

# みんなのポジトリ

国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnology

## Feasting as Socio-Political Process of Chieftainship on Ponape, Eastern Carolines

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 清水, 昭俊 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	<a href="https://doi.org/10.15021/00003251">https://doi.org/10.15021/00003251</a>

## Feasting as Socio-Political Process of Chieftainship on Ponape, Eastern Carolines

AKITOSHI SHIMIZU  
*Hiroshima University*

This paper discusses the structural relationship between chieftainship and feasts in the traditional culture of Ponape. The feast is an important element of prestige economy; and anthropological theories suggest close functional correlation between chieftainship on the one hand and prestige economy, and redistribution in particular, on the other. However, the relationship between the two should not be regarded as merely functional. Structure and process are the two aspects of any social phenomenon—the former being synchronic and static, and the latter diachronic and dynamic. Ponapean feastings are a string of procedures which are patterned as a program; at the same time they have a synchronic aspect, *i.e.*, construction of roles among participants. A detailed analysis of this synchronic aspect of the feasting process shows that it is based on the same set of principles as is the class structure of the Ponapean society under chieftainship. On the other hand, an analysis of the program shows that feasts are organized as an expression of respect to the main guest, through contribution of property to the main guest and redistribution of the property and “honor” by the guest. The occasions on which feasts are held cover almost all commemorative and integrative points of social life. The people of Ponape celebrate such occasions by inviting chiefs and paying them their respect by means of feasting. Thus, feastings mediate political incorporation of the social life of the people into the chieftainship. If the synchronic aspect of feastings is a metaphor of chieftainship, their diachronic aspect is a metonymy of the latter. Feastings and the chieftainship on Ponape are not two distinct phenomena which might be functionally correlated; they are two aspects of a single socio-political system.

**Keywords:** chieftainship, feasts, redistribution, structure and process, Ponape, Eastern Carolines.

### INTRODUCTION

The juxtaposition of feasting and chieftainship is a rather common sense theme in the anthropological studies on Oceania. Feasting is a typical element of what Herskovits conceptualized as “prestige economy” [HERSKOVITS 1952: 415], whereas

chieftainship, together with the concept of "big man", is a representative type of rank system existing in stateless societies. Ethnographies have revealed that ranked societies and prestige economy tend to occur together. Anthropological theories, however, do not always agree with one another with respect to the correlation between ranked society and prestige economy. In Polanyi's theory of economic systems feasting is classified as part of the redistribution system. The key word in the notion of redistribution is "center" or "centricity". In contrast to reciprocal exchanges between members of a collectivity, properties provided by members are accumulated at the center, which expends the collected properties for the sake of itself or the collectivity as a whole [POLANYI 1968]. Although in theory the center is not necessarily a political authority, political organization has a redistributive system as its "economic components" [DALTON 1971: 171]. Sahlins summarized the correlation between the two with functional terms:

Speaking more broadly, redistribution by powers-that-be serves two purposes... The practical, logistic function—redistribution—sustains the community, or community effort, in a material sense. At the same time, or alternatively, it has an instrumental function: as a ritual of communion and of subordination to central authority, redistribution sustains the corporate structure itself; that is in a social sense [SAHLINS 1972: 190].

Functional correlation is always described with teleologic terms. Teleologic description is based on the assumption that each of the two correlated matters exists independently prior to the teleologic correlation between the two. With regard to functional interpretation, it should be difficult to answer such a question as "Can any specific political system exist without an economic system of redistribution?"

Meanwhile, Goldman used a different expression in interpreting the same correlation between political system and prestige economy:

From this point of view, the honorific exchanges [*i.e.*, exchanges in ranked society] are a language of ritual which all communicants use to honor and to elevate to a higher moral plane their concepts of personal worth [GOLDMAN 1970: 497].

Without "honorific exchanges" as a language, there could be no communicants in hierarchical ranks, and *vice versa*. "Honorific exchanges" are an integral part of ranked society. In spite of this, the bondage between rank system and "honorific exchanges" is so dynamic as to induce functional interpretation. The metaphorical expression used by Goldman suggests that the relationship between rank system and "honorific exchanges" can be compared to that between code and message, and that between structure and process.

As was noted above, it is an anthropological truism that feasting and chieftainship have much to do with each other. Nevertheless, the following question should sound still fresh to students of Oceanian societies: "How is the structure of ranked society correlated with 'honorific exchanges' as its diachronic process?" This paper

aims to clarify the dynamism of this correlation by describing and analyzing the case of Ponape. The more specific problem to be answered is: In what conditions and by what combination of them are the chieftainship and redistribution on Ponape realized as processive structure and structural process, respectively?

Redistribution is one of the "honorific exchanges", the expression coined by Goldman; feasting is only one form of this redistribution. Although redistribution is incidental to ranked society, there are few cases in which political authority uses feasting as the only available means of politico-economic operation. In Melanesian societies where ranks are always fluid, the most effective strategy for gaining promotion to a big-man is to hold a conspicuous feast. Before the ending of tribal warfare, however, dauntless leadership and murdering during warfare brought indispensable charisma to the big-man [OLIVER 1955; KEESING 1978; BROWN 1978]. In Polynesia, in general, where chief titles have been institutionalized into rank systems, and particularly in those societies where classes are segregated only to a small extent, feastings account for a major portion of redistribution opportunities organized by ruling chiefs. Despite this the chiefs could accumulate and redistribute property through the people's contribution of first fruit and other tributes and payment of fines [FIRTH 1965]. The higher the degree of class stratification, the lower the specific gravity of feastings [SAHLINS 1958; GOLDMAN 1970].

In this ethnographic perspective, the chieftainship of Ponape resembles its counterparts in those Polynesian societies where classes are stratified to an intermediate degree. On this island, various economic privileges and administrative and judicial authority are institutionalized for the paramount chiefs of chiefdoms [RIESENBERG 1968; HUGHES 1970]. Although feasting has a relative importance in the politico-economic process involving the chiefs, it constitutes no more than a part of the entire process. Despite this phenomenal partiality, however, feasting plays a prerogative role in the structure of Ponapean chieftainship: it is possible to understand the whole structure of the chieftainship by observing the process of feasting. This point will be clarified through description and analysis of the Ponapean feasting process.

In order to attain the objective of this paper, the presentation of political and social organizations will be deferred until later. Instead, the description and analysis will focus mainly on the process of feasting. In so doing reference will be made to political and social organizations as part of the necessary background of feasting.

### Feasting

The feast is one of many social processes of Ponape. Before going into detailed analytical description it seems worthwhile to refer to the distinctive features of feasts in a wide variety of social processes. The Ponapean equivalent for the English word "feast" is *kamadipw*,<sup>1)</sup> which can be broken down into *ka-mad-dipw*, meaning "to

1) Since data on which the present paper depends was collected mainly in Woane, Kiti, Ponapean terms are presented as they appear in the Woane dialect. Terms are spelled according to the Standard Ponapean Orthography [REHG 1981], to which I add a device

make (*ka-*) people (*dipw*) full (*mad*).” As this term suggests, the feast is one form of meal, or more precisely, it is a form of large-scale *communal meal* in the non-domestic social context (as indicated by “people” contained in the meaning of *kamadipw*). Social connotations of meals, especially those of feasts, can be elucidated most pertinently through an analysis of the behavioral system for receiving visitors. When a family receives a guest the head of the family is expected to invite the guest to eat as a manner of reception. On this occasion food may be offered in one of the three formalities, which will be described as “basket”, “*sakau*” and “stone-oven” hereafter. The last of these three repertoires, the “stone-oven”, is an entertainment of visitors with a feast, the subject of this paper.

The three types of formalities are distinguished by their respective features. Foods are generally classified into three categories: main dishes (*kisin mwoangē*), side dishes (*sali*), and drinks (*pihl*). In the context of feasting, these three are given more ceremonious nomenclatures, i.e., “contents of stone-oven” (*kēnēngēn uhmw*), “beasts of stone-oven” (*mēn in uhmw*), and “drinks of stone-oven” (*pil en uhmw*), respectively. Among these different categories, main dishes and side dishes, if any, are served in the “basket” formality; only drinks are served in the “*sakau*” formality, and all three categories are served in the “stone-oven” formality. In all social contexts the main dish is never a restricted category, although certain people can be privileged to have drinks whereas others are prohibited. Commoners are banned by custom from drinking *sakau* (*kava*, *Piper methysticum*) privately, even if they own it. The regulation of drinks thus distinguishes the “*sakau*” and “stone-oven” formalities as privileged, positioning the “basket” lowest.

With regard to the materials of cooking, any available materials in the appropriate categories can be used for “basket”, whereas the “stone-oven” strictly limits the materials that can be used: yams or breadfruit for the main dish (or “contents of stone-oven”); pigs or dogs for the side dish (or “beast of stone-oven”); and *sakau* or sugar cane for drinks (or “drinks of stone-oven”). Here, breadfruit, dogs, and sugar cane are supplementary materials for yams, pigs, and *sakau*, respectively; dogs and sugar cane must not be served at the feast without accompanying pigs and *sakau*. Yams, pigs, and *sakau* are given the highest statuses in terms of the social value, called “honor” (*wahu*), in their respective categories [SHIMIZU 1982].

The choice of cooking method helps reinforce the value-based ranking of the three reception formalities. The “stone-oven” formality should be materialized with food baked in the stone-oven (*uhmw*). The cooking methods other than stone-oven baking are collectively called *ainpwoat* (“pot”). These two categories of cooking methods are associated with the following values and meanings in the pattern of complementary opposition:

---

*ē* to indicate a schwa /ə/, a distinctive feature of the Woane dialect. It corresponds to the lower-mid vowel /ɛ/ in the northern dialect on which the orthography is based. Attention should be paid especially to the following spellings. *h* indicates that the preceding vowel is long. *oa* is a single lower-mid back vowel. *t* is a voiceless retroflexed affricate, whereas *d* is a voiceless dental stop [REHG 1981].

Stone-oven baking	<i>Ainpwoat</i>
Superior	Inferior
Men	Women
Public	Domestic
"Stone-oven" formality	"Basket" formality
Feastings	Daily meals

Thus any element of guest-receiving behavior distinguishes one formality from another. In this recognition of distinctions differences are evaluated in terms of "honor". It is in this context that the "stone-oven" formality, or the feast, is positioned highest. This is aptly reflected in customary verbal expressions describing the "stone-oven" formality. This guest-receiving format is one kind of feast called *kawawi*, which means "to make or extend *wahu* or honor". The feast is also interpreted as the most deferential from of *wauneki* (paying respect). In brief, for Ponapeans, the feast is the most honorable way to express respect for others. As such it is materialized as an event of large-scale cooking and *communal meals* based on the use of the most honorable elements, *i.e.*, yams, pigs, *sakau*, and the stone-oven cooking methods<sup>2)</sup>.

## CONSTRUCTION OF FEASTING SITE AND ROLES

Although the feast as a social process is carried out within the structure of chieftainship, it is not directly connected with chieftainship. Phenomenal features of the feast are not a mere temporal development of the chieftainship structure. The relationship between the two should be elucidated through an analysis of intermediary terms that exist between them.

As a temporal process, the feast is not completely free of synchronic dimension. In general, an action group which carries out an *ad hoc* collective activity is not always organized as a corporate group with an established position in the structure of the whole society of which it is a part. Action groups found in Ponapean feasts are one example. All the people who actually work for feast procedures are recognized as having positions with specific rights and duties in their relationships with other workers. These positions, rights, and duties are meaningful only in the context of feast. As members of a chiefdom, Ponapeans are identified in terms of their statuses in the chieftainship society. However, these structural statuses of people do not directly indicate what they are expected to do when they attend a feast. Instead, their roles will be indicated by the position they occupy in the feast. The structure of chieftainship has a bearing on the arrangement of people in various processive positions at the feast, but not on feasting *per se*.

The correlation in synchronic dimension between feasting and chieftainship is established at least by an intermediary existence: processive organization of the feast.

2) For further details on the classificatory system of foods and its correlation with the guest-receiving formalities, see [SHIMIZU 1982, 1985].

On the basis of the idea that the process of feasting is made up of both synchronic and temporal aspects, the synchronic features will be described and analyzed first.

### Plan of A Feasting Site

Feasting is conducted in a building which is called "feast house" (*nahs*). Traditionally, the feast house was not a property of individual domestic groups (*ihmw*, *pēnēinēi nan ihmw*) but was a facility owned by a section or chiefdom. Nowadays, influential domestic groups have their own feast houses. In such cases, a main house (*imwēlapw*) where co-residential family members live together, a feast house, a stone-oven cooking house (*woanuhmw*), and a lavatory are constructed close to one another in the estate (*peleēnsapw*), to constitute a homestead.

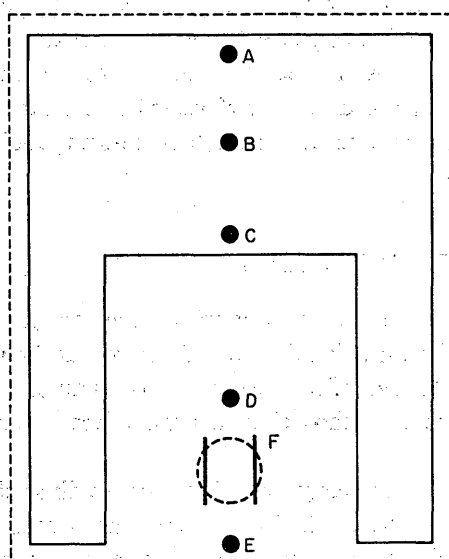


Figure Notes:

A. central post called *Salidi en ēnihlap* (roughly, "the high-god's post to sit facing downward")

B. central post called *Salēdēn lēng* (roughly, "heavenly sitting post")

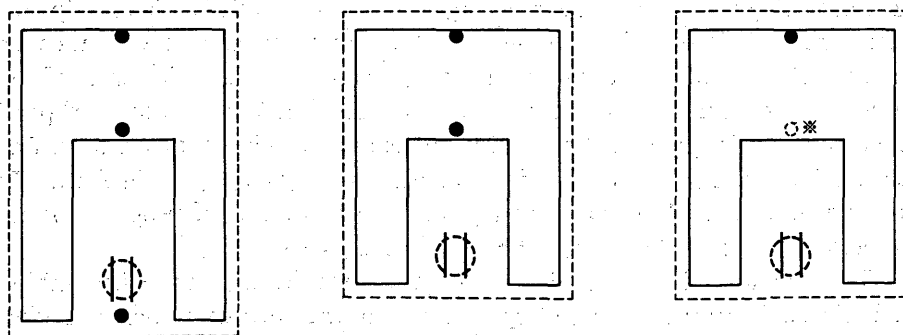
C. central post called *Saladahn ēnihlap* (roughly, "the high-god's post to sit facing upward")

D. central post called *Olopwoud* (lit., "man-spouse")

E. central post called *Apwīndi*

F. the place of stone-oven

1. The Ideal Plan, called *Koupahlēng* (lit., "the heavenly box"), and also *Mwoangihitik* (lit., "to whisper in a lowest voice")



2. Intermediary Types, called *Koupah* (lit., "box")

✱ The central post, *salada*, is erected during the time of feasting.

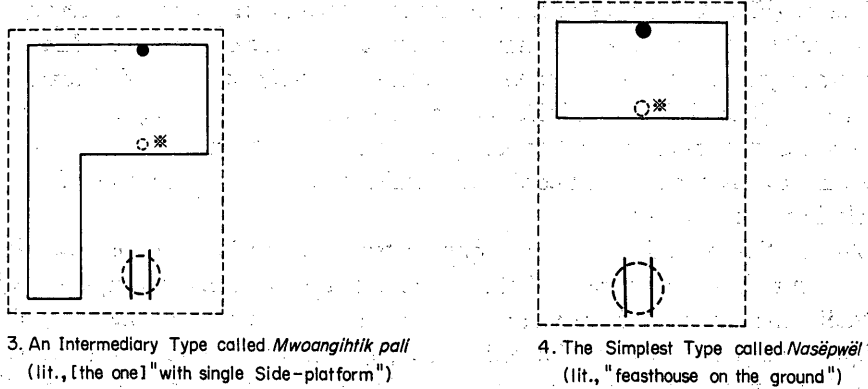


Figure 1. Various Types of *nahs* (Feast House)

There are several variations of the plan of the feast house. Among these one ideal plan is discernible, and the others are simplified versions on it. The ideal plan is a perfect (*unsëk*) model which is emmaculate in every respect, e.g., the number of central posts (*keituh*) crossing the feast house from the rear to front, construction of platforms, and so on. Simplified versions lack some or many of the requirements of this ideal model, and can be categorized by their degree of differentiation from the

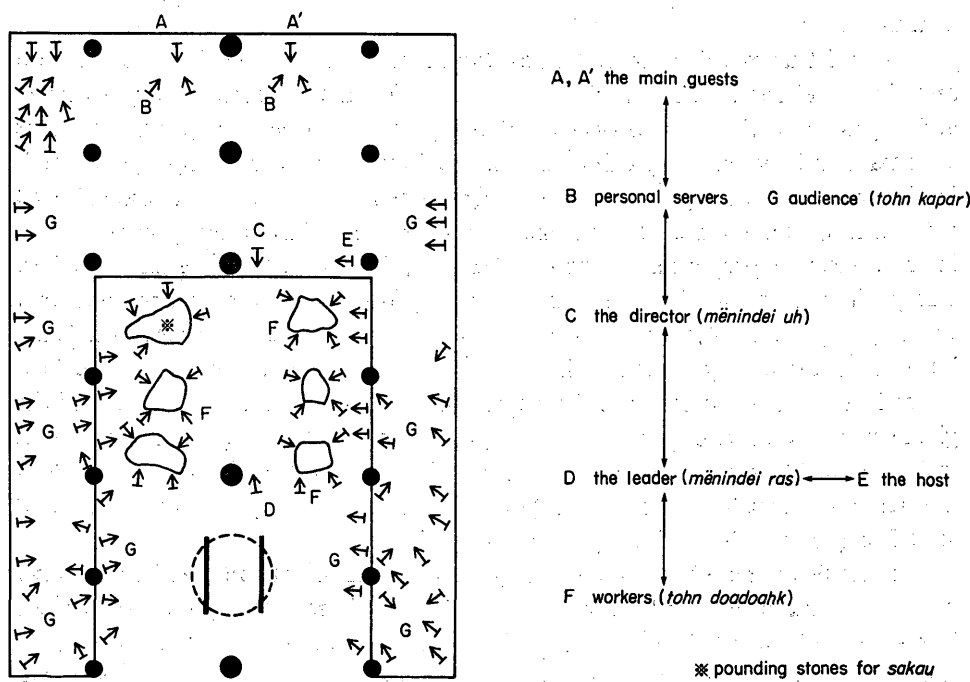


Figure 2. Feasting Roles and Their Positions



ideal model (Fig. 1). Among the variations the most simplified form, called *nasëpwël*, has virtually the same plan as that of a stone-oven cooking house. The same structure may be described both as a feast house of the *nasëpwël* type and a stone-oven cookhouse. The distinction of the two not so much depends on objective physical differences as it belongs to a matter of linguistic rhetoric. Even a homestead without a feast house has a stone-oven cookhouse, which is useful enough for any feasts to be held in the homestead.

As mentioned earlier, nowadays quite a few households have their own feast houses. It must be remembered that these feast houses are in exact compliance with the traditional pattern of homestead construction. As one of the material symbols signifying the prestige of the domestic group, the feast house was an addition of something new to the time-honored pattern. However, the feast house is a derivative from the stone-oven cookhouse insofar as its function is concerned.

### Feasting Roles

The various forms of feast house provide valuable data, based on which the relative importance of elements determining the seating pattern and spatial arrangement of people attending the feast can be analyzed. In the ideal model there are seats for all kinds of people who join in the feast (Fig. 2), whereas in the simplest form—the *nasëpwël* and the cookhouse—there are only a limited number of seats for those who are indispensable for the proceedings of the feast. The seats for other participants of secondary importance are placed outdoors, due to the spatial constraint.

Now, let us examine the seating arrangement at the feast held in the *nasëpwël* and the cookhouse. The *nasëpwël* consists of a main platform (*loampahntamw*) and a ground-level area (*nankadei*). Feasting can be viewed in general terms as a transaction between two parties who use the feast *per se* as the exchange material. In this transaction, the giver of the exchange material is located in the ground-level area, while the taker is seated on the main platform. The feast proceeds as successive interactions, with properties and symbols exchanged, between the giver and the taker. The positional relationship between the main platform and the ground-level area not only implies the status relationship between the giver and the taker at the feast, but is also functionally related to their behavior. The ground-level area in the feast house is a space for work, as is the outdoors. The taker receives the result of the giver's work as a service provided by the giver. In the following, the giver of feast will be termed "host", and the taker "guest", for convenience of description. Both the host and guest have social identities which cannot be simply described as individual or group, a detailed analysis of which will be presented later.

In the feast house based on a plan other than that of *nasëpwël* and cookhouse, one or two platforms are added on one or both sides of the central ground-level area. The side platform is linked with the main platform; the central ground-level area is thus enclosed by the platforms on two or three sides. On the side platform(s) are seated those people who are referred to as *tohn kapar* (lit. "members of entourage"). As

indicated by the fact that the feast house with the simplest plan (*nasëpwël*, cookhouse) does not provide seats for these people, they are not indispensable participants in the proceeding of the feast. In no part of the feasting process is there a role for them to play as positive actors. What they are expected to do is to witness the feast that takes place between the host and the guest and to participate in the entertainment of services provided at the feast. In view of the nature of their role, I refer to them collectively as "attendants".

In *nasëpwël* and the stone-oven cookhouse, there are no seats for the attendants. This does not mean, however, that the feast held in this place flatly refuses the participation of the attendants. In fact, they may be seated on the main platform or on the ground-level area if there is enough room. Otherwise, they may stay in any place they like on the ground outside the feast house and attend the feast. Attendants are desirable, if not indispensable, participants in the feast. The part they take adds another dimension to the custom of feasting. The feast is not only a direct interaction, a socio-economic transaction, between the host and the guest, but also a *show* played by the host and the guest before the attendants, who enjoy the show as audience. In this respect the feast house, or more particularly the main platform and the central ground-level area, can be regarded as the stage on which the show is played.

### Individual, Group, and the Principle of Appropriation

The social identities of both host and guest are not simple. It would be misleading to simply conclude that they are either individuals (or single statuses) or group. In a context where feast-giving is viewed in a comprehensive manner, people tend to identify both host and guest as individuals. In other words, the feast can be interpreted as an act of receiving visitors which one host as an individual performs for the guest, who is also an individual. The social appraisal which results from the feast is finally focused on the two, the host and the guest. Thus, feasting is a contribution, or a "paying respect" in emic terms, made by the host as an individual to the guest as an individual. If the feast deserves social appreciation, concomitant "honor" is received exclusively by the host himself. Likewise, criticisms due to inappropriate and deficient practices also return to the host as an individual.

In broader social context, however, both host and guest are closely associated with specific groups. In fact they behave as the host and guest at the feast, just because of this association. For example, it often happens that the main guest at the feast is the paramount chief of a chiefdom, while the host is the head of a section or a domestic group. The same feast which is recognized as a transaction between two individuals may be viewed, in another context, as an act performed by one group (host group) for another (guest group). When a feast held by a section head turns out to be a failure, for instance, members of the section under his authority will be ridiculed by people from other sections, who conclude that the section head's feasting was unsuccessful because he was sustained with insufficient loyalty and dedication by members of his section. Also, in a situation where receiving a feast causes a liability

of whatever kind on the part of the guest, the members of the group which he represents share the liability.

Suppose a person receives a *kawawi*, or a feast just designed for paying respect, he becomes obligated to hold an equivalent feast in return in a near future. Then he will hold the return feast with the assistance of the group he represents (a domestic group if he is a family head, or a section if he is a section head). Yet this obligation of the return feast may be put aside as an uncertain matter of the future at the time when the initial feast is being given to the guest. Expression of respect with a feast has an immediate consequence on the guest: his honor (*wahu*) turns into a kind of deficit in his relation with the host. In order to offset this deficit and recover his honor the guest must wait until a group of people under his authority arrive at the feast site and pay respect to the guest himself (the head from the viewpoint of the arriving group), as well as to the host. This entourage following their master is called *aluhmwuhr* (lit. "to walk behind"). Thus, the recipient of the feast of respect is not permitted to take his leave and return home until this group arrives. According to the implication of the Ponapean notion of "honor", the recipient of a feast who returned home without the arrival of this group may be suspected of lacking respect from the members of his own group comparable to the respect paid him by the host. This suspicion surely makes the guest lose "face" (*mahs*). Thus, to be invited to a feast as a guest invariably involves the group over which the guest has control.

In order to fully understand the relationship between an individual and a group as observed in feasts it will be helpful to expand our perspective from the site of the feast to the chieftainship society, and to examine the principle that governs the relationship between an individual and a group in this wider social context. Ponapean society is segmentally composed: the smallest primary groups, i.e., co-residential families, make up aggregates of families. These aggregates then constitute sections, which in turn are arranged into a chiefdom in the ascending order of a hierarchy. In this segmental society it is generally difficult to assume an idea of a pure individual as an independent agent of social process. An individual who is committed to a higher level process is actually participating in the social process as the representative of a lower-level group. An individual who apparently behaves as an independent agent in a social process is actually associated with the group to which he belongs. It is only that this association does not come to the surface of social process in an apparent form. In this respect an individual in Ponapean segmental society is generally an intermediary between social process at a higher segmental level and social group at a lower level.

The relationship between an individual and the group to which he belongs, and which he represents, is stressed from the viewpoint of that group, and from that on the segmental level where the group is positioned. In the higher-level social process, however, the same person acts as an individual subject. To put it differently, a representative of a group is, when viewed from a lower-level standpoint, supported by the collective contribution of the group in playing his role. In the higher-level

social process, however, the contribution made by the group which he represents will be interpreted as his own personal contribution.

In short, the representative of the lower-level group appropriates the collective contribution made by the group to turn it into his personal presentation. With the notion of "the principle of appropriation" is meant this mode of appropriation of collective product of a group at a lower segmental level by the representative of that group. The dual social identities of an individual in different social contexts—that is, an individual as an independent agent and as the representative of a group—are made valid by this principle of appropriation.

As for structural groups, those who have the highest position among the properly qualified members usually represent the groups. In a familial group—a co-residential family or an aggregate of co-residential families—any male members are qualified to be its representatives. They are ranked in accordance with generation and seniority: those belonging to an elder generation are regarded higher than members from a younger generation; and among descendants of one sibling group, those who trace descent from an elder sibling are positioned higher than any descended from a younger sibling. The two indices of generation and seniority automatically designate the highest-ranking person among members of a familial group: it is he who should represent the group.

The section heads are appointed by the paramount chiefs, whose choice of appointment may fluctuate according to their personal favor and political considerations. However, they usually take notice of traditional customs and actual situations of the sanctions concerned. Some sections are by custom regarded as belonging to particular matrilineal lineages; for such a section the paramount chiefs dare not appoint to its head a person other than the man who occupies the highest position in the "owner" lineage of the section. Where a section is not "owned" by a particular lineage, the paramount chiefs usually take into account actual power relations among the family-aggregates which are residing in the section, and tend to nominate the representative of the most dominant family-aggregate as the section head. The paramount chiefs are to be recruited out of the royal lineages, in which the same principles as those operative in the commoner familial circles—generation and seniority—select the highest-ranking person, who should be enthroned.

Earlier it was noted that the feast is a transaction between the guest and the host. This description intended to reveal the modal tendency rather than a rule. Now that the principle of appropriation has been presented, it is probably necessary to present the theme once again in a more appropriate manner. Since feasts are held on specific occasions depending on their categories it is possible to identify the person on whom attention is focused on such occasions, or the person who makes feasting necessary. If a feast is held to welcome a visitor, for instance, the visitor is the person who initiates the feast. In the case of a marriage or a funeral feast, the newly-wed couple or the deceased is the person for whom the feast is motivated. This does not mean, however, that this feast-initiating person, the one who is directly related with the objective of feasting, is automatically given the seat of the main guest.

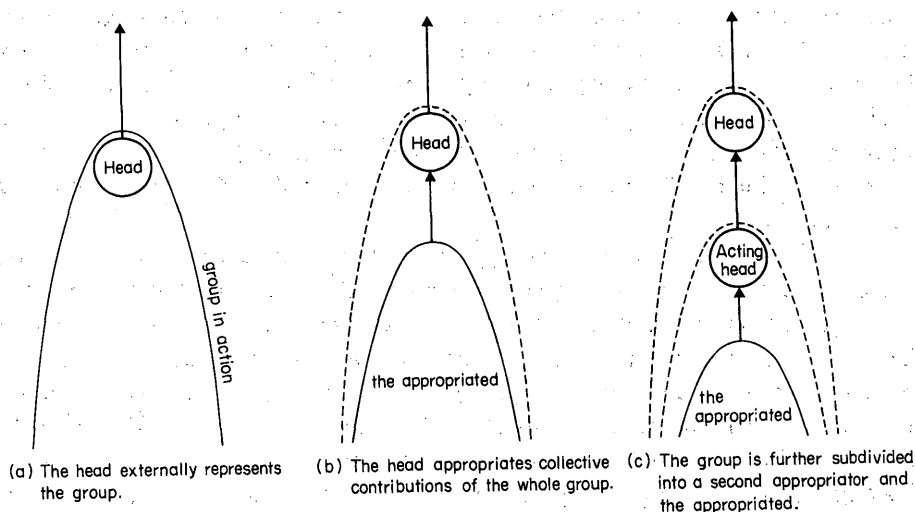
Interestingly, the main guest of the feast is designated pursuant to a separate principle, irrespective of the feast-initiating person. The principle of appropriation is invoked to point out who should preside over the feast as the main guest.

Feasting is, as was noted earlier, regarded as a transaction between two parties, namely the guest and the host. This recognition is made from a viewpoint which, although being comprehensive, still internally distinguishes the agents involved. From another all-inclusive viewpoint, however, a feast as a single social process can be represented by one individual, who appropriates the feast as a whole in his name. This mode of appropriation is well illustrated by certain categories of feast which are named after individuals' offices or titles—e.g., "feast of section head." In reference to this context the main guest is defined as the person who individually appropriates the entire feast. In accordance with the principle of appropriation, the highest-ranking person among all the individuals participating in the feast is given the seat of the main guest. Because of this unique feature of the principle of appropriation the feast-initiating person is not necessarily admitted as the main guest. It is possible that a person who has happened to attend the feast to partake of its entertainment, or even a member of the host group, is given the seat of the main guest, if he is the highest-ranking person in the feasting situation. In other words, the feast is in certain situation converted into an event which is completely different from its initial purport (*vide infra*). The Ponapean feast may be regarded as outstanding in this system, which designates the main guest depending on a principle totally unrelated to the objective of feasting.

The following discussion assumes that the main guest and the host are different persons, for convenience of description. Special consideration is required when the main guest and the host are identical and when the person who initiates the feast and the main guest are different. A note to that effect will be provided for these cases.

At the feast the seat of the main guest is located at the rear end of the main platform, just in front of the wall on the left (when viewed from the central ground-level area). There he *salidid* ("sits leaning against the wall"). There is no noun directly denoting the main guest. Idiomatically he is referred to as "the one who faces downwards" (*aramas me sohpeidi*). The main guest is the person who "looks down on" (*sohpeidi*) people working in the central ground-level area, from the height of the main platform.

If our perspective is confined to the situation of feasting, putting aside various relations among individuals and groups involved, it will be observed that the main guest appropriates all the fruit of the work carried out by those workers who are supervised by the host, i.e., the representative of the host group. To be more specific, the host as an individual appropriates the work done by the group of workers, and the main guest further appropriates what the host has just appropriated. These two types of appropriations are effected by one and the same principle. The relationship between the main guest and the host (with his workers) is homologous with the relationship between the host and his workers. The operation of this appropriation



**Figure 3.** Structural Effects of the Principle of Appropriation

principle in the feasting situation suggests the general structure of social organizations which are also based on this principle.

When an individual externally represents and appropriates an entire group, whether it be a structural corporate group or just a temporary action group organized on a specific occasion such as feasting (Fig. 3-a), the appropriator is separated from the appropriated within the group, and a social process inside the group is carried out on the basis of the oppositive relationship between the appropriator and the appropriated (Fig. 3-b). The stronger the internal opposition between the two, the appropriated members in turn tend to be represented by an individual in their relations with the initial appropriator (Fig. 3-c). In this manner the principle of appropriation works repetitively with its own dynamics, eventually constructing a nesting pattern of social organizations.

### Intermediaries between the Main Guest and the Host

The main guest and the host are only rarely engaged in interactive behavior, facing each other directly. Between them there exist two kinds of intermediaries: the "standing" intermediary (*mēnindei uh*) and the intermediary at the stone-oven-place (*mēnindei ras*). (Henceforth the latter will be referred to as the "stone-oven" intermediary). Of these two, the "stone-oven" intermediary can be interpreted by the aforementioned principle. He takes the lead in performing all manual labor done in the central ground-level area and outside the feast house, in accordance with the instructions given by the "standing" intermediary. In the feast house with a perfect floor plan the "stone-oven" intermediary is properly positioned at the *Olopwoud* post, one of the central posts which is located in the middle of the central ground-level area. He himself participates in the work and leads the action group engaged

in the feast labor. Among others, the acts which need one worker—e.g., “Raising of Honor” (*vide infra*)—is done by this intermediary. Even with collective works, the “stone-oven” intermediary normally does not allow other workers to do the crucial procedure requiring special care and consideration; in particular he sees that the form of each completed work is finished as custom (*tiahk*) specifies. (Below, the “stone-oven” intermediary will be referred to as “the leader of workers” or simply “the leader”.)

The role of the leader is played by the host, as long as circumstances permit, *i.e.*, by the representative who appropriates the collective fruit of the work by the action group and who contributes it to the final appropriator, the main guest. In the context of appropriation, the contribution made by the appropriated (host in this case) to the appropriator (main guest) is generally described as “paying respect” (*waumeki*), in emic terms. It is substantially a prestation of appropriated goods, and at the same time an expression of loyalty to the appropriator. The value of “paying respect” requires the representative of the appropriated group, *i.e.*, the host himself to perform contributive procedures to the appropriator. The host’s practice also makes his “expression” of loyalty more appealing. Within the appropriated group, its representative (the host) appropriates the collective product of the entire group to present it to an outsider, *i.e.*, to the main guest. This role of appropriator is authorized by his position as the highest-ranking person within the group. His authority within the group is raised even higher through his participation in the group activity.

These circumstances induce the host, as long as he is able to continue working, to serve as the leader at the feast. However the host of the feast is not always ready to work himself. For instance, structural corporate groups (co-residential families, aggregates of families, or sections) which have many duties to organize feasts are often represented by elders. When the representative of a structural corporate group is unable to work himself, owing to old age or for some other reason, his agent will assume the role of leader. The recruitment and the role of this acting leader are ascribed again by the principle of appropriation: the host, being unable to work himself, appropriates the product of actual workers under his authority; the actual workers will be represented by a man who has the highest position among the workers. In other words, the acting leader is ranked next to the host (*i.e.*, the representative) in the host group as a whole. When an acting leader works as the “stone-oven” intermediary the host himself will be seated at the right front corner of the main platform, and from there give if any necessary instructions to his acting agent (see Fig. 2).

The other, “standing”, intermediary stands besides the central post at the front edge of the main platform, and gives directions relating to all the procedures of the feast. The leader and his action group will proceed to their duties in response to the instructions by this “standing” intermediary. This specific post is called *Saladahn Ēnihlap* (roughly, “the high-god’s post to sit facing upward”), or simply *Salada* (“to sit facing upward”). The act of the host and/or the leader to the main guest, the act of the main guest to the host, verbal communications between the two parties, and

physical transfer of properties must normally be carried out by way of this "standing" intermediary. The physical position of this intermediary, *i.e.*, relative height of the platform above the ground-level area, and his basically standing posture as indicated by his title, strongly suggest his role and authority. Only this "standing" intermediary is allowed to stand on the platform without asking permission of the main guest and those seated on the platform. The Ponapean custom (*tiahk*) prescribes that to stand beside seated people without asking their permission is an act of enhancing one's position over that of the seated people; it constitutes impoliteness or even arrogance to others. No matter whether one may be a paramount chief or a child, one is expected to abide by this rule in public situations. This custom thus implies that the "standing" intermediary, whose basic posture is "to stand", is in a prerogative position relative to all the other participants in the feast.

In fact, his basic diction is in the imperative mood, and he is always giving orders to others in a loud voice. He is allowed to order those who are superior to him in terms of structural rank and title. His authority even extends over the main guest. The normal procedures of the feast include no positive activity to be performed by the main guest. Therefore, as long as the feast proceeds in compliance with the standard program, this intermediary would never ask the main guest to do anything. However, in case the main guest attempts to act of his free will, hindering the normal procession of the feast, the intermediary may issue an order to the main guest. For example, if the main guest happens to leave his seat at the time of the "first squeezes" ceremony of *sakau* (*vide infra*), the intermediary is required to call the main guest loudly and continuously from his proper position, *i.e.*, on the main platform by the central post at the front edge, until the main guest appears in front of him.

Thus, the authority of the "standing" intermediary is, at least in theory, higher than that of any other participant in the feast. Nevertheless, he is not allowed to exercise the authority at his personal will. He is able to issue orders only with regard to matters prescribed in the feast-related custom (*tiahk*). His authority never extends over those matters which custom leaves to the decision of the host or the guest. The "standing" intermediary therefore has an ambivalent position; because the intermediary is recruited from among the participants, his social rank may, and virtually almost always, is inferior to those of the main guest and/or the host; yet as a person who represents the authority of the custom (*tiahk*), which supercedes all the participants and governs the feast, he is placed at the top of all the participants. In view of his role and authority, the "standing" intermediary will be hereinafter referred to as "the director (of the feast)".

Of the two intermediaries who lead and direct the feast procedures, the leader of the working group could be understood by applying the principle of appropriation, as stated earlier. On the other hand, the ambivalent authority of the director is incompatible with the principle of appropriation. Rather I suggest that the role of the director depends on a second principle. According to an idiomatic account of the director, a person belonging to the category of the "chief's blood" (*ntahn*



*sohpeidi*) is the most suited to be the director. This account is apparently concerned with a feast held for a chief; on this assumption it designates the "chief's blood", *i.e.*, one of the chief's cognatic offsprings, as the proper person to act as director. In fact, when a feast is offered to a chief, particularly to a paramount chief, usually one of his entourage, especially his son (*i.e.*, a person with the closest "blood" to the chief), is ordered to serve as the director. Likewise, in a section-level feast held for a section head, the head's "blood" often works as the director, irrespective of who hosts the feast.

It is reasonable to deduce that the role of the director is derived from the main guest to mediate interactions between the main guest and the host. Let us call such a derivation from the superior partner of an intermediary for interaction "the principle of intermediary". Since the relationship between the superior and the inferior is governed generally by the principle of appropriation, the principle of intermediary is incidental to the principle of appropriation. Yet it is theoretically more effective to treat them as separate from each other.

Two principles, one of appropriation and one of intermediary, have been extracted from the analysis of processive roles which are observed in feasting procedures. Function of the two principles is not, however, confined to the feasting process, since they operate also in the organization of the Ponapean society. In what follows, the class structure of the chieftainship society will be briefly discussed.

### Class Structure of the Chieftainship Society

The population of Ponape has been divided into chiefdoms, politically autonomous units, which numbered five when German and Japanese rule effectively banned tribal warfare and solidified the power of the five chiefdoms. Each chiefdom was and is on a small scale and never has amounted to more than ten thousand members.<sup>3)</sup> Chiefdoms were and still are organized into a complicated system of classes and ranks. Although the modern political system introduced by American administration under United Nations' trusteeship has brought new political and economic statuses, the traditional system of classes and ranks still regulates the social life of Ponape. This traditional system effectively functions especially outside of Kolonia, the only urban center on the island. It is around Kolonia that the modern, introduced political and economic systems are centered.<sup>4)</sup> It is this traditional system of classes and ranks that is relevant to the social process of feasting.

3) The traditional political system of Ponape has been described and analyzed by Bascom [1965], Riesenbergh [1968], Hughes [1970], and others. Here I present data I collected on, and the result of my analysis of, the traditional aspect of the contemporary political system on Ponape.

4) For the historical background of Ponapean political system, see Bascom [1965], Riesenbergh [1968], Erlich [1978], and Hanlon [1981]. Hughes [1970], Fischer [1974], Dahlquist [1974], Shimizu [1981], and Petersen [1982] present various aspects of recent political and economic change due to the introduction of modern administrative and commercial system.

There are several categories concerned with traditional classes and ranks, which appear at first sight to be very complicated. The key to analyzing these categories is an overt tendency that these categories convey meanings when they are arranged into pairs of related opposites.

The polysemous notion of *sohpeidi* (lit. "to face downwards"), which has already been observed to indicate the main guest of feasts, is used to indicate the ruling class in contrast to *aramas* (lit. "a human being, people"), the commoner class. The population of a chiefdom is first divided into these two basic classes. The ruling class (*sohpeidi*) dominates the whole chiefdom as the integrative focus of social processes in the chiefdom. Whereas commoners are organized into sections (*kousapw*), administrative subdivisions of the chiefdom.

The commoner class is subdivided into ranks. The head of each section (*soumas en kousapw*) is singled out from the mass of section members (*tohn kousapw*); the paramount chiefs select those elders who are the heads of extended families and grant them "privileged" titles (*mwar koanoat*). Holders of these "privileged" titles are permitted the prerogative of having their food indicated in honorifics as *koanoat*, a term which originally meant the king's "precious food". The other members of the section are rankless and without distinction. When necessary to contrast them with those of more prestigious ranks, they are specified as "little" (*tikitik*) people. The term "little" people is very fluid in its meaning; it can also refer to commoners in general as opposed to the ruling class.

As was described earlier, the Ponapean society is structured segmentally. The people living in a section are first organized into co-residential families. Those coresidential families whose heads are siblings then constitute an aggregate of coresidential families. The section consists of these aggregates and isolated coresidential families which have no closely related families in the same section. The political process within the section is carried out, based on this rank stratification and governed by the principle of appropriation. An instruction issued by the paramount chiefs is communicated first to the section heads, then to the heads of family-aggregates (usually with "privileged" titles), and finally to the head of individual families (usually without prominent titles). The contribution made by the section members in response to such instruction is appropriated first by the heads of families, then by the heads of family-aggregates and further by the section heads, so that the contribution is finally presented to entities outside the section, e.g., chiefs' class and other sections. In this socio-political process, at the level of section, isolated families usually are treated and behave like family-aggregates.

On the other hand, the ruling class is also stratified into a number of ranks. It must be noted, however, that this stratification of the ruling class is effected by the principle of intermediary. This principle has a tendency to act repeatedly with its own dynamics to divide and subdivide the group subjected to the principle. In the old, traditional pattern the chief class and the commoner class are discontinuous with each other, both in terms of authority and kin relationship. Especially the authority of the chief class is considered as "absolute". Because of this "absolute"

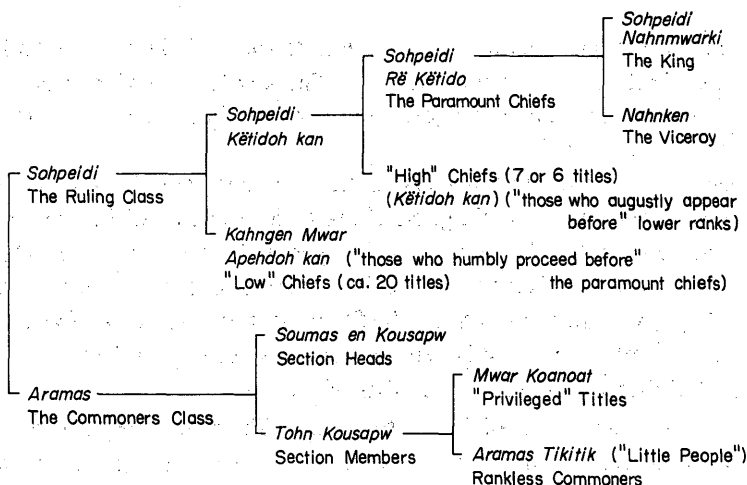


Figure 4. Classes and Ranks in a Chiefdom

nature, an intermediary is required between the ruling class and commoners, and people from the ruling class assume the titles relevant to this intermediary role. To be an intermediary for the benefit of the ruling class, however, he is required to represent the commoners against the chief class. Thus, the intermediary reproduces the relationship between the chief class and the commoners in his relationship with the chief class (for which he acts as an intermediary). The latter relationship between the chief class and the intermediary, which is again discontinuous, then requires another intermediary. In this way, the ruling class supplies a string of intermediaries who serve as go-betweens between the ruling class and the commoner class. As a result, the ruling class is stratified into the following ranks (Fig. 4).

The ruling class (*sohpeidi*) is divided into two ranks one of which is also *sohpeidi* and the second rank is called *kahngen mwar* ("rows of titles") or *ëlën mwar* ("ways of titles"). This second rank, which we will call "low" chiefs, is distinguished from the first rank in honorific language as *apehdoh kan* or "those who humbly proceed to the front of" *sohpeidi*. *Sohpeidi* in this context are *ketitoh kan* or "those who augustly appear before" people of lower ranks. However, to complicate matters further, this ruling class first rank (*sohpeidi*) is further divided into two subdivisions, the higher of which is again *sohpeidi*. Two paramount chiefs make up this higher subdivision—*Nahmwarki* the king and *Nahnken* the viceroy. In honorific language each is described as *re ketido* or "they who augustly appear before" all within the chiefdom. We will call the lower subdivision "high" chiefs. When "high" chiefs are compared to paramount chiefs the status difference between "high" and "low" chiefs is de-emphasized and both ranks are lumped together into one group of *kahngen mwar* or *ëlën mwar*. Finally, in some contexts, the king is further distinguished from the viceroy as *sohpeidi*.

#### "Blood" and "Clan" Membership

Thus the king, who is at the top of the class hierarchy, is served by two different

types of intermediaries: the viceroy and the high chiefs. While the titles of high chiefs constitute a rank which is next to that of the paramount chiefs in the class hierarchy, the viceroy is of the same rank as, but positioned lower than, the king. Ponapean society provides two different kin relations to appoint these two different intermediaries. The ideal viceroy should be the son of the king who is regarded as the king's closest "blood". On the other hand the high chiefs as the intermediaries for the king are recruited from those belonging to the same *sou* (matrilineal "clan"), or more accurately the same *kēinēk* (matrilineal lineage or "sub-clan"), as the king.

In the Ponapean cognition of kin relations, "blood" and "clan" are contrasted in a complementary way. While "clan" is the classification of people based on matrilineal descent, "blood" indicates the relationship through cognatic descent of limited generations. In some contexts the "blood" relationship is discerned between matrilineal categories or groups ("clan" and "sub-clan") on one hand and their relatives designated as their collective "children" in the Ponapean Crow-type system of kinship terminology on the other. More specifically, the notion of "blood" is emphasized when reckoning of kin relations is focused on a nodal man and his close cognatic offsprings. For instance, the "king's son" as "chief's blood", who is supposed to be the most eligible person to be appointed as the viceroy, is, precisely speaking, the (eldest) son of the incumbent king; on the king's death, his sons, although still remaining the "chief's blood", can no longer retain the position as the most eligible person to be viceroy.

The "blood" of a man shares his social attributes, and, more importantly, the social attributes of the father which existed when his child has born. Accordingly, the king's child born while his or her father was in power is distinguished with a special nomenclature, *ipwin pohn warawar* (lit. "to be born upon the king's license"), from those born before their father's accession to the throne. It is said that this special child, regardless of his or her official title, assumes higher authority (*wahu*) than that of his or her father, the king. While his or her father probably started his social life with a title of low rank and ascended the hierarchy to the throne, this special child shares the social attributes of his or her father, *i.e.*, the king's authority, from the time of his or her birth.

The child's authority is evidenced by the license granted him or her: the child is allowed to violate taboos which even his or her father must honor. When this special (male) child becomes viceroy, he will be regarded as the "perfect" viceroy with the highest authority available to a viceroy. The special child, no matter whether male or female and no matter whether without the office of viceroy, is expected to play the role of an arbitrator to resolve problems that arise between the king and his subjects, which would otherwise end up in failure even with the all-out efforts of the viceroy. The special child, therefore, is the final, having even higher authority than the king and viceroy, among the series of intermediaries who attend the office of the king according to the principle of intermediary.

While the father and other male ascendants to whom one's "blood" can be traced back gain their authority through the official system of titles, the "blood" acquires

authority not through titles but through his personal kin relationship with his male cognatic ascendant. In this respect "blood" has a non-public character. The titles of the king and the heads of large sections are succeeded to within particular "sub-clan", even today. This means that male co-members of a "sub-clan" with prestige titles are one another's potential competitors, for they are all candidates for such titles. Thus the membership of matrilineal lineage accompanies, due to its association with public institutions, tensions of interest, while the "blood" is free from these social considerations and characterized by pure amity of kinship.

### Class Structure (II)

Ponapean society distinguishes two kinds of kin relations and applies them distinctively to the two intermediaries associated with the king: "blood" (the king's own offspring) as the closer intermediary, and "sub-clan" member (the king's potential competitor) as the remoter intermediary. In addition to this arrangement a third principle is at work: that of dualism. The king and the viceroy belong to the same rank, although the latter, as an offshoot from the former, is positioned lower than the former. The relative gap between these two positions is substantially meaningless from the viewpoint of commoners. Therefore when the relationship between the commoners and the viceroy deteriorates and no amicable solution can be found, an intermediary is required to resolve the situation, as in the case of the king-commoner relationship. Then it is the turn of the king himself to serve as the intermediary. In other words both king and viceroy can act as an intermediary for the benefit of each other.

In correspondence with this reciprocity between the king and the viceroy, an ideal model which is adopted in the chiefdom of Kiti dictates that the king should be the "blood" of the viceroy, and that the ranks of high and low chiefs should include those who are recruited from the viceroy's "sub-clan". In other words the chiefs are made up of two different sets of titles: one belongs to the king's "sub-clan" and consists of the "blood" of the viceroy's line, while the other belongs to the viceroy's "sub-clan" and consists of "blood" of the king's line. This Kiti model implies a closed system of intermarriages between the king's and the viceroy's "sub-clans". As was noted earlier, precedence based on generation and seniority aligns "sub-clan" members in an order which is at the same time the order of succession to the position of the representative of the "sub-clan". The chiefly titles are aligned in the same vein; each title has a different distance from the king or the viceroy—the nearer to the king or the viceroy, the higher the prestige of the title. In this way, the king and the viceroy each has a line of chiefly titles. Thus the ruling class as a whole is organized as the two "ways of titles" (*ēl ěn mwar*) or "rows of titles" (*kahng en mwar*), one headed by the king and the other by the viceroy.

The second model after which chiefdoms other than Kiti are structured is not so thoroughly based upon reciprocity between the king's and the viceroy's side as in the Kiti model. Nevertheless, this model results in an almost identical two-line system of chiefly titles. This second model simply ascribes that chief titles of the king's and the

viceroys' lines should be recruited from the king's "sub-clan" and the "blood" of this king's "sub-clan" (more specifically, the "blood" of high chiefs in the king's line), respectively.

Although the king and the viceroy are able to exchange their roles in their relations with commoners, and are, at least in the Kiti model, the "blood" of each other's "sub-clan", these reciprocal relations between them are not contradictory to the prestige differential between them within the entire framework of the chieftainship society. Reflecting the superiority of the king, the chiefs belonging to the king's line are comprehensively referred to as "royal men" (*oloiso*), and those of the viceroy's line as "royal children" (*serihso*). Between "royal men" and "royal children", not all "royal men" are in a superior position to all "royal children". Within each line each title is assigned a number as the sign of its order of precedence, in accordance with its distance from the king or the viceroy. No matter to which line one belongs the holder of a title with higher numerical order of precedence is positioned above all the chiefs with titles of lower numerical order of precedence. Between two titles with the same numerical order of precedence that belonging to the "royal men" is positioned higher than that of "royal children". Thus the two sets of titles representing the two lines of the ruling class are arranged in a continuously differentiated order of precedence. In other words, among the high and low chiefs there are no titles with exactly equal prestige.

This complex system of ranks and prestige among the ruling class exerts a subtle effect on the appointment of the main guest at the feast. As already stated, the principle of appropriation identifies the highest-ranking participant at the site as the main guest. When members of both categories, "royal men" and "royal children", are participating in the feast, the highest-ranking person from each category is to be seated on the main platform, in the mode of "leaning against the wall" (*salidid*), i.e., in the mode proper to the main guest; on this occasion the highest-ranking among the participating "royal men" should be seated to the left, and the highest-ranking among the "royal children" to the right, when viewed from the front of the feast house. Then the superior of these two chiefs in terms of the precedence order becomes the main guest. However, if these two people are in the same order of precedence—for example, the king and the viceroy, or the No. 3 "royal man" and No. 3 "royal child"—both are regarded as the main guests. Even in this case, it must be noted that redistribution by the main guest(s) is carried out in the name of the one belonging to the "royal men".

### "The Group of Honor" and "Beings for Work"

We have learned so far that the organization of roles played in feasting on one hand and the class stratification of the chieftainship society on the other are both based on two principles, the principle of appropriation and that of intermediary. The structural homology between the two is also backed up by the fact that the persons at the top of the two social contexts are designated by the same term, *sohpeidi* ("to face downwards"). However, the feast and the chieftainship society are

matters belonging to totally different dimensions; the former is a process which moves on with time, whereas the latter is a structure that transcends the passage of time. Nevertheless the relationship between the two is not limited to a mere structural homology without functional linkage. Now, attention must be drawn to the categories of *pwhin en wahu* ("group of honor") and *mehn doadoahk* ("beings for work"), both of which serve as intermediaries to connect those two different dimensions of structure and process.

The two opposites in this classification, "honor" (*wahu*) and "work" (*doadoahk*), make sense with reference to the emic expressions of the general relationship between the appropriator and the appropriated. The appropriator "supervises" (*kaunda*) the appropriated, while the latter presents "work" or "contribution" (*doadoahk*) to the former. This "work" bears fruit in the form of the appropriator's "honor". Literal interpretation reveals the correspondence between the "group of honor" and the appropriator, and between the "beings for work" and the appropriated.

According to the Ponapeans' idiomatic account, the "group of honor" refers to the king (and viceroy) and section heads, while the "beings for work" refer to high and low chiefs (*i.e.*, chiefs categorized as "ways of titles"). This account does not lineally comply with the class structure of Ponapean society, since the high and low chiefs are associated with "work" whereas section heads who are lower in rank than high and low chiefs are associated with "honor". However, the account is in beautiful compliance with the principles of appropriation and of intermediary. It is the king and the viceroy that appropriate the "work" provided by the section head. However, from the viewpoint of commoners, who are called "little people", their "work" is appropriated directly by the section head, and what is appropriated by the section head is further appropriated by the king and/or the viceroy. The "little people" are prohibited from "talking to", *i.e.*, from direct communication with, the king and the viceroy. Therefore the section head is, for the "little people", the final appropriator in practical terms. Depending on context, a section is compared to a chiefdom, in which the section head is interpreted as the king. On the other hand the high and low chiefs become significant mainly to the paramount chiefs. By commoners they are regarded as being almost equal to the paramount chiefs. Since the king and viceroy are banned from communicating directly with commoners, whom the high and low chiefs represent to the king and the viceroy, it is these high and low chiefs who serve like commoners for the king and the viceroy.

The two opposing concepts, the "group of honor" and the "beings for work", are in fact the classification of ranks based on the perception of general traits of the political process within the chiefdom. The feast as a social process also manifests this classification. In a feast held within a section the section head presides over the feast as the main guest, while other members of his section share roles of director, leader, and workers. The feast which is held for entertaining the king and viceroy cannot be regarded as a private event. It should be worked out as an public event of the section, with the section head assuming the role of leader, whereas an adult male who is the "blood" of the main guest, and preferably holding a title of high or

low chief, acts as director. This pattern of role sharing virtually coincides with the class structure of the chieftdom. The class structure of society may be interpreted as the organization of roles in a hypothetical feast which is of extrapolated maximum scale and in which the whole population of the chieftdom participates.

### THE FEASTING PROGRAM<sup>5)</sup>

The feasting program has multiple patterns, which can be regarded as consisting of one standard pattern and its variants. Below I will describe mainly the standard pattern, and the variations will be analyzed later.

According to the cognition of the Ponapeans themselves, the standard pattern is composed of various procedures (Table 1). As already stated, the feast is one of the formalities for receiving the main guest by means of presenting a meal. The feast is distinguished from other formalities for receiving visitors by the combination of stone-oven cooking and *sakau*-drinking. The feasting program, particularly its

Table 1. The Feasting Program

Part I. Stone-oven Cooking and Redistribution of Food	Part II. <i>Sakau</i> Drinking
1. <i>Saunda</i> ("Lighting Stone-oven")	.....
2. <i>Kamehla pwihk</i> ("Butchering pigs")	2. <i>Loahn sakau</i> ("Piling <i>sakau</i> bushes")
3. <i>Isik mahn</i> ("Burning the animals")	3. <i>Kot sakau</i> ("Cutting <i>sakau</i> ")
4. <i>Oaruhmw</i> ("Flattening stone bed")	4. <i>Pwoakiwou</i> ("Raising of honor") for <i>sakau</i> bushes
5. <i>Koampwoaldi</i> ("Covering stone-oven")	5. <i>Pwoakipwoak</i> (redistribution) of <i>sakau</i> bushes
6. <i>Kiamw</i> ("Basket [weaving]")	.....
7. <i>Wakahda</i> ("Opening stone-oven")	14. <i>Pwoalin sakau</i> ("Ground <i>sakau</i> ")
8. <i>Irëir</i> ("Tribute")	15. <i>Arien sakau</i> ("The second <i>sakau</i> ")
9. <i>Doulah</i> ("To move over there")	16. <i>Esil en sakau</i> ("The third <i>sakau</i> ")
10. <i>Pwoaisak</i> ("Offering")	17. <i>Ëpëng en sakau</i> ("The forth <i>sakau</i> ")
11. <i>Pwoakiwou</i> ("Raising of honor") for the baked food	18. <i>Sapwe oan sakau</i> ("Closing <i>sakau</i> ")
12. <i>Ahmwadang</i> ("His [eating] ahead")	19. <i>Dipën kalau</i> ("Hibiscus bast")
13. <i>Pwoakipwoak</i> (redistribution) of the baked food	.....
14. <i>Pwoakiwou</i> ("Raising of honor") for the raw yams	21. <i>Weng lopwon</i> ("Squeezing the reserved root")
15. <i>Pwoakipwoak</i> (redistribution) of the raw yams	22. <i>Weng kap</i> ("Squeezing to the bottom")
	23. <i>Weng luh</i> ("Squeezing the remainder")
	.....
	25. <i>Aud sapahl</i> ("To fill again")
	.....

5) The feasting process is detailed in ethnographic literatures, such as Riesenberg [1968], Hughes [1970], Dahlquist [1972], and Petersen [1976]. As with the political system, I present here what I understand on the feasting as observed through my field work. I put special emphasis on symbolic implications of each procedure.



standard pattern, is roughly divided into two parts: the first half is made up of the procedures of stone-oven cooking and subsequent redistribution of foods baked in the stone-oven; and the latter half is devoted to *sakau* procedures.

### Stone-Oven Cooking

The first half of the feast proceeds in a chain of procedures, Nos. 1-15, Table 1. This first half can be further divided into two sections. The first section consists of procedures for stone-oven cooking (Nos. 1-7), and the latter section concerns food redistribution procedures (Nos. 7-15).

Stone-oven cooking is carried out in two steps. In the first step stones are heated by burning firewood. The Ponapean word *soumw* ("to burn an oven") or *umwsou* ("a burning oven") roughly connotes the first step. In the second step, foods are baked by the heat stored in the oven stones. The traditional custom (*tiahk*) prescribes that the work for stone-oven cooking should be begun with the arrival of the main guest. In other words, the host may wait until the guest arrives, and then start collecting firewood, yams, and other food materials to be used in the stone-oven cooking. In practice, however, if feasting is planned beforehand, most of the yams required are prepared by the day before the feasting; on the day of feasting, trees are felled to make firewood, additional yams and *sakau* roots dug up, and pigs captured before the arrival of the main guest. Generally speaking this preparatory work helps the host to carry out the feast procedures smoothly and efficiently.

There is a special provision in Ponapean custom that, when a paramount chief is invited to be the main guest, every procedure must be executed "hurriedly and promptly" (*karuwaruh*). Because of this custom advance preparation is essential. However, even if the process of feasting is started in this way before the main guest arrives, Procedure No. 1, "Lighting Stone-oven", in which the firewood is lit to heat the stones, must start on the arrival of the main guest. As the Ponapeans do not include yam harvesting and collection of firewood in the feasting procedure, these preparatory works are not included in the feast itself; the feast opens with "Lighting Stone-oven". Since green wood is used as fuel, it takes about two to three hours for the stones covering the entire surface of piled firewood to become red-hot. All the stone-oven cooking procedures are carried out under the supervision of the leader.

While the procedures of the stone-oven are going on, *sakau* is served to the main guest, if he is a paramount chief. This *sakau* aperitif served before the meal, which is called *ehmwardang* (lit. "his [drinking] ahead"), is one of the royal prerogatives which single out the two paramount chiefs (the king and the viceroy) from all others. This *sakau* aperitif is also extraordinary in that it is presented only for the personal entertainment of the paramount chiefs. Unless the main guest (paramount chief in this case) likes to redistribute it to others as an expression of his personal favor and patronage, this particular *sakau* is not customarily redistributed to others. When this prerogative *sakau* drinking is carried out before the meal, a man properly qualified to be the director of the feast stands on the main platform and issues instructions to *sakau*-makers. He, the director, also receives the cup filled with

*sakau* liquid from the ground-level worker and hands it over to the main guest, or more accurately, to the personal server (*ërir*) for the guest. When no *sakau* drinking is conducted before the meal, that is, when a person other than the paramount chiefs presides over the feast as the main guest, he is not far from the host group in terms of social distance. When the two parties are intimate, the role division between director and leader may remain obscure, and the leader, for the time being, may substantially assume the role of the director as well. The director should stand as an indispensable figure to supervise the feasting procedures at the latest in Procedure No. 7, "Flattening Stone-oven".

Meanwhile, the workers capture pigs and dig out yams and *sakau* roots after the oven is constructed. In case all the preparatory work has been completed in advance, or when it is quickly finished, the workers may relax until the next procedure begins. When the firewood is burnt enough, the workers butcher the captured pigs (Procedure No. 2), in response to the instruction given by the director if he has stood in his proper position. The butchered pigs are then laid on banana leaves and coconut fronds in front of the feast house, with their heads directed toward the feast house. The workers may omit this presentation of the butchered pigs and proceed to the next step. Procedure No. 3, "Burning the Animals", begins with burning the pig skin, placing the pigs one after another on, and rolling them over, the red-hot stones of the oven, so as to facilitate shaving of the hair. Then the workers proceed to cutting the pig from the chest to the abdominal cavity, ending up with removal of internal organs. This entire pre-treatment of pigs is called "Burning the Animals". The pigs which have gone through this pre-treatment are again laid on the mats in front of the feast house, with their heads facing toward the house.

The butchering of pigs and their presentation in front of the feast house before and after Procedure No. 3 are socially and economically meaningful. Before these procedures, the captured and still living pigs are kept in open spaces near the feast house. There is no rule specifying the location. At this stage, the pigs are still owned by the supplier and have not yet become involved in the feast. Through the acts of butchering and presenting before the feast house, however, the pigs are contributed to the main guest by the host. One could go so far as to say that the significance of the feast as a socio-economic transaction is condensed in this transfer of ownership, since all the subsequent procedures could be regarded as a process to actualize the details of this transfer. As such, in certain circumstances, the procedures of butchering and displaying the pigs can represent the entire process of the feast. When the host finds it an urgent necessity to communicate to his guest his intention to entertain him with a feast—for instance, when a man of high title makes an unexpected but apparently temporary visit to the host—the host will order his people to capture and butcher a pig and to exhibit the butchered pig in front of the feast house where the visitor is received. These acts of the host inform the visitor that he has already been presented a feast, virtually forcing the visitor to stay and accept the following performance of the feast. Then the host and his people begin preparatory works for the feast, collecting yams, firewood, *sakau*, and the like.

When the stones become red-hot, and as soon as pigs and all the other food materials are ready, the latter part of the stone-oven cooking is commenced. First, the firewood residues are removed to flatten the heated stones on a circular plane (Procedure No. 4, "Flattening Stone Bed"). When the king is seated as the main guest, a stock of young *Alocasia* (*ohd*, also called *wehd* and *sapwekin*) with two sets of stem and leaf is bound to the *Salada* post (*i.e.*, the post beside which the director stands). The stock of *Alocasia* used in this procedure is termed *pērē* ("shield"). One of folk theories on the "shield" interprets it as a symbolic protection for the king's food against probable sorcery. No matter what meanings it might have in the context of traditional religious beliefs, which are too fragmentally retained today to be fully reconstructed, it positively signifies that a feast dedicated to the king is taking place. The "shield" constitutes one of the king's prerogatives in the feasting procedures. It also signals the commencement of the procedure "Flattening Stone Bed".

After "Flattening Stone Bed", yams, breadfruit (as a supplement for or alternative to yams), and pre-treated pigs are put on the heated stone bed. Finally, banana leaves are placed on top to cover these foods and the entire stone bed (Procedure No. 5, "Covering Stone-Oven"). Then the workers climb coconut trees to cut the fronds and weave baskets (*kiamw*) used for the presentation and redistribution of foods. (Procedure No. 6, "Basket Weaving"). The woven baskets are placed upside down on the smoking stone-oven and exposed to the smoke and heat.<sup>6)</sup> Since a considerable labor force is required in Procedures No. 4 through No. 6, those participants who do not belong to the host group often join with the latter group.

It usually takes one to two hours for the foods in the stone-oven to be sufficiently cooked and edible (*leu*). When the main guest is a paramount chief the host group often proceeds to the next procedure without waiting for the complete baking of the foods, in order to push forward the feast "hurriedly". The foods "hurriedly" taken out of the oven are often in a raw (*amas*) condition.

Procedures No. 7 through No. 13 constitute the process of contributing the baked foods and subsequent redistribution. Responding to the instruction issued by the director, the leader and workers remove the cover of banana leaves (Procedure No. 7, "Opening Stone-Oven"), and carry all the baked pigs into the feast house and place them between the seat of the main guest accompanied by his personal server and the front edge of the main platform. Coconut-frond mats (*mēdēhdē*) are first laid down, and the pigs are placed on these mats, with their heads toward the rear wall in front of which the main guest is seated. One pig of relatively small size is reserved as the final one to be carried in. This particular pig is contained in a *kiamw* basket. In Woane Province, in the chiefdom of Kiti, both edges of the basket containing this last pig are tied at the center with a string made of hibiscus bast.<sup>7)</sup> It is the

6) The procedure of exposing the baskets to the smoke and heat has no symbolic implication of purification.

responsibility of the leader to make up the basket containing the last pig. By so doing the leader sees that the procedure of transferring pigs should be performed in conformity with the format prescribed by custom. The transportation of the pigs is finished with the last pig in the basket placed on top of the heaped pigs on the main platform.

The workers who carry pigs, just baked and steaming, into the feast house at a brisk pace create a noisy, vigorous atmosphere. The workers shout at each other to give signs. Particularly when several or even dozens of workers carry a heavy, giant pig, all those who are observing the event become very excited, filling the feast house with clamor and vivacity. If a part of the main platform should fall, yielding to the weight of the accumulated pigs, the clamor escalates and the feast house echoes with cheers.

The transportation of pigs into the feast house is followed by the transportation of yams. First, *kiamw* baskets containing yams are prepared, one for each main guest according to custom, but nowadays another for the wife of each main guest as well. One worker after another conveys this basket on his shoulder to the main platform and places it in front of the main guest. Further, if the main guests are also paramount chiefs, another *kiamw* basket is prepared for each of them and suspended from the beam at the entrance of the feast house, the king's basket to the right and the viceroy's to the left, when viewed from the front. The basket put before the main guest is called *irëir* ("tribute") and its contents are to be eaten on the spot by the guest, whereas that suspended at the entrance contains foods to be taken home by the main guest (called *doulah* ["to move over there"]). The custom of this "take-out food" belongs to the royal prerogatives of the paramount chiefs. All the remaining yams are contained in *kiamw* baskets and carried onto the main platform, as were the pigs. In Woane, the last basket is bound with a string of hibiscus bast, as it was for the pigs.

Although the transfer of foods which begins with Procedure No. 7 is ordered by the director, the work itself is carried out by the leader and workers, without participation of the director. The spatial transfer of foods implies social transfer. The pigs were contributed to the main guest in Procedure No. 2, "Butchering Pigs". However, the host still retained responsibility and control for cooking the pigs. The spatial transfer (transportation) of baked pigs implies that the food is now out of the jurisdiction of the host and is finally owned by the main guest, both in name and reality. The subsequent disposal of the pigs is at the discretion of the "distributor" (*soun pwoakipwoak*). The director of the feast appoints the distributor, who may be recruited from the entourage of the main guest, attendants, or even from the host group. The point is that the host and the leader no longer retain control on the disposal of the pigs.

In the chieftdom of Kiti, when the main guest is the king, the distributor cuts off

---

7) This custom is explained in terms of the semi-legendary history which singles out Woane Province as the only area in Ponape which has no history of surrender.

the right forelegs of all the pigs in silence, and puts the separated forelegs in a *kiamw* basket, which they hang from a beam above the right half of the main platform. Both this procedure (No. 10) and the separated forelegs are called *pwoaisak* (probably meaning "offering").

This is immediately followed by Procedure No. 11, "Raising of Honor" (*pwoakiwou*). This is an open declaration of the ownership of the pigs whose right forelegs have just been cut off and which are to be disposed of. The declaration shouted by the distributor usually consists of the titles of about four people, each combined with the noun denoting the food to be owned by the mentioned person. When both the king and the viceroy preside over the feast, and if they are accompanied by their wives, the "Raising of Honor" includes only the calling-out of these four titles and their food names. The food of these royal people is described by three special honorific nouns, which can be all translated as "the precious food", but each correspond to specific titles. The calling-out goes like this: "*Koanoat* the King, *Sak* the Viceroy, *Pwoaniou* the Queen, *Sak* the Vicereine." This calling-out refers to the appropriation of food by the main guests and their wives, and no implication of redistribution is included.

When the paramount chiefs and their wives number less than four the declaration may contain other persons. According to the principle of appropriation, the highest-ranking men among all those participants, other than the main guests and their wives, are included on this occasion in the "Raising of Honor". In this case, the name of food called with the titles of the supplementary persons is composed of the qualifier *kēpin*, and the noun denoting the food of the main guest, or, if two persons are seated as the main guests, the food of the higher-ranking of the two. Thus if the viceroy (or the Queen as acting agent of her husband) is the main guest, the food of the supplementary participant is called *kēpin sak* (or *kēpin pwoaniou*). The qualifier *kēpin* is made up of a noun *kapih* and a linker *en*. The term *kapih* which can be roughly translated into English as "donated remainder", originally means "bottom". It also denotes such an act in the *sakau* drinking that a person of high title, after drinking a little from his delivered cup, presents the cup directly to one of his entourage, before returning it for refilling. This act is not only a presentation of property (*i.e.*, *sakau*), but also an open expression of special favor and patronage the giver extends to the recipient. By reverently accepting the cup, the recipient shares the "honor and prestige" (*wahu*) of the giver personally, with the recipient's honor greatly appraised.

The names of food including this noun *kapih*, such as *kēpin koanoat*, *kēpin sak*, *kēpin pwoaniou* ("the *kapih* of *koanoat*, *sak*, and *pwoaniou*", respectively), imply that the food has gone through a transference of ownership—*i.e.*, the food has been presented by the person who is indicated by the noun to which the qualifier *kēpin* is combined—and that the transference is not only a redistribution of food but also that of honor. Social characteristics of the "Raising of Honor" procedure are revealed in reference to these lexical backgrounds. The "Raising of Honor"—"*Koanoat* the King, *Sak* the Viceroy, *Kēpin Koanoat* Nahlaimw, *Kēpin Koanoat* Souruko" for

instance—publicly declares that the food to be processed by the distributor has been appropriated by the main guest, the King in this case. The declaration also announces that the food, now the “precious food” of the main guest, will be redistributed in the name of the main guest as an expression of his personal patronage, and that the forthcoming redistribution will be a favorable donation by the main guest—the representative figures of the receivers being persons with the titles Nahlaimw and Souruko in this case. The food to be redistributed is thus called “the donated remainder of” (*kēpin*) “precious food” (*koanoat*, etc.).

The “Raising of Honor” goes on almost identically in case the main guest is not the paramount chief, the name of the main guest’s food being “precious food”, while that of the supplementary persons being “donated remainder”. Since “Raising of Honor” makes reference to only a limited number of participants, it singles out for praise the relatively higher-ranking persons from all others. The term *pwoakiwou* literally means “to raise or enhance honor”.

Following the “Raising of Honor”, the distributor chooses a proper pig, not necessarily the largest, but one which has been baked in optimal condition. Then, the distributor cuts a slender piece of meat from the pig’s abdomen, along the previously cut opening which runs from its chest to the abdominal cavity. The piece of pork is named *kapehde* (“abdomen”). This fatty section is regarded as the most tasty. The “abdomen” piece is put on a plate of twelve breadfruit leaves. (Twelve is the only number permitted for the leaf plate for the king’s and the viceroy’s food). Only the leaves of *mēnuwe*, a category of those varieties of breadfruit which are famed as most delicious, are used for the plate of “abdomen” meat. The distributor places the plate containing the “abdomen” meat on the *kiamw* basket of yams, the “tribute” mentioned above, in front of the main guest. The king and the viceroy alone should be served this “abdomen” meat. When both are seated as the main guests, the distributor makes two sets of “abdomen” meat, one for each guest. The king and the viceroy can eat their “abdomen” meat before the redistribution of pork and yams; participants other than the paramount chiefs must wait to eat until their “donated remainder” food is delivered to them. Thus, to eat in advance is a visible expression of a limited privilege. The service of the “abdomen” meat again constitutes a royal prerogative of the paramount chiefs. The “abdomen” meat served for the paramount chiefs, as well as its service itself, is called by the term *ēhmwadang*, the same as for the *sakau* aperitif, which is also a royal prerogative. The term is also used to denote Procedure No. 12. The “abdomen” meat will be referred to as “hors d’oeuvre” hereafter.

All the work up to this stage is done primarily by the distributor himself. Upon completion of “Raising of Honor” and hors d’oeuvres a considerable number of people, including volunteers, irrespective of whether or not they belong to the host group, attendants, or the main guest’s entourage, join in the work of carving the baked pork, under the supervision of the distributor. When the main guest is not a paramount chief the transportation of pigs and yams into the feast house is immediately followed by this carving procedure. Since carving prepares for the next re-

distribution procedure, the distributor who supervises it is required to make a deliberate plan, taking account of the nature of the following redistribution.

The distributor directly controls only a limited part, even if a central part, of the entire redistribution process of pork and yams. The recipients of the primary redistribution carried out by the distributor are, pursuant to the aforementioned principle of appropriation, the representatives of groupings found among the feast participants. These recipients then redistribute the food, which they received as a result of the primary redistribution, to other co-members of their groups. Let us call this latter process "secondary redistribution". No matter whether the primary redistribution by the distributor extends to the majority of the participants in the feast or is limited to a small number from among the participants, the overall results of the redistribution processes, including this secondary redistribution, will be almost identical.

The only difference between these two cases is found in the influence exerted by limiting or increasing the number of the recipients of the primary redistribution. As a general tendency, the recipients of the primary redistribution are expanded in a feast held in a familial circle, whereas they are confined selectively when the main guest is a high-ranking chief in the chiefdom. The more severely the recipients of the primary redistribution are selected, the more apparently they are distinguished as privileged participants.

Distribution and redistribution are generally termed *nehne*. The *nehne* of pork and yams in a feasting situation is carried out in the mode called *pwoakipwoak*, which also means redistribution made in this mode. The term *pwoakipwoaki* is made by repeating the transitive verb *pwoak* ("to raise"), which is contained in the term *pwoakiwou*. Grammatically, a reduplicated form of a verb indicates a progressive form. Then the term *pwoakipwoak* can be lexically interpreted as a reduplicated form of *pwoakiwou* in this specific context. In the *pwoakipwoak* mode of redistribution, the distributor calls out loudly the title of the recipient and summons him or a person acting on his behalf to the front edge of the main platform, to facilitate direct hand-over of the article.

This *pwoakipwoak* redistribution must begin with the highest-ranking person among all the participants, and be continued in the descending order of precedence among the selected recipients. Thus, the *pwoakipwoak* mode of redistribution actualizes and visualizes, through verbal and physical action, the privileged honor of the recipients, all of which are witnessed by the whole body of people present. For each individual to be selected as a recipient in this redistribution and to be called ahead of many others, represents a great social honor which has more worth than the mere acquisition of food. Conversely, if a person is excluded from the recipients despite his high rank and title, it will be interpreted as an expression of open insult and hostility by the main guest and/or the host. This mode of redistribution is, just as the term *pwoakipwoak* ("to raise") suggests, is a process to praise the recipient, to enhance his "honor".

The wills of the main guest and the host may be reflected in the *pwoakipwoak*

redistribution. Although the food which has gone through "Butchering" and "Raising of Honor" is owned by the main guest theoretically, the main guest will entrust the work of carving pork in preparation for the subsequent redistribution to the will of the host, if the feast is held by the host's personal favor, or out of the host's desire to pay respect. Conversely, if the feast is held as a fulfilment of an obligation (*pwukoah*) to the main guest, the pork-carving and redistribution will be conducted finally at the discretion of the main guest, although there is a little room for the host to interfere with the procedures. The distributor who supervises the carving work is required to determine the proper recipients and to draw up a plan of distribution in accordance with their ranks and titles. In this process, the distributor confirms the will of the main guest and/or the host, as the case may be, through direct consultation. The intention of the main guest and/or the host is important, particularly when the person who provided the initial motivation to hold the feast is not seated as the main guest. A decision must be made concerning how to treat this specific person in the redistribution.

If the host is the highest in rank present he has precedence over the person for whom he wishes to perform the feast. Ponapeans themselves find this situation odd. The formality of the feast includes no procedures through which a higher host can express his respect for a lower person in a ceremonious way. So the host usually tries to make up for the lapse in respect through a gift presentation. This may be done at his option. As the "main" guest the host receives his "precious food"—from which those "remainders" to be redistributed to other guests have been taken away—before anyone else, and this portion is made over to the person whom he wishes to honor. The latter usually receives this gift without reluctance. When it comes to the latter person's turn to have his title "raised" and receive his portion, he presents this portion back to the host.

This exchange of food between the "main" guest-host and the person is called *pakasahng*, a term which originally means that two canoes are brought alongside each other with their outriggers outside. This conduct implies: the outrigger side of a canoe has so high a prestige that it is generally taboo to board a canoe by stepping over the outrigger; to bring one's canoe alongside the other's without placing the outrigger toward the other is a sign that one is offering the other to have interactions of rather personal kind with the other—to hand over goods to the other, to invite the other to board one's canoe, or the like. Thus the term *pakasahng* connotes a mutual offering of personal hospitality which the above mentioned exchange of food presentation between the "main" guest-host and the honored person actually is.

Redistribution of pork and yams baked in the stone-oven (Procedure No. 13) is the most bustling and cheerful part of the entire event of feasting. The vivacity inside the feast house involves not only those situated on the main platform and the central ground-level area but also the attendants seated on the side platform(s). Beginning with the main guest, the distributor calls out the title of the recipient and then points out the food to be distributed. If the food is small enough he will hold it up in his hand. Generally, in the *pwoakipwoak* redistribution, except for that of



*sakau* drinking, not the called person himself but one of his entourage proceeds to the front edge of the main platform to receive the food. If this entourage is late in coming, the people on and around the main platform as well as the director call the recipient's title repeatedly. Many people often call out simultaneously. The distributor, on the other hand, goes on calling one title after another, without confirming that the food has been taken by the proper recipient. When a recipient arrives late and is unable to find which food he is to take, people from the surrounding crowd indicates the proper food, shouting loudly. Thus, on the main platform and in the central ground-level area, several titles are called repeatedly and almost simultaneously, together with the shouts indicating foods.

People move rapidly to take the foods distributed. At the same time, groups of people get together, surrounding the distributed food, to parcel out the food as a secondary redistribution. The feast house is filled with a cheerful atmosphere, in which people enjoy their meal after the redistribution. Following the redistribution of foods and communal meal, many people, particularly women and children, begin to go home.

#### **Redistribution of Uncooked Yams and *Sakau***

The joyful atmosphere surrounding the redistribution of baked foods can be maximized if the main guest is generous enough. In the yam season (*isol*) the host presents raw yams as well as the baked pork and yams as his contribution to the main guest. In the height of the yam season raw yams are presented in the mode of *kēhih*. This is a decorative and expressive mode of presenting raw yams in which a huge heap of yams is dug up from one spot without being broken-up into separate tubers, and a pole for transportation is attached on it. The contributed raw yams are called *kēnēngēn uhmw* ("contents of stone-oven") in the same way as the baked and redistributed yams.

Although in theory custom leaves the redistribution of baked pork and yams at the free will of the main guest, it is expected so much by participants that the main guest usually feels almost obliged to give the redistribution. On the other hand, redistribution of raw yams depends much more on the generosity of the main guest. A redistribution of the food which is not ascribed by custom to be redistributed demonstrates all the more effectively the personal generosity and favor delivered to the recipient. When uncooked yams are to be redistributed a man appointed by the main guest—the host, the distributor who took charge of the redistribution of the baked pork and yams, or another person—stands in the central ground-level area and/or in front of the feast house, beneath or beside the yams to be redistributed. "Raising of Honor" begins, as in the case of redistribution of baked pork and yams, which is followed by the redistribution in the mode of *pwoakipwoak*. Compared with the redistribution of baked pork and yams the range of recipients entitled to the redistribution of raw yams is narrow, which emphasizes all the more the privileges of the selected recipients.

After the redistribution of raw yams, or when this procedure is skipped, after

the redistribution of baked pork and yams, the host group immediately proceeds to the second half of the feast program, "*Sakau* drinking". Like the pigs before butchering, *sakau* bushes—complete with all elements (roots, branches, and leaves) as they are collected, some huge ones tied to a carrying pole—are stored in open spaces near the feast house. The bushes are then carried into the feast house with roots foremost. Carriers of the bushes produce a joyful atmosphere with shouting cheers (*seh*). The bushes are piled in the deep central ground-level area, just in front of the *Salada* post, which is at the center of the front edge of the main platform (Procedure No. 2). This spatial transfer again implies social transfer. The more and the larger the tribute is, the higher its appreciation. In order to emphasize the quality and size of the tribute the leader sees that his workers carry in small *sakau* bushes first, and then gradually increases the size of the bushes.

The most important measure indicating the quantity is the height of the accumulated bushes. The workers try to pile the bushes as high as possible, with several of them supporting the accumulated bushes from the side. As the pile of *sakau* trees gets higher, the workers must endeavor to hoist a larger, heavier *sakau* bush to the top of the pile. The number and the robustness of hoisting workers, coupled with the vivacious actions of the supporters, creates a lively, dynamic atmosphere. The attendants also shout encouragement and instructions, adding to the noisiness inside the feast house.

There is a custom commemorating a contribution of a large quantity of *sakau* bushes for feasting. When the *sakau* bushes piled in this way exceed the height of men standing on the main platform and reach up to the beam, one *sakau* bush is inserted into the feast house through the front gable. The bush is then shifted on the beams running through from the rear to the front of the feast house, until it is held stationary on the beams above the center of the main platform. This particular *sakau* bush is not consumed for drinking, but is left as it is until all the leaves fall off, as a memento of honor commemorating the grand feast in which the piled *sakau* bushes reached the height of the beam.

Upon completion of the transportation of *sakau* bushes into the feast house, the leader of the workers moves up to the roots of the piled *sakau* bushes in front of the main platform, and disposes of the *sakau* bush placed on top of the pile (Procedure No. 3). If this bush is tied to a carrying pole with strings made of hibiscus bast, these strings are undone first. Usually, the carrying pole is bound to the *sakau* bush at three points. Now the *sakau* bush on top of the pile is distinguished from all other bushes in that at first the central knot of string combining the bush and pole should be untied by hand. The other two knots of this bush and all knots of other bushes are cut off with a machete. After this carrying pole is separated from the *sakau* bush, the leader cuts off all the branches from the bush, using the machete. The leader is required to conduct the process of cutting this particular *sakau* bush wholly in silence.

Upon completion of this procedure, the leader performs "Raising of Honor" (Procedure No. 4) in a loud voice. The details of this procedure are no different

from those performed with the baked pork and yams and with the raw yams. Then, the leader carries out redistribution of *sakau* bushes in the *pwoakipwoak* formality, beginning with the main guest. *Sakau* bushes are redistributed to a much smaller number of people than were the baked pork and yams. After the redistribution, the leader cuts off branches from all the remaining *sakau* bushes, again using the machete. This concludes the contribution and redistribution of *sakau* bushes, and the workers set about the preparatory processes for squeezing the roots and making *sakau* drinks.

The cutting off all the branches from a *sakau* bush—which is called *dapw* (“cutting off” branches) in the context of daily *sakau* drinking, and *kot sakau* (“cutting *sakau*”) in the context of feast—has an implication similar to that of butchering of pigs. As the butchering of pigs turns living pigs into food, cutting off branches converts the *sakau* bushes, whose application is so far unspecified, into the *sakau* roots to be processed for drink. This conversion of usage is carried out before the main guest. It shows him that the *sakau* bushes are not leftovers already used for drinking, but that they are ones procured afresh for the feast. The act also signifies that the *sakau*, through the act of branch cutting off performed just before the main guest, is contributed to him.

One point requires further analysis: the transfer of ownership by this cutting off the branches and the declaration of the transfer of ownership through “Raising of Honor” do not go hand in hand with each other. What matters here is how to interpret the procedure of cutting off the branches made prior to the “Raising of Honor”. This cutting off the branches can be compared to the procedure of carving the right forelegs (*pwoaisak*) of all baked pigs. The *sakau*, whose branches have been cut off before the “Raising of Honor”, has no special term. In the case of pigs, the *pwoaisak* (right forelegs) are treated separately from the rest of the pork. In the case of *sakau*, only the procedure of cutting off branches is carried out separately; only one bush’s branches are cut off before, and all others after, the “Raising of Honor”. Nevertheless, these distinctive treatments do not effect different ways of consumption. The *sakau* root from which branches are separated before the “Raising of Honor” is mixed with other *sakau* roots after the redistribution (*pwoakipwoak*). They are all processed alike into drinks. The above-mentioned difference in nomenclature between pigs and *sakau* seems to correspond to the difference in the subsequent procedures.

There is still another difference: *pwoaisak* is appropriated by the king as his “precious food” (*koanoat*), whereas the *sakau* from which branches are separated before the “Raising of Honor” is processed for public drinking at the feast. Whereas the *pwoaisak* procedure on pigs is performed only when the king is present at the feast as the main guest, branches must be cut from the *sakau* bush on top of the heaped bushes before the “Raising of Honor”, irrespective of the social status of the main guest. Thus, *pwoaisak* is more closely associated with the king.

Both *pwoaisak* and the *sakau* which are processed prior to the “Raising of Honor” are eventually consumed by earthly human beings. Some Ponapean informants

explain both as offerings for the high god, *Ēnihlap*. Since the traditional Ponapean religion is hard to be reconstructed due to acculturation, it is no longer possible to fully investigate symbolic implications of this account. However, in view of what knowledge we possess of the traditional religion it seems plausible to suggest that the feast was served to dual main guests, one human and the other divine. The human main guest was regarded as the earthly representative of the divine main guest—the god *Ēnihlap* who gave his name to some of the central posts in the feast house of the perfect plan. The baked foods, raw yams, and *sakau* at the feast were contributed to this deity as well as to his human agent; the transfer of properties among human participants was performed through the medium of human language, whereas the contribution to the deity which preceded the distribution among the humans was made silently. This hypothetical interpretation on the participation of a divine being does not jeopardize the former interpretation on the flow of property in the feast as being governed by the principle of appropriation.

### “Drink of Stone-Oven”

The *sakau* roots from which branches are cut off are pounded on the pounding stone (*pēitehl*), after the soil is removed (*mwoat sakau*). Then the roots are placed in the strainer made of hibiscus bast (*dip ěn kēlēu*, lit. “bundle of hibiscus”) to squeeze out the liquid. After this procedure the social entertainment of *sakau* drinking continues, often until midnight. Even after the main guest leaves the feast site, *sakau* drinking may be continued; there is no definite end to this *sakau* drinking and to the feast.

The detailed description and analysis of the way of processing *sakau* roots and drinking the liquid should be made in a separate paper. The following paragraphs will be devoted to the several features which are closely associated with the points already emphasized in the description of feasting.

Like the foods which are transacted in the procedures before *sakau* drinking, the *sakau* liquid is also consumed jointly by participants in the feast. The mode of this consumption is again a redistribution based on the principle of appropriation. In other words, the *sakau* liquid is first wholly appropriated by the main guest as his “precious food”, and then the other participants drink the “donated remainder of the precious food”. (The nouns, *koanoat*, *sak*, and *pwoaniou*, which mean the food of the appropriator, and which are interpreted as “precious food” herein, connote the appropriator’s drinks as well.) In all the cases described so far the redistributions are given verbal expressions—“precious food” vs. “donated remainders of the precious food”. Moreover, the foods are actually transferred in accordance with the expressed relationship of redistribution. In the *sakau* drinking, however, only cups containing *sakau* liquid are transferred, while the raw material (i.e., *sakau* roots) remains on the pounding stones installed in the central ground-level area. Excepting the case of *kapih*, which has already been described, the cups move to and fro between the drinkers and the squeezers. Further, liquid is squeezed repeatedly out of the same pounded roots. So far as the name is concerned, the liquid drunk by the main guest

remains "precious food"—*koanoat* or *sak* depending on rank and title of the main guest—and the liquid drunk by others is still termed "donated remainder of the precious food". Nevertheless, the actual *sakau* squeezing method indicates that the distinction is rather nominal, and that the mode of consumption is close to equal, joint drinking by all the participants.

Yet, the formal and ritualistic rules which subtly regulate the methods of squeezing and drinking *sakau* reveal another interesting feature of the redistribution. The first to fifth squeezes of *sakau* roots (Procedures Nos. 14–18)—the first four squeezes in chiefdoms other than Kiti and Net—are distinguished from all the subsequent squeezes with special ceremonial formats and a distinctive name. These five (or four) squeezes are called *nohpwoai*, which signifies, in the context of politico-economic relations between the paramount chiefs and the commoners, "first fruit" tribute for yams and other crops. ("First squeezes" is a pertinent gloss for the term *nohpwoai* in the context of *sakau* drinking.) These first squeezes, although done consecutively, are all made "afresh", if not substantially but at least symbolically. Enough roots should be pounded on one pounding stone for several squeezes. A fresh part of the roots is always used to make the "first squeezes", and the old roots once used for the preceding squeezes are kept separate from the fresh ones. It is true that the cup into which the *sakau* liquid is poured out of a "first squeeze" contains *sakau* liquid which is not always totally fresh, since the liquid of preceding "first squeezes" still remains in it—the recipient of the cup rarely empties it—and is mixed with fresh liquid from the subsequent "first squeeze". Although it may not be entirely fresh, the liquid in cups into which the "first squeezes" is poured is interpreted as fresh. This symbolic renewal by adding fresh liquid made of fresh roots is also observed in the subsequent procedures.

Each of the "first squeezes" is named. According to the Kiti format for the "first squeezes" ceremony, the cups of the first, named "ground" *sakau* (*pwoal* in *sakau*, or simply *pwelo*), squeezed at each pounding stone, are presented to the king and/or the chiefs belonging to the king's line (or the section head and the members of his "sub-clan" in the feast celebrated in a section); the cups of the "second" squeeze (*ari en sakau*, or simply *arie*, meaning "second") to the viceroy and/or the chiefs in his line (or "blood" of the head's "sub-clan" in the context of section); the cups of the "third" squeeze (*esil en sakau*, or simply *esil*, meaning "third") to higher-ranking men among those who have not shared cups of the preceding squeezes; the cups of the "fourth" squeeze (*ëpëng en sakau*, or simply *ëpëng*, meaning "fourth") to a high-ranking women such as the wife(s) of the main guest(s); the cups of the last "closing" squeeze (*sapwe oan sakau*, or simply *sapweo*, a term generally connoting the final item which completes making up one category) are presented to the highest-ranking men, irrespective of whether they belong to the side of the king (or the section head) or the viceroy (or the section head's "blood").

At each of these ceremonious "first squeezes" the director summons loudly for all cups, usually two for each pounding stone, to gather before him. Then he distributes the cups to as many highest-ranking persons among those properly qualified at

each squeezing. When the recipients are seated on the main platform, the director delivers the cups of the "first squeezes" to them in silence; he hands the cups to the personal server, if the recipient is accompanied by one, and directly to others. For those recipients located in the central ground-level area and on the side platforms, the director, standing by the *Salada* post in the middle of the front edge of the main platform, summons them loudly in the mode of *pwoakipwoak*.<sup>8)</sup> In principle the cup of the "first squeezes" should be received by the summoned recipient himself, who, crossing the ground-level area, proceeds to the director. Although the distribution of "first squeezes" classifies the recipients into categories and arranges these categories into a successive order, it is readily understood that the social transfer of *sakau* liquid is strictly regulated by the principle of appropriation.

After the presentation of "first squeezings" all the cups are gathered at the director for ceremonious redistribution only when he issues an order. Then the director distributes the cups to high-ranking people. The formality employed on this occasion is the same as that of the "first squeezes". He delivers cups to those seated on the main platform in silence, and hands them over to those located in the central ground-level area and on the side platforms, in accordance with the mode of *pwoakipwoak*. The intervals between the director's orders provide unofficial time for the workers. During the intervals the workers are allowed to drink *sakau* freely from the same cups as used for the main guest and other high-ranking people. This unofficial *sakau* is named *dip ěn kĕkĕu*, which originally meant the hibiscus bast used by the workers as *sakau* liquid strainer. Those lower-ranking attendants who were seated near the pounding stones in the ground-level area, and who are not chosen as *pwoakipwoak* recipients, are allowed to participate in this unofficial *sakau* drinking.

When the main guest is not a paramount chief, the *sakau* roots on each pounding stone are fully utilized in rotation, to produce *sakau* liquid after the "first squeezes" ceremony. Virtually all participants, no matter whether they be the appropriator-redistributor, recipients of redistribution, or workers, drink jointly from the same cups. Nevertheless, the nominal distinction is still retained: the cups presented to the main guest are called "precious food", and those to others are termed "donated remainder of the precious food". The prerogatives of the main guest in this context can be found solely in the name of the cup handed to him, and in the "first squeezes" ceremony.

On the other hand, another formality is employed when a paramount chief is seated as the main guest. Upon completion of the "first squeezes" ceremony, a small portion of unused *sakau* roots is separated from the rest on each pounding stone. This reserve of roots, called *lopwon*, is fresh, by definition. The squeezes which the director orders for contribution to the king or the viceroy after the "first squeezings" ceremony are given specific names. The first among them is termed "squeezing the reserved roots" (*weng lopwon*); the second "squeezing to the bottom" (*weng kap*),

8) The procedures of squeezing and distributing *sakau* liquid are controlled directly by the director. The leader does not intervene in these processes.

and the third "squeezing the remainder" (*weng luh*). Custom (*tiahk*) prescribes that the "squeezing the remainder" should terminate squeezing the roots in use, and that all the *sakau* roots must be renewed for another pounding. This renewal of roots is called *aud sapahl* (lit. "to fill again"). In reality, however, the order of "squeezing the remainder" is repeated in most cases. When both the king and the viceroy are attending the feast the three categories of ceremonious squeezes are accompanied by sub-squeezings, called *pēliē* ("accompanying peer"). For example, the sub-squeezing accompanying the "squeezing the reserved roots" (*weng lopwon*) is called *pēliēn lopwon*. The main squeezings are presented to the king and chiefs in his line, while the "accompanying" squeezings are presented to the viceroy and chiefs in his line.

In every squeezing for the paramount chiefs a token piece of the "reserved" roots is added into the strainer which contains used roots. Through this procedure, the cups for the king and the viceroy are regarded as filled with "fresh" *sakau* liquid. In other words, the token converts all the old roots in the strainer into fresh ones. Apparently, this customary procedure is significant symbolically. In terms of quantity, the used roots surpass the "reserved" fresh roots unproportionately. The renewal of the used roots by adding a piece from the "reserved" roots is no more than an ideational construction. Further, nowadays the "reserved" roots are rarely put aside for the king and the viceroy; the orders given by the director simply allude linguistically to this renewal.

Thus the *sakau* liquid drunk by the king and viceroy is only symbolically "fresh". This fact conversely attests that it is imperative to present "fresh" drinks to the paramount chiefs, even if the freshness is less substantial than symbolic. In general if the paramount chief should eat or drink something which is not "freshly" prepared, he would be sharing the food or drink with others, that is, his subjects. This type of sharing is eschewed, not only because the food and drink is served to the paramount chief at the same time as or later than his subjects, but because temporal precedence implies social precedence. To be served food and drink after others is equal to being served the "remainder" of "the precious food" which has once been contributed to and owned by someone else.

Reference should be made here to the general patterning of transactions in Ponapean society. Two contrastive categories of prestation are distinguished: *kisēkis* which is usually translated as "gift giving", and *irair*, meaning "tribute". *Kisēkis* denotes prestation of goods and services among peer commoners, and that given by a superior to an inferior in terms of rank and titles. Among high-titled people, *kisēkis* prestation of goods is avoided unless the giver is apparently higher-ranking than the taker. On the other hand, the *irair* tribute should always be given from an inferior to a superior. The difference in social implication between the two categories of transaction depends, in the emic definition, on the nature of transacted good. *Kisēkis* is explained as giving something which is *kisēh* (a part, one of the belongings) of the giver. Precisely speaking, *kisēkis* is not simply "a gift giving", but giving goods (or services) which have originally been prepared (or started) for the giver's personal use (or help). *Kisēkis* is therefore an act of incorporating the taker

in a private zone in which the giver exerts his control over everything effectively. To present goods which have already been used or partially consumed implies that the giver puts the taker under his influence.

On the other hand, in order to make an *irair* tribute, one should newly prepare the tributed goods for the sake of the tribute itself. The taker of the tribute, if generous enough, may redistribute the tributed goods and return a portion of them to the original giver. The *irair* tribute connotes that the giver places himself in the position of a possible recipient of *kisēkis* from the taker. In this context of prestation, a transfer of goods is an expressive as well as an economic activity. Prestation of goods prepared for personal use informs of intimacy among peer commoners, or the superior status of the giver over the taker. In contrast, by presenting something newly prepared for the taker, one expresses, not verbally but by behavior, the superiority of the taker. It is, by definition, an act of respect. For Ponapeans an *irair* prestation is one of the basic ways of "paying respect" (*waunekī*).

The symbolic emphasis on the freshness of the *sakau* drinks squeezed for the paramount chiefs is correlated with the necessity to make the prestation of the *sakau* drinks an *irair* tribute, and thus to constitute the prestation as an act of "paying respect". An almost identical emphasis on freshness was also observed in the prestation to the main guest of baked pork, baked and raw yams, and *sakau* bushes, where the symbolic aspect of redistribution was somehow hidden behind the visible transfer of tangible goods. The feast is an event of large-scale redistribution of choice foods which Ponapeans believe represent high honor (*wahu*), such as pigs, yams, and *sakau*. The procedures making up this redistributive event are in final effect organized as the acts of *waunekī* ("paying respect"), the category of human behavior directly derived from the value of *wahu* (honor). The emic theme of "paying respect" permeates the feast: the feast is a formality of "paying respect", the largest in scale, the most ceremonious in behavioral patterning, and the most solemn in the value-orientation of the Ponapeans.

## CONCLUSION

### Summary

The findings obtained through the description and analysis of various features of the Ponapean feast may be summarized as follows.

First, from an inside point of view, it was observed that the feast has its own relational pattern: the feast reorganizes social relations among the participants and classifies them dichotomously into the highest-ranking person (namely the main guest) versus all the others, irrespective of the purpose of their participation. Based on this restructuring, the diachronic dimension of the feast, especially the flow of foods and drinks offered at it, is organized. The foods and drinks are eventually distributed with quantitative differences commensurate with the participant's ranks



and titles. In the process of feasting, however, these foods and drinks are appropriated wholly by the highest-ranking person and then redistributed to the others. Through this redistribution, those participants other than the main guest are assigned a status which is eligible for receiving "donated remainders" from the "precious food" presented to the main guest. In the *pwoakipwoak* formality of redistribution the selected receivers of the "donated remainders" are, through sharing the honor of the main guest, further privileged and distinguished from others who are out of the primary redistribution. Thus, redistribution in the feast is not only a redistribution of property but also a redistribution of honor. The regulative principle of this redistribution; i.e., the principle of appropriation, is as much concerned with the transfer of ownership of the property as with concentration and redistribution of honor.

The relational pattern running through the feast, namely the diadic relationship between the main guest and all the others, is defined in its own terms without contiguity with the structure of the chieftainship society. An analysis from an outside point of view, on the other hand, revealed a homology between the synchronic aspect of the feasting process and the structure of the whole society. The two principles, one of appropriation and the other of intermediary, on which the chieftainship society is structured, also function in the ramification of positions and roles among participants of feast other than the main guest. In the diachronic dimension, too, feasting was found to be contiguous to the chieftainship society. First, the feast procedure functions as an indicator of the social rank of the main guest. The "shield" (*përë*) prepared at the "flattening of the stone bed", the "hors d'oeuvre" of baked pork and yams, the *sakau* aperitif, right forelegs of pigs (*pwoaisak*), the foods to be taken home (*doulah*) are all prerogative elements of feasts which are exclusively allowed to the paramount chiefs, and to the king in particular. These elements not only privilege the uppermost status of the paramount chiefs (or the king), but also indicate that the program of the feast is perfectly organized when the paramount chiefs (the king in particular) preside as the main guests, and that other feasts are conducted in more or less abbreviated programs. In short, the feast was originally a formality for the people to pay respect to the paramount chiefs.

Secondly, an analysis of the roles played by attendants reveals another contiguity between the feasting process and the chieftainship society. They participate in the feast not merely to enjoy the vivacity of feasting and to receive redistribution of the property, but, as is evident from the location of their seats, take the primary role of witnessing the interaction between the main guest and the host. The attendants observe the size of the property contributed by the host to the main guest; the degree of "respect" paid by the host to the main guest as measured by the size of the contributed properties; the efficiency and skills of the host and his workers in the performance of feasting, and so on. They evaluate and criticize these variables, starting rumors about the feast through informal information networks in the society. The relationship between the host and the attendants is reciprocal in that they can and often do exchange their positions. Commoners, who are usually related reciprocally

to one another in those social domains outside political intervention by the chief class, are organized through feasting into another reciprocal relationship between the host who feasts the paramount chiefs and the appraiser of the feasting. In other words, feasting as a social process transforms the reciprocity among commoners into the redistribution centering on the paramount chiefs. Competitive, oppositive relations among commoners are thus converted into a competition of paying respect to the paramount chiefs through the medium of feasting.

Thus we observe a tripolar relationship in the feasting process, *i.e.*, the relationship among the main guest, the host, and the attendants who are situated at a certain distance from the former two. Political events occurring around the ruling chiefs also proceed always through a tripolar relationship, which is made up of two parties directly involved in the event—a paramount chief and a commoner having trouble with each other for instance—and other members of chieftom as a third party, who observe the event critically. The feast is not only homologous with political events occurring in the chieftainship society in its processive tripolar structure, but also in itself as a political event—often an event of the largest scale.

In summary, through analysis of both the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of the feast, it has been revealed that the feast is structurally homologous with the chieftainship society, as well as processive-functionally contiguous with socio-political processes in the chieftainship society. This close correlation between the feast and the chieftainship society will be further ascertained by an analysis of occasions when feasts are held.

### Variations of Feasts

Various types of feasting exist in Ponapean society. Ponapean feasting is ramified into types, depending on (1) mode of redistributing foods; (2) limitation of foods that can be served at the feast; and (3) the occasion of feasting. The types classified by factors (1) and (2) above can be regarded as the standard type and its variants. The standard type is called simply "feast" (*kamadipw*) without distinguishing marker.

#### (1) MODES OF REDISTRIBUTION

In the standard feast, cooked foods are redistributed in the mode of *pwoakipwoak*. There is another mode in which cooked foods are served on flat containers of various sizes, called *dahl* ("dish" or "container"), to be placed on the main platform, and also on the side platform(s), if the main platform is found not wide enough. The arrangement of these dishes is called "table" (*tehpel*). The director calls out the titles of the recipients in the order of descending ranks, as in the case of *pwoakipwoak*. Those whose titles are called step onto the platform(s) and sit before their designated dishes. Upon completion of this calling-out, those sitting at the "table" eat the meal together. The feast with this mode of redistribution is described as *wiahda tehpel* ("to make table"). For convenience of description, here I term it the "table" type.

## (2) LIMITATION OF FOODS.

In the standard-type feast, only pigs (and dogs, as a supplement) and yams (and/or breadfruit, as an supplement or alternative), which are cooked in the stone-oven, may be served as the main dish and the side dish, respectively. On some occasions, however, foods cooked by the method generally called *ainpwoat* ("pot")—involving boiling, steaming, frying, and roasting over an open fire—are served. When the "pot" cooking method is employed, taros, sweet potatoes, cassavas, fish, fowl, imported foods (rice, dried Chinese vermicelli, canned foods, etc.) and other food materials, which are all excluded from the standard-type feast, may be used. Use of these materials is even encouraged. In addition, processed foods, such as bread and donuts which are available in town, may be served.

The "table" type of feast is always associated with this "pot" cooking method. In certain feasts of this "table" type, both stone-oven cooking and "pot" cooking are combined. However, they are deemed oppositive to each other in the Ponapean cognition, as mentioned earlier. Based on this opposition the feast involving stone-oven cooking is connoted by the term *kamadipw*, whether or not it is accompanied with the "pot" cooking method, whereas the feast which applies "pot" cooking only is distinguished by the term *ainpwoat*. Here I term the former "grand" feast and the latter "minor" feast. It must be remembered that, although classified as the "grand" feast, the "table" type feast involves "pot" cooking as an auxiliary means. Thus, feasts are classified into two classes and three types by their variances of (1) mode of redistribution and (2) served foods and cooking methods (Table 2).

It deserves special notice that the differences between these two classes and among the three types, however, do not affect the basic social traits of the feast. They are, after all, material differences. In a feast of any class or type large-scale cooking, redistribution (in the *pwoakipwoak* or "table" formality), communal meals, and communal *sakau* drinking are common and indispensable elements of a feasting program. Moreover, all variations of the feast are identical in the pattern of transferring ownership of property in terms of verbal expression and behavior. The social aspect of these feasts, which is the main focus of this paper, remains common. In this respect the variances seen in the kinds of served foods, cooking methods, and modes of redistribution could be deemed minor.

Table 2. Formal Classification of Feasts

Class	"Grand"		"Minor"
	Standard	"Table"	"Table"
Stone-oven cooking method	●	●	×
"Pot" cooking method	×	●	●
<i>Pwoakipwoak</i> redistribution	●	×	×
"Table" making	×	●	●
Food materials	restricted	unrestricted	unrestricted

Table 3. Feasts Held on Various Occasions

A. Feasts celebrating life-crises	C. 4. <i>Umwun pwar</i> "Rebaking stone-oven" (a grand feast for the paramount chiefs who stayed overnight after the main event)
A.1. <i>Kamadipwin koapwoapwoaud</i> "Bridal grand feast" (marriage ceremony)	C. 5. <i>Kamadipwin aluhmwuhr</i> "Grand feast of entourage" (a grand feast for those entourage who have come to accompany their lord to return to the lord's homeland)
A.2. <i>kamwoang kasapw</i> (A small feast celebrating the eighth month of conception)	C. 6. <i>Weliēnlit</i> (a grand feast in order to save one's honor after it was openly insulted)
A.3. <i>Umwun nēitik</i> "Stone-oven of childbirth" (celebration of childbirth made by the father of the newborn child)	C. 7. <i>Kamatipwin tomw</i> "Grand feast of apology" (a grand feast in order to appease the paramount chief's anger)
A.4. <i>Pilen dihdī</i> "Liquid of breast [milk]" (celebration of childbirth made by close relatives of the newborn child)	C. 8. <i>Kamadipwin kamwurmwr</i> "Grand feast of farewell" (a grand feast for a person who is departing for a long time)
A.5. <i>Umwun Mwurilik</i> "Stone-oven after [death]" (funeral ceremonies)	C. 9. <i>Kamadipwin kapel</i> "Grand feast to make a sublime respect" (a grand feast celebrating a person's return from a long voyage)
A.6. <i>Katamwan</i> "Awakening memory" (a grand feast held one year after death)	C.10. <i>Weliēnlit</i> (this term indicates two different kinds of feasts, cf. C.6.) (a grand feast celebrating a person's return from a life-threatening situation)
B. Calendrical feasts	C.11. <i>Isimas</i> (the inauguration ceremony of a feast house)
B.1. <i>Kamadipwin wau</i> "Grand feasts of honor" (a celebration opening the yam season)	C.12. <i>Kapidolong</i> "To make [the house] entered" (the inauguration ceremony of one's main house)
B.2. <i>Kamadipwin soumas en kousapw</i> "Grand feasts of section heads"	C.13. <i>Kating</i> (a grand feast to entertain those people who communally contributed labor)
B.3. <i>Kamadipwin pēnēnēi</i> "Grand feasts of families"	C.14. <i>Katepeik</i> (a marine grand feast celebrating the first use of a newly produced canoe)
B.4. <i>Kēidisol</i> "Closing the <i>isol</i> season" (a grand feast which terminates the yam season)	C.15. <i>Laidkapw</i> "The first fishing" (a marine grand feast celebrating the first fishing with a newly made fishing net)
C. Aperiodic feasts	
C.1. <i>Kapas mwar</i> "Making a return to the [granted] title"	
C.2. <i>Umwun koanoat</i> or <i>umwun sak</i> , also called <i>kawawi</i> "Stone-oven of precious food" (a grand feast to praise the honor of the guest)	
C.3. <i>Kēsihpwong</i> "Allnight" (a grand feast celebrating the paramount chiefs' arrival one day before the main event)	

## (3) OCCASIONS.

Feasts are diversified most widely in terms of occasion. The occasions when feasting is performed can be broadly classified into the following three categories in the cycle of life time. They are: life crises; annual calendrical events; and irregular social events (Table 3). On all occasions (except annual calendrical events) the key person who gives rise to the feasting can be identified. Certain feasts which are held on the same occasion are given different names according to whether or not the key persons for the feasts are paramount chiefs. Included among the feasts held on annual calendrical occasions is the only feast (i.e., *kamadipwin sĕkĕnmĕi*) which the paramount chiefs perform for their subjects [SHIMIZU 1982]. Since these feasts are specified as related to the life of the paramount chiefs, they are distinguished from other types (Table 4). This does not mean, however, that unspecified other feasts are not related to the paramount chiefs. Feasts transacted between the paramount chiefs and their subjects remain unspecified, if they are organized for development of the life of the subjects.

Thus feasts are classified into many categories, according to occasion. In sharp contrast with this diversity, the procedures and contents of the feast are unitary. As has been stated earlier, the variances relating to (1) mode of redistribution and (2) foods and cooking method do not change the social implication of the feast. Here the outstanding characteristic of this social implication should be remembered. Feasts are organized uniformly as an event of "honor" exchange: "paying respect" through contribution of foods to the main guest, and redistribution of foods and honor by the main guest. Occasion is, by definition, the very aspect of feast in which functional correlations of the feast and the broader social context in which it is

Table 4. Feasts Specifically Related to the Life of the Paramount Chiefs

A.4. <i>Pilen kodelĕng</i> (celebration of childbirth made by the paramount chief's wife)	C.2-2. <i>Kamadipwin poasoaroi</i> (a grand feast held by the paramount chiefs to pay respect to a paramount chief from another chiefdom who visited the host chiefdom to inquire after a sick person)
B.5. <i>Kamadipwin sĕkĕnmĕi</i> (the grand feast with which the paramount chiefs welcome those subjects who bring the first fruit <i>sĕkĕnmĕi</i> -tribute for breadfruit)	C.2-3. <i>Kamadipwin dapwehiĕk</i> (a grand feast held by the paramount chiefs to pay respect to a paramount chief from another chiefdom who visited the host chiefdom to attend a funeral ceremony)
C.1. <i>Rĕsĕn Nahnmwarki</i> (or <i>Nahnken</i> ) (a coronation ceremony for the king or the viceroy)	C.8. <i>Kamadipwin kapwarehlĕng</i> (a grand feast for a paramount chief who is departing from his chiefdom for a long time)
C.2-1. <i>Kamadipwin luhk</i> (a grand feast held by the paramount chiefs of a chiefdom in order to invite the paramount chiefs of another chiefdom)	C.10. <i>Kamadipwin tiepwĕl</i> (a grand feast celebrating a paramount chief recovering from a serious illness)

situated are most pertinently observed. Even in this respect, however, Ponapean feasting shows functional unrelatedness, rather than correlation, with the broader social context. This functional unrelatedness suggests the social function of the feasting. Regardless of social context of a feast, it will be performed according to its own leading theme, "paying respect" to the main guest. The formality of feasting functions as a medium transforming an act, which has functional correlations with the broader social context, into a unitary act of "paying respect" to the main guest. It should also be recalled that the synchronic and diachronic aspects of feasting are structurally homologous and functionally contiguous, respectively, with the chieftainship society as a whole. As an act of "paying respect", feasting is closely correlated with the chieftainship society as a whole.

### **Feasting as the Structural Process of Chieftainship**

"Minor" feasts and the "grand" feasts of the "table" type are initiated by matters of concern to family and close relatives. In such feasts the host's interest in honor, especially his interest in self-presentation and in payment of respect to the main guest, is relatively low. These "minor" feasts are, however, not wholly free from the consideration of "honor". Suppose a "minor" feast is performed exclusively within a small circle of family and close relatives. It implies unduly closed sociability, forcing the host to feel embarrassed. The heads of co-residential families and family-aggregates, which constitute a section, are expected to give due consideration to their honor. This consideration forces them, when holding a "minor" feast, to invite the section head, at least, to preside over their feast as the main guest, no matter how trifling the occasion may be and how small-scale the feast. In contrast, by giving a "grand" feast of the standard type honor and "face" of the host is tested seriously in the broad context of public social domain. The paramount chiefs are the most pertinent persons to be invited as the main guests of the feast.

The occasions on which feasts are held do not cover all the occasions of social events. Many political processes are unrelated to feasts. Nevertheless, the list of occasions of feasts, both "grand" and "minor", encompasses the typical events which characterize Ponapean social life: the beginning (marriage) and end (death) of an adult life; the beginning (B.1) and end (B.4) of the period of yam feasts, or the most affluent season of the year; official recognition of a person's honor and prestige (C.1); establishment of fundamentals for livelihood (C.11-C.15); escape from crisis and danger (C.9 and C.10); encounter with and separation from family, kin, and friends (C.2 and C.8); pacification of paramount chiefs in wrath (C.7); entertainment of visiting paramount chiefs (C.2-C.4), and so forth. It should be understood that the major events that characterize the social life of Ponapeans as subjects under the chieftainship system, and that deserve special commemoration, are celebrated by feasts, whether public, private or domestic.

From the point of view of people as subjects of a section and a chiefdom, individual social life may be seen as a temporal flow of various events and activities. People try to more or less coordinate functionally these events and activities in their

social life with one another, in order to give configuration to their life. The feast-giving contributes to this temporal integration of people's social life. Feasts are not merely a social event in themselves, but are situated at nodal, integrative points in the flow of social life. The feast functions at the same time as an act of paying the largest respect to the main guests, who mainly belong to the "group of honor", *i.e.*, the paramount chiefs and the section heads representing the paramount chiefs before the section members. Temporal proceeding of people's social life is, through feast-giving at each nodal point, converted into "paying respect" to the paramount chiefs (or to the section heads as their agents).

The Ponapean chieftainship does not simply rule subjects through direct acts of administration. The social life of the people is so structured that its temporal development in its own dynamics automatically sustains the chieftainship; the feast colored with the value of "honor" is the major medium which transforms social life into moral devotion to the chieftainship. Although it might be inappropriate to say that the Ponapean chieftainship governs people through feasting, it is true that people are incorporated into the ruling system of chieftainship through merely living their social life. In this sense, feasting should be recognized as the structural process of the Ponapean chieftainship.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank the Toyota Foundation for its support of field work in Ponape during 1977-1978, and the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture of Japan for its financial support of follow-up studies in 1980-1981, 1983, and 1985 through Grants-in-Aid for Overseas Scientific Surveys. The follow-up studies were conducted as a part of the research projects of Prof. M. Aoyagi and Prof. E. Ishikawa, respectively, both of whom, as well as the fellow members of the projects, are appreciated. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to His Excellency Souruko en Dierensapw (Maing Benno Serilo) and his family, Their Excellencies Nahlaimw Kiti and Lepenmoar Kiti, and many other Ponapeans, without whose generous aids my research should have been impossible.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

BASCOM, W. R.

- 1965 *Ponape: a Pacific Economy in Transition*. University of California Publications, Anthropological Records, 22. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

BROWN, Paula

- 1978 *Highland People of New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DAHLQUIST, P. A.

- 1972 *Kohdo Mwenge: the Food Complex in a Changing Ponapean Community*. Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University.

- 1974 Political Development at the Municipal Level: Kiti, Ponape. In D. T. Hughes and S. G. Lingenfelter (eds.), *Political Development in Micronesia*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, pp. 178-191.
- DALTON, G.
- 1971 *Economic Anthropology and Development: Essays on Tribal and Peasant Economies*. New York: Basic Books.
- EHRlich, P. M.
- 1978 "Clothes of Men": Ponape Island and German Colonial Rule. Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York.
- FIRTH, R.
- 1965 *Primitive Polynesian Economy* (Second Edition). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- FISCHER, J. L.
- 1974 The Role of the Traditional Chiefs on Ponape in the American Period. In D. T. Hughes and G. Lingenfelter (eds.), *Political Development in Micronesia*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, pp. 166-177.
- GOLDMAN, I.
- 1970 *Ancient Polynesian Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- HANLON, D. L.
- 1981 *From Mesenieng to Kolonia: an Archaeological Survey of Historic Kolonia*. Micronesian Archaeological Survey Report, 5. Saipan: Office of the High Commissioner, TTPI.
- HERSKOVITS, M. J.
- 1952 *Economic Anthropology: the Economic Life of Primitive Peoples*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- HUGHES, D. T.
- 1970 *Political Conflict and Harmony on Ponape*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files.
- KEESING, M. R.
- 1978 *Elota's Story: the Life and Times of a Solomon Islands Big Man*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- OLIVER, D. L.
- 1955 *A Solomon Island Society: Kinship and Leadership among the Siuai of Bougainville*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- PETERSEN, G.
- 1976 *Ponapean Agriculture and Economy: Politics, Prestige, and Problems of Commercialization in the Eastern Caroline Islands*. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University.
- 1982 *One Man Cannot Rule a Thousand: Fission in a Ponapean Chieftaindom*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- POLANYI, K., (ed. by G. DALTON)
- 1968 *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co.
- REHG, K. L.
- 1981 *Ponapean Reference Grammar*. PALI Language Texts: Micronesia. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.



RIESENBERG, S. H.

- 1968 *The Native Polity of Ponape*. Smithsonian Contribution to Anthropology, 10. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

SAHLINS, M. D.

- 1958 *Social Stratification in Polynesia*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.  
1972 *Stone Age Economics*. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton.

SHIMIZU, Akitoshi (清水 昭俊)

- 1981 「独立に逡巡するミクロネシア：ポナペ島政治経済の現況」『民族学研究』46 (3) : 329-344。(Contemporary Political Situations of Micronesia as Observed from Inside on Ponape. *Journal of the Japanese Society of Ethnology* 46-3: 329-344.)  
1982 Chiefdom and the Spatial Classification of the Life-World: Everyday Life, Subsistence and the Political System on Ponape. In M. Aoyagi (ed.), *Islanders and Their Outside World*. Tokyo: St. Paul's (Rikkyo) University, pp. 153-215.  
1985 Politics of Encounter: a Semantic Analysis of Guest Receiving Behavior on Ponape, the Eastern Carolines. In E. Ishikawa (ed.), *The 1983-84 Cultural Anthropological Expedition to Micronesia: an Interim Report*. Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan University, pp. 39-63.