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Avoidance Behavior and Kin Category in Satawalese Society¹

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Satawalese society is composed of eight *ydyinang* (matrilineal, exogamous, nonlocalized clans), segmented into 15 lineages. Satawalese kinship terminology is a variant of the Hawaiian type. Kin terms are used only in reference; personal names are used in address.

The Satawalese distinguish three categories of avoidance behavior: *Yepin me wóón* "it is taboo from above", *pininmwéngéyáng* "taboo between opposite-sex siblings", and *kkepasepin* "taboo word". The kin and affine categories affected by *yepin me wóón* differ among men and women. If ego is a man, he must observe taboos against the men of older generations in his clan, their sons, older brothers, parallel siblings, the sons of his father's older brothers and his mother's older sisters, and his "brother-in-law", his wife's older sister's husband. If ego is a woman, she must observe *pininmwéngéyáng* taboos against cross siblings, older sisters, and parallel siblings, the daughters of her father's older brothers and her mother's older sisters. *Kkepasepin* are taboos which men and women must mutually observe.

Key words: Hawaiian kinship terminology; matrilineal society; taboo; honorific word; avoidance.

What attracts our interest among interpersonal relationships in Satawalese society is the complicated and exact regulations which govern behavioral patterns in people's daily lives. These behavioral patterns are "manners" which a person must observe when having contact with someone with whom he/she has a specific relationship, and they dictate in detail the precise expressions used, how contact is made, the posture assumed, and how another person's possessions may be borrowed.

The behavioral patterns between individuals are determined by their relative social status. In Micronesia many societies have a ranking system and titles designating social status (Murdock, 1948; Mason, 1968). However, in the Truk and Central Caroline Islands, the people are divided into "clans of chiefs" and "clans of commoners", but precise ranking of individuals with special titles does not exist. The determining factors for social status in Satawal, which has a relatively egalitarian social structure, are genealogical status, sex, generation, and age. While social status is based upon these factors, complicated behavioral patterns are determined fundamentally by kin and affinal ties.

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In this paper I concentrate mainly on the behavior pattern known in social anthropology as "avoidance behavior". In interpersonal relationships in Satawalese society the manner in which two individuals interact is very formal since it is based on many taboos. The existence of social distance between two persons is a distinctive characteristic of kinship behavior in Satawal. The aim of this paper is to clarify the kinship system in Satawalese society through an analysis of human relationships, which are determined by complicated behavioral patterns.

Until now kinship studies in the Central Caroline Islands have dealt mainly with the theme of principles of kinship organization and landholding patterns (Alkire, 1965, 1971; Burrows and Spiro, 1951; Lessa, 1950, 1966; Rubinstein, 1979; Ushijima, 1982). However, kinship studies focusing on behavioral patterns in interpersonal relationships have not been undertaken. According to my fieldwork findings, the behavioral patterns among interpersonal relationships in Satawalese society are quite similar, with some slight variations, to those of the people from the Central Caroline to the Truk Islands. Before a comparative study with other societies can be undertaken, concrete data about behavioral patterns in Satawalese society must first be presented (Sudo, 1979, 1984a, 1984b).

Satawal is a small, raised reef island with a 6 km circumference, located in the Central Caroline Islands of Micronesia. It lies 1,000 km east of Yap and 500 km west of Truk. Its population (1980) was 492 people comprising 86 household groups. Satawalese society is made up of 8 matrilineal descent groups known as *ydyinang*, and each person belongs to one of them. Each *ydyinang* has a specific name, and *ydyinang* genealogies can sometimes be traced back 8 generations. The 8 *ydyinang* are segmented into 15 subgroups, each of which is a corporate landowning body. The subgroups are composed of members who can trace themselves back 3 or 4 generations. The place where the members reside is called its *puukos*, and these are named after geographical places. The members of a *puukos* abide by the uxorilocal residential rule; they include the female members, their husbands, children, unmarried males, and other adopted persons of another *ydyinang*.

Members of a *ydyinang* do not necessarily live only on Satawal; they can also live on other islands. Of those who live on other islands, some can trace their ancestors, while others just know only the name of their *ydyinang*. When it has been acknowledged that persons are from the same *ydyinang*, they are obliged to assist each other and are prohibited from committing incest or marrying. In this paper, the definition of *ydyinang* is "clan", and the term "lineage" will be used in reference to the 15 subgroups which as a corporate group own property in Satawalese society.

The data in this paper are based on fieldwork collected in both Satawalese and English. The fieldwork was conducted from June to September 1978 and from May 1979 to March 1980. Satawalese belongs to

Table 1. Satawalese Vowels and Consonants

Vowel					
	Front	Central	Back		
High	i	ú	u		
Mid	e	é	o		
Low	á	a	ó		
Consonant					
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal (Retroflex)	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p pw	t	ch		k
Fricative	f	s			
Nasal	m mw	n			ng
Trill		r			
Resonant			rh		
Semivowel				y	w

the Trukic group in the Micronesian division; its phonetic sounds were transcribed according to the following rules and those rules given in Table 1: (1) The 9 vowels are i, e, á, ú, é, a, u, o, ó, and the long vowels are ii, ee, áá, óó; and (2) the 15 consonants are ch, f, k, m, mw, n, ng, p, pw, r, rh, s, t, w, y, and the double consonants are ff, kk, cch, mmw, nng, ppw (Elbert, 1972; Goodenough and Sugita, 1980).

Relationship Terms

Kinship Terms

In Satawalese society a person's first name is used when person is addressed in daily life. For instance, when a child speaks to his parents, he will call them by their first names: "Namoni, *yito mwongo*" (Namoni, come and eat), or "Ratomai, *wopwe neyiyi*" (Ratomai, where are you going?). First names are also used when speaking to one's own siblings or grandparents. Kinsmen and those who are not immediate family members are also called by their first names, which can be their given names.

Referential terms are used when speaking about the relationship between oneself and one's kinsman. For instance, *ngang ndwumuw* (I am your child) and *yiiy semdiy* (He is my father) are two examples. Referential terms are used to identify the kinship ties between the speaker and another person to a third person or when two people are confirming or acknowledging their genealogical relationship. The referential terms in Satawalese society are listed in Table 2 and illustrated in Fig. 1.

While these kinship terms do not distinguish relative age, they do distinguish generation, sex, and matrilineal line.

(1) These following 7 words are used to distinguish generation, sex of

Table 2. Satawalese Kinship and Affinal Terms

Term	Gloss	Referents
1. <i>saam</i>	father	F, FB, FF, MF, FZH, MZH, MMZH, WF, WMF, WFF, WFB, WMB, WMZH, HF, HMB, HMZH
2. <i>yiin</i>	mother	M, FZ, MZ, FM, MM, MMZ, FBW, MBW, MMBW, MMZD, WM, WMM, WFM, WMZ, HM, HMM, HMBW
3. <i>tukufáiyi</i> (<i>mwaanennap</i>)	old man or big man (mother's brother)	MB, MMB, MMZS
4. <i>pwii</i>	same-sex sibling	(m.s.) B, FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS, MMZSS, MMZDD (w.s.) Z, FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD, MMZSD, MMZDD, HBW
5. <i>mwengeyáng</i>	opposite-sex sibling	(m.s.) Z, FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD, MMZSD, MMZDD (w.s.) B, FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS, MMZSS, MMZDS
6. <i>naay</i>	child	C, BC, FBCC, FZCC, MBCC, CC, ZCC, WZC, WBC, HBC, HZC
7. <i>fatúw</i>	sister's son or daughter	ZC, MZDC, MMZDDC
8. <i>kówurh</i>	brother-in-law	(m.s.) WB, WMZS
9. <i>kéés</i>	sister-in-law	(w.s.) HZ, HMZD
10. <i>pwintúw</i>	wife or husband	(m.s.) W, WZ, WMZD, BW (w.s.) H, HB, HMZS, ZH

(m.s.) = Man Speaking, (w.s.) = Woman Speaking.

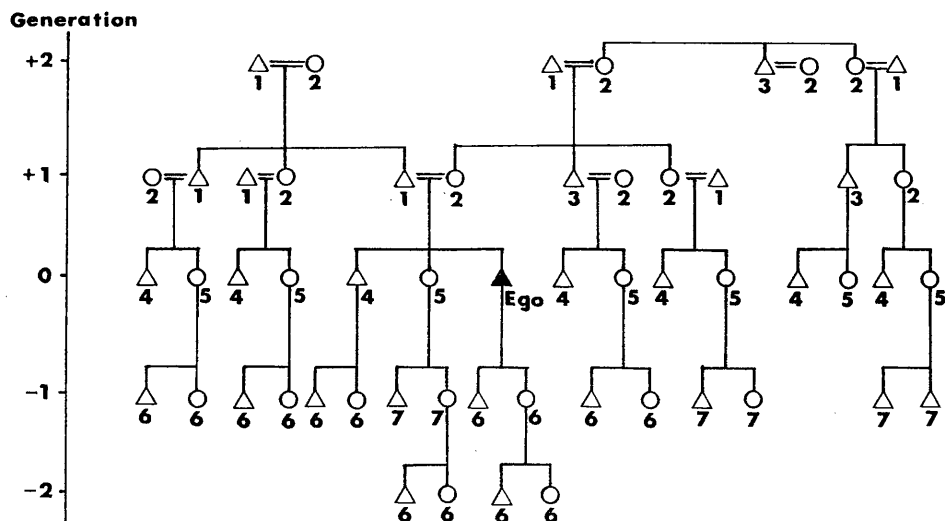


Figure 1. Satawalese Kinship Terminology.
The numbers correspond to those in Table 2.

speaker and hearer, and line among kinsmen: *saam*, *yiin*, *tukufáiyi* (*mwaánennap*), *pwii*, *mwengeyáng*, *naay*, *fatúw*.

(2) The speaker (ego) uses *saam* when speaking to a man of an older

generation who is not a member of the same matrilineal line, regardless of how old he is, and *yūin* when indicating a woman of an older generation. Men of older generations in the same matrilineal line are distinguished from other older men by use of the terms *tukufáyiy* or *mwáánenap*. The relationships are as follows: $F = FB = FF = MF = FZH$, $M = MZ = FZ = MM = FM = FBW = MBW$, $FB \neq MB$.

- (3) When ego speaks to someone of his own generation, the choice of term is dependent on the sex of that person and not on matrilineal line. *Pwii* is used when speaking to a person of the same sex and *mwengeyáng* for the opposite sex. The relationships are as follows: $B = FBS = MBS$, $Z = FBD = MBD$.
- (4) When ego speaks to a person of a younger generation who is not the child of a female sibling in the same clan, *naay* is used without any distinction as to generation or sex. A male speaker used *fatúw* when speaking to a female sibling's child in the same clan. The relationships are $C = BC = MBDC$, $BC \neq ZC$.

This term classification system, as in the examples of $B = FBS = MBS$ for cousins, has been classified as being a Hawaiian type and a kind of generation system (Murdock, 1949:123). An examination of the entire kinship term system in Satawal shows that it strongly distinguishes one generation above MB and the generation below ZC, a feature which distinguishes it from other systems. Because within the matrilineal line MB and ZC receive great emphasis, special kinship behavioral rules have most likely been established among the kinship categories derived from these terms.

The sphere in which the two sibling terms are applicable is limited to ego's second cousin of his generation, but this limitation does not apply to consanguine relatives in the matrilineal line. If members of a matrilineal descent group, *yáyinang*, mutually recognize each other's genealogy, the two sibling terms are used regardless of who the female ancestor was. In a Satawal *yáyinang* the oldest female ancestor in the matrilineal genealogy can be traced back 8 generations. Use of these kinship terms is not restricted to members of a *yáyinang* living on the same island, but also applies to members of the same *yáyinang* living on other islands. In summary, the kin category to which these kinship terms apply goes as far back only as the second cousin of ego's own generation when that person belongs to a non-matrilineal line, but is applicable toward all kinsmen who are members of the same matrilineal line as ego.

The 7 kinship terms in Table 2 are specific expressions as well as general terms for father, mother, mother's opposite-sex siblings, same-sex siblings, opposite-sex siblings, children of opposite-sex siblings, and children. These terms are used in two ways. One is by telling the third person directly what the relationship is between ego and another person, as in "He is my father" or "That person is their mother." The second way is for ego to state that the other person(s) is a relative, as in "We are

siblings" or "He and I are children".

In the first instance, a possessive suffix is affixed to the term's stem. This suffix changes according to a given rule depending on who the second person is (Table 3). In the second instance, the term ending is duplicated when the relationship between two persons is explained. For example, the statement "We are siblings" would be said, "*Kiirh si pwiipwi*", duplicating *pwi*, and the statement "A and I are father and son" would be said, "*ngang yi samesam A nge A ye naaynay ngang*", which literally means "I regard A as my father and A regards me as his son." When ego states to a third person his relationship with a second person, the various kinship terms like *samesam*, *yineyini*, *pwiipwi*, and *naaynay* are duplicated. Possessive suffixes are not affixed to these duplicated words.

Modifiers are affixed to the kinship term to differentiate whether the person is or is not a member of the same clan in Satawal. When the person is a member of the same clan as ego and also a sibling of the same sex, the word *sipekin* is used, as in *sipekinin pwi*; but when the person is from a different clan the word *teten* is used, as in *tetenin pwi*. The adjective *sipekin* means true or genuine, and the noun *teten* means line or rank. The classified category *sipekin pwi* not only includes siblings with the same mother but also same-sex siblings in the same clan. Thus siblings having the same mother are not distinguished from classificatory siblings in the same matrilineal line.

Since address terms do not occur in the Satawalese kinship term system but referential terms do, the system is similar to that of Hawaii. However, because of the emphasis of line MB and ZC and the distinctive characteristic of MB \neq FB, BC \neq ZC, Satawalese kinship terminology differs from the Hawaiian type in that it does distinguish between certain lines.

Affinal Terms

Relationship terms in Satawalese sometimes do distinguish between kinship and affinity, as between F and MZH, FZH and M, or MBW and FBW. The two types of kin terms discussed are those used by ego in stating his relationship with another person (1) because of marriage or (2) as a result of adoption or remarriage by the father or mother. The relationship terms used by ego to identify those people to whom he is related can be used in two ways. One is using a kinship term which indicates that the second person is affined to ego by marriage. Another is using special terms other than kinship terms.

In the first instance, ego places himself in his spouse's position, and then identifies himself with the second person by using the same kinship terms as his spouse would. This is done when the second person is someone who is of an older or younger generation than the spouse. Figures 1, 2, and 3 show how WF, WMF, WFB, WMB, MZH, and FZH are included in the

Table 3. Inflection of Kinship and Affinal Terms

Term	Person						
	Singular			Plural			
	1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.	1 inc.	1 exc.	2 pl.	3 pl.
1. <i>saam</i>	<i>semáiy</i>	<i>semómw</i>	<i>seman</i>	<i>semať</i>	<i>semámmám</i>	<i>semáí</i>	<i>semeer</i>
2. <i>yíin</i>	<i>yináiy</i>	<i>yinómw</i>	<i>yinan</i>	<i>yinať</i>	<i>yinámmám</i>	<i>yinámi</i>	<i>yineer</i>
3. <i>tukufáiyiy</i>	<i>tukufáiyiái</i>	<i>tukufáiyiómw</i>	<i>tukufáiyiyan</i>	<i>tukufáiyiayť</i>	<i>tukufáiyiámmám</i>	<i>tutufáiyiámi</i>	<i>tukfáiyieer</i>
4. <i>pwií</i>	<i>pwiíiy</i>	<i>pwiímw</i>	<i>pwiín</i>	<i>pwiíť</i>	<i>pwiímmám</i>	<i>pwiími</i>	<i>pwiir</i>
5. <i>mwengeyáing</i>	<i>mwengeyáiy</i>	<i>mwengeyómw</i>	<i>mwengeyān</i>	<i>mwengeyayť</i>	<i>mwengeyámmám</i>	<i>mwengeyámi</i>	<i>mwengeyeeer</i>
6. <i>naay</i>	<i>náyiy</i>	<i>nówmw</i>	<i>nayān</i>	<i>nayáť</i>	<i>nayímmám</i>	<i>nayími</i>	<i>nayáur</i>
7. <i>fatúw</i>	<i>fatúwáiy</i>	<i>fatúwómw</i>	<i>fatúwan</i>	<i>fatúwatť</i>	<i>fatúwámmám</i>	<i>fatúwámi</i>	<i>fatúwee</i>
8. <i>kówut</i>	<i>kówutuy</i>	<i>kówutumw</i>	<i>kówutun</i>	<i>kówututť</i>	<i>kówutummmám</i>	<i>kówutumi</i>	<i>kówutuur</i>
9. <i>kéés</i>	<i>kéésáiy</i>	<i>kéésómw</i>	<i>kéésan</i>	<i>kéésatť</i>	<i>kéésámmám</i>	<i>kéésámi</i>	<i>kééseer</i>
10. <i>pwánúw</i>	<i>pwánúwáiy</i>	<i>pwánúwómw</i>	<i>pwánúwan</i>	<i>pwánúwatť</i>	<i>pwánúwámmám</i>	<i>pwánúwámi</i>	<i>pwánúwee</i>

1 sg.= first person singular. 1 inc.= first person plural inclusive.

1 exc.= first person plural exclusive. 2 pl.= second person plural.

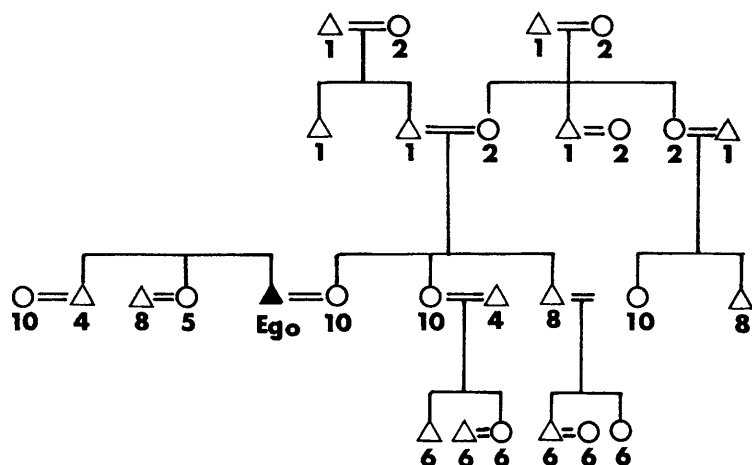


Figure 2. Affinal in Term (Male Speaking).
The numbers correspond to those in Table 2.

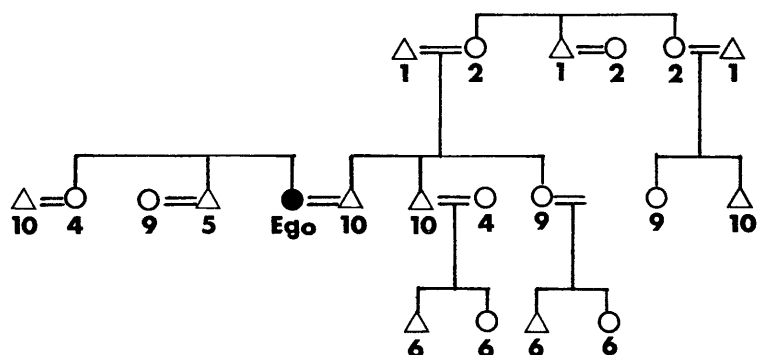


Figure 3. Affinal Kin Term (Female Speaking).
The numbers correspond to those in Table 2.

saam category. The same is true of *yin*, so all women included in the *yin* category are "mothers" to the ego. Children of spouses and relatives of the same generation (*pwii*, *mwengeyang*) are of the *naay* category to ego, as in WBC, WZC, WZDH, and WBSH.

In the second instance, the non-kinship terms used to indicate other kinds of relationships have the following three special features:

- (1) Ego's spouse is referred to by the term *pwiniw*, without any regard to the speaker's sex. W, WZ and WMZD apply when ego is a male.
- (2) If ego is male, male siblings of ego's wife are called *kówurh*; examples are WB and WMS.

- (3) If ego is female, female siblings of ego's husband are called *kéés*; examples are HZ and HMZD.

The spouse's relatives are divided into two categories depending on the sex of the speaker when the spouse's relatives are not the same sex as the speaker. Not differentiating between ego's spouse and siblings of the same sex as the spouse means that a potential marriage between ego and the spouse's *pwi* has been recongized.

Yafakúr

Yafakúr is a term which indicates the relationship between the individual and his father's clan. It refers to a person born of a man of the clan. If one's father was a member of the Nyaar *yáiyinang*, then one can say that he is a *yafakúr* of the Nyaar clan (*ngang yafakúran* Nyaar). *Yafakúr* is not used to indicate kinship ties between individuals but is a relationship term which shows that an individual is affiliated to his father's clan. Telling a person to which *yafakúr* of a clan one belongs is an important criterion in establishing one's kinship relationship with another person. If both persons are from the same clan's *yafakúr* and are also of the same sex and generation, they have a *pwiipwi* relationship. There is also a marriage rule that prohibits people from the same *yafakúr* from marrying. The existence of specific terms which identify a person and his relationship to his father's clan means that there probably are special behavior patterns having to do with rights and obligations.

The Satawalese kinship term system beyond those of one's cousins is similar to the Hawaiian system. However, a distinctively different feature is the emphasis on MB and ZC. Also, among affinity terms, the kin term for one's spouse and for a same-sex sibling of one's spouse is the same, without any distinctions.

Kinds of Taboos and Their Sanctions

In Satawalese society a person must follow institutionally restricted norms of behavior regarding word choice, posture, and the handling of utensils when interacting with another person. These norms are *yepin*, meaning taboos; *ye* is the 3rd demonstrative pronoun. *Yepin* is a generic term for taboos in general, but the categories can be subdivided according to what ego wishes to forbid, such as *yepinu yengan* (taboo on working), *yepinutéta* (taboo on climbing a tree near a deceased person's home during the mourning period) and *kkepasepin* (taboo on saying certain words). The kinds of *yepin* which exist in Satawal and which affect interactions between people, the theme of this paper, are as follows:

A. *yepin me wóón*

a. *kkepaseyawaawa* or *yepin faita wóón*

b. *yepin yangetá wóón*

- c. *yóppworo*
- B. *pininmwengeyáng* (*yepin mwengeyáng*)
 - a. *yepin yúún*
 - b. *yepin waisor*
 - c. *yepin sepao*
 - d. *yepin kiekíy*
 - e. *yepin mangak*
 - f. others
- C. *kkepasepin*

Table 4. Verb List of *kkepaseyawaawa*

Ordinary Word	Honorific Term
1. <i>mwongo</i> (eat)	1. <i>wiis</i>
2. <i>yúún</i> (drink or smoke)	2. <i>yááyá</i> (use)
	3. <i>yinetúúk</i> (distribute)
	4. <i>yóttóówur</i>
	5. <i>teep</i>
	6. <i>núúná</i>
	7. <i>tacchuruk</i>
3. <i>rongorong</i> (hear)	8. <i>pattúúk</i> (divide)
	1. <i>pworóówis</i>
	2. <i>pwoppworo</i>
4. <i>piipi</i> (see or look)	1. <i>sakúrúúw</i> (the back of the body)
<i>weri</i> (understand)	2. <i>núkún pírey</i> (the outside of the feet)
	3. <i>núkúnúpwá</i> (the outside of the foot's toes)
	4. <i>sarey</i>
	5. <i>woori</i>
5. <i>kkepas</i> (speak)	1. <i>yóónák</i>
	2. <i>yóno</i>
	3. <i>fáániipwá</i> (the under of the foot)
6. <i>kúneey</i> (know)	1. <i>reepiya</i>
7. <i>téngú</i> (smell)	1. <i>ngúuri</i>
8. <i>yúútá</i> (stand)	1. <i>nnangetá</i>
	2. <i>yússútá</i>
9. <i>kekkaáy</i> (laugh)	1. <i>faiwarh</i>
	2. <i>riyáák</i>
	3. <i>ffas</i>
10. <i>tumuwuri</i> (lick)	1. <i>yákina</i> (try)
	2. <i>sótoni</i> (try)
	3. <i>nnári</i>
	4. <i>woongi</i>
11. <i>mayár</i> (sleep)	1. <i>sáypár</i> (shut the eyes)
	2. <i>yatén</i>
	3. <i>kúnamw</i> (doze)
12. <i>máánó</i> (die)	1. <i>wosónó</i>
	2. <i>púngúnó</i> (loose)

Yepin me wóón literally means "taboo from above"; it places behavioral restrictions on a person which prevent him from placing himself above another person of a higher status whom he respects. *Pininmwengeyáng* means "taboo among opposite-sex siblings"; it restricts behavior between a person and members of the same generation in his clan and among his affines. *Kkepasepin* means "words forbidden to be spoken"; these basically are taboo words between men and women. Recognized adult males (*mwáán*) and females (*rhóópwut*) must obey these taboos. In this section the meaning of these taboos and the kin and affinity categories to which they are applicable will be examined.

A. *Yepin me wóón*

(a) *Kkepaseyawaawa*. *Kkepaseyawaawa* is a compound word whose two parts are *kkepas*, meaning "to talk" or "words", and *yawaawa*, meaning "to speak honorably" or "words of respect"; hereafter, *kkepaseyawaawa* will have the latter meaning. *Yepin faita wóón* means "it's a taboo to call an older person", which is another way of showing respect. Honorific words in Satawalese fall into two categories: nouns and verbs (Tables 4 and 5). The verbs *mwongo*, *yúún*, *rongorong*, *piipi*, *kkepas*, *téngú*, *kúneey*, *tumwuri*, and *kekáy* have to do with the senses or perceptions, such as sight, hearing, taste, and smell. Also included are the verbs *yúúta*, *mayúr*, and *mááno*, having to do with human actions or death. The nouns *riimw*, *móóng*, *maas*, *sáning*, *yaaw*, and *yúúw* refer to parts of the body, mostly the neck and above.

Examples of honorific words can be found in the table, but some ordinary words and the polite forms of these words have the same meanings, whereas in other instances the meanings are different. Examples of the latter are the honorific words for *mwongo*, which are *yááyá*, *yinetúúk*, and *pattúúk*, and the honorific words for *piipi*, which are *sakúrúúw*, *núkún pírey*, and *núkúniipwa*. Interestingly, the honorific words for "to look" are verbs which were formerly nouns meaning "the back of the body", "the outside of the feet", and "the outside of the foot's toes". The verbs have these meanings because when a Satawalese listens to a person of a higher status's speech, he is forbidden to look at the person. So he looks at the person's feet. Directly looking at the speaker's face is disrespectful; it means the listener will not do what he is being told. This example is a symbolic representation of respect behavior in Satawalese society.

Even honorific nouns are words whose meanings are different from their ordinary usage. For instance, the honorific word for head, *riimw*, is *weyindáng*, which means heaven or sky. *Weyindáng* is also the honorific word for the forehead and brow. The honorific word for eyebrow (*faat*) is *nóngoitáyúk*, which is a compound of the words "to support" (*nóng*) and "tumeric" (*táyúk*). The word tumeric is used because tumeric root

Table 5. Noun List of *kkepaseyawaawa*

Ordinal Word	Honorific Term
1. <i>riimw</i> (head)	<i>weyináng</i> (sky or heaven)
2. <i>móng</i> (fore head)	<i>weyináng</i> (sky or heaven)
3. <i>yánni riimw</i> (hear)	<i>yúún</i> <i>yánni weyináng</i>
4. <i>neyáyin fatun</i> (the brow)	<i>weyinang</i> (sky or heaven)
5. <i>maas</i> (face)	<i>sapwéyún</i>
6. <i>fayúnn maas</i> (eyes)	<i>fayúy sapweyun</i>
7. <i>pwoot</i> (nose)	<i>yófóng</i>
8. <i>yaaw</i> (mouth)	<i>ngáárh</i>
9. <i>yúúw</i> (neck)	<i>sórof</i>
10. <i>fáán yúúw</i> (throat)	<i>yósórofan</i>
11. <i>sáning</i> (ear)	<i>pworóuris</i>
12. <i>faat</i> (eyebrow)	<i>nóngoi táyúk</i> (the support of turmeric)
13. <i>mátetteren maas</i> (eyelashes)	<i>mátetterey sapwéyún</i>
14. <i>sópwon maas</i> (the tail of the eye)	<i>sópwoy sapwéyún</i>
15. <i>raani maas</i> (tear)	<i>raani sapweyun</i>
16. <i>yówisap</i> (cheek)	<i>wóóí sapwéyún</i>
17. <i>meren pwoot</i> (the top of the nose)	<i>meren yófóng</i>
18. <i>ngii</i> (teeth)	<i>fótófót</i> (plant) <i>faay</i> (stone)
19. <i>chechónon maas</i> (pupil)	<i>chechónon sapwéyún</i>
20. <i>rhéen kanew</i> (tongue)	<i>rhéeni ngáár</i> (the leaf of the tongue)

(*Curcuma* sp.) powder is put on the forehead to ward off evil, and it appears as if the eyebrows support the powder. In general, when the head, forehead, or eyebrows of a person of higher authority are being referred to, the honorific words used mean "heaven" or "the upper parts".

However, not all honorific words have different meanings from their common usages. The honorific words for "to eat" are the polite words *wiis*, *yóttóówur*, and *teep*, and the honorific words for "to see" are the polite words *sarey* and *woori*. Honorific words for most nouns also do not have a different meaning from their common usage.

The use of some honorific words depends on the sex of the speaker. The honorific words for "to eat" are *yóttóówur* and *teep* when spoken by males, and *yááyá*, *yinetúúk*, *núúnú*, and *tacchuuk* when spoken by females; *wiis* and *pattúúk* can be used by both sexes. For "to stand", females would use the honorific word *nnangetá* whereas males would use the common word *yúúta*. Some honorific words can be used only in certain places. In the meeting and canoe house (*wuutt*) only the honorific words *teep* and *ffas* can be used for the words "to eat" and "to laugh".

Honorific words in Satawal have a peculiar characteristic of being verbs relating to the human senses or perception or nouns referring to body features from the neck up. Many honorific words have different

meanings from their ordinary usage, and complicated rules govern the kind of word used depending on who the speaker is and on the circumstances.

The following two examples illustrate honorific word usage in interpersonal relationships with members of the kin and affine groups. Figure 4 is the example of Rappow (a 30-year-old male) and Fig. 5 is that of Natig (a 68-year-old female).

In Rappow's situation, he is speaking to the following persons:

- (1) The members of his *yáyinang* are the older males (Otoniik, Tokomey, and Yepemay), Yepemay's adopted son (Teppang), and his older brothers (Yipoinuk, Recho) of the same generation. Not all the spouses of these males are included. Since Rappow's immediate older brother's wife (Nasoniman) is related to Rappow through his father's line, she belongs to the *naay* category. Neyangerik is also not included since he is a *mwengeyáng*. Although Gabue can be included because he is a member of the same *yáyinang*, he is excluded since he is the stepfather of Rappow's wife (Nerak). Nesap and Nerak are *pwi*, so Nesap is excluded.
- (2) Yikefir and Yikima are included because Rappow is a *yafakúr* of their clan (Neyaar *yáyinang*).
- (3) Among Rappow's wife's clan, his wife's brothers (Racche, Aisowin,

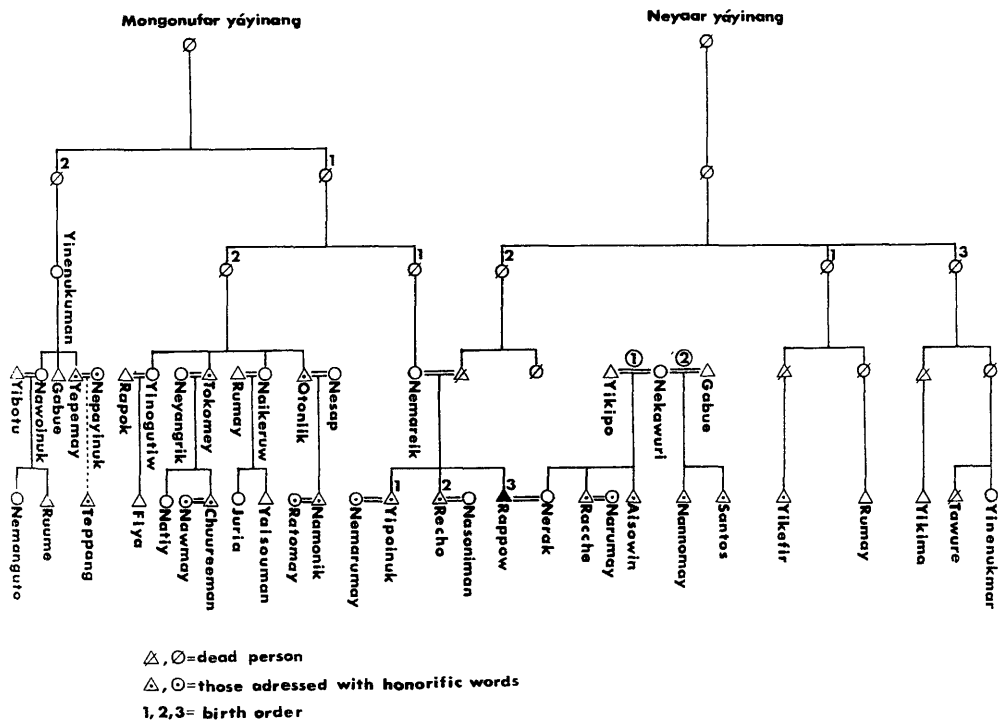


Figure 4. Honorific Word Usage of Rappow.

Nannomay, and Santos) are included as well as Racche's wife (Narumay).

Natig's situation is the following:

- (1) Among members of her *yáyíning*, her brothers (Urupiy, Ruppangenap, Ruppangerik, Tawasiriyar, and Furaki), and their wives are included.
- (2) In her father's clan her father's brother's son (Nukuniik) and his wife are included.
- (3) The opposite-sex siblings of her stepmother's children (Yikekun, Yepemay) are included but their spouses are excluded because they (Naitemay, Nepainuk) are Natig's classificatory daughters; Gabue is not included because he is her daughter's (Nekaw) husband.

The honorific words used for the person being spoken to are different for male and female egos. The affinal relationship that ego has with a person also determines whether ego should use honorific words. In Satawalese society the number of people to whom one must use honorific words varies according to the number of people in one's own, one's wife's, and one's father's *yáyíning*. As seen in the two previous examples, the rules of applying *yawaawa*, if ego is a male who has received additional information about the person that he is speaking to, are as follows:

- (1) He must use honorific words to males and their wives in the *tukufáyíy* category, e.g., MB:W, MMB:W, MMZS:W.
- (2) Of those in the same generation as ego, honorific words are used when speaking to older brothers of males in the *pwii* category, relatively older male siblings in the same clan, sons of *tukufáyíy* (male *yafakúr*), and sons of relatively older males than his father and their wives, e.g., e1B, Me1ZS, MMelZDS, MBS:W, Fe1BS:W.

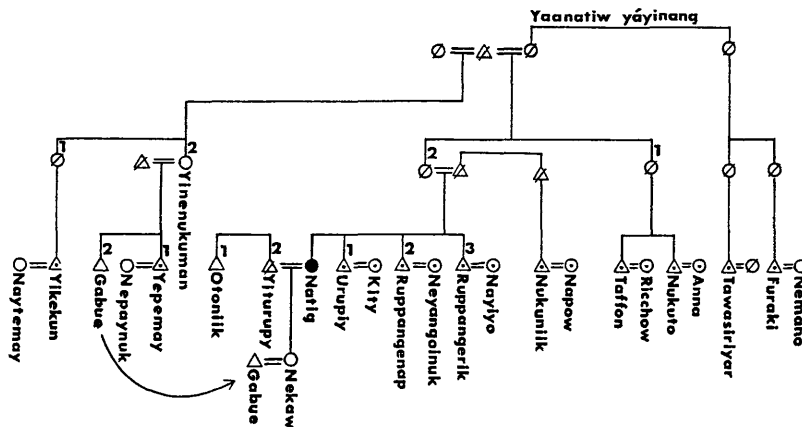


Figure 5. Honorific Word Usage of Natig.

- (3) Among affines, honorific words are used when speaking to a male in the *kówúrh* category, his wife, and the husbands of his wife's sisters who are older than the wife, e.g., WB, WelZH.

If ego is female she must use honorific words to kin and affinal members of the same generation, to all males in the *mwengeyáng* category, to older sisters and relatively older females in the *pwii* category, and to daughters of *tukufáyiy* and their spouses, e.g., B:W, MBS:W, elZ:H.

In summary, a male ego must use honorific words to kin and affines in the *tukufáyiy*, *pwii*, and *kówúrh* categories; a female ego, to kin and affines in the *mwengeyáng* and *pwii* categories.

(b) *Yepin yangetá wóón*. *Yepin yangetá wóón* literally translated means "to touch anything above"; that is, it is a prohibition on touching the upper part of a person's body, especially from the neck up. As a prayer for the safe voyage and return of Satawalese males setting out on a long voyage, women put tumeric powder on the upper parts of the bodies of their husbands and sons and other male members of the clan. This ritual takes place on the beach. Sisters, forbidden to participate in this ritual, can only sit on the sand and watch. If a man becomes ill, then that person's sister's son (*fatúw*) cannot massage his ill uncle's upper body. The categories of kin and affinal members who must obey this *yepin yangetá wóón* taboo are the same as those for *kkepaseyawaaawa*, listed above.

(c) *Yóppworo*. *Yóppworo* literally translated means "to bend from the waist" or "to crouch"; it refers to occasions when a person must assume a lower posture before someone else. Women must assume this low posture when they see or walk past men of the *mwengeyáng* category. If the man is standing, she only needs to crouch; but if he is sitting, either she must ask him to stand or she must herself assume an even lower posture such as crawling to pass in front of him. Should she wish to pass in front of the house of a man to whom she must observe *yóppworo*, even if he is not visible, she first must confirm that he is not at home before walking by the house.

These behavior norms are observed not only in interactions among people in daily life but also in residences and at work. Unmarried males and males who have returned to their own *purukos* (homestead where lineage members live) cannot live in the same house as their sisters, nor can they build and live in a house near a sister, because the sister's behavior is regulated by their actions. An extreme example is the prohibition on sisters' moving about if their brothers are asleep. To avoid these complications the males traditionally sleep in a *wuutt* (canoe house) built on the beach, or they build a house quite far from their *purukos*. Recently, in three instances males have built houses near their sisters. However, these houses are not the traditional earthen-floor type but have

the distinctive feature of raised beds, so the women can walk with bended waists past sleeping males.

An interesting observation is that the *yóppworo* behavior norm requires not only that the female assume a lower posture but also that there be distance between the two. Even when males and females work together they must observe *yóppworo*, so the males must always be aware of the effect of their presence on a sister's behavior. When the sisters wish to gather fallen coconuts or breadfruit, they must ask their brothers to stand before they can begin. Should they wish to pass in front of their brothers who are sitting and working, they must ask their brothers to stop their work and stand. Because of these behavior norms, brothers and sisters avoid working together as much as possible.

Yóppworo behavior norms apply not only to the opposite-sex siblings. Males must lower their heads when passing in front of their own older brothers, as well as their wives' brothers. However, observance of *yóppworo* among males is not as strict as among females, and the males only need to lower themselves a little.

The nature of *yepin me wóón* and the kin and affined categories that must observe the taboo have been discussed. The interpersonal relationships in which the taboos of *kkepaseyawaana*, *yepin yangetá wóón* and *yóppworo* apply are (1) between male *fatúw* and *tukufáyiy*, (2) among those older and younger in the *pwii*, clan members, and *yafakúr*, (3) between women and those in their *mwengeyáng*, and (4) among *kówurh*.

B. *Pininmwengeyáng*

In Satawalese society, the *mwengeyáng* in the kin category, who are opposite-sex siblings, must obey many behavioral norms in interpersonal relationships. Sisters are forbidden to touch their brothers' possessions, and both brothers and sisters are forbidden to say anything having sexual connotations.

(a) *Yepin yúún*. *Yúún* is a verb meaning "to drink" or "to inhale", and this taboo strictly forbids sisters from touching anything their brothers have touched with their mouths. A sister is forever forbidden to handle any eating or cooking utensil which her brother has even once touched with his lips. Even if he has not touched the plate with his lips but has placed on the plate food which he has chewed, the plate and pot are taboo items. However, brothers are not forbidden to use their sisters' utensils or smoke their sisters' cigarettes. *Yepin yúún* applies to males and females in the *mwengeyáng* category.

(b) *Yepin waisor*. *Waisor* is a verb meaning "to pick up", and this taboo forbids sisters from using anything which their brothers have worn or usually carry with them. For instance, sisters cannot take out any article from their brother's *pwetów* (bag made of coconut leaves), nor can they

eat any food in the bag. Sisters are also prohibited from wearing any of their brothers' head ornaments or necklaces. Nor can sisters smoke their brothers' cigarettes.

(c) *Yepin sepao*. *Sepao* are roughly woven coconut mats used in the house. These mats are placed directly on the floor, and pandanus mats (*kiekiy*) are put on top of the *sepao* to be slept on. This taboo prohibits sisters from entering the place where their brothers are sleeping. Should a brother become ill, his sister cannot go near him but must observe him from a distance such as the doorway.

(d) *Yepin kiekiy*. *Kiekiy* are mats woven from pandanus leaves. Bedding in Satawalese society consists of a pandanus mat, a pillow, a covering, and (sometimes) a mosquito net. When these items are not needed, they are rolled up in the *kiekiy* and left in the house. Should the men set out to visit other islands, they take their *kiekiy*, which contains their pillow and covering. This taboo forbids sisters from touching their brothers' bedding not only when they are left in the house but even when the brothers are away on a trip. Should a sister need to give her brother his bedding, she must do so by picking it up with a long pole and extending it to him, to prevent having any contact.

(e) *Yepin mangak*. While the translation of *mangak* is "cloth", traditionally it refers to the loincloth (*téér*), which is woven in Satawal. The *téér*, which is made out of banana (*Musa* spp.) or hibiscus (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) fibers wove on a loom, is a long and narrow cloth about 50 cm wide and 150 cm long. Those who wear *téér* are women who have begun to menstruate, signifying their coming of age. This taboo forbids sisters from showing their brothers a loincloth not being worn. When a loincloth is not being used it is hung under the eaves of a corner of the house, and no males are allowed near this area, which is restricted to women. Women must hang their washed loincloths only under the eaves and in no other part of the house. It is also taboo for opposite-sex siblings to touch each other's loincloths.

(f) Other taboos. The taboos among siblings listed above are those which have specific names; but there are others, without names, categorized under the behavior norm on *yepin mwengéyang*.

One of these taboos restricts a sister from entering her brother's house. Should a brother become ill, the sister, being strictly forbidden to enter the house, can only observe from the entranceway. A sister can only enter and look after her brother if he is dying. Should she be in his home to look after him, she must sleep in the remotest area of the home, with a large pillar separating them.

Another taboo forbids sisters from showing their brothers the tattoo *makk* on their thighs. Satawalese women have tattoos on their wrists or thighs as a sign of maturity. This is true of most women over fifty. In

most instances the tattoos on the thighs cannot be seen, since they are covered by the loincloth. Revealing the tattoo implies having to remove the loincloth for sexual intercourse. This taboo therefore symbolically prohibits sexual relations between siblings.

The third taboo, which has some relationship to the second, forbids brothers from telling their sisters about the kind of hospitality received during a visit to another island. In the Central Caroline Islands, the women traditionally present food to men who have come by canoe (*waaserak*) from other islands; this custom, called *fayi rhóópwut* (contribution by women), entails warmly receiving these men with food such as taro and breadfruit prepared by women at the *wuutt*. Both married and unmarried women not only present food but sexually tempt the men by singing obscene songs. Males who succumb to the temptation are sexually attacked at once by the women.

Having been attacked is humiliating, and when they return to their own island the men need to inform their sisters. However, this humiliation cannot be directly conveyed to their sisters; rather, it indirectly told, by telling the story to the clan's children. The women then have the responsibility of making the men who come from the island their brothers have just visited, feel just as humiliated as their brothers felt. Their brothers are forbidden to reveal to their sisters the obscene songs or the nature of the sexual attack because, as we have seen, siblings cannot mention sexual words in their conversations.

The many taboos among siblings is a characteristic feature of interpersonal relationships in Satawalese society.

Women have to observe more taboos than their brothers because it is considered that women are always lower in status than males.

C. *Kkepasepin*

Kkepasepin literally means "taboo words" and is related to *kkepasep-gaw* ("dirty or bad words"). The taboo of *kkepasepin* forbids men and women from mentioning certain words (Table 6). Most forbidden words refer to human sexual organs, excretory actions, and sexual relationships involving relatives.

The list of taboo words includes euphemistic words which can be used as well as those which can never be uttered. When a person wishes to say "I am going to the toilet" he can say *yi pwe nó yameyóu* but not *yi pwe nó siir*. Mentioning the names of sexual organs in the presence of the opposite sex is strictly forbidden. This taboo must be observed, without exception, by all males and females.

Sanctions

In Satawalese society sanctions are imposed on those who violate taboos. The two large categories of sanctions are social and religious.

Table 6. Words of *kkepasepin*

Word	Meaning	Substitute Word
1. <i>tingiy</i>	female genital organ	
2. <i>kkor</i>	pubic hair	
3. <i>see</i>	male genital organ	
4. <i>ruumw</i>	the top of the penis	
5. <i>faistéén</i>	testicles	
6. <i>pwúrúw</i>	anus	
7. <i>faytúttún</i>	clitoris	
8. <i>kiniyse</i>	the skin of the testicles	
9. <i>pwaar</i>	a part of the female genital organ	
10. <i>kkus</i>	spermatozoon	
11. <i>ngúfarh</i>	menstruation	
12. <i>fee</i>	sexual intercourse	
13. <i>yirir</i>	musturbation	
14. <i>rakarak</i>	the action of sexual intercourse	
15. <i>paa</i>	excrement	<i>fannikat</i>
16. <i>siir</i>	urine	<i>yameyow</i>
17. <i>mesáik</i>	ecstasy	<i>kker</i>
18. <i>yámwár</i>	lover	
19. <i>yámwesów</i>	tryst	
20. <i>rapiy taan</i>	thigh	

Social sanctions are physical punishments. A brother can strike his sister for not observing *yóppworo* in his presence by hitting (*nni* ["to hit or kick"]) her. This beating can even be so severe as to cause death (*nnino* [beat to death]). These sanctions are always imposed on those who break the *yepin me wóón* and *pininmwengeyáng* taboos. The Satawalese dislike having anyone make these "mistakes" because it brings-shame (*shaw*) on the *yáyingang*. Parents make special efforts to thoroughly teach their children about *yepin* to prevent these mistakes from occurring.

Religious sanctions are imposed by the spirits or other supernatural forces and are associated with the belief in *riya*, the injury or harm which will occur the day after a taboo has been broken. *Riya* will not only affect the person who broke the taboo but can also affect those who were not bound by the taboo or even their *yáyingang* members. If A did not observe *kkepaseyawaawa* to B, A and B could suffer sickness, harm, or even death as punishment. Should a member of *yáyingang* become ill for no apparent reason, the illness can be attributed to a retribution.

A distinctive feature of this sanction is that not only the taboo violator but the offended person and family members of both parties can be punished by the unnamed supernatural being. Should anything unusual occur because a taboo has been broken it is often attributed to *riya*. The Satawalese believe not only that *riya* intervenes when *yepin* are violated in interpersonal relationships but also that *riya* is the cause of any "undesirable situation" which occurs after some mishap in human

relationships or in the social order (e.g., not fulfilling marriage obligations or breaking the taboo against entering a forbidden territory). The prescription of severe sanctions for the breaking of taboos is a distinctive aspect of Satawalese society.

While strict behavioral norms exist for *yepin me wóón* and *pininmwengeyang*, this is not so for *kkepasepin*, which does not have clearly stated sanctions. For example, if a male should speak a "dirty word", such as the name of a sexual organ, in front of a female, he is merely scorned as a person who knows no shame or dismissed as a boy who often makes these mistakes.

Avoidance and Social Status

Those in Satawal who must observe the avoidance behavior of *yepin me wóón* and *pininmwengeyang*, as discussed in the above section, are (1) *fatúw* and *tukufáyiy* males, (2) *pwií*, (3) *mwengeyang* males and females, and people of the *kówurh* category and their spouses. The Satawalese also feel that those of lower status must obey all taboos toward those of higher status.

The factors determining the social status of two kinsmen in taboo relationships are (1) whether one is male or female, (2) whether one is of an older or younger generation, (3) whether one's relative age is older or younger, and (4) whether one belongs to the same clan or not. Table 7 lists the kin categories based on the above four criteria. Situations in which social status among kin members is ambiguous are only those involving males of different generations of the same clan and those involving males and females of the same generation. Relative age is an important factor among individuals of the same sex and the same generation.

The following conclusions can be drawn about the social status relations among kinsmen, based on the four factors and as illustrated in Table 7. Among kin of different generations of the same clan, older males have higher status than younger males. Among kin of the same

Table 7. Factors Determining Social Status

Relationship	Ego			
	<i>fatúw</i> (Male)	<i>pwií</i> (Male)	<i>mwengeyang</i> (Female)	
1 Sex	male	male	male	male
2 Generation	older	same	same	same
3 Relative Age		older	older	
4 Clan	same	same	other	
	MB, MMB	eIB, MelZS	FeIBS	B, MZS

generation men have a higher status than women, and those who are older have a higher status than those who are younger.

Social status between ego and an affined clan member depends on whether the person is a relative through marriage to ego's kin or related through ego's own marriage. In the former instance ego's status within his kin group determines his social status relative to an affine. For example, ego's social status is lower than that of his older brother's wife because it is lower than that of his older brother. Since his sister-in-law has a higher status he must observe all taboos toward her. Conversely, since ego has a higher status than his sisters, he automatically has higher status than their husbands. But in relations with members of his wife's kin, his status is determined by her status. Since she has a lower status than her brothers, her husband automatically has a lower status and must observe all taboos toward her brothers. Toward his wife's older sister's husband, he has a lower status because his wife is younger. But, according to Figure 6, the status of A and E is the same for siblings who are married to each other's sisters. People having these relationships must mutually observe the taboos.

Although males do not have to observe taboos toward female kin, among affines ego must observe *yepin me wóón* toward his brothers' wives. Females may have to observe taboos toward their brothers' wives as well. Thus a spouse's social status is the same as that of the person to whom he/she is married, although sometimes in affine relationships males can have equal social status.

Based on these three rules, kin members who have a higher status than the male ego are *tukufáyiy* and older *pwií* and males in the *yafakúr*, and for the female ego its *mwengeyáng*, relatively older *pwií* and *yafakúr* categories of people.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper I have examined avoidance behavior in Satawalese society by analyzing various behavioral forms in their interpersonal

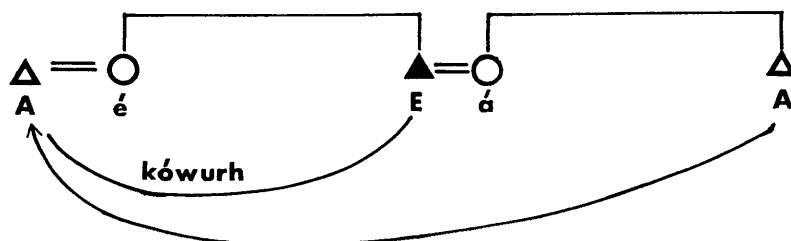


Figure 6. Affinal Status.

relationships. The three types of behavioral forms are the taboo toward a higher person of higher status (*yepin me wóón*), the taboo between opposite sexes (*pininmwengeyáng*), and the taboo on speaking certain words (*kkepasepin*). The taboo *yepin me wóón* consists of having to use honorific words, being forbidden to touch the body, and assuming a low posture. The honorific words are mostly those referring to the human sense organs or words which mention the use of these organs. The forbidden parts of the body are from the neck and above. Low posture means never standing higher than a person who has a higher status, and this is symbolically represented by the need to maintain spatial distance as well. The taboo *pininmwengeyáng* forbids touching any ornaments worn on the upper part of the body or bedding items and speaking any words having a sexual connotation. The taboo *kkepasepin* forbids mentioning any words referring to sexual organs or acts of excretion.

Male clan members of different generations are required to observe *yepin me wóón* in interpersonal relations. In contrast, among kin members of the same generation, same-sex and opposite-sex siblings are required to observe the taboo but brothers are exempt from observing it toward their sisters. The *pininmwengeyáng* taboo is restricted to opposite-sex siblings; but except for the taboo against mentioning words with sexual connotations, which applies to both sexes, most restrictions are on the female's behavior.

The relative social status of two persons in the kin category determines who must observe the taboo. The three determining factors of social status in Satawalese society are generation among those of different generations in the same clan (i.e., older men have a higher status than younger men), and among those of the same generation sex (i.e., males have a higher status than females) and relative age (i.e., an older person has a higher status than a younger one). Also, between ego and his/her affines, the spouse has the same status as the person to whom he/she is married.

One of the three distinctive features of avoidance behavior in Satawal is that most taboo is concerned with behavior among opposite-sex siblings. The most recent reports on avoidance behavior relationships in which people are forbidden to look at each other are from Africa, where males are forbidden to look at the faces of their wives' parents (Beidelman, 1966; Matsuzono, 1979, 1981; Nagashima, 1972; Rigby, 1968; Sweetser, 1966; Ueda, 1975). In Polynesia and in Micronesia such taboo behavior has not been reported (Sweetser, 1966: 306). However, in these latter areas strict avoidance behavior among kin of close generations and opposite-sex siblings have been observed. For example, in Tonga avoidance behaviors between children and their father's sisters are much stricter than those between other relations. It is *tapu* for the children to touch their aunt or her food, clothing, or bed; nor can they enter the room in which her dead body is lying. Among siblings it is forbidden to

show one's naked body after age 10, to touch each other's clothing, beds, or suitcases, and to sleep, eat, or sit in the same room; and they must speak to each other politely (Aoyagi, 1966: 161; Gifford, 1929: 17-21; Kaeppler, 1971: 177; Koch, 1955: 68-69). In Samoa, conversing, eating, and touching each other's bodies or possessions are forbidden among opposite-sex siblings, *tuagane* and *tuafafine* (Mead, 1930: 138). It has also been reported that in various societies in Micronesia the taboo on words with sexual connotations is stricter among opposite-sex siblings of the same generation than among close kin of adjacent generations (Goodenough, 1951: 116-117; Komatsu, 1982: 129-152; Marshall, 1972: 54, Mason, 1954: 203-204, Spoehr, 1945: 195-196).

Avoidance behavior among opposite-sex siblings is a feature not only of Satawalese society but also of Micronesian and Polynesian societies. While in these societies both sexes must obey the taboos, a distinctive feature of Satawalese society is that the sisters are held solely responsible for obeying the taboos. An extreme example of this is *yepin me wóón*, in which females are always lower in status than males, as the result of stratifying members into classes.

On the other hand, among behavior restrictions for opposite-sex siblings in *pininmwengyáng*, both sexes must mutually observe the taboo on sexual matters. While similar taboos can be found in Oceania, there is a need for more comparative studies. At the same time, avoidance behavior among opposite-sex siblings should be studied with reference to marriage rules concerning incest.

The second distinction is that the avoidance behavior *yepin me wóón* applies to both kin and affine members, and this is a distinctive feature of Satawalese society in contrast to other Micronesian societies. As in Micronesia, *pin me wóón* does exist in Romonum Island, Truk (Goodenough, 1951: 111-116). In this island the six behavior restrictions of *pin me wóón* are (1) observance of polite greetings, called *fääjirö*, (2) *jöpwörö* (stooping from the waist), (3) being forbidden to sit with a person of a higher status, (4) being forbidden to refuse to fulfill a request from a person of higher status, (5) using polite words, and (6) being forbidden to use vulgar words (*föösuh fiwuuw*).

These forbidden acts must not only be observed between ego and members of his kin and affinity groups but also between himself and regional chiefs and bards (preservers of traditional knowledge [*jitag*]). However, whereas only a few of these items need to be observed between ego and his kin and affines, all these behavior restrictions must be observed in interpersonal relationships with regional chiefs and *jitag*. In Ponape, behavior forms known as *wahu* regulate how people of respect, authority, prestige and those who are sacred are to be honored and respected (Carvin and Riesenberg, 1952; Morioka, 1980; Shimizu, 1982). These regulations apply not only to members of kin and affinity categories (siblings, parents and children of opposite sex, brother-in-law,

members of the same family), but also between the people and the chief.

In Satawal the highest-ranking chief (*sómoon*) among the chiefs of the three clans is the chief of the island. The avoidance behavior of the people toward the chiefs is the same as that toward males of higher status in the same clan. If ego and chief lack kin or affinity ties, the taboos need not be observed. Avoidance behavior toward people who possess traditional navigational knowledge or who know how to calm storms is determined not by these special factors but by these individuals' status in the kin groups. That the avoidance practice does not extend beyond members of kin and affinity categories means that the social structure is not highly differentiated.

Thirdly, in Satawal, in contrast to the extreme avoidance behavior, there is an absence of "aggressive" joking behavior. "Aggressive" joking behavior is speaking to another person in obscene sexual or abusive language, even with intent to intice. In Satawal a relaxed attitude toward borrowing a person's property without censure occurs only among one's father's younger brothers. However, even among these uncles, cursing is done only with restraint. This lack of permissiveness toward joking behavior, even among maternal uncles or among opposite-sex siblings, in contrast to the restrained avoidance behavior, is also true in Samoan society. According to Mead (1930: 138), while avoidance is generally practiced in Samoa, joking is not.

While aggressive joking behavior is not encouraged in Satawal, because males and females are forbidden to utter words with sexual connotations, joking is permitted between females and visiting males from other islands in *fayi róópunt*. The singing of songs with lyrics having overt sexual connotations and the impolite provocative gestures of the females toward these visiting males can be called "aggressive" joking behavior. This is the only form in which such behavior is tolerated.

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