (palm wine), who could then be an even better host in the Lugal and distribute palm wine to everyone. On such a day of celebration, very much wine is consumed. Mutual respect is expressed among the men by the offering of a cup or a bottle of their own wine, so that the person celebrating and also the other men offer their wine, fill the cups and drink together. Typically, drink rounds result again and again in which one man gives all the others a cupful and, together, bottle for bottle is emptied. Alternatively, a man can give the person whose birthday it is the whole bottle and he can drink it all himself or also distribute it again around the circle. Already in the afternoon, a good deal of alcohol was drunk, because all of them had increased their yields as far as possible, to show their appreciation and for the sake of the party.

Now and again, A.'s nieces came over to discuss with E. what there should be to eat, what they should prepare and bring over and when. In the course of the day, E. went to A.'s home property a few times to

see how things were getting on. Otherwise, she had a balancing function, since A.'s sisters (and D.) were organising the celebration at which she acted as intermediary between the lineage of her husband and her own, embodied in her son and, in the background, wanted to support the efforts her son was making.

We had to interrupt our dancing practice because of a heavy rainstorm. All the celebrations and the preparation had to wait until the thunderstorm was over! Afterwards, A.'s nieces and nephews came into our house and we practised singing birthday songs. They had brought all the food over and had to keep the flies away. The food, divided up and in serving portions, was to be presented to A. in the evening by D. who would then distribute it among his relatives, neighbours and important persons. The party was planned for shortly after dusk, at about 7 p.m., D. should come directly to the house to give the start signal and then fetch A. from the men's house. In the meantime, the men had already cut their palms (see Picture 3.4) in the early evening and had returned to their own men's houses, so that D. would have been able to fetch A. from the Falteibu. That was the plan!

Picture 3.4:
Man climbing up a coconut palm tree

Suddenly we heard a lot of noise outside, someone was kicking chairs in the yard and the posts of the cooking house, pots and pans and yelling in anger. It was D. He had got into trouble with A. who had seen that D. had been drinking *falubwa* (palm wine) without being invited and, therefore, without permission and in A.'s opinion

(who was now also drunk) more than would have been sensible on this particular day. A. had lost his temper because he had been waiting all day and now said that he had expected a celebration. However, up to now, nothing had happened at home and he had a suspicion that D. had simply got drunk and had not concerned himself with the birthday party. It must be noted that it would be a huge loss in prestige for A., for, then, he would have had nothing to offer his guests and they would think his family did not love him.

D. was the target of A's anger, since, being a young man, he must learn to defend his manhood. Through D., A. could also strike out against his own family: as mother's brother, he could hardly attack his nieces and as brother of his sisters hardly attack them directly because that would have an altogether different quality. As brother or brother of a mother, a man is almost a judicial authority for his family and reprimands them in matters of far-reaching importance. One's own birthday can hardly serve as a reason because that would mean taking oneself far too seriously. Still, however, if nothing had been prepared for him, it would have been A.'s right to show his disappointment. In shouting at his son, he was putting the blame on the other lineage, namely that of his wife, it must be seen, however, as being representative for his own family. The sisters and nieces then had to try to settle everything down for D. (and for A.) because D. is a man whose support they will have to solicit their whole life long, for he belongs to the lineage and clan of his mother and his help and support of his father's side is mainly voluntary and individually organised. A.'s anger, therefore, hit D., but was a direct attack on A.'s nieces who were present.

D. was then deeply hurt and annoyed. He, however, immediately gave voice to his sadness and frustration, because it was after all aimed at, among others, his father's family. He shouted and wept, came into the house for a moment where his cousins tried to calm him down. The other young men from the Falteibu circle were also present and wept with D. because they had to accept the part of the scolding that had to do with drinking too early and too much. Their carefully and patiently prepared and expected position as young

members of the drink circle was, at this moment, in the greatest danger and they had to reckon with being demoted to the level of youths.

D. could not be comforted. Soon A. came in and started to repeat his accusations, thus destroying all the celebrations at the house. On his part, he had to sustain his anger in the face of his mother's family which was certainly difficult for him. His nieces and nephews quietly stole away from the scene which D. had left as soon as A. arrived. D. had gone to the home of his father and grandmother. A. continued shouting and swearing which E. tried to interrupt and to calm him down. Her youngest son then sat himself on E.'s lap and said to her: "Forget about it, he's drunk!" He, thus, made it clear that words were not going to be much use here and motion or actions (or passive waiting) were necessary. When the alcohol has started to exert such a major influence, the normal strategies in daily dealings will not get anybody anywhere. D. had certainly attempted to make his anger justifiable by expressing it out loud but he had not been successful. As will become clear in the following, the way via clan relationships and the various places which render identification possible is more practical nowadays on Lamotrek.

Suddenly C., an adoptive cousin of A.'s, who is related to A. through his father's family arrived. C. belongs to a higher ranking clan and is, therefore, although he is younger than A. a figure of respect for him and two days ago had celebrated his own birthday. Naturally, A. had already congratulated him. They were not only related but real friends, however, in this friendship honour and decency played an important role. C. asked what had happened since he had been waiting at home to be picked up to take part in the celebrations, as had been arranged with D. Since A. was still thinking about things, angry as he was, C. sat down with E. who told him the whole story of what had happened up to now. Already from the outset, it was clear that D. had been planning much more for a long time than A. had realised. A. had in the meantime started to listen intently in the background as E. emphasized how much effort D. had put into everything. She apologised to C. that nobody had come for him, but the party had fallen through because of a conflict between father and son.

A. also apologised to C.: it was all his (A.'s) fault, because of the drinking of his son and the other young men in the Falteibu he had let himself be egged on by the Lugal men to penalise them and had possibly as headmaster rather exaggerated. He wanted to go straight away to his mother's compound to apologise and bring D. home.

Places as Triggers for Socially Adequate Emotional Conduct

I would now like to describe the day from D.'s point of view before I relate how it ended. D. got up early, cut his palm trees and went to the men's house to shower before the day's business got underway. The young men often first go for a swim in the morning and come home at about 10 a.m. to have breakfast, when the children are in school and the women in the gardens. D. already had gone beforehand to his grandmother's house to give the start signal for the concerted efforts for A.'s birthday. In the men's house, he then heard the details of the joint fishing trip planned for today and had a rest. When A. had gone to school, D. went home. To begin with, he wanted to avoid meeting A. as far as possible because the good wishes and celebrations were planned for the afternoon and evening and he did not want to spoil the suspense with half-hearted congratulations in the morning.

The meal for this evening was to be full of variety. There were wheat biscuits (*filowa*) – something very special because the flour had had to be brought from Yap (and beforehand to Yap). It is not really expensive but not always available since it is not used in the local cuisine. Usually, doughnut-type cakes are made which can be deep-fried because baking requires too much firewood or time. A few families have made ovens out of old petrol canisters under which fire is laid and in which yeast buns (see Picture 3.5) can be baked. For A., there were going to be doughnuts, taro cake, boiled taro, fish, chicken and fruit, such as, bananas and papayas.

D. had installed a semi-permanent fish trap on the reef from which he collected the fish he had caught so that the women could prepare it for the evening. He felt relatively excited today because it was a day on which he thought he could considerably influence his status. The

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young man was nineteen years old, still a youth but already also grown-up. However, the youths on Lamotrek go through a long period of proving their worth when, between approximately twenty and thirty, they carry out all types of work under guidance or also on their own, but not shouldering full responsibility. During this period, they are obliged to try to accumulate as much knowledge as possible. They can also have relationships with women or start a family which brings them much nearer to being an adult. They cannot, however, take on political functions or any leading role.

D. had already been to college on Yap which brought him a high reputation and a good deal of respect, for one of his age. He was thought of as trustworthy and mature, however, signs of his childishness were also sought – and some found when he was drunk or had tested other boundaries by being involved with other youths in small fights on the island. He looked for chances to be given more responsibility, clearly demonstrated, however, that he still belonged to the juveniles. From his point of view, being allowed to drink was a clear marker for how the adult men judged him. In his father's drink circle,

Picture 3.5: Homemade filowa (wheat buns)

he was now and again offered a cup of *falubwa* (palm wine). For a few months, he had also been daily making his own palm wine which the men were glad to accept and share with him. Youths were expected to behave quietly in the men's house and listen to the adults. In addition, they had to wait until they were offered something. D. sometimes did not have sufficient patience and he certainly also sampled his own palm wine in secret together with the others. The young men then felt "held back" by the adults, because they believed they could already tolerate more alcohol. This balancing act between tolerance of alcohol, capability, motivation, curiosity and patience, and trust and control in the relationship between older and younger men creates the atmosphere in the men's house.

D. came home between times, was able to eat and hear from his mother how his father was feeling today. When he saw him coming home in the school break, he disappeared quickly into the men's house or went to his grandmother on his father's side. He expected that, today, he would be allowed to drink a few cups more with his father, for one thing, because his father would be too busy to keep an eye on exactly how much he was drinking and, for another, because his father would certainly wish to demonstrate how grown-up the youths of his men's house already were and how well one could celebrate with them. In this sense, it was an honourable feeling for D. to set out for the Lugal in the afternoon side by side with his father – with the extra wine that he had produced and with A.'s own wine, the amount of which was also greater than usual. Speeches were made and A. was praised for his work and for his untiring efforts for the good of the whole island. The young men sat down a little bit away from the others and began to drink their own rounds – to feel more free and not to disturb the adults.

D., together with his friends, began his break between the afternoon circle in the Lugal and the evening drink in the Falteibu, during which the men cut their coconut blossoms and eat something if they are hungry, somewhat earlier than the other men, because he had a lot to cut (his uncle had asked him to take care of his palm trees as well), he wanted to accept the gifts of food from his father's lineage

and had to intercept A. before he again set out, this time for the Falteibu. However, along the way, in the middle of the road in front of the Lugal, he was laid into by A. (because D. came here after making a detour to his uncle's palm trees) who accused him of being drunk, of not having prepared anything and having behaved shamelessly: drinking without invitation and endangering his own and A.'s reputation. He left the drinking circle with no explanation as A. suspected to secretly carry on drinking. A. told him and the other young men present how lacking in respect towards A. this behaviour seemed to be and that, in the future, they would be obliged to drink less – only as much as the older men deemed appropriate, according to the traditional Lamotrekese style.

D. did try to accept A.'s outburst of fury like a youngster without contradicting him but, at the same time, felt so misunderstood and his sense of honour was so hurt that he had to say something as a man. However, everything D. said brought fresh reprimands from A. and the statement that A. could also completely bar D. from the circle. D. left the scene and went off with his friends in the direction of the compound where he lived. He was highly enraged, hurt and disappointed: his hopes of how the afternoon would be had changed exactly into the opposite.

At home, he gave vent to his rage, wept as well, though, because he felt that A. had railed against the absolutely wrong person. On his home and clan territory, he felt that he had not deserved all the resentment. For him, the chasm between his point of view and A.'s words was too wide and disparate, the course things had taken was not right. How was he going to correct these impressions at home, though? Here, he could only passively defend himself and his clan; he would, however, be constantly confronted with A.'s story which would be "thrown at him from outside". The women tried to calm him by saying that A. himself was drunk and D. should not listen to him. But that was not enough for D. He went to his grandmother's place because there the people would have to listen to him again and since it was A.'s home, he would have to come and either repeat his accusation or recognise that he was not behaving correctly. There D.

was the outsider and came into the centre of A.'s clan identity. When he went in to his grandmother, she already knew about all that had happened – his cousins had hurried on ahead of him. The grandmother was a little impatient at having to listen already knowing as she did what had occurred. However, she let D. have his say and allowed him in, to rest a while.

Norms and Individual Ambivalence in Practice

Particularly on this day, when he was the centre of attention, A. wanted to work and set a good example. He wanted to be praised for his achievements not because of the date. A person celebrating his birthday is suddenly on his own, temporarily removed from his lineage. A. found this western custom unfitting for the Lamotrekese way of life. On Lamotrek, there are much more important moments in the course of a lifetime, such as receiving one's first lavalava or being initiated into navigation, which are more significant for the individual and for the community. Otherwise, A. in particular was very open to western influences: he travelled when he was young to advance his education and found many of the foreign innovations, which were able to be brought to Lamotrek, good. However, he also recognized the ambivalence. He was one of the first to bring a spear-gun to Lamotrek, then observed and relished how efficient it made fishing. Soon after that, he recognized the problem of overfishing with motor boat and new methods of catching the fish which threatened the stocks and nowadays has extended to all species. Thus, he learned to appreciate that the traditional techniques were adapted to the habitat and a relative yield proportional to the stock was possible. A. tried later, as an adult, to combine old and new and to promote moderate development on Lamotrek.

In school, in the morning, the children sang a birthday song for him, following the national anthem; A. thought of C. and led them in another birthday song for him, because his birthday had been on Saturday when there was no school. Then he attempted to draft a letter to the governor before the meeting with the scripture teachers was to take place. In the meeting the issues of subordination to the island interests or incorporation into the community were important – issues

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which were on the daily agenda for A. and central in many areas. A. knew: Lamotrek can only prosper as an independent society, if its people find a balance between their own interests and those of society, in general. He wanted to teach all this to his pupils, his sons and the young men in his men's house. In this spirit, he was planning, during the celebration taking place today, to make clear to the men around him how important the community was. An individual is nothing without it and, on his birthday, A. had the chance to vehemently point this out. His selflessness and generosity would impressively support his arguments.

The afternoon in the Lugal went well at first, to A.'s satisfaction: The men honoured him and he praised all the Lamotrekese and they drank to their mutual health together. There were many drinking rounds to get through but A. felt comfortable here with his friends, relatives and colleagues. "His" boys from the Falteibu men's house were also present and had supported him well by bringing more *falubwa* (palm wine) and placing it at his disposal. However, now the mood changed and virtually overran A. in the further course of the conversation. The problem was the drinking habits of the young men, especially the juveniles from the Falteibu and his son. Already the fact that they were not all there at that moment – and only then did A. realise that D., for instance, was no longer there – showed their lack of respect for the adults. They were in the habit of drinking more than was good for them and then tested their unbridled strength in conflicts with the boys from the north. Naturally, A. had heard about these little gang-fights, but up to now had judged them to be unimportant, since all young men are known to be looking for chances to put their strength to the test. Now, however, he realised with great impact that it was also "his" youngsters, i.e. young men in his care, who were responsible for many of the problems. Perhaps, it was not at all good, someone in the circle said, that the older youths went away to school. Especially in the summer holidays, it could be seen what they had learned but also forgotten; they no longer fitted in at home. The next summer holidays weighed heavily, threatening the island, since many of the teachers had been ordered to Yap for ad-

vanced training and a decimated number of adults would have to deal with those who were always there and those pupils who were coming home for the holidays. Should they perhaps arrange that the external pupils should not come home this year?

The Lugal men used this discussion in which A. was their guest and must listen to their point of view, to shift the focus away from their own "problem children" to those from the south. If it had not been A.'s birthday, he could have directly contradicted them or, as someone coming into their house from outside, he could have had more say in the discussion. Today, however, he had been so honoured by them and made the focus of attention that he would not dare to express doubt of their words. During the weekly men's meetings, they were the ones who had to listen to him and accept his criticisms. Now they brought all the current problems to debate.

A. took action so as not to lose control of the situation. He listened to the complaints and agreed that the reins must be tightened. He re-emphasized that it was extremely important for the adults to set a good example. He could then bid farewell to the Lugal men and leave for a break to cut his trees. Along the road, he met the young men from the south and started giving his son a tongue-lashing. Also in his own men's house, he ranted about how the boys could be behaving so disrespectfully. Juveniles used to only dare to drink under guidance, they were even only admitted to the men's circle in their early twenties. Accordingly, these young men had had many more privileges but apparently did not know how to use them honourably. The young men listened at first in silence but, then, particularly D. started to contradict A. A. was, however, quite certain that D. was drunk and declared that one has to control the alcohol and not let oneself be controlled by it, also in this situation. He, therefore, repeated his reprimand. Was his son not honest and upright and concerned about his father?

The young men left and also A. went to cut his palm trees and to spend some time at home. Then he started shouting again and considered not going to the evening circle any more, since the day had been ruined enough already. During his monologue at home, D. contradic-

ted him less and also A's wife kept quiet after a short attempt to explain matters. A. was strongly aware that he was "only" a guest on this territory when all the others shut themselves off from him and either went inside or went away altogether. If he wanted to make any impression here or lend weight to his point of view, A. must make clear what and how much everything was disturbing him at the moment. Why had they not prepared anything? Why had his family made no attempt to welcome him befittingly at the house? Did they not wish to support him in his efforts to set a good example to the island community? Lost in thought, he lay down for a moment.

Suddenly C. arrived and talked quietly to E. A. was, of course, pleased to see C., on the other hand, he was embarrassed and sad that nothing had been prepared to greet him. However, now A. heard from the conversation that C. had, in fact, been invited, had waited to be collected, and now wanted to see for himself what the problem was. E. told C. how very busy D. had been all day with the preparations for the party – and how sad he was now that all his efforts had failed. She was very sorry because her son had really worked very hard, but there must have been, yet again, some cause of disagreement among the men who drank too much. Now, even father and son had quarrelled and the party was cancelled. C. listened understandingly to all of this.

Suddenly, A. again intervened: he had not known any of this and now that C. had come, everything had become clear. D. had really invited him and organised a great deal. The Lugal men had drawn A.'s attention to the alcohol abuse on the island. This was a constant worry for A., D. is a sensitive young man – his oldest son had already emigrated and not come home to the present day, but he was more robust. A. was worried that if D. went abroad, he would have difficulties in coping with the callousness of the world and he, therefore, felt that he must prepare him particularly well. However, here there had been some misunderstanding! A. was deeply sorry about the way the day had turned out. He wanted to go immediately to his mother's compound and apologize to D. C. should stay here, because, after all, one wanted to be a good host and celebrate the birthday. A. apologised to C. for the trouble that he had caused him up to now, but C. was perfectly happy to wait until A. came back.

At their place, A. found his mother and nieces all trying to comfort D. A. apologised to him with all his heart: A. was at home here and could admit, without losing face, that his behaviour needed to be corrected. (At his wife's place, the presence of his friend C. who was related to him through his father's family which belonged to a higher ranking clan had already helped him.) Father and son were reconciled and returned home together. There, C. and A. were served with a large plate full of taro cake, fish, lobster, *filowa* (wheat biscuits), bananas, papayas etc. The rest of the food was distributed amongst the family and friends and brought to each of the recipients by A.'s nieces. At the house, the two men with birthdays ate and shared with their family and the children; they were rubbed with *rang* (turmeric), adorned with garlands of flowers and sprayed with perfume. People sang, ate, chatted and celebrated. A.'s brother and his family still came to celebrate although it was so late.

As demonstrated above, a conflict on Lamotrek can be influenced and resolved with the help of the locality. Although there was much anger in the situation described, the people involved did not choose expression of emotion words, as Catherine Lutz described for Ifaluk, but, in the concrete situation, made use of their stand points, in the verbal sense of positioning in space to give signals to their fellow men and communicate aspects which cannot be verbalised. When a dialogue has reached its limits, the people can still communicate with their bodies and make the message encoded in places comprehensible. For land is seen as stable in contrast to man's changeable character (Petrosian-Husa 1994: 51, especially regarding the *sawai* trading system).

Part IV

Social Control on Lamotrek: Peace as Gender- and Age-related Issue

All over the world, people preserve a status of peace with the aid of shared rules. They objectify this status by maintaining personal or collective places. Circumstances of ownership are expressed in various ways. Fences divide up property. Houses are large or small, richly ornamented or simple: all over the world, housing provides protection, but also deep insight into the daily life of the occupant. On Lamotrek, the history of a place is closely interwoven with the history of the clan. Even the rank order of the clan is based on the history of the settlement, since the highest-ranking clan is the one whose members are regarded as having been the first to settle on Lamotrek. The place most worthy of reverence and traditionally the holiest place on Lamotrek is Lametag – an area which belongs to the Mengaulifash clan, more exactly, also to the first subclan of Mengaulifash. According to local history, King Mathoisam who took possession of Lamotrek by force and wiped out the original inhabitants with his soldiers (Metzgar 1988) once lived there. He was a member of the Mengaulifash Clan.

The clan membership of the land of Lametag is established by its administrator. Since the land is handed down through the mother's line, Lametag must remain in the hand of Mengaulifash-I (an exception can be made if circumstances of adoption move into the foreground or if a branch of the clan has no descendants). In this way, the clan history will become the history of ownership and, at the same time, the history of the piece of land. If a clan manages to pass down its land internally over many generations, perhaps even to keep it within the lineage, its authority within the island structure is strengthened, since, as time goes by, the land and the clan build a unit which beco-

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mes closer and closer and, for outsiders, the one increasingly becomes a symbol for the other. These relationships are not concealed and always visible for the residents. They even make use of them for orientation, identification and for political activities.

On Lamotrek, there is a clan system of exogamous matriclans. These are subdivided into subclans and lineages. The allocation to a clan and a lineage takes place matrilineally, post-marital residence is uxorilocal. At present, there are six clans on Lamotrek, whereof Mengaulifash, Saufalachig, Hatamang und Sauwel belong to the clans who traditionally settled on the island and Gofaliuw and Hailangiulwoleai immigrated in the course of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The individual clans are spread all over the many Caroline Islands and hold a different rank on each island. It is assumed that this hierarchy resulted from the order of settlement: the clan which settled on the island first has a higher rank than those who came later. In this sense, the Carolinian system is strongly influenced by migratory movement and the individual islands are open for immigration. However, this immigration has rules and is integrated into the social stratification. On Lamotrek, Mengaulifash, Saufalachig und Hatamang are chiefly clans who each provide a chief, recognised by all of the island inhabitants, who is associated with a certain region. Thus, it can be stated: Mengaulifash reigns in the north, Saufalachig in the centre and Hatamang in the south (see Picture 4.1) of the island. Sauwel does not provide a chief; Gofaliuw and Hailangiulwoleai must each have come to Lamotrek as a marriage partner, adoptive child or in a similarly related constellation and are, therefore, rather small clans without influential land. Their status can, however, change in the coming decades if enough members exist, who can exploit their agency for the benefit of their own history of ownership. Alkire also mentions Saur and Rakh as being traditional clans (1989a: 29), but in the census of 2006-2007, I could no longer find any members of these clans (Lamotrek Census, Werle & Werle 2007).

The chiefs from the chiefly clans are respected by all Lamotrekese, they are, however, further subject to an internal hierarchisation. Over them all reigns Veronica Lefaiyob († 2014) as High Chief of the

Picture 4.1: Women of Hatamang at Faltangi men's house

so-called *hu* (the unit Lamotrek-Elato-Satawal), since these three islands are traditionally governed together (Petrosian-Husa 1994: 376). The symbol of the outrigger-canoe which has such an existential importance for the islands and for the survival of the people living on them illustrates the relationship between the three islands: Lamotrek is the hull of the canoe, Elato the slightly higher deck, on which goods and additional passengers, on the longer crossings, for example, women and children, can sit and Satawal is the outrigger. The Mengaulifash chief is, second to Lefaiyob on Lamotrek, the next ruling authority and has, as his special area of responsibility, control over the land and the bush on the eastern side of the island, and in addition, over the island called Falaite which also lies in the Lamotrek lagoon and, for the most part, is uninhabited. The Saufalachig chief is, in the absence of Lefaiyob (when she goes to Elato or Yap), her deputy and, in addition, he organises Lamotrek's external contacts (for example, with visitors, tourists) and carries out the duties of the police force. He is also in charge of the coconut palm trees as a whole and

the uninhabited island of Pugue. The Hatamang chief does not have such far-reaching authority as the other two clan chiefs but can and should advise them. In addition, he oversees the fishing grounds and the lagoon. According to Alkire, the nonchiefly clans provide a head, the *telalihailang* (adze of the clan), who within the clan has the importance of a chief and, furthermore, serves as mediator between the population and the chiefs (Alkire 1989a: 33-36). The chief is always the oldest male representative of the lineage of a clan with the highest rank. For the chiefly clans, this person is the same as the island chief. The younger brother of a chief is regarded as his deputy, i.e. as subchief, or otherwise the oldest of a lineage which holds the next highest rank in the clan. This person holds the title of *tela* (adze of the chief). At present, since Sauwel is the only large clan without chief status, the members of this clan generally carry out *tela* functions.

The various lineages and subclans cannot always be exactly identified and distinguished from each other which was already observed by Alkire (1965, 1989a). On the grounds of adoption, marriage and through differing political points of view, there are often several possibilities to assign a person to a lineage and a subclan – and, thereby, also to see individual structures the opposite way around. Every single lineage is attributed to a female ancestor, whereby, female ancestors of a clan are regarded as sisters. The rank order of a lineage within a clan results from the ages of the sisters: the oldest sister is the ancestor of the topmost lineage and so on.

In the Mengaulifash clan, distinct subclans can presently be identified. This clan is also a good example of the changeability of family and ownership structures, for different interpretations of relationships and for the spirit of the times. According to the accounts of my friends on Lamotrek, the Mengaulifash-Clan used to be in the north of the island and was divided into two subclans, let us call them MI and MII (Field Notes 10/2006). MI was composed of the lineage L1, from which the High Chief Lefaiyob is descended. MII was composed of two lineages, from L2, Umai is descended and from L3, Tagilimal. Igufail's ancestor Laisimiat belonged to MII. Within these subclans (and lineages), marriage was forbidden.

On Gapilam lived MIII, a subclan of Mengaulifash people who had immigrated from Woleai, these came from the lineage L4. These people came from Wottagai in Woleai and, since the subclan had immigrated at a later date, they held the lowest rank among the subclans. In the past, Hatamang people lived on Wennesh, when the place was connected to Bolipiy which was inhabited and they also lived on Yaupil. The Bolipiy-Hatamang subclan was higher in rank than the Yaupil-Hatamang subclan.

Igufail who descended from Laisimiat's lineage from the subclan MII moved from Fatgewan (which was „Falihoal" in Alkire's writings 1989a: 61) to Bolipiy/Wennesh and there assumed Hatamang rights and obligations because there were no longer any "true Hatamangs" left on Bolipiy/Wennesh. Thereby, Igufail lost his MII rights and became a member of his own subclan MIV from the lineage L5. Marriage with other subclans of Mengaulifash was now allowed for L5 and MIV; a "complete fission" of the Mengaulifash clan took place. Later, people from Wennesh and, thereby, from subclan MIV moved to Peiliwer (which is also Hatamang land).

Since the time of Alkire's research on Lamotrek, the picture is now the following (1989a: 38-63): there are five independent lineages, divided into four independent subclans of Mengaulifash. Subclan MI with the highest status comprises the lineage L1 ("M1"in Alkire's reports) from the Fairoshig locality, of which only Lefaiyob was still alive. The subclan with the next highest status MII comprises the lineages L2 ("M2") from Lebul (called "Hapilamahal" by Alkire) and L3 ("M3") from Welipeopeo in the north. The third position in the ranking is now held by subclan MIV, which originally emerged from MII and who came from Fatgewan, from L5 ("M5"). At present, a person called Joseph is the Chief of Hatamang, because he is descended from Igufail and lives on Wennesh. A representative of the rest of the "true Hatamangs" (who now only live on Yaupil) could also be chief of the clan, if he were the oldest. The fourth or lowest place in the Mengaulifash ranking is taken by the subclan MIII (which long, long ago immigrated from Woleai), consisting of the lineage L4 ("M4") which settled on Gapilam. The Gapilam people claim the rights to the place called Fat-

gewan which has become easier for them since Alkire was there, because they live nearer than the "original owner" Igufail from L5 ("M5") or MIV.

At the present time, the real political situation on Lamotrek is, therefore, more flexible than the structurally described family relationships would seem to indicate. However, these provide orientation in daily dealings with each other. If a person wishes to initiate teamwork, for instance, when something needs repairing or a roof has to be restored, this person speaks with the lineage eldest. He, in turn, speaks with the chief and either a clan-internal meeting of the senior men is called or an assembly of all the island chiefs is held, according to how many men will be needed. The chiefs discuss amongst themselves and set a date for the work which is then communicated to all the others. If, for example, a roof must be re-thatched, the women must, up to the agreed date, weave a predetermined number of coconut mats per household as roofing shingle. On the appointed day, in the early morning, the men bring these mats to the site and together they renew the roof.

In addition, every Sunday, all the men meet with the chiefs in the men's house in the middle of the island to discuss matters of importance to the whole island and appointments etc. (see Picture 4.2). As the need arises, preceding festivities, if necessary monthly but at least twice a year, there is a meeting to which the women can also come. If they have a concern which has already been brought forward by their brothers and discussed in a men's meeting, they now have a chance to state their problem directly but only when the men have finished with all their own topics. The relationship between men and women on Lamotrek has been changing since colonial times, and, particularly, during the imperialistic era, therefore, this division which gives women the rights of inheritance and men the political vote does not function effectively any more. More and more often, patrilineal succession is made use of or adoptive relationships through the father's side preferred; in addition, the men make fewer efforts to consider the women's requests at the public political level. Thus, it has become necessary for the women to hold their own meeting, restricted to wo-

Picture 4.2: Men's house

men, to coordinate their wishes, aims and strategies over all the clans. The women's meeting which was at first sporadic and held only for important issues in the Community Centre and supplemented weekly by inofficial discussions after the Sunday service in front of the church now takes place regularly at least once a month. The women discuss rules of dress, behaviour of the youth, offences, alcohol consumption, festivities, the health system and many other things (Field Notes 04/2007). At the men's meetings and at the women's meetings, the participants always try to find a consensus. If, during the meeting, no agreement can be reached, however, a decision is put off until the next time. This gives the protagonists time to eliminate the conflict potential and come to an agreement in an inofficial setting before another public gathering is planned.

Thus, the men hold the position of chief (except when there is no male representative for the position as in the case of High Chief Veronica Lefaiyob) and lead the discussions at public meetings. Inheritance proceeds, however, matrilineally and it could be said, as the

Lamotrekese confirm, that traditionally a focus of power is in the hands of the women. Through their inheritance rights, the women have a considerable influence on the structure of Lamotrek. Inheritance rights not only come into operation in the event of death but are very much in the foreground in everyday life, because they also include right of ownership. Whoever decides to whom a piece land should be passed down, can literally restructure places by constructing their history, present and future. There are, according to the Lamotrekese tradition of the gender balance, also the most senior women of a lineage, who are symbolic and political partners of the chiefs, but not their wives. As sisters, aunts or in other family constellations, they exercise powers of decision by gathering together the concerns of the women, telling them to their male counterparts and they advise or even "coach" them. Within this subofficial framework, a strict order of rank of the lineage elders is unnecessary but when, for example, a meeting is called at which several senior women have their say, they pay attention to the subtle power relationships which are dictated by ownership of land on Lamotrek. Land is assigned to individual clans and, also in this sense, subject to a rank order which reflects back onto the owner.

The owners of individual plots of land on Lamotrek, but also on the other Caroline Islands, are connected to each other through their membership in a clan. In emergencies or on journeys, they can expect accommodation and assistance from clan partners. In the individual case of a single person, however, the actual ownership structures must be considered because a person can possibly inherit from his mother's and father's sides, might, by adoption, gain access to palm trees, taro patches and land and can distinguish himself by his activities and political connections. The rank order according to clan also does not have to correspond to the magnitude of the acquired property or the size of the land belonging to a clan, although the people on Lamotrek describe the land, belonging to the highest clan, as the "best" land.

Chief Lefaiyob owns the *best* land on Lamotrek. However, she also owns land on Elato and Satawal and, most of the time, she lives on

Elato or, at the moment, on Yap (for reasons of ill-health). Since she was small, she has suffered from problems with her health and, in addition, she found out very quickly that the connection between her position as chief and the code of conduct for women on the island was prone to conflict or created paradoxical situations. She does not wish to raise her voice in front of men too often. In order to deal with problems in good time, Lefaiyob has appointed a deputy from the Saufalachig clan who traditionally carries out the functions of the ministry for foreign affairs. Thus, in Lefaiyob's absence, the Saufalachig chief is the most influential chief on Lamotrek which functions well in practice but, in theory, causes some confusion, since the Mengaulifash chief is of a higher rank. In addition, her real deputy from the first Saufalachig lineage also no longer lives on Lamotrek, and the position is passed over to the lineage elder of the next lineage as long as his predecessor is absent. If these two men appear together on Lamotrek or Yap, the representative of the lineage with the higher rank is immediately awarded the corresponding honour. Moreover, Lefaiyob has bestowed a large part of her property on the Sauwel clan because one of her last clan members was married to a Sauwel woman. She can now hand on the *best* land within her nonchiefly clan. Also for this reason, Sauwel generally carries out the duties of "adze of the chief", since, in complex constellations, the clans become institutions whose members all embody the institution and do not only safeguard their own intrinsic positions in the structure of the lineage.

"The Chiefs Are Weak!": The Figure of the Chief as a Paradox

"The chiefs are weak! That's what I think." With this statement, Lamotrek's problems are frequently expressed by islanders (Field Notes 03/2007). In order to understand fully the related conceptions and the further meaning of a sentence so easily uttered, but about circumstances so difficult to change, I shall, in the following paragraphs, again characterize the position of a chief on Lamotrek, and the connection between chiefly title and knowledge.

Lamotrekese society is organized matrilineally with land, property and offspring belonging to the mother's lineage within the matriclan. Men marry into different clans and move to their wife's estate in most cases, but keep close contact with their mothers, sisters, and aunts. They work the land of their wives, but they belong to their mother's side which is constantly represented throughout their lifetime by their sisters (or, if there are none, the female cousins). While a man's father and all his relatives on his father's side will comfort him and be of support without exposing him to lineage-internal hierarchy, his orientation principle will be his mother's brother. To this person he not only has to show the utmost respect, but it is also the mother's brother who deals with the family property, who judges family rights and wrongs, and who stands for all his kin on his mother's side in external relations.

Staying on his wife's land, a chief on Lamotrek can be said to be the archetype of the mother's brother: he not only is in charge of his and his sisters' own property and conduct, but is also head of the lineage, and, in the case of his lineage being understood to be of seniority to the other lineages within the matriclan, clan leader. Given the smaller or greater distance of his wife's property to that of his blood

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relations, he is 'blessed' with an outside perspective to conclude his judgements about family business. While working his wife's land, he can free himself from very personal sentiments about lineage property and the like – although in reality, he will, just like any other man on the island, keep a backdrop supplement of coconut palm trees, breadfruit trees, various plants or material supplies on his home land by declaring his rights and will to look after these valuables.

A clan chief is only different from other, lower ranking chiefs and people in Lamotrek with regard to the weekly men's meetings on Sundays and the annual meeting of the whole community to plan the new year in January or February. On these occasions, he will voice the clan's proposals, opinions and decisions in concert with the other chiefs of the chiefly clans (momentarily adding up to three on Lamotrek with the High Chief residing on Yap Proper).

Complementary to the male family, lineage or clan head is the female elder, ideally the chief's sister, but in reality, due to the empirical family structure in any given case, she can also be his cousin, aunt etc. This woman unites within her person the authority of the adult lady dwelling in her homestead for the most part of her life gradually inheriting all her mother's possessions, knowledge and influence. With the exception of speaking in public, she incorporates the power her idealised brother holds openly, although she would mostly and more than he does avoid harsh words and straight talk due to her connection to the land in the mother's line: harmony must under all circumstances be assured, for conflict might lead to splits and fractures which need to be quelled immediately in order to secure the property's strength and effectiveness.

Sharing one's daily life, one's products, dwelling and relatives is the core of Lamotrekese customs and traditions (see Picture 4.3). Brother and sister in the first place 'share' their parents and equally everything they might acquire from them: nurturance and food, a home and socialisation, subsistence and local education. They even share the wealth of their mother's line and a portion of their father's knowledge and prestige, shown by the father's sisters' respect for him and his offspring. The value of sharing is enforced in the day-to-day routi-

Picture 4.3: Woman sharing a barbecued land crab

ne. One expects one's child to always reserve a helping of food from his plate for the mother; one encourages one's child to eat something by teasing it with the words: "If you don't hurry up, your brothers and sisters will eat your entire share!" When someone in the village is ill, every household will spare a pot of taro, a basket of fish and a bundle of coconut for the sick person and his or her relatives or friends give him or her their company. When a roof has to be re-thatched, the district chief will organize every household to contribute its share of thatch roof (woven by the women according to the number of adult men in the house) and working force (all adult men plus those children who are free at the time of the thatching).

Specialist knowledge is shared with one or more of one's children in the hope that, among them, there will be one blessed with the special talents needed. Otherwise, everyone on the island who wishes to be educated in secret knowledge or arts can approach the specialist with large shares of food or drink and ask to be taught. According to his or her judgement of the capability of the apprentice, the knowled-

geable man or woman will start the lessons right away or draw back, leaving the seeker only with hope of success at a different specialist's house.

Traditionally, specialized knowledge was 'scattered' among the people of Lamotrek: one individual knew the massage techniques together with the herbal fluid and the magical spells to cure a certain type of headache, another one knew how to heal broken limbs through massage and local medicine. Their specialisation was acknowledged with the prefix *tau-* (master) attached to the verb, for example *tausheo* for master massager. Only the *rong* (specialised or magical knowledge) masters, the *senap* (master canoe and house builder), the *paliuw* (master navigator), the *serawi* (master weather magician) and the *itang* (warfare master) were recognized as masters of a whole art. This knowledge is acquired over a long period of time, probably with the advice of and lessons from different people and certified by a master of the art himself.

When western knowledge started to be systematically gained by island people, the first students were the chiefs of the future, they were the chief's sisters' sons and other boys who joined them. Not only was western education of American origin more available to males than to females at that time, also the girls' island knowledge was thought to be in their veins, stemming from their land and deeply connected to their heritage, whereas the boys' skills were subject to the need of being demonstrated before the boys became men and before marriage. These skills could – and sometimes should – be acquired outside home. This is why the chiefs and their male relatives were the first to bring in western education of American origin and to merit the prestige and power connected to it. Nevertheless, through their rights of disposition and homesteads, they keep a large part of their traditional knowledge in their lineages. Dysfunctional attempts at boundaries against the inhabitants of lower rank on Lamotrek, however, endanger the dissemination of this knowledge. In an interview with one of the three island chiefs about environmental protection on Lamotrek, the old gentleman could only laugh bitterly and, in answer to my question as why a ban on the harvest was lifted again too soon,

say that the people were really not happy about strong environmental protection measures (Field Notes 04/2007). Instead of instructing them in the knowledge and management of, for example, fishing resources, the elderly avoid conflict between the traditional principle of sharing and a modern principle of damage accumulation. This leads to the worry put forward by some of the Lamotrekese that much of the knowledge could die along with the elderly.

The chiefs explain, therefore, their reluctance in the implementation of passing on their traditional body of knowledge with the rejection which the island inhabitants would show towards this knowledge. The people on Lamotrek comment on this with the expression "the chiefs are weak". However, such an understatement renders the reverse possible, primarily for the eldest males of the lineage, to hoard their power instead of sharing it, and accumulation such as occurs in the lively exchange of money, plots of land and goods would hardly be possible in a traditional community of equals or brothers and sisters. The myth of the weak chiefs must, therefore, of necessity be seen in connection with the increasing disempowerment of the matrilineage in the course of the Americanisation on Lamotrek.

The Economy of the Clan System: Partnership and Property

Actors can always make structural changes in the existent social system or exert influence on it in moments of changing status or implementation of important institutions, such as, marriage. The connection between marriage and the ownership structures means, because of the uxorilocality on Lamotrek, in the first instance, a change of location for the men. For them, the landscape of their lives changes at distinctive transitions from one stage to another, for the women it apparently remains unchanged. The word *fitiyetiy* means marriage, but used as a verb also to enter into a partnership, to join forces, marry.

On Lamotrek, this traditional marriage was in pre-Catholic times, though also is still today, a casual teaming up, as is common in modern western societies. One enters into a partnership which must not hold a whole life long. The marriage partners should come from different clans because the Lamotrekese clan system demands clan exogamy. A firm partnership is made public by the fact that the man brings his sleeping mat to the premises of the woman, to her house (before that they might have met in the bush or at public meetings). The next morning, the man's family sends a pot of cooked bread fruit or taro, enough for the whole family as a gift to the woman's family. If the partnership lasts, the woman's family sends, in exchange, a similar gift of food to the man's side. Therewith, the partnership is sealed. If, one day, the partners fall out with each other, it is important to decide who wishes to dissolve the relationship or has given the reason for the divorce. In any case, the man will have to move out again – either he packs his things himself or, one morning, the woman throws his sleeping mat and his few belongings out of the house. If she has good

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reasons, the man's family will send her and her family lavalava to "release" the man. If the man was virtually forced to go, the woman, together with her family will make a payment of lavalava to the lineage of the man. The latter case rarely occurs, however, because, for the man, it is an enormous loss of face to be banished from the property. He prefers to go of his own accord. It, therefore, rather happens that when a women wishes to dissolve a relationship but the man is not willing, she informs the women of the man's lineage and they set the payments of the lavalava in motion, as though the man had wished to be divorced. Thus, the parting is sealed and the man has no other option than to quickly collect his belongings and go back to his homeland. In return, his honour is assured.

The prevailing Catholic belief on Lamotrek propagates a lifelong bond which these days is the normal case on the island. The people usually live in one or more partnerships according to the *fitiyetiy* principle, before they decide to get married within the catholic faith. To this end, they register at the church and receive (perhaps with other couples wanting to get married) a few weeks of religious instruction in the form of a two-hourly meeting with the catechist, weekly. The next time the priest comes from Yap they are then wedded (*bweolipeoiu*) in the church. This bond is permanent. If such a married woman and her husband find that they can, nevertheless, no longer live together, they quietly separate and can again enter into *fitiyetiy* partnerships but not re-marry before God in the church.

The children who are born into these partnerships belong to the mother's clan. The man to whom they are most strongly attached is then their mother's brother, their uncle, because they benefit from the property and land of their mother's family which is administrated by this uncle. For the outward representation and the political representation, the mother's brother is also responsible. In this role, he unites the capital of the lineage in his person. However, children naturally live together with their father in the house of their mother. Not only because a father loves his children and enjoys being with them but also because he is, perhaps, far away from his own home and if he becomes ill or when he gets old, he might be dependent on

his children, he will try to give them something of himself and his own resources to keep them close. He has, on the one hand, the chance of relaying the knowledge at his disposal: he can teach his children techniques and traditions. In addition, he can bestow his coconut palm trees from his own individual possessions upon them. Lastly, if a woman from his natal family adopts his children he can provide them with rights to land and harvest through his sisters. In this way, the Lamotrekese men and women can usually situatively choose from a complex net of affiliations, which connection appears to them to be particularly important or advantageous in certain phases of their lives and they cultivate and develop this connection by active organisation.

Particularly within the large Mengaulifash clan, which has several subclans, but also in other clans, occasionally endogamic marriages take place. Since a couple is always required to obtain permission to marry from their parents' and grandparents' generations and in difficult constellations, for example, if both partners come from the same clan, to seek the advice of an expert in kinship, the conflict is eased by the fact that the responsibility does not lie with the couple alone. Such kinship experts are most often the lineage elders (usually women) of different clans, who themselves have a particularly ambivalent affiliation, for example, because their mother did not come from Lamotrek and, as children, they were adopted by their father's side to be able to live an integrated life on Lamotrek. If a couple who both come from the same matriclan wish to marry, their lineages and their relationships are both looked at under a magnifying glass, also their adoption relationships analysed so that, in case of doubt, a clan identity different from the prevailing affiliation can be chosen. However, sometimes the kinship experts also reject relationships, because the incest taboo would be too strongly challenged. The hopeful partners have no other option than to acquiesce to the will of society and not marry, or they emigrate and forfeit all their rights to their inheritance, for the time being.

If a marriage does take place within a clan, a strong concentration of power results: such a love-match leaves capital and the goods of

the land from both lineages of the parents within a clan which their children inherit. The children belong to the lineage of the mother, but possibly have the possessions of their father's side at their disposal. In any case, the two lines of possession are not mutually exclusive but are accumulatively effective. If such marriages within a clan were to take place more often, they would, for Lamotrek, be very highly dysfunctional. In these rare cases, however, they are literally integrative because strong groups/families result within a clan.

Usually, sisters each with their husbands and children live on the individual *bugota* (compound). On account of the frequent adoptions on Lamotrek, not only real sisters but also adoptive sisters and cousins often live together. They each manage the property of their lineages. Every woman has her own taro patches, because she receives garden plots from her mother but, as a wedding present, also plots from her mother-in-law. Following a divorce, she can keep her garden plots so that the possessions of an individual woman on Lamotrek can appear to be highly heterogeneous, completely tailored to her life history. In addition, the women together with their sisters, work on the land they own in the bush, whereby, here the men are also allowed to work. Otherwise, the men are responsible for fishing and maintenance and repair both of which they can engage in from the basis of their mens' houses.

Initially, the young men go to the men's house nearest to their mothers' properties. Sometimes, this can also be the mens' house in which their fathers or uncles on their mothers' sides take part in the drinking circle and in the various types of work. After marriage, they move to the men's house nearest to where they now live, following a divorce they return to their original house and so on. The men's houses are associated, like the land and the properties, with certain clans (see list 4.1).

They are an important institution in the structuring of the society, since to preserve the incest taboo between sisters and brothers which is of vital importance on Lamotrek (in western societies it is more important between parent and child generations; regarding a myth of brother-sister incest on Yap in which mankind is condemned to old

Clan Ownership Structure

In the following list houses and compounds (bugota) are combined with the land-holding clans, the latest developments in ownership and settling practices and the location on Lamotrek Island.

1 Matalmais: FairoshigMI, located in Lamotrek's South
2 Fairoshig: FairoshigMI, South
3 Faalmaifeoiu: before FairoshigMI, now Hatamang, S
4 Wotiw: FairoshigMI, S
5 Gatiyewish: Hatamang, S
6 Leormwaal: Hatamang, S
7 Ralimai: FairoshigMI, S
8 Gatiyengaw: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, S
9 Legawo: Hatamang and FairoshigMI (today Sauwel settlers), S
10 Yeisa: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, S
11 Wennesh: Hatamang, S
12 Faliyaro: before Hatamang, then Hailangiulwoleai, now Sauwel, S
13 Leyash: Hatamang, S
14 Fareig: Hatamang, S
15 Nimarawraw: Hatamang, S
16 Lourtiw: Hatamang, S
17 Lewo: Hatamang, S
18 Lemoi: Hatamang, S
19 Yaupil: Hatamang, S
20 Gapilfal: Hatamang, S
21 Sarishe: before Lebul+WelipeopeMII, then Hatamang, now Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, located in the middle of Lamotrek
22 Gatolyal: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, Middle
23 Leyang: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, M
24 Sebwaig: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, M
25 Old Cemetery, M
26 Lemar: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, M
27 Falgashiyou: FairoshigMI, M
28 Falgiliaw: Saufalachig, M
29 Wennisol: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, M
30 Gasurlamw: Saufalachig, M
31 Old Radio Station, M
32 Wettip: before Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, now Saufalachig, M
33 Gapilam: before Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, then Saufalachig, now GapilamMIV, M
34 Shiulgilfeo: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, M
35 Falgewan: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, M
36 Imw Yaiulap: before Lebul+Welipe peoMII, now Sauwel settlers, located in Lamotrek's North
37 Gatibeol: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, North
38 Womeras: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
39 Welipeopeo: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
40 Geisish: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
41 Gawshag: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
42 Gapilimwegral: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
43 Gafilyang: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
44 Falmairaw: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
45 Maigurub: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
46 Lechib: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
47 Falmwashog: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
48 Maroalpig: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N

For the mens' meeting houses:

I Faltangi: Hatamang, S
II Falteibu: FairoshigMI, S
III Yapeoiu: place = FairoshigMI, house= Hatamang, S
IV Lugal: place = Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, house = Sauwel, M
V Kulong: Saufalachig, M
VI Falmera: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
VII Gatiyerish: place=Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, house = Sauwel, N
VIII Werietag: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
IX Lebul: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N
X Falebul: Lebul+WelipeopeoMII, N

List 4.1: Clan ownership structure

age and death, see Mitchell 1972: 41), the boys often sleep in the men's house at an early age, at the latest after the onset of puberty. The girls sleep at home and mostly remain on their own properties during the day. The ownership structures and the association with a place, both together, the landscape, change quite radically for the men according to their age. For the women, it is rather the meaning of the landscape that changes, which offers a constant source of reflection.

The instruction in the daily course of events on the island, the relay of the knowledge of the line of ancestors and the family relationships and other sources of knowledge from traditional domains take place, therefore, separately for males and females. Family ties, also the remote ones, scattered all over the Caroline Islands, networks of relationships are particularly important for children and teenagers. They have to learn which people can be considered as sisters and brothers, namely cousins of several degrees, and whom they must respect as well as who is suitable as a partner in marriage. What is more, they can move around more freely on other islands if they are aware of clan property and clan history there. On the basis of blood relationships combined with adoption relationships a strategy game results in which already the children show differing mastery.

Knowledge as Property

Men born between 1955 and 1965 were witnesses to or participants themselves in a traditional initiation ceremony for navigation, the *pwo*, held on Lamotrek in May 1990. The *pwo* rites-of-passage, as Eric Metzgar classifies them (1991: 188), had not been performed since 1952 (in Satawal) due to the mass conversion of the islanders to Catholicism, because the art and tradition of navigation in the Caroline Islands are both associated with beliefs in supernatural beings such as ghosts, and in magic. In addition, western influences and American values had penetrated the Lamotrekese community.

In his analysis of knowledge systems and Lamotrekese educational models, Eric Metzgar, a former volunteer teacher in the Lamotrek primary school, re-evaluates the cultural way of teaching and transmitting local knowledge in the context of a changing set of beliefs: "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 skills which stem from it need not to be altogether abandoned" (1991: 187f.). Under the leadership of Jesus Uripiyalo, "the only living navigator who still remember[ed] how to conduct the rituals involved" (1991: 187), four young men from Lamotrek, one of them Uripiyalo's second oldest son, and one from Satawal were raised to the status of *paliuw* (navigator).

This initiation ceremony involved the whole island community: to a certain degree everybody was concerned with the food production for teacher, assistant and initiates, had to respect the spatial seclusion the group sought, or was in the process of checking his or her own position regarding traditional and western knowledge systems.

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The *pwo*-initiates were born after the second world-war into a Lamotrek under US trusteeship. After the Germans had left (Lamotrek was under German colonial rule until 1914), but even earlier in the course of trading activities, the Japanese exerted a strong colonial influence on Lamotrekese culture and conduct (Labby 1976: 4ff.). Whereas their parents had learned Japanese in school and were educated through and worked under the threat of corporal punishment, the *pwo*-initiates grew up in a promising time of American imperialistic politics opening up the islands to global influences (1976: 6ff.). Now, even the girls could go to elementary school. However, different from the Japanese colonialism which had somehow kept a distance between the two cultures, the Americans had a UN-commission to develop the Lamotrekese economy and society, especially in the educational sector (Bird 1994: 25; Holtz 2006: 87). Peace Corps teachers worked in the area, excellent students were given the chance to attend Xavier High School in Chuuk and to attend college in the USA. Even more important were the innovations in fishing equipment etc. which the young men brought back to their homes from their travels.

Still, the acquisition of bodies of knowledge (see Picture 4.4), for example, is a process of long duration on Lamotrek. In agreement with Metzgar, I found that an individual who masters his family's special (traditional, secret or sacred) knowledge is "free of everything", liberated from certain pressures: "The inference here is that those who have not achieved this status still have to finish their education in the *rong* [specialised knowledge and skills] '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" (Metzgar 1991: 152, my addendum).

Thus there is an incentive for everyone to acquire the special knowledge of his/her lineage plus that of other lineages if available (through a master-apprentice relationship) which leads to a long phase of learning. This phase cannot be concluded before the age of 40 or 50 when most people on Lamotrek already have started a family, even have grown-up children, hold titles to land and property etc.

Picture 4.4: Lamotrekese men work and learn together (here: canoe repair)

and are socially powerful individuals. However, this liberation from a duty to study is accompanied by a time of uncertainty: "Gaangiu i semat, i tai kepat gare yaremat tai gangariyei (*I am of this kind, I don't understand why people do not ask me* [about my knowledge in order to learn from me])" (Field Notes 05/2007). Up to now, there was always a concrete and close target to aim for, such as getting married and having a family, studying specialised skills, practising subsistence skills, engaging in political contexts etc. In old age there are specialised things to be accomplished: transmitting one's knowledge, directing or dividing one's property, looking after the young people, organising life at the community level etc. In between, people are free to act towards good (or bad) ends (Field Notes 09/2006, 10/2006, 06/2007). From the point of view of such a middle-aged person, the well articulated responsibilities of the others and the ties between the other generations may even be suspicious when his own power is contested. With regard to his children and their relationship to their grandparents, a Lamotrekese man states: "The children here have too many

ears! They have to listen to their parents, but then maybe their grandparents tell them something else and some other people something else – they don't know to what they should listen, for what the different people tell them is not the same. They grow too many ears!" (Field Notes 11/2006).

Death ranges as the greatest threat to the adult phase of life, because after death one can become a bad spirit. As a young person, the active 'bad' scope is not yet very wide; as an old person the risk of a sudden and too early death has considerably declined, because one has been alive for a long time already. In addition to this, the older person has and keeps a somewhat defined identity and is considered to be more mature. Perhaps during the course of a long life, experience has also been gathered with the spirit world (Field Notes 05/2007). These circumstances add up to a fear which many people have of middle-aged persons who have accumulated knowledge – and, therefore, power – and property, too. The middle-aged are liberated of certain expectations which other age groups are confronted with, and nobody knows yet whether they are going to use their knowledge and their belongings to influence island life in a good or in a bad way (Field Notes 01/2007). When such a person dies, speculations must dwell on the point of whether he or she will be a good spirit or an evil one (Field Notes 06/2007).

However, this phenomenon of an endangered phase of life is even more complicated. If an individual dies a violent death, because of an accident or the like, he/she will become an evil spirit in any case – at least for a certain period of time – because he/she was not able to detach him-/herself from this life. In contrast, if someone dies for 'normal' (in addition, peaceful) reasons, he/she would usually become a good spirit, except if this person acted mostly in an evil manner while still alive. Thus, what we can witness here is a complex system of ancestral remembrance in which characters and life styles as well as coincidences are bound together to provide a necrology and to allow judgement on somebody's life (see also Alkire 1989b).

Before the Christian faith became dominant on Lamotrek, the Lamotrekese believed in diverse gods and ghosts of the heavenly sphe-

re, the ocean and the land regions (Alkire 1989b; Krämer 1937), but when Christianity arrived with the first missionary in 1938 they had to deny any belief in the supernatural. Nowadays, people combine their Christian faith with their belief in ghosts, for the stories about the spirit world comprise specialised knowledge (of, for instance, navigation, traditional medicine etc.) which can be transmitted through these stories in a reliable, and yet individual way (Krämer 1937: 151-174). In addition, the ancestors are remembered actively and performatively when they influence the present, for example as actors in the stories (Field Notes 01/2007; Hezel 2001: 92).

As a major factor in the relations between the old and the young generations, growing up in inherited ways of life must be examined more closely. Of course, young people on the island are socialised by daily activities, ways of subsistence, cultural learning; but in this regard it is not so much one specific generation which provides the newcomers with a Lamotrekese way of life, but a long tradition of accumulation of all Lamotrekese knowledge and wisdom for all learning people which is not only expressed through intergenerational ties, but also through the interdependencies of the Christian God, the world of gods and ghosts, and humans (Field Notes 05/2007; Krämer 1937: 143ff.).

However, in interviews and participant observation of daily interactions, a major stress in the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren surfaced. This identification of old and young generations with each other subtly suggests an almost cyclical life course, since everybody can always relate to the beginning and the end of life and the connections between the two. Jonathan Friedman writes about the different moments of reciprocity in life (1998: 54-64). It is important to him to localise generations within society with regard to the time of giving and taking, and the special form the reciprocity takes on. For Pacific societies, especially the Hawaiian culture, Friedman claims a different notion of reciprocity than the one practised in western societies. Actors in Pacific communities do not personify separate givers and takers in moments of interaction, but are fused into one (1998: 54ff.).

The ninth graders of the school year 2006/2007 on Lamotrek wrote essays on their own old age for me in 2007. These essays show that people live through age roles on Lamotrek. Pictures of ageing and (old) age are projected into the future; change is not anticipated or included by the youngsters in their view of the fictive situation of 2050 (Collection of Essays 2007).

In their essays, the Lamotrekese ninth graders place the grandparent-grandchild relationship in the centre of human interaction. Grandchildren or great-grandchildren are pictured as taking care of the grandparents. Girls would like one of their daughters to be a nurse (beside teacher the only salaried labour on the island and paid out of governmental funds) and concentrate on her work; she would not have to look after her parents. The grandparents the ninth graders would personify in 2050 would talk a lot about their ancestors in order to teach individual history and clan relationships to their grandchildren and great-grandchildren. They would have worked on Yap and/or in the United States for certain periods throughout their lives, but would have returned to Lamotrek for their old age. The grandparents-to-be would be worried about their naughty sons and grandsons, would like their *youngest* son and daughter-in-law to stay on the same compound and help with their household. This is an interesting feature in the essays: a young son who would stay at his parents' place. The uxorilocal system results in most sons not staying at their natal compound in adult years, but major stress is, nevertheless, put on the relationship between mother or mother's brother and children, through which rank and property are bequeathed (Hezel 2001: 8ff.; Marshall 1999: 109).

The grandparents of the ninth graders' essays would be concerned about passing on their wisdom and knowledge of local tradition, especially local medicine, to their grandchildren (and children). Within this process they would have to find a sensitive balance between demanding, challenging, and supporting and encouraging the youth, since their influence would be diminishing although they still would like to stay connected to the here and now.

If their daughters became irritated and their grandchildren would not cooperate, so that they could not exert control over their sons anymore, the old people would become ill and start losing touch and power in the present time of 2050 – at least according to the ninth graders' prognoses.

From the point of view of grandchildren, their grandparents symbolise the Lamotrekese identity and stick to traditions – embody traditions really – even though they are situated in a modern society and take advantage of modern globalised comforts. We must keep in mind that they are envisioned as working and staying in other countries etc., but back on Lamotrek they give cultural orientation to their grandchildren (see also Hummel, Rey & Lalive d'Epinay 1995: 151f.).

In his dissertation on knowledge systems on Lamotrek, Eric Metzgar (1991) found that intelligence or wisdom are seen as functions of age and clan: "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" (1991: 62).

In my observations, I found that more advanced age is used in day-to-day interactions to symbolise intelligence and wisdom (*reepiy*), in general, and does not serve as a chronological measurement at all. Most people, including the younger ones, claim to be old if their reputation is questioned by others (Field Notes 10/2006). Thus, an actually older person can be called younger than a younger person to articulate his/her inferiority to this younger person in clan ranking. Some low-clan elders are generally called silly or foolish (*kobushobusho,* young-silly) as opposed to *reepiy* (old-wise) and, therefore, freed from responsibility: The *kobushobusho* people do not organise events or direct others, but move about freely. Comments like "I don't know if my mother can do that; I don't know if my mother knows how to do anything" (Field Notes 11/2006), can frequently be overheard on Lamotrek with regard to low-clan elders. In contrast, the old *reepiy* peo-

ple always have to make sure everything is working out well, must always carry the responsibility and look after the younger people (Field Notes 04/2007).

The handling of age in relation to gender minimizes conflict between the generations. The clan system allows for each individual to have close relationships not only to mother and father, but also to aunts and uncles (and nieces and nephews) on both sides, which facilitates sympathy. Whenever conflict arises, compromise is sought, as can be seen in the case of intergenerational conflict among the women (see Part 1 in this book). In a mutual effort this conflict concerning Lamotrekese custom and traditions was reframed as comparison between the differing spheres of women and men. Grounding on dualistic metaphors this gendered part of Lamotrekese custom is stronger cemented in everyday life and a shared attitude towards this area of female agency could easily be agreed to by all women.

On top of this the partition of life into three rigid stages as child, adult and senior, commonly found in other regions of the world, is not supported by the Lamotrekese community. In contrast, my Lamotrekese friends expanded the interfaces between different life phases and consequently minimized any risks of strict transitions like conflict between the generations.

Conclusion

Originally, my dissertation project was intended to involve anthropological-gerontological research on the Outer Islands of Yap, perhaps also including the situation on Yap Proper. During my fieldwork, this topic faded, as I thought, into the background because, in the course of my stationary investigation on Lamotrek, processes of establishing identity, relationships between the generations and research on life histories were more interesting both for me and for the people on the island. An intercultural comparison with Yap had to be excluded because of the high linguistic demands which it would have entailed. However, a comparison of the ageing of the *rei metau* (people of the sea, umbrella term for the Outer Islanders of Yap and the people from the Caroline Islands) on Lamotrek and on Yap was very useful for orientation. When I actually came to writing my thesis, I realised that the themes mentioned above obviously belong to research on ageing. Anthropological gerontology says at least as much about youth and other phases of life as about old age and it is important to begin by clarifying the context and general framework of human maturation and, thereby, of ageing. Correspondingly, my work is also concerned first of all with the conflicts between younger and older women, with the creation of a shared identity for the teenage group, with emotional structuring within the context of alcohol consume on the part of young men and of middle-aged men, with the negotiation of the terms of power and possessions in the course of a lifetime. Starting with these basic conceptions, it is then, in each case, possible to draw conclusions about ageing itself, about the situation of the older people and to illustrate these or to sketch future developments.

The analysis of a women's meeting on Lamotrek (Part 1) suggests that even young women (in the phase of *shoabut*) should orient them-

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selves towards the ideals of the old ladies (*shoabut tugofaiy*), which is indeed the case (see Picture C.1). This meeting is concerned with breaking of rules, fines and means of redress and with the question of how the women can preserve their mutual respect and the respect of the men. The traditional high-ranking position of the women, demonstrated, however, in everyday life in a discrete manner, gets into a dilemma due to the interconnection with western Christian values. Here, it is the (loud) voice that counts and not the deep, virtually holy relationship to the land which the women have. For the young women, this means that, in globalised contexts, they act differently and must behave differently to be respected than at home on Lamotrek.

However, the old ladies on Lamotrek radiate great assurance with regard to their powers and their influence and this gives the young women the courage to orient themselves again more towards the Lamotrekese code of behaviour.

The cultural-social landscape of Lamotrek is repeatedly being changed by various groups (Part 2).

The basic reason is the separation into male and female domains, i.e. the coastal regions and the lagoon are controlled by the men, whereas the women keep to the inner parts of the island. In addition, there is a well-defined north-south axis along which the main road, as well as, the pathway of the women in the middle of the island run. Between the two lie the properties of the inhabitants so that the space is clearly structured. This is different along the west-east axis, along which, in the middle of the island, an old stone pathway leads through the taro patches, but remains otherwise undefined. Here the Lamotrekese find a multitude of alternative ideas for design (see Picture C.2) and make use of these, within the framework of religious instruction, not only to document a youthful age group but to virtually create a common moment of identification for them.

The inner emotional landscape of the protagonists becomes evident during a conflict also in the outer island landscape (Part 3). Since the men on Lamotrek have no initiation rites of their own for the transition into the adult status and they spend a long time being classified as youths during which they are not recognised as fully-fledged

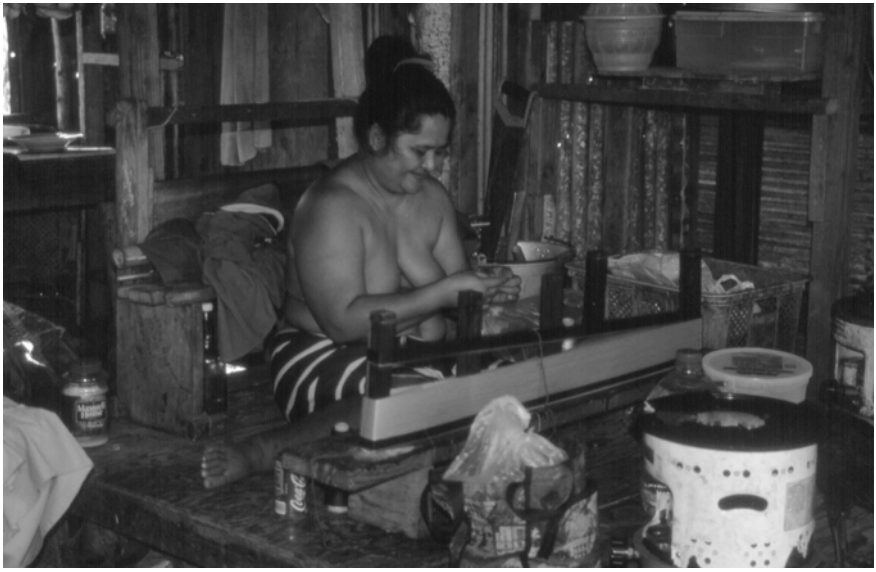
Picture C.1: Women celebrating a birthday

Picture C.2: Retreat place “Mount Zion”

Picture C.3: Coconut palm trees surround the taro garden area on Lamotrek

Picture C.4: "Taro refrigerator"

Picture C.5: Men work on the net for a joint fishing trip



Picture C.6: Woman designing a teor (lavalava)

members of society, they first wrestle, roughly up to the age of thirty, with the problem of their male identity.

Alcohol, in the form of palm wine (*falubwa*) made from coconut blossoms (see Picture C.3) is a medium for them to enter into a discourse with the older men about masculinity, maturity and responsibility. When a conflict breaks out about this, the honour of the youths as well as of the adult men is in danger. Father and son communicate their different standpoints in that they take up their positions in the different phases of their conflict each at different premises. A meeting together at the home of the older man makes reconciliation possible.

On Lamotrek, all the people belong, from the moment of their birth, to one of the various clans which all have a certain rank order. Although belonging to a clan seems to automatically provide one with a certain position in the political hierarchy, the people deal with this legacy in a very creative way (Part 4). It is not only necessary to maintain and cultivate their property rights (see Picture C.4) established by birth and by adoption but also to accumulate power through knowledge and to get as many people as possible on one's side.

Especially culturally established specialised knowledge (see Picture C.5) which, according to the Lamotrekese, is in danger of dying out with the older generation is nowadays increasingly gaining in value also as an instrument of identification in an island way of life otherwise becoming overwhelmed by western values.

So it is again the most powerful cultural symbol of the women on Lamotrek, the lavalava (*teor;* see Picture C.6), that provides orientation in a personal history. The initiation of the girls into the female adult status ends with the wearing of their first lavalava and this status remains life-long, i.e., it does not have to be fought for again.

A conduct full of respect (*gassorow*), which is expected and demanded of women, always reminds them of their relationship to the land and property. When childhood has ended, they can move back and forth between different age clusters on the basis of this relationship.

According to my results, ageing on Lamotrek is a process which differs according to gender which, particularly in the later phases of

life, is subdivided into individual grades of accumulation of knowledge and competence in further imparting this knowledge. The respect given to older people is based, on the one hand, on their cultural knowledge which makes them invaluable to the community but, on the other, also on the deep sense of charity which imbues the people of the atoll. In other words, social control exerted on and by individuals on Lamotrek is based on common understandings of the affiliation with age mates and on gender. If these common understandings work out well, the people on Lamotrek create a landscape of peace in harmony with the gender-specific division of labour.

Glossary

bai: traditional Palauan men's house
bakiinga: (noun) fine, penalty, punishment, retribution, (verb) to fine so., to penalise, to punish
biisal: loom
bongngaw: first few nights after delivery ("bad nights")
bugota: compound
bushobusho: foolish, silly
buulong: to the centre/middle, inwards
buuwei: outwards
bweolipeoiu: wedded

dipseo: solidarity

faawbong: celebration, feast ("four nights")
fageoiu: compassion/love
falubwa: fermented coconut toddy, palm wine
filowa: wheat biscuits, bread, cake ("made out of flour")
fitiyetiy: (noun) marriage, (verb) to enter into a partnership, to join forces, to marry

gabiitiw: girls' initiation ritual ("to make it come down, to let it move down")
gaibwe: we (exclusive form) will
gaseoseo: to rest, relax
gasheey lago: throw sth. away
gassorow: conduct full of respect
gataf: frigate bird
giish: (inclusive form) we

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giubiul: party
gogo: sharing
goot: digging stick
gurugur: walking stick

hamem: (exclusive form) we
hashi: drinking falubwa
hashimem: coconut blossom juice
hu: unity of Lamotrek-Elato-Satawal

imwelpeol: delivery house
imwelpeopeo: extra little retreat hut beside the main living house on a woman's property
itang: warfare master, specialised secret language
iyefang: north
iyeor: south

kapetali lamocheg: indigenous language on Lamotrek ("language of Lamotrek")
kobushobusho: young/silly

lago: go
lavalava: traditional wrap-around skirt
leo: hole, bottle, water hole, shallow hollow in the ground,soul bottle, fresh water on a taro leaf after a typhoon
likoa: baby girl
luleoiulap: older person (a term originating from Ulithi)
luush: coconut blossom syrup

malum: cooking house
mateolnimw: recovery phase after childbirth ("the sitting inside the house")
metagu: fear/anxiety
mosuwe: earlier, in the olden days

mwal: man, male adult
mwal tugufaiy: old man
mwaremwar: floral wreath, flower garland

neere mwal: traditional loincloth (traditional male attire)

paliuw: master navigator
peig besh: white peig (a certain lavalava design)
pwo: traditional initiation ceremony for navigation

rang: turmeric, curcuma
reepiy: old/wise
rei metau: umbrella term for the Outer Islanders of Yap and the people from the Caroline Islands ("people of the sea")
roangpaliuw: taboo sight at initiation ceremony for navigators ("sacred space belonging to navigators")
rong: specialized or magical knowledge

sari: child
sari mwal: boy
sari shoabut: girl
saugaaw: baby boy
sawai: historical trading and ruling system in the Caroline Islands
senap: master canoe and house builder
serawi: master weather magician
shiim: lavalava storage
shiugiubel: local taro basket made out of coconut leaves
shoabut: woman, female adult
shoabut tugufaiy: old woman
shoou: base of the loom
sibwe: we (inclusive form) will
silei: mother ("my mother")
sinsilei: grandmother ("my mother's mother")
siu metal uluto: girl immediately before her first menstruation
song: justifiably angry

ssig: angry, bad-tempered

tafey: local medicine
tarimwal: pubescent boy, youth, young man
tau-: (prefix) master-
tausheo: master massager
tela: adze of the chief
telalihailang: adze of the clan
temai: father ("my father")
teor: (noun) lavalava, loom, (verb) to weave
teoriu yengaang: traditional lavalava made out of local hibiscus and banana fibres ("lavalava of work")
teraifil: pubescent girl, young woman
thu: loin cloth (for men, male attire), extra wrap-around skirt (for women to wear in addition to lavalava)
tiutiu: bath, take shower
tiweshaliu: going to the well every day to bath one's baby in water enriched with local medicine ("down in the water")
tugufaiy: old

uot: sweet taro
uum: earth oven

woal: (preposition) to

yafi: cooking fire
yengaangil faliuyei: island chores ("the work of my island")

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