

THE WOODCARVERS OF KITAWA AND THEIR CANOES:
A LINGUISTIC AND AESTHETIC ANALYSIS
OF VISUAL ART IN MELANESIA

by

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Abstract

The present thesis is concerned with problems of aesthetic and symbolic interpretation presented by the analysis of the graphic signs carved on the prows of the ceremonial canoes of Kitawa, one of the so-called kula ring islands (Milne Bay, Melanesia). These canoes are specially made for periodic ritual voyages to other islands in search of valuable objects.

The analysis is based on two periods of field-work in Kitawa (undertaken in 1973-74 and 1976) in the course of which the author learnt the principal language of the island and recorded his discussions with the local carvers about their art. The most important of these sound recordings have been transcribed, analysed and translated, and the texts are submitted as an appendix to the thesis.

In his analysis of the prows the author has adapted the Danish linguist L. Hjelmslev's theory on the structure of a sign to make it appropriate for aesthetic and symbolic interpretation. He is also indebted to the work of J. Mukařovský of the Linguistic Circle of Prague. In particular he has adopted Hjelmslev's articulation of a sign into a content plane and an expression plane. The latter is considered to be the privileged one, at which a non-verbal sign (e.g. a graphic sign carved on a prow) expresses its aesthetic values. Granted that, it is possible to comprehend the aesthetic meanings of a graphic sign, either taken by itself, or in relation to the whole surface of the prow. These meanings are self-contained, i.e. they are independent of elements which are extra-contextual to the prow.

The latter (e.g. myths, tales, semantic values, etc.) have been considered only when the author has interpreted a graphic sign symbolically. To do this he has worked on the content plane of a word which designates a graphic sign. That is, a meaning, or set of meanings, expressed by such a word has been interpreted as a metaphor for something else and this metaphorical value has been linked with that graphic sign.

That the distinction between the aesthetic and the symbolic interpretation of a graphic sign which has been made by the author — on the basis of both Hjelmslev's theory and Mukařovský's methodology — receives independent support from the Kitawa wood carvers themselves, is shown in the 'Aesthetic Conversations' given in the Appendix (Volume II), even if this is sometimes stated metaphorically.

To Americo and Anna and to the memory
of Towitara Buyoyu

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All anthropologists owe something to their 'informants'. Few can have been as indebted as I have been to Towitara Buyoyu, to whom, as well as to my parents, this thesis is dedicated.

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Introduction

Sometimes I have very stimulating discussions with friends of mine educated in the Anglosaxon tradition, about the contradictions which seem to characterize Italian civilization — for example, the dichotomy between the beauty of its art, particularly in the XVth and XVIth centuries, and the apparent waywardness of its politics. But such a judgement probably reflects a methodological problem which has nothing to do with the contradictions of life in Italy. That is, a work of art such as a painting, for example the Madonna della seggiola by Raphael,¹ is appreciated in itself without reference to social structure, in this case Renaissance society, in which the work was painted.

In other words, the perceiver looks only at the forms and colours of the painting, and in doing this he focuses on the apparent characteristics of a visual work of art, namely:

- a) a painting is detachable from the social context in which it was produced, because it appears to the perceiver as a selfcontained work, isolated in space as a material object, which can be perceived without reference to social context, or at any rate the latter is 'all represented' in the framework of the painting;
- b) a painting, just because it is a 'closed work', expresses its meaning, or ensemble of meanings, only at the level of forms. That is, the formal framework 'carries' the content in its own technical language (i.e. the organized relationships between colours and shapes). So Raphael's painting conveys all its meanings to the eyes of the perceiver which interacts as a continuum with his mind during the first moment of perception. He might be attracted, for example, by the mildness of the face of the Madonna, or the enraptured glance of the figure at her right and the capricious softness of the feet of the Holy Child. The social background which probably influenced the work of Raphael appears only through the medium of forms

(1) About 1516. Now in Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

(shapes and colours) and their relationships, as they have been chosen by him. But it should be kept in mind that when the perceiver tries to characterize the social background which influenced the iconography of the painting, he acts as a critic who introduces into his analysis extra-contextual elements which, even if they are helpful in understanding the work of art, do not add anything to its expressiveness and aesthetic values. In this case we should only have an analysis which is interested in the framework of the painting. Such an analysis however is based on the assumption that the graphic signs which form the painting are equal to a verbal sign characterized by the double articulation into a content and its associated expression. Yet this assumption seems to me irrelevant to an aesthetic reading of Raphael's Madonna, because 'what' is seen is only the form of the painting not its content. To discover the content would mean going beyond the boundaries of an aesthetic analysis and onto the symbolic or content level. To be conscious of this dichotomy means to recognize the self-expressive power of a work of visual art, which should be read only as a framework of the formal elements.

But why should a formal reading be criticized as being too abstract and based on a sort of Kantian approach? I do not deny the validity of the context in which a work of visual art was produced; but I shall consider this context only when engaged in a symbolic analysis. In other words, a formal approach is peculiar to an aesthetic analysis, even if I must recognize that the cultural background of a researcher, for example an ethnographer such as myself interested in Melanesian art, plays a fundamental part in this reading of an aesthetic object.

My background as an ethnographer

I had a classical education. I learned Greek and Latin, the History of Art, Philosophy (from the pre-Socratic period to the Italian neo-Idealism of

G. Gentile and B. Croce),² and then Italian literature with an emphasis on Dante and the authors of the XVith century.

Recalling those years, the fragments of my youth, I see that they contain some eccentricities which characterized my education and which no doubt help to explain my approach to the analysis of the ethnographical data collected on Kitawa island (Milne Bay, Melanesia), where I carried out field work.³

Before and during the years which I spent at the Liceo Classico until my last years at the University of Rome, I was affected by asthma. It will be remembered that we owe Proust's major work to the isolation necessitated by his asthma. I too was forced to live isolated in a quite large room, facing the sea. The room was almost empty; the walls were white and a window was shaded during the spring and the hot summer by the leaves of a gigantic fig-tree which occupied the central side of a terraced garden. When the door of my room was open I could see the long corridor in which there towered a terracotta stove and, through a small passage, the hall with the cane mesh ceiling decorated with geometric designs painted in pastel colours. The designs gave the illusion of distance and made the hall seem even larger. The fact that my room was between the silent, large hall and the long corridor which separated the room from the rest of the house, seems to have developed my receptiveness and power of observation. For many years I invented images and 'painted' forms. From the shadows made by the tree's leaves on the empty walls, I created my own company. I observed with prolonged concentration the stucco designs which formed

(2) Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944), was a follower of the Idealism of Hegel which he interpreted in a subjective manner. The philosophy of Gentile is known as 'attualismo' (actualism).

Benedetto Croce (1866-1952), who was a sensible interpreter of the thought of F. De Sanctis and A. Labriola as well as of Hegel, devoted his intellectual energy to the study of aesthetics and literary criticism. He was a very prolific writer, and among his books it should be remembered Estetica come scienza dell'espressione e linguistica generale (1902), Problemi di estetica (1910), Breviario di estetica (1912), Nuovi saggi di estetica (1920), Poesia popolare e poesia d'arte (1933) and La Poesia (1936).

(3) Field work was carried out from June 1973 to August 1974, and then from June 1976 to November 1976. The 'Aesthetic Conversations' with Tonori Kiririyei and Siyakwakwa Tonisuiya, taperecorded in 1976, have been checked with Kaigabu Kamnamaiya at the Department of Language, University of Papua New Guinea (Port Moresby), from September 1980 to November 1980.

intricate arabesques on the ceiling of the room. My imagination wandered freely without the controls usually exercised on a young mind by school and contact with contemporaries. I spent a long time surrounded by silence. I spent hours and hours looking at the reproductions printed in books on Indian art and mythology, which my father had brought back from India, with beautiful paintings and boxes inlaid with ivory and ebony. But I paid no attention to the texts which were in English and Hindi. I had no curiosity for the 'content' embodied in the words.

I spent a lot of time in a studio with two square windows looking at the sea. The studio was behind the hall. I painted on impulse; I never read a book on the technique of painting and never had a teacher. My mind and my hand were completely free. Sometimes I copied the works of M. Vlaminck, O. Kokoschka, J. Gris and R. Delaunay. I was attracted by the colours of H. Matisse and the shapes of Paolo Uccello and Piero della Francesca. Unfortunately, the fumes from oil colours caused fits of asthma and I was forced to use watercolours.

My interest in 'forms' was re-inforced in the first years of the Liceo Classico by the study of Philosophy and History of Art. In fact, from time to time I was able to go to the school where I met with a very stimulating teacher. It was he who gave me the impression that a philosopher is a sort of Creator of ideas, just as a painter is a Creator of images. Only later did I realize that he was a follower of the phenomenology of E. Husserl and M. Heidegger, which was exceptional for an Italian scholar usually oppressed by a strange combination of Neo-Idealism and Marxism. He gave remarkable lectures on the Poetics of Aristotle as well as on the Logic of E. Husserl. Following his lessons my interest in the abstractness of a theory became more clear, and now it is hard to determine whether I was, and still am, attracted by a theory and its methodology rather than by the data because of the 'rationalist' and 'formalistic' education of my youth, or because I was, and still am, unable to recognize the so-called 'independence' of the 'external world'. This is to say, I can perceive only 'forms'. This tendency to look at 'forms', to 'what appears visually', was corrected a little by a growing interest in psychoanalysis, which I felt when one of my private tutors (engaged as replacements for the teachers of the Liceo Classico during my frequent fits of asthma) brought me books by S. Freud, such as Totem and Taboo, and by L. Lévy-Bruhl such as L'Âme primitive. He was reading books on philosophy and I had exhausting

conversations with him which overstimulated me and made me excitable. Probably I had realized, unconsciously, that a painting for example, when submitted to a psychoanalytic interpretation was not reducible to 'what' was for me a 'clear understanding', that is the possibility of reduction to a theory which might give a reason for its framework as well as for the mechanism of its composition. My suspicion of the psychoanalytic approach to art remained unchanged. Perhaps it was just a question of an inability to use the psychoanalytic techniques.

After the diploma in Classical Studies, I had to decide in which faculty to register. My personal inclination was to choose Architecture or Philosophy. But the first option failed because of the strong opposition of my parents who were worried that such a choice would involve stressful sojourns in the University of Rome, which they judged to be unsuitable for my health. On the other hand they rejected Philosophy because they felt that a 'sensitive' mind, such as they supposed mine to be, would be excessively disturbed! Finally, pressed by my maternal grandfather, I registered in the Faculty of Political Sciences with a view to entering the diplomatic service.

I was completely disappointed by the lectures given in the Faculty, which was then dominated by a sort of post-Neo-Idealism. So, I decided to follow the lectures and seminars of some pupils (particularly Emilio Garroni and Lucio Colletti) of Galvano della Volpe,⁴ undoubtedly one of the most distinguished and brilliant minds of Italian Intelligentsia of the sixties.

I am sure I was interested in G. della Volpe's School because its members were more attracted by theory than by praxis. E. Garroni, in particular, through his attitude to Emmanuel Kant, has exercised a remarkable influence on my analysis of ethnographical data collected on Kitawa. In his works, such as Progetto di Semiotica (1972), Estetica e Epistemologia

(4) Galvano della Volpe (1895-1968) was one of the most original interpreters of the thought of C. Marx, which he approached with a Kantian philosophical apparatus. He was attracted also by the linguistic structuralism of F. de Saussure, and was a supporter of the 'specificity' and 'independence' of the language which characterizes every aesthetic expression. His thought on the field of aesthetics is expressed in Crisi critica dell'estetica romantica (1941) and Critica del gusto (1960).

(1976) and Ricognizione della Semiotica (1977), he insists that the interpretation of a fact, or of a work of art, should be based on a theory, upon which a set of hypothesis should be formulated in order to prove the validity of the chosen theory. If the result of the interpretation is unsatisfactory, it means that the hypothesis has not been well formulated, or that the theory is not wide enough to encapsulate the fact or the work of art analysed.

Another suggestion of E. Garroni is that analysis should respect the 'specificity' (called by G. della Volpe 'lo specifico') of the topic which he is analysing. For example, even if a work of art can be placed in its social context and analysed as the product of a given society and period, it must nevertheless be remembered that it has its own identity and autonomy from a structural and expressive point of view: an autonomy which is expressed by means of a technical language which constitutes its 'specificity'. And the relations of a work of art with the general context in which it has been produced are resolved through a specific form which is different from other forms related to the same technical language. The relationship of the Gran duo, by F. Schubert, for example, to the Viennese society of the XIXth century is not identical to the relationship of any other musician of the same period, or to that of any other piece composed by Schubert. The insistence of E. Garroni on the 'specificity' of a language, both verbal and non-verbal, by means of which a work of art, such as a poem or a painting, expresses its own autonomy, came from the suggestions of linguistics, particularly from the structuralism of the Prague School and F. de Saussure, as well as from his Kantian philosophical background. And within the context of linguistic structuralism he has concentrated his attention on the problems of the 'expressiveness' of both verbal and non-verbal languages, with particular emphasis on the internal mechanism which determines a given expression-form. E. Garroni has also spent a great deal of energy on determining the boundaries between verbal and non-verbal signs, as well as the specificity of a non-verbal sign within the class of non-verbal signs, but his great knowledge of philosophical thought has allowed him to avoid the kind of semiological intoxication which sometimes characterizes approaches to the problems of aesthetics.

Through his books I was introduced to the linguistics of Louis Hjelmslev of the Copenhagen Linguistic Circle and to the writings of Jan Mukařovský of the Prague School.⁵ So, if there are a number of structuralist terms in the present work, they have been borrowed from the linguistic terminology of Hjelmslev and Mukařovský rather than from anthropological structuralism.

Influenced by the authors whom I have mentioned, I learned that every aesthetic expression, both verbal and non-verbal, is constructed on the ground of a schema which is chosen from an ensemble of schemata, which in their turn constitute a general system. That is, there are precise norms which operate in the field of aesthetic expression, and their arrangement within a framework determines a schema which may or may not be realized in a concrete model. The existence of these norms and their relationships gives an interpreter the chance to propose acceptable interpretations of any given work of art, ranging from a simple folkloric object to a masterpiece.

In fact, when a critic analyses a work of art he proposes an interpretative hypothesis which should reveal the schema on the ground of which the work has been produced, and this hypothesis may be criticized by other critics (as well as by the same author) if the work analysed is contemporary to both the critic and the author.

(5) Louis Hjelmslev (1899-1965), was Professor of Linguistics at the University of Copenhagen. He is the author of Prolegomena to a Theory of Language (1961, reprinted 1963, 1969) and Language (1970, originally published in 1963). See also Essais Linguistiques (1971). Jan Mukařovský (1891-1975), with V. Mathesius, R. Jakobson, N.S. Trubetzkoy, B. Havránek, B. Trnka and J. Vachek, developed in the Prague Linguistic Circle the theses of the Russian formalists. The Prague structuralism is characterized by an immanent analysis of the work of art, even if, contrarily to the Russian formalism, it does not exclude other types of approach. Moreover the Prague Circle emphasized that the historical characters affect a work of art only 'mediately'. Some of the works of Mukařovský have been translated into English: J. Burbank and P. Steiner (eds.), The Word and the Verbal Art (Selected Essays by J. Mukařovský) (1977), and by the same editors Structure, Sign and Function (1978). See M.K. Johnson (ed.), Recycling the Prague Linguistic Circle (1978), J. Fontaine Le cercle linguistique de Prague (1974), and L. Matejka (ed.) Sound, Sign and Meaning. Quinquagenary of the Prague Linguistic Circle (1976).

A theory is a sort of framework which can only be expected to direct an interpretative hypothesis, while the complexity of the reality can be left to correct the hypothesis if necessary and to enlarge the theory.

The ethnographical collections.

Following my final dissertation for the doctorate in Political Sciences, I was relatively free to cultivate my interest in Art and the Abstract. E. Garroni suggested that I should investigate the Aesthetics of the 'arti minori' in Italy during the XIXth century, with particular attention to the paintings. In the early stages of my work I discovered the School of Ethnological Sciences, attached to the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of Rome; and my interest in artifacts produced outside the Classical periods, which I inherited from my father, was rekindled. I started to visit the ethnographical collections in the Pigorini Museum, in the old XVIth century Jesuit Collegio Romano, Rome,⁶ where primitive objects were jumbled together in an arrangement all of their own: sculptures, almost all classified as 'ritual', baskets, pieces of canoes, etc.

Whoever arranged the objects may have been guided by the desire to present a sample of 'savagery'. It was a typical Museum showing the typical mentality of a man of the XIXth century with all his prejudices, complexes, unconscious images, wishes, fears, feelings, etc. Anyway, it was an old-fashioned dusty spot, where a visitor could manifest his own complexes as well as his own curiosity.

During my frequent visits to the Pigorini Museum I was attracted by the Loria Collection of Trobriand and Milne Bay artifacts, and I spent many months drawing spatulae, pestles and mortars (used for preparing betel nut), and then prows of kula canoes (Malinowski 1922), small sculptures in ebony, and so on. In retrospect, it is certain now that I was attracted by Melanesian art because it is so abstract and reveals an extraordinary sense of order, balance, harmony and symmetry.

(6) The Museo Etnografico e Preistorico L. Pigorini, has recently been moved to Piazza Marconi, in the new quarter EUR, planned during the Fascist period.

In the meantime I spent four months in the Museum of Tradizioni Popolari Rome, in order to write an essay on the symbolism of the graphic signs (hearts, flowers, suns, male and female sexes, etc.) engraved on the stecche da busto (whalebones for corsets) which Italian women used to wear under their clothes.⁷

Then, during the years 1970-1972 I was in Basle, London and Newcastle upon Tyne, analysing the ethnographical collections of the Arts of Milne Bay. In Basle I found a rich collection of ebony spatulae, pestles, mortars, walking sticks, bowls made from coconut shells and decorated with geometric designs, and bowls in teak and chiselled around the edge, some very old mvari (armshell) and vaiguwa (necklace), two eaves used to enclose the tympanum of a hut used to store yams. There were also skirts, fishing-nets, some war-shields (vayola, cf. Malinowsky 1922) which were well preserved the pigments being white black and red and only just patinated.

I discovered however that in the card index to the Archives of the Basle Museum every object collected in the Melanesia area was classified as 'ritual' or 'religious', or as and 'object for domestic purposes', even when the object was decorated with very sophisticated symbols and painted with shining colours. Thus it was not the exclusive peccadillo of the Pigorini Museum in Rome, but was common to many ethnographical collections which I visited.

During the time I spent drawing the objects collected in the Museum, my feeling for the symbols carved on them, as well for their shape and frame, increased. And in spite of the definition given by the card index that an ebony stick, for example, was 'used for walking', I paid attention mainly to the abstract symbols with which the stick was encrusted and which were filled with white pigment, so that the contrast between white (the engraved lines on the wood) and black (the ebony surface) seemed to me non-functional, that is, not related to the function of the object, but rather to the sense of beauty of the carver as well as of the culture to which the carver belonged.

(7) G.M.G. Scoditti. Le stecche da busto nell'Italia centromeridionale (1972).

I must confess that I was fascinated by the object seen in itself, as a complex of symbols whose content was to be seen only in the formal relationships between its graphic signs and its framework. In other words, the object was self-contained and as a perceiver as well as a critic I could understand 'what' the object meant: but only at the level of 'form'. Yet I could not understand what the object meant if I tried to analyse it as a message carrying other types of meanings, which I shall call 'symbolic meanings'. But, the curiosity to discover those meanings played a significant role in convincing me that I should carry out a field work in Milne Bay.

After Basle I worked in the Museum of Mankind, London, where I spent my time drawing the objects collected by B. Malinowsky in the Trobriand Islands.⁸ It is a large collection, even if it is not a good one. It seems to me to be a typical collection of someone apparently not endowed with outstanding taste. But, in spite of the unattractiveness of the Collection my feeling for the symbols carved and painted on some artifacts had changed into a strong curiosity to discover whether a Melanesian carver engaged in carving and painting thinks about what he is doing. For example, is his work a mechanical repetition of a standardized model? Does he associate any symbolic meaning with the graphic signs carved and painted on some of the artifacts? And is there a grammar, an aesthetic grammar of Trobriand art, or, at a more general level, of Melanesian art? I must confess that the books of B. Malinowski, such as The Argonauts of the Western Pacific as well as the two volumes Coral Gardens and their Magic, did not satisfy my curiosity.

During this study of the Malinowski Collection, I met professor A. Forge at the London School of Economics, who has paid a great attention to the formal aspects of the artifacts produced, for example, in the Sepik area. The conversations I had with him were decisive in convincing me that a 'formal' approach to the artifacts produced in Milne Bay would be possible.

(8) It is a pleasure for me to recall the fact that B.A.L. Cranstone, now Curator of Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, gave me the possibility to study the Malinowski Collection, which at that time was preserved on the stores of the British Museum. I would like to express my gratitude to him.

Then I went to Newcastle upon Tyne, where I spent about two months in classifying and drawing the artifacts of the G. Brown Collection, one of the best of Trobriand art.⁹ In the University I met Dr. H. Powell who in 1950 carried out a field work in Kiriwina. I read with great interest his Ph.D. thesis on Trobriand kinship and political systems, and after that became convinced that field work on the aesthetic aspect of the artifacts produced by the inhabitants of one of the kula ring islands would be very productive. A suggestion to this effect came by chance from Professor (now Sir) Edmund Leach and Dr. J.T. Tambiah, who at that time were Fellows of King's College, Cambridge.

The former suggested to me that I should analyse the coloured symbols on the war-shields used by Trobriand champions in ritual wars (Leach 1950). Professor Tambiah encouraged me to investigate the symbolism of the graphic signs carved on the prows of kula canoes. This last suggestion attracted me more than others and I decided to organize my field work in the Milne Bay area. But before doing so I felt the necessity to refine the topic of the research as well as the working hypothesis. Roughly speaking I realized that my attention had been focused on problems of aesthetics with a special interest in the forms by means of which a sign, verbal or non-verbal, can be said to 'signify', that is to express itself.

The methodology

I do not deny the validity of the content of a sign, but I am conscious that sometimes it is quite difficult to discover it, particularly when a sign expresses itself in a metaphorical form. Moreover the discovery of the content of a sign becomes more complicated when the sign is a non-verbal one, as in the case of the graphic signs carved on the prows of the canoes used for the kula.

In fact, in observing some kula canoe prows collected in ethnographical museums, I noted that the graphic signs carved on the wood surfaces followed a given order, which seems to give the prows a 'peculiar' function

(9) The G. Brown Collection is preserved in the Department of Social Studies, The University of Newcastle upon Tynes.

or value. This function consists of 'something' which I call 'aesthetic', and which is not expressed or satisfied by its other functions, such as, for example, the 'practical' and 'symbolic' ones. The aesthetic function is resolved by the order of graphic signs carved on the wood surface which expresses an ensemble of aesthetic values which we choose to refer as beauty, harmony, symmetry, etc.

In the case of a kula canoe prow, the aesthetic function is represented and resolved by the relations into which a carved graphic sign enters with other graphic signs within the framework of the prow. Its symbolic function, on the other hand, is represented by the content expressed at the verbal level by each graphic sign in itself and in relation to the other graphic signs within the whole framework of the object.

Thus the symbolic function of an aesthetic object (or an ensemble of non-verbal signs) is discovered in its association with a meaning or a family of meanings, which is not conveyed by the visual order of the graphic signs carved on the surface (in this case wood) of the object.

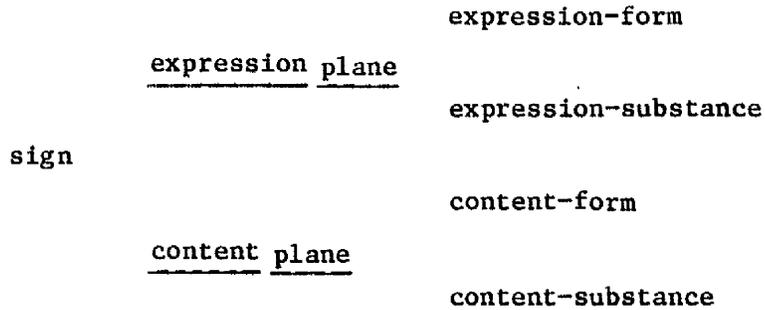
One of the problems which arises from the articulation of the prow into its three main functions, and which has also been a focus of my field work on Kitawa, is represented by the types of relationships which may be established between the above-mentioned functions, for example between the aesthetic function and the practical, which seem to be more closely related to each other than they are to the symbolic function. In fact, the symbolic function is separated from the practical and the aesthetic, because it conveys some meanings which are not wholly contained in visual matter (as in the case of the practical function which is served by the wooden triangular shape of the prow, and the aesthetic function which is served by the spatial order of the graphic signs) but belongs to extra-contextual elements such as, for example, a myth, a tale, and so on. The symbolic function is not carried by the triangular shape of the prow at all. The aesthetic and technical functions of the prow on the other hand seem to be strictly related to each other because both are expressed in the same visual matter or material: wood and colours. In fact, the practical function (the triangular shape carved on wood) and the aesthetic function (the framework of dots, scrolls, lines and other patterns) harmonize with one another, in the sense that the order of patterns does not contradict the triangular shape of the prow.

Hence, the relationships between the shape of a kula canoe's prow (that is, its practical function) and the order of graphic signs carved on it (that is, its aesthetic function) should be synthesized in the following manner:

- a) the shape of the object undoubtedly determines the order of graphic signs carved on it; as a corollary, each graphic sign should respect the shape of the object;
- b) at the same time the order of graphic signs reveals its own autonomy and appears to the eye of the perceiver as a mask superimposed on the surface of the wood. This impression is reinforced by the use of colours (black, white and red), which give to the ensemble of the graphic signs a greater measure of autonomy. The graphic signs without colours (as they appear in some prows collected in the ethnographical museums) seem more encapsulated in the wood shape, so it is quite difficult to perceive the dissociation between the practical function of the prow and its aesthetic function.

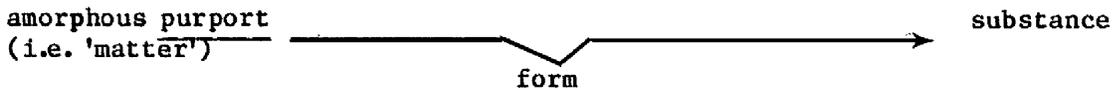
Starting from these premises, which arose in my mind during the classification of the kula prows, I felt the need to find a method which would allow me to give a plausible explanation of the raison d'être of the two planes (the expression plane where I put the aesthetic and the practical functions, and the content plane on which I put the symbolic function of the prow cf. Hjelmslev 1969:47-60) on which a kula prow seems to be articulated, and which would give an explanation at the methodological level of the aesthetic value of the prow. In other words, I should demonstrate that a prow is mainly an aesthetic object, or a work of art, and that it has been carved for aesthetic appreciation.

With regard to my purpose I found quite suggestive the work of L. Hjelmslev, particularly his books Prolegomena to a Theory of Language (1969) and Language (1970), as well as the writings of J. Mukařovský, for example Structure, Sign and Function (1977). From Hjelmslev I borrowed the articulation of a sign into content plane and expression plane, and within these two planes its further articulation into the 'content-substance' and the 'content-form', and the 'expression-substance' and the 'expression-form'. So, we posit that a sign, which in my interpretation of Hjelmslevian terminology should include both the verbal and the non-verbal, is articulated into the following elements:



Thus, a sign is not 'double-faced' like a double-headed Janus, but is 'quadruple-headed'; and the further articulation of the two planes into 'substance' and 'form' permits the investigation of the mechanism which determines the formation of a non-verbal sign and which justifies the separation of the practical and the aesthetic functions from the symbolic one. In fact, bearing in mind that Hjelmslev presupposes an amorphous purport (which in his terminology replaces the term 'matter') and that this purport becomes a 'substance' through a semiotic cut operated on it by a 'form', it follows that each sign, both verbal and non-verbal, is only the result of the intervention of a 'form'.

An amorphous purport (i.e. 'matter'), for example the spectrum of sound, becomes a substance, a given phoneme or a given note, through a cut, or a series of cuts operated by a 'form':



From the schematized formula of the Hjelmslevian hypothesis the consequence is that the cut on an amorphous purport is performed by a 'form' which attributes validity to it and transforms it into a substance, that is into a formed concept or object. It is form, both "content-form" and "expression-form", which gives validity to the purport and shapes it. And a given culture, such for example the Kitawan, has its own 'forms' which give peculiar shapes to a purport ('matter') common to every culture (Hjelmslev 1969:50-55). And within a given culture an individual cuts the amorphous purport by means of his own 'forms'. For example, (following Hjelmslev) the amorphous purport 'red', as a word, is cut in different ways ('substances') by the intervention of different 'forms', in different languages:

red, as an amorphous purport, becomes:

rouge, in French

rosso, in Italian

bweiyani, in Nowau (the language spoken on Kitawa)

These different 'forms' (terms) constitute the substance in the Hjelmslevian terminology. As a corollary, the amorphous purport is independent from the 'forms' and subsists in itself, but at the same time acquires an existence when it is 'named' by a 'form'. Yet the process of cutting differently is typical of every language and culture, and the analysis of a given culture should be an analysis of the forms by means of which it cuts an amorphous purport. At the same time, it follows that within a given culture/language the cuts performed on the same purport are different from those performed by another culture/language.¹⁰ In Nowau, for example, the purport of the word 'red' is cut into the following 'substances' (terms) in Italian:

<u>bweiyani</u>	rosso
<u>dova</u>	rosso carminio
<u>bwebwekena</u>	rosso-viola
<u>malaka</u>	rosso pompeiano
	rosso fuoco
	rosso caldo

This shows that in the Italian lexicon the system of classification of the colour red seems to be more detailed than in the Kitawan lexicon. But, it must be borne in mind that colours are sometimes classified on the basis of the pigments which allow their manufacture: on Kitawa, for example, the range of terms which classifies the colour 'yellow' is narrower than the range of terms for 'red', because yellow, as a paint, is formed only from the pollen of some flowers, while red can be formed from two or three pigments. But at the level of the perceived spectrum itself, the number of terms used to classify the colours increases: a Kitawan can classify the entire spectrum of colours which his eye can see, independently of the possibility and mode of their manufacture.

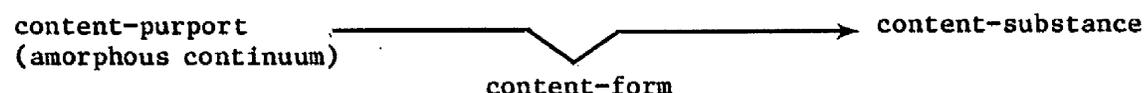
(10) In using terms such as 'cut', 'amorphous', 'purport' etc. I followed the terminology adopted by Hjelmslev in Prolegomena to a Theory of Language (1969:47-60).

The classification of a colour, analysed from a technical point of view, is narrower than the classification of the same colour analysed from an aesthetic point of view; and it is completely different when analysed from a symbolic point of view. In fact, considering the colour red in an aesthetic context (a kula prow, for example) shows that it is used to suggest the perception of depth, or three-dimensionality. Yet, on the other hand, red when is put on a lagimu or tabuya is always denoted by the same term: kara kaimalaka (cf. Chapter VII: The Colours of the lagimu and tabuya).

Finally, the classification becomes unpredictable when analysed from a symbolic point of view: red might suggest 'vitality', 'danger', as well as 'love', 'sexuality', etc.

But while both the practical and aesthetic functions can be classified because they belong to the expression plane, it is not easy to classify the symbolic function, because that belongs to the content plane, which is associated with the expression plane by arbitrary conventions, as in the case of a verbal sign. The analysis of the formation of the Nowau lexeme bweiyani, for example, is:

a) on the content plane = the amorphous purport ('matter') is cut by a form and becomes a 'formed' content:



That is, from the amorphous content (which can be represented as a continuum) a Nowau speaker cuts by a form a given concept or content. The content of the term bweiyani is a clearly-defined concept of red which may be or may not be represented on the expression plane, in the sense that the concept of bweiyani already exists per se. The double articulation of the content plane into 'content-substance' and 'content-form' allows us to understand that a verbal sign from a conceptual point of view exists without the support of the expression plane if, and only if, we are interested in its content.

Thus the content of a verbal sign is formed independently of its associated expression plane, the function of which is to express it in

oral and written forms. The lexeme bweiyani as a conceptual form refers to a given content which is different, for example, from the content of the lexeme 'black' or 'white', and within the amorphous mass of the concepts related to the colours it represents a 'piece' of this continuum.

b) on the expression plane: the process of formation of the lexeme bweiyani on its expression plane is identical to the process of formation on the content plane:



A Nowau speaker cuts the amorphous mass of the expression (a continuum of noise, in this case) by a given form and constitutes an 'expression-substance'. That is, a speaker who already has formed (on the content plane) a concept, searches the amorphous spectrum of sound for a 'form' which can represent it on the expression plane. Thus the cut which he performs on the expression plane is associated with the equivalent cut already performed on the content plane. The association between the two planes is totally arbitrary. In fact, each plane is valid 'in itself', because of the passage from a purport to a 'substance' which operates on both planes. The association between the content plane and the expression plane of a verbal sign is predetermined (by a given state in the history of a society and that of its language). Nobody on Kitawa argues, for example, about the association of the content plane with the expression plane of the lexeme bweiyani, in the sense that the chain of sounds is automatically associated to a given conceptual representation of the content 'red'. But, a poet for example, might dissociate the already established association between the two planes in order to introduce a new one. In fact, one of the features of the poetic medium is to establish new associations between the content plane and the expression plane of a verbal sign, even if this possibility exists in theory for all producers of signs.

To sum up, we have:

- a) a sign, verbal or non-verbal, is the result of an arbitrary association between the content plane and the expression plane;
- b) each plane is in itself well-formed and defined because of the passage from an amorphous purport to a substance;

the subject represented is sometimes a device used to 'mean' something or somebody that is outside the work , and the subject painted, or carved, acts as a metaphor.

Thus we should have the following readings of the symbolic meanings of Raphael's Madonna della seggiola:

- a) the standardized reading = the painting is the Madonna with the Holy Child;
- b) Raphael's reading = the painting might also be someone at random such as, for example, a mistress or the representation of a dream, and so on. In any case, at the level of the expression plane the painting represents a personal idea or feeling, the intention of a work of art. The Madonna della seggiola is above all a representation by Raphael of formal and technical devices devised to represent some relationships between 'shapes' and 'colours';
- c) the reading of a critic, expert in the Italian art of the XVith century, who looks at Raphael's painting as a masterpiece because he can appreciate the formal and the technical values which the painting represents in the History of Art. In this case we have a technical judgment.

Sometimes the standardized reading coincides with the reading of a critic, in the sense that the latter is responsible for the classification of a work of art as belonging to a given period, as well as of its symbolic meaning. In this case the public follows the judgment of the expert and the symbolic value of a work of art is accepted as 'obvious' even if the 'obviousness' is arbitrary, established by the culture in which it has been produced.

In the case of Raphael's Madonna della seggiola its symbolic value is determinable because it is a figurative painting, whose meaning is readily 'reconstructible' by the majority of Christian people who attribute to the shape of the woman (a woman of Western culture who carries a child in her arms) the symbolic value of a representation of the Madonna. But, without knowledge of this symbolism, I might as readily attribute a different meaning to Raphael's figure. In fact, a member of a culture in which a child is not carried in the arms but on the back (as in Kitawa) would not understand the symbolic meaning of Raphael's painting. This seems to me quite self-evident. So, it follows that Raphael's painting is interpreted

at the symbolic level as a Madonna with the Holy Child by a member of a Christian culture, or someone who has been educated to understand that culture. However, for a member of a non-Christian culture Raphael's painting is valid in itself, as an aesthetic expression or work of art, without any symbolic meaning or content. In the latter case, Raphael's painting is perceived as an aesthetic object which carries in itself its aesthetic function or value, as in the case of any work of art (including the kula prow). Yet, this idea of the aesthetic self-expressiveness of a kula canoe's prow is based on a series of hypotheses formulated interpreting the Hjelmslevian theory, as well as on some intuitions drawn from looking at the artifacts collected in the ethnographical museums. Is this situation the same for a carver of prows? Does he perceive a prow as an aesthetic object and in the same kind of terms as a man of the Renaissance period, or of contemporary society? And what are the elements that form a Melanesian's conception of 'aesthetics'? Is his judgement based on some precise values or norms? Is an object evaluated as 'aesthetic', or as a work of art, when it is covered with dots, scrolls, floral patterns, and so on? That would mean that the ornamental elements predominate over the functional ones. In any case, who can produce an aesthetic object? Is he a member of a group, a sort of medieval guild with its own rules, including initiation, taboos, etc.?

One of the main problems which exercised me before I carried out the field work in Milne Bay, was to find out whether an analysis of the process of carving and painting a prow might reveal the 'mechanism' which a carver follows in his work. In other words, whether a man, when he is carving, follows a given model of the prow, and/or whether he is free to modify the framework of the object. In fact, from the analysis of the prows collected in museums I had come to the conclusion that the carver of a prow probably reproduces a given model.

Another problem was to find out whether, from the analysis of the graphic signs carved on the prow, it would be possible to understand better whether the distinction between the aesthetic interpretation (on the expression plane) and the symbolic interpretation (on the content plane of the word which labels a graphic sign) of a non-verbal sign is 'general', that is, valid for every non-verbal sign produced in every society, or whether it is valid only for non-verbal signs produced in a 'Western' culture. One also needs to know whether this distinction, or dissociation

between the two planes, is peculiar to a non-verbal sign, so that it might not be possible to establish its symbolic content. If the latter hypothesis is correct, then it follows that the symbolic interpretation of a non-verbal sign is based on a series of elements which are completely extraneous to the nature of the non-verbal sign. And urged by these problems and intriguing possibilities, I decided to carry out field work in Milne Bay, particularly on Kitawa island.

Kitawa island and its place in the kula ring¹

Kitawa (in the Marshall Bennett Group)² is an elevated coral island with a central plateau about 175 metres above sea level (Map 1). The island lies about 25 kilometres east of Kiriwina and Vakuta in the Trobriands, and about 150 kilometres west of Woodlark, which is called Muyuw or Muyuwa (Map 2). Virtually the entire population lives and gardens on the fertile plateau. The southwestern perimeter of the island is a coconut plantation used sporadically now for indigenous copra production. The remaining littoral is primary lowland rain forest and occasional beach.

Kitawans are almost all subsistence gardeners, growing principally the yam (Discorea esculenta and alata) and small quantities of sweet potatoes, taro, tapioca, banana and coconut. Their methods of cultivation are essentially those described by B. Malinowski in Coral Gardens and their Magic. All men fish but sea food is eaten only rarely, being associated mainly with ceremonial occasions, such as sagali (mortuary rituals) and paka (feasts). Kitawans keep small numbers of bush-pigs and dogs which are totemic animals.

(1) This Chapter will be published, in a modified form, in E. Leach & J. Leach (eds.) 1982. The Kula Ring: New Perspectives on Massim Exchange, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

(2) I adopted the orthographic form 'Kitawa' instead of 'Kitava' as in Malinowski (1922:478-493) and in some other of my works (1975, 1977, 1980 and 1982), after the phonetic analysis of the morpheme, as well as of all morphemes used in the 'Aesthetic Conversations'. Moreover, I placed Kitawa in the Marshall Bennett Group and not in the Trobriand islands, as in recent maps. In fact, the geological structure of Kitawa is quite different from that of the Trobriands which are flat and swampy. Yet the language spoken by the inhabitants of the Lalela region, who are the autochthones of the island, is closer from a phonetic, syntactic and semantic point of view to the language spoken by the inhabitants of the Marshall Bennett (such as, for example, Iwa and Gawa) than to the Boyowa spoken by the Trobrianders.

The island is divided into three regions: Kumwageiya, Lalela and Okabulula (cf. Map 1). The southwest region is one large village (varu or veru) called Kumwageiya, containing five hamlets (katupusura) and associated garden land, in which 22% of the island's population live. Kumwageiyans think of themselves as emigrants from Vakuta island in the Trobriands and their language resembles Vakutan closely. They also consider themselves the most 'modern' village on Kitawa. The village was redesigned in the 1960s into two linear rows of semi-traditional houses with a path-street down the middle. Houses are of traditional materials, built in pre-colonial ground level A-frame design (Malinowski 1922: plates XXV and LXII) or raised style (1922: plate LVI) or raised long-front 'Fijian-style' houses, much larger than earlier types, which were introduced in the 1920s. Most households have simple yamhouses (bwema) where gardens' produce is stored in the roof. There are on the whole island only three display yamhouses (bwemaveka or liku), owned by hamlet leaders, as made famous in Malinowski's Trobriand ethnographies (1935 vol.I:240-272).

The southeast region, Lalela, has 35% of the population in three villages called Lalela, Lalekeiwa and Toraigasi. The former is linear and modelled on Kumwageiya whereas the latter two are circular in design as described in Malinowski's writings (1932:8-9 and figure 1). The people of the Lalela region consider themselves the autochthones of Kitawa but place their ultimate origins in the other Marshall Bennett islands. In fact, their language is still quite similar to that of Iwa, Digumenu, Kweiwata and Gawa.

Okabulula, the north, contains 43% of the population living in a series of small circular hamlets. There are two other villages in the region, Wapaiya

and Kodeuli.³ The people claim dual origins from Woodlark and the Omarakana area of northern Kiriwina and their language does have some resemblance to the speech of both areas. The principal tension among the three regions concerns the land boundaries between Okabulula and Lalela. Several wars were fought over this issue in the 1970s.

The descent system of Kitawa is quite similar to that of Kiriwina as reported by Malinowski's Sexual life of Savages. There are four totemic matrilineal clans, kumila (Malasi, Nukwasisiga, Nukulabuta and Nukubai) and numerous matrilineages, or sub-clans, (dala or dara) some of which are land-holding and some of which are not. There is little evidence of any virgin birth belief (Malinowski 1932; E. Leach 1966) in contemporary society and it is likely that this was previously a metaphorical ideology only. Kitawan mortuary ceremonies are roughly like those of Kiriwina. Traditional religious and magical beliefs largely persist. Kitawan souls (baloma) go to Tuma, the Trobriand island of the dead, later to be re-incarnated. Garden and kula magic have not disappeared even if they have become very secretive in Kumwageiya village.

Kitawan kinship categories and roles are mutatis mutandis the same of those of Kiriwina (Malinowski 1932:433-51). Marriage is usually virilocal, but uxorilocal residence is not infrequent. Post-marital residence tends to be near the father or maternal uncle of the groom. Polygyny (vilayawa) was formerly common for leaders (tokaraiwaga) but now only one hamlet leader (Krobai of Okabukula village) has two wives. Ante-mortem inheritance tends to be cognatic except for land while post-mortem transmission is largely matrilineal. Kitawans live in nuclear families.

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- (3) Kodeuli, reported in Malinowski (1922:311-321) as Kudayuri, is one of the places chanted in the kula mythology. In fact, the myth of the Flying canoe (Malinowski 1922:311) came from Kodeuli and it has been preserved in the memory until the beginning of the seventies, when the last owner of the myth, Agabu Iratoura, died without giving the myth to his nephew Sabewa Kasiotagina. Unfortunately, I recorded only some fragments of the myth, uttered by the old leader of Kodeuli, who was not sure of the authenticity of his version. Yet I recorded many poetic formulae and songs which refer indirectly to the myth. I should stress that it is quite difficult to establish the authenticity of the version of this myth as reported by Malinowski, because he did not give the original text and, moreover, he collected the myth on Kiriwina and not on Kitawa which he never visited. Also, he did not specify if the myth had been uttered by the 'owner' (a Kitawa owner) or by somebody else.

The giving of the harvest prestations of yams (urigubu) is still an important ceremonial transaction of life-long significance between men and, to put it perhaps oversimply, the women of their matrilineage plus their husbands.

Kitawans have a more egalitarian political structure than Kiriwinans (Malinowski 1922:62-70 and Powell 1950). There is no leadership position, formal or informal, for Kitawa as a whole. Leadership, in a largely informal sense by leaders of the most pre-eminent or largest hamlets or villages and regional leadership, is more pronounced in external affairs, such as war or kula, than in internal matters. Internally there are primus-inter-pares leaders in gardening, dancing, carving, singing, playing drums, fighting and magic. The famous Trobriand term guyau (Malinowski 1922:62-70), meaning village chief, is rarely ever heard on Kitawa and it is regarded as a term borrowed from the Boyowa lexicon. No Kitawan leader has the privilege of self-decoration in the manner of the Kiriwinan chiefs, though three hamlets leaders (Krobai of Okabulula, Mukuiyubu of Kumwageiya and Tokunubai of Kodeuli) have thought it fit to paint their houses in the style of chiefs: this is criticized on Kitawa as a recent and pretentious imitation of Kiriwina.

Powerful men inevitably have a reputation for sorcery (bwagau). Malinowski never visited Kitawa during his research though he met Kitawans on Kiriwina (1922:479 and Chapter XX).

Kitawa and the kula ring

In the mid-1970s, there were 181 men and one woman from Kitawa in the kula. This represent about 90% of the adult men of the island. Those outside the kula but resident on Kitawa, roughly about 20, were considered social marginals (tonagowa) by their fellows. Several had no command of magic of any type. The non-kula men were considered socially unworthy people. None were leaders in any social context. They were often the butt of jokes, being ridiculed for ignorance of social customs, inability to mix betel nut to a proper state of redness, and poverty of speech. Such men seemed to have failed to please their seniors who could have brought them into the

kula, to have been thought bad bets by overseas kula transactors, or to have lost their fathers early in life.

Only one elderly Kitawan was 'retired' from the kula, principally because of frailty and cancerous mouth sores which made his speech almost unintelligible. Most men try to remain in the kula until death whatever the hardship. This is admired socially. Such men become doyens of the kula. As they become less active transactionally, they serve increasingly as teachers of the young men learning about the system. They also give away their shells, kula paths (keda), and partners (so-ra) to junior associates, whether relatives or not.

Most men enter the kula around the time of their first marriage, usually within a year before or after the event. However, men do not get their first kula shells as a marriage gift from their new affines or their own kinsmen. Marriage therefore roughly determines the time of entrance into the kula by loosely marking the passage to adult status, but weddings in themselves do not open kula careers.

Kula careers are usually opened by the receipt of a promise (biga katotila) of a first shell from a senior man of Kitawa, though men of one's peer group or overseas kinsmen or friends may also serve to bring in new transactors. During the period between the promise and the delivery of this shell, usually several months, the behaviour of the junior man should express generosity of service and pleasantness of personality towards the senior. There is no obligatory prestation during the promissory period or after the receipt of the valuable. Any gift or service given must studiously avoid the obvious connotation of reciprocation or repayment for the shell.

The handing over of the promised valuable is always private. This usually means that the event occurs inside the house of the senior and is unobserved by others, even though the public outside may understand the nature of the meeting. Such occasions are normally at dawn, when the village is empty, or at night after everyone is asleep. There is no necessary ritual speech or phrase murmured by either party at the transfer. Often there is little or no reference made to the shell at all, the junior having been informed about it in earlier meetings. Kula poetic formulae are never transmitted during these events. The giver and receiver

chew betel nut together, the senior preparing the mixture and sharing it with his junior protégé. The meetings end with the departure of the visitor with the shell hidden in his armbasket.

The receiving of the shell does not in itself put the new man in the kula. The crucial symbolic boundary for entrance is the first transaction with a partner, which must be part of a collective expedition either to or from Kitawa. Going off alone or receiving a new partner alone would attract derision. Usually a newly-acquired shell is linked to a kula path and to establish partners to the east and west of Kitawa. A young entrant is told in detail of the partnerships and expected to follow them as he is seen as 'taking the place' of the senior man who brings him in. If the path were broken at the outset, the new transactor would lose his reputation and possibly his potential career. He would also risk losing access to the kula poetic formulae which his patron would normally teach him some years later. This last gift is held back by seniors until very late in life, one of the underlying reasons for the conservatism of junior kula participants, who are normally very mindful of etiquette, paths, and partners. In mid-career, with poetic formulae and early reputation secure, the breaking of paths and the manipulation of partners and shells to personal advantage become a more realistic possibility.

There are essentially two types of 'first kula partnerships'. The first type, the strong form, occurs when a Kitawan is brought into the kula by someone from another island, effectively forging a new link in a kula path. This kind of partnership is spoken of metaphorically as like a 'first love'. It should remain unblemished throughout the lives of both men, being the most honest, generous, and hospitable of their kula relationships. The tie created is said to be more open than any other, even that with one's brother or father. When one has multiple partners on an island, one always goes first to, and usually stays with, the first partner. When approaching death, a man may give the kula link with his first partner to his own son or sororal nephew, attempting to maintain the tie beyond his death. This transition, though a mark of respect, means the loss of the quality of first partnership from the "strong form" point of view. If the son or nephew is not agreeable, the still-active partner may refuse the younger man, staying with the original tie until death whatever the risk or cost. A first partner mourns through ritual wailing the death of his coeval though he does not undertake the affinal obligation of shaving his head or

blackening his body (Malinowski 1932:130-9) nor does he contribute to the deceased's mortuary ceremonies.

The weak form of first partnership occurs when one Kitawan, usually a senior, gives a shell and its path to another Kitawan, normally a man of his own region. The neophyte may or may not know his new partners on other islands. The deeply personal quality of the strong-form first partnership is not likely in this case. Deceit and path-breaking may occur later in the weak form first kula relationship, especially after the death of the Kitawan patron. Entrance into the kula by the weak form of the first partnership is far more frequent than by the strong form.

There is one Kitawan woman in the kula. She is one of the three strongest flying witches (diu and siwasiwa) on the island, all of whom are women. All of the contemporary woman's partners are men. The kula woman claims to have exchanged about 300 armshells (mwari) and 300 necklaces (vaiguwa) in her kula career. If so, and other do not dispute the assertion, she would be one of the two most active Kitawans in the kula. She is considered very powerful in the kula, and is believed to have killed many famous kula men on Kitawa and around the entire ring. Her partners are said invariably to give her their best shells, to transact quickly and without resistance, and never to have tricked or broken a path with her.

Altogether ten Kitawan women and a number of girls are considered to be flying witches. They inherit their power from their mother but it becomes much more intense as they become elderly. They are dangerous to women and men, especially the latter (Malinowski 1922:237-66; 1932:38-40). Witches attack young women who are beautiful or who have handsome lovers or children. They also defend their locality against other flying witches. Their mode of attack is by blood-sucking or strangulation. Witches are a danger to men of any age who are good gardeners or own numerous bush-pigs. Men with good harvests or large litters give preventive gifts as an indemnity. Flying witches are at their most dangerous, however, in relation to men's kula activities. They attack when new canoes are being built in the village, when the men are away on expeditions, when the partners of Kitawan men come to the island, and when there is a famous shell, especially a necklace, around. The flying witch belief complex seems, in part to express the jealousy of women, and male projections of female jealousy, over the freedom of men in the kula.

With only recent minor exceptions, all Kitawan kula transactions involve overseas partnerships. There is almost no inter- or intra-regional kula on Kitawa itself. Kitawan men say that an internal kula would vitiate the meaning of the exchange system by keeping men unknowledgeable of foreign areas, by failing to test them against the rigours of sailing and by leaving them too tied to the skirts of their womenfolk. The three regions of Kitawa act separately of each other in the kula though the regions do not always act en masse for particular expeditions. More often than not, only a portion of the kula men of a region sail together in search of shells, others staying at home for purpose of work, for lack of gifts for the overseas partners, because of ill-prepared canoes, or due to embarrassing complexities arising from earlier exchanges.

Kitawans are conservative with regard to the use of canoes in the kula, and they denigrate the Kiriwinans, Vakutans, and Dobuans who often mount their expeditions using modern vessels. 'Trawler kula' is said to eliminate knowledge of the sea, to curtail freedom of movement, and to be unmasculine.

Kula in the Okabulula region

The western ties of Okabulula kula men are with the eastern coast of northern Kiriwina, depicted as centring on Omarakana village (Malinowski 1922:479), with the other islands in the Marshall Bennett Group, and the north coast of Woodlark in the east. Except for the other islands in the Marshall Bennett Group, the northern and southern regions of Kitawa have separate non-overlapping kula paths. In the mid-1970s Okabulula had eleven kula canoes of the western kula type (Malinowski 1922:141-5 and Plate XL), not the Gawan type (nagega) as mentioned in Argonauts (1922:496), though Malinowski was not in error in his day. Kitawans have changed the style of their canoes in the last sixty years because new technological knowledge was brought by immigrant Vakutans, the new type being faster. Malinowski recorded 'about 12' Kitawan kula canoes (1922:122). Today there are 27.

Okabululans usually sail as small expeditions of three canoes, roughly 25 or so men, every other year to northern Kiriwina. They go in search of

necklaces of which they might collectively return with 5 or 10. There is little chance that each participant will receive a shell on these occasions. Normally very few armshells are carried on these journeys, usually for the completion of a transaction promised when the northern Kiriwinans were previously on Kitawa. Armshells are not used for solicitation or simultaneous exchange on these occasions. Okabululans carry only a small volume of material resources to northern Kiriwina, principally betel nut, mats, piglets, sandalwood oil, coconut-fibre skirts, small baskets, and body ornaments (diginagoma) made from the crown of the Conus litteratus shell. Ebony clubs, walking sticks, and lime spatulae as well as cowrie shells have more or less dropped out of the exchanges. These goods are given as gifts, implicitly solicitory, to kula partners. They are not used for bartering (gimwali) purposes with non-partners, another change from Malinowski's days (1922:481). While the Okabululans are still on Kiriwina, their partners give them return prestations mainly of tobacco but also, to a much lesser degree, betel nut, piglets, canoe-lashing vines, cassowary or cockatoo feathers, and red banana-fibre skirts.

Northern Kiriwinans visit the Okabulula region roughly once every three years sailing en masse. Kiriwinans carry as solicitory prestations tobacco, betel nut, cloth, canoe-lashing creeper, turtle-shell earrings, and small European commodities. Almost all transactions are with partners so there is no indigenous barter or purchase at all in this link of the kula. The northern Kiriwinans are much more open to the use of European commodities in solicitation because they have much more access to them at home. The volume and value of solicitory gifts going from Kiriwina to Okabulula is considerably greater than that which is returned. The Kitawans say they are very important to the northern Kiriwinans and hence do not have to give as much. However, it must be said that northern Kiriwinans outnumber their Okabululans partners by about two-and-a-half to one. They also apparently receive considerably more armshells than they give necklaces.

In their eastern relationships, Okabululans see their primary ties as being with Mwadau island and northern Woodlark. Sailing however, in small expeditions of about three canoes or large ones of about ten, is not directly to these areas but proceeds via Iwa and Kweiwata-Gawa in the Marshall Bennetts. These are principally stopping points where there are few kula partnerships and only a little trade. The Okabululans usually

stop only at Iwa, sleeping on the beach due to physical difficulty of access to the villages and their great fear of the notorious flying witches of the island. The northern Kitawans sail onward to Gawa, another stopping point, where they have a few partners and do minimal trading. They then carry on to Mwadau island, especially the villages of Boagisa, Mwadau, Kuduweta and Moniveyowa, and to other villages on Woodlark island. Okabululans have numerous kula partners on these two islands, even more than on Kiriwina. The usual pattern is for a small expedition to visit a select few of these villages in search of armshells, of which they might return with 5-25 depending on availability. These trips are fairly frequent, some going out, though not always successfully reaching their destination, every year. The northern Kitawans take tobacco, betel nut, piglets, Kiriwinan skirts, and mats as solicitary gifts. Yams and coconuts which fill their canoes are there for personal consumption en route, during which they will also fish. The Mwadauans and Muyuwans give as counter prestations clay pots, traditional combs, sandalwood oil, obsidian, piglets, betel nut, minor amounts of ebony, mats, tobacco and poetic formulae. Formerly this was a principal link for passing green Woodlark andesite westward for stone tools, but this ceased generations ago (Malinowski 1922:481) and is not known about to young Okabululan kula men since very little of the stone now exists on Kitawa.

The men of the northern Woodlark area travel to Okabulula less frequently, usually in two separate groups as Mwadau islanders or northern Muyuwans. Despite the high status of their western (Kiriwinan) kula partners, Okabululans actually prefer their eastern ties. They say that eastward kula sailing is more exciting and dangerous, that personal ties are closer because of their origin in the area, and that they acquire more wealth from those links. Okabululans justify the imbalance in their favour by arguing that, as autochthones of the region, they deserve some of its resources given, especially as the Mwadauans and Muyuwans are wealthier overall.

Kula in the Lalela region

The western ties of Lalela kula men are with Vakuta island and south Kiriwina, especially Gilibwa village, and their eastern partnership with

the Marshall Bennetts, southern Mwadau and Woodlark villages, Yanabwa and Yeguma. Lalelans had eight kula canoes in the mid-1970s. They usually sail en bloc both westward and eastwards, going outwards in either direction about once every two or three years. The focus of western partnerships is Vakuta, where every Lalelan kula transactor has a partner. Some men have partners in Gilibwa and in the Sinaketa area of south Kiriwina. It is linkages with men of high rank in Sinaketa that are especially sought. A full expedition to the Vakuta area would expect to bring back 15-25 necklaces under normal circumstances. Lalelan solicitary gifts are essentially the same as those of the Okabululans in northern Kiriwina. Vakutans return betel nut, piglets, canoe-lashing vine, tobacco, and clay pots.

About ten Lalelans claim direct partnerships in the Amphletts and on north Fergusson. However, they sail southward only as a part of a larger Vakutan expedition, never on their own. It is probable that they are travelling with a Vakutan partner on an arranged plan to make a double transaction, i.e. passing a promised necklace immediately through the Vakutan onward to his Kitawan link; Vakutans sail in small or large expeditions of up to approximately a hundred participants. They normally visit the two southern Kitawan regions simultaneously, acquiring about 25-60 armshells from each area.

Lalelans exchange eastward with the other islands in the Marshall Bennett Group, with the southern villages of Mwadau and Woodlark islands, and with Yanabwa and Yeguma to the south of Gawa. There are, in fact, two sailing routes outwards from southern Kitawa. They both have Iwa as the first stop and Kweiwata-Gawa as the second. An expedition would never sail to Iwa and return directly home except under abnormal circumstances. However, it might return from Gawa without further easterly or southerly sailing. The factor that counts most in deciding to continue is the time already expended on the journey, the weather encountered and expected, the valuables by then acquired, and the state of impending activities on Kitawa, especially gardening. If continuing, the expedition could sail to Boagisa village on Mwadau and onward to southern Woodlark. Alternatively, it could go south to Yanabwa and Yeguma. The Woodlark route is the primary one because of the volume and value of prestations that can be expected from the larger population there. The southerly route is taken usually in order to search for famous shells thought to be in the area, but is far

less frequently chosen. On occasions, an expedition may split and go in both directions from Gawa at once.

When Lalelans sail to Iwa, they carry small yams (teitu) and large ones (kuvi), tobacco, betel nut, piglets and bananas. By far the most important exchange resources are the yams, as Iwa is deficient in its supply. Tobacco is probably second in value. Roughly two-thirds of the resources intended for exchange stay in Iwa; the remaining islands have a better supply of yams. Iwa is generally considered the biggest drain on Kitawan resources of any community in the kula east or west. There is no barter or purchase with Iwans. Resources are given to actual or potential partners in order to solicit armshells. The gifts are reciprocated by small quantities of uncarved ebony. Lalelans do not see this island as a rich source of armshells, despite its being a primary stop for them. The best region for shells is considered to be southern Mwadau and Woodlark Islands. The Kitawans think of Iwa as the most dangerous of the eastward and westward islands, principally because of the quantity and especially the quality of the flying witches there. Some Lalelans actually refuse to sleep in Iwan houses or hamlets, even those of their partners, because of this fear.

The pattern of unbalanced resource transfer applies also on reciprocal journeys. Iwans, who travel in group expeditions of 5-6 canoes of some 60 or so participants, usually arrive on south Kitawa with empty canoes and require feeding during their stay on the island. Conversely, unlike the Lalela-Vakuta link, the link between Lalela and the islands on the Marshall Bennett route requires the eastward kula voyagers to take most of their own food, normally yams and coconuts, though they also expect to fish, during their 4-8 week sojourns. If there is a balancing mechanism in Iwan-Lalelan relations, it may well be poetic formulae. Most Kitawan poetic formulae are said to come from the east, especially from Iwa, Gawa and Woodlark Islands. Iwa was also formerly an entrepôt for Muyuwan andesite passing westward for stone tools and valuables (Malinowski 1922:481). Iwans carry on one type of exchange with Lalela which is very important to the kula, yet carried on outside its context: all the island's overseas canoes are from that region, due apparently to the excellence of the wood and of the workmanship of the area. In the mid-1970s two such canoes were purchased for one middle-sized, medium-value armshell (mwari) each. The transactions were not between kula partners and the rate of exchange was considered exceptionally low by Kitawans, who saw a canoe as

requiring four or such shells for adequate compensation.

Lalelans give the same range of items to Gawans and Kweiwatans as to Iwans but in considerably lesser volume. They receive ebony, mats, obsidian, and betel nut in return. Gawa is considered a good source of armshells in the east, second only to southern Woodlark. Exchange with Gawa is seen as relatively balanced. On Woodlark, Lalelans tend to arrive with depleted resources and to depend more on small gifts, the passage of significant political and economic information, and perspicacious kula speech in the solicitation of valuables. The Lalelans receive, when visiting Woodlark and hosting the Muyuwans at home, large clay pots (kuria), ebony, mats, obsidian, sandalwood oil, poetic formulae, songs and dances. The transfer of resources on aggregate clearly favours the Kitawans, explained by them as deservedly so because of the land and material wealth of the Muyuwans. Lalelans voyage eastward roughly about once a year and return with 40-60 armshells, usually taking no necklaces with them when they go.

Kula in the Kumwageiya region

The Kumwageiyans share the same westward and eastward kula routes as the Lalelans, and the pattern of resource transfer is also very similar. Kumwageiyans claim about 114 westerly kula partnerships, and about 118 easterly partnerships. The average man therefore has about three firm kula ties in either direction and this can be taken as the modal figure for Kitawans as a whole. Only two Kumwageiyans had a single partner on either side while, at the top end of the scale, one man had six partners in each direction. Despite the appearance given in the aggregate numbers, a considerable number of Kumwageiya transactors did not have the same number of partners on either side. A common pattern is to have three on one side and four on the other, but one man was linked to four Vakutan-Gilibwan partners while having only one to the east of Iwa. Yet another claimed three to the west and south but six spread over all the relevant eastern islands. Concerning the distribution of partnerships, about half those to the west and south were men of Vakuta-Gilibwa. To the east 58% were in the other Mwarshall Bennett islands, 24% on Madau and Woodlark, and 18% on Yanabwa and Yeguma. A full Kumwageiyan expedition to Vakuta-Gilibwa could

expect to return with 24-35 necklaces in an average year whereas a trip to the east would normally bring back 35-45 armshells. These figures more or less pertain for onward circulation when Vakutans or easterners arrive on Kitawa for reciprocal visits. All Kitawans recognise that there are more armshells in the kula than necklaces, that armshells are easier to solicit and acquire, that they are usually the first shells given at the beginning of one's kula career, and that they have more internal uses in other Kitawan transactions. There is no explanation of the imbalance in numbers of shells. Nor is there an explanation why the armshells have become unpaired since Malinowski's day (1922:386 and 503-4) or why the longest necklaces have been shortened (1922:frontispiece and 472-3).

Kumwageiyans and Lalelans exchange with the same communities to the west and east, yet they never sail as a single expedition. Nevertheless, their sailing on voyages of any size is nearly simultaneous. An expedition from one region will be followed by a concomitant trailing expedition from the other, usually only a few hours or at most a day behind. On arrival, the two groups beach their canoes, sleep, eat, and circulate in the villages separately, though contiguously and with a constant eye on each other. A prominent feature of this community competitiveness in situ is the intensification of kula solicitation by prestation and speech with which it is associated. Rivals from different regions engage in verbal deflation of their counterparts, either privately or publicly, even including face-to-face insults. The usual ploys are criticism of the opposition for lack of winsomeness and generosity, dishonesty, ignorance of kula lore, and lack of skill in everyday capabilities, the metaphor for which is the ability to mix betel nut properly. Serious quarrels sometimes erupt, though this is not common, but physical fighting is culturally unacceptable and not known in this context.

It is interesting that the balance of resource flow, excluding armshells and necklaces, is different for southern and northern Kitawa. The northerners do not gain from their westerly and easterly relationships. Both southern communities regard themselves by contrast as net losers vis-à-vis Vakuta to the west and Iwa to the east, though further on their balance evens up and with Woodlark is considered favourable.

From the Kitawan point of view, there is not a great deal of resource flow between islands outside the context of the kula. In terms of traditional

goods, the principal extra-kula link is between Iwa and Kitawa. The Iwans get their large canoes from southern Kitawa, but also make numerous annual trips in search of yams. Normally there is little reciprocation, the Iwans seeming to exploit their vital port-of-call position to the full. Besides Iwa, there are rare visits from Gawans and Yegumans but seldom other easterners. Kumwageiyans go to Vakuta for mortuary exchanges, giving and receiving small quantities of goods.

Without a doubt, the Kitawans regard the circulation of valuables as a central focus of the kula. They point out that the kula continues whether resource transfer is high or low, that it is possible to acquire shells and partners without any material resources at all, and that nothing they receive from subsidiary kula transactions is essential to their everyday lives, though several things add qualitatively to their standards of living. Kitawan trade is neither intrinsically linked to, nor a function of, the kula (Uberoi 1971:140). Trade in this sense is seen contemporaneously as an innovation on kula expeditions which has taken place within living memory, though the actor's view is short-term and analytically circumscribed. Kula armshells and necklaces do, however, have social usages in Kitawan transactions, though conceptually these lie outside the kula system. One of the most important extra-kula exchanges involving the shells is in kula canoe prestations.

In kula canoe prestations, the owner of a canoe under manufacture supplies the builder/cutters and carvers of the prow with yams, fish, betel nut and tobacco throughout the construction process. Upon completion, the master builder receives one armshell of medium or low quality from the owner. If the carver of the prows is also a famous expert (tokabitamu bougwa), as is often the case, then a set of armshells of the highest quality would be given. One master-carver explained that the circular armshells were the appropriate prestation as they symbolised the perfect knowledge and complete skill of the carver.

The kula canoe and the carvers

The central place that the kula occupies in Kitawa society justifies the great attention which the people pay to the canoe used for the overseas journeys.

When I arrived on Kitawa in June 1973, I saw some old canoes, in their hangars, superbly isolated on the beach. The prows, coloured in black, white and red, seemed to look at the open blueness of the sea like mythical heroes. The green forest of gigantic trees surrounded the canoes like shutters. The atmosphere was suggestive and, I thought, not accidental. I had the impression that the scenery might be a sign of the aesthetic and symbolic values attached to the canoes. So, I decided to concentrate all my attention on the analysis of the process of building and carving, and I spent the first months of my field work drawing the graphic signs carved and painted on the canoe, particularly on its prows. Then after spending nine months with Kumwageiyans and Lalelans at work in the yam-gardens, I was able to talk comprehensibly in Nowau, the language spoken in the island, and this allowed me to work with some Kitawa carvers, especially Towitara Buyoyu, Siyakwakwa Tonisuiya and Tonori Kiririyei.

Towitara Buyoyu, who died in May 1975, was considered the best carver of lagimu and tabuya, and he was famous over the whole kula area for his skill, intelligence and powers of reason, as well as for his sophisticated knowledge of the rules of the kula. Towitara can be classed as a great master-carver, that is a man who knows not only the art of carving, but also the complex relationships to the kula mythology of the graphic signs carved on the prows (Malinowski 1922). He was a competent critic of the formal and technical rules which a lagimu and tabuya should respect. In short, he embodied the best of Kitawan traditional culture.

When I started to work with Towitara my knowledge of Nowau was sufficient to carry on a conversation, but my lexicon relating to the technical language of the carvers was quite poor. In fact, I did not realize its complexity until I talked with Towitara, from whom I received my linguistic training in the lexicon relating to the art of carving.

Towitara, who belongs to the Nukubai clan and mwauli sub-clan, was the central figure of my research in 1973-74, and for more than six months we spent about four hours a day analysing the meanings expressed by the graphic signs carved on the prows, emphasizing the formal or aesthetic, reading which they can be given. And it was from Towitara I discovered that it is possible to separate, or dissociate, the expression plane of the graphic signs on a prow from their content plane, or symbolic interpretation. Moreover Towitara provided me with classifications of some basic concepts (for example, 'schema', 'harmony', 'model' and so on) and I learnt from him when these concepts are expressed by a given and well-defined word, and when they are expressed by a metaphor, or some other figure of rhetoric.

Tonori Kiririyei, who belongs to the Nukulabuta clan and kabata sub-clan, is the youngest carver of Kitawa. Even though he is regarded as a very gifted carver, nevertheless he knows little of the traditional meanings attached to the graphic signs carved on the prows. So, when he is carving he does not pay attention to the relationships between the graphic signs and the general kula context. That is, the meanings of the graphic signs are established by Tonori in correlation with their mutual functions in respect of the harmony of the carved surface. In comparison with Towitara's carving, the lagimu and tabuya of Tonori are more 'free' from the traditional meanings attached to the graphic signs.

Siyakwakwa Tonisuiya, who belongs to Nukwasisiga clan and kouiya sub-clan, was thought as a skilful cutter of kula canoe only, in spite of his good knowledge of the art of carving and as an apprentice on lagimu and tabuya carving.

Working with Towitara, Siyakwakwa and Tonori I have had the chance of understanding one of the aspects of Kitawa culture as it is expressed by the carver's group, with its stylistic characteristics and interpretative nuances of meaning expressed by the graphic signs carved on the lagimu and tabuya.

These data were obviously then checked with the other carvers of Kitawa, especially with Toudubwau Lukubai, Ugapweri Mesikeitu, Mwagobi Wawautu and Gigima Matanogi (Okabulula region), and Pilimoni Togebova, Gumaligisa Bela (Kumwageiya region) and Tokwaisai Togimagima, Toganiu Garatowa, Nabwai

Bodobu (Lalela region).

My work, following a suggestion of Towitara and after his death, has been developed in some conversations with Siyakwakwa and Tonori. These conversations, which I call 'Aesthetic Conversations', were taperecorded during my field work in 1976, and built on a logical and semantic framework defined by Towitara in 1973-74, and represent what could be regarded as an oral treatise on Kitawa aesthetics.

The initiator and the initiate

According to Towitara, Tonori and Siyakwakwa, as well as to other carvers, a child is initiated into the profession of carving by an older carver, whether a tokabitamou bougwa or a simple tokabitamou. The initiate must belong to the same clan and sub-clan as his initiator, as Tonori and Siyakwakwa have confirmed (cf. A.ST,326 — A.ST,329 — A.ST,331 — A.SS,339 — A.ST,340 and A.SS,345). In fact, Tonori was initiated by Kurina, a [male] member of his mother's clan and sub-clan, who belonged to Nukulabuta and kabata, like Tonori himself. Moreover, he calls his initiator tabu gu, my ancestor (cf. A.ST,5). On Kitawa the kinship structure is based on the exogamic system (cf. Powell et al.), there being four totemic clans (Malasi, Nukulabuta, Nukwasisiga and Nukubai) which are in turn articulated into a series of sub-clans. A child should be initiated into the profession of carving by a member of his clan and sub-clan. However, although this is a strict rule in theory, occasionally in practice a child is initiated by someone of his clan but not his sub-clan, and his initiation is considered theoretically unsound (cf. A.SS,339 — A.ST,340 — A.SS,345 and A.SS,347), confirming the general rule that the 'real' relationship in Kitawa exogamic society is between members of the same sub-clan and not just of the same clan. The clan operates as a primary and more general category.

A child could even be initiated by a member of a completely different moiety, as is confirmed by statements of Siyakwakwa and Tonori, and by other data which I collected during my field work.

In fact, the statements A.ST,414 and A.ST,416, as well as other cases noted on Kitawa (for example, on Okabulula village eight carvers out of ten have been initiated by members of other clans) indicate that it is clearly possible for a carver to initiate his own son or a member of another clan,

such as the son of his brother (cf. A,SS.385).

What seems important to me is that there is a general rule which obliges a carver to initiate a child of his own clan and sub-clan. This means that initiation is theoretically the right of the son of a carver's sister or one of his brothers. But this rule may be broken by the initiation of the carver's own son (who belongs to a different clan and sub-clan), or more exceptionally, a member of one of the other three moieties. To choose one's own son as initiate confirms the tendency already noted in the kula heredity (Scoditti 1982), according to which a father often initiates his son into the kula by giving him a mwari or vaiguwa, or making him the ward of one of his partners — to counter the rules of matrilineal descent with other evaluations or norms, the principal function of which seems to be that of excluding women from certain spheres. The spheres from which the women are excluded are thought of as typically creative: the women, for example, are denied the possibility of expressing themselves in that field which more than any other is considered 'imaginative' — the carving of lagimu and tabuya.

One example of this exclusion occurred in the village of Kumwageiya. The only daughter of Tosulala Boragina, who had no sons or nephews, was initiated into the kula by her father (breaking the rules of matrilineal descent) and into the art of carving by a maternal uncle (observing the rules of matrilineal descent). With regard to the kula, this non-observance of the rule was put right by excluding Tosulala's daughter from the kula: it is in fact Tosulala himself who journeys in the canoe and takes part in the exchanges. With regard to the initiation into the art of carving, the violation of the rule was punished by effectively preventing the woman from exercising her profession. None of the older inhabitants of Kitawa, although they know of the case of Tosulala's daughter, can remember a woman ever carving a lagimu or a tabuya, or taking part in the kula.

Thus a carver may select a pupil from his own clan and sub-clan, or from another clan, especially if the pupil is his son. If a carver belongs to a populous sub-clan, there may be several children of the right age for initiation, eight years approximately. Although it is quite usual for a carver to have more than one pupil, there is nonetheless a tendency on the part of the master-carver (tovisuleka) to favour only one of them (cf. A.ST,410 — A.ST,412). This is because, with the passing of time, the master

must not only teach his pupil how to interpret the graphic signs carved on the object, but when he becomes old he must verbally donate the megwa to his pupil. The megwa¹ (poetic formulae to be recited during the initiation rite), are the most important part of a carver's cultural legacy. They cannot be dispersed among a number of pupils, but must be bequeathed in toto by one carver to another. This does not prevent a carver from passing on his technical knowledge and his style to other carvers belonging to his 'school'. Confirmation of the application of these rules is found in the case of Towitara. Although Towitara did not initiate Pilimoni Togebova (Nukwasisiga clan and sakapu sub-clan) and Gumaligisa Bela (Malasi clan and susupi sub-clan), they were his pupils from the technical point of view, and are now considered among the best carvers of lagimu and tabuya on Kitawa, especially Gumaligisa. Togeruwa Matawadiya (Nukubai clan and mwauli sub-clan), on the other hand, although initiated by his maternal uncle Towitara, did not receive the megwa, or a formal artistic education, because he did not observe the taboos imposed on a pupil. Another nephew of Towitara, Toganiu Gunteruwa, from the same Nukubai clan and mwauli sub-clan, now living in the village of Lalela, although initiated into the art of carving by his maternal uncle, did not receive the megwa, since he had not been chosen as the favoured pupil. The megwa were to be passed to Togeruwa, had he observed the taboos.

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- (1) Malinowski in The Argonauts of the Western Pacific gives the following meaning of the word megwa "In native terminology, the realm of the magical is called by the word megwa, which describes the 'magical performance', the 'spell', the 'force' or 'virtue' of magic, and can be used as adjective to describe in general everything which presents a magic character. Used as a verb, the words megwa, miga -megwa, miga all of which are variations of the same root, mean: 'to perform magic', 'to utter spell', 'to carry out a rite'" (1922:424). And in Coral Gardens and their Magic, he writes "Every magical ceremony is, in its essence, a handling of mana. The nearest word for this concept is megwa, which, mutatis mutandis, covers the meaning of our word 'magic'" (1935:68, vol. II). It should be stressed that in spite of Malinowski's interpretation, megwa is used by Kitawans to mean an ensemble of words combined as stanzas and each stanza is usually formed by two distichs. The words which form each distich are used in a 'unusual' sense compared to the meaning expressed by the same word in a everyday speech; the words in the distich are used as 'metaphors' and they express a meaning which is 'unusual'. To be 'unusual' may signify, for example, to evoke a 'magic' atmosphere, but per se the lexeme megwa does not convey the meaning of 'magic power'. Rather it should be translated into 'poetic formula', 'poetic composition', or also 'to charm with the word, voice'. See Tambiah (1968:175-208).

These cases show that a carver who has more than one pupil singles out one only to whom to donate the megwa. This choice depends on many factors, such as a greater liking for one particular nephew (as in the case of Towitara who confessed to me that Togeruwa would have been his favourite had he respected the taboos), affection for a sister or, last but not least, the gifts received from a nephew's parents to secure the choice of their son as a pupil.

While Towitara emphasized the intellectual and affective reasons which motivate a carver in his choice of a favourite, Siyakwakwa and Tonori stressed the role of the gifts received from a child's parents. In the speeches A.SS,345 to A.ST,416, Tonori and Siyakwakwa give a detailed account of how a pupil is chosen: in short a carver is 'courted' by the parents. In the attempt to ensure the choice of their child as favourite, the parents make extensive gifts, for example of wild pigs, yams, betel nuts, fish, tobacco, mwari and vaiguwa, in order to put economic pressure upon the carver. Another frequent strategy of the parents of a future initiate is to work in the garden of the carver, and to fish for him. The transcriptions of some of the speeches (e.g. A.SS,362 and A.SS,372) indicate that the system involves a kind of pretence: it is the child and not the parents who must appear to the initiator to be the giver.

The relationship must be established between the master and the pupil, who gives the master the betel nut, the symbol of the carver. Tonori and Siyakwakwa intentionally use the third person singular of the verb-stem (bi ra, bi poula, bi seka, bi kaui, and so on) to suggest to the hearer that it is up to the pupil to offer the betel nut to his master, or to bring him fish, yams and other gifts. It is not a question of 'courtesy' only, for in deeming the gift to come from the initiate, Siyakwakwa, as well as Tonori and Towitara, allude to the bilateral and exclusive relationship which will be established between a carver and his pupil, and which is symbolized in the personal act of giving. Generosity in offering gifts is according to Siyakwakwa and Tonori, a kind of 'trump card' played by the parents of the future carver, especially when the 'correct' kin relationship between the carver and the child is lacking. And Towitara emphasized in one of our conversations that this generosity represents the only means by which the member of an 'incorrect' clan and sub-clan can come to be chosen as an initiate.

A member of a given clan and sub-clan may wish to be initiated by a carver of another moiety not only because of the good reputation of a particular carver (usually a tokabitamu bougwa belonging to another clan), but also because of the absence of carvers in his own clan. In fact, each clan and sub-clan should have a certain number of carvers and apprentices so as to preserve the cultural heritage of which each group of carvers is a part.²

But it must be noted that an initiate belonging to a different clan from that of his initiator receives a technical training only, but not the megwa. Gumaligisa, for example, does not know the megwa for initiation because he did not receive them from Towitara, but he can reproduce some of the specific graphic signs introduced by Towitara, as well as carve generally in accordance with Towitara's model of the lagimu. The same applies to Pilimoni.

To sum up, a carver may initiate a member of his clan and sub-clan or one of his own sons, to whom he may also donate the megwa; but in general, when he initiates a member of another clan he teaches only the technique of carving but not the megwa. While the first and the second hypothesis are admitted by Siyakwakwa and Tonori, the third one seems to be admitted by Towitara only. Yet the examples of Gumaligisa and Pilimoni, and others noted on Kitawa, confirm Towitara's hypothesis. Probably Siyakwakwa and Tonori base their opinion on the donation of the megwa, which must be passed from one carver to a member of his sub-clan. This opinion is supported by Towitara himself when he stated that the megwa would have been passed to Togeruwa, had he observed the taboos.

MB / At this point it seems to me quite clear that the desire of a child's parents that he should become a carver is justified by the special role and status enjoyed by a carver in the village: in fact he is respected as a wise man, and a good carver can live by his work without spending a lot of time in gardening, like the commoners of the village (cf. A.SG,118 - A.SS,119 - A.SS,121). A carver, on the other hand, wishes to initiate a young man of his sub-clan or other clan, because he will duly receive his gifts,

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- (2) A carver, especially a tokabitamu bougwa, possesses a peculiar style, which characterizes his lagimu and tabuya. So, the clan and sub-clan to which the carver belongs is the depository of his style. For example, the clan Nukubai has acquired a great influence over the other clans because of the prestige of Towitara's style.

at the beginning from the parents of the child and then, after the initiation and the apprenticeship, from the initiate himself. In fact, it is during the period an initiate spends with his initiator that the relationship between the two men becomes close, and during the apprenticeship the carver tests the personality of his pupil. If the pupil is 'generous' in his behaviour, the initiator will teach him not only the technique, but also the meaning of the graphic signs carved on the lagimu and tabuya; and furthermore, at the end of their relationship, when the pupil is recognized as a carver, the initiator may give his pupil the megwa murmured during the ritual of initiation. The 'verbal' gift of the megwa is regarded as the most important sign and act of the affection and esteem that an old carver can have for his pupil. But it must be kept in mind that the megwa are given by the initiator when he is an old man and cannot carve any longer — the megwa represent his power and his wealth, and he will donate them to his favourite if, and only if, he receives gifts, which he considers due to him in his old age, such as yams, betel nuts, wild pig and fish.

In statements A.SS,345 — A.SS,347 — A.ST,355 — A.SS,359, both Siyakwakwa and Tonori insist that the gift-relationship between the pupil and his initiator is more important than the intellectual relationship, though the latter remains relevant. Towitara, though not denying the importance of gifts in the choice of a pupil, has nevertheless stressed the freedom of a carver to chose as his favourite (yobweiri) a child whom he thinks clever and skilful. Towitara's opinion convinced me that the donation of gifts should be interpreted as a metaphor: the gifts, mainly the donation of the food, symbolizes the desire of a child to become a carver and, vice versa, the desire of a carver-initiator to accept the pupil's wish is symbolized by the acceptance of the gifts (mainly the eating of the food).

It may happen that the chosen child refuses to become a carver, or vice versa, that the old carver refuses to initiate the destined one. The consequences of those refusals are quite different. If the chosen child refuses to be initiated, then one of his brothers, or some other child next in line of succession, would undergo the ritual (cf. A.SS,376). So, the rules of matrilineal descent seem to be respected in that a child can be replaced by his brother or by one of his maternal first cousins or by the son of a daughter of an initiator's sister. But if there is no potential initiate within the clan and sub-clan of the carver, the initiator can

chose a boy of another clan, particularly his son. I therefore think that the absence of a member of his clan and sub-clan offers the carver the possibility of manipulating the choice of initiate-pupil, and also the chance of supporting his own son. The possibility of manipulating his choice becomes wider if we remember that a carver may refuse a child as his pupil, even if the child belongs to his own sub-clan and even if the carver has already received the gifts from the child's parents. Refusing a member of one's own clan and sub-clan is permissible in principle, but it would complicate the relationship of the carver with the refused child's parents: "...you absolutely do not want the son of your brother to be initiated to become a carver, but they have offered you gifts, well! In that case you would be rejected by them, you would no longer be accepted in their hut" (A.SS,385).

nb ✓ A child may refuse to be initiated because he does not want to be isolated from his contemporaries (an initiate lives apart, 'separated', 'segregated', in the hut of his initiator and must spend a lot of time in carving small models of lagimu and tabuya).

nb ✓ In short, if the rules which govern the choice of an initiate 'apparently' respect the norms of matrilineal descent, the reality as has been described by Towitara, Siyakwakwa and Tonori, tends to redress the balance. Yet we should remember that in choosing his pupil, a carver is free to respect or disregard the rules of matrilineal descent in respect of the teaching of technique; while he must give the megwa murmured during the initiation rite to his nephew or to his own son, even if he belongs to the clan of his wife.

The rite of initiation

Once the carver-initiator has chosen a child to initiate, he takes him down to the beach at daybreak, away from the village, in solitude (if we accept Towitara's narration, though Tonori in the statement A.ST,22, recalls that his initiation took place in Kurina's village), and they retire to a lonely spot. Here the initiator digs a hole in the sand until he finds the level of fresh water. Initiator and initiate squat down and

the old man mixes with a pestle, kaipita, in the mortar, kaimili, both usually of ebony and carved with allegorical figures, areca nut (Areca catechu), powdered lime (pwakau) obtained through a process of burning and pulverizing a coral, and betel pepper fruits (Piper betel or Piper methysticum) until a thick, dark red paste (buwa) is obtained, similar to Pompei red (cf. A.ST,22 — A.ST,26).

The initiator next recites the megwa over the kaimili filled with the red buwa. This is the most significant moment of the initiation from the ritual point of view. The only megwa known on Kitawa were possessed by the tokabitamu bougwa Towitara Buyoyu and Toudubwau Lukuboi (Nukwasisiga clan and kimutu sub-clan), while the carver Tokunubwai Baraweya (Malasi clan and weibadi sub-clan) recited some fragments which according to Towitara and Siyakwakwa, are part of the initiation rite.

All megwa were recited in 1974, before the death of Towitara and Tokunubwai, who died in 1976, and Toudubwau, who died in 1979.

The following are the texts of the megwa with an interlinear translation and my free translation.

Towitara Buyoyu, 1974

Megwa peira tokabitamu

I

Avei tau wora a busibusi?
yeigu so gu kataraki!

II

Ura wora a busibusi
tavisi yeluyelu

III

Tapwesi dibidabila
bi yai nano gu bi rai

IV

Duwaya gu bi rai
si rairai sagwai

V

Ura vira yeigu
ura vira yeigu, Towitara

VI

Duwaya gu bi rai
sineu gu bi rai,

VII

Taiselu bi rai
taiselu yeluyelu

VIII

Tapwesi dibidabila
ra weku ura wotila

IX

Si pulapulo mwale gu
a kwailova.....

<u>Megwa</u>	<u>peira</u>	<u>to</u>	-	<u>kabitamu</u>
Word	for	man	-	craft

I

a, Avei tau wora a busi + busi?
What man back I curve + curve?

b, yeigu so gu kataraki!
I companion of mine skill !

II

a, Ura wora a busi + busi
My back I curve + curve

b, tavisu yelu + yelu
fan out spring water + spring water

III

a, Tapwesi dibidabila
make a hole rock sediments

b, b - i yai nano gu b - i rai
will - it envelop mind me will - it invent

IV

a, Duwaya gu b - i rai
Emotion me will- it invent

b, si rairai sagwai
their images our companions

V

- a, Ura vira yeigu
My self I
- b, ura vira yeigu, Towitara
My self I , Towitara

VI

- a, Duwaya gu b - i rai
Emotion me will - it invent
- b, sineu gu b - i rai
entrails me will - it invent

VII

- a, Taiselu b - i rai
Tremble will - it invent
- b, taiselu yelu + yelu
tremble spring water + spring water

VIII

- a, Tapwesi dibidabila
Make a hole rock sediments
- b, ra weku ura wotila
his shout my voice

IX

- a, Si pulapulo mwale gu
Their foaming excitement me
- b, a kwailovaaaaaaaa.....
I utter spell.....

Words for the artist

I

Who is bent forward in a gentle curve?
you and me, the images creators!

II

Bent forward in a gentle curve
over spring water which fans out

III

From the broken stones
my mind, enveloped, creates images

IV

Lost in dreams will create images
images for our companions

V

You are transformed into me,
you are transformed into me, Towitara

VI

Lost in dreams will create images
and my soul will create images

VII

Trembling it will create images
trembling like spring water

VIII

From the broken stones
his shout is my voice

IX

Blow, spray all around, excited,
the dreamed images.....

Toudubwau Lukuboi, 1974

Ra weku yeyeluma

I

Avei tau molaola a busibusi?
Avei tau molaola a busibusi?

II

Yeigu so gu Gumakeleula,
a busibusi.....

III

I taisi a dubidabira
ra keda yeluyelu

IV

Bi yelu bi ra a busibusi
gé nano ra o kadaotu

V

Gé nanora, nanora bi kubadu
gé nanora, nanora yeluyelu

VI

Bi yelu bi ra a busibusi
bi yeyeluma nanora bi yeyeluma

VII

Ra doka bi yeyeluma
si reura bi yeyeluma

VIII

Nanora bi yeyeluma
nopoura bi yeyeluma

IX

Duwara bi yeyeluma
ra weku yeyelumaaa.....

Ra weku yeyeluma
His shout spring water

I

- a, Avei tau molaola a busi + busi?
What man rivulet of water I curve + curve?
- b, avei tau molaola a busi + busi?
what man rivulet of water I curve + curve?

II

- a, Yeigu so gu Gumakeleula
I companion of mine Gumakeleula
- b, a busi + busi
I curve + curve

III

- a, I tai si a dubidabira
They cut them rock sediments
- b, ra keda yelu + yelu
its path spring water + spring water

IV

- a, B - i yelu b - i ra a busi + busi
Will - it spring out will - it go I curve + curve
- b, ge (ra) nanora, o kadaotu
no mind , on well used path

V

- a, Ge (ra) nanora, nanora b - i kubadu
 No mind , mind will - it go slow
- b, ge (ra) nanora, nanora yelu + yelu
 no mind , mind spring water + spring water

VI

- a, B - i yelu b - i ra a busi + busi
 Will- it spring out will- it go I curve + curve
- b, b - i yeyeluma manora b - i yeyeluma
 will - it spring out mind will - it spring out

VII

- a, Ra doka b - i yeyeluma
 His thought will - it spring out
- b, si reura b - i yeyeluma
 their viscera will - it spring out

VIII

- a, Nanora b - i yeyeluma
 Mind will - it spring out
- b, nopoura b - i yeyeluma
 inside will - it spring out

IX

- a, Duwara b - i yeyeluma
 Emotion will - it spring out
- b, ra weku yeyelumaaa.....
 his shout spring out.....

His Shout is a spring water

I

Who is bent forward in a gentle curve over a rivulet?
 Who is bent forward in a gentle curve over a rivulet?

II

I, and my companion, Gumakeleula
 bent forward in a gentle curve

III ,

Is fans out from the broken stones
 his path is living water

IV

Will spurt out, will go, gently bent
my mind flows away on the right path

V

The mind is no longer here, will go slow
the mind is no longer here, it has followed the spring water

VI

Gently bent like seaweed in the water that flows,
the mind flows away with the water

VII

His imagination flows away with the water
their feelings flow away with the water

VIII

The mind flows away with the spring water
their feelings go away with the spring water

IX

The imagination flows away with the water
his shout runs away with the spring water.....

Tokunubwai Barawaya, 1974

Fragment A

Kaya busi bwada gu

I

Kaya kayakwa, kaya kayama
kaya kayakwa, kaya kayama

II

Kaya busi bwada gu
Bugumagina buwaaaa.....

III

.....

.....

Kaya busi bwada gu

Moisten curve brother me

I

- a, Kaya kaya + kwa, kaya kaya + ma
Moisten moisten + out, moisten moisten + again
- b, kaya kaya + kwa, kaya kaya + ma
moisten moisten + out, moisten moisten + again

II

- a, Kaya busi, bwaga gu
Moisten curve, brother me
- b, Bugumagina buwaaa....
Bugumagina betel nut....

III

.....
.....

Moisten and gently bend my brother!

I

Moisten, in the moisture, moisten and moisten again
moisten, in the moisture, moisten and moisten again

II

Moisten and gently bend, my brother!
Bugumagina, the red betel nut.....

III

.....
.....

Fragment B

Kulaweta sopi

I

Eli ba eli, ba eli wai
eli ba eli, ba eli wai

II

Kwaitala gula sopi Kulaweta
ba vakatarisi nano gu eli busi

III

Eli salu ku kwawa ku koura

eli busi

IV

.....

.....

Kulaweta

sopi

Kulaweta

spring water

I

a, Eli b - a eli, b - a eli wai

Running water will - I flow, will - I flow centipede

b, eli b - a eli, b - a eli wai

running water will - I flow, will - I flow centipede

II

a, Kwaitala gula sopi Kulaweta

One food of mine spring water Kulaweta

b, b - a vakatarisi nano gu elibusi

will - I open (clear) mind me flow (run) down

III

a, Eli salu ku kwawa ku koura

Flow (run) black you powder you black

b, eli busi

flow (run) down

IV

.....

.....

The spring water of Kulaweta

I

I flow as running water, I flow as a centipede
I flow as running water, I flow as a centipede

II

The spring water of Kulaweta is my food
I'll open my mind flowing in the dark sea

III

Take your blacken paint and black yourself
flowing in the dark sea.....

IV

.....

.....

As soon as he has finished murmuring the megwa, the initiator feeds the red paste to the pupil with the black spatula (kena) and gives him fresh spring water to drink, which he takes with his hands from the hole. And as soon as this rite is over, the initiator makes a groove in the sand along which the water flows to the sea.

Toudubwau gave a description which essentially agreed with that of Towitara, although he put some ginger (Zingiber officinale) in the water. He also differed from Towitara in murmuring the megwa over the water collected in his hands, and not over the betel nut. We thus find the following two procedures concerning the initiation into the art of carving:

procedure A : a) the chewing of betel nut medicated with the megwa;
b) a sip of water drunk immediately after chewing the betel nut.

procedure B : a) the chewing of betel nut
b) a drink of freshwater medicated with megwa.

Toudubwau, murmuring the megwa over the fresh water essentially emphasizes the drinking as the most important act of the initiation, while Towitara gives more importance to the chewing of betel nut, since he murmurs the megwa over it, and Siyawkakwa and Tonori do not separate clearly the act of chewing from the act of drinking, so the two acts seem to form a single body, and all the symbolic values of the initiation are contained, and should be interpreted, in this ensemble of elements.

The vision in the dream

When the initiation rite on the beach is over, initiator and initiate return to the village and, following Towitara's description, as soon as he falls asleep the child will 'see' the lagimu and tabuya, the images he heard murmured of in the megwa (cf. Towitara Megwa peira tokabitamu, Ib and IVb).

In Towitara's description the accent is placed on the terms mimi, to dream, which emphasizes the creative power of the carver-initiate in producing images and objects, and gisi, to see, to have a vision, to perceive, which stresses the faculty of the carver to perceive nature, which suggests to him new ideas or images. And if the image of the prows is 'dreamt' and/or 'seen', then it is correct to interpret the whole initiation rite as a body of metaphors and allegories (which may not even be connected with the long period of apprenticeship that follows the initiation). By moving the vision of the lagimu and the tabuya onto the oneiric level, where every element acquires a 'probable' but not certain value, Towitara makes a clear distinction between the period of apprenticeship, during which the pupil practices the art of carving (a phase which must be analysed as any other conscious and already accomplished process) and the vague phase of the vision, which must be interpreted only as a metaphor of the probable meanings which may be attributed to the figure of the carver, as a creator of images.

The fact that the lagimu and the tabuya are dreamt of or seen after chewing betel nut emphasizes the latter's power to stimulate images and awaken the faculties, in the same way that the opening of the mind achieved by the buwa represents the ability to think, to penetrate the sense of an image (cf. Towitara, Megwa peira tokabitamu, IIIb). Towitara's description apparently contrasts with the statements by Siyakwakwa and Tonori (cf. A.ST,133 — B.ST,33a — B.ST,118 — B.ST,122 — B.ST,353 and B.SS,356).

In speech A.ST,133 Tonori uses the verb kina, to see, to perceive, in a more literal sense, suggesting that he saw real lagimu and tabuya, the ones carved by his initiator Kurina; but at the same time he admits that he saw the prows but only after his mind had been 'opened' and 'impressed' (... (i) sa/salouta nano gu) by chewing betel nut and drinking spring water. So,

Tonori recognizes that his 'vision' of the prows has been stimulated by the rite of initiation. The same feeling is also expressed by Togeruwa, who sometimes takes part in the conversation, when he states in A.T0,138 "... everything became fixed in your (Tonori's) mind...", as well as by Siyakwakwa who in A.SS,141 says: "Do you understand now, at least in broad terms, what the word salouta means? Its meaning is like that of 'memorize' (ruruwai), and the concept expressed by ruruwai and salouta are very similar. When he sees the lagimu on the beach, he continues to perceive it in the way he saw it, and the way he perceived it on the beach is the way he carves it, because that is how it is impressed on his mind. When he returns to the village, perhaps he sees another lagimu like the one he saw on the beach, or else he remembers only the one that was impressed on his mind. And when he has finished one (when he was left one), he carves others (he works for them). And 'seeing' is interpreted as if it were 'memorizing', 'perceiving'. And he carves what he has 'seen', 'perceived'".

And Tonori in B.ST,33a uses the expression i sisu o nanora, and i sisu o dabara ("... the designs impressed themselves on his mind..." and "The images of the designs were impressed on his mind"), in order to clarify that the images of the lagimu and tabuya were 'impressed' as a mark on the mind of the initiate. And 'to be impressed' or 'to be marked' by the images of the lagimu and tabuya is considered the most important and significant aspect of the initiation, so important that even if an initiate does not respect the taboos which are imposed on him, he might nevertheless carve a lagimu and tabuya. In fact, discussing the case of Togeruwa, the nephew of Towitara who was initiated into the art of carving but who did not respect the taboos, Tonori says; "Yes, he ate forbidden food, did Togeruwa. But despite this, the designs are impressed, are left in his memory. For this reason, if he wants to carve a lagimu, he can do so (he is capable of doing it)" (B.ST,35).

There is a clear relationship between chewing betel nut, drinking fresh water, one or the other medicated with megwa, and the opening of the mind, followed by the ability of the initiate to carve lagimu and tabuya. The act of chewing and drinking spring water, is a conditio sine qua an initiate cannot carve lagimu and tabuya, if we accept the feelings of Towitara, Siyakwakwa and Tonori. The act of chewing betel nut and drinking spring water authorizes a man to become a carver because his mind, which in the Aesthetic Conversations is a synonym of memory, is already 'opened' and

prepared to receive the teaching of the initiator.

To sum up, even if Tonori denies that he saw a lagimu and tabuya during a 'vision' or 'dream', as Towitara told me, nevertheless from his statements as well as from the statements of Siyakwakwa, it is quite clear that the meanings that he associates with the terms 'memory', 'memorizing', 'recall', 'to be impressed', and so on, are synonyms of the meanings associated with the words 'dream' and 'vision' if we interpret them, as Towitara did, metaphorically.

In fact, the lagimu and tabuya are memorized during the rite of initiation when the child is immersed in an unusual atmosphere and his mind is stimulated by a considerable amount of betel nut. In this condition the boundaries between reality and vision, or between reality (as presumed to be the everyday life in a Kitawa village) and dream, are quite doubtful and this doubt is expressed at the semantic level with metaphors.

Towitara uses the expressions makara mimi, makara gisi (it is like a dream or like a vision) which represent an ensemble of concepts that are 'ambiguous' because their meanings are placed by the carvers outside the Kitawan everyday lexicon. In fact, Towitara gives an interpretation of the rite of initiation which stresses its symbolic value as expressed at the semantic level by metaphors such as, for example, makara mimi, makara gisi. That is, the images seen after chewing betel nut and drinking spring water, are 'like a dream or like a vision', but they are not literally a dream or a vision. What Towitara seems to suggest is that a carver lives between 'reality' — he works in a given society and produces objects — and 'imagination' — he carves graphic signs or figures which are not in nature, in reality. And the complexity of the meanings of the initiation is expressed better by Towitara than Tonori and Siyakwakwa. Towitara knows that chewing betel nut and drinking spring water means 'many things', which are synthesized at the semantic level with mimi and gisi, which might be synonyms of 'memorize', 'focus', 'recall' and 'be impressed'.

So, the supposed contradiction between the description of Towitara and the statements of Siyakwakwa and Tonori should be seen in the context of the different interpretations of a single act, that is the rite of initiation, which Towitara expresses through metaphorical images.

Towitara, Siyakwakwa and Tonori recognize that 'to see', 'to memorize', 'to have a vision', 'to recall' and so on, are determined by chewing betel nut and drinking spring water, and that these two acts form a single event, the initiation, which is the cause of the opening of the mind of the initiate. To call, or define, as Towitara did, the sharpening of the mind of the initiate a vision or, better, 'like a vision' or 'like a dream' is just a poetical image, rather than a misleading interpretation of reality.

What seems important is the correlation established between the initiation and the following 'opening' and 'sharpening' of the mind. Without initiation the mind of a child is, as it were, 'closed' and it is not perceptive. His perceptive power is due to the initiation only, and to the apprenticeship, which follows the initiation. It is a practical device which actualizes the perceptive power received as a gift, and through the apprenticeship the images of the lagimu and tabuya "... started to develop in my memory, as did all the other designs. And these images came to the surface of my mind gradually, when I was still a boy..." (B.ST,353).

So, 'to memorize' and 'to recall' in the speeches of Tonori and Siyakwakwa mean to reconstruct in a real object an image perceived at the moment of initiation. In fact, in the statement B.SS,356 Siyakwakwa says: "It (the image) 'starts to appear', 'emerges in my mind'", and then in B.SS,358 "No, it isn't a dream, it's not like dreaming, seeing or 'being in his head', but it's a real, true 'fixing in one's mind'. The correct term is 'fix in one's mind'". But could not the concepts expressed by makara mimi, makara gisi, used by Towitara to suggest what happens in the mind of a child after the initiation be the same as those expressed by the verb talapwala? And what does the initiate see after he has chewed betel nut?

Whether he saw a real lagimu and tabuya like Tonori, if we accept his interpretation of the verb gisi, or he had a vision in which the images of a lagimu and tabuya appeared, if we accept the interpretation of Towitara, in both cases he perceives the whole image of the prows, with their graphic signs carved on them, and their colours. What he sees is not a fragmented image, for example, the wood surface by itself without colours or with some signs but without others; the prows are seen as a complete structure or a framework which must be memorized and then reproduced in a material work of art.

7 // It is not important to discuss if the prows have been dreamed or seen, but rather it seems more interesting to note that the concept which both Towitara and Tonori suggest with the expression 'the whole prow' is that of a frame, a structure, formed by all its constitutive elements.

The apprenticeship

After initiation, a child goes to stay with his initiator, in his hut, sometimes in another village if the carver lives in a region different from that of the pupil. That means a sort of separation of the child from his parents, brothers and sisters, as well as from his contemporaries, and he is adopted by the carver. His relationship with his parents becomes very weak, especially at the beginning of his new life. For example, during 1973-74 and between June and December 1976, one of the sons of Mesiboda Wakuwa, who lives in Kumwageiya village and belongs to the Malasi clan and susupi sub-clan, Mwabei Kaikuyawa (who had been initiated by his paternal uncle, Mwagula Wakuwa) had visited his parents just a couple of times, even though his new village, Kodeuli, is not really far from Kumwageiya, about twenty minutes walk.

Even if an initiate stays in the same village where he was born, he lives separated from the other members of his own family as well as from his contemporaries. In fact, while the majority of the inhabitants of a village go to the gardens (cf. Malinowski 1935) the initiator and the initiate usually stay in their hut, on the veranda, which is a sort of workshop, and spend most of their time carving.

The veranda of the hut of a carver is one of the points where the inhabitants of a village gather when they come back from the gardens to watch the work of the carver and of his initiate. Everybody who wishes to see how the lagimu of a master carver (tokabitamu bougwa) or a simple

carver (tokabitanu)³ is progressing, or who wishes to know about the work of the initiate, knows where to go. Sometimes the comments made by a commoner are appreciated, especially if he is a kula man, (one who takes part in the ritual performances of the kula cf. Malinowski 1922), who can appreciate better than others the artistic qualities of the prows.

The veranda of the hut of a carver is a privileged place where the group of the carvers, especially the best carvers of Kitawa, meet in order to comment on the latest work of one of them, as well as on the small models of lagimu or tabuya by one of the pupils. An initiate can learn a lot from these comments and criticisms, especially from the technical viewpoint. During the first years of the apprenticeship the parents of the initiate continue to bring gifts, such as betel nuts, fish, pork, yam and tobacco, to the initiator of their son. But the food offered to him must not be eaten by the apprentice. After two or three years, depending on the age at which the child has been initiated, the apprentice sometimes works in the garden of his teacher and goes to fish, or to pick coconuts and bananas for him. The behaviour of the initiate during this period is very important and is subjected to the control of the teacher, in the sense that if the apprentice reveals a generous nature the carver will teach him the technique of carving as well as some aesthetic devices for realizing certain effects better. When a carver teaches his art not only to his favourite pupil (yobweiri) but also to other pupils, one of them may surpass the other in generosity. For example, Towitara told me that Pilimoni and Gumaligisa had received from him a good training because both of them were very generous in bringing him gifts, even though he had favoured Gumaligisa because of his superior skill. On the other hand, one of Towitara's nephews, the above-mentioned Toganiu, although initiated by him (because he is a son of one of Towitara's sisters), had had a defective

(3) The lexeme tokabitanu is composed of the prefix to-, which classifies any element referred to man and to any action performed by him, and the noun-stem kabitanu which may be translated into 'intelligence', 'wisdom', 'keenness', but which also expresses a specific degree of 'formal' skill. The lexeme tokataraki, as well as the prefix to-, contains the noun-stem kataraki, which denotes the ability to cut with something sharp and may, according to the linguistic context on which it is used, express the concept of 'enlarging something by digging from the inside', which seems to me much more apt to indicate the action of shaping a tree-trunk into the hull of a canoe. Another meaning expressed by kataraki is 'to make concrete in the matter', and when it is used as a metaphor means also 'to visualize an image, an idea'.

NB

training because he was judged to be rather mean. So, during the apprenticeship the pupils compete within the same bottega (workshop), or school of carving for the best training. When an initiate starts his training he belongs to the bottega of his master, which is quite different from the bottega of another carver, even if all of them are in the same village. A bottega is formed by the group of pupils of one of the tokabitanu, especially a tokabitanu bougwa, of Kitawa. Its organization recalls the medieval bottega, where a master of art was helped in his work by a group of apprentices to whom he told how to pierce, to carve or to paint and, at the beginning, the first elementary rules of his profession.⁴ On Kitawa a pupil who belongs to one of the botteghe must help his initiator-master to shape the framework of a lagimu or tabuya, and to finish off the graphic signs carved on the wood surface, as well as to collect the pigments used to paint the prows of the kula canoe, and to help his master in colouring them, and so on.

" "

In short an initiate during the first years of his apprenticeship learns the basic rules of carving, as well as the terminology of the tools of the profession, and he does all the small jobs which in a medieval bottega were done by the helper of a Maestro d'arte.

NB
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A carver's workshop is recognizable through the style of the master carver, that is for the shape of the lagimu and tabuya, which have some distinctive characteristics, like the upper side of the lagimu carved by Lalela tokabitanu, which is larger than its equivalent side carved by the pupils of Towitara; or for some subsidiary graphic signs painted in white; or for a new interpretation of the values expressed by one of the four basic graphic signs (gigiwani, doka, kwaisaruvi and veku) — for example, the kwaisaruvi carved by Towitara on the right side of the lagimu, which marks his school and, now, all the carving of Kymwageiya village.

NB

Usually the teacher of one of the botteghe of carving, is a tokabitanu bougwa, like Towitara and Toudubwau Lukubai, that is a carver who invented some new graphic signs or re-interpreted some old ones. In both cases he asserts his copyright over them. Nobody can, or should, copy a graphic sign invented by a tokabitanu bougwa without his permission. And permission is usually given only to his pupils, or to the members of other botteghe if,

(4) See Haskell (1980) and Mâle (1972).

and only if, they give him copious gifts in return. The copyright passes from the master to his favourite pupil, or to one of the members of his sub-clan, as in the case of Towitara Buyoyu. In fact, when he died, the 'copyright' passed to the members of mwauli sub-clan, since neither Togeruwa or Toganiu had been chosen as a favourite pupil. Sometimes a tokabitamu bougwa shares his knowledge of carving among the members of his sub-clan, in the sense that he gives the megwa for the initiation to his favourite pupil and the copyright on his graphic signs to the other kinsmen who can authorize their reproduction in return for gifts. For example, the kinsmen of Towitara would receive a lot of gifts from the other carvers of Kitawa, because the interpretation of the traditional value of the kwaisaruvi is recognized and accepted as one of the more significant stylistic innovations made within the lagimu framework.

At the beginning of his apprenticeship, vagakora, in Nowau ("Then I practised, you say 'to have training' while we use the word vagakora, at carving a lagimu on a reduced scale. I practised, and every time I looked at the lagimu and realized that some designs were carved well and other badly. In fact some time would pass before they were beautiful, correct", B.ST,124), an initiate looks at a life-size lagimu of his initiator-teacher. It may be that the lagimu is the same as, or similar to, the one he saw during the initiation, whatever the interpretation of the 'vision of the prows' might be. If we accept the more literal interpretation of Tonori, the lagimu seen in the initiation and now memorized, impressed on the mind, is recalled during the exercise of copying another lagimu which is like the first one, and the memory of the apprentice is refreshed through the continuous sight of the prows.

Tonori and Siyakwakwa in their statements stress clearly the logical link between the first lagimu and tabuya seen during the rite and the works of art which are seen during the apprenticeship: the latter are reproductions, or recollections, of the former. The lagimu carved by the apprentice is reproduced on a reduced scale, and it must be shaped like the teacher's example. So the first step of the training is the modelling of a small piece of wood (usually the size of a hand) and then the carving of the graphic signs on it.

In carving, the pupil must follow a given order, both in a temporal sense (some graphic signs before others) and in a spatial sense (from top to

bottom, and from the outer to the inner), so as to form a sort of Cartesian axis which constitutes a reference point round which to carve the other graphic signs.

When an initiate is carving he must place each graphic sign in the same place as in the lagimu and tabuya of his teacher, and he cannot change or modify that order. So, he learns that the order of the graphic signs is rigid and he guesses that it must obey some abstract and general rules. The small model carved by an apprentice should be a perfect copy, respecting both the shape and the pattern of the style, on a reduced scale, of the lagimu of his initiator. Tonori, in fact, says "If I have been your teacher-initiator, you must carve according to the patterns of my style, only. You can't do it in a different way.." (A.ST,435), and "No! it isn't possible to give it a different form. The way I model it, you must do the same" (A.ST, 449).

The copying of a lagimu is done progressively and depends on the perceptive power of the initiate, and on his capacity to recall the order of the graphic signs. According to Tonori a pupil watches the work of his teacher and goes back to his hut and tries to recall the shapes of the graphic signs that he has already seen: "While (Kurina) is carving, or else makes the rough sketch of the designs on the surface of a lagimu or a tabuya, I watch carefully everything he does, both the designs, and the technique and style, and try to fix everything in my mind, to memorize it. And while he rests (leaves his work for a short time) I return to my hut and I reproduce, copy, everything that I've seen (memorized)" (B.ST,120).

If a pupil is skilful and gifted, he can recall his teacher's work better and, therefore he can reproduce correctly on the wood surface the graphic signs already 'printed' in his memory. He can reconstruct in his mind the whole framework of the prow, and can judge whether or not a graphic sign which he wants to carve on the lagimu will harmonize with the other graphic signs. In fact, when an apprentice is carving, he is translating the schema of his teacher's lagimu into a material copy. It is essential for him to have the schema clearly in his mind as he is not allowed to trace the graphic signs on the wood before he carves it, but must do it directly, and if he gets it wrong, the model is burnt: "It's not possible to trace the designs first on the wood and when they are finished, carve them using mallet and chisel and then, after that, finish them off. The designs

must be fixed in one's mind (all the work must be controlled, possessed in the mind) so that the design of the cry of the mysterious bird (kwaisaruvi), and the carver-hero, must be fixed in the mind. They must be carved directly on the wood using the mallet and chisel. You don't trace the design first and then carve it. Definitely not." (B.ST,364).

When he is working a pupil is controlled by his teacher, who tells him what is wrong and what is not wrong, especially in order to see if he respects the taboos imposed on him, as well as the order of the graphic signs, the framework of the lagimu and tabuya, the rules of carving, and so on.

If the pupil is the favourite of the carver, he will probably receive from him a good training from a technical point of view, and will also be the heir of his style. Yet it is very important for a carver, especially if he is a tokabitamu bougwa, to hand his own personal style onto his favourite pupil, because this is one of the devices by which he impresses his name on the memory of the village. For example, the kwaisaruvi carved by Towitara on the right side of the lagimu and reproduced in all Kumwageiya's lagimu, and sometimes on the lagimu of the other villages, is synonymous with his name, and it embodies a part of the stylistic history followed by the carvers of Kumwageiya and Kitawa. Theoretically no margin of liberty at all is left to a pupil when he is carving: he cannot introduce new graphic signs or change the space of one of them, even though some examples given by Towitara, Siyakwakwa and Tonori from their own experience proves that a pupil, in practice, if he is able to harmonize the graphic signs within a given schema, can invent and suggest a new graphic sign, or an ensemble of graphic signs.

When a pupil looks at a lagimu or tabuya of his initiator-teacher he sees the ensemble of graphic signs organized in a given order on the wood surface, and realizes that this surface is a frame which is a sort of triangle with its vertex pointing downwards. He sees, moreover, that the graphic signs are painted in black, white and red, and that the red and black colours constitute a 'face' which vaguely resembles the face of a snake, sometimes carved on the upper side of the lagimu, and also on the equivalent part of the tabuya. He can see that the white graphic signs seem to give relief to the red and black ones and that the right side of the lagimu is wider and more projecting than the left. If he is a Kumwageiyan apprentice, he can note that on the right side the kwaisaruvi is carved

solidly, and coloured black, whichh contrasts clearly with the pierced graphic sign (weku) on the left side of the surface, formed by two oblong holes. His general impression might be of a frame covered with dots and scrolls or floral patterns, with two natural figures, which vaguely resemble a man, in the middle of the upper part of the lagimu. The sense of order of the central part of the frame and the symmetrical distribution of the graphic signs contrast also with the imbalance between the two protruding parts of the frame. In itself the lagimu looks like an unbalanced structure.

So the first lesson that the apprentice learns is to model that unbalanced frame on a reduced scale, and during this exercise he can learn, more or less intuitively (and that depends on his perceptive power and his capacity to rationalize) that the irregular triangle is a sort of structure, in an architectural sense, which embodies all the graphic signs. On this frame a pupil must carve the first graphic signs which, following the teaching of his initiator are gigiwani, doka, kwaisaruvi and weku. All of them are in the upper part of the lagimu and in its two protruding sides (weku and kwaisaruvi). These graphic signs must be memorized as basic signs, in the sense that they are the landmarks round which all the other graphic signs, which could be classified as subsidiary, must be organized and carved. The four basic signs represent a sort of framework, which I call 'mental' or 'notional', because it must be possessed and clarified in the mind before it can be realized on the wood. In fact, the prohibition on tracing the graphic signs on the wood before carving them seems to be a device used by the carvers to make sure that the framework of the lagimu, as well as the framework of the tabuya, is possessed in the mind as a notion. To possess the framework in the mind signifies that an apprentice must draw the image of the lagimu as a 'project'. He must realize it as a complex of norms which support a precise hypothesis. And if the starting point, is wrong, it must be corrected in the mind, that is, the apprentice should be able to plan the lagimu before realizing it. And the small model should be regarded as a proof of the hypothesis, of the capacity of the apprentice to plan it. If a pupil does not plan well, his small model will be 'bad', and he will be criticized by his teacher and by the other carvers. So, the small model serves as a test, and helps the pupil to understand the logical value expressed by the basic and subsidiary graphic signs. It is interesting to note that when a small model is wrong, when it is judged by a carver to be badly executed, it is burnt: the fault of the apprentice is

metaphorically obliterated and his mind starts again to re-plan, to re-project, the hypothesis, the framework, of the prow. So the passage from abstract framework, or schema, to concrete, real object, is the main activity of an apprentice, and in the course of this he learns that the introduction of new graphic signs, or changing their position, or disregard for the four basic graphic signs, means the destruction of the schema or framework of the lagimu and tabuya.

The small prow carved by an apprentice can therefore be regarded as a test of a hypothesis, while the model of the initiator (if he is a simple tokabitamu) operates as a link between the abstract schema and the series of actual lagimu and tabuya. During the long period of apprenticeship, when he spends a lot of time copying and reproducing the same model, an apprentice learns (cf. the megwa murmured during the initiation) that he can produce 'forms' (and 'form' in this case is a metaphor for idea, concept, image for every kind of intellectual production), but at the same time he learns that the forms which he wishes to produce must follow a given pattern. What a teacher communicates through his model is, as it were, a grammar which an apprentice must learn in copying that model, and this notion, in our case, is guaranteed by the four basic graphic signs: they realize a frame which structures the comprehensibility of the whole object.

An apprentice will learn, as the years go by, that the model which he is reproducing is not necessarily the original model introduced by a tokabitamu bougwa, but could be a copy of the original, because the apprentice could be initiated by a simple tokabitamu. Only a tokabitamu bougwa, in fact, can propose a new interpretation of the lagimu's schema, and he is therefore called a 'real carver' or 'master carver'. So, the lagimu copied by an apprentice may or may not be the original model of a tokabitamu bougwa; and this can sometimes produce bad copies of the original, as well as confusion between the graphic signs, misinterpretation, and so on. That is one of the reasons why the parents of a child try to ensure that their son becomes the favourite pupil of the tokabitamu bougwa of Kitawa, and also why a tokabitamu bougwa tries to favour the most endowed and skilful of his pupils: in the first case an initiate will be made to reproduce a good carving, in the latter a tokbitamu bougwa is sure that his style will be reproduced as well as possible.

To sum up, in his apprenticeship an initiate learns to organize the graphic signs on a wood surface which has been cut in a given shape, while the symbolic meaning, that is the content of the entire surface as well as of the single graphic sign, is not the focus of his training. And this confirms that what an apprentice should learn is the control of the 'grammar' of the abstract composition, only. In fact few initiates or carvers know precisely what lagimu means, and all the carvers of Kitawa recognize that when we talk about that subject we enter into the field of suppositions and probabilities (cf. Siyakwakwa statements C.SS,75 - C.SS,77. - C.SS,83). A good carver is judged on the basis of his technical and aesthetic ability.

The taboos

During the apprenticeship a pupil should respect an ensemble of taboos, all related to foodstuffs. Non-observance of these prohibitions could signify the disappearance of the perceptive power of the initiate, as well as of his capacity for carving.

The taboos (bobouma in Nowau, though the Polynesian term tabu is sometimes used in the Conversations), i.e. what cannot be eaten, comprise:

- a) the internal organs, entrails (sineu), of any animal, and in particular wild pig and fish (cf. A.ST,210);
- b) the inside and soft parts (kununa) of the head of animals, and in particular of fish (cf. A.ST,216);
- c) the tail (yeyuna) of fish (cf. A.ST,216);
- d) any food mixed with coconut pulp (Towitara);
- e) food given to the initiator, after the initiation of the child, by the child's parents (Towitara);
- f) sugar cane (Towitara);
- g) all foods reduced to paste and boiled in a pot (kuria) like bananas, taro, yams, and so on (cf. A.SG,290).

The pupil may eat different types of yam but only if they are roasted. The taboos are imposed both on a pupil who will become a carver of lagimu and tabuya, that is a tokabitamu, and on a pupil who will cut out kula canoes,

that is a tokataraki (cf. A.SG,313, A.SS,314 and A.ST,315).⁵ Their principal function is said to be to preserve the initiate's clarity of mind. If an initiate eats one of the prohibited foods, his mind will become confused and, probably, he will lose the perceptive power received at the moment of initiation, as Tonori states in A.ST,218. The relation between respect of the taboos and carving ability has been interpreted in different ways by different carvers. For example, when Siyakwakwa discusses the case of Togeruwa — who, although he had eaten prohibited food after he had been initiated, had carved a lagimu — he denies that Togeruwa did that, and he calls him a liar. Thus while Tonori emphasizes the initiation as the only act which legitimates a child's apprenticeship, Siyakwakwa relates more clearly the act of chewing betel nut and drinking fresh water, which legitimates a carver, to the respect of the subsequent taboos which confirm the legitimation. Failure to respect the taboos invalidates the initiation.

These different ways of interpreting the same act are brought out in the statements B.ST,33a — B.ST,35 — B.SS,39. In B.ST,33a Tonori says: "This (Togeruwa's ability to carve) is possible because the designs impressed themselves on his mind at the moment of initiation, which means he could have become a carver. The images of the designs were impressed on his mind, in his memory; then time passed and he grew up. But afterwards he ate forbidden food, like the intestines of animals, the internal, soft parts of their heads...", and he continues: "Yes, he ate forbidden food, did Togeruwa. But despite this, the designs are impressed, are left, in his memory. For this reason, if he wants to carve a lagimu, he can do so (he is capable of doing it)" (B.ST,35). But Siyakwakwa, who knows how important and significant the training of a young carver is, as symbolized by the respect of taboos, denies that Togeruwa has been eating the forbidden foods: "Togeruwa! He lied to you when you asked him if he had forgotten to respect the traditions. No, he hasn't eaten forbidden food " (B.SS,39), and

(5) Sometimes Siyakwakwa and Tonori use tokataraki as a word which expresses both the meaning of 'artist' and 'artisan', especially when they talk about initiation and taboos. And, in the same sense it had been used by Towitara in his megwa for the initiation. In both cases tokataraki conveys the meaning of 'to realize an idea', even if the idea has not been elaborated by the same person who makes it concrete. In fact, to elaborate an idea, in this case a new model of lagimu for example, is the task of a tokabitamu bougwa and not of a tokataraki.

later on: "No, he hasn't eaten it [Siyakwakwa's tone is very sure]. He answered like that and told you that he has eaten it, but he couldn't have done. If he really had eaten forbidden food, he wouldn't have been able to carve in this way (he wouldn't have been able to carve this lagimu)."
(B.SS,41).

Siyakwakwa is so irritated during this conversation (cf. B.SS,55 — B.SS,57 — B.SS,61 and B.SS,65) that Tonori progressively tones down his viewpoint and admits that the respect of taboos is equally important, but later on specifies that: "Even if you worked day after day, you would just scratch the surface of the wood, you could only scratch it superficially. But you couldn't carve really well, carve the wood out. Only if you drank the spring water and tasted the red betel nut, only then could you really carve." (B.ST,53).

So Tonori makes a clear distinction between knowing how to carve very well, 'to fret', if we follow the meaning of the verb-stem tapwala, and 'to scratch', 'to leave a trace', expressed in Nowau by the verb-stem gini. The power to 'fret' the wood, particularly in respect of the basic graphic signs doka, gigiwani, and veku, is given to a child by means of the rite of initiation: "We two tell you that those who eat forbidden food, ordinary people, know how to cut the ribs of the canoe, and when they come with us (carvers) into the forest, they cut the wood for the ribs of the canoe, they only know how to do this. And if all the ordinary men come with us into the forest, they only help to cut the wood that the shape of lagimu will come out of, they cut the bulk of the wood but they can't, because they don't know to model the shape itself, they really don't know how to do it, and this is because they have all eaten the forbidden foods." (B.ST,75).

At this point it seems important to note that whilst both Siyakwakwa and Tonori stress the importance of the initiation, they give different interpretations of the meanings expressed by the period which follows the initiation. Tonori emphasizes that the power of fretting is given to a child by means of initiation, following which comes a long period, perhaps aesthetically interesting, but basically spent 'recalling' the images seen during the rite. Respecting the taboos is a device for fixing in the memory the importance of the first act of initiation. In other words, to eat the forbidden foods means to cloud the creative power received at the initiation, but not to lose it.

Siyakwakwa instead, emphasizes that the observance of the taboos is as important as the initiation, operating as a confirmation of the carving power received during the rite, and an initiate who does not respect the forbidden foods loses that power definitively. The feeling of Siyakwakwa about this topic is quite clear: either an initiate respects the taboos and preserves his creative power, or he does not respect the taboos and loses his creative power. The example of Togeruwa is reduced by Siyakwakwa to this dichotomy, and he calls Togeruwa a liar for stating that he had already eaten the forbidden foods, which would have destroyed his power of carving. But the tone of Siyakwakwa's statements, as well as the content (cf. B.SS,57 — B.SS,61 — B.SS,63 — B.SS,65 and B.SS,71), indicate that he in fact wishes to emphasize the value of the training even if he 'hides it as taboos' which operate as metaphors. We must read Siyakwakwa's statement B.SS,71 attentively: "This is what you think [addressed to the ethnographer who had already expressed his feeling that the training plays the most important role in the life of an initiate, so important as to deny the power of the initiation] but we have to take our customs into account, the Kitawa traditions. And according to the traditions of Kitawa these are the taboos to respect. Because we, listen hard, if we respect the taboos we can carve lagimu, tabuya and cut out a canoe. Those who eat forbidden food... not one could carve a lagimu, not one could cut a canoe for the kula."

Here, despite even his suspicious attitude towards the ethnographer, he appeals to the 'customs', to Kitawa traditions, to justify his feeling for the power of the taboos which he uses as metaphors to support his belief in the efficacy of the training in the knowledge of the carving technique. My assumption is reinforced by the following statements made by Siyakwakwa: " If someone doesn't want to eat forbidden food, it means that the taboos are still valid, they still exist. But if someone wants to eat forbidden food, it means that for him the taboos aren't valid any longer and so he does eat forbidden food. It isn't a question of months or years. It's not like that. The ability to respect the taboos or not is left up to the carver. It's he who has to decide " (A.SS,295) and, in answering the ethnographer's insinuation that if a carver is responsible for respecting or disregarding the taboos, then these are not real, genuine, prohibitions: "Of course they are! They are true taboos! Only when I have carved a lagimu well or carved a canoe well for the kula, or else carved a tabuya well, only then will I be able to say that the taboos are over. Only then will I be able to eat the prohibited foods. But if one doesn't carve a lagimu or

work a canoe for the kula, in this case the taboos must be observed. It isn't possible to eat prohibited food when you still don't know the art of carving on wood" (A.SS,297).

Siyakwakwa recognizes implicitly that an initiate should exercise self-control when he is carving, and that the observance of the taboos depends on the capacity of an initiate to carve: the taboos are valid until the initiate can carve a lagimu or tabuya very well or cut a good kula canoe (cf. A.ST,281); carving one of these objects well is probably just a question of technical ability (and that depends on good training as well as on the knowledge of the rules of carving), even if Siyakwakwa seems to deny that the correlation between 'to eat taboos' and 'to carve the prows very well' is due only to training.

In short, the taboos are for Siyakwakwa a sort of self-control which a carver imposes on himself in order to achieve a certain grade of technical ability, and which he can respect or disregard in a given circumstance — for example, when there is a feast — "... It is only when there are dances and songs that I don't respect the taboos." (A.SS,283) — while for Tonori they are a sort of continuous reminder of the possibility of falling into confusion. If an initiate eats the taboos he decreases his ability to plan, to carve, as well as his perceptive power acquired by means of initiation, but he does not lose them.

The taboos are also a technical treatise, a sort of compressed oral manual, which an initiate should follow if he wishes to become a good carver, and the rules are expressed by metaphors like, for example, the metaphor relating to the prohibition on eating fish tails: "...Do you know what it means not to eat fish tail? If I ate them, at the moment of carving, my hand would tremble. These are the taboos, this is the meaning of 'taboo' that I respect and because of which, as you can see, I can now carve, and because of which my hand is sure, steady, and my mind is sharp, perceptive. If I ate forbidden food, like fish tails and the soft internal parts of animals' heads, then my mind would get confused. This is the meaning of 'taboo' and these are the results if they aren't respected." (B.ST,90).

The meaning of the two metaphors had already been clarified by Tonori using a linguistic device to suggest what might happen if an initiate did not respect the taboos. The other taboos can be assembled into the

following metaphors:

a) prohibition on eating the internal organs (sineu) of animals. To eat these foods is to renounce clarity and distinctness in the graphic signs and their comprehensibility both in 'themselves' and in the context of the whole surface of the lagimu and tabuya. For an initiate, as well as for a carver, anything that is hidden inside a body and convoluted (as entrails are) implies an image that is out of focus, unclear, indistinctly drawn, and whose meaning is impossible to establish. Entrails suggest something unintelligible, contorted: for an initiate to eat them means to carve unintelligible graphic signs;

b) prohibition concerning food — like yam, banana, taro, sweet potato and fish — mixed with coconut pulp, and food cooked in a pot. In fact, food mixed with white coconut pulp becomes a slippery paste, as do boiled bananas, which form a slippery layer on the palate. Sugar cane produces the same effect when chewed; so does any food boiled in a pot, which is always encrusted with the pieces of coconut pulp that are cooked in it. To eat these foods means to allow one's ideas, one's images, 'to slip away', to lose for ever the meanings that the carver will want to fix in the graphic signs carved on the wood;

c) prohibition against eating food given to the master while he is carving a lagimu or tabuya. Eating food given to the master is a symbolic theft of his status when the apprentice has as yet no right to it. It also means renouncing the stimulus to carve that is implicit in the offering of food. To eat the food of the initiator-teacher is to renounce the possibility of making of the carver's role a means to obtain gifts.

Tokabitamu and Tokataraki

According to Tonori, Towitara and Siyakwakwa an initiate becomes a tokabitamu when he carves a life-size lagimu and/or tabuya, or a real kula canoe, i.e. after fifteen or twenty years of apprenticeship, during which he has followed the norms imposed on him by his teacher-initiator, including the respect of taboos. Siyakwakwa answering the ethnographer who had asked him when a pupil is judged a carver, replies: "When you know how to carve two, or four lagimu well, and know how to carve the canoe for the

kula, only then will you be a real carver." (A.SS,454).

To the ethnographer's other question as to who it is who decides that an initiate has become a real carver, he replies: "...your teacher-initiator, who seeing the designs you've carved, decides that they are beautiful. Or else the inhabitants of the village, who seeing a canoe for the kula that you have carved, exclaim 'He really is a true carver!' because they can see that the work has been done well..." (A.SS,456).

Siyakwakwa seems to introduce a clear distinction between the judgement of a teacher-initiator who judges if the carving of a lagimu and tabuya has been done well, and the judgement of the people of the village (tomota komwedona) who judge if a kula canoe has been cut well. This distinction reflects the other distinction between tokabitamu and tokataraki, and the feeling of Siyakwakwa is that only a carver should judge cum judicio if a lagimu or a tabuya is a good carving or not, because he knows the rules of composition that the initiate must follow in order to achieve a harmonic object. Ordinary people do not know the principles of composition of a lagimu, or tabuya and his tastes, if we accept the opinion of Siyakwakwa as well of Tonori and Siyakwakwa, are not so sophisticated or articulated as those of a real carver. Commoners can only express a superficial judgement or, rather, they can express their feelings about a lagimu, which are embodied on simple, non-critical sentences, like 'The lagimu of Tonori is good', or 'The colours used by Tokwaisai in painting his tabuya are bad', or 'The symbols carved by Gumaligisa are polished', and so on, but they cannot tell why they use sentences such as these. They do not know why the colours used by Tokwaisai are bad, they cannot explain their judgements, and this is believed by the carvers to be a typical mode of expression used by commoners, i.e. the judgment of a non-expert. Moreover, the aesthetic judgments of commoners are influenced by a given model of lagimu and tabuya, which prevails in one village, or by a strong personality, like Towitara Buyoyu.

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Sometimes commoners do not discuss the work of a carver publicly, in the sense that they do not question the ability of a carver because they presume that he has been initiated, and this 'original act' should guarantee his technical ability and creative power. In other words, a commoner recognizes that a carver should be judged by other carvers, because they know the rules of carving. That does not mean that the

aesthetic judgment expressed by a villager is not appreciated but, rather, it is considered less technical than the judgment expressed by another carver (cf. A.SS,460 - A.SS,469 and A.SS,471).

And with regard to this, Siyakwakwa says: "... you must know, that your teacher is called 'a true carver', so when he observes (your work) he's able to judge and to say that your work isn't done well. While men (people) don't know the art of carving (they are unskilful) so when they look they can think that your work has been done well and can exclaim 'Oh! he's a true carver!', while your teacher looks and says 'It isn't done well yet!'" (A.SS,469), and to the question of the ethnographer: "But whose opinion counts most... that of people or that of the teacher?" (A.SG,470), he answers: "No... (that of people doesn't count). The opinion of your teacher is the one that has value. The people's count less" (A.SS,471).

Nevertheless Siyakwakwa, in A.S.456 above, said that commoners (and here he is probably referring to the men who participate in the kula)⁶ can judge if a kula canoe has been cut well or not, because they know the technical rules which a tokataraki must follow to produce a good vessel. A kula canoe does not involve a creative power at all, such as that of the carver of lagimu and tabuya, but a simple technical ability, that is, a kula canoe is regarded as a mechanical device which is judged perfect or not if, and only if, it 'works'. A kula canoe must sail, if possible very well, and ride the sea even when it is stormy. It should be very fast and nimble, and so on. All these properties can be verified through experience, and a kula man (i.e. almost all Kitawa men) can verify whether they exist or not. So, a well-constructed kula canoe is an ensemble of 'mechanical' pieces, which when they are well assembled produce an object which 'works', and it seems to me quite interesting that the vessel (the hull and the outrigger) is called 'body', while the lagimu and tabuya are called respectively 'a face and its nose' or 'the sun and the moon' and, using a metaphorical language, a body should 'work' while a face should 'express'. All the expressive power which is attributed to the face of a body (to the lagimu and tabuya of a kula canoe) is created by a tokabitamu and not by a tokataraki. A kula canoe cutter 'supports' the tokabitamu, even if both roles sometimes

(6) In this context 'commoner' is referred only to men who participate to the kula. In fact, a kula-man should know the technique of sailing and this implies that he can judge if a canoe has been carved well. See Malinowski (1922).

coincide in the same person, as a body 'supports' a face. Moreover the pieces which form a canoe, like the hull, the broad sides, the outrigger, and so on, keep their individuality, while the graphic signs which form the lagimu and tabuya lose their independence and become parts of a harmonic schema-structure.

The carver uses two words to mark clearly, at the semantic level, the concepts which underlie the building of a kula canoe and a lagimu and tabuya: kwabu and mwata. The term kwabu means 'a thing which is formed by an ensemble of pieces' and the verb-stem takwabu indicates 'to build a thing using many pieces', and is used especially of the construction of a kula canoe. The term mwata, instead, means exclusively the schema-structure of the lagimu and tabuya and is used by the carver to suggest the idea of a harmonic ensemble of elements, which have lost their individuality for a superior and more significant unity.

To sum up, the work of a tokabitanu is judged, or should be judged, by an expert, that is a member of the group of carvers while a tokataraki may be judged by members of his group, but also by a kula man. The two judgments reflect the different position, within Kitawa society, of the tokabitanu and the tokataraki: the former is thought of as an artist, a creator of images, while the latter is thought of as a man who just performs his work "with the aid of skill (techne)" only (Kris and Kurz 1979:43).

Even though a tokabitanu is also a tokataraki, but not vice versa, nevertheless a recent initiate is already predestined to become either a carver or a cutter.⁷ Theoretically the cutting of a kula canoe is regarded as a preliminary step in becoming a tokabitanu (as the case of Siyakwakwa exemplifies), but in practice it becomes a profession separated from the profession of a carver of lagimu and tabuya. The carving of lagimu and tabuya is moreover considered to be a more sophisticated activity, and a carver, especially if he is gifted, must spend a lot of time in carving, so he leaves the cutting of kula canoes to the tokataraki.

(7) To become a tokabitanu or a simple tokataraki, depends both on the skilfulness and understanding of the pupil as well as on the will of the master-carver. This whole of elements 'predetermines' the career of a young initiate.

A tokabitamu works his lagimu and tabuya practically by himself, if we exclude the first stage of the cutting of a tree (from which the shape of the lagimu or tabuya emerges) for which he is helped by his pupil or by other men of his village. A tokataraki is given practical help during all stages of the building of a kula canoe by his helpers and by other men of his village. The work of a takabitamu is a sort of 'lonely task', while that of a tokataraki is a collective one. A tokabitamu when he is carving, and not teaching, lives by himself, or sometimes in the company of his favourite pupil; the tokataraki on the contrary is always surrounded by many people. A tokabitamu works when the village is practically empty, when all the villagers are working in the gardens, and he shows his finished work to them when they come back to the village, so his lagimu or tabuya is considered 'secret', while the work of the cutter of a kula canoe is more 'open' or 'public', and is subjected to the continuous comments of his helpers, as well as of the other men of the village. In fact almost all men of Kitawa know the technical terminology related to the work of a canoe, but few of them know the lexicon related to the carving of a lagimu and tabuya. A tokabitamu works on the veranda of his hut, a relatively private space (and sometimes, when it is very hot, inside the hut), while a tokataraki works in an open space, usually in front of his hut or the hut of his patron. A tokabitamu might refuse a visitor, even if this behaviour is judged strange, but a tokataraki must accept all visitors and their comments.

So, in practice an initiate becomes a takabitamu or a tokataraki and rarely both, even if a carver can cut a kula canoe. When an initiate has been recognized as a carver, or as a cutter, sooner or later he will receive a commission to carve a lagimu, or a tabuya, or to cut a kula canoe. At first the order might come from a member of the same sub-clan which the carver belongs to, and this is seen as an act of encouragement. Each sub-clan tries to protect its group of carvers and cutters, and tries to keep the monopoly of their style, especially when one of the tokabitamu bougwa has introduced a new interpretation of one of the four basic graphic signs, or a new collateral graphic sign. The sub-clan mwauli (in Kumwageiya village) for example, is so jealous of the style of Towitara that during the field work, the canoes, lagimu and tabuya cut and carved by Towitara only circulated inside his sub-clan. The first instinct of a sub-clan is to keep the skill of its carvers and cutters to itself, as well as their products. Nevertheless it is very prestigious for a sub-clan to export the

model and the style of its carvers.

In short, a carver, or a cutter, can work for a member of his sub-clan and clan, as well as for a member of another clan, even if the latter lives in another village. For example, the carvers and cutters of Kumwageiya, all of them belonging to Towitara's school or workshop, are much sought after by the other villages of Kitawa, especially from the Lalela region (while the region of Okabulula follows another model of lagimu and tabuya which seems to be influenced by the style of the carvers living in the Omarakana district, on Kiriwina island) and from the inhabitants of Iwa island, east of Kitawa.

Conversely, a member of one of Kitawa sub-clans who wishes to order a prow or a kula canoe, as a sponsor or patron, is attracted by one carver or cutter rather than another because his work is celebrated for its skill and beauty, like the work of Gumaligisa who, during 1973-74 carved seven lagimu and four tabuya. And the role of a patron is quite important because he can support a carver belonging to one school rather than another, and if the patron is a very sensitive man, aesthetically endowed and a connoisseur of the kula, as the patrons of the carvers usually are, he can exercise considerable influence in the success of a tokabitamu, or a tokataraki; the prestige of a kula-man who at the same time is the patron of a carver, reflects upon the fame of both of them. We should not forget that in Kitawa the inhabitants call the canoe or a lagimu and tabuya after the name of the patron, even though everybody knows who is the creator of the object. In Kitawa it is the custom to use the expression "The canoe of Mesiboda", or "The tabuya of Tausia", for example, even if the carver is Gumaligisa, as in the Renaissance period it was sometimes custom to use the expression La Pietá Rondanini, for example, even if the artist was Michelangelo.

A renowned carver, as well as a renowned cutter, might refuse the commission of a patron, just because he does not want to work for him, for example for a simple personal reason, or else, to use a typical expression which we can find in all books about the private life of artists, because he is whimsical or capricious. The Kitawans in fact, sometimes speak of a carver as a 'moody person'!

A patron might order a kula canoe or a lagimu and tabuya because his sub-clan needs a new vessel, or because he wishes to celebrate the prestige of a famous carver (even if he belongs to another clan and village), as well as the prestige of himself and his own family — as in the case of Towitara's mwauli sub-clan, which in 1973-76, had two new kula canoes cut, which generated a considerable circulation of gifts inside the same sub-clan, an event still remembered by the inhabitants of Kumwageiya.

Such an order would activate a complex network of relationships between clans and sub-clans, as well as a subtle relation with the carver or carvers. It is very unusual for a patron to make a choice purely for himself, and very few members of a village would be able to do this: the carver himself, the chief or the sorcerer. If the carver decides to cut a kula canoe and carve a lagimu and tabuya, he can do that because he is a 'freelance', and during the work he may be supported materially by the restricted group of his family, which goes to the gardens and fishes for him. The wood which he needs for the canoe and the four prows is sometimes given to him as a reward for his skill, if he is famous, or as a remuneration for his work, if he is a simple carver.

When the patron is the chief of a village, he can order a kula canoe as a monument to himself as leader if, and only if, he is recognized as worthy of it. This is because when he decides to order a kula canoe to perpetuate the memory of himself through the work of the carvers, he must be supported by his villagers who give him a precise amount of gifts, such as yam, betel nuts, fish, taro and tobacco, and sometimes mwari and vaiguwa. The gifts give him the opportunity to choose the best carver as well as the best cutter, to whom he donates the gifts he has received.⁸

The final case (i.e. when a sorcerer orders a kula canoe) usually coincides with the second one, for it is usual for a sorcerer to be the chief of the village. In fact, the chiefs of Kumwageiya, Lalala and Okabulula villages are quite famous sorcerers, especially Krobai, the chief of Okabulula. The mechanism which allows a sorcerer to order a kula canoe is the same as for a chief: the villagers bring the sorcerer copious gifts in return for his

(8) Tausia Yosera, of Kumwageiya village, for example, gave to Gumaligisa Bela (reputed to have been the best pupil of Towitara between 1973-1976) a beautiful mwari and a large amount of betel nut, fish, tobacco and yams, for two lagimu.

protection against illnesses or evil, or just because they are afraid of his power, and the sorcerer in his turn gives the gifts to the carvers. Sometimes, a carver works for a sorcerer in return for his protection against the spirits of the bush, who could damage the wood chosen for a lagimu or tabuya or kula canoe, causing cracks, nodes, rotting and so on, in the wood. We must keep in mind, nevertheless, that the relationship of a sorcerer to a carver might be defined as 'privileged', because a certain 'magic' atmosphere surrounds the work of the latter who murmurs spells during the various stages of his work, and the knowledge of the megwa links both the sorcerer and the carver to supernatural forces. So, to work for a sorcerer, as well for the latter to protect a carver, is thought quite normal.

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When a sponsor decides to commission a kula canoe, he usually applies to only one cutter who will work the hull and the outrigger, but to more than one carver, usually two or three. The reason is that it is quite unusual, as well as difficult, to order the two lagimu and the two tabuya which decorate a kula canoe from the same carver. In fact, carving a prow can take four to six months if the work is well done, and the carver, during the working time, suffers a considerable psychological stress and his eyes become tired (he must concentrate on not scratching the wood surface, carving every graphic sign in its precise space, finishing off the marks made on the wood, so that when they are painted the colours will not run). So, he cannot carve, usually, more than one or two prows in a year. The case of Gumaligisa of Kumwageiya, who during 1973-76 carved eleven prows, is quite exceptional, and he will pay for his effort with a precocious blindness. It is more usual for a patron to order the four prows from three or four carvers, both for the above-mentioned reason, and also to have specimens of different styles represented on his canoe. So, two or more carvers work independently on the same canoe and their carvings carry their prestige.

The choice of the carvers is usually a question of the personal taste of the patron, but sometimes it follows the rules of the sub-clan relationship, as well as the diplomatic relations among the clans. It is not unusual for the choice of a carver rather to have less to do with his skill than with a delicate power balance among clan and sub-clan dating back to the origin of their relationship, as well with the malevolent power which is believed to be possessed by some carvers, who on the

strength of such fame, succeed in imposing their carvings on society. One such case is the tokabitam Tokwaisai, of Lalela village, who despite his unsightly carvings, which reveal a remarkable disorder among the graphic signs (cf. -- B.SG,133 -- B.SS,134 -- B.SG,135 and B.SS,136), carved five lagimu and three tabuya during the years 1973-76.

Sometimes the choice of a carver by a patron arouses jealousies, resentments, treacherous comments and criticisms among the carvers against the patron and the carver who has been chosen by him, as in the case of the tokabitam Mwangula, of Kodeuli village, who refused to carve a lagimu for his brother Mesiboda (who lives in Kumwageiya village) because the latter had ordered a lagimu from Ruwaveka Makawala, who lives in the same village as Mwangula. Mesiboda's choice had offended his brother deeply.

A kula canoe, including the four prows, that has been wholly produced by only one carver, is quite remarkable, especially if the carver is a celebrated tokabitam bougwa. When this happens the canoe is regarded as a precious masterpiece, as in the case of Towitara's canoe made by himself and donated to his favourite nephew Togeruwa in 1975. It was the last canoe carved by Towitara and it is still, I think, the best work of art in all Kitawa.

When a patron commissions a kula canoe he must support the cutter and the carvers during the whole working period, that is from a minimum of twelve months to a maximum of two or more years. During the years 1973-76 only a few canoes were finished in Kitawa, while the canoe carved by Towitara was finished only a few months before his death.⁹ And in the time during which the carvers are working they receive yams, coconuts, sweet potatoes, taro, sugar-cane and a remarkable amount of betel nuts, tobacco and fish. The latter three goods are particularly welcome, and a carver judges the generosity of his patron particularly from the amount of betel nuts, fish and tobacco which the former gives to him. If a patron is judged to be mean, he will receive a bad carving whose surface will probably show

(9) Between 1973-1976 few canoes have been finished in Kumwageiya, because the few tokabitam (Towitara, Gumaligisa and Pilimoni) and tokataraki (Tovakuta and Mesiboda) were pressed by commission of lagimu, tabuya and canoes from other villages, especially Lalela and Lalekeiwa. Moreover, compared to the number of carvers and canoe's cutters too many canoes, six, have been cut in the same period.

scratches, graphic signs which reveal imperfect harmony among themselves, fuzzy colours and so on. Many lagimu and tabuya, although made by a renowned carver, are surprising for their technical imperfection, and this could be put down to the bad relationship of the carver with his patron because of the meanness of the latter.

So, generosity plays an important role in the history of Kitawa art. In fact, to be generous with a carver means to stimulate his technical ability, imagination and capacity to realize the graphic signs on a wood surface. It is not by chance that generosity and beauty sometimes coincide. For example, the best tabuya and lagimu carved by Gumaligisa between 1973 and 1976 are in the hands of the sorcerer (bwagau) Tausia because he gave him two quite large and beautiful mwari and a quite long, red, vaiguwa.

The work of the carver

The first problem for a carver or a cutter is the selection of the wood. If he is a tokabitamu, he needs a strong weather-proof wood which at the same time must be soft, so that it can be carved well. Its surface, after the trunk has been roughed out, should be thick and smooth, without knots or other defects.

The selection of the wood is so important that the carver goes personally into the bush and when he sees a tree which he judges good for his purpose (usually Cassava sativa or vulgaris for lagimu and tabuya), he asks the owner of the land for permission to cut it. If the land belongs to his sub-clan it is quite easy for him to get permission to cut the tree, in return for a promise to carve a lagimu or a tabuya for one of the members of the same sub-clan, or in return for a symbolic gift or payment, like, for example, a small bunch of betel nuts or a hunk of black tobacco. If the land belongs to a member of another sub-clan who is in the same clan as the carver, or a member of another clan, the procedure is the same, but usually the owner of the land has the preference for a formal promise, on the word of the carver, that he will carve a lagimu or a tabuya for his canoe.

When a carver goes to the forest to choose the tree for his lagimu and tabuya, he goes with a few men who usually are members of his own sub-clan, while if he searches for a trunk (usually teak, Tectona grandis) for a kula canoe he is followed by all the men of his village. In the first case a small, private feast is held in the bush, during which there is a considerable consumption of betel nuts and tobacco, in the main. In the second case a public feast is held in the village, with the participation of all the inhabitants, including women and children. Wild pigs, fish, yams, betel nuts, tapioca, tobacco, sometimes maize and pudding (mona), are consumed in large quantity. Sometimes the feast (paka) is held on the beach if the canoe cutter has decided to work there. But, usually, the log for the kula canoe, only just smoothed over, is carried to the village and put for a few days under the protection of coconut leaves. Then, a flat roof (tokutoku) of coconut leaves will be built over it (cf. Malinowski 1922).

The men who help the carver to cut the tree from which he will shape the lagimu or tabuya, perform the simpler tasks, that is: "... when they come with us (carvers) into the forest, they cut the wood for the ribs of the canoe, they only know how to do this. And if all the ordinary men come with us into the forest, they only help to cut the wood that the shape of the lagimu will come out of, they cut the bulk of the wood but they can't, because they don't know how to model the shape itself, they really don't know how to do it, and this because they have all eaten the forbidden foods. But we two [Tonori and Siyakwakwa] don't eat forbidden food, so that when we go to the forest to cut the wood together with the others, we can cut out a rough form, and then shape it. Actually, we model the wood, we get a real, true lagimu out of it..." (B.ST,75).

So, from the beginning a carver works practically in solitude, which becomes more acute when he goes back to the village, in his hut, when the shape of the prow will be jealously guarded until it is finished and exhibited as a precious tabernacle.

When a carver starts to carve his lagimu and tabuya, he murmurs some spells (megwa) which are addressed to the spirit of the wood as well as to the soul of his ancestors, and he is free, according to the statements of Siyakwakwa and Tonori, to observe the taboos even if he is a tokabitanu bougwa. Probably, the avoidance of the forbidden foods during the carving

of a lagimu and tabuya, assumes a different meaning and value from abstinence during the apprenticeship: in the former we have a sort of abstinence whose value is to purify the body and the mind of the carver, so that he can become more spiritual and free to concentrate on the art of carving.¹⁰ The aim of abstinence is to achieve a sort of ritual status, or a condition which characterizes the life of the sorcerers, diviners and bards. A similar behaviour, on Kitawa, is typical of the sorcerer (bwagau) and of the men when they are going on their kula journeys: in both cases the avoidance of the forbidden food is matched by the murmuring of spells, as well as by a remarkable increase in the consumption of betel nut, tobacco and fish, which otherwise constitute the daily food of a carver. In fact, when a carver is working he consumes, or should consume, if we follow the norms of the group, a lot of fish, tobacco and, above all, betel nut, which is chewed after it has been mashed in the kaimili, usually in ebony, and mixed with Piper betel and lime. The red betel nut, or rather, the red mixture chewed by a carver, is stronger than that chewed by ordinary people, because the quantities of the ingredients are varied and the proportion between lime, Areca catechu and Piper betel is more potent. A good carver is also thought to be a good connoisseur of betel nut mixing.

The food (coconuts, yams, taro, sweet potatoes and pork) which is brought to the carver by his patron, or by the parents of his pupil or pupils, is given by the carver to the members of his family and sub-clan. Usually, during the working period, he does not eat pork, which he will consume again only when he has finished.

A carver of prows starts to work when the other inhabitants of the village go to the garden, that is about nine or ten in the morning, and after he has chewed a remarkable amount of betel nut. He works on the veranda of his hut or inside it, if the day is very hot. The village is relatively quiet and only the old people, as well as the children, are going around, chattering, smoking and chewing betel nut.

(10) During the carving of lagimu and tabuya, as well as the cutting of a kula canoe, a carver chews a great amount of betel nut and also he consumes a lot of fish. This means in practice that a carver during his work needs stimulants, such as betel nut and tobacco, as well as protein, like fish.

During his work, a carver needs concentration, and that probably is the main reason for his solitude, from a technical point of view. His mind is engaged in recollecting all the graphic signs scattered in his memory and unifying them within a harmonic schema which must be carved, represented, on the wood surface. And the continued exertion of memory, as well as the exercise of carving, is so heavy that at the end of the day the carver is exhausted, but at the same time he is very attentive and sensitive to the comments and criticism made by the inhabitants of the village coming back from the gardens. Some of them bring him fresh betel nuts or fresh fish, as a sign of their respect and admiration.

If it is a kula time, the scene becomes more picturesque and animated. In fact the men going around visiting their partners usually stop in the hut of a carver or of a cutter, and make comments and criticism, as well as comparisons between the quality of his carvings and those carved by the carvers of their islands. This is a good occasion for a carver to know about the work of other carvers living in the kula area, or to hear how the work of one of his colleagues in the Woodlark islands, for example, is progressing. Sometimes he might hear that a certain carver had become a tokabitamu bougwa, or that a great carver has carved a quite bad tabuya because his patron has payed him very badly, or that an initiate has refused to respect the taboos, and so on. But it is more interesting for a carver to know what they think about his work in comparison with the work of the carvers of their islands, in order to ascertain whether he could carve a lagimu or tabuya or cut a kula canoe for one of the sub-clans of the visitor's village. In fact, it is not unusual for a carver to be attracted by the idea of working for a member of another island, because that means exporting his product and his style outside the boundaries of his village, despite the rules of clan and sub-clan relationships.

In this context a great influence is exercised, for example, by Kitawa carvers over the inhabitants of Iwa island, who come to Kitawa to order the kula canoes and, especially, lagimu and tabuya. For example, Tonori, speaking about the carvings of his initiator Kurina, considered one of the best carvers of Kitawa, remembers that "... Modayowa [a Lalekeiwa man] with his body covered in black smoke [which is one of the signs of mourning] took the last lagimu [carved by Kurina] and did not even let us see it, he did it, then he went away, and gave it to Tonagana [another Lalekeiwa man], who in turn gave it to Iwa the people, who, after they'd taken it (bought)

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went off..." (AST,170). The Iwans, incidentally, are reputed by Kitawans to be bad carvers and inexpert cutters.

When a carver has finished a lagimu or a tabuya, the decorated but uncoloured wood surface is wrapped up in fresh banana leaves and carried to the hut of the patron and is sometimes exposed to the admiration of the villagers until it is fixed on the canoe. On delivery of a carving, a carver might receive a mwari or a vaiguwa, or both if his work is judged a real work of art.

As years go by, the sight of the carver dims and sometimes he becomes blind, and this is the occasion and the moment to test the gratitude of his favourite pupil. In fact, an old carver should be supported by his favourite pupil, or pupils, who usually finish off his work and bring him cooked food. The relationship of the carver with his favourite pupil becomes closer and the teacher generally discloses to him the symbolic meanings of the graphic signs carved on the prows if he knows them, and he also starts to murmur the spells for the initiation, so that the disciple can progressively memorize them. But it is not unusual for a carver, especially a tokabitamu bougwa, to die without bequeating his oral knowledge, as a protest against the behaviour of his favourite pupil and other disciples or else against some deviant tendencies of the majority of the inhabitants of a village, who are accused of forgetting the traditional customs. Such was the case of Towitara, who died without passing on his extraordinary oral knowledge of the carving tradition and the philosophy of the kula, accusing all Kumwageiyans of being bewitched by the 'Christian life', even though the influence of western culture is only very superficial by comparison with its influence on the north side of Kiriwina island, or on Dobu island, which are in the same kula area.¹¹

(11) Towitara, like other old leaders, was a strong critic of the behaviour of Kumwageiyans, who, in his opinion, were too anxious to change the traditional customs. For example, in the years 1973-1976, while Okabulula and Lalela regions celebrated harvest time with traditional dances, Kumwageiya region displayed only the yams in the village, without dancing. Moreover, Towitara criticized the lack of initiates into the art of carving, which would cause the loss of prestige of the village's workshop upon the other villages. The opinion of Towitara was supported, at that time, by Tausia Yosera, who exercised a great influence over all Kumwageiyans and Kitawans, because of his powerful sorcery.

The death of the carver

When I went back to Kitawa in 1976, Togeruwa and the other inhabitants told me about the death of the takabitamu bougwa Towitara who died in May 1975.

In Togeruwa's narration the death of Towitara was announced by an unexpected clouding over of the sky, which turned into a dark-blue like the dark-blue of the ocean when it is stormy. The clouds crashed into each other like powerful waves when they hurl themselves at the red broadside of a kula canoe which is crushed by the raging ocean. Suddenly, the blue darkness of the sky was cut across by shining lightning, while a threatening silence covered the villagers which were struck dumb, and the dark-green bush was disturbed only by the rumbling of thunder. All the inhabitants of Kumageiya village were silent. Towitara, who was supine on the mat, the same mat he had used during his kula journeys, was probably murmuring some magic words. Only Togeruwa, his favourite nephew, sometimes entered his hut bringing him a soft pudding (mona). But Towitara refused to eat and refused indeed for many days, chewing only buwa, the red mixture which Togeruwa prepared for him. Buwa is quite liquid: Togeruwa used a very soft Areca catechu and only the fruit of Piper betel, and just a bit of lime. The colour of the buwa is red-pink. When Towitara was dying, an immovable silence wrapped the village, and the sky became leaden. Then, suddenly, a torrential rain poured down on the island, and just as suddenly the sky cleared up and turned into a crystalline heaven. Towitara had died.

But after his death there were no ritual laments, as is the custom when a commoner dies.¹² First, the body of Towitara was cleaned with spring-water carried from the beach to the village in coconut bottles, probably from a hole in the same lonely spot where the water used for the initiation "sprouts out from the broken stones" (Towitara, 1974. Megwa peira tokabitamu). Then the body was dried with seaweed which had been dried on the fire, and greased with coconut oil, and the sayaku (an unguent obtained from the resin of a pine, Araucaria, and imported from the Woodlark islands) was rubbed on his shoulders and eyes, as well as on his chin. A new, white pandanus leaf tied between his legs. His mouth was made vivid with red buwa, as if he was going on a kula journey.

(12) See Weiner (1976) and Malinowski (1922).

Then his nephews — Togeruwa with Vagi Makabisewa and his younger brother Kulumaveka, all of them belonging to Nukubai clan and mwauli sub-clan, like Towitara — dug a grave in fresh ground. The walls and the bottom of the humid earth were lined with coconut leaves which had been plaited with betel nuts sprouts. The grave was strewn with petals of the perfumed frangipane. The body, wrapped in fresh banana leaves, was let down into the grave, and while four men hid it from the eyes of the villagers under coconut leaves, the three nephews of Towitara removed the banana leaves from his body which was left squatting on the ground as if for an eternal conversation.

Then the grave was loaded with earth, and on the top were put some stones forming a sort of tomb. The tomb is surrounded by a fence, on which are hung garlands of frangipane flowers, betel nut sprouts, wild basil and ginger sprouts, the same plants that are put on the kaikikila (notches) of a kula canoe when the lagimu and tabuya are fixed on them. The hut of Towitara, like those of the other deceased widowers of the island, will be dried by the sun, dampened by the rain and worn down by the wind, until it falls down.

The tools which Towitara had used in his work, the small axe (ligogu), and the wooden hammer (kaigeragera), have been given in legacy to his favourite nephew Togeruwa, who, following the wishes of his uncle, gave them to me in 1976, and they are still in my care. Moreover, Towitara before dying had instructed Togeruwa that he would give me the prows of his kula canoe, too, when they are removed from it. Towitara left some of his kula partners to his nephews, Togweruwa, Keni, a brother of Togeruwa, Kulumaveka, Vagi and Toganiu of Lalela.

Even if the death of Towitara, as it has been recalled by Togeruwa, is the death of a tokabitamou bougwa — that is a man whose life has been recognized as equal to the life of the heroes, and particularly to the hero monikiniki or mwata, who is represented on the lagimu and tabuya — it nevertheless represents the death of every Kitawa carver.

The death of a carver is like that of a famous kula-man. The natural phenomena and the ceremonies accompanying the death of a kula-man are similar to the scenes described by Togeruwa at the death of Towitara, and his soul does not go to Tuma (the island of the dead, North-East of

Kiriwina island), but flies to heaven to join the souls of the heroes and of the people regarded as heroes, like the famous kula-men whose names are still remembered by the people living in the kula area. So the names of the prestigious carvers, and of the famous kula-men, as well as of mwari and vaiguwa, survive in time, like the names of the mythical heroes. This seems natural to me, considering that both the carver and kula-man, and the mwari and vaiguwa, are part of the same ritual of the kula.

The technique of carving

Figures 1 and 2 in which I have made a diagram of the canoe, show that the lagimu and tabuya (two + two) occupy the points a and b, which roughly correspond to the stern and prow tabuaura and tabudogina or tabudabwara. In fact, the translation is rather conventional since on the canoe the points a and b are equal and symmetrical to the point x on the straight line joining the ends of the canoe. The two tabuya and the two lagimu are also symmetrical and reflected images of each other in respect of the point x. This 'mirrored' quality is emphasized by the fact that both lagimu present one of the basic graphic signs (the kwaisaruvi) carved in the right-hand space (looking from the front) and always facing toward the outrigger of the canoe. However a degree of differentiation between the point a and b (stern and prow) is provided by the two tabuya. In fact, the tabuya representing the prow is distinguished by the matagatu (petrifying eye), a symbol coloured in red and inscribed in a black triangle, while the tabuya representing the stern is distinguished by the manabweta (garland of flowers), a symbol coloured black on the inside and red on the outside. Moreover, in the tabuaura the band (kaikikila) which will be set into the notches of the canoe is pierced, while the same band is solid in the tabudogina.

This does not prevent the lagimu and tabuya from being considered in a 'function of interdependence' (Hjelmslev 1969:40-41) even if on account of their situation on the canoe and the manner in which it moves through the water, the lagimu is always in a visually privileged position. This interdependence is often expressed by the inhabitants of Kitawa when they speak of the lagimu as the face (migira) of the canoe and of the tabuya as its nose (kaburura).

During my analysis the lagimu and tabuya were isolated from the canoe; only when their interpretation was complete on the iconographical level were they reinserted into the context of the canoe in order to establish the probable sense of the whole structure — both wider than and independent of the individual meanings of the two prows.

The reference models for my analysis and interpretation of the lagimu and tabuya were the prows carved by Towitara, with whom I worked day after day. In this way I was able to follow every technical move, as well as the mechanism for each stage of carving. I also recorded the lexicon relative to the whole operation. Each of the different stages is reproduced either in drawings or photographs. I further compared each stage carried out by Towitara with the same stage carried out by other carvers and cutters. This comparison was important above all for observing the lexical differences between a tokabitanu bougwa and a carver and between these two categories and the cutters.

I shall begin by describing the procedure used by Towitara in carving a lagimu and tabuya.

The first stage is the long and patient operation of smoothing over the surface of the wood with the ligogu, a small wooden adze in the form of a beak, with a blade consisting today of a piece of sharpened iron. The surface of the lagimu is sandpapered with skate skin, called kisi, and resembles the geometrical form of an isosceles triangle (figure 3).

Seen from the side the lagimu resembles a triangle with its vertex pointing upwards, whilst from the front it resembles a triangle with its vertex pointing downwards (cf. figure 3). The lagimu is thus narrower towards the top and broader at the base, producing a contrast on the same surface between a lower, heavier area and a higher, lighter one. The relative lightness of the upper area is emphasized by empty spaces produced by fretting. A function of interdependence (cf. Hjelmslev 1969) is thus established already on the formal level:

a ↔ b

where a (first constant terminal) represent the lower zone and b (second constant terminal) the upper zone. In theory, every reduction in the

thickness of b should correspond to a proportional increase in the thickness of a (the two zones are inversely proportional). Moreover, one of the points may be placed in the upper part precisely on account of this contrast between empty and full spaces: the focus-point directs the glance of the person perceiving the lagimu from a certain distance so that the first part of the surface to be seen is the upper part (figure 4). At a later stage the basic graphic signs (from now on 'g.s.' and 'g.ss.') of the lagimu will contribute to enhancing this focus-point, since these are carved in the upper zone of the surface where the wood is thinner.

The part of the lagimu's surface that faces the inside of the canoe is only sketched and papered. The carver then makes two grooves, mwanaga (figure 5), parallel to the outer edges of the lagimu, into which the broadsides, sipa and budakai, of the canoe are placed. The absence of carvings on this surface is probably due to its function in the canoe: since it faces the inside, it is not meant to be seen.

Next, another band, thicker than the overall surface and called kaikikila (figure 6), is marked. This is the part that is later inserted into the corresponding groove of the canoe, also called kaikikila (figure 7).

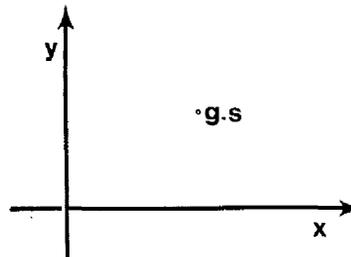
The real carving of the surface now begins: technically, and therefore on the semantic level, the carver distinguishes between the act of chiselling the wooden surface in order to draw a g.s. (for which the verb rakeda is used, meaning literally 'someone or something's broad', but corresponding in concept to the English 'to line') and the actual act of carving, which is expressed in a series of terms classified according to the type of carving. For example, the verb tasewa is used to express the concept of 'taking a small piece from the inside'. The two verbs rakeda and tasewa have a narrower meaning used only by the carvers and cutters. Another more generally used term, although not strictly applicable to the same actions as the last two, is gini. This term is used to refer to any surface carved or chiselled in bas-relief, although its literal meaning is more that of 'leaving a trace on something'. In villages on the Trobriand islands and some of the Marshall Bennett group, where there are missionary schools (or where their influence or that of state schools has permeated), ginigini is used for 'writing' and to-ginigini (and na-ginigini in the feminine) for 'somebody who goes to school'. By comparison with the verbs rakeda, tasewa and rairai (the latter being used in its accepted meaning of 'to carve')

gini is thus a more general concept.

The surface of the lagimu reveals that the carving proceeds from an interplay of elements (the g.ss.) that follow a spatial-temporal order. This order defines the functions between the g.ss., which may be divided into temporal and spatial. I define as 'temporal elements' those g.ss. that are carved first, following a rigid temporal progression which is absolutely unalterable and which in its turn conditions the technical-temporal succession of g.ss. on the surface of the lagimu. This temporal succession is the embodiment in matter — and therefore on the visual level — of the abstract category 'time'. By 'spatial elements' I mean those g.ss. that express the order of distribution of the g.ss. on the surface of the lagimu. These represent the abstract category 'space'.

These two groups of g.ss. are of fundamental importance for the iconographical interpretation of the lagimu, as well as for identification of the basic g.ss. Each g.s. therefore may be read on both the temporal and spatial levels, since it occupies both simultaneously according to the coordinates:

y = spatial plane
x = temporal plane
g.s. = graphic sign



Whereas on the spatial and temporal planes each g.s. expresses a specific value in relation to its role in the identification and definition of the structure (and may be read in a hierarchical-normative sense), on the visual-perceptive plane each g.s. is of equal value in realising the overall formal expression of the aesthetic object. This means that while the subsidiary g.ss. are not important for the identification of the abstract schema MA, they are important for defining the visual meanings of

a particular lagimu m.¹

Another technical element to be remembered is the direction followed by each carver when carving the lagimu; from the top downwards and from the outside inwards.

This procedure is absolute and I interpret it also as a visual metaphor of the dependences that may exist between the g.ss., their relationship to the space in which they are carved, and to the categories that preside over the formation of the g.ss. The whole is a visual metaphor of the process of realizing images and concepts formulated in the 'upper part of the mind'. In fact, according to the philosophy of the carvers the place where the image is formed, together with its variations and negations (destructions of the traditional image), is in the mind. These probable dependences are synthesized by the presence at this point of the doka, which is considered the most significant of the basic g.ss., and which symbolizes the expressive skill of the carver.

The three upper bands on which the basic g.ss. of the lagimu will be carved and fretted are progressively defined, following the above order. The technical terms used to indicate these three bands (two of which have no names of their own but are classified in accordance with the g.ss. that will be carved in them) are, from top to bottom (figure 8 and figure 9):

- a) susawila
- b) kabilabala
- c) gigiwani

1 The kabilabala band, b, used not to be carved on earlier lagimu and was introduced by Towitara. It is one of the elements that distinguishes the lagimu of Towitara's workshop (and therefore of the village of Kumageiya) from those carved by carvers from other villages. Towitara carved the kabilabala in order to separate the susawila and gigiwani bands. These consist of alternate empty and full spaces and caused — and

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- (1) The 'visual meaning' of a prow is, in fact, determined by all g.ss. basic and subsidiary. For example, the ginigini are not 'significant' in order to define the schema of the lagimu but help to define its 'value' (basic g.ss.) from a visual point of view, mainly when a prow is painted. This explains why a gifted carver can introduce new subsidiary g.ss. even if they should harmonize with the basic one.

still cause in certain lagimu (for example, one carved by Tokwaisai, figure 10) — considerable perceptual confusion regarding the constructive and symbolic relations between the g.ss. carved in the two bands.

The three bands a, b, c represent the initial division of the surface of the lagimu and define the zones in which will be carved those g.ss. that are primary in the constructive sense, because they help to define the structure of the prow. The two basic g.ss. doka and gigiwani are situated in band c, for example. These terminate in the two tokwalu on the axis of the lagimu and are among the few g.ss. represented according to a more figurative schema, insofar as they are recognizable as human or mythical figures by all perceivers of the prow (cf. figure 9).

The g.ss. are carved in these three bands by fixing them in the wood: they will later be completed when all the basic g.ss. have been sketched. The time lapse between these two stages is very brief and one should speak of a single stage for the layout of the upper part of the lagimu, which emphasizes the distinction between basic and subsidiary g.ss. The latter are carved alongside and after the basic g.ss.

The other basic g.ss. are sketched and carved simultaneously with the doka and the gigiwani: these are weku and kwaisaruvi, the two graphic signs on the protruding parts of the lagimu (cf. figure 9). They are symmetrically parallel to a point x on the same axis that coincides with the tokwalu. When the lagimu is in position on the canoe the kwaisaruvi is on the right and the weku on the left when seen from the front.

2 The kwaisaruvi is carved in bas-relief and represents the closed and heavy zone of the lagimu — a function that is emphasized by the use of black (cf. Siyakwakwa and Tonoris's statements C.ST,26 — C.SS,32 and C,ST. 35).

3 The weku is obtained by means of a technique similar to the 'negative print'. The significant elements are obtained by piercing (tapwala) the wood: this technique is similar to the process used in making a positive print of a photography. Anything that appears light (empty) will be dark (full) and therefore significant; anything that is dark (full) will become light (empty) and therefore relatively insignificant. On the structural level the weku and the kwaisaruvi, which are on the same straight line, are

in relation of opposition/complementarity to each other: a full, heavy zone is countered by an empty, light one.

4 Next the carver carves the two supporting bands (F, F¹) on the outside, and these, together with the basic g.ss. gigiwani, doka and kwaisaruvi, establish which lines and points must be linked in order to recompose the structure of the lagimu (cf. figures 9 and 11). The importance of these two supporting bands is confirmed by the temporal and spatial order in which they are carved: they follow immediately after the basic g.ss.. The fact that they are among the elements that determine the structure of the lagimu may be deduced from the relations they establish between the different zones into which the surface of the lagimu may be divided: lower, central and upper. By crossing the structure of the prow vertically, the two bands link up spaces which appear autonomous in themselves, but which also form the skeleton of the entire prow, sustaining in space the complex network of g.ss. Whereas all the other g.ss. are classified with proper names, independently of their eventual colour, and may be renamed after being coloured, the two bands are classified with the term kara kaimalaka (which denotes the red colour on the lagimu or tabuya) both before and after being coloured.² The same applies to the two double bands forming the signals around the weku and kwaisaruvi (which I shall designate km and kv respectively, figure 12).

While all the other g.ss. as well as having a 'base' (which the carvers call ra keda), contain decorative elements (ginigini) which are carved over the base to form, for example, the doka, gigiwani, etc., the two supporting bands and the two spirals km and kv, together with the ubwara and matara ina (cf. figure 9), are the only 'simple' g.ss. in the sense that their surfaces contain no further carvings. However, when coloured, their red and black colour will stand out against the white surface of the lagimu.

At the same time as carving the two bands, the carver puts the finishing touches to the susawila, gigiwani and doka, concentrating his attention on the latter. The doka presents considerable technical difficulties for the carver in the curving of the line towards the tokwalu: this requires a

(2) The morpheme kaimalaka is formed by the prefix kai-, which classifies wooden and long things, trees and plant (cf. Malinowski 1920:33-78), and the noun-stem malaka which means 'red'.

calculation — albeit intuitive — based on the principle of the golden section.

The need to carve the doka correctly has a strictly technical value as well as a metaphorical one: it is a reference point not only for the execution of the upper part of the lagimu, but also for the rest of the surface. The operation of piercing the wood around the susawila, gigiwani and doka is completed during this phase: the carver makes an empty space, ubwoli (cf. figure 9), between one g.ss. and another; this space is largest around the two doka and the tokwalu, further lightening the entire area in which these g.ss. are carved, although this area is already more slender on account of the reduced thickness of the wood. The carver also fills up the spaces in the upper part of the lagimu with subsidiary g.ss., some of which, such as the rekoreko, monikiniki, matara ina, ubwara and ginigini (curved or straight elements), he will already have sketched when executing the basic g.ss. (cf. figure 9).

5 The double spirals kara kaivau (kv) and kara kaimalaka (km) are now carved or completed around the weku and kwaisaruvi, enclosing the latter g.ss. almost as though wishing to separate them from the others.

6 The carver next finishes carving the karawa (which was only roughly shaped in the preceding stage) and the duduwa (cf. figure 9). These occupy the centre of the lagimu, extending into the upper part of the surface, although not so clearly as the two supporting bands kara kaimalaka. The fact that they are carved — and therefore perceived — to be somewhat elongated, either downwards or upwards, does not alter their value as central elements.

The karawa is classified as a complex figure³ and visually is easily isolated from the context of the other g.ss., demonstrating its expressive autonomy. This autonomy is greater than that of the duduwa (d), which is more closely connected to the double spirals kara kaimalaka '(a), and kara kaivau (a), forming with these another complex figure (figure 13). The duduwa also separates/links the lower area of the lagimu's surface from/to

(3) A 'complex figure' is an ensemble of g.ss. which forms an iconographic unity. This unity expresses a meaning independent from the meanings of the g.ss. which form it.

the central and upper areas, contributing to a perception of these spaces as autonomous.

7 At the base of the lagimu the carver finally carves the last of the subsidiary g.ss. These are the kaikikila (cf. figure 9): the term refers to the three vertical spaces in which the lower area of the lagimu is still further divided.

Groups of subsidiary g.ss. are carved inside these symmetrical spaces. These are generally indicated by the term ginigini and are formed by spirals, curls, lines, etc. Specific terms are used only for the matara ina and ubwara (cf. figure 9). Inside the kaikikila spaces the g.ss. are carved in accordance with a bilateral symmetry.

According to Towitara's model (taken as reference schema) the area in which the kaikikila are carved plays a minor role compared to the central and upper areas. This is because when the lagimu is placed in the canoe the kaikikila will be partially covered by the tabuya (figure 14).

Although the lower zone of the lagimu plays a minor role compared to the other two zones, it seems nonetheless to have a structural function. This is emphasized by the term kaikikila, which as well as referring to the end of the lagimu, also refers to the notch in the canoe into which it is placed. The carver's use of the same term to indicate parts of different material objects (lagimu, tabuya and canoe) is probably due to his desire to indicate their close dependence on the structural level, insofar as all three objects contribute to defining a more complex whole.

On the structural level, the duduwa that separates the lower from the central and upper zones of the lagimu's surface emphasizes the concentration of basic g.ss. in the upper and central zones in which the gigiwani, doka, kwaisaruvi and weku are situated and to which the attention of the perceiver is drawn. However, if the duduwa separates the kaikikila from the rest of the surface, the two lateral bands kara kaimalaka join them to precisely that surface, establishing spatial continuity between all the zones and emphasizing the unity of the structure of the lagimu, which must be seen as a single and harmonious object. In the lower zone no basic g.ss. useful to the definition of the schema of the lagimu are carved: moreover these are no subsidiary g.ss. (such as the duduwa and the

km/kv spirals) to contribute visually — and therefore on the constructive level — to the location of this schema. This means that the kaikikila have different functions: they act as a support for the upper zones (although this support will hardly be visible when the tabuya — which covers the kaikikila — is attached) and as a 'coupling' between the three elements, lagimu, tabuya and canoe.

The 'logical' mechanism of carving

With the carving of the kaikikila the carver completes a lagimu. The following is the logical sequence he followed in doing so:

a) the presence in his mind of the 'schema' category; this has the function of the place (in the logical, spatial and temporal sense) in which the structural elements (basic g.ss.) that constitute and define this schema (MA) have been memorized (cf. Tonori and Siyakwakwa's conversations A.ST,140 — A.SS,141 and A.ST,143). The schema is selected from other infinite and arbitrary schemata within a general system.

b) The schema MA is first and foremost logical and is visualized and memorized by the carver as a specific concrete and material model (M), which is an interpretation of the general schema MA, to which it is constantly referred.

The schema MA thus acts as a reference point for the model M, which is constructed only by a tokabitamubougwa. The model M, which is the object perceived not only by the group of carvers and cutters but also by all the inhabitants of the island, is the material embodiment (in wood) of the different dependences (cf. Hjelmslev 1969:28-47) between MA and M. I refer to the model M as an 'aesthetic object'.⁴

The formula used to denote the dependency between MA and M is:

$$(\underline{MA}) \gg \underline{M} \text{ or } \underline{M} \ll (\underline{MA}) = (\underline{v}) \gg \underline{c} \text{ or } \underline{c} \ll (\underline{v})$$

(4) See Mukařovský 1973, 1977, and 1978.

where MA is the constant (within a certain, quantifiable period of time) and M the variable.

c) I then have an infinite series of objects m (the work of a tokabitanu) which are copies of the model M.

To state that there exists an abstract schema of the lagimu, is to say that each and every lagimu is articulated in an ensemble of g.ss. that through the medium of the model M, visualizes this schema.

By repeating the distribution of the g.ss. on the surface of the lagimu realized by the tokabitanu bougwa's model, a carver returns to the general schema of the lagimu, visualizing the supporting structures (or basic g.ss.) that define the schema. These supporting structures are independent of any concrete model of the prow and are thus rigid in value, acting as absolute norms in relation to the subsidiary g.ss. A model M, interpreted as a variable (v), has a function of specification with the abstract schema MA interpreted as a constant (c):

$$(\underline{M} \vdash \underline{MA} \text{ or } \underline{MA} \dashv \underline{M}) = (\underline{v} \vdash \underline{c} \text{ or } \underline{c} \dashv \underline{v})$$

On the other hand, a lagimu m has a function of combination with the tokabitanu bougwa's model M, as both are variables in respect of MA (c):

$$(\underline{M} - \underline{m}) = (\underline{v} - \underline{v})$$

By its realization in wood of the basic g.ss. the lagimu schema (and therefore its supporting structure) the tokabitanu bougwa's model M is both logically and technically a compulsory link between m and MA. We will thus have:

$$\underline{MA} \vdash \underline{M} - \underline{m}$$

The tokabitanu bougwa's interpretation of MA as represented in the model M — which is subsequently in its turn reproduced (excluding for the moment the stylistic variations that may and do occur during this second stage) as the infinite series of m_n — has the function of safeguarding its validity as an abstract schema, both at the primary level of interpretation (in the tokabitanu bougwa's model) and at a secondary level (in the copies, m_n). The interpretation given on the two levels does not affect the schema MA (and therefore the validity of the basic g.ss.).

The tokabitamou bougwa's model M is thus the moment and the place for the harmonic synthesis between the schema MA and the concrete interpretation of MA. This synthesis is then repeated with minimum variations by the hypothetically infinite number of m_n. The abstract schema MA, a given model M and the infinite m_n express different logical values. The values of the schema MA is comparable in meaning to an 'absolute value', while the values expressed by a model M and the object m_n are 'relatively' significant.

This harmonic synthesis must above all ensure the communicability (also perceptive), in its widest sense and at different levels, of the schema of the lagimu as well as of the tabuya. It is respect for this synthesis, made explicit at the visual level by the basic g.ss., that imparts rigidity or absoluteness to certain compositive rules of the prows. This does not mean that these same norms (or basic g.ss.) may not be replaceable by (but not violated by - cf. Mukarovský 1973) other norms that are also able to express the same values guaranteed by the former, acting in their turn as rigid norms. The rigidity of the value is expressed by the content of the norms, which may assume different expression planes (cf. Tonori and Siyakwakwa's statements B.ST,192 - B.ST,278 - B.ST,293 - C.ST,26 - C.ST,35 and C.ST,37).

It is thus possible to replace the expression planes of the basic g.ss. defining the schema MA so long as the value that each of these guarantees on the 'grammatical' and 'semantic' levels remains constant. The search for new expression planes requires imaginative skills that only the tokabitamou bougwa is recognized as possessing: for he is seen as a carver able to guarantee particular values (represented on the visual level by the basic g.ss.) as well as to represent those same values as new expression planes.

A tokabitamou bougwa may also violate values already established, proposing new contents, as a result of the domination of the expression plane over the content of the basic g.ss. This is the case of the expression-form that becomes content, cancelling out the traditional association between the two planes in the moment the new g.s. is formed. The association is, however, repropounded when the new g.s. becomes basic, absolute, expressing a new value accepted and expressed in its new form by a small group (the tokabitamou bougwa and his pupil), or by a whole village, as in the case of the kwaisaruvi introduced by Towitara (cf. Siyakwakwa's statement C.SS,39).

Violation, meaning the destruction of the schema of the object, is another question. This is possible, on a hypothetical level, precisely in accordance with the above mechanism. However, the destruction of the schema does not mean the destruction of the 'system' of which it is part. This is why when I speak of a 'value', this value must be traced back also along the paradigmatic axis, where its absoluteness or rigidity are guaranteed. When a tokabitamou bougwa proposes a new expression plane he is exercising an option within the system containing the heterogeneous models, all of which are potentially valid. The choice of a new model must guarantee the 'grammaticality' of the new basic g.ss. or aesthetic and ethical values. Even if a tokabitamou bougwa were to destroy the schema of a lagimu — a hypothesis which must be considered — thus denying the validity of the values (aesthetic, spatial, etc.) expressed by its basic g.ss., he would still have to recognize the validity of the system to which he must refer when elaborating and proposing a new schema.

By carving a lagimu and a tabuya to the extent to which he visualizes the chosen schema on the basic g.ss., a tokabitamou bougwa also makes an indirect link with the ensemble of rules that determine the given schema and respects its values. Once the basic g.ss. have realized these values on the surface of the lagimu they will be perceived as absolute and inviolable and their rigidity will be interpreted as a guarantee of the 'grammar' of the object.

It is in relation to the respect for this 'grammaticality' that the whole period of apprenticeship of a child initiated into the art must be analysed: especially in relation to the veto imposed by his teacher on the immediate introduction of new subsidiary g.ss.; as the subsidiary g. ss. are defined by the basic g.ss. they must respect the principle of harmony guaranteed by the latter (cf. Tonori and Siyakwakwa's statements C.SS,15 — C.SS,17 and C.ST,19).

Knowledge of the rules governing this harmony is achieved after years and years of technical practice and is denied (by convention) to a pupil. The casual introduction of a subsidiary g.s. can destroy the harmony of the object, creating a deep dissonance between structure-schema (mwata) and expression (migira). Thus, if an apprentice wishes to become a carver he must practice establishing links between the schema of the object and its copy as visualized in his teacher's lagimu. This implies knowing 'in his

mind' the whole schema of the prow and the complex relations between the g.ss. that form them.

There is thus on the surface of the wood a spatial distribution of g.ss. representing a schema; around this the carver learns to arrange his expressive skills. The basic g.ss. are therefore classifiable as categories, valid for a historical period, that are represented on the material surface (the wood) as fixed points around which all the other subsidiary g.ss. are arranged.

At the logical level the basic g.ss. correspond to a priori categories, and at the structural level to 'figures' (simple and/or complex) that constitute the reference points for the construction of the lagimu and tabuya. The basic g.ss. that constitute the schema-structure of the lagimu, as I said, are:

- a) weku
- b) doka
- c) gigiwani
- d) kwaisaruvi

The basic g.ss. that constitute the schema-structure of the tabuya, as we will see, are:

- a) weku
- b) doka
- c) gigiwani

As we have seen, although not classified by the carver as basic g.ss., the two bands kara kaimalaka (F and F¹) also contribute to the formation of the lagimu's structure. Their value is probably just to provide axes for the practical carving of the object, and they are not a determining factor for the definition of the abstract schema. It seems to me, therefore, correct to include F and F¹ in the analysis for reconstructing the structure of the lagimu.

The proposal to attribute the value of 'supporting element' to F and F¹ is due to logical considerations more than to the identification and reconstruction of the lagimu's structure in real space. F and F¹ must be evaluated exclusively within a study of the technical-constructive elements of the lagimu; the very fact that they are not given a name of

their own (unlike other g.ss. classified as subsidiary, such as ubwara, matara ina, etc. which have no function in the identification of the mwata) but are known by the term used to classify the colours, malaka emphasizes this 'supporting' function with regard to the material construction of the lagimu. Once painted red they are perceived as supports for the prow.

In figure 9 all the g.ss. defined as basic are in the central-upper zone of the lagimu. Visual definition of the structure of the lagimu must therefore be based on the analysis and composition of these g.ss. (here I include also the two bands F and F¹) which, once placed in their proper spaces (first mentally and then materially) and compared to dots and dashes, limit it, 'constructing' a geometric figure arbitrarily comparable to an isosceles triangle (cf. figure 3). This structure, based on the basic g.ss., determines the dependences between the basic g.ss., between the basic and subsidiary g.ss. and between the subsidiary g.ss. themselves. The structure defines them, but is conditioned by them in its expression plane; so much so that the expression of the lagimu is 'confused' at the perceptive level with its structure 'as though they were' a single element. In practice, it is the expression of the lagimu that is perceived, limited in space and to a given period of time: the result is an object in which the dependence between structure and expression is not 'seen' as a dependence between separate elements or levels (cf. Siyakwakwa's statement C.SS,83).

However, when the carvers say that the mwata is more important than the migira but that in effect it is the latter that is perceived and evaluated, their statements must be interpreted as an implicit declaration of knowledge of the process of the dissociation and re-association of structure and expression in the prows. This dissociation and re-association are found both at the mental level (at the time of the logical operations) and at the structural level (at the time of the carving first of the basic g.ss. and then of the subsidiary g.ss. in harmony with the former), as well as at the perceptive level when the migira is seen with its colours that momentarily absorb the value of the structure, and thus annul it. However, the carver knows that the colour is conditioned by the g.ss. carved, so that the mwata reappears with all its primary or basic values.

The methodological distinction made between mwata and migira, as well as the types of relationship I have attempted to identify between the two levels, should have clarified the notions of schema and structure of the lagimu (and the tabuya) in exactly the way they are perceived and in some case rationalized by the carvers themselves, as in the case of Towitara. The schema of the lagimu must be interpreted as a category which may or may not be made concrete, thus acquiring a particular expression plane.

However, it is not at all necessary that, in order to be valid, a schema must be made concrete in dots and dashes that visualize it in space. The schema 'triangularity', for example, is independent of a given structure of 'triangle'. When interpreted in this way the schema expresses the clearly logical value of a 'specific organization' of elements. It is a way of establishing certain relationships and not others between concepts on an unorganized level and linked to each other by specific relationships, thus preserving intact the features of heterogeneity, abstractness and generality. On the level of the system I do not already have 'schemata', but heterogeneous categories that may potentially be linked to each other to form a schema; a schema being an organized form to which I refer for the concrete realization of that schema.

When I say that a carver refers to the model of the tokabitanu bougwa it therefore means:

a) that in carving a lagimu or tabuya, the carver sees the concrete model of a prow; this model is the material structure of the schema defined by a master (the fact that this schema is the result of interpretation by a group of tokabitanu bougwa or of a collective method of construction -- in the historical sense, as the stratification of several means of expression, etc. -- is not relevant);

b) that this model makes concrete a specific logical process; in other words it visualizes the process that must be completed in order to arrange categories that in a particular system are free, but may be ordered in different ways;

c) that the fact of 'copying' the model without altering the dependences between the basic and subsidiary g.ss. assumes the value of learning a certain way of establishing dependences between elements. This 'copying'

certain way of establishing dependences between elements. This 'copying' implies respect for the values of the visual 'grammar' of the social group to which the carver belongs (with the consequent acceptance of that particular schema and no others). At the same time it implies respect for the abstract and general system into which the schema of the specific object must be inserted. The association between one schema of the object and the system to which the schema belongs occurs only from time to time, in the sense that only a few carvers succeed in achieving it. This is because the proposal to construct a new schema implies altering dependences established previously. This alteration has many justifications, even historical ones. It is achieved by means of a comparative analysis of these objects in relation to an abstract schema of lagimu and tabuya;

d) that over the long period of apprenticeship during which the apprentice-carver copies the teacher's model, a dual process is set in motion:

1. the copying of the model is up to a certain point mechanical in the sense that the pupil copies the g.ss. following the order (on both the spatial and temporal levels, as we have already seen) proposed by the teacher. By carving in this order the pupil accepts the composition of the g.ss. in accordance with a proposal that is collective (in the sense that it articulates the g.ss. on the basis of the principle of communication, which is restricted at the immediate level to a certain group of carvers). By carving the g.ss. in accordance with the coordinates proposed, the pupil accepts a particular 'grammar', which is one of the many possible concretizations of a more general system of 'grammaticality'. The 'grammar', or schema, of the prow is a specific way (defined by its own form) of expressing the rational, the capacity to classify, the act of categorial possession of reality and its organization into an ensemble of concepts. Furthermore, when copying the lagimu or tabuya the pupil reproduces g.ss. that are 'forms' that he for the time being accepts as 'given' expression planes. He does not as yet know the process whereby these conceptual forms arise from an amorphous and indistinct mass into a complete form: but he understands them as they have been elaborated by another carver, thus unconsciously accepting historically stratified collective notions.

When carving the g.ss. the apprentice-carver assimilates 'ways' (for example the cultural tradition) that have been selected to 'give meaning' to the perceptions that impress the senses. At the same time he assimilates the particular technique for representing these concepts through visual elements. I would say that the 'copying' must also be analysed in relation to the technique adopted in doing it. This technique, or expressive manner, is different from the technique used, for example, in shaping a canoe.

2. As he progresses with the mechanical execution of his lagimu or tabuya the apprentice-carver must face the problem of interpreting the overall sense of the ensemble of g.ss. according to a 'grammar' of elements whose relationships have already been established and cannot for the time being be altered by him. The apprentice-carver must understand that respect for these relationships has a wider meaning on the communicative level: the veto on alteration is more than a guarantee of the need to respect certain rules proposed by a group which must be accepted by anyone wishing to join that group. He also must understand that at a more general level the respect for the basic g.ss. also means recognizing the validity of a way of classifying. At the same time, and according to his technical-expressive potential — which also depends on the element of time — the apprentice-carver, seeing that certain g.ss. are repeated in all the models of his teacher, visually assimilates the existence of basic and subsidiary categories, the latter being represented by these g.ss. historically perceived as the most variable.

After a certain age, this continuous copying work, which poses problems of interpretation as to why this particular arrangement of the g.ss. on the surface of the prows was accepted rather than another and why this order must be respected absolutely, probably fixes the notion of the schema (mwata) which is to be evaluated as a category that does not coincide — except in the particular case in point — with the material structure of the prow. It is precisely through the expression plane of the prows that the mwata manifests its nature as a logical notion that 'overflows' into mythical consciousness (assuming the value of a metaphor), given that the term mwata is also used to denote the Monikiniki hero. It is precisely this connection with the mythical meaning of mwata that further confirms that the notion of schema is abstract, logical and pre-visual (given that we are talking about the prows of a kula canoe). In essence the prows

symbolize in the culture of Kitawa the category of 'schema'. This schema is encapsulated in an expression plane that is 'formalized' in the migira and hidden, but at the same time, emphasized, by the colours which at the moment of the 'vision' serve to fix it in the memory. This means that in the 'vision' of the prows the apprentice-carver perceives these objects as already articulated, finished, and with the dependences between the g.ss. selected and resolved (cf. Tonori and Siyakwakwa's statements A.ST,64 — A.SS,68 and A.ST,135). These dependences seem to him 'expression planes' whose meanings are for 'now' only formal. The long period of apprenticeship will or will not enable him to interpret the meanings of each g.s. and of the dependences between them, as well as their logico-spatial values.

Precisely because it is logical, the schema must be 'interpreted' and not merely 'perceived', as is the case with the expression plane, although the latter is necessarily modelled on the schema. While practising the carving of models the apprentice-carver will learn that he can realize the migira, or expression plane, of the prow only if he succeeds in establishing reference points (which correspond to the basic g.ss.) on the surface of the wood. The harmonization of the association between the mwata and the migira in such a way as to satisfy the perception - 'visualization' — of the overall object will depend on the type of relationship between them.

When the apprentice recounts his 'vision' (cf. Tonori and Siyakwakwa's statements from A.SS,68 to A.ST,143) of the whole prows it probably does not mean that he has clearly perceived the 'schema', but rather that he 'senses' it, and the value of the schema for the construction of a reference point for classifying the g.ss. will be acquired later. In the final analysis the sense of the 'vision' is to demonstrate the hypothetically recognized possibility for the carver to operate according to schemata. The possession of a schema, however, implies a process of mental elaboration synthetized by the effort of reproducing the teacher's model. Thus the mechanical copying of the model will assume the value of a logical exercise, in the sense that the apprentice will learn to arrange the g.ss. according to temporal and spatial axes.

When the teacher forbids his pupil to alter the g.ss. (cf. Tonori and Siyakwakwa's statements A.ST,432 — A.SS,469 and A.SS,471) his veto must be interpreted as guaranteeing the validity of a schema the violation of which would destroy the comprehensibility of all that it expresses. Thus

MS NB
it is not 'invention' that is prohibited — the possibility of proposing new subsidiary g.ss. and/or of introducing a new interpretation (put on expression plane) of a basic g.s. like the kwaisaruvi — but the incomprehensibility of the invention (or new proposal), comprehensibility being guaranteed by respect for a schema (collective or individual). Moreover, when the initiate has his 'vision' of the prow, he is not 'already' a carver on the strength of it (and may even be disqualified from being one by his lack of skill), but he is offered the possibility (in the form of a metaphor) of becoming one. The image seen is only a 'sign' that he could become one: he will do so only if he effectively carves 'this image'. Being near the teacher and continual practice have the value of reassembling over a long period of time the initial image that is to be slowly reconstructed. While reconstructing the image the apprentice will be under the supervision of the teacher, not only in regard to his technical skill but, above all, regarding his respect, or lack of it, for the basic g.ss. (gigiwani, doka, weku and kwaisaruvi), so that the association between M and m may be reduced to these g.ss. only, the rest being changed — the subsidiary g.ss. (cf. Tonori and Siyakwakwa's statements from B.SG,177 to B.SS,256). The fact that these g.ss. (gigiwani, doka, weku and kwaisaruvi) are inviolable means not only that these symbols have a mythical-ritual meaning, etc., but also that there exists a schema whose validity is absolute. In other words, any expression plane, in order to be interpreted, must be referred to a model that is valid for a whole group or even for a single individual.

I have noted that the apprentice's 'vision' symbolizes the dependences between the migira and the mwata of the prow, which is seen as a whole. The problem arises, however, of the meaning to be attributed to this wholeness perceived, dreamed or 'seen', which is conjured up by an abundant use of buwa, not so much in order to define what it is that the initiate 'sees' (a problem that is solved by attributing to the vision the value of a metaphor) so much as to identify the possible reading of a certain lagimu or tabuya or the infinite series of lagimu and tabuya that the carver could potentially carve. The most relevant initial reading is that the lagimu and tabuya of the 'vision' is an abstract and general schema of its potential copies. It is thus an ensemble of categories that the apprentice perceives and senses as being closely interrelated — thus generating the connection between basic structure and subsidiary expressions that result from the history of the group of carvers and, more generally, of their

village — but this is perceived and sensed on the mental plane.

The 'vision' then fades, as Tonori stated, and is only recuperated after a long period of apprenticeship during which the passage from the abstract to the concrete and from the general to the particular (the seriality of the prows) is accomplished through the mechanism of copying. It is during this passage, through the repetition of the model over a period of time, that the distinction between basic and subsidiary g.ss. is concretely defined.

Thus the gigiwani, doka, weku and kwaisaruvi are not intended as content planes to have the same values as those that may be attributed to the other subsidiary elements, albeit only on the formal level. As expression planes the latter elements express the same values as the basic g.ss.. Furthermore, when the carver places the basic g.ss. on the surface of the lagimu, for example, he first senses and then rationalizes that their value is not determined by being carved in 'that particular space' but by being norms (rules) already laid down on the abstract level which in 'that space' realize their value. In this particular way, and in 'that space' they express 'something' that we may call 'aesthetic' (not carving the basic g.ss. where the schema dictates also means refusing to classify one's own perceptions and concepts in accordance with specific reference models, etc.).

In effect the abstract value of the entire schema, its existence as a mere model, is summarised and schematised, while not being impoverished in its implications, in just those four basic g.ss. which are composed by taking as pretext an expression plane from nature, to which a meaning is given by the carver and to which a content or concept elaborated in the mind of the carver, is made to correspond. On the expression plane an element taken from nature (such as a fern) offers a confirmation that is the graphic realization of a specific concept (in the case of the fern the concept of symmetry): this form, technically interpreted, will realize a concept that is 'intentionally' not relevant to it. The arbitrary attribution of a 'signified' to a 'signifier' which is not necessarily associated with it, finds its methodological legitimacy and counterpart in the verbal sign: it will be remembered that ever since F. de Saussure the association between

its two planes has been defined as arbitrary.⁵ If the arbitrariness of the verbal sign in no way diminishes its meaning — and thus also its expressiveness — then the same arbitrariness will in no way diminish the meaning of the non-verbal sign which, in order to be a 'sign', avails itself of something that is not an 'intentional' sign: the fern in its natural context is a 'plant' and only a process of abstraction will transform it into a graphic 'sign' (or non-verbal sign), while it is in the essence of a verbal sign to be abstract. While it is true that once the natural element, the fern, has been 'estranged' and interpreted, it too becomes a 'sign' — as such expressing a concept of its own — it is also true that this is not its original function and that the attribution of the value of a 'sign' is extrinsic to its structure.

The carver interprets the expression plane of the natural element: this form 'serves' to represent a concept that is totally arbitrary, or 'invented'. Given the carver's particular role of creator of images (cf. the megwa murmured during the initiation), he is likely to pay great attention to the processes of formation of specific natural elements and to select those that, on account of their expression plane, significantly represent the precise concepts he wishes to express. This is the case with the doka, gigiwani, weku and kwaisaruvi, which in the lagimu, for example, represent the process of formation of the abstract g.ss. Thus we can state that in every case:

- a) their 'departure points' in nature may be elements that are interpreted and therefore represented graphically, according to a process similar to the formation of verbal signs, such as the attribution of an arbitrary 'signified' to a 'signifier' that is equally arbitrary with respect to the first term of the relation;
- b) according to this mechanism the natural element that is selected as a g.s. also expresses the rule of classification which is one of the norms underlying the schema of the lagimu or tabuya such as the distribution of the g.ss. in given spaces or their sub-division into basic and subsidiary g.ss.

If it is true that those four basic g.ss. convey more successfully than the others the process of their formation as well as of their origin in nature,

(5) See Cours de linguistique générale (1974:108-112).

it also true that this mechanism may be attributed to all the g.ss. that make up the lagimu or tabuya including the subsidiary g.ss., in spite of the fact that there are some, such as rekoreko, monikiniki, susawila and tokwalu, that are more closely linked to the natural forms and almost reflect them as they 'appear' to the eye. It must be emphasized, however, that the mechanism for attributing a 'signified' to a natural element without impairing its expression plane operates according to categories proper to an abstract sign.

In the particular case of the lagimu the difference at the level of the expression plane between the two orders of g.ss., the figurative and the abstract, must be traced elsewhere: in other words, some figurative g.ss. have a more immediate mythical value for the culture of Kitawa and one that is better known to the inhabitants of the island on the level of values and beliefs. For this reason a figurative g.s. must be more graphically explicit and less 'cryptic'.

The figurative g.ss. communicate more explicitly and their 'signified' is directly interpretable, though this does not make them any less metaphorical and complex. In effect, none of the figurative g.ss. is classified as basic or primary: this is because the schema is a notional category — therefore abstract and general — and the basic g.ss. that represent it are carved as 'abstract': a visual metaphor of the notional category schema. The fact of their being represented as abstract and classified as basic, implies much logical and technical practice in their execution; their meanings are kept secret and are the exclusive property of a few individuals within the group of the carvers.

Other causes of this abstractness of the basic g.ss., such as the weku, can probably be identified; the same applies to the natural figurativeness of the subsidiary g.ss. (such as the tokwalu) which is immediately recognizable. Both these groups of g.ss. may in different ways visualize the expression plane in which the creative process of the carver is articulated.

In the creative process of a figurative g.s. the carver uses one, or more, reference models known to all the inhabitants of the village, so that the signifieds of the proposed g.ss. constructed on the basis of that model are perceived and interpreted by all through the medium of the known

signifier.

On the figurative level a g.s. effectively assumes an expression plane that is conventionally called 'naturalistic' or 'figurative' and is known to all, in the sense that the expression plane used is conventionally 'defined' within the whole social group using it (with the necessary interpretative shades of meaning) and in which the association between the content plane and the expression plane is established almost mechanically and with a minimum margin of ambiguity.

Although an abstract g.s. is equal to a figurative g.s. with regard to the mechanism of formation — sharing the characteristics of arbitrariness between the two planes — it is different in regard to the expression plane, which cannot be interpreted by the whole social group, since the latter, in order to grasp the expression plane (in the particular case the carver), requires an interpreter who will 'reveal it' (cf. Siyakwakwa's statements C.ST,43 — C.SS,51 — C.SS,57 — C.SS,77 — C.SS,87). This means that the association between the content plane and the expression plane in the abstract g.s. has a margin of absolute liberty, in the sense that it may 'also' be established by a single individual (cf. Siyakwakwa's statement C.SS,73). The reason why an individual resorts to an abstract expression plane (such as the kwaisaruvi) instead of using only figurative or naturalistic expression planes (such as the rekoreko) is bound to the more general problem of the formulation of expression plane on individual reference models. If I accept the methodological principle that each sign (verbal and non-verbal) is proposed and expressed on the basis of a model (or more than one model) I must also accept the corollary that the difference between abstract and figurative g.s. lies not in the mechanism by which they are put forward but in their theoretically infinite reference models. In the case of an abstract g.s. the reference model (or models) has less 'broad' value than that of a figurative g.s.. Not everybody succeeds, for example, in establishing the relevant reference model of the weku. Only a carver, and in particular a tokabitamu bougwa, may establish this relationship.

The hypothesis that one of the differences between abstract and figurative g.s. may be established in these terms is demonstrated by the existence in the culture of Kitawa of the personal possession of megwa for the kula, an ensemble of poetic compositions that are murmured during ceremonial

exchanges.⁶ Each time a man takes part in an expedition, he secretly and solitarily murmurs 'his' megwa, full of persuasive powers (Tambiah 1968). No one must hear them or their power would 'fall away'. I believe that the attitude shown towards the megwa is essentially the same as that shown towards the basic g.ss. of the lagimu or tabuya: everybody knows that the megwa exist (and each man should have his own) in the same way that everybody 'sees' the abstract g.ss. of the prows: but few — perhaps only the possessor — know the meanings of the different megwa.⁷ In the same way, few — perhaps only the small group of carvers (as Tonori stated in B.ST,192) — are able to identify the meaning of the g.ss. of the prows and the symbolic sense to be attributed to the overall lagimu and tabuya (cf. Tonori and Siyakwakwa's statements C.ST,43 — C.SS,51 — C.SS,57 — C.ST,67 and C.SS,75 — C.SS,77). In both cases the secrecy surrounding the megwa and the abstract g.ss. is no more than a metaphor for the plurality of the reference models and, therefore, a recognition of the existence of several heterogeneous expression planes. Above all, it is an assertion that within a group (which may or may not coincide with the whole social group) there are — albeit only hypothetically — an infinite number of ways of proposing one's own ideas.

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- (6) During the years 1973-1976 I recorded some megwa related to the kula and, also, to yam gardens, cutting kula canoes, fishing, dancing, sorcery, and so on. Each of them reveals a peculiar poetic structure and even if some are related to magic, nevertheless their general feature is to express a metaphorical value.
- (7) In fact, both the words in the megwa and the g.ss. carved on a prow act as 'metaphors'. This means that the listener of a poetic formula, for example, hears a sequence of sounds arranged in an 'unusual' way. To this 'unusual' arrangement are associated meanings which also are 'unusual'. So, what a listener perceives is just 'unusuality', both on the expression plane and on the content plane of the words which form a poetic formula. The secrecy which should surround the megwa is guaranteed through this 'unusuality'. That is, through the device to associate to the expression plane of a word a 'personal' interpretation of its content plane (a content plane which is not listed in the lexicon used in everyday speech), a listener is pointed out the metaphorical value through the device of arranging the words in an unusual way. The same reasoning is valid when a Kitawa viewer looks at a lagimu or tabuya. What he sees is an 'unusual' arrangement of g.ss. which produces a sort of 'visual astonishment'. He perceives that the g.ss. are used not to suggest a 'figurative' shape (that is a shape which everybody can recognize) but an 'unusual' one. The meanings associated to this unusual shape are also 'unusual', that is, they are not listed in the iconographical lexicon used everyday, and they are kept secret by few carvers.

The differences between the schemata and, therefore, between the abstract and figurative g.ss., clearly have considerable 'sociological' implications. The use and proposal of abstract g.ss. intentionally excludes a certain number of individuals from enjoying them (on Kitawa, for example, only certain carvers succeeded in establishing a link between the weku and its symbolic content), so that they may be formulated and proposed also in order to create an intellectual aristocracy. However, it is also true that the creation of an intellectual aristocracy is confined within certain historical limits by the existence of individual expressive spheres such as the possession of megwa for the kula by almost all the men of the villages.

7// I do not believe, however, that the use of abstract g.ss. in a prow, understood as an aesthetic object, in any way impairs the complete and total freedom for any inhabitant of the village to perceive it aesthetically, since the structure of the work does not consist only of the symbolic meanings of the individual g.s. that form it, but also, and above all, in the fact that it is an expressive whole and not only a communicative one, as in the case of a verbal structure. Thus the inhabitants of the villages in which a carver works 'aesthetically enjoy' a lagimu or a tabuya regardless of whether or not they know the meanings of the g.ss. carved on it: not knowing them does not prevent them from perceiving the harmony of the whole. The 'not knowing' why one structure was chosen rather than another, why one specific g.s. was carved and not another, does not affect the possibility of perceiving the aesthetic object from a purely formal-aesthetic point of view. The aesthetic enjoyment will not be based on an analytical critique (which is possible only for a small group of carvers and cutters), but it will be equally valid. The g.s. expresses its content directly. The validity or otherwise of a non-verbal aesthetic g.s. is 'immediately' dependent on its dependences with the structure (work of art) of which it is part and which, at the same time, it helps to define. The aesthetic 'discourse' (like a text) of the lagimu or tabuya is already complete on the whole spatial surface: it requires no further explanation. In order to be valid it does not need to refer to anything else. The carver's skill lies in knowing how visually to develop the dependences between the different g.ss. on the wooden surface of the lagimu or tabuya. The expressivity of its visual text depends on his ability to distribute the g.ss. on the material structure of the object (m) according to the given schema MA filtered

through his teacher's copy M.

Relationships between the schema and its model

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To sum up, a carver may choose between the following alternatives in the present 'aesthetic situation' on Kitawa:

- a) total adherence to a given model M. The mwata of the prow is respected not only on the logical level but also on the structural-formal level: the migira is closely associated to the mwata. The schema is represented in a prow by the same g.ss. that have historically (for a certain period of time) represented that schema;
- b) respect for the mwata — and therefore for the schema, and the values of the migira — but with variations to the subsidiary g.ss. These variations may be casual (as they most frequently are) although casualness in art has a positive meaning or intention. In the latter case the subsidiary g.ss. must be harmonized with the basic g.ss.;
- c) respect for the mwata, but alteration of some basic g.ss., in the sense that their values are respected while a new expression plane is proposed. For example, in the lagimu of Kumwageiya village the kwaisaruvi is carved as a substitute for an older basic g.s. whose value it respects: this innovation was introduced by Towitara via his uncle (cf. Tonori and Siyakwalwa's statements B.ST,192 — C.ST,37 and C.SS,39). This type of variation is problematical, since it requires not only the effort of harmonizing the mwata and the migira (as in point b) but also the difficult and wholly mental task of thinking up a new expression plane that will guarantee a conceptual value still held to be valid. An operation of this kind makes a tokabikamu bougwa that historically rare figure of great cultural prestige;
- d) respect for the mwata, at an unconscious level. This is a non-intentional adherence, even when a man is considered a carver. The schema of the lagimu and the tabuya, precisely because it is not perceived as an organized set of norms of absolute value, is not 'thought' of as such and cannot be coherently realized as expression plane. The result is a chaotic ensemble of g.ss. that do not express even themselves (recovery of the content within the expression plane), and the product is a lagimu empty of value both on the

structural and formal planes, as in the lagimu of Tokwasai (cf. figure 10);

- e) respect for the value of the mwata, meaning in this case the need to respect the harmony between g.ss. and the need for the validity even of a difficult text, such as dodecaphonic or atonal scores,⁸ etc., no longer interpreted in the traditional way (reproposal of the same values of the g.ss. with new expression plane) but proposed with different values (contents) and expression planes. Basically this is a new work, even though not yet completely resolved, as in the lagimu of Tonori (figure 15), designed as an aesthetic object detached from the canoe and the kula system.

Three examples of these different ways of resolving the relations between mwata and migira are the lagimu proposed respectively by Towitara, Tokwaisai and Tonori.

In comparing the different ways in which the relations between mwata and migira are resolved by the carvers of the three lagimu (marked T, To and Tk), I shall for the moment consider only the solution offered to the problems of the respect for the 'visual' balance through the two basic g.ss. weku and kwaisaruvi. This problem must be resolved both with regard to the relations between lagimu-tabuya and canoe and with regard to the aesthetic object considered per se. The two g.ss. weku and kwaisaruvi are indicated by the letters W and K in all three lagimu.

In Tokwaisai's lagimu (cf. figure 10) K and W are symmetrical to the axis (thus respecting one of the constructive norms of the structure) and are also equal to each other (they express the same visual values), in violation of a basic rule of the schema that requires that weku (W) and

(8) I am referring here to the difficulty to perceive and accept a new concept of harmony, or a new schema. For example, a music amateur educated to perform a score by Mozart or Pergolesi, may find quite difficult, at the beginning, to perform an 'atonal' score, such as Three Piano Pieces by Schönberg, because "If polytonality is to be perpendicularly (instead of horizontally) considered, i.e. harmonically instead of contrapuntally, we already have atonality — the absence of key..." (The Oxford Companion to Music 1963:453). See G. Perle, Serial Composition and Atonality: An Introduction to the Music of Schönberg, Berg and Webern, 1978. And also, B. Boretz and E. Cone (eds.), Perspectives on Schönberg and Stravinsky, 1968; and A. Schönberg, Style and Idea, 1975.

kwaisaruvi (K) be unequal, since they express different values.⁹ Bearing in mind that Tokwaisai carved the lagimu in order to insert it into the canoe, thus accepting its structural logic, he could not ignore the rules that constitute that logic. To have carved W = K, therefore means not so much a violation of the abstract schema of the prow — which of itself could lead to the proposal of a substitute schema — as a violation, or on the conscious level unawareness, of the function of the deductive method that governs the control over nature by means of categories.

In not respecting the schema of the lagimu, Tokwaisai has not grasped the values it expresses on the logical level, nor the relations between this schema and the system from which it is drawn. In this particular case the result is not an objective structure inserted into a microsystem (the entire canoe seen as an ensemble of heterogeneous but specifiable reference models) but a structure in which neither the schema nor the system from which the schema is derived can be identified. It is not clear to Tokwaisai that carving a basic g.s. in one particular space on the surface of the lagimu and not in any other is equivalent to cataloguing one's own experience of nature or one's own imagination. The rigidity of the absolute norms (the basic g.ss.) and the impossibility of cancelling them must be interpreted as the affirmation that 'to invent' a new g.s. is possible so long as the new g.s. proposed is coherent with the ensemble into which it is inserted. In the same way, the proposal of a new harmonic schema is accepted as a substitution of the old schema.

The violation of one schema without proposing another, or the failure to realize the logical value enclosed in a model, lead to expressive confusion, so that an object constructed without clear reference to its schema is no longer visually 'enjoyable' and becomes 'obscure'.

On the visual level the basic g.ss. are rigid reference points that symbolize the need to have rules in order to establish ritual, political, economic and all other kinds of conducts. In any society, under different expression planes, we encounter this tendency to make 'reference points' more rigid until they become norms.

(9) This interpretation, which has been suggested by Towitara's opinion, is confuted by Tonori who thinks that the visual balance is assured by carving the right protruding side of the lagimu bigger than the left one. Cf. 'Aesthetic Conversations', C,ST.35 — C,ST.37 and C,ST.39.

When Tokwaisai fails to respect the relations between basic g.ss. and subsidiary g.ss. he disrupts not only the dependences between the kwaisaruvi and weku (so that W = K) but also the real nature of the deductive process. In this specific case the carving of W = K is a mechanical act, not thought out in the structural sense, that becomes a 'disharmony'. The carving of W = K destroys one of the reasons justifying the difference between the two g.ss.: re-balancing the uncertain visual equilibrium of the canoe by means of a refined counterpoise of empty and full spaces, of light and darkness (cf. the statements C.SS,25 - C.ST,26 - C.SG,27 - C.SG,31 - C.SS,32 - C.ST,35 and C.ST,37). Looking at the canoe from the front (figure 16), the letter b indicates the displacement of the hull to the left (the heaviest part of the whole canoe), raising the whole of the outrigger side. Once the lagimu is placed on the canoe the kwaisaruvi (K) faces the inside, on the outrigger side and, being unpierced and coloured in black, visually tends to restore the balance of the canoe towards the right (a). The monikiniki and rekoreko g.ss., or one of them, also help to accentuate this visual balancing of the whole canoe.

In the schema of the lagimu the problem of visually balancing an objective imbalance is thus solved by means of the counterbalance of full and dark masses (the kwaisaruvi coloured in black and unpierced) with empty spaces (the weku, which is obtained by piercing the wood, thus making it light). By carving W = K Tokwaisai does not respect one of the norms of the schema MA and destroys the proposal formulated in order to re-establish the harmony of the equilibriums.

Analysed from this point of view his sense of the lagimu is not correct; it is 'obscure', to borrow a term used by the other carvers on Kitawa in this regard.¹⁰

(10) In fact Siyakwakwa and Tonori judge a lagimu by Tokwaisai quite unsightly not only for the imperfection of the g.ss. (which usually are carved roughly) but mainly for the difficulty to distinguish the right protruding side from the left one. Their criticism confirms my interpretation that the kwaisaruvi makes clear and reinforces the function of the right side of the lagimu, which even if it is carved larger than the left side does not produce the effect to restore the visual balance of the canoe. The judgement of Tonori about the lagimu of Tokwaisai contradicts his opinion (cf. previous footnote) that the problem of restoring the visual balance of the canoe is solved in the contemporary lagimu (in which the two protruding sides tend to be equal) only by carving the right side bigger than the left one.

(NB) In his lagimu Tokwaisai has eliminated the innovatory device elaborated in order to solve the problem of the canoe being lop-sided towards the left. He even contributes to emphasising this imbalance by carving $\underline{W} = \underline{K}$, the equality of which cancels out the counterpoise 'full' and 'empty', 'dark' and 'light' — the values expressed by the kwaisaruvi and weku. The fact that this is not simply my own interpretation — in other words an evaluation of lesser worth — is demonstrated by the attitude of the inhabitants of Kitawa towards the lagimu of Tokwaisai and Towitara. The men who take part in the kula, and who therefore find themselves in contact with these prows, are perfectly able to perceive that the lagimu of Towitara is more 'correct' than that of Tokwaisai because the lagimu is seen with the canoe and all the relations between these elements — even if only visual — are 'perceived'. Even if the whole analytical discourse leading to this type of judgment were omitted, the judgment would still be equally valid, since it is deduced empirically from the relations between all the g.ss. that constitute the structure of the lagimu and between the lagimu and the whole canoe. This shows that there is no need to refer to an explanation of the 'explicit', analytical type in order to render these dependences completely and autonomously meaningful.

(This error on the part of Tokwaisai is repeated in many other lagimu carved all in the villages of Lalela and Lalekeiwa where Tokwaisai imposes his taste. This is a further confirmation of how M, taken as the reference model by a specific group of carvers, is only one of the possible interpretations of the more general schema MA. Consequently, the categories that define the spacing of the g.ss. are acquired by long practice, in spite of the fact that they pre-date it insofar as they express logical values which are valid per se.

Being with the teacher is thus for the apprentice a chance to 'see' these categories made concrete in a specific lagimu. The intuition that there exists a logical order that structures our way of thinking (a faculty that could be compared to the Kantian a priori) is not by itself sufficient to articulate one's thoughts according to that order. The articulation of thought in accordance with categories is something that must be learnt and, if the mediation through M is not correct, the logical order will not be respected. This mediation is effected in the relationship between the teacher and his apprentice.

However, the practice of not carving according to the specific spatial order of the abstract schema could in theory lead to a new schema. This does not contrast with the interpretation of the types of relations between the model M and m_n. Tokwaisai's lagimu, for example, does not respect one of the basic rules of the abstract schema, the difference between W and K, so that we could hypothesize the disregard of a model M. We should then have a lagimu constructed on the basis of a new model, different from the preceding one, while still being seen as an interpretation of MA. With the lagimu of Tokwaisai, however, this innovation does not materialize. His disregard of the abstract schema MA does not produce a change in the values expressed by the basic g.ss. and has no bearing at all on the sense of the structure. There is no redistribution of the g.ss. in accordance with a new logical mechanism: each one remains in the place set for it by the preceding model M. However, at the same time the relation between kwaisaruvi and weku is not respected, which means that kwaisaruvi and weku are important g.ss. not so much because they are called kwaisaruvi and weku but because they realize on the surface the need to re-establish the visual equilibrium of the canoe (figure 16). If Tokwaisai had invented another g.s. that added weight to the canoe on the right and lightened it on the left (from the point of view of somebody looking at it from the prow) his violation would then become a new aesthetic proposal, as is the case in the lagimu of Towitara (and his workshop). This means that Tokwaisai has not understood that it is a question of a procedure which must be respected and which is embodied in an abstract model. This 'logicity' supports the composition of the g.ss. of the lagimu and tabuya, or any other expression. His proposal to carve the kwaisaruvi like the weku cannot be evaluated as an end in itself, since both g.ss. are part of a broader ensemble (the canoe) to which they are complementary. The plain introduction by Tokwaisai of W = K is not just a violation of the norm but indeed its deliberate deception.

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Figure 17 is a schematic drawing showing the effect produced by Tokwaisai's innovation. The letter a indicates the visual equilibrium produced by a lagimu carved according to the canonical model (cf. figures 16 and 18); the letter b indicates the loss of equilibrium in a lagimu by Tokwaisai. The first effect results from the relation between light and dark obtained through the kwaisaruvi and weku, establishing the visual equilibrium of the canoe at point a. The second effect results from the lack of contrast between full and empty, so that the spaces are either all

full or all empty; in this case equilibrium is not re-established and visually there is a sensation that the canoe will overturn and sink. The 'downward tilt' is indicated by the axis b. The carvers of Kitawa, as well as the majority of the men who take part in the kula, use a metaphor to describe this situation: they say that to climb onto the outrigger (lamina) — which is completely black — is forbidden; in reality they are emphasizing that this would break a visual equilibrium arduously achieved by means of technical artefacts.

The negative judgement regarding Tokwaisai's lagimu is prompted by another complex of elements as well as the fact that he has not respected the 'sense' of the difference between W and K. This is that his way of carving, in the strictly technical sense, is not 'clear' because his arrangement of the g.ss. on the surface does not respect the division of the spaces in which they should be placed: some g.ss. 'run over' into others. This means that when the lagimu is coloured in white, red and black the colours will intermingle, thus precluding a clear aesthetic perception: this in turn means that a visual reading will not be possible, or will be confused.

In fact, if a specific g.s. is not clearly carved on the wood, reflecting in the material the 'zone' it occupies in the conceptual project, it may when coloured cause confusion of the colours. The colours may run, adding a confusion of multi-coloured g.ss. to the logical unclearness. The lack of respect shown by Tokwaisai for the abstract schema MA also becomes, as a consequence of his initial error, a lack of sensitivity for chromatic values.

Tokwaisai's alteration does not therefore turn into a proposal for a new model, a possibility which could arise just because a model derives from a set of more general schemata that justify it. For example, had he considered the lagimu 'in itself' as an object independent of the canoe, concerning himself solely with carving the g.ss. without their being 'also' connected to the problem of the visual equilibrium of the canoe (as in the case of Tonori), the evaluation and judgment of his lagimu might have been different. In effect the problem being considered here is whether it is possible to propose a new model in the place of a traditional one that has been actualized, in this case, by the establishment of certain connections between the basic g.ss. of the lagimu and the canoe. This also implies some clarification regarding the absolute value to be attributed to the basic

g.ss. and thus to the abstract schema MA, which is defined as 'rigid'. The rigidity of the schema must be interpreted as the need to ensure a certain internal coherence that carries 'its own logic'. Thus, if the lagimu is detached from the 'canoe complex' it may possibly be interpreted as the embodiment of a new aesthetic schema, in which the internal coherence of its constituent elements justifies its being an independent 'aesthetic object'. The process that produces the new schema is as equally valid the traditional process.

Just as it is not possible to exclude alterations in the process that produce expressions in a industrialized society, it is methodologically incorrect not to recognize that these alterations also occur in a pre-industrial society. By examining the history of the logic that causes these means of expression (lagimu and tabuya), it is possible to see how these modifications occur in practice. The modification must first of all be on the level of the schema. If the basic g.ss. kwaisaruvi, weku, gigiwani and doka are 'rigid', it is because Kitawa traditional logic holds as long as other ways of thinking involving new 'harmonic' schemata (i.e. resolved in themselves) are not proposed. This harmony may be manifested in two ways:

a) the significative value of the basic g.ss. remains firm but the traditional expression plane is modified (Towitara replaces the traditional ubwara, that used to be carved on the old lagimu of Kumwageiya, with the kwaisaruvi);

b) the principle of 'internal coherence' between the g.ss. forming a prow remains firm and the traditional g.ss. are replaced with other new and different ones, both on the content plane and the expression plane. In this case we have a new schema and therefore a new object. I advance this hypothesis on the basis of analysis of a lagimu by Tonori (cf. figure 15) compared with the lagimu of Tokwaisai.

When Tonori carves a lagimu he does not refer it either to the traditional schema or to the more general complex of the 'canoe for the kula'. His schema is constructed in order to make an object to be seen 'in itself'. The only part of the traditional schema he accepts is the principle of 'internal coherence' applied to the new model. Whereas in Tokwaisai's lagimu it is still possible to perceive the beba (the protruding part on

the right which is one of the elements to be respected and where a closed and heavy g.s. such as the kwaisaruvi must be carved, but where Tokwaisai carves an open and light g.s. such as weku, contradicting the 'sense' of the schema) in Tonori's lagimu (figure 19) we find that the two protruding zones X and Y are identical. This is because the carver does not accept the previous schema and is interested in the prow seen 'in itself'. By carving X and Y Tonori prepares the way for carving W = K without running into Tokwaisai's contradictions.

The symmetry between X and Y and between W and K confers on Tonori's lagimu a static aspect which is proper to the 'column' and corresponding 'capital' (cf. figure 19). It is an object that must be perceived standing still, as if looking at a picture hanging on a wall. This sense of equilibrium derives from the symmetry between all the g.ss. that form the surface of the lagimu. With Tonori we thus have the tendency to propose a new reference model, even though it is not yet sufficiently developed in all its implications. This model no longer takes into consideration the relations between lagimu, tabuya and canoe and, on a more general level, the system of the kula. He has preserved the schema category of the traditional lagimu and has thus understood that what is important is not so much a specific model but the abstract notion of schema which, in this particular case, means the internal coherence of the elements forming an aesthetic object and the principle of 'significance' of a work of art.

We have seen that one of the principles a carver must respect is that of visual symmetry. By detaching the lagimu from the canoe, Tonori risked failure in this by carving the beba in the traditional way and then carving W = K after Tokwaisai. However, by eliminating the beba and carving W = K Tonori re-established the principle of bilateral symmetry. Aesthetically speaking, the eye is satisfied.

The new lagimu proposed by Tonori shows it is possible, starting from an abstract schema, to reach different interpretations of the same schema, even though this implies a 're-thinking' of the whole structure in which that schema is embodied.

It is interesting to note that his lagimu is criticized by the other carvers as 'non-orthodox' and is still seen by the other inhabitants of the village of Lalekeiwa as an 'irregular' one.

I remember in this respect Towitara's criticism of Tonori's lagimu.

Basically, Towitara is analysing the new lagimu by Tonori by referring it directly to the schema MA, missing out the intermediate step of referring it to M and evaluating it as a new interpretation of MA, thus giving it the value of a model (M). Towitara's criticism of Tonori's lagimu is, however, conditioned by 'his' reference schema and, more generally, by the whole kula system in which he correctly places the lagimu; above all it is in reference to the kula that he refutes Tonori's new proposal.¹¹

I do not exclude the possibility that Tonori's inventive ability to propose a new model was facilitated by the fact that as soon as he had been initiated into the art his teacher, Kurina, died (cf. Tonori's statement A.ST,153). Tonori copied Kurina's lagimu to start with and then immediately introduced new g.ss., modifying the relations between them as between K and W for example. It is probable that the lack of control (which thus reveals itself as a guarantor of tradition) allowed him to manifest his own expressive ability very early on.

To sum up the different ways of resolving the 'visual harmony' (symmetry) between the lagimu and canoe, it is the case that the Towitara's schema (T) (cf. figure 18) is correct; Tokwaisai's schema (TK, cf. figure 17) incorrect in the relations and g.ss.; Tonori's schema (TO, cf. figure 19), incorrect insofar as the kwaisaruvi and weku are equal, but correct 'in itself' (independently of the canoe) in so far as the structure of the surface of the lagimu (but only of the lagimu) is re-balanced by making the right-hand zone equal to the left-hand zone (beba), in which he carves them in the same size. It is clearly on the visual level that Tonori thinks of the lagimu 'in itself', whereas Tokwaisai fails to see the lagimu either 'in itself' or connected to the canoe. This latter way of thinking is typical, on the other hand, of Towitara too.

(11) Commenting some sketches I made of a lagimu by Tonori, Towitara underlined a series of stylistic 'inaccuracies' (such as the confusion between the line of the susawila and the line of the gigiwani, due to the failure to carve the kabilabala band, etc.) while recognising that the type of carving, the clarity of the sign, the 'quasi-baroque' richness of the g.ss. and, above all, the solution to the problem of symmetry, make of Tonori's lagimu an unique object that cannot be evaluated on the basis of the traditional schema.

Synchronic analysis of the lagimu

We have seen that a lagimu or a tabuya may be analysed as an aesthetic object and that as such it is designed and carved according to specific relations between an abstract schema and its concrete model; furthermore, that this type of analysis does not exclude — in fact it implies — at the level of an interpretative hypothesis, a whole series of references to other schemata that can further specify and broaden the 'sense' of the object. This series of schemata, which includes the particular schema relevant to the aesthetic object, constitutes a system — here, the system of the kula ring.

On account of their importance I shall analyse separately the relations between the use of the colours white, red and black and the g.ss. that form the lagimu and the tabuya. This analysis reposes and specifies the associations between the structure and the expression of the prow and the dependences between each g.s. and the colour it is painted, in the sense that a whole series of questions arises concerning the taxonomy used to denote the g.ss. when uncoloured and the same g.ss. covered in one of the three colours. In this analysis I shall again refer to the lagimu by Towitara (T, cf. figure 9), which is accepted as the aesthetic object that realizes the abstract schema of the prow (MA) on the historical-temporal level better than others (in the sense that his lagimu is the most correct interpretation of the schema over a certain period of time), and also in consideration of its complementarity with the overall canoe and the complex kula system. I shall bear in mind other lagimu, such as that of Gumaligisa Bela (figure 20), in order to evaluate the agreements and disagreements between objects carved on the basis of a single model, but above all in order to identify details that make the lagimu one of a series and at the same time a unique object. I shall also refer to the

lagimu of Tokwaisai (cf. figure 10) and Tonori (cf. figure 15) again.

Looking at Towitara's lagimu (cf. figure 9), the surface is, according to the carvers themselves, divided into three vertical zones: kaimatara beba (left), vitakora (centre) and kailamila beba (right). In figure 21 these zones are indicated as X_1 , X_2 , X_3 , respectively. Inside these spaces and in the horizontal band indicated on the figure by the letter Y_3 , the four basic g.ss. gigiwani, doka, weku and kwaisaruvi are carved. The vertical space X_2 acts visually as an axis for the simultaneous connection and separation of the other two spaces X_1 and X_3 . The fact that a carver bases his design on elements related to each other means that the surface of the lagimu is 'thought of' and 'seen' as a structured whole. The term used in Nowau, vitakora, suggests this function, as it can also be translated as 'sternum'.

The vertical nature of the vitakora is in contrast to the possibility of a horizontal reading of the two protruding zones in which the kwaisaruvi and weku are carved. This horizontal nature is emphasized by the processions of the g.ss. carved in the upper part of the lagimu, which is further projected into space by the two protruding zones, giving the visual sensation that the entire canoe might take flight. This feeling is strengthened on the semantic level by the meaning of the term beba which means 'butterfly' or more correctly 'butterfly wings'. The term kaimatara is thus composed of the prefix kai- which always classifies an object of wood (cf. Malinowski 1920) and the noun-stem matara, which refers to the external part of the lagimu and the canoe. But, as usual, the interpretation is not unambiguous: besides 'part' and 'point', the term kaimatara beba also expresses the concept of bright, sparkle, glitter, speed, flitting, etc. Expressions such as 'This canoe is as fast as the frigate bird', 'It flies like a bird', or 'Its colours shine like the sun' are used to appreciate the technical qualities of a canoe for the kula, and are aesthetic judgments. The same concepts are also expressed in certain megwa used for the kula, telling how one partner must 'dazzle' the other.

The term 'kailamila beba' (X_3 in the figure) indicates the part, characterized by the kwaisaruvi, facing the inside of the canoe towards the outrigger (lamina or lamila) attached to the canoe by means of a foot-board (patapatila). The most relevant interpretation to give to the three spaces (X_1 , X_2 , X_3) is, then, the establishment of the coordinates of the

object, forming it as a quasi-body. Moreover, by 'accentuating' the direction of the coordinates the surface of the lagimu is characterized either vertically or horizontally, both of these tendencies being present in Towitara's workshop. In Gumaligisa's lagimu (cf. figure 20), for example, the direction of the coordinates is accentuated horizontally, by widening the central space vitakora and using curved and soft lines. The g.ss. seem almost to lie on the surface of the lagimu, suggesting an extension of the object from the inside outwards.

Pilimoni's lagimu (cf. figure 26), on the other hand, gives maximum emphasis to the verticality of the central space vitakora, which is carved more narrowly and uses elongated g.ss.; lines prevail over curves and the whole surface of the object assumes a thread-like aspect, reminiscent of the gothic style. With respect to his pupils' lagimu, Towitara carves the vitakora space keeping in mind the meaning attributed to the term kailamila beba and kaimatara beba. If the two terms are to suggest the concepts of wings or arms and are therefore relative to two lateral and symmetrical elements with respect to a body (axis), the verticality or horizontality attributed to this space will define the other two, which in their turn condition the former by their meaning: the 'wings' of the canoe cannot occupy spaces that are not visually supported by the central space. By carving kaimatara beba and kailamila beba too vertically (Pilimoni), or too horizontally (Gumaligisa), the whole object is unbalanced if it is to be placed in the canoe. Towitara's is therefore a more correct proportion between the two lateral spaces and the central one.

If the three spaces X₁, X₂, X₃ are synthesized into a single axis X, bearing in mind at the same time the possibility of reading the g.ss. horizontally (the letter X indicates the horizontal direction), a system of Cartesian axis results which in space represents the dimensionality followed by the carver in arranging the g.ss. on the surface of the wood. The division of the lagimu into the three spaces kaimatara beba, vitakora and kailamila beba joined in X is thus also a means of representing two-dimensionality.

Bearing in mind the vertical division into three parts of the structure of the lagimu, into the spaces:

X₂ = vitakora
X₃ = kailamila beba
X₁ = kaimatara beba

the crossing of the vertical and horizontal spaces will form a 'grid' dividing the surface of the lagimu into squares according to temporal and spatial orders followed by the carver in carving the g.ss. (cf. figure 21).

	<u>susawila</u>	subsidiary g.ss.
	<u>kabilabala</u>	
	<u>gigiwani</u>	basic g.ss.
	<u>weku</u>	
Square <u>X₁</u> , <u>Y₃</u>	<u>matara ina</u>	
	<u>ubwoli</u>	
	<u>monikiniki</u>	subsidiary g.ss.
	<u>ubwara</u>	
	<u>ginigini</u>	

In the square X₁,Y₃, one of the two supporting bands kara kaimalaka both terminates and at the same times begins, forming the spiral km, which , together with the spiral kara kaivau (kv) isolates the figure of the weku.

	<u>susawila</u>	subsidiary g.ss.
	<u>kabilabala</u>	
	<u>gigiwani</u>	basic g.ss.
	<u>doka</u>	
Square <u>X₂,Y₃</u>	<u>tokwalu</u>	
	<u>ubwoli</u>	subsidiary g.ss.
	<u>karawa</u>	
	<u>matara ina</u>	
	<u>susawila</u>	subsidiary g.ss.
	<u>kabilabala</u>	
	<u>gigiwani</u>	basic g.ss.
	<u>kwaisaruvi</u>	
Square <u>X₃,Y₃</u>	<u>matara ina</u>	subsidiary g.ss.
	<u>ubwoli</u>	
	<u>rekoreko</u>	
	<u>ubwara</u>	
	<u>ginigini</u>	

The other supporting band kara kaimalaka also begins and terminates in the square X₃,Y₃, forming the spiral km, which together with the spiral kv isolates the kvaisaruvi.

Square X₁,Y₂ duduwa
 matara ina subsidiary g.ss.
 ginigini

Square X₂,Y₂ karawa
 vakaboda
 ubwara subsidiary g.ss.
 matara ina
 duduwa

Square X₃,Y₂ duduwa
 matara ina subsidiary g.ss.
 ginigini

Square X₁,Y₁ kaikikila
 matara ina
 ubwara subsidiary g.ss.
 ginigini

Square X₃,Y₁ kaikikila
 ubwara
 matara ina subsidiary g.ss.
 ginigini

The letters F and F¹ indicate the two supporting bands kara kaimalaka. The surface of the lagimu is bound on the outside by F and F¹, which converge towards the bottom and are symmetrical to the central axis. Although not classified as basic elements within the schema MA, they are nevertheless important for the purpose of my interpretation of the lagimu, as is, for example, another subsidiary g.s., the duduwa.

Looking now at the position of each (individual) g.s. on the structure of the lagimu it is clear that all the basic g.ss. are to be found in the band Y₃ — reading from left to right and from top to bottom : gigiwani (extending along a whole horizontal band), weku, doka and kwaisaruvi (cf. figure 9).

In common with all the other g.ss., the basic ones can be read either vertically (X₁,X₂,X₃) or horizontally (Y₁,Y₂,Y₃). However, with respect to the subsidiary g.ss. the basic ones occupy a primary position on the spatial level and on the temporal level. As noted before, they are the first g.ss. to be carved on the surface of the lagimu and, recalling the existence of the category 'schema' (mwata), all the other g.ss. are arranged around them.

Having described the distribution of the g.ss. on the surface of the lagimu and knowing the principle that guides their formation and realization, I shall use the meanings of each g.s., as they are expressed by their verbal forms, to reconstruct the probable sense (or senses) that may be attributed to the lagimu seen as a visual image having its own expressive autonomy.

The use of the verbal meaning of a g.s. in order to interpret its possible symbolic meaning is not the same as placing the two meanings on the same level (I have excluded this methodologically precisely because the g.ss. behave only on the expression-plane); but it is useful to identify a concept already memorized, and therefore classified — placed in the mind — on the iconographical level. The karawa (cf. figure 9), for example, probably represents 'symmetry': on the conceptual level (of 'formed' ideas) the carver possesses the concept of symmetry and by analysing it he is able to reconstruct, or often only to sense, the principle that prompts the formation of this concept, arbitrarily attributing an iconographical sign to this concept. He may find in nature a figure that visually represents

this concept, or invent it and propose it. Clearly the graphic sign that visually represents the concept of 'symmetry' has its own expressive autonomy which has nothing to do with the expression plane of the verbal sign karawa. The similarity between the verbal sign and the graphic sign of the karawa is justified by the conceptual content of 'symmetry'.

Precisely because it is a 'graphic sign' the karawa like algebraic signs can represent more concepts than a verbal sign, which has a more clearly defined scale of concepts. The fact that the karawa in this specific context of the lagimu represents the concept of 'symmetry' is established by the congeries of g.ss. forming the structure of the object and the information given by the carver who established the use of the form (karawa) as a reference point (axis) around which to arrange the other g.ss..

When using the verbal meanings of the g.ss. carved on the lagimu and tabuya it must therefore be borne in mind that the concept or content must be sought 'behind' the verbal sign. This content can be useful on the symbolic and iconographic level.

An iconographic interpretation of the lagimu

My analysis of the 'contents' of the g.ss. of the lagimu follows the order

in which they are carved — from top to bottom.¹

The susawila (figure 22). This is represented by a long strip of g.ss. which, in the case of Towitara's lagimu and those of his pupils, are made concrete in the form of a sea bird. The band in which the g.ss. are carved is narrower than the centre-bottom part of the lagimu. Between one g. s. and another the empty spaces, ubwoli, are fretted; these punctuate the succession of susawila, thus further lightening the whole upper zone of the prow and recalling the empty spaces breaking up the gigiwani.

In older lagimu, such as, for example, those preserved in the Museo Etnografico L. Pigorini, the Museum of Anatomy, Canberra, (figures 23, 24 and 25), the upper band appears 'closed', adding weight to the whole surface of the lagimu. The introduction of the susawila and above all of the empty spaces, ubwoli, between one space and another, is recent and is attributed to Towitara. Although he comes from Towitara's atelier Gumaligisa often carves lagimu without following the master's rules, for example leaving the susawila band unfretted.

The term susawila, may be translated as 'to stroll about', 'to laze about', 'to go to and fro aimlessly'. It is also used to mean 'to stray intentionally in the forest in search of something pleasant'.

If the concept that the carver wishes to express is that of 'going to and fro, pleasurably', then the use of a line of figures linked together but distinct is an inspired visual representation of this content. The fact

(1) I am referring here to the probable 'meaning' expressed by a g.s., as it has been determined through a semantic analysis of the word which labels the g.s. In fact, the meaning of a g.s. is established on the content plane of the word which labels it. Yet we can only 'suppose' what the g.s. means, because we are not sure if the meaning which we associate to the g.s. is the only one. It would be another meaning, if we believe that the context in which the g.s. has been put, suggests other kinds of associations. The meaning of 'frigata bird' is in fact associated to the g.s. carved on the upper band of a lagimu through the word which labels in Nowau the long row of stylised birds. What a fregata bird means, or what it should mean, at the symbolic level (that is, the idea of a long row of men or, also, the idea of 'to go to and fro aimlessly') has been suggested by a semantic analysis of the word, both in its nominal and verbal form. So we have an iconographic value of the g.s. expressed through a given form — the stylised bird — which expresses a symbolic value that has been established through a semantic analysis of the word which labels the g.s.

that this is the correct interpretation of the term susawila may be deduced from another meaning of the term when used as a noun. Susawila also denotes a frigate-bird, Fregata ariel (of the Fregatidae family), which has a long body, large wingspan, a beak hooked at the tip and black plumage with stripes of white that we also find in the susawila.

According to information given by Tonori, the susawila are classified in the village of Lalekeiwa -- although represented by the same figure -- with the term meikela which is used to express the concept of 'to come', 'to laze about'. Tonori used the term meikela to refer also to the sea swallow (of the Sterna family), an interpretation that expresses the same content I attributed to the susawila when I interpreted them as 'fregata birds': again a long chain of figures, one after the other, going up and down.

These meanings are not contradicted by a g.s. papa, carved by Gumaligisa and Pilimoni in the place where Towitara places the susawila, on the outside of the canoe (cf. figures 26, 27 and 68).

The papa has been in use for a very long time and is an abstract and schematic interpretation of the dolphin. A representation of the papa as a dolphin is traced with a black clay-like substance on some of the walls of the Inakebu grotto, near the village of Okabulula (figure 28) and we find the same g.s. carved in some lagimu by Towitara, though removed to the kabilabala band (cf. figure 9). If interpreted from a purely stylistic and visual point of view, the carving of the papa in the lagimu of Gumaligisa and Pilimoni causes an overlapping of heavy zone, adding weight to the entire upper part of the surface of the object, and thus losing the characteristic of lightness peculiar to Towitara's lagimu.

However, I think that with Gumaligisa (although it must be pointed out that this is not always the case) the absence of fretwork in the upper band of the lagimu produces the effect of 'softening' the whole structure of the object, an effect also obtained by carving curved elements. The change of position is, however, contradictory, in Pilimoni's lagimu which is an attempt to use a more graceful, 'quasi-gothic' structure: the effect of lightness is diminished precisely by the two solid bands.

I recorded, finally, another term in the village of Lalela (my information came from Tokwaisai) referring to the papa: suyu or suya. When it is carved

on the side of the canoe Tokwaisai calls this figure papa, but he refers to the same figure as suyu when it is carved on the lagimu. In this case we have, on the visual level, the same expression plane and the same concept (content plane) for a g.s. that, on the verbal level, has the same content but two expression planes. The interpretation given to suyu when interpreted as a verb is 'to be in contact', 'to go together'. This term thus contains the meanings already expressed in the terms susawila and papa. So the first band of the lagimu consist of:

a) a g.s. that expresses on the content plane an ensemble of concepts through a single expression plane in the visual level:

 { speed, rapaciousness, brightness (meikela)
to laze about, to go to and fro pleasurably and aimlessly
being one behind the other

b) the same ensemble of concepts rendered on the verbal level by four different expression planes:

<u>susawila</u>	}	to go, to be together, to stroll about, one after another
<u>papa</u>		
<u>meikela</u>		
<u>suyu</u>		

Thus:



speed	}	same content	}	speed
to lounge about				to lounge about
to go together				to go together
to be one behind the other				to be one behind the other
brightness				brightness

The interpretation of this long procession of g.ss., based on the contents expressed by the susawila, meikela, papa and suyu seems to me to be contained in the proposition 'to go from place to place behind one other pleasantly'. The choice of what seemed to me the most relevant meaning was made after I had observed some of the attitudes of the men of Kitawa when they arrive on another island for a ceremonial kula exchange. Immediately

on getting out of the canoe a man will wash himself in the sea water with the white pulp scraped from a coconut. He then draws lines and circles on his face with the red dova (which is the same as the red buwa, obtained from areca nut. A different term is used when it is employed for decorating the face during the kula) and puts some perfumed sayaku on his chin and shoulders. After powdering himself with the pwakau powder, slipping on the kwasi (bracelets made by plaiting the very fine strands obtained by fraying coconut palm leaves, which are coloured black and worn on the arm, where they are used above all to hold leaves, flowers and aromatic herbs) and inserting tufts of sulumoiya (Ocimum basilicum) in his bracelet, he gets in line with the others and they make their way, joking, towards the village, where they continue strolling from one hut to another and chatting until sunset. Some of the megwa murmured during the kula expeditions also refer to this "going from place to place" in single file. In some megwa, for example, the visual metaphor of a black millipede (mwani, mwanita) is often used to describe this being together one behind the other but forming a single, compact body. During their strolling about the men seek the pleasure of conversing with their friends and endeavour to charm them with 'pretty words'. The susawila may themselves be an allusion to this 'pleasant conversation', since they are carved one after the other like a chain of concepts or images that in the end, united, produce a whole proposition or discourse. The sense attributed to the susawila is emphasized on the figurative level also by the rekoreko and monikiniki. Towitara's lagimu (cf. figure 9) shows the line of the susawila being 'caught' by the snake, which in its turn is linked to the rekoreko by means of the kabilabala band, thus representing a continuous, circular passage of elements (men, ideas, attitudes, etc.), which from an indistinct state - the susawila - become concrete in a complete sense: rekoreko and/or monikiniki.

The susawila or meikela, further allude to another set of elements that distinguish the man taking part in the kula: speed, the sharpness of intuition - symbolized by the 'sight' of the sea eagle - the rapacity or desire to take a mwari or a vaiguwa. The colours of the sea eagle, as of the sea swallow, are found in the prevalent kula colours, white, red and black. The colour black is perceived as a colour associated with beauty and speed, attributes of the tokula; white as a colour symbolizing the wish for 'clarity' in the propositions used to 'charm' the partner (sora); red as

attraction and excitement in all its shades of meaning.²

We thus find the following meanings expressed by the susawila on its content plane:

susawila { speed
rapaciousness, desire to possess
brightness (white colour)

strolling about
going to and fro in single file
(referred to the kula)

The susawila is, moreover, in the upper part of the lagimu and tabuya that is defined by the carver as 'the abode of the mind'.

The **kabilabala** (cf. figure 9). It is classified as a subsidiary g.s. and was introduced by Towitara. No element fulfilling the function of this g.s. is to be found on the lagimu carved before Towitara's innovation, especially in the villages of Lalela and Lalekeiwa. The carving of the kabilabala answers the need for a separation between the susawila and gigiwani bands and the two doka. On the figurative level the kabilabala solves a stylistic problem, in the sense that the susawila, gigiwani and doka are all obtained by fretting the wood, so that in the absence of the kabilabala band we would (as in the above-mentioned case of the lagimu by Tokwaisai) have a line of empty spaces, susawila, directly touching another line of empty spaces (gigiwani and doka), causing considerable confusion in the perception of these g.ss. By carving the kabilabala between the gigiwani and the susawila, Towitara is making a visual-aesthetic clarification, as we then have: empty space — full space — empty space and filled-in space, represented by the rest of the lagimu's surface. The literal meaning of the term kabilabala is: to separate, a dividing element.

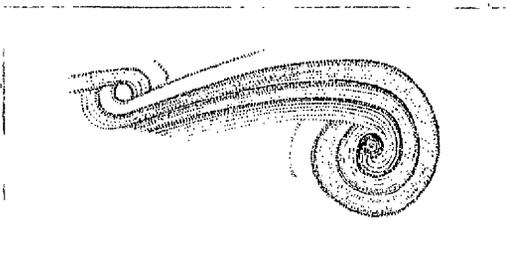
(2) Tonori and Siyakwakwa, in statements C,ST.67 — C,ST.71 and C,SB.75, give a different interpretation of the symbolic value of susawila, which they define as the hairs of a man. My interpretation is based on Towitara's information.

The gigiwani(figure 29). This is one of the four basic g.ss. identifying the structure of the lagimu; it has the value of a rigid norm, which cannot be altered even by a tokabitamu bougwa. The line of the gigiwani is present in all lagimu, even the most ancient ones preserved in different ethnographic collections. From the purely aesthetic point of view it serves to maintain a horizontal balance in the upper part of the lagimu. This balance is in contrast to the weku and kwaisaruvi, which tend to divert the eye to the bottom right (kwaisaruvi) and to the left (weku), especially on the side of the kwaisaruvi, where the imbalance is emphasized by other heavy g.ss. such as the rekoreko. The horizontal direction in which the gigiwani are carved links them to the two susawila and kabilabala bands. Whereas the latter are both orientated towards the right (looking at the lagimu from the front) and glancing towards the rekoreko, the gigiwani depart from the left and right, 'walking' towards the centre where they culminate in the two doka and the tokwalu (cf. figure 9). The fact that the three bands are carved in opposite directions indicates the carver's desire to eliminate the concept of 'direction', to the advantage of a logical 'centre' represented by the doka and the tokwalu. Even the 'empty space' (ubwoli) surrounding the doka and the tokwalu, which is wider than the empty spaces separating one gigiwani or susawila from another, may also be interpreted as an 'underscoring' of the special logical value to be attributed to the doka and the tokwalu.

(x) The expression plane of the gigiwani is not dissimilar to that of the doka, although the latter is far more swollen and its curvature in the part touching the tokwalu is more pronounced, almost as though indicating to the perceiver a difference in meaning between the two g.ss.. The use of two different terms to indicate doka and gigiwani is an announcement on the verbal level of disagreements already represented on the visual level. However, both the visual and verbal disagreements leave the impression of there being a certain similarity in the process of formation and construction of the gigiwani and doka, a similarity camouflaged on the verbal level by the use of two different terms — at least by Towitara. In the village of Lalekeiwa, on the other hand, Tonori used a single term, dodoleta, to indicate both the gigiwani and the doka. The same term, dodoleta, is also used by Tokwaisai to indicate a g.s. when it is coloured. I shall leave this latter piece of information aside because it is rather ambiguous, but the relation Tonori asserted between the two g.ss. seems interesting.

If Tonori uses a single term to indicate two g.ss. which on the visual level are represented in a similar, but not identical manner, it is probable that his interest centres more on the elements common to the two g.ss. than on those that are different, even though the latter could perhaps reveal the reason for the two verbal meanings (as with Towitara). The element common to the two g.ss. may be interpreted both on the expression plane and the content plane. On the expression plane the resemblance, but not equivalence, of the gigiwani and the doka is visually perceivable: the doka appears as a more 'swollen' gigiwani and reveals greater perfection of structure. On the content plane the similarity is less striking. The use of a single term by Tonori is probably in this case a reference to the similarity that must exist in the process of formation of the content of the g.ss., in the sense that both represent similar concepts, or the same concept on different planes. The different levels are established on the expression plane: the carving of the two g.ss. in a similar but not identical manner is the visual representation of this diversity of level; a diversity which does not appear fundamental to Tonori but to which Towitara attaches great importance, since he uses two different terms.

If the term dodoleta is a combination of the gigiwani and doka it is probable that the concept expressed by the verbal expression plane of this g.s. can also be traced in the expression planes of the other two. The concepts expressed by the term dodoleta are: 'to be in full sail', 'blown up by something', 'the pressing together of many people', 'to push', so that it is also correct to use it in its meaning of several elements 'pushing in some direction'. In this case the long line of gigiwani is an ingenious graphic representation of this meaning. These g.ss. seem, in effect, to be pushing each other, and the force of the push is rendered by the 'blowing up' of the end part of the sign:



To sum up, the following meanings may be attributed to the content plane of dodoleta:

dodoleta

[to become blown up
to be blown up by something
to push, to be pushed by someone or something

The meanings of the term gigiwani are very similar to those attributed to the term dodoleta. In fact it expresses the concepts of 'pushing', 'being pushed forward by someone', 'curving off a body from an internal thrust', 'to coil up'. If, on the other hand, the term is interpreted as a noun, the most correct translation is 'caterpillar' that will turn into a butterfly. The natural circumstances on which the carver bases his image of this g.s., later schematizing it into the procession of the gigiwani, is a chain of caterpillars linked to each other and hanging from a branch.

The content of the verbal sign gigiwani and the content of its corresponding visual g.s. reveal their considerable similarity of meaning: the concept of 'being pushed' and as a result bending over and pushing the person in front, forming a chain of elements pushing towards something. These concepts are perceivable graphically: the use of a group of caterpillars visualizes the concept contained in the verbal sign. I would say that the visual g.s. represents something more, a 'something more' that is not perceivable in the verbal sign: the idea of imperfection interpreted as a transient stage leading to perfection, the accomplishment of something. The caterpillar is a preamble to the butterfly, the gigiwani to the doka, the g.s. of absolute perfection.

There is also in the gigiwani a significant reference to other g.ss. on the lagimu. For example, when the lagimu was divided into kaimatara beba and kailamila beba the term beba was translated as 'butterfly wings' and the choice of the caterpillar as nature's cue for the representation of the gigiwani means that there was a connection between gigiwani and beba. The following are thus the possible interpretations of the content plane of gigiwani (which has also been defined by Siyakwakwa to be 'like' the head, the mind, of a man; cf. his statement C.SS,75):

gigiwani

[to wrap oneself up
to coil up
to be pushed by an internal force
caterpillar, chain of caterpillars
imperfect, transient imperfection

The term dodoleta and gigiwani present a similar and often identical scale of contents. These contents may also be attributed to the doka, which naturally expresses other and more specific contents than those traced in the gigiwani and dodoleta; contents whose specificity is realized in a form which is more perfect than that of the gigiwani. The gigiwani and doka imply a series of concepts to which their expression planes refer and which present shades of meaning that differentiate them as g.ss.. The term dodoleta emphasizes certain elements common to both g.ss. and, at least on the expression plane, justifies their structural resemblance (both appear at first glance as spirals) and their resemblance on the content plane. At the same time, however, this g.s. underlines the gigiwani's momentary imperfection, as a prelude to another and more perfect state. The term dodoleta thus acts as a 'link' between gigiwani and doka.

The selection from nature of a chain of caterpillars linked to each other to represent an indefinite ensemble of elements, an amorphous mass to be ordered into concepts (imperfection as a transient state that will be overcome) seems to demonstrate the creative skill of the carver. An element of nature is observed and, if it is seen to contain some structure — a process in the formation of its constituent cells — that appears (or seems or is believed to be) similar or identical to the process of formation of a concept, it is taken as the representation of that concept on the expression plane, either visual or verbal.

The gigiwani, hooked together like a chain, may represent a concatenation of elements that once formed will constitute a concept (doka). Taken by itself a single gigiwani-caterpillar is something unformed or, better still, something that is imperfect, that has the potential of becoming something complete: from the caterpillar to the butterfly. Moreover, the caterpillar moves its body by peristaltic movements, pushing itself forward after bunching itself up. From the visual point of view this autonomous compulsion represents the process of formation of a concept, at the same time emphasizing how analytic observation of a natural element (the caterpillar, butterfly, etc.) may offer only a pretext for representing a purely mental figure (concept) on the expression plane. A pretext and nothing more.

The doka(figure 30). I have mentioned that the terms gigiwani and dodoleta underline the conceptual and structural (constructive) link between these g.ss.. Through the term dodoleta, the gigiwani is referred to the doka, making the latter the last term in the passage from an amorphous state of matter to an expressively formed, established state. The doka represents the final point in the process of the formation of matter. It expresses a conceptual value. The doka is the concept formed and ready to be expressed to the outside world, visible on the perceptual level and capable of interpretation on the intellectual level. It is the arrival point of the 'pushing forward' of the chain of susawila and gigiwani (interpreted as matter in the process of formation).

The importance attributed to the doka by the carver confirms this interpretative hypothesis: in fact the technical ability of a carver is judged above all by the perfection or imperfection of his carving of the doka. An imperfectly carved doka ruins the whole surface of the lagimu and destroys its value as a central, constructive element. With respect to the axis of the lagimu's structure (which passes through the tokwalu) the two doka are symmetrical, thus repeating one of the constructive principles to which every carver should adhere. By respecting the principle of bilateral symmetry in the perfection of the curvature of the two doka, a carver conditions the correct distribution of the other g.ss. on the surface of the lagimu. A rightwards displacement on the left of one of the two doka produces an imbalance and a certain degree of disorder in all the other g.ss.

When interpreted as a verbal form, the term doka may be translated as 'to imagine', 'to think', 'to rationalize'.

The natural element which inspired the carver here may be traced back to the meaning of a sea-creature which is the cause of something else, as well as of its own growth: the Nautilus pompilius called goragora. Two goragora facing each other across an (imaginary) axis are the natural figure from which the carver took his cue for representing the two doka (figure 31).

The Nautilus pompilius is an example of the concept of perfection accomplished in nature and as such has been used often in the history of iconography. In the case of the carver, the observation of this shell, which grows on itself in ever widening concentric circles accordind to a

given ratio, must have suggested its suitability as a representation of the concept of perfection and imagination, concepts that distinguish a carver. By choosing the Nautilus pompilius as a symbol of imagination and the ability to produce concepts, the carver makes man and nature equal: man is a 'cultural being' by virtue of belonging to nature. In this specific case the resemblance between man and nature is established on the level of conceptual and compositive structure, in the sense that the carver uses a 'form' taken from nature (such a shell) in order to represent some intuition or idea of his own on the symbolic and metaphoric levels; he does so because this form realizes that idea iconographically. He observes the process of formation of a shell and attributes to this process values he has already decided and established as valid. The process of formation of a concept, such as the idea of perfection, develops according to its own mechanisms: but at the moment when it must be minimally visualized — when it must be perceivable, albeit only by its constructor — the carver can use an element already 'given' in nature which, like a metaphor, offers him the pretext for representing that concept. The metaphor is valid so long as there exists a constructive resemblance between the expression plane of the natural object (the Nautilus pompilius) and the expression plane of the concept to be expressed (the idea of perfection, of the element that grows on itself).

Behind every verbal sign classifying a natural element there hides a concept or an ensemble of concepts that may be found in another term conventionally used in a different context. The carver attributes to the Nautilus pompilius the capacity to express, by means of the form of the spiral, the concept of perfection, imaginative ability, etc., and calls this particular shell goragora. The same concept of perfection is expressed within the same vocabulary by another term: doka. We thus find two terms, goragora and doka, expressing the same concept or ensemble of concepts, but referred to different contexts (especially formal contexts). It may be deduced from these examples that the terms used by the carver to classify the g.s.s. carved on the lagimu have the following characteristics:

a) a concept may be expressed by more than one term (the concept expressed by the gigiwani, for example, is also contained in the term dodoleta and papa);

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b) the arbitrary nature of every sign on the expression plane as compared to the content plane (this is confirmed by the term doka which does not refer directly to the Nautilus pompilius but to the 'concept' that is

associated to the 'form' of this shell). The use of the Nautilus pompilius as the 'cue' from which the doka is derived by means of a process of abstraction and schematization is indicative of the values the carver attributes to it. It also confirms the application on the technical level (construction of the lagimu) of certain mathematical rules having a general value. The Nautilus pompilius shell is, in fact, a demonstration in nature of the curve known as an 'equiangular spiral' or 'logarithmic spiral' (figure 32). According to the demonstration of D'Arcy W. Thompson³ the values of the equiangular spiral, as compared to those of the Archimedes spiral or uniform spiral (where we have $r = a^\theta$), increase their width continuously in accordance with a fixed ratio, which means that "Each whorl which the radius vector intersects will be broader than its predecessor in a definite ratio; the radius vector will increase in length in geometrical progression, as it sweeps through successive equal angles; and the equation to the spiral will be : $r = a^\theta$ " (1977:176).

The characteristics of the equiangular, or logarithmic spiral are:

- a) the curve of the spiral is a figure that increases continually without changing its form, as in the Nautilus pompilius shell;
- b) the vector angles around the pole are proportional to the logarithms of the following rays, so that

$$\theta = K \log r$$

- c) the increase in size is all the same asymmetric, a peculiarity of the equiangular spiral, defined by James Bernoulli as spira mirabilis.

By observing the internal structure of the goragora the carver has therefore decided that this shell can represent the concepts of perfection and imagination; he thus takes it as a pretext and repropose it, schematized and stylized, in the lagimu; he has invented the doka.

(3) D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (1860-1948), zoologist, wrote much on matters of classical scholarship (especially on the natural history of ancient writers) such as A Glossary of Greek Birds (1895) and A Glossary of Greek Fishes (1945). He is famous for On Growth and Form which was first published in 1917. It is a book about 'the way things grow, and the shapes they take'. See R. D'Arcy Thompson, Wentworth Thompson, 1958.

When carving the doka the carver must give evidence of technical competence in order to attain a higher intellectual rank. The curvature of the doka must respect the principle of 'continuous similarity', so that each helix carved around the pole (the empty space, ubwoli) must be "broader than its predecessor in a definite ratio", established in accordance with the size of the surface of the lagimu. Each addition or 'gnomon'⁴ at its starting point must not alter the form of the doka, but only its size; on this principle another connection may also be made between gigiwani and doka. The doka may also be considered as a 'gnomon' of the gigiwani, from which the similarity of form between the two g.ss. derives.

The importance attributed to the doka on the formal level (execution of a perfect curvature) has a synchronic counterpart on the content plane. The carver must 'express' to the outside world an ensemble of principles that enclose the aesthetic philosophy of the group to which he belongs, such as the principle of harmony, intended for example as the application and punctual evolvement of a rule. The Nautilus pompilius (doka) expresses this principle just because its whorls are progressive 'additions' to an initial point and respect the latter's structural form. It is like a process of memorization, which adds new elements to old ones without refuting the old ones. The time factor is important in analysing the logarithmic spiral (each successive phase of growth is a 'gnomon' of the preceding configuration, cf. figure 36) and we also find it, with the same values, in the life of the carver.

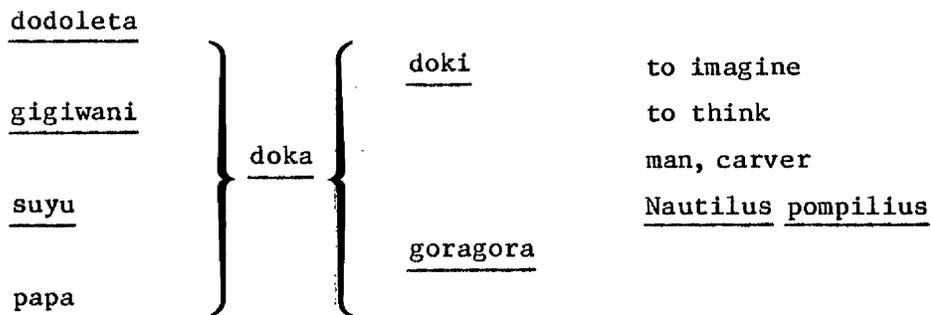
Each stage following the initiation, when the future carver 'sees' the lagimu, is no more than a deepening and broadening of that initial moment, in the sense that the 'vision' of the structure is not refuted but merely broadened by the technical exercise of copying.

The Nautilus pompilius' characteristic of preserving its form unaltered thus expresses a value of 'norm' and also symbolizes the value of

(4) "There are certain things, says Aristotle, which suffer no alteration (save of magnitude) when they grow. Thus, if we add to a square an L-shaped portion, shaped like a carpenter's square, the resulting figure is still a square; and the portion which we have so added, with this singular result, is called in Greek 'gnomon'" (D'Arcy W. Thompson 1977:181).

unalterability (and thus of an absolute rule) that is attributed both to the doka and to the other basic g.ss. At the same time the asymmetry of the growth of the Nautilus pompilius introduces alongside the principle of rigidity in the formal structure, that of the 'dynamism' used, for example, by Paul Klee in some of his 1938 works, such as Brutal and Timid (figure 33) and Torture (figure 34).

The probable significances on the content plane of the doka can thus be summarized:



The most relevant meaning to attribute to the doka must be sought in the reference made by the carver to the ensemble of concepts symbolically expressed in the goragora shell or Nautilus pompilius, according to the context: the doka symbolizes intelligence, the progressive and constant increase of knowledge of nature through the classification of its elements and elaboration of the logical categories laid down for such a classification.

The weku (figure 35). This is represented on the surface of the lagimu by a figure consisting of oblong holes (ubwoli) bordered by the two helices kara kaimalaka (km) and kara kaivau (kv). From the constructive point of view the weku is on the left of the lagimu (kaimatara beba) looking at it from the front: being an 'empty' g.s., it helps to lighten the object.

An early interpretation attributed to the weku by Towitara is that it symbolizes a rare bird that no-one has ever seen, but which might be seen only under special conditions and by certain individuals. One may, however, hear this bird's voice in the forest, when there is complete silence. If this description is to be interpreted as a metaphor, then it must be analysed also in relation to the whole structure of the lagimu.

The 'invisibility' coincides with the two oblong holes, which recall the visual concept of emptiness and therefore the absence and 'vacuum'. These are expressed by one concept, which attributes to them a general and abstract value: absence, lack of something or someone. This interpretation is strengthened by the meanings attributable to the two ubwoli, which help to represent the figure of the weku. The term ubwoli is also used on Kitawa to indicate the period during which singing, dancing and joking are suspended in a village after a death. In this latter case, too, we find the concept of 'absence', 'lack of something' recalled by the emptiness of the two ubwoli.

The following is a schematization of the different meanings attributable to the ubwoli:

<u>ubwoli</u>	[absence lack of something (voice) emptiness
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For Towitara the term weku has the meaning of a 'mysterious bird' that is not perceivable but can be heard. The term is thus a metaphor for two elements apparently antithetical in value: absence (the bird cannot be seen) and presence (it can, however, be heard). Bearing in mind other meanings of the term weku, such as 'raucous', 'veiled voice' or 'aphonic', 'barely audible voice', it is possible that the weku alludes to the phonatory apparatus and everything concerned with the emission of sounds, as well as the momentary lack of sound. It also contains an indirect allusion to the recital of the megwa chanted during the kula, to which sacred values are attributed.

This last connection is more clear if we bear in mind the translation of weku as 'raucous voice', perhaps that of the mysterious bird which can be 'heard' but not seen, or which is perhaps not meant to be seen. The mysterious bird is then a rare bird whose rarity must be represented above all by its special ability to emit sounds. In the megwa murmured during the initiation into the art of carving there is the word weku in the following verses:

<u>ra weku ura wotila</u>	(Towitara, stanza VIII)
his shout is my voice	

ra weku yeyelumaaa..... (Toudubwau, stanza IX)
his shout runs away with the spring water

Now, I saw a bird called waku or weku near the hut of the village headman of Okabulula, Krobai Masikauto. It was a Gracula R. religiosa (myna) with black feathers striped with white, and valued precisely because it can emit sounds and can therefore be educated to pronounce words.

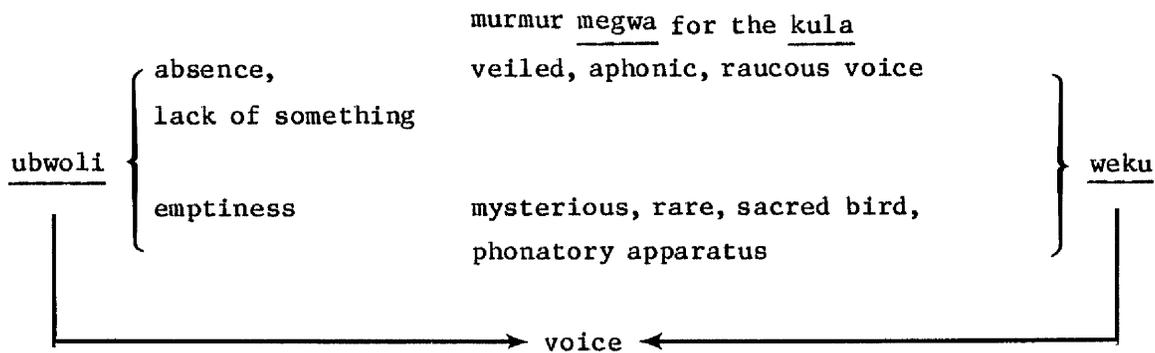
The weku thus probably refers to the myna, a member of the Sturnidae family, on account of the rarity of the Gracula R. religiosa species, especially the type with white plumage due to albinism. This would explain the belief of 'mysterious rarity' surrounding this bird, seen a long time ago, but whose memory now survives as a 'name' in the carver's lexicon. Krobai himself had in his hut the bones of a weku in a basket full of 'magic' objects: this is probably the skeleton of a white Gracula R. religiosa.

In both Towitara and Toudubwau's megwa we find a metaphor of 'voice' and thus of the ability to express oneself, in agreement with the interpretation attributed to Towitara's megwa. Reference is also made to the phonatory apparatus seen less as a physical element than as an expressive ability which symbolizes the expressive ability of the carver.

Bearing in mind the different interpretation attributed to the content plane of the weku and also the fact that the g.s. is composed of the two ubwoli we have:

<u>weku</u>	[mysterious bird
		veiled, aphonic, raucous voice
		phonatory apparatus, emission of sounds
		murmuring of <u>megwa</u>

I can now compare these meanings of the weku with the interpretation of the elements which represent it, the ubwoli, so as to select the meaning (or set of meanings) most relevant in the context of the lagimu;



There is a great similarity, if not actual identity, of meaning between the term ubwoli and weku; it is on this similarity that the elements forming the weku are based. It is also possible to seek a certain homogeneity in the principal or primary meaning of the weku, leaving the other interpretations in the background. I propose, following the suggestion of Towitara and against the opinion of Siyakwakwa and Tonori (cf. their statements C.SS,45 - C.SS,49 and C.ST,71), to interpret the term weku as 'the ability to express oneself through sounds', in other words, as 'voice', although this ability must be interpreted as rare and precious, as the 'gift' of speech is rare and precious in the Gracula R. religiosa.

In common with the whole structure of the lagimu, the weku is constructed on the basis of an isosceles triangle inscribed in an equiangular or logarithmic spiral. The weku is in fact constructed in an isosceles triangle of which the (isosceles) structure of the lagimu is a 'gnomon' (according to Hero of Alexandria, one part of any isosceles triangle is always the gnomon of the other; figure 36).

The weku (w) is obtained by considering the angle $\hat{B}AC$ to be 36° and the angles $\hat{A}CB$ and $\hat{C}BA$ 72° each. $\hat{B}CA$ is the gnomon of $\hat{A}CB$, which is gnomon of $\hat{B}EB$, and so on. D'Arcy Thompson notes that: "If we take any one of these figures, for instance the isosceles triangle [the weku] which we have just described, and add to it (or subtract from it) in succession a series of gnomons, so converting it into larger and larger (or smaller and smaller) triangles all similar to the first, we find that the apices (or the corresponding points) of all these triangles have their locus upon an equiangular spiral." (1977:184).

The kwaisaruvi(figure 37). This is the last of the basic g.ss. that express the structure of the lagimu. The term kwaisaruvi is used also for the husk (the fibrous mesocarp) of the coconut when it has been burnt in order to obtain the black pigment. This powder, mixed with the juice of a young banana plant, serves as a black dye. However, in spite of the immediate link between the name of the kwaisaruvi and the burnt coconut, I believe that the resemblance between the two elements is not based on the notion of 'black colour' that both express (the burnt mesocarp that supplies the black dye and the kwaisaruvi which, when carved, is coloured with this dye), but rather to something else that is more significant. Siyakwakwa, for example, suggested that the kwaisaruvi represents a figure drawn from the coconut split in half, the two halves of which are placed against each other with the concave parts turned outwards.⁵ This produces an exact 'negative' of the kwaisaruvi, as in a photographic negative. The significant part represented by the two halves of the coconut appears 'clear' when the lagimu is complete, while the two areas in between appear black on the lagimu.

Furthermore, the two convex sections of the kwaisaruvi are wrapped in the km and kv spirals. This special way of carving poses interpretative problems similar to those associated with evaluations of a photographic negative. To print a negative — or in the case of the lagimu to carve and colour in black those parts that in nature appear white or, rather, empty (the spaces between the two convex surfaces are very light, suspended in air) — may mean that a set of values was to be attributed to this g.s. that are not represented only by the 'closed' coconut, considered as a symbol, but also by the 'open' coconut. Values which are opposite or perhaps complementary to the primary values are attributed to the spaces created by this opening (later coloured in black). A form obtained by using the technique of the 'negative' thus represents a series of concepts each of which contains its opposite. The concreteness and perceivability of the black is countered by the lightness and imperceivability of the empty space (the concave parts of the coconut which, once represented on the surface of the lagimu, present only their empty internal section). The

(5) I should stress that Siyakwakwa while being able to reconstruct the visual process by which the kwaisaruvi has been formed, nevertheless he associates to it a symbolic meaning (the ears of a man) which contrasts both with his understanding of the process of formation of the g.s. and with the interpretation of Towitara.

'closure' represented by the coconut seen as a round mass is countered by the 'openness' represented by its two open halves. I would say that the kwaisaruvi essentially represents the ambiguity of each g.s. carved on the lagimu, in the sense that as well as the multiplicity of the interpretations (and therefore meanings) that may be attributed to it, the kwaisaruvi expresses the principle that each element contains its opposite, and that it is always possible to pass from one state to the opposite state as a justification for the existence of both. The use of the mesocarp of the coconut, for example, as a colouring pigment is also a reference to the contact-opposition between the inside and the outside of an element, since the fibrous mesocarp is in contact with the epicarp.

The kwaisaruvi also represents well the passage from one state to another: the coconut becomes pigment for a dye; from the natural we pass to the artificial and constructed (coconut → kwaisaruvi).

The reference in the kwaisaruvi to the charcoal obtained by burning the epicarp of the coconut does not mean (at least not completely) that the concept expressed by the figure on the lagimu is based on the black substance; the association between this g.s. and the coconut is derived from the idea of a 'closed element', one that is circumscribed and limited, suggested by both the g.s. and the coconut to those perceiving them. By analysing the schema it seems sufficiently clear that the term kwaisaruvi is composed of the same set of concepts.

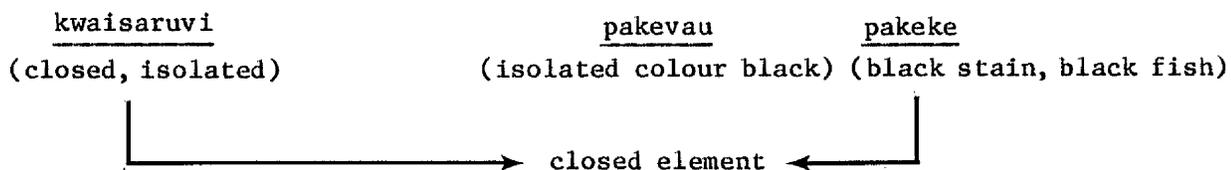
This interpretation is further strengthened by another term used to indicate this g.s., pakevau, recorded in the village of Lalela. The term pakevau, as well as broadening the complexity of the meanings to be attributed to this g.s., emphasizes its semantic richness, and by analogy the semantic richness of every term that denotes a g.s. carved on the lagimu, and complex passages that the carver accomplishes in order to represent visually a series of concepts.

The term pakevau refers to pakeke or pepekwa, used by the inhabitants of the villages of Lalela and Okabuluka to describe a symbol that the girls paint around the right eye (figure 38), while vau is one of the terms used to denote the colour black. The pakeke is moreover considered a symbol of feminine beauty and a synonym of amorous charm and malice. It derives from a fish that is admired for the brightness of its shining-black colour

(another instance of attributing a positive value to the colour black). Furthermore the pakeke on the face of a girl is represented as a black almond-shaped stain bordered by white dots.

It is thus possible to establish a close link between the pakeke and the kwaisaruvi (or pakevau): both represent the concept of 'stain', 'circumscribed', of an element that is an end in itself, closed but at the same time susceptible of opening like the two shells of the coconut, or like an eye opening.

Thus the term pakevau links the g.s. kwaisaruvi to the symbol pakeke, emphasizing the relationship between them:



In order to colour the pakeke the black dye from the mesocarp of the coconut is used, linking the symbol again on this level to the kwaisaruvi.

However, other meanings can be attributed to the term pakevau that better amplify and specify the interpretation of the kwaisaruvi. For example, the pakevau is connected to the pearl oyster. As represented on the lagimu — now counting the two black zones as positive and the light parts as negative — the g.s. appears just like an opened oyster, with the two halves held by a hinge, and the pearl visible (in the kwaisaruvi, for reasons of symmetry, we have two pearls — the two white dots). This is a refined and subtle visual and semantic metaphor, representing the preciousness that lies hidden inside an element that appears outwardly 'closed'.

It is not difficult to establish also a connection on the metaphorical level between the beauty of the pearl, represented in the kwaisaruvi by the two white dots in the middle of the black, and the beauty of a young girl, embodied in her soft, black, shining eyes (a 'beautiful eye' is one of

the requisites of both male and female beauty on Kitawa).⁶ Moreover, there are in the culture of Kitawa other references that authorize me to interpret the halves of the coconut and its content as symbols linked to male and female beauty — especially female beauty — and to preciousness. For example, one of the two halves of the coconut — the one in which there are three holes making it resemble a human face — is considered 'male' and its pulp is scraped and reduced to a paste, after which, with the aid of a 'magic' medicament, it is used as a love potion to be given to a young girl to tempt her to love. The white pulp of the coconut is also used to coat the face and body in order to appear handsome, especially when there is dancing. Coconut oil is the foundation on which the dyes, such as the black colour for drawing the male and female symbols (soba) are applied.

Thus, the meanings attributed to the content plane of the kwaisaruvi are:

<u>kwaisaruvi</u>	[<u>pakevau</u>	an element closed on itself
		<u>pakeke</u>	black, coconut, isolated
		<u>pepekwa</u>	{ symbol of beauty an open oyster valve, opening and closing

After this analysis it is possible from the heterogeneity of the meanings attributed to the kwaisaruvi to identify the sense suggested on the visual level by this g.s., as compactness, isolability and, within the schema of the lagimu, an element that must also give the sensation of weight. The sense of compactness that the kwaisaruvi suggests to the perceiver emphasizes the value of 'absolute norm' that is attributed to it on the level of the schema. The same g.s., ubwara, carved in the place of the kwaisaruvi before the latter was introduced by Towitara or his uncle, expressed the same value, or the same set of values.

During the final stages of carving the four basic g.ss. the carver sketches the two supporting bands km and kv, and the outline of the karawa. He also completes the upper zone of the lagimu with the carving of the subsidiary

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- (6) Feminine beauty appears as an element (the pearl) that shows itself on the opening of the two valves of a shell, this interpretation also proposing the probable existence in the culture of the carvers of a myth concerning the birth of Aphrodite which we know only in the versions handed down by classical culture.



g.ss. whose importance on the level of the iconographical interpretation is equal to that of the basic g.ss.

The barely sketched carvings on the wood that later disappear under the coloured white (which in this case is used as a virtual 'foundation') are generally classified by the term ginigini, which as I have already noted, may be translated as 'to score' or 'to trace'. Although this g.s. is also carved by the carver, its use and meaning have a general value and, according to my interpretation, it implies more the concept of material action 'scoring with an instrument on something' than one of 'elaboration of ideas'. The fact of having reserved the terms tokabitamu and tokataraki for a group of persons whose main function (attributed to them by the cultural tradition of the group and by a progressive process of technical-formal specialization) is to express themselves in symbolic images and figures, would seem to me to mean that the term ginigini does not imply the mental elaboration of the figures to be carved, but merely the material mechanism for transforming an idea or a concept already formed onto something material, such as, for example, wood. In essence, the most relevant of the meanings attributed to the term in relation to the lagimu and tabuya refers to their execution. The g.ss. classified by the term ginigini express a series of values which are:

a) on the strictly graphic level: (1) the filling of 'free' spaces with basic and subsidiary g.ss. having their own terms; (2) a progressive defunctionalisation of the g.s., in the sense that the conceptual element is less important than the graphic element;⁷

b) on the logical level: they have no value as norms, in other words they do not have to be carved according to a fixed canon. Carving them is entirely a matter of personal choice. Another characteristic of the ginigini is that when the lagimu is finished they are covered in white which in this case has the function of covering, cancelling out the individuality of the carvings by the uniformity of the colour. Although it

(7) The ginigini act as pure 'aesthetic' g.ss., because they have been, more than other g.s. emptied out of any symbolic meanings. This means that the conceptual elements have been avoided and the ginigini have become 'defunctionalised'. I use 'defunctionalise' to signify, for example, that a carver use the ginigini g.ss. only paying attention to their formal relations with other g.ss. within the surface structure of a prow.

is possible to make a precise classification of each ginigini by tracing (as for each basic and subsidiary g.s.) their 'departure points' or their 'reference points' in nature (reconstructing the processes of abstraction and schematization), the fact that they are not named and classified means that no particular importance is attributed to them, especially on the content plane; and it is thus that I interpret them. Furthermore, the term ginigini has a very limited semantic range, in the sense that it is used by the carvers only to denote scribbles, lines, etc. It is, however, interesting that certain subsidiary g.ss. are important for the purposes of identifying the symbolic meanings attributable to the lagimu and the tabuya. This clarifies the distinction, which is important on the aesthetic level, between the formal and symbolic expressiveness of the objects made by the carver. To say, as Towitara says, that the basic g.ss. are important only to define and establish the structure of the lagimu whereas the subsidiary g.ss. , including the ginigini, complete this structure in the sense that they embellish it, adding symbolic meanings, not only formalises the distinction just made, but shows the road to follow in order to interpret the iconographic values expressed by certain subsidiary g.ss. such as rekoreko, monikiniki, matagatu, etc.

The monikiniki(figure 39). In analysing the relation between the structure and the expression on the lagimu I used the term mwata to indicate the concept of schema, relating this term to the mythical hero Monikiniki. The term mwata is also used to express the concepts of 'potentiality', 'intense desire', 'precious', 'unusual' and 'rare' and the same meanings are expressed by its synonym monikiniki. The fact that a term used to indicate an element of nature — the snake — is used to express the abstract concept of schema is in line with the normal processes of formation and transformation of meanings of a sign, due to the arbitrariness and conventionality of the signs themselves. A specific reason for the use of the term mwata as a synonym for schema (as well as referring to the mythical hero), may be found in the need to attribute the value of inviolable norm to the concept of schema: the choice of a term such as mwata, which refers to the mythical hero and therefore to something sacred, inviolable and supernatural, seems to me like a metaphor to satisfy this need.

The term mwata or monikiniki thus assumes a double value for the carver: a formal value, represented by the need to guarantee respect for a set of rules or, better, the need to guarantee the use of the logico-deductive

mechanism: and a 'sacred' value represented by the reference to the myth (albeit now only handed down by means of fragments found in some megwa often having the title Monikiniki mwasila) of the monikiniki hero and by the whole complex of meanings that this myth implies. The first value is known only to the tokabitamou bougwa, whereas the second is known to all the inhabitants of Kitawa, although on the level of the subconscious, scattered as fragments in the memory.

This difference in the perception of the values of monikiniki also explains why, together with rekoreko, tokwalu and the susawila, it is one of the few g.ss. to be represented figuratively and not abstractly; it is also a mythical value that is part of the common cultural heritage of all, and must therefore be iconographically recognisable.

To return to the set of meanings that the term monikiniki expresses in the context of the other g.ss. that form the lagimu we have:

<u>monikiniki</u>	[mythical hero
		sacredness, sacred
		ardent desire

It may be deduced that monikiniki is a hero with the attributes of rarity (perhaps he is the only 'one'), of being ardently desired' and having the power to enchant with a look. Given the placing of this g.s. in the upper 'cerebral' band of the lagimu, it is probable that it also expresses 'knowledge' and the faculty of perception.

It is probable that mwata has a more general value and use than monikiniki: a similar term, mwata, refers to a snake in Muyuw (spoken on the Woodlark or Muyuw Island, south-east of Kitawa). The similarities and assonances between the term used to recall a mythical snake mwata in Nowau, Muyuw, Boyowa and probably other languages, such as Dobu, suggest that the myth of the monikiniki hero is known throughout the kula ring area.

The monikiniki g.s. is perhaps an anthropomorphous figure whose characteristics are both human and sacred, the human part being probably 'male'. This is confirmed by the fact that the poetic formulae Monikiniki mwasila chanted during the kula are recited by the men and addressed to other men.

The following connotations may thus be attributed to monikiniki interpreted as a g.s.:

<u>monikiniki</u>	{	power
		wisdom, perfect knowledge
		astuteness, deceit
		to desire ardently
		schema, structure
		eternity
		prohibition, sacredness

The tokwalu (figure 40). This is a subsidiary g.s. that currently denotes a free-standing figure representing an animal or a man. It also refers to any image or complex of graphic signs that naturalistically represents an element from nature.

One interpretation, the most literal, of the term is 'image' or, more correctly, 'an image carved in wood'. The term may be articulated as follows:

tokwalu = to + kwalu

where the prefix to- is used as a classifying particle for male elements, as in to+kabitamu, to+bwagau (sorcer), etc., and -kwalu stands for 'to scratch', 'to carve'. It should thus be translated literally as 'carved man' and more generally, as 'an image represented', so that to use the term 'sculpture' is not incorrect precisely on account of the way it is used on Kitawa (as in the other islands of the Marshall Bennett group and in the Trobriands), where tokwalu is used to denote free-standing sculpures in low or high relief or fretted. Bearing in mind that the term used to denote the action of carving the g.ss. on a lagimu or tabuya is gini, while the verb tatai is used to denote the action of 'to sculpture' (in its meaning of 'to shape') and the term tapwala for 'to pierce' (cf. Tonori and Siyakwakwa's statements in the Aesthetic Conversations), it seems to me more correct to translate the term tokwalu as 'image', attributing to it a general value that may be referred to any figure represented naturalistically and having attributes recognisable by a large group of persons — in other words not requiring 'interpretation' in order to be perceived on the visual level.

The location of the tokwalu from the purely constructive point of view constitutes the reference axis on which the bilaterality of the lagimu is based; vertical with respect to the floor of the canoe, it forms the bisector of its triangular schema. If there are two tokwalu the axis passes right through the centre of the two figures (cf. the lagimu of Towitara, Tonori and Tokwaisai).

The fact that the tokwalu is immediately interpretable as a figurative element does not mean that the interpretation of its symbolic contents presents no difficulties. The carving of the tokwalu as an iconographic element that everybody can interpret is a real act of communication affirming the fact that a basic value valid for all the inhabitants of a village and the entire kula ring has been attributed to this g.s.. In this regard, it is helpful to consider a series of lagimu carved in different times and, within a given period of time, by carvers from more than one workshop. Let me consider the lagimu preserved in the Museo Pigorini, Rome (cf. figures 23 and 24), in the Museum of Anatomy (cf. figure 25), Canberra and the lagimu of Towitara (cf. figure 9), Tokwaisai (cf. figure 10) and Tonori (cf. figure 15.). Analysing these objects according to the date of carving (the lagimu of the Loria-Pigorini Collection⁸ and the Canberra Museum probably date from around the end of the last century; the other three date from the years between 1973 and 1976) shows that the tokwalu is represented with a pronounced penis and/or vagina in the older lagimu.

One of the lagimu in the Loria Collection has two tokwalu, seen from the front: their structure is similar to a series of four X's; one is carved with penis erect and the other is showing the vagina (figure 41). Their position is that of somebody about to leap into flight. The colour used, of which only pale traces remain, are white, red and black.

The lagimu preserved in the Museum of Anatomy, Canberra, is an interesting example of a free-standing sculpture and is a lifelike representation of the act of coitus (figure 42). Great care has been taken in carving the

(8) The L. Loria Collection, preserved in the Museo L. Pigorini (Rome), is related to the artifacts, such as lagimu, tabuya, spatulae, carvings, walking sticks, produced in Milne Bay around the XIXth century. The artifacts have been collected by the Italian scientist Lamberto Loria (1855-1913), who visited Papua New Guinea twice, in 1889 (South East of P.N.G.) and in 1891. During his second voyage, he spent about seven years travelling in the area.

rear part of the scene, while the surface of the greatest part of the lagimu is facing toward the uncarved internal part of the canoe.

On another lagimu in the Loria Collection only one tokwalu has been carved and it occupies the entire upper part of the surface (figure 43).

The lagimu of Towitara and Gumaligisa, the most recent, already show a marked change in the manner of representing the tokwalu, and thus in the logic behind it (figures 44 and 45). Although carved from the front, like the Loria example, the thickness of the two tokwalu is greatly reduced and any tendency to the same style as the older lagimu has disappeared. The figures are carved in the same way as all the other g.ss. They are sexually indistinct; one may be coloured red and one black, or both may be red. In the former case it is evident that the differentiation between the two may be represented chromatically, but clearly not with the same values expressed by carving a realistic penis and vagina. With Towitara the two tokwalu have basically lost the old symbolic meaning, or, more correctly, have been progressively re-interpreted: the tokwalu now have a value that is more formal (they are right in the centre of the lagimu between the two doka — symbols of intelligence and man's imagination), aesthetic/constructive (a reference point for identifying the symmetric axis of the object) and mythical, or connected to some belief. Furthermore, the X or double X schema is no longer respected.

Tonori, on the other hand, has proposed an interesting re-elaboration of the schema X: in one of his lagimu (figure 46) I find two very stylised tokwalu, squatting down and turning their backs on each other. Comparing Tonori's tokwalu with those carved on the first Loria lagimu shows that the former are an exact stylised representation of the position of one of the two Loria lagimu. If I compare the schemata of these tokwalu, I shall find figure 47.

Another example of a single tokwalu in the centre between the two doka may be found in Tokwaisai's lagimu (figure 48). The tokwalu has been carved inside a g.s. that seems like a stylisation of the valve (or two valves) of a shell.

The tokwalu carved on the older lagimu essentially emphasized the importance of sex and/or coitus, whereas the more recent ones alludes to

these in more veiled terms, as in the lagimu by Tokwaisai. Nonetheless the iconographical meanings attributed to the older tokwalu are useful sources of information for interpreting the probable sense of this g.s..

Another term, kopi, used in the village of Lalela as a synonym for tokwalu is useful for the establishment of a link between the different meanings of the old and new tokwalu. The term kopi may mean:

<u>kopi</u>	[to hold a child in one's arms
		to cradle
		new born child

The term kop(w) in Muyuw (the language spoken on Woodlark which is strictly related to Nowau), for example, means 'to be pregnant', 'to expect a child'. Given the types of representation used in the lagimu in respect of the tokwalu, the term kopi should probably be considered a semantic explanation of the sense to be attributed to the tokwalu. If the term kopi is used in Nowau to express the act of 'holding in the arms' and the same term in Muyuw means 'to be pregnant' as well as 'to give birth', it is very likely that the tokwalu represents a 'newborn child' or the act of being born of some being. It is for this reason that I have attributed great importance to the iconography of the three antique lagimu, since they contain an explicit reference to the process of generation (and birth) of some being, although for the moment we do not know whether this is a man, a mythical hero or some other being. The fact that the second Loria lagimu and Tokwaisai's lagimu show only a single tokwalu suggests another possible interpretation of this g.s.: that it was intended to represent a bisexual being, or, again, that it was intended more simply to represent 'birth' in the metaphorical sense.

The following is a schema of the significances identified in the interpretation of of the content plane of the tokwalu:

In the case of this g.s. I must identify a meaning that has a value on the level of logical structure (through recourse to the metaphor) and one or more meanings on the symbolic level. On the level of logical structure, given that this g.s. is carved in the 'cerebral' zone of the lagimu, between the two doka and the procession of gigiwani, it must express the intellectual and imaginative ability of man, where 'man' means the carver.

infant, new-born child

birth

to be pregnant

tokwalu

to hold in the arms

coitus

to be of both sexes

It is a visual synthesis of man's expressive potential and especially that 'part' of him to which the power to classify experience is attributed.

The interpretation of the series of symbolic meanings based on the semantic analysis of the term tokwalu is much more complex. Its naturalistic representation, in the sense that its expression plane is 'immediately' interpretable, emphasizes the general value of everyone that this g.s. must express. To date it has not been reduced to an abstract schema interpretable only by a few individuals, like the weku, so that its intention will probably produce meanings known more or less to all the inhabitants of Kitawa, even though these meanings may be relatively unconscious and thus explicable only in part.

Starting from the most ancient representations and recalling the meanings of the term tokwalu and its synonym kopi, it seems probable that this g.s. synthetically expresses the birth of a being. This interpretation is supported by the act of coitus represented in the Canberra lagimu and alluded to in the two tokwalu in the second Loria lagimu. This allusion becomes more veiled in the more recent lagimu carved on Kitawa, where the process of schematization and stylization of the tokwalu is already in an advanced stage.⁹ Further, the notion of a 'born' being to which the term kopi refers, implies a 'child being held in the arms and caressed' or a 'pregnant being'. The nature of this 'being', who is not mortal but belongs to an extra-terrestrial world or to somewhere between the earthly and the divine, is indicated visually by the position in which it is carved:

(9) The process of schematization and stylisation of the tokwalu, as well as of other g.ss., has nothing to do with a probable influence of the Missions, but it should be attributed to the progressive 'defunctionalisation' of the g.s. which has been deprived, at least at the iconographic level, of every symbolic allusion to sexual attributes or intercourse. The symbolic meaning of the g.s. became weaker and reappears only through the symbolic analysis of the word tokwalu, which labels the g.s. Cf. P. Ucko (1977) and A. Forge (1977).

between the symbols of imagination and intelligence, doka and gigiwani (which also represent something human) and the attributes of mystery and the arcane (the weku); or in the presence of monster-like g.ss such as the petrifying eyes (matagatu) or symbols pertaining to flying things mingled with animals that crawl, such as the monikiniki snake, etc. The presence of other g.ss. attributed to beings who are not men is also indicative: it is in effect, also a being that devours, as the term kopi emphasizes.

The ubwara, matara ina, matagatu g.ss. (figure 49). The matagatu is usually carved in the triangle formed between the gigiwani, kabilabala and rekoreko, in the upper right-hand part of the lagimu looking at it from the front. It is represented as a 'button', later covered in white and black background. It is distinguished graphically from other similar subsidiary g.ss., such as the matara ina, but is identical to the ubwara g.ss. carved inside the karawa. The fact that the matagatu indicates a graphic element which in another context has another name may be interpreted in two different ways. Strictly, the context determines the different meanings (cf. F. de Saussure, 1965) attributed to the same element in a different context. Furthermore, the plurality of terms denoting a single g.s. is an index of the series of complementary and multifunctional concepts which it expresses. In this sense too, we may talk of the difficulty of interpreting a g.s. symbolically when its meaning is not explained by the person who 'constructed' it.

The term matagatu expresses the concept of 'being deprived' and more appropriately expresses the idea of an action done by one person against another. A precise translation might be 'evil eye' or 'eye that causes evil', that 'wounds', 'deprives of some faculty'. The term matagatu is also used for the same g.s. carved on the tabuya but coloured red. Given the importance attributed to the tabuya, it may be deduced that matagatu has a special symbolic meaning. It could indicate the evil power of somebody represented on the lagimu. The fact that it is prominently situated (the white matagatu stands out on a black background in the upper-central part of the lagimu) emphasizes the desire of the carver for this g.s. to be clearly 'seen'.

I recorded another term for the same g.s. in the village of Lalela, lapoi or rapoi, which means literally 'his/its knot', 'his/its/her eye'. On the conceptual level there exists a veiled link between rapoi and matagatu:

both represent circularity, a rounded element, but specially rapoi, which refers to 'the eye of a tree', that is 'knot'.

A clue to the relevant iconographical interpretation of the term matagatu (and rapoi) is provided by the ubwara, which is used as a synonym of matagatu on the graphic level, although it expresses a different concept.

The ubwara literally means 'house', 'place'. However, the term has a much wider meaning and the interpretation I propose is 'space', "to be in a space". A different interpretation is given by the carvers themselves when they use the term ubwara as a proper noun, probably referring to the longitudinal section of a tree or a tuber. Graphically this g.s. also represents the latter concept. The term ubwara is further used to classify a g.s. drawn on the vayola shields but whose graphic representation is different from that of the matagatu and ubwara: we still have a circular form, but divided into four sections (figure 50). In this case Towitara uses the term ubwara or kara ubwara to indicate the fruit of a tree, probably seen in section. Another interpretation of the ubwara is found in E. Leach (1954:103-105), who translates it as 'ear', 'breast', 'arm', 'wing of a bat', 'winged foot'. In describing the same g.s. drawn on a vayola very similar to the shield analysed by Leach, the Protestant missionary S.D. Fellows uses the terms kubwara and ubwala: he translates kubwara as 'morning star, rising before dawn', or 'shining with its own light before the dawn breaks', or again, 'when the cock or the siakwakwa or siyakwakwa bird (a black bird with red eyes, probably the starling) sings the first song'. The siakwakwa is represented on the vayola shields and is to be found on the lagimu in the form of the rekoreko. The term ubwala, on the other hand, is translated by Fellows as 'morning star', smaller and less bright than the first one: but the morning star is Venus.

The connotations associated with ubwara and matagatu are thus:

<u>ubwara</u>	[morning star
		his/her/its space
		house
		evil eye
<u>matagatu</u>	[circular, round
		to deprive someone of something

The resemblance between the term matagatu and ubwara is established through the concept of 'circularity', often belonging to both. This circularity also belongs to the celestial body, 'star' (such as Venus, the morning star) or a pearl oyster, as well as the 'evil' eye. This means that the symbolic meanings attributed to the matagatu or ubwara embody on the visual level a series of complementary and at the same time contrasting beliefs, since the visual form of the g.s. may be interpreted in several ways on account of its special link between the content plane and the expression plane. It is evident that in interpreting the matagatu, the position in which it is carved must be remembered. As it is carved in the X₃Y₃ (cf. figure 21) near to the rekoreko, gigiwani and other basic g.ss. occupying the cerebral zone of the lagimu, it is likely that the matagatu is intended to express the concept of 'eye' (although this does not in any way exclude its link with the meanings expressed by the term ubwara) and more specifically the 'evil eye', which causes its beholder to suffer a physical or mental 'reduction'. In this case the matagatu expresses the same evil power attributed to the look of the Medusa according to tales handed down by classical culture. A monster similar to the Medusa is the Flying Witch described, in various versions, by the inhabitants of Kitawa. A description of this monster, very like that of the Medusa, was given by Tausia (from Malasi clan, village of Kumwageiya), held to be one of the most powerful sorcerers in the kula ring and endowed with considerable mind-reading abilities.

Tausia maintains he can see a Flying Witch (siwasiwa and diu) which he describes as having "An incandescent face, enormous, with two gaping eyes so penetrating that you cannot hold their glance; the hair is of snakes, the teeth long, sharp and white as a shark's teeth; the diu, before devouring its victims, grinds its teeth on the nada coral, of which its teeth are made". It is interesting to note from this brief description that the white coral is the source from which the pwakau powder is made, which is used both as a pigment to obtain white dye and as one of the three ingredients, together with the areca nut and betel pepper, from which the buwa is blended. The link between nada and pwaku is also used for the identification of some of the connotations of the matagatu, which is represented on the lagimu as a large white point. Bearing in mind the term pupagatu, translated by Seligman (1946:134) as "colour for the eyes", we find that the white of the matagatu 'also' represents the pupil. It should also be noted that immediately after being cut, the nada coral is a pale

red colour on the outside, and if dissected transversely across one of its branches, reveals two concentric circles, which are red on the outside and white on the inside, similar to an eye. Other meanings of the matagatu derive from this: when looked at in this way, the section/eye of the coral is identical to the ubwara carved on the lagimu, which helps to represent the duduwa figure. In effect, the ubwara is coloured red (the outer circle) and white (the inner circle). Moreover, if we perceive its section as an eye it recalls a custom known in the classical world, especially in the Mediterranean: the custom of considering red coral as a talisman to protect one from the evil eye, the evil look.¹⁰

In conclusion, the term matagatu and its synonyms ubwara and kubwara should be interpreted in this context as an eye with petrifying power.

Even though the term matara ina expresses the same concept of circularity as the matagatu and ubwara, it nonetheless has a much narrower reference, in the sense that it does not have that ambiguity or multifunction attributed to the other g.ss. It may be translated simply as 'the eye of a fish' and is represented graphically as a circle, usually inscribed between two semicircles or half moons. It is barely scratched on the surface of the wood and, in common with the other ginigini, 'disappears' almost completely under a layer of white. However, the term matara ina directly recalls, through the prefix 'mata' meaning 'eye', the matagatu, although it does not have the latter's quality of evil.

The karawa(figure 51). Although classified as non-basic on the structural level, this g.s. nonetheless has an important role to play at the level of 'schema' in the identification of the expression plane of the lagimu. If

(10) This custom may be linked to the belief that coral is an alga that was petrified at the moment when Perseus, in order to save Andromeda, cut one of the three heads — the Medusa — from the Gorgon monster. There 'might be', therefore, a resemblance between the legend of the petrifying power of the Medusa and the visual allegory of this mythical being as represented in the lagimu. I say there 'might be', because the information gathered on the subject is to date too fragmentary and only permits a hypothetical supposition of this resemblance. It is also true that the description of the siwasiwa and diu given by Tausia is not unlike the classical representations of the Medusa known to us. We find an allusion to the winged element in the lagimu: the terms beba (kailamila beba and kaimatara beba), associated with the tale of Perseus flying over the Gorgon monster (Perseus as Monikiniki or the latter as Pegasus?).

the karawa is schematized it is seen to be similar to an isosceles triangle, so that the lagimu could be seen as a 'gnomon' of the karawa (cf. figure 36).

The term karawa means 'fern', a member of the Pteridofite family of perennials having a rhizomic stalk and notchy laminae. The fern is one of nature's examples of bilateral symmetry, and its placement — interpreted and stylized — at the centre of the lagimu indicates the concept of symmetry, already in fact expressed in the placement of the other figures. On Towitara's lagimu (cf. figures 3 and 9), the stalk of the karawa coincides with the axis of the structure passing through the two tokwalu (if there is only one tokwalu the axis coincides with it).

The karawa is thus the central axis around which the lagimu is symmetrically constructed. In some of Towitara's lagimu there is also a further stylistic refinement emphasizing the relationship between the karawa and the two protruding zones, kaimatara beba and kailamila beba: the g.ss. that represent the notchy laminae of the fern are curved in the same direction as the two km and kv coils and are similar to the gigiwani, thus creating iconographical cross-references between the elements of different figures on the surface of the lagimu.

So, the karawa expresses the idea of a body constructed on an axis from which two lateral and symmetrical elements branch out — like the wings of a moth or night butterfly, or the notch laminae of a fern. Further clues to the meanings of the karawa are provided by the individual elements that form its shape. Towitara's lagimu contains, from top to bottom (cf. figure 9):

<u>karawa</u>	[<u>vakaboda</u>
		<u>karau</u>
		<u>ubwara</u>
		<u>matara ina</u>
		<u>ginigini</u>

The term vakaboda refers to the transversal element that divides the two tokwalu from the underlying figure of the karawa. It means literally: 'to meet half-way', 'to be half-way between'. On the structural level, which for the moment seems to me the most relevant, the vakaboda may be attributed

the function of separating the tokwalu and the remaining part of the karawa. At the same time the karawa acts as a supporting beam for the tokwalu. On the graphic level, the vakaboda therefore represents a category entrusted with the function of separating but at the same time forging a contact between several elements of a 'whole'. It basically represents the need to clarify the relations between the different elements and to classify them.

The concept of separation, distinction, is represented by the same g.s. on Tonori's lagimu, although the term used to describe it is different: yabalabala, which, translated literally means 'a closing horizontal element'. I have already analysed the other g.ss. that form the figure of the karawa, such as matagatu, ubwara and matara ina. so that on the karawa a number of 'eyes' are carved that probably belong to some mythical being endowed with supernatural powers.

Tonori uses the term dadoka to refer to the notchy laminae of the fern, while Towitara uses the term kou to refer to the same g.s.. The complex of concepts contained in the term dadoka is also expressed by kou, which generally used to mean 'bud', something still undeveloped and therefore 'closed'. Towitara also used kou to classify a small red and black shell. Contrary to the goragora shell, which suggested the doka, the kou is considered a symbol of stupidity, which might explain why it curves in a different direction from the doka. However, this latter meaning does not seem to me strictly relevant.

The figure of the karawa seems to answer the need to represent the concept of separation, distribution and classification, 'representing' on the constructive level the principle of order. The following is a summary of the connotations associated with the karawa:

<u>karawa</u>	[moth fern sternum divide equally
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The most appropriate meaning for the purpose of interpreting the lagimu is contained in the concept expressed by the terms 'moth' and 'sternum'.

Situated as it is in the centre of the lagimu, the karawa represents the sternum, the central part of the body, perhaps monstrous, since it is provided with many eyes. The terms kailamila beba and kaimatara beba that distinguish the two projecting bodies in which the weku and kwaisaruvi are carved, also support the hypothesis that the body may be a winged one. The presence of the eyes (and their being attributed both a negative value — expressed by the term matagatu — and a positive value — expressed by the term matara ina) could perhaps be a symbol of the attraction exercised by this 'mysterious' body on someone; an attraction indicated by the term 'moth' or 'nocturnal butterfly', an animal known to be attracted by fire and light. There is also an implicit reference in the term to the behaviour shown during the kula: the attraction of the nocturnal butterfly to the fire symbolizes the attraction exercised by one partner on another by means of the beauty of his face decorated with the red dova and the magic of the spoken megwa.

Nonetheless, the connotation which is to be attributed to the karawa on the structural level is that of representing an axis that coincides with the vitakora, which divides the structure of the lagimu into two symmetrical parts, the kailamila beba and kaimatara beba zones. Another term referring to the fern stem further confirms this interpretation: rapoi (to cut, in order to divide, to classify).

The duduwa(figure 52). The duduwa is a compound figure which, like the karawa, has the dual function of separating, while at the same time acting as a link between the upper (Y₃) and lower (Y₁) zones of the object (cf. figure 21). The perceiver is led to establish an immediate link between the duduwa and the kara kaimalaka coils, on account of the red colour that covers both the curved lower band of the duduwa and the two km, thus forming a figure identical to the head of the monikiniki snake, or mwata (cf. figure 13). This is why I have mentioned the ambiguous function (a term to be interpreted positively in this case) of some subsidiary g.ss. such as the duduwa, in interpreting the schema of the lagimu. The link between the duduwa and the two km also contributes to selecting the relevant meaning of the former g.s. from among the many possibilities. Bearing in mind that the figure consists of elements that can be isolated:

$$\underline{\text{duduwa}} = \underline{\text{vitakora}} + \underline{\text{kara kaimalaka}} + \underline{\text{vakaboda}}$$

I have the following meanings:

vitakora = to separate

vakaboda = to put across

kara kaimalaka = its wooden-red

A literal interpretation of these terms produces a series of snails, one after the other, enclosed in a curved red band and separated from the karawa by a white band that is 'also' part of the overlying figure. However, the graphic link between the red duduwa semicircle and the two curved bands km produces (by means of the correspondence between the ends of the three red bands) a figure that is also identical to the structure of the monikiniki during the dances for the milamala feast: the bulukalakala (figure 53). The symbol consists of a wide black band bordering the lower part of the face, often including the mouth (enlivened with the buwa red), and extending towards the ear where the two coils end. The black band is obtained by using charcoal; it is drawn after the face has been prepared with coconut oil, and is bordered by white dots. A comparison between the bulukalakala and the figure obtained by connecting the duduwa and the two km coils reveals a surprising resemblance, adding strength to the interpretation of the latter as 'symbol' of a face. The same use of traditional colours (red, white and black) is found in both figures, even though the order is altered in the lagimu from the order in the bulukalakala. The value of a supporting element (in the sense that it draws a semicircle from the chin to the ear) is attributed in the lagimu to the red bands km, whereas in the bulukalakala it is attributed to the black band. Moreover, the points of the lagimu called duduwa are concentric circles with an external white band and internal red band: in the bulukalakala they are completely white and similar to the matagatu.¹¹

I think it is useful to explain once again that every g.s. and every colour, or any other visual element, has its own autonomy on the expression plane,

(11) Siyawkakwa, in his statements C,SS.55 and C,SS.57, gives a different interpretation of the iconographic and symbolic values of the duduwa which he associates to an 'eye' (he alludes to the pakeke painted as a black spot around the right eye of a girl and circumscribed by a line of small white points). I disagree with the interpretation of Siyawkakwa on the basis of Towitara's information which seems to me more coherent to the context of the other g.ss.

even when equality of content links it to another g.s.¹² As I said in the methodological notes (cf. Chapter I), an expression-form is totally autonomous, following its own visual logic in each specific case, so that it is possible to represent a given concept in, for example, 'red' when the same concept is represented in 'black' in another context. The chromatic schema that governs the use of colours on the face is not the same as that which governs the use of colours on the lagimu, even though on both surfaces the colours must realize the same symbol.

While on this subject is important to underline that in the case of the dancers' faces there is a 'reddish-brown' foundation and a rounded surface, so that the use of red would not be as effective as the use of black or white, which according to current aesthetic canons on Kitawa, harmonize perfectly with the red-brown. This is one of the reasons why red is excluded from the symbols used for the dances. In the lagimu, on the other hand, there is a white background and, given the arrangement of the colours according to a schema that will be analysed later, red is endowed with a value suggesting the third dimension, considering that the g.ss. are carved on a flat surface. This does not exclude the possibility of there being not only an aesthetic reason or one of structural logic, but also a mythical or symbolic motivation in the use of different colours for the same g.s. A hint of this is found in a special use of red by the bwagau in one of the villages of Kitawa. At the opening of the milamala feast which I observed in the village of Lalela (July 1973, June 1974 and July 1976), the bwagau (sorcerer) Rosigega had drawn a longitudinal red line from the centre of his forehead, over his nose and ending on his chin. In this case the colour red is derived from the buwa mixture and is used exclusively by the sorcerer and, on certain occasions, also by young girls suspected of being Flying Witches. In both cases the red colour is interpreted as one that does not express aesthetic values, but only a value connected to the use of magical powers. When used by the bwagau it is interpreted as a sign of his

(12) When we talk about aesthetic elements, we should remember that they express their values only on the expression plane. So with a given shape of colour can be associated different symbolic values, (which act on the content plane of the word which labels the coloured shape). Per se the shape of colour does not express these meanings. In fact, to a horizontal red line is associated the symbolic value of sorcery when it is painted on the face of a sorcerer, and the value of 'roundness' (that is, to suggest the third dimensionality) when is painted on a lagimu and tabuya.

power; but in the case of young girls it is interpreted as a sign of danger.

The use of red on the face of a human being, man or woman, is essentially a sign of exceptional status going beyond normality: it is a 'warning' that some uncontrollable power, positive and/or negative, might be released by the person using it. However, red, known by the term dova, is also in use during the kula, when its application to the face is accompanied by the changing of megwa classified with the same term as the colour: dowa. This is an example of another value attributed to the colour red.

In the duduwa, interpreted as the red bulukalakala of the lagimu, the carver is offering further information concerning the meaning attributed to the lagimu: by the unusual use of the colour red it represents a non-mortal being, or one not totally mortal. This abnormality is underlined by another possible meaning contained in the duduwa if this term is used to classify the concentric circles that form the internal curved lines of the g.s.. I recall that Tonori also uses the term ubwara to indicate the duduwa and that one of the meanings attributed to this term connects it to the nada coral: a transversal section of the coral, with the outer circle of a darker colour than the inner one, is identical to the duduwa.

We have already seen that one of the meanings attributed to this section of nada coral is expressed by the term 'sharp teeth' of the siwasiwa and diu. Including this interpretation, the following connotations are associated with the duduwa:

<u>duduwa</u>	[decoration of the face (<u>bulukalakala</u>)
		snail shell
		sharp tooth, (linked to the <u>nada</u>)

There is a visual homogeneity between the first and third connotations: in fact, the bulukalakala, as drawn on the face of a man includes the mouth, so that the result is a face with the bulakalakala drawn around the mouth, from which long, white and sharp teeth protrude.

The kaikikila(figure 54). This is the lower zone of the lagimu, consisting of a series of g.ss. — for instance, extensions of the two km and kv coils inside the three vertical spaces kaimatara beba, vitakora and kailamila

beba. By extending km and kv beyond the figure of the duduwa they coincide with the underlying kaikikila stripes. When the lagimu is complete this connection is emphasized by the colours red and black (cf. figure 67). Considering only the compositive structure of the kaikikila (this term is used to classify not only the two lateral bands, but also the inner bands and the central line, which is a visual underlining of the abstract vitakora axis), these form a support for the part above them, a role they share, although on a different level, with the two lateral bands, kara kaimalaka, and the double coils kv and km. Seen in this light the kaikikila are virtual supports, columns holding up their respective capitals. One of the meanings of the term kaikikila confirms this interpretation. An analysis of its structure produces:

kaikikila = kai + kikila

in which the prefix kai- (wood) is followed by the noun kikila, which means generally a "supporting part". The interpretation of kaikikila as 'base', 'support' is emphasized again by the notches cut in the canoe on the stern and the bow (where the lagimu and tabuya are placed), which are also called kaikikila (cf. figure 7). The fact of attributing a single term to different parts of the 'canoe complex' also means that it is desired to underline the link between the logical, constructive and iconographic level on which analysis of the lagimu and the tabuya must be based. Each of these elements, although possessing its own autonomy of meaning, also expresses a broader 'sense' — and thus a more complete one — only if seen within this homogeneous 'complex'. The sense of each element should probably be analysed not only within the relations between lagimu, tabuya and canoe, but also within the symbolism of the kula.

It must be remembered that once the lagimu and tabuya have been fitted into the kaikikila of the canoe the rear partition of the tabuya will cover the lower zone of the lagimu (naturally bearing in mind the different interpretations of the kaikikila: some carvers may carve the g.ss. that cover the lower space, developing them horizontally, as on the lagimu by Gumaligisa, or vertically, as on the lagimu by Pilimoni), which could be a reason why some g.ss. carved in this zone are not expressly classified.

However, Seligman (1934) attributes different, and rather uncertain meanings to these g.ss., confirming the ambiguity that in this case coincides with the problems pertaining to the symbolic meanings of a sign (whether figurative or not) and of each g.s. According to Seligman the kaikikila represent the rain or the sun's rays or, if seen in correlation with the double coils km and kv, the rainbow.

Tokwaisai proposes another interpretation, although the g.s. to which he refers, as represented, is similar to the structure of the same g.s. carved on Towitara's lagimu. Tokwaisai spoke of beba, using the term to refer to the two lateral spaces placed symmetrically to the kaikikila, and coloured in black (figure 55).

The literal translation of beba, would mean that the kaikikila represents a butterfly with black wings unfurled. Another piece of information from Tokwaisai supports this interpretation: he noted that this 'winged being' settles on the red kaileuna (hibiscus), so that the black surrounding the kaikikila cannot represent anything but a butterfly. Although Tokwaisai's information is totally isolated (it is the only information of this kind concerning the kaikikila) it could nevertheless be another element supporting the hypothesis that the structure of the lagimu should be seen as a face, perhaps that of a winged serpent, or some other monstrous flying thing.

Tonori gives a typically formalist interpretation of this zone of the lagimu in complete agreement with the whole logic that guides his aesthetic philosophy. Although they are carved in a smaller zone by comparison to the overall surface of the lagimu, and are very compressed, the kaikikila are indicated by the terms dadoga and pinopina. The term dadoga is used to mean 'crooked' and very probably also means 'twisted'. It is in this latter sense that it is used by Tonori. However, doga is also found in the term karupedoga, the rainbow, which could suggest, in consideration of the resemblance between Tokwaisai's and Tonori's g.ss., that these elements are somehow related — and this relationship, on the structural level, is based on the principle of curvature. Although Tonori always uses the term pinopina in a basically formalist sense, it can be compared to the Boyowa form of the term pilapila, which means 'thunder', although it is also true that in Motu the term palapala means 'thunder'. The indication given by Tonori and Tokwaisai seem to me especially

important in tracing the symbolic meanings of the lagimu; they probably also represent verbal and non-verbal fragments of the myth of the snake monikiniki. The g.ss. classified with the term kaikikila thus express the following connotations:

rain
foot
leg
rainbow
kaikikila thunder
butterfly wings
curved
twisted elements
face of monikiniki

Once again I have identified for a single g.s. a series of multipurpose set of algebraic signs expressing logical/constructive values (such as curved and twisted elements, support) and a complex of meanings or connotations, that express above all symbolic values (thunder, wings, etc.).

Synchronic analysis of the tabuya

The tabuya is the other carved and coloured prow on the canoe, and the methodology used in interpreting the lagimu is also valid for the tabuya. Every tabuya should therefore be referred to and analysed on the basis of its corresponding abstract schema.

The tabuya represent two symmetrical carved surfaces, which on account of the position of the prow on the canoe, are visible only alternately, and only when the canoe is seen from the side. In practice, therefore, only one surface of the tabuya, as of the lagimu, is perceived.

A demonstration of this is found in drawings made by carvers and cutters: all represent lagimu and tabuya in perspective (figure 56). Their way of representing it suggests that the tabuya should be analysed 'as if it were' carved only on one surface, considering that the two surfaces are

perfectly symmetrical.

A tabuya is thus carved as if it were a closed body formed by double 'doors' held by a 'hinge'. In order to analyse it, it must be opened along this hinge, which is done by extending the axis of the lagimu which meets the rear kaikikila of the tabuya at right-angles (figure 57).

The axis y of the lagimu is perpendicular at point o to the plane of the canoe where the tabuya is placed. The tabuya is thus a reflection of the lagimu, fixed in the wood.

On account of the position of the tabuya on the canoe it cannot be reflected in the sea even at dawn or sunset when the sun beats on the object, since the plane of the canoe impedes the reflection. Seen in its natural position the tabuya neither reflects itself nor 'looks at itself'. It is always in the shade, and is called 'moon' or 'face of the moon', the star that is always in the dark: as a symbol it recalls the world of darkness.

As a figure a tabuya is derived from one half of an isosceles triangle (the abstract schema of the lagimu) whose longer cathetus coincides both with the axis of a lagimu and the 'hinge' that unites the two (open) surfaces of a tabuya. By dividing the triangular schema of the lagimu we thus obtain the schema of the tabuya. In the same way, by 'opening up' the figure of a tabuya we will obtain the structure of the lagimu (cf. figure 57). When I say that a tabuya is the reflected image of a lagimu I must nonetheless explain that each g.s. carved on one of the two surfaces of a tabuya is identical to another g.s. carved on the other surface in a corresponding position. In a lagimu, the symmetry between the kaimatara beba and the kailamila beba spaces does not imply equality between all g.ss. carved there, such as between weku and kwaisaruvi, for example. Therefore, comparing the surface of a lagimu and its reflected image, the tabuya, reveals that the latter is not a perfect copy of the former. The expression 'reflected image' must be interpreted as 'double', as though the tabuya were a hidden part of the lagimu showing an aspect not clearly perceivable in the original figure.

I therefore have two figures to analyse in a tabuya: as a schema it is the exact copy, reflected, of a lagimu; but as an object 'in itself' — in so far

as it is composed of g.ss. that as well as being symmetrical to the axis/hinge are equal to each other — it reveals its own expressive autonomy. There is at the same time a function of interdependence (the identity of the schemata) between lagimu and tabuya and a relation of opposition (autonomy) on their expression plane. In effect the lagimu is seen in its 'double' as a 'half', while the other half remains in the shade, in the darkness. In fact, when one of the two surfaces of a tabuya is perceived, the lagimu appears as a thin line, hardly visible. In the same way, when a lagimu is seen from the front, the tabuya is perceived as a line. It is true, however, that if we imagine a plane rising from the point at which the tabuya and the lagimu meet at right-angles, we see only one half of the lagimu 'as if it were' the tabuya (figure 57).

One may well ask why a carver should wish to make this 'double' of the lagimu, at the same time attributing to the tabuya an autonomous expressive value 'as if it were a new object'. I believe that on the structural level it was the only possible solution if we bear in mind the role that the tabuya plays in the context of the canoe. As the canoe rides in the water the tabuya cuts the wave and 'opens it', distributing it over the lagimu, which protects the internal parts of the canoe, so that from the functional point of view the tabuya offers no resistance to the waves and helps to reduce the force of impact between the canoe and the sea.

On the symbolic level the motivations are far more complex, but I think that an analysis should be attempted, bearing in mind the indications given by the carver when speaking of the lagimu as 'the face of the sun' and of the tabuya as the 'face of the moon', or as the 'nose' of the lagimu and therefore of the sun. The moon is seen as a half moon and is perceived as half of the sun. The moon is moreover sister of the sun (recalling the Diana-Apollo relationship); but it is also associated with the earth and darkness. Remembering that the two tabuya also have the function of identifying the bow and the stern of the canoe, a function which they specifically fulfil by means of two different g.ss., I believe it is correct to proceed to interpret the meanings of the two tabuya separately, so as later to identify and analyse the relationships between tabuya and lagimu and between these two objects and the canoe as a whole.

The tabudogina (figure 58). The term tabudogina, or its synonym tabudabwara is used to classify the tabuya on the bow, distinguished by the matagatu, an 'eye' inscribed in a black triangle. The whole name is translatable as 'the forbidden part, being connected to the sacred' or as 'its sacred forbidden part'. The values of sacredness and prohibition attributed to the tabuya are emphasized in the murmuring of the megwa when the tabuya is fitted into the corresponding kaikikila of the canoe, after the notch has been medicated with a mixture of herbs (Areca nut shoots, pale green in colour, and ginger roots). Towitara considers the tabuya as a forbidden element that is at the same time 'sacred', recalling a complex of values linked to the myth of the monikiniki hero and which offer a key for interpreting the symbolic meanings of the prow. I have already defined the schema of the tabuya, and it remains only to identify the terms which are used to classify the g.ss. carved on the two surfaces.

There are two basic g.ss. in a tabuya, which govern a whole schema of the prow and which repeat in their expression plane and their content plane the meanings expressed by the doka and weku, already analysed in the lagimu. Bearing in mind the hypothesis advanced concerning the relation between a lagimu and a tabuya — that the latter should be interpreted as the mirrored image of the former (and vice versa) — the weku and kwaisaruvi in the tabuya will coincide with a single g.s., the weku (voice of the mysterious bird), while the doka retains its semantic autonomy. Furthermore, the doka in the tabuya is moved into the central zone.

The superimposition of the weku and the kwaisaruvi is the result of a bilateral symmetry whereby two signs lying on a flat surface and at equal distance from a central point will coincide when the surface is folded along the axis passing through that point.

This does not, however, explain why only one of the two g.ss. retains its aesthetic, semantic and iconographical values. An initial reply to this problem may be supplied by analysing the manner of constructing the surface of a tabuya. If a tabuya is obtained by 'folding' a lagimu along its axis, the two parts kailamila beba and kaimatara beba are superimposed and form a single surface, in the same way that all the g.ss. are superimposed. Bearing in mind that the g.ss. carved in the kaimatara beba and kailamila beba spaces of a lagimu are identical and symmetrical, with the exception

of the weku and the kwaisaruvi which are symmetrical but not identical, this leads also to a representation on the two surfaces of a tabuya of identical and symmetrical g.ss., so that by looking at one of the two surfaces one may imagine the other. However, the construction of the mirror image of an object, if formulated as its 'double', poses different problems of representation linked to the need to emphasize in the 'double', meanings and symbolic and graphic values that in the 'primary' figure are hidden. For example, the fact that in the lagimu the kwaisaruvi is cancelled out by the weku means that this latter g.s. has values considered to be more significant than those expressed by the kwaisaruvi¹³ The fact that a tabuya contains a carving of a weku, a prohibited-sacred object, further underlines the special significance of these values, which are reflected in the other image, the lagimu. The same applies to the doka.

Thus we see that the doka and weku carved on a tabuya should be interpreted as having sets of values of the greatest importance, which express the meanings we have already analysed. The weku represents all that is linked to the articulation of sound, the possibility of expressing oneself to the outside world, the preciousness of speech in all its shades of meaning (weku, the mysterious bird: the white myna). The doka, on the other hand, represents intelligence, the formed concept, the ability to imagine (doka, intelligence, the Nautilus pompilius). The weku symbol, in being the expression of a concept, is also in itself an instance of the value, expressed by the doka: it is a 'formed concept'.

In brief, the lagimu in its reflected image, its double, reflects its most significant g.ss.: the weku and doka.

Figure 59 reproduces a barely sketched tabudogina, whose parts were classified by Towitara in the following way:

(13) This would suggest that the weku is thought to be more 'representative' from a symbolic point of view, than the kwaisaruvi. In fact, while the weku is always carved on the left protruding side of a lagimu (including the old specimens preserved in the ethnographical collections), the kwaisaruvi appears only in recent ones. This suggests that the kwaisaruvi expresses better its value on the iconographic and aesthetic levels than on the symbolic one, where acts the weku.

1. kaikikila = base (skirting-board) to be inserted into the corresponding notch of the canoe;
2. moraboi = on which other g.ss. are carved such as matara
ina, ginigini, etc.
3. buribwau = empty section obtained by fretting.

Once the surface has been carved (cf. figure 58) the g.ss. are classified as follows:

4. rekoreko or susawila
5. monikiniki
6. weku
7. doka
8. matagatu

The fretted space retains its own term, buribwau. With the exception of the moraboi, the buribwau and a different positioning of the matagatu, the tabuya presents all the g.ss. which are carved on the lagimu: it is precisely towards these different g.ss. and their respective names that the analysis of the meanings of the tabudogina should be directed.

The moraboi, classified as a subsidiary g.s. with respect to the weku and doka, means an "excited heron" and alludes to a long-beaked bird with long legs and a double S-shaped neck. This is probably a member of the Ardeidae family, perhaps the white reef heron, Demigretta sacra. The term bouy in Muyuw, which is similar to the Nowau boi, refers more directly to the crane Belearica pavonina (which has red plumage, a brown tail, partly white wings and a head decorated with a tuft of yellow feathers), or the crane of paradise, Tetrapterix paradisea. The fact that it refers to one of these birds may also be deduced from the term buribwau itself, which is used to indicate the tuft of feathers on the heron's head. It is possible to identify a stylised hint at the heron also on the expression plane: by looking at one of the two surfaces of the tabudogina and following the line (assuming it to be continuous) of the moraboi and its curves around the empty space buribwau as far as the point underlined by the weku, it is possible to see the S-shaped neck of the heron (figure 60).

On the other hand Towitara himself explicitly said that the whole lower band of a tabuya indicated by the term moraboi represents a sea bird, while the upper-central zone represents the crescent moon or/and full moon, in Nowau lumalama (the 'moon' in general is called tubukona). The term lumalama has also a more general meaning, expressing any zone, part or element in which something may be mirrored. So if the usual term for moon is tubukona, the use of another term, lumalama, to emphasize the 'full moon' and 'bright', may allude to the phenomenon of mirroring, or 'reflection' of an image. Reflection as a metaphor is an allusion to narcissism, in the exaltation of one's own beauty, yet again making reference to one of the aspects of the kula. During the ceremonial exchange in fact, one's own verbal skill is exalted in the search for beautiful semantic images with which to charm one's partner; the body is prepared and treated with ointments and red dova, and embellished with red vaiguwa and white mwari. As well as alluding to narcissism, the term lumalama clarifies my proposal to interpret the tabuya as the reflected image of the lagimu and vice versa. If lumalama is an image reflected in a bright and shining surface, then when the carver states that the upper part of the tabuya represents the moon he is also alluding to a reflected image: the lagimu (the face-sun and snake) looking at itself in the face-moon- heron of the tabuya. One element refers to the other in a magic and subtle play of assonances. Just like an echo.

Nor should it be forgotten that the full moon represented by the 'open' tabuya — in this form identical to the structure of the lagimu — is considered one of the symbols of nights of love, called kalibumu in the villages of Kitawa, when fires are lit between the huts and all around the younger villagers 'reflect' themselves in each other's bodies shining with coconut oil. So it is on nights of the full moon when the kula canoes go forward in the water, that the lagimu and tabuya come alive as a single image trying to meet its 'double'.

The meanings of the other g.ss. carved on a tabuya have already been analysed in the interpretation of a lagimu. The sense to be attributed to the matagatu in the tabuya context remains, however, to be defined. Once it has been painted, the matagatu is represented as a red circle on a black background, which could allude both to the eye of the flying-witch and to the eye of the Medusa (Leach 1954:103-105). In both cases we have an eye that recalls a monstrous being. Or it could be a reference to the eye of

the heron. Again the most appropriate meaning of the g.s. depends on the sense attributed to the whole structure (the tabuya) of which it is a part, analysed in other words both in itself and in relation to the lagimu and the whole canoe.

By schematising the complex of connotations expressed by the tabudogina we have:

face of the full moon (lumalama)
sea bird (crane or white reef heron, moraboi)
snake (monikiniki)
petrifying eye (matagatu)
frigate bird (susawila)
reflected image (lumalama)
tuft of white feathers (buribwau)
head (dogina, dabwara)
mysterious voice (weku)
concept, image (doka)
to carve, to leave a trace (ginigini)
place, zone (ubwara)
eye in the general sense, look (matara ina)
base, support (kaikikila)

The g.ss. carved on the tabudogina but not on the lagimu are:

buribwau
moraboi

The term lumalama, crescent and/or full moon, is analogous, metaphorically, to the term kalasi, sun, which refers to the lagimu.

In a lagimu, both the buribwau and ubwoli are obtained by fretting the thickness of the surface. We thus have a single expression plane, the representation of emptiness, to which different contents are attributed: ubwoli was interpreted as a g.s. linked to the murmuring of the megwa and also to the time of death when songs and feasts in the village are prohibited; while the buribwau represents the tuft of feathers on the head of the white reef heron or crane. If it is true that the context contributes to defining the most relevant meaning of a g.s., so that

different contents may correspond to the same expression plane (and vice-versa), then we find the theoretic justification of the formal difference between ubwoli and buribwau in the constructive difference of the two objects.

A tabuvaura (figure 61). The tabuvaura is the tabuya placed at the stern of the canoe. By contrast with the bow tabuya, the moraboi band is fretted and marked by the figure manabweta or manabwita, which is coloured black on the inside and red on the outside. The result is that the tabuya at the stern is lighter in appearance.

The term manabweta or manabwita recalls in its morphological structure the morpheme bwita or bweta which is a poetic form (used in numerous megwa) of butia, which denotes a garland of highly perfumed small flowers, worn on the head or around the neck. This custom is followed by the men, especially during the kula expeditions and the milamala feast. To the bwita is attributed the function of symbolising entertainment and excitement.

The bwita (the form used on the island of Kitawa) is usually made of the frangipani tree (of the Plumiera genus, whose petals may be rose-coloured — Plumiera rubra — or quite white — Plumiera alba — or yellow, white and rose — Plumiera tricolor), and whose very strong scent mixes with the smell from the bodies smeared with coconut oil. The bwita is a symbol of love and friendship in all its shades of meaning, as also shown during the kula expeditions. We also find a garland of flowers referred to in the song Daweria, "Impressions", recorded in August 1976 in the village of Lalela: it was sung by three female voices calling for the return of the spirits of the dead to the village:

Ba sua bwita boi kagonu

kabolura kunu wasisa

"I shall make you a garland of rose-coloured petals
and put it on your hair, entwined in the flowers"

where the term boi kagonu is a synonym of bwita according to Togeruwa.¹⁴

(14) With Togeruwa Matawadia, a nephew of Towitara, I checked in 1976 all translations of the poetic formulae recorded both in 1973 and in 1976.

The following table is a summary of the connotations associated with the g.ss. carved on the two tabuya:

	general meaning	{	face of the moon white reef heron or crane nose
elements valid for interpreting the meanings expressed by the <u>tabuya</u> , both on the visual and symbolic planes	meaning of the <u>tabudogina</u> basic figures linking the <u>tabuya</u> directly to the <u>lagimu</u> meaning of the <u>tabuvaura</u>	{	eye, with the variation in meaning of 'petrifying eye' and 'eye of the 'heron' tuft of white feathers voice of mysterious bird, concept, image, imaginative skill, eye of fish, corolla of flowers for a bird

The complex of meanings to be attributed to the tabuya should be defined bearing in mind the general meaning, the particular meanings and those already attributed to the basic g.ss. linking a tabuya and a lagimu. In its general meaning a tabuya represents the crescent and/or full moon, entwined with the white heron. According to the symbolic terminology of Kitawa the moon is interpreted as a terrestrial and feminine symbol, even though it is not opposed to the male and celestial symbol (a lagimu), with which it is seen to be 'entwined' as two parts of a single whole. The fact that the full moon is invoked to bring good luck to the men taking part in the kula, so that its light will rapidly guide the canoe as it 'goes' to take mwari and vaiguwa, deprives it of a totally negative and feminine character as compared to the positive and male lagimu-sun. It is in an analogous way that on nights when the moon is full young people 'seek each other', and during the journey on the moonlit sea the men who take part in the kula murmur megwa in an attempt to attract mwari and vaiguwa.

As a symbol of the moon the values attributed to a tabuya are essentially such that they cannot be defined as all negative or all positive: a tabuya contributes as the bearer of this complex of values to the nature of a lagimu-sun, which is also classified as a complex of negative and positive

values. I would prefer to say that there is in a tabuya an accentuation of the values linked to the metaphor of the 'double' or the reflected image that a tabuya expresses in relation to a lagimu. A 'double' is never a perfect copy of an 'original' figure; it reveals the latter's clearly perceivable elements, but also those that are hidden and secret, bound to rituals, beliefs, superstitions, taboos or sexual prohibitions, etc. The 'double' also contains admiration for oneself and one's own body. The mirror reveals not only the figure reflected in it, but also elements of the same figure which are normally hidden, masked: the subject of The girl in front of the mirror, of 1914, an engraving by the German expressionist artist K. Schmidt Rottluff, is looking in the shiny surface at a face and body that are not 'hers'.

This sense of self-complacency that the tokula himself shows in the careful preparation of his body, is in effect translated in the exaltation of 'sense' attributed to the kula ring: the affirmation of the principle of knowledge by the circle in which the kula islands are situated and by the circular direction followed by the mwari anticlockwise and vaiguwa clockwise. This self-satisfaction is therefore none other than the exaltation of an ability to contribute to the realization of a part of this circle. The secret possession of a megwa for the kula assumes a double value: the correct recitation of the words, murmured in solitude, is a necessary prerequisite for the success of a journey. To convince one's partner to 'give up' his mwari or vaiguwa means having added another section to the circumference of the circle. The fact of keeping secret the megwa for the kula and of using ointments and garlands of flowers, is a means of expressing visually (yet another visual metaphor) one's own ability and desire to contribute to realising knowledge or, if we wish, communication. Not to use the megwa, to present oneself undecorated, is a sign of a break in communication and of a desire not to contribute to the 'closing' of the circle.

In this case the 'double' of the self is confused with 'the other', with the other men taking part in the kula. A man expects from his partner the same personal care, since by reflecting himself in another he will find his own image. The double image, which is sometimes reflected imperfectly, enlarged, reduced, elongated, deformed, shows details that were previously hidden or that one 'pretends' not to see in the original. These may be details formally attributed to mythical beings confined to memory,

imagination and fantasy, which in reality coincide with aspects of one's own personality, or which are confused in the history of the clans and sub-clans.

Seen and analysed in this light a tabuya is thus a reflected image, the double of the lagimu, emphasizing and broadening some values, cancelling others, but contributing to bringing into focus the complex of meanings expressed by the latter. As a double image a tabuya also contains other g.ss. hidden in the lagimu. For example, the structure of the tabuya is one half of the lagimu, but when flattened out it is identical with it. However, this identity is not declared or explicit on the visual level: the figure of the tabuya is represented only as a half of the lagimu, the other half remaining hidden.

Only by establishing the link between lagimu and tabuya by means of the mirroring mechanism is it possible to perceive the identity of the two structures and grasp the play of cross-reference between one element and the other. When the carver says that the tabuya is the crescent moon, or full moon, and that the lagimu is the sun but at the same time the tabuya is also the nose of the sun, he is bringing into play on the iconographical level the game of mirrors which reflect light and send it back and forth from one to the other. According to the angle of refraction the light emphasizes a fragment of a whole reflected figure. These fragments may be real or imaginary, invented, supposed, mythical, sacred, profane, permitted or forbidden.

In a lagimu the g.ss. carved represent at the same time the sun, the frigate bird, the face of a mythical monster-hero, a winged being with many eyes, or the act of creation (from chaos to the cosmos). They also represent the ability to produce images and concepts, which are typically abstract elements. In a tabuya — closed 'double' of the lagimu — two figures hidden in the lagimu are symbolized: the moon and the white heron, entwined with other g.ss. which are already revealed in a lagimu, e.g. the monikiniki snake, the frigate bird, the numerous eyes which 'see' and the eye which imparts terror (the matagatu).

As a reflected image the tabuya thus 'reveals': but the moon is interpreted on Kitawa as the symbol of the earth, which is associated with the world of darkness. Shade and darkness are her signs. An allusion to this 'being in

the shade' is visually suggested by the reduced space occupied by a tabuya in the perceptive field, as well as obscured by the shadow thrown by the lagimu. However, the moon goddess is also a symbol of chastity and it is forbidden for the women of Kitawa to set foot on a canoe employed for the kula. Moreover, the presence of the matagatu in the tabudogina — if the interpretation of this g.s. as an 'eye which petrifies' is correct — could be a further allusion to the supernatural and monstrous capacity of a being which it was thought necessary to include in the figure of the lagimu and the tabuya: it could also be a reference to the myth of the goddess of chastity who with her look petrifies or 'makes dumb' anyone who wishes to look at her (cf. Leach, 1954).¹⁵

The white heron (or crane, if we accept the link between the Nowau word boi and the Muyuw term buoy) is interpreted by the carvers themselves as a symbol of luminous beauty and its tuft, buribwau, is a clear reference to the array of white feathers, dagudagula, which adorns the men's head during the dances. It is also the symbol of 'being on the alert', of not allowing oneself to go to sleep when engaged in entertaining the partner in ceremonial conversations.¹⁶ He is also the symbol of eloquence and reason, qualities necessary to be a good tokula, the symbol of freedom and intelligence: the tokula in his journeys faces the sea over long distances, thus affirming the principle of freedom from his own village, his own clan and sub-clan, as well as the value of his intelligence in having invented

(15) It is also true that we may find an allusion to Platonic and chaste love. In classical mythology this myth is presented in the form of the love of Diana (the moon) for Endymion (a young man) who, in order not to lose his extraordinary beauty, is condemned by Jupiter (the eagle-lagimu) to sleep for ever and who is visited at night by the goddess, represented by the full moon. The myth of Endymion encapsulates the principle of Narcissus who is really no longer a man; in love with himself in all senses of the word 'love', which is the equivalent of the metaphor of 'mirroring' or the 'double' image: a lagimu which is also a tabuya and vice versa.

(16) In classical iconography the crane is often associated with the heron and both are linked to Mercury, the god of speed, bearer of news, who accompanies the souls of the dead to the underworld, the winged god carrying a caduceus (wooden stick with two snakes wound around it). He is Jupiter's messenger (lagimu/sun/eagle), he is the protector of travellers (the kula-man who sails) and traders (in this case the exchange of symbolic gifts).

the kula as a form of communication and mnemonic technique.¹⁷

The two figures of the moon and of the crane-heron are thus represented both in the tabudogina and the tabuvaura: other g.ss. are set into them, helping to establish more directly the links between tabuya and lagimu. Moreover, all g.ss. of the tabuya allude through the use of visual metaphor, to the complex of values attributed to the kula and its related mythology.

The following is a summary of the relationships between the g.ss. of the tabuya and the values they express:

astuteness	}	crane-heron
being alert		
ability to hunt prey		
love/passion	}	garland of flowers (<u>manabweta</u>)
excitement		garland of flowers
intelligence		<u>doka</u>
being protected on a journey		wings/winged (<u>boi</u>)
beauty	}	colours, scent (<u>boi</u> and <u>bwita</u>)
ability to express oneself		<u>weku</u> , <u>doka</u>
the world of darkness	}	<u>tubukona</u> , <u>iumalama</u>
the light of the moon		
sharp look	}	<u>matara ina</u>
the eye which 'undresses' (and by metaphor impresses the partner)		<u>matagatu</u>
speed	}	<u>boi</u> (also <u>susawila</u> = frigate bird)

(17) It is interesting to note that in classical iconography the crane, or heron, is represented with one leg raised and holding a stone between its claws. Legend has it that if it should fall asleep the stone will fall, waking it: being alert, awake, is another quality necessary to the tokula.

An iconographical interpretation

The meanings of the terms which classify the g.ss. carved on both lagimu and tabuya have been analysed. The ensemble of meanings of each term constitutes the reference point for selecting the most appropriate meanings of the prows in their context, bearing in mind also the structure of each individual prow, analysed in specific relation to its corresponding schema within the kula ring system. The choice of a specific meaning in any specific case is essentially determined by the structure of a lagimu and a tabuya (and therefore by the function of a lagimu, for example, with respect to the impact of the waves), although this does not exclude the introduction of different meanings (for a single g.s.) during the interpretation of the prow when it calls to mind other elements, from the symbolic to the mythical or to the religious, etc.

If we now look at the situation of each g.s. on the surface of a lagimu (cf. figure 9) and follow their distribution in the threefold space (cf. figure 21) and along the vertical division by the lines kaimatara beba (X₁), vitakora (X₂) and kailamila beba (X₃), we have the following combination of g.ss. reading from top downwards:

Cerebral elements (head)	
<u>susawila</u>	
<u>kabilabala</u>	<u>Y₃</u> ; (<u>X₁</u> , <u>X₂</u> , <u>X₃</u>)
<u>gigiwani</u>	
<u>doka</u>	
	<u>Y₃</u> ; <u>X₂</u>
<u>tokwalu</u>	

Central elements (trunk)

karawa

X₂; (Y₂,Y₃)

duduwa

Supporting elements (legs/feet)

kaikikila

Y₁; (X₁,X₂,X₃)

If the same schema is now read horizontally we will find that all the basic g.ss. are in the upper part of the lagimu:

(X₁,Y₃) gigiwani and weku
(X₂,Y₃) gigiwani and doka
(X₃,Y₃) gigiwani and kwaisaruvi

By superimposing the two readings we can see that in the square bounded by the bands X₁,X₂,X₃,Y₁,Y₂,Y₃ the abstract schema of a lagimu is visualized, and this square contains the elements of the schema which are defined as 'cerebral'. This definition is based on the preceding semantic analysis. Cerebral elements also subsume man's cognitive ability to order and classify the amorphous data of experience into a schema which is by definition coherent and into specific categories, arranging these data of experience into expression planes. The doka synthesises on the visual level the results of this transformation from something amorphous into something articulated. It is a concept in its final and codified form (by contrast with the gigiwani, which represents the same concept not yet formed, or at least not yet finalized). The susawila, seen in relation to the doka and gigiwani, is the visual representation of matter ('purport', in Hjelmslevian terminology) in the process of being formed.

It is no accident that the carver has selected the doka as a symbol of skilfulness: it expresses effectively — on account of its links with the Nautilus pompilius — the ability to form concepts and images which man — and more particularly the carver — is recognized as possessing. Thus the doka, gigiwani and susawila, whose different meanings are all traceable to a single sense, are inserted into the context 'mind', 'head'.

We next come to three g.ss. of which two, kwaisaruvi (X) and weku (Y) are on the horizontal axis and the third, the karawa, lies at point 0 (figure 62).

Recalling the complex of meanings of the g.ss. carved to form this figure, we find that the karawa assumes the function of a central element, a supporting axis for the g.ss. carved in the right-hand and left-hand zones, suggesting in this way the idea of a sternum. The fact that it is not considered a basic figure, does not affect the evaluation of the karawa as a supporting element in the construction of the prow. In the introductory notes I pointed out that under aesthetic analysis the subsidiary g.ss. should be perceived as having the same value as the basic g.ss., since the aesthetic evaluation expresses all its originality on the expression plane. On account of its position at the centre of the lagimu (and bearing in mind the complex of meanings expressed by the terms that classify the g.ss. composing this figure), the karawa also fulfils the function of partitioning the structure of the prow in accordance with the rules of bilateral symmetry, supporting the two projecting parts X and Y on the constructive level and in this way linking itself on the horizontal axis to the kara kaimalaka bands indicated with the letters F and F¹ (cf. figure 62).

The central pivot of the virtual figure of the lagimu has thus been identified in point 0 of the axis: it coincides with the meanings 'sternum' and 'moth'. The karawa would seem to fulfil a supporting function in respect of the overlying bands (susawila, gigiwani, kabilabala and doka) rather than being squashed by them: they in their turn give the impression of being compressed downwards. With respect to the whole horizontal axis (represented by the letters YOX) the upper bands on which the gigiwani and doka are carved appear 'wedged' between the two projecting zones X and Y. Bearing in mind that the doka and gigiwani visualize the cerebral elements (concepts) of the lagimu, they should on the constructive level be brought into the zones presumed to be correct according to the rules of naturalistic perception. They should therefore be removed from their present 'squashed' position and moved into a head obtained by pushing the triangular schema of the lagimu upwards, (considering that it is also perceived as a 'face'). The body/lagimu will thus present itself as a 'gnomon' of the head/lagimu.

The karawa remains in the centre of a lagimu and, together with the two lateral bands kara kaimalaka F and F¹ and the two projections Y and X, forms the fixed element on which the figure of a lagimu is built. The karawa thus emphasizes the function of the two bands, F and F¹, which starting from the bottom (kaikikila) of the surface of the prow, cross its whole structure and join the lower zone (legs/feet) to the centre/upper zones. These elements also fulfil the function — underlined visually by the use of the colour red — of supporting the 'skeleton' of the lagimu.

When Towitara spoke of the notion of a 'schema' of the lagimu, he is probably also referring to these two bands, since their position on the object's surface is decisive for the identification and reconstruction of that schema, especially in the material sense. Their function of connecting all the squares into which the surface of the lagimu is divided confirms this interpretation, as does the logico-temporal succession in the carving of the two bands F and F¹ with respect to the other g.ss.

The two bands, F and F¹, are then linked to the karawa along the axis YOX, forming a skeleton. Remembering, moreover, the meaning of the tripartite vertical division of the lagimu, underlined by the terms kaimatara beba, vitakora and kailamila beba, it is correct to interpret this tripartite division as the suggestion of a body, more precisely, of the trunk, right and left arms. To these factors should be added the translation of the term beba, which is included in the word kaimatara and kailamila — translated as 'butterfly' or, more appropriately, 'butterfly wings'. This further defines the figure as a being having symmetrical elements in relation to a central axis/body, elements which project from the axis and are balanced in space (arms/wings) (figure 63).

I have thus discerned the skeleton of a body (the nature and identity of which must still be discovered) 'compressed' into a structure which can be defined as rigid, given the function of the object (to protect the canoe from the impact of the waves). All in all, and excepting the head, this skeleton is constructed of elements which have not undergone any violations of the rules of figurative representation; only 'transfiguration'. This refers of course to the skeleton/ structure of the prow and not to those elements forming the part which 'appears', the prow's expression (migira). If we look at these elements we will immediately see that some g.ss. are carved in accordance with a general principle that I

shall call 'figurative extraneousness', typical of the painting and sculpture of the historical avant-garde, including analytic and synthetic cubism: this consists in dislocating on a surface, or space, those elements which are customarily coherent when 'naturalistic'.¹ We thus find the doka at the top (head), above the axis (trunk), while the kwaisaruvi and weku are carved into spaces lateral to the vitakora axis. It may be deduced that the latter g.ss., although defined as 'cerebral elements' are nonetheless not in the 'head' as the naturalistic schema has accustomed us to perceive them, but in the central part of the body.

A stylistic device of Towitara's, the introduction of the narrow band kabilabala which separates the susawila from the gigiwani and doka, suggests a stylistic equation required in order to reconstruct the traditional space in which these g.ss. are placed, according to naturalistic schemata. The meanings expressed by the term kabilabala (separation) assume a specially logical value: they mean that in order to analyse one or more elements it is necessary to perceive them in 'themselves' (as separate elements) as well as in a specific relation with other elements. The isolated element then 'represents' a significant structure, even if, as a visual element it is situated at any point in space. This visual meaning per se does not have the power to impose itself on all perceivers unless it is ordered into a known context.

If a line, an eye or some other form can by themselves express autonomous meanings, it is also true that as well as these meanings others can be attributed to them by virtue of the context in which they are inserted (an eye when isolated may be the eye of a human body, or a fish, a snake, etc.). Only when the specific context is reconstructed or sensed, does an individual element which is part of it make explicit its relevant meanings, or one of them. In this way we may speak of a link between an element and its context or the other element which forms that context. The link between the susawila, gigiwani and doka, for example, suggested what had to be done (and is done by the carver) in order to reconstruct the mind-head space (context) in which these g.ss. are placed with varying

(1) One of the aims of Cubism was to make visible, through grotesque, unusual, images — and through a displacement of these images on the painting's surface — a new conception of harmony. The first work painted in a Cubist manner is Les Demoiselles d'Avignon by Picasso, in 1907.

meanings and shades of meanings. This does not alter the fact that, as the semantic interpretation has shown, each g.s. expresses its own significant autonomy. The value of the kabilabala, however, which is primarily specific to the relation between the 'cerebral' g.ss., goes beyond its relevant context and assumes above all a typically logical connotation, in the sense that its value is extended to all g.ss. carved on the surface of the lagimu. Therefore, when I find certain g.ss. removed to spaces which are neither their customary positions nor their naturalistic codified contexts, I should perform the same operation as the carver and ask myself if the space in which the g.s. has been carved is 'its' natural space, or if perhaps an artificial and 'contrived' relation has not been established between that space and the g.s. It is not necessarily true if the doka and gigiwani are in the band Y_3 (cf. figure 21) that there must be a link between these g.ss. and the corresponding square/space. This is not necessarily their 'natural' space. The reverse procedure (to which the term kabilabala alludes) could be true, providing not a link but a separation of the two elements, so that the doka should be 'seen' not in its present space but in another space.

I may say in effect that the linking or separation of a g.s. and its corresponding space (according to the canons of naturalistic perception) may be traced to the dialectic principle of opposition and complementarity between a context and its constituent elements. On the visual level we have an application of the same principle, only it is represented in a different way, given the 'material' (the 'purport' in Hjelmslevian terminology) in which it is formally expressed. The mechanism of 'extraneousness' is started by the carver, who wants to represent something (a myth, perhaps, a tale or legend) or someone (mythical hero, monster) that will impress the perceiver and arouse both emotions and recollections: he also intends to represent on the surface of the prow's man's ability to produce images which can be fanciful, in the sense that they are the product of his wish to distort supposedly objective data (for example, the concept/image situated in the space where 'shoulders' are). In doing this he is stating that man can produce concepts — and therefore images — which may also not coincide with natural elements.

I would therefore say that with the kabilabala Towitara has solved two problems: the first — as I have shown — of a logical nature; the second closely tied to the mythical problems recount on the prow's.

The placing of a head, or elements of a head, such as the mouth or an eye, on the chest or shoulder levels should be interpreted as the representation of a different situation linked to our oneiric imaginings or representations: or the visualization of an ensemble of tales whose historical period can no longer be ascertained. A man, or a group of men, will thus assume responsibility for fragments of these tales, or even a whole tale, and will subsequently, with or without wishing to think up representations (in this case 'visual' and not 'verbal' representations), recall the most important parts of these tales, those elements able to bring to the surface the beliefs to which a given group, or even a single individual, is bound. The misplaced eye may recall in the perceiver a non-normal situation in which a mythical hero is imagined to live. Or it may recall a whole tale concerning the hero² This misplaced eye must then be analysed as a visual metaphor and replaced in its context. This context is built of a number of micro-contexts which can be defined in so far as each single element may be traced to its schema and the system of which that schema is a visual realization. If the eye belongs to a hero and the other attributes of this hero are different (or thought to be different, the two coinciding) from the attributes of a man, then the eye cannot be represented in a naturalistic form and position, but must be made extraneous if it is to represent in the perceiver the image of a hero and his attributes.

The carver who represents a myth on the surface of the prows can be expected to analyse the system in which a single mythical element is placed, then to select and to define a reference schema on the basis of which he can represent that element concretely by carving it. The visual operations unfold in accordance with mechanisms which have already been mentioned and which recall the deductive method: the effort lies in the selection of an expression plane which will recall a particular concept to mind. If the carver knows that the mythical hero is imagined as 'monstrous' (in the imagination of the whole group in which he lives, or only the smaller group of the carvers) he can construct the expression plane which according to him — or the group — best visualises 'monstrosity': i.e. squashing the head, wedging it between the shoulders and covering the

(2) Every g.s. carved on a prow represents, perhaps, at the iconographic level significant elements related to the body, life and exploits of Monikiniki.

centre of the lagimu with eyes, mouth and sharp teeth. In the final analysis this is one way (one expression plane) of representing the non-natural as compared to the natural. The representation of the monstrous (which should not be interpreted as having only a negative value) is based on formal mechanisms belonging to the principle of 'extraneousness', such as the positioning on a surface of elements which are normally perceived elsewhere.³

In our own era, an example of 'displacement' of the elements of a body is found in some cubist representations, where eyes and members are often scattered on squares not corresponding to a traditional and already accepted spatial schema.

One of the meanings of displacing, breaking up, enlarging, or reducing, is the desire to distort codified ways of perceiving by proposing images which should cause stupor, surprise, or fear. In front of an 'eye' carved in an inappropriate space, the imagination is prompted to produce different representations. Picasso's Guernica does not, or should not in the artist's intention, arouse calm or tranquillity. In the same way a lagimu and tabuya, on account of this spatial displacement, or the schematisation and abstraction of the g.s.s. carved on them, are supposed to arouse in those who perceive them 'recollections' and 'images' tied to a kula mythology. The representation of the head wedged between the shoulders contributes to the reconstruction of these images. In effect, if we look at the horizontal line YOX (cf. figure 62) it is not difficult to perceive in O the point at which the face of the lagimu has been attached.

Another example of 'displacement' on the surface of the lagimu is the duduwa which, although it is not considered a basic g.s., plays a decisive role in the reconstruction of the naturalistic image and is one of the keystones of my reconstruction and interpretation of the image. If we consider the meanings attributed to this g.s., which are soba/bulukalakala and sharp teeth, we will see that the most appropriate meaning is provided

(3) An example of the process of 'extraneousness' followed by the carvers, are the representations of monsters in the XVIIth century, as in Bulwer's engraving Headless Man of 1653, or in the reproductions of the XIVth century Livre des merveilles preserved in the Paris National Library. Both show heads which have been squashed between the shoulders so that the eyes and the mouth are on the same level as the shoulders, just as in a lagimu.

by the term bulukalakala, the symbol used for the dances. If this interpretation is correct, then we have an element of the face (mouth/chin) superimposed on the chest/trunk of the body, and probably coinciding with the stomach or lower abdomen.⁴

In order to reconstruct the naturalistic figure of the face/sun the duduwa should be moved from the space in which it is carved to the upper zone, thus forming the mouth and chin of the lagimu/face, decorated with the male symbol bulukalakala. A further element in favour of this interpretation is the link between the duduwa and the two coiled bands km, which surround the weku and kwaisaruvi. As well as being the figure of the symbol for dances, they may be read as the structure of a face — the face of the monikiniki snake.

If the duduwa is interpreted as the mouth/chin and more correctly as these two elements decorated with the male bulukalakala symbol, it is also true that one of the meanings attributed to it during the semantic analysis was 'sharp teeth', linked to the image of the flying witches (cf. Malinowski 1922). It also recalls to mind the figure of a monstrous being 'who devours' (this latter meaning is derived by linking the duduwa to one of the meanings attributed to the tokwalu). We will then have a mouth from which emerge 'sharp teeth/fangs', an iconographic representation of the element of horror. However, this horrific is based on a blend of male attributes — the bulakalakala symbol — and female attributes — the duduwa interpreted as sharp teeth of a flying witch.

Other displaced elements which seek their natural position (according to the canons of perceptive equilibrium) on the surface of the lagimu, are the weku and kwaisaruvi. I have already stated that these two g.ss. solve a problem of balancing, in the sense that, with respect to the whole canoe, they must re-establish at the perceptive level the balance between the outrigger and the canoe that 'objectively' does not exist, when the canoe is in the water. It is thus a valid reason for postulating that the human eye has a tendency to restore the balance of presumed imbalances. For the

(4) Cf. the monsters in the Rhabanus Maurus codex in the Abbey of Montecassino, or in the same author's decoration on the manuscript in the Vatican Library. In both representations the face is superimposed on the chest, in the same position as on the lagimu (cf. J. Block Friedman 1981).

purposes of interpreting the lagimu as an object valid 'in itself' it is also necessary in the case of these g.s. to select the meanings most pertinent to the context of the prow as a whole.

An example is provided by the weku, given the richness of links between this g.s. and the mythological system. We have an initial meaning which solved the carver's visual problem: to restore the balance of the kula canoe and its outrigger by carving in a part of the latter which rises a light g.s. which would equilibrate the two parts. In this sense one of the meanings of the weku, 'emptiness' and/or 'lightness', is correct (represented in this g.s. by two holes). In addition to the aesthetic interpretation, which is the primary purpose of my analysis, there is a whole further series of meanings which pose problems of selection on the methodological level; and considering the heterogeneity of the aesthetic object, one meaning does not exclude others. As well as suggesting the concept of 'emptiness' the weku thus also suggests the concept 'voice', 'aphonic voice', 'whisper', 'raucous voice'. As soon as it is heard this voice refers us back, with a subtle play of verbal assonances, to the mysterious bird, probably the previous occurrence of a white myna which is still remembered. His voice could be heard in the silence of the forest; but the forest is rarely silent, and thus the voice can only sometimes be heard. This is the cause of the mystery of this 'rare' voice. If we recall that the weku, given its preciousness and rarity, is linked to the words murmured during the kula, then the most appropriate meaning in this context is represented by the terms 'power of speech' and 'murmuring of megwa'. If my choice is correct (it was based on Towitara's information, supported by Siyakwakwa, though Tonori proposes another meaning; cf. their statements C.SS,49 - C.ST,71). then the weku should be situated inside the duduwa, disappearing between the sharp teeth of that horrific mouth and adding another element of strangeness and mystery to the non-natural ensemble of elements. The weku should thus be removed from its present space and put in the 'face' of the figure which I am reconstructing (figure 64). It is also true that yet another interpretation may be imposed on the weku, linking it to information received from who interprets the weku as one of the two eyes of the lagimu. In this case, and on the basis of the semantic meaning of 'empty', the weku would be perceived as an eye-socket into which one of the two eyes of the face/lagimu should be fitted.

In the final analysis, the empty space made by the two holes of the weku should be interpreted as a metaphoric allusion to a face in which one of the two eyeballs is missing and there is only one orbit. From the emptiness and the phonetic cavity, from the lack and weakness of the voice, we pass to the metaphor of the impossibility of seeing 'something' or 'someone', or of seeing them 'blurred'. The meaning 'empty' or 'lack of voice' suggests yet again the existence of several images which refer to each other in a labyrinth of forms. There is even the reference to the mechanism of 'mirroring': the emptiness of the phonatory cavity is reflected in the cavity of the orbit and vice versa. In the same way the presence of the voice is reflected in the presence of the eye (an orbit which is empty but which stands for a possible presence). It is like an image which disappears and reappears in a shining 'stretch of water'. The perceiver is left in complete freedom 'to see' or 'not to see', so that the choice of the most appropriate meaning to attribute to the weku also depends on the perceiver's ability to represent the mythical figures. It depends on the image which a tokula has created for himself (also through legends) of the face/sun and the **Monikiniki** hero.

There is less ambiguity, on the other hand, in selecting the most appropriate meaning for the kwaisaruvi and its correct position in the figurative space. Analysed within the context co-defined by the other g.ss., the kwaisaruvi expresses the concept of beauty symbolized by the pakeke, the female symbol used for the dances which, together with charcoal, is painted around the eyes. The concept of beauty is also expressed by the kwaisaruvi when it is interpreted as the valves of an oyster showing two pearls. Seen as an eye the kwaisaruvi should be moved from its present position inside the face/lagimu, as in figure 64.

So far I have reconstructed the face of the presumed mythical being, a horrific and ambiguous face, perhaps lacking one eye while the other eye consists of the female symbol. The whole figure, and in particular the head, is to be interpreted as being seen at three-quarters. The head is, moreover, enclosed within a winged body (deducible from the terms kailamila beba and kaimatara beba), while the mouth and chin recall the image of a male being, since they are painted with the bulukalakala. The body rests on legs which, because they are 'reduced' by comparison with the dimensions of the overall surface, suggest a being 'curled up' on itself and ready to leap upward and forward (figure 65). Another element, however,

is lacking in this figure, creating considerable problems of interpretation, given the ensemble of meanings of the g.ss. carved on the surface and the spatial 'positioning' it occupies in the canoe as a whole: the tabuya. The table below shows the meanings attributed to the content plane of the g.ss. carved on the whole surface of the prow, as well as three of the meanings which interpret the whole tabuya as a separate object (the moon entwined with a white heron), seen both in relation to the lagimu and its image reflected in a mirror:

	1)	astuteness alertness ability to hunt prey love, passion excitement intelligence protection during a journey beauty the ability to express oneself the world of shadows, darkness a light at night to help the traveller moonlight sharp look to hold speed power of fascination	
<u>tabuya</u>	2)	nose	} (seen in itself)
		moon	
	3)	white heron	(seen in itself)
	4)	reflected image	(seen in relation to the <u>lagimu</u>)

If we wish to construct a complete face with all its iconographic attributes, then the most appropriate meaning expressed by the tabuya is 'nose' of the face/lagimu and it should be removed from its present position (which from the constructive point of view is the most distant in relation to the other g.ss. of the lagimu) and placed on the face of the lagimu (cf. figure 64).

This operation is correct if we bear in mind that the tabuya is carved on both surfaces and projects into space just like a nose. But this is not the most appropriate and richly meaningful interpretation if the tabuya is inserted in the constructive analysis which, as can be seen from the preceding pages, sees in this object the lagimu itself folded along an axis (vitakora) which then reflects it by repeating the schema.

I have already shown that in its reflected image the lagimu presents certain 'displacements', in the sense that it reveals g.ss. which are hidden in the original figure or represented in completely different squares.

Seen as a 'double' of the lagimu the tabuya reveals certain details which are significant for the purposes of establishing the sense of the two prows. In its reflection the lagimu almost draws 'its own soul' and appears like a rayfish streaking forward through the water, thus completing the image of something which flies, already suggested by the terms kabilabala and kailamila in the case of the lagimu. The peculiarity of the reflected image is provided by the different positioning of the g.ss., as well as by the disappearance of one of the two basic g.ss. The most significant part of the whole structure of the tabuya reflected image is the head, which on account of the distortion, appears larger. In the head we find the weku and doka, whereas the kwaisaruvi and gigiwani have disappeared. If the lagimu is reflected in the tabudogina, an enormous matagatu takes shape. It is also true that the eye matagatu immediately suggests the idea of a perfect link between a concept and the expression plane of that concept: from the doka to the weku to the matagatu. Nevertheless, if my interpretation is correct on the logical level, on the visual level the presence of other images of a horrific nature, such as the grouping of eyes and empty spaces in the face, transforms the reflected figure of the lagimu into a flying sea monster, a being whose body is covered in eyes (figure 66).

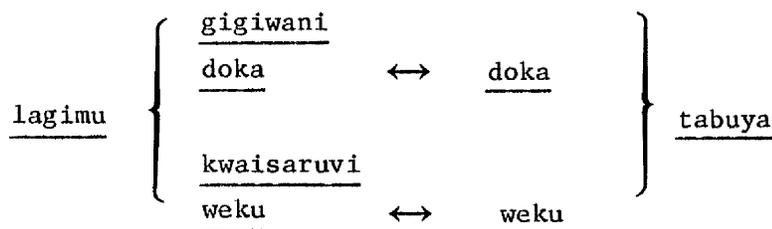
Furthermore, the weku, on account of the play of reflections and the 'unfolding' of the tabuya, ends up at the top, becoming one of the standing points of the snake, next to the matagatu in the tabuya on the bow, and the manabweta in the tabuya on the stern. In the first case, on the bow, we have an emphasis on and proliferation of the eyes which 'deprive someone of something'; in the second case the horrific eye is near to the symbol 'garland of flowers of the heron'.

It must once again be inferred that the function of a tabuya, considered as the reflected image of a lagimu, is to emphasize certain elements of the lagimu, specifying them on the iconographic level. It is for this reason that there are both a tabudogina and a tabuvaura: they should be considered as being closely correlated, as surfaces on which the propositions of a whole discourse have been displayed and developed. The whole 'canoe complex' could even be analysed as a 'speech' which for visual

reasons has been spread over more than one surface. By carving some g.ss. differently on the tabudogina and the tabuaura, the carver does not place the two prows in contrast to each other and in relation to the lagimu, but distributes the different meanings attributed to the g.ss. and, perhaps, emphasizes in the tabuya the most appropriate meanings to be kept in mind in interpreting the sense of the whole lagimu.

On the constructive level the schema of the lagimu is, in the final analysis, defined by four basic g.ss. and the reflection of this schema (as visualized in the two tabuya) probably reveals those basic g.ss. which should be underlined in order to interpret the sense of the schema, not only on the strictly iconographic level, but also on the symbolic level.

The table below summarises the basic g.ss. carved on the lagimu and tabuya:



The two groups are inserted in the notion of schema (mwata). From the table above it can be seen that in its reflected image the lagimu loses the gigiwani, given the idea of imperfection it expresses on the iconographic level, and is developed in the doka, which thus confirms its nature as a perfect g.s., thoroughly formed and expressed: it also loses the kwaisaruvi.

During the analysis, the gigiwani was assigned the value of representing a concept in the process of formation, albeit with all the attributes of a logical category, which attains its expressive state only in the doka: coincidence and harmonization between the content plane and the expression plane. On the iconographic level we have a reflection of this situation: if in the lagimu the carver considered it appropriate to make explicit the passage from the imperfect to the perfect for reasons of logical clarity, in the tabuya, interpreted as the 'double' of the lagimu, he thought it was necessary to repeat this explicitness. On the tabuya the carver decided to represent the final form of the passage of an element from an amorphous state to an articulated state; he therefore only carved the doka.

The disappearance of the kwaisaruvi, which in the reflected image/tabuya is absorbed by the weku, reformulates and resolves on the iconographic level, the problem of the representation of an element in negative and positive, using these terms in their 'photographic' sense. I had already noted this relation when analysing the kwaisaruvi as being also the 'positive' of the weku, in the sense that everything which is full and dark in the kwaisaruvi is empty and open in the weku (the two oblong holes which form the weku become the two full and white matagatu of the kwaisaruvi). Once again the carver explains in the reflected image/tabuya the sense which should be attributed to the original figure: a continuous referring, or play of mirrors, between the meanings of the g.ss. which form the prows. I would thus say that on the structural level the two prows visualize an ensemble of rules which, once interpreted, open the way to exploring the problems relative to the nature of the logical and the related, so to speak, geometrical thinking of the Kitawa carvers. This ensemble of norms is formed of:

- | | |
|--|--|
| ensemble
of norms
expressed
by <u>lagimu</u>
and <u>tabuya</u> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) principle of symmetry b) principle of the deductive method c) principle of opposition-correlation between two or more terms d) principle of harmony which in this specific case is concretized in the search for visual equilibrium e) principle of mirroring (the image and its 'double') f) concept of schema g) notion of system |
|--|--|

There still remains to be analysed — if the analysis is to go beyond a strictly iconographical interpretation — the mythological sense of the g.ss. carved on the prows, which are, in this particular case, linked to the kula. As well as reconstructing the mythical figure represented in the prows (which is my specific task) the values attributed to this figure should also be reconstructed. In this latter case we enter the realm of myths and hypotheses of the subconscious; analyses which cannot be attempted except after endeavouring to identify all the possible fragments of tales, legends, fantasies, and oneiric suppositions bound to the kula.

The colours of the lagimu and tabuya

The dependences between schema (mwata) and expression (migira) are formulated again when the lagimu and the tabuya are covered in the three traditional colours: white, black and red. The term migira is, in fact, used above all to refer to the prow when coloured: in this case 'expression' becomes synonymous with 'what can be seen on the surface'.

Seen from a distance, as the lagimu and tabuya should be seen, the canoe shows its 'face' (migira) with the g.ss. either emphasized (red and black) or covered (white) by the three colours. At the same time, however, the colours fix the mwata of the prows in the wood. When looking at a coloured prow the eye can identify the basic g.ss. and those of the subsidiary g.ss. which on the visual level contribute to reconstructing the face of the mythical hero monikiniki. This is because the colours red and black emphasize the outline of the snake, already reconstructed through the interpretation of the g.ss. The interrelationship between the g.ss. and the colours visually heightens the close relation between the schema/structure and the expression of the lagimu and tabuya, and demonstrates the difficulty of separating them when the eye registers the whole of the painted prow.

The following list states the interrelationships between the g.ss. and their colours on the lagimu shown in figure 67:

basic g.ss.

<u>gigiwani</u>	white background with alternate red and black triangular spaces dividing the
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g.ss. from each other;

doka white background as in the gigiwani,
with the structure emphasized in red;

weku not coloured, since it is obtained by
fretting the wood;

kwaisaruvi black with two white matagatu
(petrifying eye).

subsidiary g.ss.

susawila white, with upper part of the body in red
and black;

kabilabala white; if the papa are carved there is
an alternation of white and black;

tokwalu coloured in red and/or black;

karawa this figure is bordered in white with red
and black inner g.ss.;

duduwa the figure is bordered on the inside
of the lagimu in red, which predominates
clearly over the black and white;

kaikikila black and red on a white background;

ginigini completely covered in white;

kara kaimalaka as the term indicates, the two supporting
structures F and F¹ are coloured in red

kv and km the two double spirals which surround
the kwaisaruvi and weku are both
coloured in black and red.

Of the three colours in which a lagimu is painted, red is the one which is perceived as 'drawing' the schema/structure of the overall object, especially the face of the monikiniki snake, or mwata.

The schema/structure of a lagimu is clearly legible, and the use of red 'livens up' the whole prow. The hypothesis sustained during the analysis of the lagimu concerning the synonymy between the term used in Nowau to express the concept of schema (mwata), the term indicating a red snake (mwata), and the figure (understood in this case as an ensemble of visual elements such as patterns, colours, points, lines, scrolls, etc. fixed on the surface of the wood) which embodies these two 'concepts', is confirmed. We have a virtual continuum in the passage from the concept of schema to the visual realization of this concept. The colour red brings out the most basic meaning of the lagimu: the mythical Monikiniki hero.

The colour red - denoted in the case of the lagimu, as of the tabuya, with the term kara kaimalaka - reformulates and at the same time resolves the problem of the relations between basic and subsidiary g.ss. within the thematic of the two prows. I have already shown that on the iconographic level it is not possible to maintain a clear distinction between the two groups of g.ss., although this distinction is established on the logical level. I have also shown that certain subsidiary g.ss. fulfil a function 'equal' to that of the basic g.ss. I am referring here to the two supporting bands F and F¹ and to the duduwa. The two bands were classified on the visual level as co-primary g.ss. together with the gigiwani, doka, kwaisaruvi and weku, since they help to reconstruct the skeleton of the body/lagimu. In the same way the duduwa, when linked to double spirals kv and km, helps to reconstruct the face/lagimu. The fact that they are coloured red confirms this function, and thus makes it clear that in the aesthetic field the function of the subsidiary g.ss. may in certain cases be compared to that fulfilled by the basic g.ss. The function of the duduwa and the two bands F and F¹ in contributing to the visual realisation of the body and face of the monikiniki-lagimu cannot be denied. Everyone can follow the red lines which form a figure similar to the face of the monikiniki snake carved alongside the susawila (cf. figure 67). The perceiver of the red figure no longer asks himself which g.ss. are basic and which subsidiary. Within the deductive mechanism which provides that every lagimu and every tabuya must be realized and interpreted by reference to a model, or ensemble of models (in so far as the rules which 'fix' a model for

a specific period of time are laid down and identified), the carver makes a distinction between 'basic' and 'subsidiary': but this distinction becomes weaker when this model is realized in a 'coloured' lagimu and tabuya. Let me consider, for example, a lagimu by Gumaligisa before and after colouring (figures 68 and 69).

The uncoloured lagimu does not enable the reconstruction of the body-face of the mythical hero, and does not individuate the basic g.ss. on the structural level. Only a technically refined carver can separate the basic and subsidiary g.ss. without the help of the colours. Once the three colours have been applied to the surface, each of them contributes to emphasizing the structure/schema of a lagimu, thus facilitating and making accessible a reading of the schema.

The relation between a plain lagimu and the same lagimu when it is painted sheds further light on the function of each g.s. in relation to the notions of schema and expression (mwata/migira).

A g.s. carved in uncoloured wood has its own name; a close association is formed between the concept and expression plane which represents that concept, as well as between a given g.s. and the whole structure it helps to define. The classification in this case is a form of organization of the space in which an ensemble of values and beliefs is also represented. This taxonomy of the g.ss. is indispensable for the understanding of the 'schema' as a form for the ordering of concepts, a way of establishing order as opposed to chaos. This taxonomy also has an immediate practical application with regard to the identification of the iconographic values of the lagimu and the tabuya. Naming each g.s. individually means attributing to that g.s. an ensemble of meanings that in a given schema recount 'something', a myth or a legend, for example. The value of a plain g.s. lies precisely in its representation of an ensemble of concepts which is also expressed, or may be expressed, verbally. Knowledge of the meaning of each term which designates a g.s. is a decisive factor in the establishment on the conceptual (and later iconographic) level of the (virtual) meaning of the object as a whole. Gumaligisa's uncoloured lagimu (cf. figure 68) presents itself as an articulated surface marked by scrolls, curves and arabesques. The richness and complexity of the design, however, does not help the perceiver of the object to construct its schema. If I had not traced the verbal taxonomy of the g.ss. I would not have been

able to establish their meanings, nor would I have been aware of the existence of the category 'schema' deduced from a metaphoric figure: monikiniki or mwata. By analysing the meanings of weku, kwaisaruvi, gigiwani and doka I have also shown the reason for the distinction between basic and subsidiary g.ss.

The basic g.ss. are intended to guarantee the schema and, consequently the structure of the lagimu and tabuya: this function is rendered even more clear on the visual level by the use of the colour red, which represents the mwata. I would therefore say that on the expression plane, colour, and in particular the colour red, strengthens the concept of schema. If the weku or the uncoloured kwaisaruvi are already seen by the carver as elements of the schema, this is not how they appear to an ordinary Kitawan. In the same way the lagimu, complete with all its carved g.ss. but without its colours, is already a realization of the schema from the carver's point of view, but does not represent its full articulation from the perceiver's point of view.

It is also true, however, that my analysis was, and is, heavily conditioned by having seen the prow with its colours. The separation between the carved but uncoloured g.ss. and the same g.ss. when coloured is analytical, and was made because the mechanism of construction of the lagimu and tabuya distinguishes between the two stages. This separation is also technical. I have never seen a tokabitamu carve a g.s., paint it, then carve another g.s. and so on. The whole surface of the prow must be first carved and then coloured. This procedure expresses a precise meaning: in the moment when the carver decides to make one of the two prows he must not only design in his head the structure of the chosen object, but also represent the relationships between the whole structure and the colours that will entirely cover it. He must also establish at that stage the relationships between the whole structure and the g.ss., and those between the g.ss. themselves, so that he must also see the distribution of the three colours over the surface. It is in its design stage that the carver has to evaluate the function of the two red supporting bands, kara kaimalaka, as well as that of the double coils km and kv and of the duduwa: these are reference points for the whole structure, which are made to stand out by the use of the colours red and black. The two bands F and F¹ emerge on a par with the other basic g.ss. This is why I have spoken of the colour red as a visual synonym of schema. It is probable that the two bands

F and F¹, have the function of fixing in the memory part of the structure, so that the three colours fix the notion of schema in the mind.

The fact that the three terms used to denote the colours may also be used to indicate any other combination of colours (yellow or green, for example) or any shade (such as light red, for example), better indicates the function that the carver has attributed to them: that of representing on the visual level the validity (and thus the rigidity) of the rules that define the schema of the lagimu and tabuya. The colours red, black and white visually represent something that was already identified during the analysis of the schema of the lagimu and tabuya: that every valid expressive proposal must develop according to a schema that is general (embodying a methodology), arbitrary (so long as it is an ordered ensemble of rules one schema is the equivalent of another schema) and abstract (the reference schema that may or may not be embodied in a structure). The concrete structure, a lagimu or tabuya, and its abstract corresponding schema thus coincide in their chromatic values. This explains also why different pigments assume the terms referring to the three traditional colours.

If it is true that kara kaupupwakau, kara kaimalaka and kara kaivau represent the schema and therefore the basic values that the carver has entrusted to the prows, this is the same as saying that there should be a perfect association between basic g.ss. and colours: in the sense that, just as I have established that the schema of the lagimu is supported by g.ss. classified as having absolute values, these g.ss. must be represented by colours, or by a colour which in relation to the others also fulfils this function. An initial reply has already been given, in that red is the colour which realizes the schema, mwata, visually. We should, therefore expect to find red also on the other basic g.ss. such as doka, kwaisaruvi and gigiwani. But Gumaligisa's lagimu shows that of the basic g.ss. only the doka is red while the gigiwani are almost cancelled out by the white; the kwaisaruvi is coloured with kara kaivau and the weku is emphasized only by the double coils km and kv, which are black and red.

Thus only the doka is red, so that the presumed association between the basic g.ss. and the colour red which visually represents the mwata, is not realized. We find that one of the basic g.ss., gigiwani, is almost cancelled by a uniform layer of white, which places it on the same level as the other

subsidiary g.ss. such as the ginigini. One reason could be — and it is only a working hypothesis I put forward — that the kara kaipupwakau in this specific case cancels out the value of the gigiwani since this value is represented and guaranteed by the doka, whose inner band is red. I had already analysed this doka-gigiwani relationship when the latter g.s. was interpreted as a concept in the process of formation, but not yet perfectly formed on the expression plane. This 'form' is achieved in the doka. In this particular case white will then represent this dependence between the gigiwani and doka without contradicting the formal value attributed to the colour red. White and red contribute to the visual representation of the same category 'schema' (white acts as an indistinct 'concept' which develops into a specific form, red). I believe that red being placed alongside white succeeds perfectly in visualizing this passage from the not yet perfect and expressively formed: the white of the gigiwani is completely absorbed by the red of the doka, a stronger colour.

However, the same interpretation could be valid for the duduwa in relation to the doka, or for the papa g.ss., also covered in red and/or black. For the duduwa there is no contradiction since as F and F¹ this g.s. demonstrates its importance for the purposes of the iconographic visualization of the lagimu. On the basis of the hypothesis that on the expression plane basic and subsidiary g.ss. have an equal function, I may state that this equality is confirmed by the colour red.

With regard to the papa we are faced with a different utilisation of the chromatic values expressed by the kara kaimalaka. The carver makes no association between the value expressed by a subsidiary g.s. and that expressed by one of the three colours. It is not necessarily true that the subsidiary nature, on the logical level, of the g.ss. must correspond to the subsidiary nature of the colour. A parallel of the type: 'basic g.s. equals basic colour' does not make sense, even as a simple hypothesis advanced in vitro. I cannot speak of the three colours as though they were arranged in hierarchical normative positions. I cannot speak of the kara kaimalaka as though it were a basic g.s. in relation to the kara kaipupwakau, which would then be equal to a subsidiary g.s. To attribute a value of rigidity — and therefore the ability to express a value (or an ensemble of values) of an absolute nature, valid for a given period of time — may be correct also for a colour: from this point of view we would then find that red expresses specific values in the same way as the doka. However, the notion of 'rigid

norm' applies differently in the case of colour and in the case of a basic g.s. The fact of encountering the kara kaimalaka also on a g.s. classified as subsidiary, is a sign that colour does not follow the type of classification established for the g.ss. interpreted as categories expressing a given order. This means that a particular colour will be used (and consequently interpreted) as a rigid norm in a specified context (lagimu, tabuya and canoe) when that colour must express on the visual level the category 'norm' or 'ensemble of norms'.

At the same time the same colour may also fulfil another function (complementary, if not opposed, to the first one), that of following a logic (the distribution of meanings) which proceeds, rather, according to the need to guarantee 'chromatic harmony'. We thus have in the first case the kara kaimalaka that 'designs' the category 'structure/schema' (but at the same time brings out certain g.ss. such as the two F and F¹ and the duduwa, which are not classified as basic g.ss. for the purposes of the category 'schema') because an association has been made between red and the snake mwata and the red which represents the abstract notion of schema, metaphorically derived from the face of the snake. In the second case the kara kaimalaka obeys certain rules of chromatic harmony, in the sense that an alternation of colours (even though limited to three, or perhaps just because they are three) is considered to be more beautiful than the unbroken expanse of a single colour, at least in this specific case. The alternation of black and red on a white background thus creates a polychrome surface which emphasizes the meanings of the g.ss. carved and the sense of the entire object.

We thus find that the alternation of the three colours also answers the need to respect the division of the lagimu into zones with different interrelationships. Essentially the colours also reflect the need of the carver to classify (independently of how complex this classification is). This need is already stated on the surface of the lagimu by the division into basic and subsidiary g.ss., independently of the three colours.

However, I believe that the primary importance of the use of the colours red, white and black is also to be seen in their own expressive possibilities, independently of the g.ss. that they cover. The expressive independence may be identified precisely in the non-correspondence between a basic g.s. and one of the three colours. There is no special

association between basic g.ss. and the colours red, black or white. As I have shown, the three colours may cover both basic and subsidiary g.ss., which means that the expression (migira) absorbs the schema (mwata) on the aesthetic level and that on the perceptive level what is seen is the expression plane.

If we forget the colours white and red, leaving just the black g.ss., only the bands of the two coils km and kv will be emphasized on the lagimu, and the black areas inside the kaikikila and duduwa and the black of the papa will appear as barely perceivable small stains. The two black bands and the kwaisaruvi are immediately visible, however. Perceived in this way the lagimu no longer presents its mwata and it is no longer possible to reconstruct its schema. The two coils, kv and the kwaisaruvi isolated in space can hardly reproduce the schema on the abstract level or the structure on the concrete level. Nonetheless, the right-hand part of this figure, which coincides with the space called kailamila beba, highlights an element of the lagimu which remains hidden when the prow is perceived fully coloured and only from the front.

In figure 70 the coils kv and kwaisaruvi draw a profile inscribed in a right-angled triangle which in its turn constitutes half the isosceles triangle which coincides with the whole lagimu. This drawing suggests how the face/lagimu should be represented in relation to the position of the body of the lagimu. The face is placed at three-quarters on account of the triangular structure suggested by the kv coil and the kwaisaruvi. This may also explain why the face has only one eye, represented by the kwaisaruvi. The interpretation of one of the values expressed by the colour black also helps to solve the problem of the most appropriate meaning to attribute to the weku: speaking apparatus, voice. We thus have a body represented frontally with the face three-quarters on.

The colour black also expresses another value in the lagimu. Looking at the black surface I wrote that the three-quarters representation of the face is highlighted. This effect is obtained above all by the kwaisaruvi, which means that the colour black suggests to the perceiver a 'glimpse' of the surface but not its 'corporeality'. This corporeality is obtained by using the colour red, with the result that the combination of red and black on a white surface makes an object three dimensional. The sense of depth is thus attributed to the object by the colours red and black: black further

suggests the idea of extension, of a body expanding in space. Red, on the other hand, suggests more the idea of depth. A totally red body, even a mere dash, fills up some of the space and breaks up the continuum and throws the image into perspective. The colour white represents and constitutes the surface itself. By using all three colours the carver wants to represent the third dimension on a white surface.

The fact that this combination of white, red and black should be interpreted as a hint by the carver to perceive the lagimu and tabuya in three dimensions, is indicated also by a comparison used by Siyakwakwa and Towitara. To my question as to why the colour red is never used together with black and white for symbols of dancing, the reply was that since the face of a man is of a dark reddish colour it is not aesthetically correct 'to add' more red. If this were done the result would be an 'ugly symbol'. In order to demonstrate the correctness of this interpretation, Siyakwakwa drew on his face the bulukalakala symbol using red as well: the combination of the three colours does not produce the same good-looking effect as that obtained by the combination of white and black (figure 71).

By comparison with the face, the colours used for the lagimu are applied to a 'dead' surface, in the sense that the material is considered as devoid of 'movement', of 'pulsation'. According to the carver's aesthetic sense, the application of red on this dead matter serves to give it 'life', to 'enliven' it, to transform it into a human body, a human face. The lagimu and tabuya are imagined and represented as being brown, with a tendency to red, as the body is. Red endows the lagimu with vitality, on an initial interpretative level. Once again the assonance between the snake mwata (which is red) and the face-body-lagimu (enlivened by the same colour) is confirmed, even within the dialectic governing the choice of colours.

Other elements must be analysed with regard to the dependences between the colour red and the meanings that the colour black assigns to the lagimu and tabuya. I have already shown that red, as a symbol drawn on the face, is used exclusively by a sorcerer and by a young girl suspected of witchcraft. In this case, which is considered exceptional by the inhabitants of Kitawa, the use of this colour assumes quite a different value: precisely on account of its exceptionality it is classified and interpreted as a sign of danger or of command-protection (sorcery). The red of the sorcerer no longer obeys aesthetic values (Siyakwakwa in this

regard showed how the red is almost completely lost on the brown face and empoverishes the chromatic values established by the white and black), but rather magical/ritual values. When somebody sees the red vertical line on the face of the bwagau they do not perceive the symbol as being 'aesthetic' but interpret it as a signal that 'something different' could happen. This is also the case when the red is seen on the face of a young girl.

The sensation of a three-dimensional body suggested by the colour red when it is applied to the lagimu and the tabuya, is further confirmed by its association with the red dova that the kula-man passes over his lips when taking part in the kula journey. I have already shown the values which are associated with the dova; excitement and fun, vitality. The red dova on the lips is a symbol of life and in this case we may link it to the red of the lagimu.

On further analysis of the meanings of the colour red when in association with white and black and still on the basis of the resemblance 'face of man/face of lagimu', I would say that the exclusion of red from the face is suggested by the fact that the head is a three-dimensional body whose three-dimensionality is clearly perceived by the carver who, when he wants to suggest the corporeality of the lagimu and when he has to represent the third dimension, transfers to the lagimu the dark red colour which visually depicts the three-dimensionality of the body.

The surface of the lagimu may also be interpreted as a three-dimensional body obtained by using the bas-relief technique which, by highlighting the relations between shade and light, articulates the prow. In fact, the parts that are not carved and that are most fixed in the wood collect the shade, while the parts carved with the ginigini collect the light. These effects are emphasized by the order in which the carver applies the colours and which is as follows: first of all, white is applied to all the ginigini, including in this category the carvings done on the outer part (curved band) of the doka.¹ The gigiwani are also covered in white. The result is a

(1) It seems useful to recall that the white colour is obtained by the coral nada which consists of hydrates of calcium sulphate. As soon as it is finished it is placed under a pile of wood for burning: it is then cooked for about ten hours, after which the pieces of coral, reduced to gypsum, are powdered. When used as a pigment the fine white powder is mixed with banana resin (obtained from a young tree) to form a jelly-like substance.

wide expanse of white , excluding the zones having no ginigini. The consistency of the white colour, derived from the nada coral which is gritty like white lead, makes the surface of the lagimu and the tabuya compact, a characteristic of the surfaces treated with gesso. White essentially makes the wooden surface homogeneous, so that it is presented as a background prepared for further treatment. Looking at the lagimu from a specific distance when it is thus prepared, one has the sensation of an opaque substantial slab (expecially when the sun has dried the banana tree resin with which the pwakau powder is mixed) even though this sensation is not very clear.

The white surface is often confused with the light of the sun, and if the sunlight is very bright the surface disappears in the sun-dust. The white also cancels out all the carvings, so that it is not possible to perceive a single g.s. In effect, the white prepares the surface for treatment with the other two colours.

The carver next applies the black. This is when the surface of the lagimu, especially on account of the chromatic function of the two kv coils surrounding the weku and the kwaisaruvi, and the kwaisaruvi itself, acquires the dimension of height. The prow appears more 'real' and is better perceived by the eye: black next to the white dilates the surface in a vertical direction. However when the 'asepsis' of the white is added to the 'coldness' of the black and the surface of the lagimu seems to be a two-dimensional object which has no depth. The effect of this is to distract the eye and to produce a kind of giddiness. Looking attentively at the right-hand part of the lagimu, the eye is attracted by the figure formed by the combination of the kv coils and the kwaisaruvi, both of which are black, so that the head of the body-lagimu is seen three-quarters on (cf. figure 70).

The pigment from which the black colour is derived (by scratching the bottom of the outside of a pot) is fine as dust.² Once mixed with the resin of banana tree it becomes a compact and quite smooth mixture which easily penetrates the wood.

(2) I saw black being obtained also by grating old radio batteries. Tokwaisai, for example, used this method.

Lastly, the red colour is applied.³ It is now that lagimu comes alive and from a two-dimensional object is transformed into a three-dimensional one. Like black, red also covers only those surfaces where there are no ginigini, penetrating into the wood.

The red and the black essentially cover smooth spaces that are sunken in relation to the overall surface. White, which is also the most gritty of the pigments from which colours are derived, covers the spaces carved with the ginigini.

There are also technical reasons for these differences. For example, by applying white first, the carver prepares the background for the other two colours, defining the spaces which are to be carved in red and black, so that the white also fulfils a function of making the red and black seem stronger, given the play of contrasts.

It is also true that of the three colours, white is the most exposed to water once the canoe is in the sea. This detail explains why the carver carves the ginigini in spaces nearer the surface: the reticle formed by the ginigini fixes the colour on the wood.

If we wish to use the distinction between basic and subsidiary elements adopted for the g.ss. and apply it to the dependences between the three colours, we will find that red and black, in different degrees, delineate on the prows the schema (mwata) both of the lagimu and tabuya. It is therefore correct to interpret the values expressed by these two colours as 'strict'. For this reason I may speak of red and black as basic colours in relation to white, which acts as if expressing a subsidiary value in that it supports the other two. This distinction is naturally only arbitrary, as is that between basic and subsidiary g.ss. The same distinction, for example, is not valid if I interpret the chromatic and aesthetic values expressed by the three colours. It is no longer possible to attribute a logical priority (in the sense that one colour is more 'strict' or 'normative' than another) to one colour rather than another. In fact, if I retrace the temporal succession in which the three colours are applied, I shall see that white, in preceding black and red, contributes

(3) Red is obtained also by pressing the seeds of the flower from a plant called malaka, but once applied to a wooden surface it fades.

with equal effectiveness to the realization of the chromatic values of the whole surface: it is thus correct to interpret it as a colour/value equal to the other colour/values. Moreover, the visualization of the structure of the lagimu obtained by isolating all the g.ss. covered with the kara kaimalaka is possible only if the surface has its own chromatic consistency, which in this particular case is provided by white. The carver uses white as a mass from which to derive the structure of the object. To state that white confers consistency to red and black is, technically and perceptively speaking, correct. On the aesthetic level (in this particular case 'aesthetic' is synonymous with the 'chromatic value') it is no longer possible to maintain the priority of any one of the three colours.

The question of the use of the colours white, red and black must be solved by asking what functions are to be attributed to the lagimu and tabuya. These functions must be traced on many levels, such as: the strictly technical level (dependences between lagimu, tabuya and canoe); the aesthetic level (problem of the representation of concepts by non-verbal means); the iconographic level (representation and distribution of these concepts on a surface divided into significant spaces); the symbolic level (coherence and meaningfulness of g.ss. to which is also attributed the function of representing a myth, a tale, a legend, etc.). These levels intersect each other, but the intersection takes place in aesthetic objects that the carver already intends to be such and that must be perceived as such.

The act of perceiving an aesthetic object 'stops', although it is difficult to establish 'when', at the expression plane: only subsequently will the object be analysed, divided into sections. Therefore, the carver gives himself the task of harmonizing these levels in such a way that the perceiver is offered a total image that is self-sufficient precisely on the level of the expression plane. The complexity of the aesthetic object, which before being a material complexity (articulation of the purport, or matter) is methodological and conceptual (representation of several symbolic, iconographic, semantic, etc., elements in a homogeneous 'whole'), confronts the carver with the problem of reducing this complex to an expressive unity. The surface is therefore, divided into spaces, or squares, which help to classify the different g.ss. according to the types of dependence established for the identification of the schema and for its accomplishment. This division of the surface is, however, a typically

Bali - relate this work to good times.

Why all this complaint? Wh sees it?

projectional act which cannot (and perhaps must not) be performed synthetically by any ordinary inhabitant of Kitawa.

Bearing in mind that lagimu and tabuya are two aesthetic objects forming part of the canoe for the kula, their natural perceivers, apart from the carvers and the cutters, are all the men who take part in the ritual exchange, so that they must be able to perceive the objects and their values, which are closely connected to this exchange. The carver is then faced with the problem of 'expressing' and 'representing' synthetically the ensemble of values (in the first place the aesthetic values) of the lagimu and tabuya; this problem is solved by the use of the three colours white red and black. The chromatism realized by the three colours represents effectively the aesthetic quality of the object (primary function), since the alternation of white, red and black as realized on the lagimu and tabuya produces effects which guarantee the ensemble of values attributed to the two objects, which the carvers themselves term 'beautiful', 'pleasant', etc. Any other combination of the three colours discords and destroys the beauty of the object.

Evidently at some time in the past, vaguely recalled in the collective memory, a carver must several times have modified the order of colours until he found the present polychromic harmony. Confirmation of this hypothesis is given by Tonori. After I had drawn and coloured with acrylic colours some models of lagimu, varying the combination between the three colours (colouring in white the g.ss. traditionally coloured red or black and repeating the experiment with the other two colours) I asked Tonori which of the three proposals he found aesthetically beautiful. The answer was: none of the three and the reasons for this reply complemented each other. He did not in the first place accept the chromatic variation of the colours because none of the three 'seems' beautiful. Moreover, the present combination of the three colours is not varied because right from distant times the carvers have always chosen this manner of colouring the g.ss. on the lagimu and tabuya (cf. also Tonori statements B.ST,322 - B.ST,326 - B.ST,328 - B.ST,330 and B.ST,332). The two replies are also an indication of conditioning by previous models not only aesthetic, but also logical, ethical, economic, concerning ways of perceiving and judging. In stating that the traditional colouring of lagimu and tabuya is 'beautiful', Tonori recognizes that any other combination of these colours would not produce the same effect and he shows it by refuting the trial-lagimu with the

dependences between the colours modified. It is nonetheless also true that this aesthetic judgement is conditioned by previous models and Tonori admits this when he states that the present colouring has been chosen in the past: but this conditioning also belongs to our own culture and has been analysed in the field of art by, for example, E.H. Gombrich (1972).

The reaction of Siyakwakwa, as of other carvers should also clarify the more general problem of whether it is possible to establish a hierarchy between the colours, cataloguing some as primary in relation to others which fulfil secondary roles derived from the primary ones.⁴ The problem is less concerned with nominalistic taxonomy, in the sense that the colours expressed by the terms white, red and black are always so classified in any type of society whatever its degree of culture (compare the hypothesis of Berlin and Kay 1968), than with the possibility of finding in nature the pigments from which to derive the dyes for the colours. If only the first hypothesis were true, we should have to admit the existence of a sort of 'colouristic evolutionism' so that when we find a classification of colours in which a certain number of terms are present apart from white, red and black, we should deduce that such terminology reflects a more articulate or complete type of society than one that classifies only red, white and black. I do not think it is correct to consider the problem in this light, which could in any case be refuted on the methodological level, where it is impossible to establish the 'age of a culture' especially if 'culture' is intended as an ensemble of expressions formulated on the basis of specific schemata and their interpretations (models).

I have deduced from the information gathered on this subject that the inhabitants of Kitawa use a complex and articulated taxonomy of colours based on a clear distinction between 'perceiving' a colour and the relative scale of its shades and the availability of pigments to prepare it.

(4) Professor George B. Milner gave me a fascinating suggestion about the use of white, black and red on Kitawa culture and, more generally in a Melanesian society. In an environment in which the colours green and blue, as well as all their shades, are the predominant ones, white, black and red should suggest 'life', as a cultural being, in contrast with a nature perceived as 'static'. His hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the chromatic combinations of white, black and red on a lagimu and tabuya, which should suggest to the eye of a viewer a 'human or heroic being'.

Moreover, perceptive ability varies from man to man, as it varies in an individual according to age, technical knowledge, the exercise of a certain activity, etc. The carvers, for example, are more sensitive to the different chromatic values between the warm tones of colours, as they are conditioned to perceiving the polychrome of the lagimu and tabuya. If the carver is also a good tokula he can classify a wide scale of shades from light blue to green with separate terms, since when taking part in the ritual exchanges he comes into contact with the sea. This scale is more reduced in the case of women, who do not take part in the kula. If, as well as being a tokula, the man is also a good fisherman, the terminological range relating to shades of colours is further widened: he can classify a greater number of shades of colour according to types of fish. I also noted that the women, on account of the relative isolation in which they live by comparison to the men, are better able to memorize archaic terms of colours which they no longer remember. The women are also more sensitive to lighter colours and their respective shades, such as ash-grey, pale greens and mezzotints, which they classify with proper names. In this case the taxonomy of the colours is linked to the forest environment, to the environment of the hut and the village where the women spend the greater part of their time.

These examples show that the inhabitants of Kitawa make a clear distinction between the terminological classification of colours as perceived in nature and the classification of colours which can be formed from the natural pigments at their disposal. When the colours cannot be prepared from natural pigments their perceptive classification is more detailed than the taxonomy of natural pigments.

The aesthetic philosophy of Kitawa carvers

In Chapter III, I wrote that the rite of initiation encapsulates metaphorically, or in the manner of an oral tractatus, the aesthetic philosophy of Kitawa carvers, and that some of the principles of this philosophy are clarified during the period of apprenticeship which follows the initiation. And I also wrote that the prows should be analysed as a visual essay on the principles of harmony, symmetry, schema and model, as established by the traditional culture of Kitawa craftsmanship.

Within the rite of initiation, perhaps the most important moment is the murmuring of the megwa over the mortar filled with red betel nut, or over water from a spring cupped in the hands of the performer according to Toudubwau.

The poetic formulae should therefore reveal the first principles of Kitawa aesthetics, as well as the idea which Kitawa society has of its own carvers.

We have already seen that these formulae are murmured by the initiator in a peculiar atmosphere, characterized by the solitude and silence in which the rite is performed, and by the 'ambiguity' of time. In fact, the rite is performed in the early morning, just before the sky is illuminated by dawn, when the siyakwakwa (the morning bird) begins to warble and the ubwara (the morning star, or Venus) disappears into the frail light. The initiation takes place when it is not really dark and not really daylight: the moment which marks the passage from one status (darkness-initiation-initiate) to another (light-apprenticeship-carver). And in this vague, indeterminate time only two men (like the two tokwalu carved in the upper side of the lagimu) perform the rite of initiation. Thus, in

the poetic formulae of Towitara and Toudubwau the following images are evoked:

- a) two bodies gently bent 'over spring water which fans out' (the device of mirroring);
- b) spring water;
- c) broken stones, or rocks;
- d) the 'wrapping' of the mind (both of the initiate and the initiator) by a non-human element, which is caused by chewing betel nut;
- e) loss of consciousness in dreams, or ecstasy;
- f) excitement or trembling of the body as in a trance;
- g) a 'shout' as a primeval act of creation;
- h) the metamorphosis of the initiate into his initiator, who in his turn is transformed through the 'shout' into the Third Element that in the Iconographical Interpretation was interpreted as the mythical hero Monikiniki.

In seeking the meanings of the above metaphors or images as well as the aesthetic philosophy which they encapsulate, it must be understood that the two poetic formulae by Towitara Boyoyu and Toudubwau Lukuboi and the two Fragments murmured by Tokunubwai Barayawa (cf. the stanzas A,II and B,III) were composed around the poetic conception of 'mirroring'. The initiator and the initiate are present in the performance of megwa as two symmetrical and specular figures. Further the device of mirroring is expressed visually by the position which the initiate and the initiator should assume when the rite is performed: "gently bent over the spring water" on either side of the dividing 'hole', from which the spring water is taken. That the initiate is the specular image of the initiator, and vice versa, is also indicated in the poetic formulae by the use of the first person singular of the personal pronoun (yeigu) and the first person singular of the possessive pronoun (ura, my and so gu, companion of mine), to suggest the image of the initiate who reflects the image of the initiator. In fact, Towitara in his poetic formulae murmurs:

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|--|
| V, | a. <u>Ura vira yeigu</u> | <u>You</u> are transformed into me, |
| | b. <u>ura vira yeigu, Towitara</u> | <u>you</u> are transformed into me, Towitara |

and Toudubwau murmurs:

- II, a. Yeigu so gu Gumakeleula I and my companion, Gumakeleula
 b. a busibusi bent, forward in a gentle curve

In the Fragments of Tukunubwai the 'mirroring' is less explicit:

Fragment A.

- II, a. Kaya busi bwada gu! Moisten and gently bend, my brother!
 b. Bugumagina buwaaa... Bugumagina, the red betel nut...

Fragment B.

- III, a. Eli salu ku kwakwa ku koura Take your black paint and blacken yourself
 b. eli busi... flowing in the dark sea...

The device of mirroring is evoked in the poetic formulae in various ways according to the style of the different poets.

In Towitara's megwa the idea of the initiate as the specular image of his initiator, is expressed by a linear sequence of personal and possessive pronouns which refer to the performer. He uses, for example, the sememe vira, which I translated literally into 'self', after the possessive pronoun ura, 'my', and before the first person singular of the personal pronoun yeigu, 'I'. But analysis of, for example, the word vira on its content plane (if we accept the content plane as the level on which to place the symbolic interpretation of a sign) reveals that its meanings are more complex, and reveals how the device of mirroring has been encapsulated by Towitara in his poetic formulae. In fact, vira is used sometimes to express the concept of 'divide into' or 'turn something or somebody, into something or something else' (this translation was suggested by Togeruwa Matawadia, the nephew of Towitara, to whom I submitted my translation and interpretation of the poetic formulae in 1976). Hence the stanzas might be translated as:

- V, a. Me divided/turned I
 b. me divided/turned I, Towitara

The performer 'divides himself into somebody else', that is into the initiate or, better, the initiator turns himself into the initiate and vice

versa. The concept of 'to be divided' and 'to turn into', as well as the concept of 'to split' which is expressed by the same sememe vira, presupposes that there is another person or thing, into whom/which to be turned, divided or split, even if this thing or person will in turn be transformed into the other. Therefore, the translation of the stanzas into:

- V, a. You are transformed into me,
 b. You are transformed into me, Towitara

seems to me quite acceptable, even if the concepts which I chose to represent the device of mirroring emphasize the role of the initiator. In the megwa of Toudubwau the image of the initiator who 'turns into the initiate' and vice versa, is expressed by so gu:

- II, a. Yeigu so gu Gumakeleula I, and my companion, Gumakeleula
 b. a busibusi... bent forward in a gentle curve...

The expression so gu, which occurs only in the megwa murmured during the kula journeys and the rite of initiation, from a grammatical point of view is formed by the noun-stem so or su, which means 'companion', 'partner', and the second person singular of the possessive gu, which means 'of mine' and denotes an intrinsic possession. So gu contrasts strongly with luba gu, 'friend of mine' which is referred to a member of another clan different from that of the speaker, and with veyo gu (relative of mine, as a brother, sister or cousin) that is, a member of the same clan of the speaker. Then so gu suggests the idea of a peculiar relationship between two persons, a relationship that implies a sort of cerebral and physical fusion between two elements — for example, between the initiator and the initiate. In common with luba gu and veyo gu, so gu has the possessive gu, which denotes an intrinsic, non-alienable, possession.

So so gu, which can be heard in the megwa for the kula and in the initiation poetic formulae, reflects in its content plane the concept of fusion between the initiator and the initiate, as well as the concept of mirroring. In fact, so gu on the one hand expresses the concept of 'companion of mine', and on the other hand it implies the concept of two entities, both physical and spiritual, which become one through the mechanism of fusion: that is, we have a single entity as in the case of an image which is reflected in a mirror. Compared to the concepts expressed

plane and is clearly understood by the speaker and the listener. The power to evoke the peculiar relation between the initiator and the initiate is an intrinsic property of the word itself, because it also expresses this power outside the poetic context though perhaps less forcefully. Roughly speaking, so ra (so gu in the poetic formulae) is endowed as such with a high metaphorical content, even if in a poetic context it becomes stronger.

However, the word vira, which occurs only in the poetic formulae of Towitara, evokes a family of metaphorical meanings which have a high degree of poetical ambiguity. From a semantic point of view it seems to me richer than so gu. In fact, the association between the content plane, and the expression plane when vira is interpreted metaphorically, is weaker than in the case of so gu. The meaning which Towitara as a performer attaches to the word does not shine through the expression plane. Moreover from the dissociation between the two planes, or better, from this more articulated relation between the two planes, derives the metaphorical power of the word, which encapsulates in nuce the principles of opposition-polarity (to split into two) and correlation-analogy (to become an entity). In fact, vira with its contrasting meanings seems to express better than so gu the device of mirroring, even if this mechanism is expressed also by so gu, used in both Towitara's and Toudubwau's poetic formulae. Furthermore the metaphorical richness of vira, combined with the first person singular of the personal pronoun, as in the fifth stanza of Towitara's megwa expresses better than other stanzas the device of the device of mirroring.

A philosophical explanation of the device of mirroring

Why does a carver need to stress by means of the device of mirroring that the initiator and the initiate are or should be the same person? And could this device be interpreted as one of the basic principle of Kitawan aesthetic philosophy, that is, for instance, the principle of opposition and correlation or as the synthesis of a pair of opposite principles?

At the beginning of the rite of initiation the scene is occupied only by two elements: the initiator and the initiate. The other inhabitants are

'removed' from the scene. In the megwa, as well as in some of the remarks by Tonori and Siyakwakwa (cf. A.ST,22), the accent falls on the two performers and on the solitude in which the rite is performed. Moreover, the moment of performance is a sort of non-time: between the end of darkness and the beginning of light, stressing the role of the two performers, who are described in the poetic formulae as two elements in a function of opposition and correlation. and even if these two elements in the initiation are 'physical' (the old carver and the young, favourite pupil), I believe they can be interpreted as metaphors of a pair of opposite principles, which become during the rite a single entity (cf. for example, besides the poetic formulae, the speeches in which both Tonori and Siyakwakwa talk about the relationships between the initiator and the initiate, and then between the master and the apprentice).

The principle of opposition-correlation, which is expressed by the device of mirroring is also represented, for example, by the lagimu and the tabuya, as well as by the mwari and vaiguwa. In fact, the lagimu and tabuya are perceived by the carvers in a function of opposition and correlation: the tabuya as moon is opposed to the lagimu perceived as sun, but at the same time the tabuya is called the 'nose' of the sun-face. Moreover, the tabuya is perceived as the reflected image of the lagimu and vice versa.

Even if we accept Siyakwakwa's interpretation of the lagimu as the face of a man (cf. his statement C.SS,81 - C.SS,83 and C.SS,87), whom I identified with the mythical hero Monikiniki, nevertheless the tabuya might be interpreted on the basis of the principle of opposition between two elements, as the face of a woman, or the female attribute of the lagimu-sun-Monikiniki. In fact, in the iconographical interpretation of the lagimu I identified in it a clear female symbol, the pakeke which when carved on the prow is called kwaisaruvi. The very shapes of the lagimu and tabuya might be analysed as another example of a pair of opposite principles: the tabuya being the 'closed' form of the lagimu.

Other types of opposition which might be expressed by the lagimu and the tabuya are: 'whole' and 'half', where the former is represented by the lagimu and the latter by the tabuya. And then the lagimu might represent the principle of circularity analysed as an isosceles triangle inscribed in a circle, with the tabuya as its opposite, that is a semi-circle. And if we bear in mind that the lagimu symbolizes the sun and the tabuya the moon,

and also that the sun is associated by Kitawans with the Sky, Air, and Fire, while the moon recalls the Earth and Water, we have other examples of a pair of correlates-opposites: Sky-Earth, Fire-Water, Light-Darkness. These oppositions-correlations are represented at the iconographical level, for example, by the sea eagle or frigate bird (Sun-Sky) carved as susawila on the upper part of the lagimu, and the white heron or crane, which are water-birds, carved as moraboi and buribwau on the tabuya.

However what seems more interesting about the pair of opposite principles which are symbolized by the lagimu and the tabuya, as well as the initial scene of the rite of initiation in which we find only the initiator and the initiate, is that the correlation seems to introduce a third term or principle whose metaphor in the poetic formulae is the fusion of one of the two opposites into the other. I call this third principle 'synthesis', whose metaphor is the device of mirroring.

Mirroring or synthesis guarantee both the self-expressiveness of a pair of opposite principles and in the meantime their correlation which emphasizes their autonomy. A mirror image is "something that resembles an image in a mirror in having left and right interchanged or its constituents parts arranged in reverse order (but being otherwise identical)" (A supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary, 1976 Vol. II, H-N, p. 970). This is the nature of the relationship between the two lagimu on the canoe. In fact, the initiator and the initiate, at the beginning of the rite are represented as an image and its double reflected in a mirror (a pair of opposite principles). But, during the performing rite, the image and its double coincide and become a single entity: the initiate is assimilated to the initiator (and vice versa) until the two dissolve into a single entity, or third element, which includes both.

In Towitara's megwa, for instance, as well as in the megwa of Toudubwau, there is a clear metaphorical allusion to the basis of the fusion between the initiator and the initiate being a third principle or entity. The initial opposition between the initiator and the initiate dissolves progressively during the poetic formulae into a third element that I identified with the mythical hero Monikiniki (cf. An iconographical interpretation). He is represented in the poetic formulae by the 'shout' or primeval voice, and at the semantic level by a series of morphemes, such as the third person singular of the possessive pronoun ra (his), which

contrast with the other personal and possessive pronouns referring to the initiate and the initiator.

In Towitara's poetic formulae there are the following personal and possessive pronouns denoting the performer of the rite:

- 1) a (I) : I,a; I,b; II,b; III,a; IV,a.
- 2) yeigu (I) : II,a; V,a; V,b.
- 3) ura (my) : II,a; V,a; V,b; VIII,b.
- 4) gu (of mine) : III,b; IV,a; VI,a; VI,b; IX,a.

In Toudubwau's poetic formulae the personal and possessive pronouns denoting the performer are:

- 1) a (I) : I,a; I,b; III,a; IV,a; VI,a.
- 2) yeigu (I) : II,a.

In the Fragments of Tokunubwai we have only the possessive pronoun 'of mine':

Fragment A: gu (of mine) : II,a.

Fragment B: gu (of mine) : II,b.

Only in the Fragment II, distich III,a. of the poetic formulae of Tokunubwai, is there a reference to the second person singular of the personal pronoun ku (you), apparently denoting the initiate. In the poetic formulae of Towitara and Toudubwau all the pronouns refer directly to the initiator and to a third person, perhaps the mythical hero Monikiniki. The initiate appears only as a peculiar possession of the performer, who calls the pupil 'companion of mine' (Toudubwau: II,a., and Towitara: I,b.), or addresses him with the ambiguous expression "Yeigu so gu kataraki" (You and me, the image creators!, Towitara: I,b.) and "Yeigu so gu Gumakeleula" (I, and my companion Gumakeleula, Toudubwau: II,a.). The performer by means of a poetic image, establishes a mirroring relationship with his pupil, who is 'absorbed' by the old carver. But the continuous use of his own image which the initiator reflects in the initiate seen as a mirror, raises the suspicion that the real performer of the rite is Monikiniki, whose metaphor in the poetic formulae is the 'shout' and the use of the pronoun

ra, and whose 'agent' in the initiation is the initiator.

It seems to me that there is a total identification between the performer, the initiate and Monikiniki. This suspicion arises from the use of the possessive pronoun gu (of mine), as well as ra (his), and the personal pronoun yeigu (I). The initiator projects his own image onto the initiate who reflects the latter modified through the device of mirroring: the reflected image reveals that the real performer of the rite is the mythical hero Monikiniki. So Monikiniki reflects himself in the mirror-initiate, who in his turn reflects the old carver. The hero Monikiniki appears as the Carver or Creator of Images (cf. the megwa of Towitara), and also as the Third Element synthesizing both the old carver and the young favourite pupil who are metaphors of all pairs of opposite principles.

Evidence for the device of mirroring is also found in the poetic formulae in a series of personal and possessive pronouns which the performer refers to himself, to the initiate and to the hero Monikiniki. In the first instance, the performer alludes to his own image reflected in himself (which might be an allusion to the principle of solipsism which characterizes the life of the artist). In the second instance, the performer 'splits' his own image into that of his pupil, who appears here as an opposite element. In the third instance, the performer negates the second element, or initiate, and reabsorbs it/him through a third element or synthesis: the hero Monikiniki who reveals himself as the real, unique performer or Principle.

Ultimately therefore it is Monikiniki who performs the rite and synthesizes in himself both the initiator and the initiate. On the other hand, the initiator and the initiate might be interpreted as two different aspects of a unique entity of principle: the power of creation, or its synonym Monikiniki. Or, following the Hjelmslevian terminology, we might say that the initiate is an 'amorphous' status which through the intervention of a 'form' becomes a 'substance'.

(2)
To sum up, the initiator and the initiate represent a pair of opposite principles, but the uncertain nature of the latter creates the premise of his dissolution into the former, who in his turn dissolves into Monikiniki. And, Monikiniki acts as a Synthesis between two opposites and symbolizes the Act of Creation or the Power to Create Images.

The carver as 'Creator of Images'

From the principle that Monikiniki symbolizes the Act of Creation, or the hero who creates images, we may derive the corollary that the carvers have a clear idea, or at least an intuition, of their function as creators of images (the graphic signs carved on the prows). And if the carver is assimilated to the hero Monikiniki or Creator, than we may also hypothesize that he thinks of himself as a deus artifex, or as an alter deus. And the self-image of the carver as a Creator is expressed metaphorically in the poetic formulae.

The act of creation is expressed by the image, or metaphor, of the 'water which springs from the broken stones (or rocks)' which is evoked by the performer when he murmurs the megwa over the mortar filled with red betel nut, or over the spring water collected in his hands. Towitara in his poetic formulae murmurs:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| II, a. <u>Ura wora a busibusi</u> | Bent forward in a gentle curve |
| b. <u>tavisi yeluyelu</u> | over spring water which fans out |
| III, a. <u>Tapwesi dibidabila</u> | From the broken stones |
| b. <u>bi yai, nano gu bi rai</u> | my mind, enveloped, creates images |
| VII, a. <u>Taiselu bi rai</u> | Trembling it will create images |
| b. <u>taiselu yeluyelu</u> | trembling like spring water |

While Toudubwau in his poetic formula murmurs:

- | | |
|---|---|
| I, a. <u>Avei tau molaola a busibusi?</u> | Who is bent forward in a gentle curve over a rivulet? |
| b. <u>avei tau molaola a busibusi?</u> | Who is bent forward in a gentle curve over a rivulet? |
| III, a. <u>I taisi a dubidabira</u> | It fans out from the broken stone |
| b. <u>ra keda yeluyelu</u> | his path is living water |
| VI, a. <u>Bi yelu bi ra a busibusi</u> | Gently bent like a seaweed in the water that flows |

	b. <u>bi yeyeluma nanora bi yeyeluma</u>	the mind flows away with the water
VII, a.	<u>Ra doka bi yeyeluma</u>	His imagination flows away with the water
	b. <u>si reura bi yeyeluma</u>	their feelings flow away with the water
VIII, a.	<u>Nanora bi yeyeluma</u>	The mind flows away with the spring water
	b. <u>nopoura bi yeyeluma</u>	their feelings go away with the spring water
IX, a.	<u>Duwara bi yeyeluma</u>	The imagination flows away with the water
	b. <u>ra weku yeyeluma...</u>	his shout runs away with the spring water...

In the poetic formulae of Towitara the image of 'spring water' is expressed by the words yeluyelu and tavisi, while the image of 'rocks', or 'broken stones', is expressed by dibidabila and tapwesi. In Toudubwau the same images are expressed by the words molaola, yeluyelu, yeyeluma and the verbs tavisi and dubidabira.

The word yeluyelu is formed by reduplicating the noun-stem yelu which literally means 'spring water', 'current' and 'water hole', while as a verbal form it suggests the idea of something or somebody that 'runs as a stream' or that 'runs away' (cf. the stanza IV,a., and VI,a., in the poetic formulae of Towitara).

In the poetic formulae of Toudubwau we have the form yeyeluma, where the suffix -ma signifies a direction, while yeyelu is the contracted form of yeluyelu, and may be regarded as a poetic device which has been chosen by the author of the megwa.

The metaphor of 'spring water' is used in the poetic formulae to suggest the idea of purity, as a characteristic of every act of creation (for example, the graphic signs of the carver), as well as the idea that the act of creation emerges from the 'inside' (nopoura = mind + emotion/intuition) of the carver in the way that pure spring water spouts from the rocks, or

broken stones. In fact, a real carver creates images (spring water) from his own mind (which might be compared to the rocks) without the intervention of external forces. Alternatively these forces can be regarded as a deus artifex who inspires the carver (cf. Tonori's statements, in which he says that the graphic signs which he carves on the prows 'come off' his mind).

The image of the rock which I identified as a metaphor of the concept of mind and intuition-emotion, is expressed at the semantic level by tapwesi dibidabila (Towitara: III,a. and VIII,a. and Toudubwau: III,a.). This reminds us that the poetic formulae were perhaps composed against the landscapes of one of the other islands of the Marshall Bennett group, or on Muyuwa island which is characterized by high mountains and rocks. But it should not be forgotten that the 'mountain' is mentioned in a certain myth related to the hero Monikiniki and to the kula (Malinowski 1922), as well as in many spells murmured during the overseas journeys (Scoditti 1980). And the mountain is one of the places where the mythical hero Monikiniki performed some of his exploits.

Nevertheless, at the content plane the word dibidabila or dibidabira (as it has been murmured by Toudubwau) reveals a very interesting family of meanings which should clarify the symbolic values of this word. Literally, dibidabila should be translated into 'a raised and folded soil', and perhaps refers to a sort of rock sediments, as well as to a type of soil from which is obtained the lime powder which is mixed with the areca nut. Yet Towitara and his nephew Togeruwa, told me tha dibidabila expresses the meaning of 'sweetness', 'kindness', and that it is an archaic term used in the past to signify the hero Monikiniki, who is also called Sumwakeuna. And the synonymy between dibidabila and Monikiniki strengthens on the content plane the metaphorical meaning of creative power which is attached to the image of the 'spring water which spouts from the rocks'. Both synonyms represent the idea of the carver as a 'creator of images' or a deus artifex.

The power to create as a gift of the god-hero

In the megwa both the initiator and the initiate are assimilated to the hero Monikiniki, who manifests himself to them, at the beginning of the poetic formulae, as spring water spouting from the rocks, that is, through an image which symbolizes the power of creation. As god creates life, in the same manner a carver creates symbols (cf. in the poetic formulae of Towitara the distichs III,b.; IV,b.; VI,b.; VII,b. and IX,b.). As a god gives his creation to mankind, in the same manner a carver gives his creation (the graphic signs carved on the prows, for example) to the other inhabitants of the village (cf. in the poetic formulae of Towitara the distichs IX,b. and in the poetic formulae of Toudubwau the distichs VII,a.; VII,b. and IX,a.). The power of creation is given to the initiate-carver as a gift of the god-hero Monikiniki during the initiation, even if the latter acts as a simple premonitory sign of this power. But, while Towitara and Siyakwakwa affirm that the gift must be confirmed by evidence of real skill in the initiate's work during the period of apprenticeship, Tonori practically dismisses the importance of the apprenticeship, and in his statements B.ST,33a and B.ST,35 stresses that only a 'gifted child' can carve — i.e., someone who has been initiated, who has been 'penetrated' by the god-hero Monikiniki. For Tonori, as stressed in Chapter III, the apprenticeship is simply a technical refinement of the primeval inspiration, or a sort of 'actualisation' of the power of intuition. The relation between the initiation and the following period of apprenticeship is purely technical. A carver should possess first an intuition of what he wishes to express, and then should search for a 'form' which represents this intuition on the expression plane. The technique of expressing an intuition in 'forms' is learned through continuous exercise. But without an 'intuition', that is a sign of the power of creation, a carver cannot carve a significant symbol. And even if an initiate eats the taboo foods he can still carve, because he has already been inspired by the god-hero Monikiniki whom he has received through red betel nut and spring water. To support this feeling Tonori gives the example of Togeruwa Matawadia who in spite of his disregard of the taboos, could nevertheless carve a lagimu, even if not a refined one. The fact that Togeruwa can carve a lagimu appears to the eyes of Tonori as a sign of the primeval power of creation which an initiate receives as a gift at the moment of the initiation.

To sum up, Tonori believes that the sign of the power of creation materializes in new 'forms', that is in graphic signs which in their 'forms' express a new content. When Siyakwakwa denies that Togeruwa is a carver because he did not respect the taboos, he wishes to stress that the prohibition on eating certain foods should be regarded as a metaphor of the link between taboos and initiation: even though the initiation imparts the power of creation, this power becomes real only in the actual working of some material such as a prow. An apprentice cannot be considered a tokabitamu if he does not know how to express the imaginative power in a technically refined 'form'. And the capacity to express a concept in a given 'form' is acquired only through continuous exercise. Siyakwakwa does not believe, like Tonori, that the power to express our own ideas or images is acquired as a 'divine gift' at the moment of the initiation. He does not believe that Togeruwa is a 'real carver' just because he has been initiated: Togeruwa would have been a carver if, and only if, he had respected the taboos (which for Siyakwakwa are metaphors of the basic role of the apprenticeship). The initiation, in the mind of Siyakwakwa, is only a sign of the possibility that the initiate may become a carver: a simple sign which must be confirmed by the actual ability to carve. Without initiation the power of creation is absent, but without apprenticeship there would be no capacity to realize this power. So, initiation and apprenticeship are deeply related to each other.

Towitara, whose views constitute the most articulated and rationalized interpretation of the aesthetic philosophy of Kitawa carvers, told me that initiation, taboos and apprenticeship are strictly interrelated, and that they should be regarded as different aspects of a unique principle: the power of carving or inventing new images. But this principle, even if it is given potentially to all initiates, nevertheless becomes real, actual, only in a few cases, that is in those who respect the rules of the apprenticeship and the taboos.

Towitara maintains that the initiation is a metaphor of the power of creation, while the apprenticeship and the taboos are metaphors of the sign that this power must be concretized in 'forms'. The power of creation is imparted in the rite of initiation, and is symbolized by the images of the spring water, the rocks and the 'shout' or Monikiniki, and is potentially given to the initiate. But, this power becomes concrete only through the apprenticeship (the technique of carving), which should reveal

if an initiate really is gifted or not. Towitara, in fact, stresses the deep relations between 'intuition' (rite of initiation) and 'rational capacity' to express this intuition in 'forms' (apprenticeship and taboos). Without initiation there is no 'intuition' or 'power to penetrate inside nature' and discover its forms; but without apprenticeship and taboos there is no power to express this deep knowledge.

Towitara seems to know very well that initiation, apprenticeship and taboos, express some basic concepts of the Kitawan aesthetic philosophy, such as, for example, the concept of 'intuition'. In the feeling of Towitara, a carver should possess an 'intuition' of what he wishes to express. For example, if he wants to express the concept of 'symmetry', which is conceived as a balance between two elements arranged in relation to a central third element, he should find a 'form' with which to express this concept visually on the lagimu. The 'form' should 'mean' this concept on the expression plane of the proposed graphic sign. The 'form' might be chosen from nature, or totally invented. In the first case, the carver searches among the elements of nature and chooses one of them (a fern, for example) which he believes to represent on the expression plane the concept of 'symmetry', and through a process of schematization he reduces the chosen element to a graphic sign and carves it in the lagimu.

Alternatively, a carver can 'invent' a new graphic sign which is totally elaborated from his mind and not directly related to nature — such as the weku, for example.

But what relates the two types of sign is the complete freedom with which they are proposed by the carver, as well as the intuition that a given form can express a given content (both aesthetic and symbolic). Intuition, in fact, is the capacity to relate an idea, a belief, a sensation, etc. to a form and to be conscious that this relation is arbitrary, in the way that the relation between the content plane and the expression plane of every sign, both verbal and non-verbal, is arbitrary.

However, for Towitara an intuition in 'itself' is not a 'work of art', it is not an 'aesthetic sign', if it has not been realized in a given form. And during the apprenticeship the initiate learns to express his intuition in a series of graphic signs (forms) which are carved in a given space. So, he learns that an intuition, an aesthetic one, needs to be made concrete in a

'substance' (cf. Hjelmslev 1969).

The thought of Towitara should be regarded as a rationalization both of the belief of Tonori that the initiation (that is, the power of creation and of intuition) plays the principal role in the life of the carver, and the belief of Siyakwakwa who stressed that initiation, apprenticeship and taboos, are equally important.

Nevertheless, it seems to me that Tonori, in stressing the importance of the initiation, emphasizes the freedom of the carver as a creator of images. This freedom is not denied by Siyakwakwa and Towitara, but they are opposed to the principle of the freedom (symbolized by the intuition-initiation) of the carver, the principle of 'control' (symbolized by the apprenticeship-taboos). This control is exercised over the initiate in order to teach him the technique of expressing his intuitions in forms, as well as to exert the stylistic influence of the master and the power of the guild of the carvers. In fact, the group of carvers in accepting an initiate into its guild, guarantees both to the village and to the carvers that the young boy really has been initiated by a tokabitamu bougwa or a simple tokabitamu, and that the initiate possesses the 'power of creation'. In other words, the guild must guarantee the genealogy of the carvers. And anything which disturbs this vision of the role of a carver (for example, the non-respect of the taboos and the apprenticeship), is regarded as unpleasant or false. And this explains, also, the harsh criticism which Siyakwakwa directs against the 'pretentious' craftsmanship of Togeruwa, who claims that he is a carver, because he was 'inspired' by Monikiniki during the rite of initiation, and also that the fact that he did not respect the taboos, cannot obliterate the already received 'inspiration' (cf. Tonori in his statement B.ST,35). Non-respect of the taboos has only perhaps dimmed his primeval inspiration.

The image of the act of creation is also expressed in another beautiful poetic metaphor, in the megwa of both Towitara and Toudubwau. Towitara in his spells murmurs:

VIII, b. ra weku ura wotila

his 'shout' is my voice

And in Toudubwau:

IX, b. ra weku yeyeluma...

his 'shout' runs away with
the spring water...

The concept of 'something' which is pure, or which represents the amorphous, 'pure' matter, is expressed, for example, with the word weku in a function of opposition-correlation with wotila (voice), in Towitara's poetic formulae.

At the morphological level, the prefix we-, or -wo suggests 'something', both physical and abstract, which 'goes out' or 'comes out', such as voice, a shout. This establishes a correlation; while the function of opposition is established as it were philosophically — the 'shout' as a 'primeval' force contrasts with a voice, which is simply one of its articulation and follows it.

The performer, in contrasting and simultaneously relating weku and wotila, produces one more metaphor of the act of creation accomplished by a carver: from the 'shout' to a voice, from the Idea to its formal realization, from the schema to a model and from the 'shout', which is one of the appearances of Monikiniki, (the Act of Creation in itself) to a copy of this act which is accomplished by a carver.

Both stanza VIII, distich b., in the megwa of Towitara, and stanza IX, distich b., in the megwa of Toudubwau, convinced me that we should accept the interpretation of the g.s. weku, carved on the prows, as an 'shout', rather than a eye. The latter suggestion came from Siyakwakwa, while the former was supported explicitly by Towitara.

The 'aesthetic ecstasis or rapture'

We have seen that the gift of expressing himself in graphic signs is received by a young boy at the moment of initiation, when his mind and body are possessed by the hero Monikiniki. He then receives the 'vision' of the lagimu and tabuya.

'Possession' and 'vision' seem to me like a 'rapture' or 'ecstasis'. And the image of an ecstasis or 'divine rapture' is expressed in the poetic

formulae murmured by Towitara, Toudubwau and Tokunubwai. In his poetic formula Towitara murmurs:

III, b. bi yai nano gu bi rai
my mind, enveloped, creates images

VI, a. Duwaya gu bi rai
Lost in dreams will create images

b. sineu gu bi rai
and my soul will create images

VII, a. Taiselu bi rai
Trembling it will create images

b. taiselu yeluyelu
trembling like spring water

While Toudubwau in his poetic formula murmurs:

IV, b. ge' nanora o kadaotu
my mind flows away on right path

V, a. Gé nanora, nanora bi kubadu
The mind is no longer here will go slow

b. gé nanora, nanora yeluyelu
the mind is no longer here, it has followed the spring water

VI, a. Bi yelu bi ra a busibusi
Gently bent like seaweed in the water that flows

b. bi yeyeluma nanora bi yeyeluma
the mind flows away with the water

VII, a. Ra doka bi yeyeluma
The imagination flows away with the water

And, in the Fragment B, of Tokunubwai, we have:

II, b. ba vakatarisi nano gu eli busi
I'll open my mind flowing in the dark sea

In Towitara's poetic formula the following words are associated with the concept of 'rapture' or 'ecstasis': bi yai (it will envelop), nano gu (the mind of mine), bi rai (it will imagine), duwaya gu (emotion of mine), sineu gu (entrails, soul, of mine), taiselu (to tremble). Similar concepts are expressed in the poetic formulae of Toudubwau by : gera nanora (not mind), bi kubadu (go slow), si reura (their feelings), nopoura (my inside, my 'internal' things), duwara (emotion). In the Fragment B by Tokunubwai, we find the expression ba vakatarisi (I will become clear, open).

Three elements seem to me to be involved during the status of ecstasy or rapture, which overtakes the initiate and the initiator (whom I have identified with Monikiniki). These three elements regard both the cerebral and the physical properties of a man. The word nano, which in the poetic formulae of Towitara is declined with the possessive pronoun gu, which denotes an inalienable possession, is used usually in the sense of 'mind', i.e. the locus of the intellectual faculties of a man. The expression sena nanora is used to signify a very gifted brain, and the fact that it is used in the poetic formulae means that the intellectual faculties of the initiate are captured when he is possessed by Monikiniki. So, the mind of the initiate is 'raptured' totally by the god-hero, and after it has been 'pierced' or 'penetrated', returns 'illuminated' to its possessor.

The concept of 'to be possessed or enraptured' as in ecstasy, is expressed clearly by the verb bi yai, which literally means 'to envelop', 'to be enveloped', but on the content plane expresses also the concept of 'to be penetrated' in the mystical sense.

The 'possession' of the initiate by Monikiniki, is total. The young boy becomes involved not only in his intellect but also in his 'emotion'. That is, all the psycho-physical elements are 'enraptured' during initiation: both the older carver and the young boy participate with all their being in the rite of initiation. And in the poetic formulae the total involvement is stressed by the words sineu (viscera), reura (entrails), nopoura (all things which are inside the body), and then, duwara (emotion).

These words seem to me metaphorical synonyms of the concept of 'intuition' which a gifted carver should have. And, the fact that during the rapture or ecstasy, the initiate has an 'intuition' or 'vision' of the lagimu and tabuya support my interpretation (cf. the stanzas III, IV, and VI in

Towitara's poetic formulae).

Towitara in using in his poetic formula the word sineu as a synonym of the concept of 'intuition', suggests that the locus of the 'emotive' sphere is the viscera (entrails). In the viscera the lagimu and tabuya are perceived as an image out of focus, as an acute perception, or intuition of something, which will be clarified by the mind. At the beginning this image is a sort of 'intellectual sting'. Then, by the intervention of the mind (where the carver locates the expression-forms, in the Hjelmslevian sense) the image becomes 'clear'.

In producing images, as well as a concept, the initiator-carver follows the process:

<u>intuition (sineu)</u> the image is out of focus	→	intervention of an expression-form of the <u>mind</u> (<u>nanora</u>)	→	<u>image/concept</u> (which has been focused)
--	---	--	---	---

And the metaphorical meaning of sineu as a locus of intuition is stressed by the fact that one of the taboos which an initiate must respect is the prohibition on eating the entrails, viscera, of an animal. In the latter case the viscera symbolize an obscure, unclear, symbol. In fact, the viscera are 'twisted', and to eat the viscera means to carve 'twisted' graphic signs. And in the poetic formulae the viscera symbolize the unclarity of an image, as well. So, in both cases, the sineu-viscera symbolize the obscurity (the amorphous purport-matter in Hjelmslevian terminology), which is elucidated by the mind-expression-form of the initiate carver, and transformed into a clear image or concept.

The process of the creation of an image, or concept, the passage from obscurity (sineu-intuition) to light (nanora-mind) is revealed to the initiate in a divine rapture or ecstasis. The external signs of this rapture are the 'trembling' of the body (cf. stanza VII of Towitara's megwa), while the internal ones are the 'losing' of the mind in a dream and its 'involvement' and 'flowing' (cf. distich III,b. of Towitara's megwa and stanza V. distichs VI,b. and VIII, a. of Toudubwau's megwa).

The act of creation is synthesized in the poetic formulae through the poetic image of spring water which rises pure from the rocks, and reaches its acme as a 'fresh spout', and finally flows gently into the ocean, which is perhaps a metaphor of 'infinite' (cf. stanzas I, II and III of Tokunubwai's Fragment B). In the same way the young boy during the initiation feels that an image arises as a primeval 'form', from 'his inside' (nopoura), and then reaches its acme in the mind and, finally, is given as a gift to the inhabitants of the village. Towitara at the end of his poetic formulae murmurs:

Stanza IX. Blow, spray all around, excited
the dreamed images.....

The succession of stanzas in the poetic formulae of Towitara and Toudubwau, as well as the tone in which they are murmured, suggests the 'crescendo' and 'diminuendo' of the tension of the creation act. At the beginning of the poetic formulae there is a sort of proem, or 'introduction' in which the performers are described as 'spring water'. Then there follows a 'crescendo', which represents the rapture of the performer and, finally, a 'diminuendo' which corresponds to the calm of the performers who look 'exhausted' after the 'act of creation'.

The definition of 'metaphor' among the Kitawa carvers

NB
I have shown that Kitawa carvers express some aesthetic concepts, as well as some feelings about their function and life, by means of metaphorical images. But, what is a metaphor for a Kitawa carver? Is it a rhetorical figure as in the tradition of the western culture? Why does a carver need a metaphor by which to express his aesthetic concepts? How is a metaphor formed? What characterizes a verbal metaphor as against a non-verbal metaphor?

In order to define the concept of 'metaphor', in its use by Kitawa carvers, I shall analyse some stanzas in the poetic formulae murmured during the initiation (verbal context), and some g.ss. carved on the prows (non-verbal context). For example, Towitara in his poetic formula evokes the following

images:

- I,a. Avei tau wora a busibusi?
b. yeigu so gu kataraki
.....
a. Who is bent forward in a gentle curve?
b. you and me, the image creators!

- III,a. Tapwesi dibidabila
b. bi yai nano gu bi rai
.....
a. From the broken stones,
b. my mind, enveloped, creates images

- IV,a. Duwaya gu bi rai
b. si rairai sagwai
.....
a. Lost in dreams will create images
b. images for our companions

- V,a. Ura vira yeigu
b. ura vira yeigu, Towitara
.....
a. You are transformed into me,
b. you are transformed into me, Towitara

- VIII,a. Tapwesi dibidabila
b. ra weku ura wotila
.....
a. From the broken stones
b. his shout is my voice

While in the poetic formula of Toudubwau we have:

- V,a. Gé nanora, nanora bi kubadu
b. gé nanora, nanora yeluyelu
.....
a. The mind is no longer here, will go slow,
b. the mind is no longer here, it has followed the spring water

VIII,a. Nanora bi yeyeluma

b. nopoura bi yeyeluma

.....

a. The mind flows away with the spring water

b. their feelings flow away with the spring water

IX,a. Duwara bi yeyeluma,

b. ra weku yeyeluma...

.....

a. The imagination flows away with the water

b. the shout runs away with the spring water...

And in his Fragments Tokunubwai murmurs:

Fragment A

I,a. Kaya kayakwa, kaya kayama

b. kaya kayakwa, kaya kayama

.....

a. Moisten, in the moisture, moisten and moisten again

b. moisten, in the moisture, moisten and moisten again

II,a. Kaya busi bwada gu

b. Bugumagina buwaaa...

.....

a. Moisten and gently bend, my brother!

b. Bugumagina, the red betel nut!

Fragment B

I,a. Eli ba eli, ba eli wai

b. eli ba eli, ba eli wai

.....

a. I flow as running water, I flow as a centipede

b. I flow as running water, I flow as a centipede

III,a. Eli salu ku kwawa ku koura

b. eli busi.....

.....

a. Take your black paint and blacken yourself

b. flowing in the dark sea.....

In his poetic formula Towitara represents the image of two 'bodies gently bent' by use of the verb a busibusi, which recalls the curving of the banana. The image of 'banana' is embodied in the noun-stem usi, while the verbal form a busibusi is the continuous present formed by reduplicating the verb-stem, busi, suffixed to the first person singular of the present tense, a. The image of 'a man gently bent in a curve over the spring water' seems to the author of the poetic formula better represented by a metaphorical expression, (Avei tau wora a busibusi?) which evokes the soft curve of a banana, than by an expression which 'describes' the same image more literally. The image of the curving of the banana adapts more naturally to represent a soft curve (the back of performer) drawn as a hollow goblet (tazza) next to another soft line, the sprinkling of the spring water which spouts from 'the broken stones'.

The image of two soft lines, the back of the performer and the sprinkling of spring water, reveals the poetic device invented by the author of the poetic formula to form the 'metaphor': the function between the two lines is of 'analogy' and 'similarity'. In fact, both lines are 'concave' if seen from inside and 'convex' if seen from the outside: the back of the performer, represented as the hollow of a goblet, receives the gift of spring water which, spilling into the goblet forms another soft concave line. The idea of 'gentleness' is reinforced in the mind of the listener by means of the image of the 'ocean beyond the rim of horizon' which is sometimes associated with the verb busi. So, busi evokes 'soft images', 'a state of softness', 'tenderness' and 'delicacy', and one of its principal functions in the context of the poetic formulae is to evoke 'something' which is not embodied in the expression plane of the verb.

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'To evoke' in this case means to suggest an image, or a whole set of images, which seems more expressive and more powerful, from a semantic point of view, than the image, or images, suggested by the same word in everyday speech, for example. The power of evocation is given to the sign (both verbal and non-verbal) mainly by the context in which the sign is used. This means that the sign used in a metaphorical sense acquires its value, or values, in a context which suggests and evokes a set of peculiar or 'unusual' images which are not usually evident on the expression plane of the sign. That is, while usi as a simple lexeme is listed in the Nowau

lexicon and can be defined in its full range of denotations, when it is used as a 'metaphor' its denotations are not listed at all, but are established through the recalling of elements which are extra-contextual to the sign.

The conceptual images evoked when usi is murmured in the poetic formulae, are quite different from the conceptual images recalled by the same word when it is uttered in everyday speech. In fact, the listener does not associate the concept 'banana' with the sound 'usi'. Rather, the word suggests other types of association which seem 'unusual' to the audience. The verbal context, that is the relations of usi with the other words in the poetic formula, helps to define the 'unusual' meaning of the word. Without wora (or molaola, in the poetic formula of Toudubwau), which precedes a busibusi, the latter would be less powerful from a metaphorical point of view.

This means that the verbal form busibusi is used in the poetic formula in a 'shifted' sense and the 'shift' presupposes that:

- a) there is a function of 'analogy' and 'similarity' between the everyday meaning of the word and its poetic meanings; but that
- b) the 'analogy' and 'similarity' are based on the expression plane and not on the content plane of the word. In fact, different conceptual images are evoked by the same sounds.

The points a) and b) imply the corollary, that the metaphorical value of a noun is formed by means of a dissociation between its content plane and expression plane. Hence, the metaphorical meaning of a noun is similar to the symbolic meaning of a non-verbal sign. In both cases the meaning affects the content plane of the sign, and is based on its morphological nature, that is, on an arbitrary association between the constituent planes of the sign.

At this point it seems to me quite important to stress that in everyday speech the association between the sound of a word and the concept expressed by its sound is a 'strong association'. Generally speaking, nobody using a word in everyday speech intends to express an 'enigmatic' or 'puzzling' concept. But the association between the content plane and the

expression plane of a word is accepted by the speaker and the listener 'as it has been listed in the Nowau lexicon'.

The mechanism which determines the metaphorical values of usi and busibusi can also be applied to the analysis of the other metaphorical images evoked by some other words murmured in the poetic formulae — for example, dibidabila, duwaya, vira, nanora, so gu, weku, kaya and so on. Yet the symbolic value of a non-verbal sign, such as the g.s. carved on the prows, arises from the same device which operates in the case of the metaphorical value of a verbal sign.

When a carver, for example, utters the word ina in everyday speech the listener understands that the concept which is meant by this word is 'fish'. But, if the carver utters ina when he is talking about the g.s. carved on the prows, the usual association between the content plane and the expression plane of the word is no longer valid. In fact, ina is used here in a 'metaphorical sense' and refers to the g.s. formed by means of a process of schematization and abstraction from the eye of the fish. In the lexicon of Kitawa carvers the word ina loses its 'literal significance', even if it is understood by all carvers and men involved in the kula. I call this kind of metaphor 'technical' or 'aesthetic', and it operates as a 'dead metaphor'. In fact, in everyday speech nobody understands ina to mean the g.s. carved on the prows.

But in the same lexicon we find the notion of a 'symbolic metaphor', or a 'metaphor in the strict sense of the word', i.e. when the association between the expression plane and the content plane of the sign is not predetermined. When a noun is used as a 'symbolic metaphor' the listener, or perceiverr of the g.s. to which the noun refers, cannot establish the associate concept, or concepts, if he is not the author of the association between the two planes, or if he does not know which 'unusual', 'peculiar', concept has been associated to the chain of sounds uttered, or to the g.s. seen. This is the case with the same word ina; as a g.s. carved on the prows it refers to the eye of a monstrous creature which has the power to petrify. In fact, we have seen that few carvers can establish clearly the symbolic meaning of ina, or the other g.ss.

To sum up, in Kitawa culture, ina is used basically in three ways:

- a) as a lexeme listed in the Nowau lexicon and used in everyday speech;
- b) as a technical or aesthetic metaphor when the word refers to the g.s. carved on the prows;
- c) as a 'symbolic metaphor' when the carvers talk about the significances expressed by the g.s. carved on the lagimu and tabuya.

In the first case, ina is understood by everybody who speaks Nowau, and the association between the expression plane and the content plane of the noun is a 'narrow association', that is, the sounds are associated 'automatically' to the concept of a fish.

In the second case the association between the expression plane and the content plane becomes 'weak' and the significance of the noun deviates from its standard use and is also used to signify something else.

fn In the third case, ina is used in a totally 'shifted' sense.

The three functions of ina are interrelated in the arbitrary way which characterizes the association between the expression plane and the content plane of the sign when it is used as a lexeme in everyday speech, as a technical or aesthetic metaphor and a symbolic metaphor. The technical or aesthetic metaphor and the symbolic metaphor distinguish themselves from the everyday use of the sign by the 'shifted' association between the two planes of the sign. That is, the use of the sign comes from its established meaning within the lexicon in which the word is listed. But the technical or aesthetic metaphor distinguishes itself from the symbolic metaphor because the latter refers its 'content' to extra contextual elements, i.e. its meaning is not expressed by the sign in 'itself', as in the case of the technical or aesthetic metaphor. The technical or aesthetic metaphor is usually used by the carvers when they talk about the g.ss. carved on the lagimu and tabuya, and this is the main reason I described the lexicon of Kitawa carvers as highly metaphorical. I must stress that the significance of the nouns which refer to the g.ss. carved on the prows, even in their metaphorical use, are 'autonomous' and totally independent of extra contextual elements. That is, a noun referring to a g.s. when it is used by a carver as a technical or aesthetic metaphor, expresses its meaning within the technical/metaphorical lexicon

and justifies itself as a unit of this lexicon. In fact, although matara ina is a metaphor, it nevertheless expresses a well-shaped concept in the context of the g.ss. carved on the prows (which is a 'carved spot' which has nothing to do with the eye of a real fish).

On the other hand the symbolic metaphor refers to extra-contextual elements. For example, when ina is used in a symbolic metaphor referring to the g.s. carved on the prows, it does not reveal its meaning, even to a carver. In fact, only a few carvers, usually the tokabitamu bougwa such as Towitara, can establish the meaning of a symbolic metaphor. So, the meaning of a symbolic metaphor lies outside the aesthetic and technical context which has been judged by Towitara, Siyakwakwa and Tonori to be the natural context of craftsmanship. That is, the meaning of a symbolic metaphor is a purely cultural artefact: the meaning of the g.s. ina when it is interpreted as the eye of a monstrous creature, is established by crossing the visual boundaries of the g.s., and collecting elements, extraneous to the nature of the g.s., such as myths, tales, and so on. Yet these elements can be lost again, just because they are extraneous to the nature of the g.s. In fact, it is the carver who establishes the meaning of a symbolic metaphor; and the validity of its meaning, as well as its durability in the time and in a given space (village, island or a larger area such as the Milne Bay, for example), depends on his capacity to capture these extra-contextual elements in the expression plane of the g.s. In other words, if a certain number of people can recognize in the 'metaphorical' g.s. its traditionally-established value, then the metaphor succeeds.

How a symbolic metaphor is 'formed'

Kitawa carvers make a clear distinction between a symbolic metaphor and a technical or aesthetic metaphor. Or better, they have a clear idea of the different meanings expressed by a g.s. when it is acting as a symbolic metaphor, and when it is acting as a technical or aesthetic metaphor.

At this point it seems to me quite important to stress the following points:

a) a carver distinguishes the symbolic metaphor clearly from the aesthetic or technical metaphor of a g.s. It follows that a g.s. carved on the prows can be interpreted both as a visual representation of something else — symbolic metaphor — and as an autonomous sign which realizes its significance 'in itself' — technical or aesthetic metaphor;

b) a carver sometimes chooses a certain item from nature such as a shell or a plant, as a model for an abstract g.s. which is interpreted as a symbolic metaphor. But when he chooses a certain element of nature as a model for a g.s. is he attracted by the shape (the expression plane) of this element? That is, why does the shape of the chosen item inspire the shape (expression plane) of the g.s.? And is the meaning of the g.s. completely independent of its expression plane derived from the element of nature?

For example, in choosing the Nautilus pompilius to represent the concepts of 'perfection', 'skilfulness' and 'intelligence', the carver perhaps follows this reasoning: the concepts of 'intelligence', 'skilfulness' and 'perfection', are elaborated in the mind of the carver and they exist 'in themselves' as concepts which need a graphic form by means of which to be visually represented on the prows. The graphic form is found in the shape of the shell nautilus, which in Nowau is called goragora. This shape has been carefully observed by the carver who realizes, perhaps intuitively, that the mechanism which determines the growing of the shell 'recalls' the mechanism by means of which the carver forms a g.s. That is, in carving a g.s. the carver should follow a set of norms which must respect the aesthetic experience of the past. This experience may be expanded into a new interpretation of the aesthetic principles which the traditional

norms respect and guarantee. The nautilus recalls a mode of growing in nature which the carver judges 'similar' (makara) to the mode of growing of his aesthetic experience. In fact a carver should not forget the aesthetic experience of his predecessors because it embodies a set of aesthetic and symbolic values. As the nautilus develops in itself from a given ratio of starting point (see D'Arcy Thompson), so a carver develops his taste and technique from a given starting point represented by the experience, both aesthetic and technical, of his predecessors. Yet in observing the growing of the nautilus the carver has already decided which concept he wishes to represent through the 'form' of the shell. So the nautilus 'lends' its shape (its expression plane) to a concept which the carver has elaborated previously in his mind. In fact, the nautilus is called goragora while the g.s. which has borrowed its shape (expression plane) from the goragora, is called doka (which in Nowau recalls a cerebral activity, the act of thinking). Yet calling the g.s. carved on the prows doka, the carver wishes to stress the 'independent significance' of the g.s., as well as his power to designate, his freedom to 'label' concepts and objects.

AB | During the process of observation and interpretation of the process of growth of the nautilus, the carver has schematized the shape of the shell, reducing it to its 'kernel', and this kernel has been carved on the prows.

To sum up, the carver has established the following similarities between a nautilus and a doka:

a) the process of growth of a nautilus is judged to be similar to the process by means of which a man produces concepts and non-verbal signs. That is, a concept develops from a given starting-point and grows just like a nautilus;

b) the kernel of a nautilus reveals at the visual level, the schema/structure of the shell, and this schema/structure has been 'interpreted' by the carver and then fretted on the prows as doka.

So, a doka is similar to the kernel of a nautilus, but the similarity is only visual: it is established by the carver on the expression plane both of the item from nature and of the g.s. The shape of a doka recalls to the eye of the perceiver the shape of a goragora and vice versa. But the symbolic significance of the doka is independent of the shape of the

goragora. In fact, only a few carvers can make an association between a doka and the concept of skilfulness, intelligence and perfection on the one hand, and the shape of a goragora on the other. For the majority of carvers and inhabitants of Kitawa the goragora is simply a beautiful shell, and the doka is simply a g.s. carved on the prows.

The association between the meaning of the doka and its shape (expression plane) are established only by a few tokabitamu bougwa, so the shape of the g.s. does not visually express these meanings. Taken in themselves both the shape of the goragora and the shape of the doka express only their formal nature, their existence as material, as set of visual signs. That is, they stand 'for themselves', as g.ss., and the symbolic metaphor reveals its nature within the culture of Kitawa carvers: it is equal to the symbolic reading of a verbal sign. Just as the symbolic value of a verbal sign (for example, the verbal form busibusi murmured in Towitara and Toudubwau's poetic formulae) is established in its content plane, so the interpretation of a g.s. as a symbolic metaphor is established in extra-contextual elements which are totally extraneous to its nature and which we associate to the g.s. when it is interpreted as a verbal sign, i.e., as a term of the metalanguage. In fact, the g.s. 'in itself' is not articulated into the content plane and the expression plane which characterize the verbal sign. When we talk about the meanings expressed by a g.s. carved on the prows we should clarify that our reasoning transforms a g.s. into a verbal sign (i.e. the noun which labels the g.s.), and that it is only through this device that we can discuss the symbolic or metaphorical meaning of the g.s.

If Towitara can speak about the symbolic meanings of a g.s. (when the g.s. is analysed as a symbolic metaphor), that is due to his knowledge of the traditional culture of Kitawa which is expressed by elements such as, for example, tales, myths or simple feelings, which are extraneous to the nature of that g.s. But this knowledge is not related to Towitara's skill in carving the g.ss. on the prows. In fact, I have shown that in Towitara's own village, Kumwageiya, there is Gumaligisa Bela, who even though considered a skilful carver, does not know the symbolic meanings of the g.ss. This means that there is no necessary correlation between knowledge of the technique of carving and knowledge of the symbolic meanings of the g.ss. This hypothesis is clearly supported by Siyakwakwa and Tonori, who in discussing the probable meanings of the g.ss. interpreted as symbolic

metaphors, introduce the word utobobuta, 'supposition', 'to suppose', to signify that a g.s. can suggest various meanings (cf. statements C.SS,75 and C.SS,77).

✓ In fact, a lagimu and a tabuya 'perhaps' represent a man, or a mythical hero, or a woman, or all of these. But the meanings associated with the prows are only a 'supposition' of the interpreter. That 'supposition' may or may not be 'true'. Another carver might give a different interpretation of the same g.s. In fact, Siyakwakwa and Tonori when analysing the meanings of the g.ss., sometimes disagree with my interpretation as well as with the interpretation of Towitara, even though he is considered the best carver in Kitawa.

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NB | The main reason for this disagreement should be sought in the nature of the g.s. (which exists 'in itself' only on the expression plane), on account of which the content or the meaning of the g.s. is based on a personal interpretation of the perceiver, as well as on the culture to which a carver belongs.

But when it is a carver who talks about the principles and norms which govern the composition of the g.ss. on the prows, there are factors which guarantee a high degree of certainty. For example, when Tonori talks about the kwaisaruvi which Towitara carves on the right-hand (kailamila beba) of the lagimu, he stresses that the 'innovation' is not really significant from a 'structural' point of view, since the visual balance between the right and left sides of the canoe has been guaranteed by the different sizes of the protruding parts (beba) of the lagimu. So, Towitara's g.s. is judged by Tonori to be 'redundant', while Siyakwakwa seems to judge the same g.s. 'significant' because it helps to distinguish better the right side of the lagimu from the left.

✓ Here, we have two different points of view about the same problem, but they proceed from a technical or aesthetic judgment concerning the visual balance of the kula canoe. We can agree (or disagree as Towitara did) with Tonori's interpretation of the innovation of Towitara, but we can do this because we have a real problem to solve (that is the visual balance of the canoe) and a traditional solution to the problem to judge.

But, we tread on thin ice when we talk about the symbolic meaning of the kwaisaruvi. In fact, for Tonori as well as for Siyakwakwa, the kwaisaruvi 'suggests' or 'symbolizes' the ears of a man, while for Towitara the same g.s is related to the symbol pakeke which the girls paint around their right eye, so for him it 'symbolizes' a 'beautiful eye'; in other words it symbolizes the concept of 'beauty'.

7/16/7 Why a carver needs metaphors

I have shown that the metaphorical value of a sign (both verbal and non-verbal) is established on the content plane, as its symbolic value. But, what distinguishes the symbolic value from the metaphorical value of a sign if both values are established on its content plane?

In the former case, the meaning does not appear on the expression plane of the sign, while in the latter the meaning, a shifted meaning, appears on the expression plane through a device (a semantic and grammatical device in the case of a verbal sign; a visual device, such as, for example, the phenomenon of 'distortion', in the case of a non-verbal sign) which reveals the metaphorical value attached to the sign.

The symbolic meaning associated to a sign is detached from the expression plane, and is based on elements which are extraneous to the nature of the sign. On the other hand, the metaphorical value of a sign is 'intentional', that is, it is chosen by the creator of the sign who reveals his intention by means of a technical device. For example, when I hear someone murmur 'a busibusi' during the rite of initiation, I understand that this expression does not refer to the 'curve of a banana' but to the 'gentle arching' of the backs of the performers, because the author of the metaphor uses the first person singular a, 'I', prefixed to the continuous present busibusi, to inform that the concept which he wishes to express is not listed in the lexicon used in everyday language, but is an 'unusual', 'shifted', concept, and the shift is expressed on the expression plane of the sign by means of a syntactic device. Moreover, the device of 'scattering' the g.s.s. on the wood surface of the prow, reveals that a Kitawa carver uses a g.s. as a metaphor. In fact, a g.s. obtained through a process of schematization and

abstraction is carved in an unusual space compared to a naturalistic space; a perceiver does not expect to find an eye (the kwaisaruvi) where usually he expects to see only a shoulder (kaimatara beba and kailamila beba). Or he does not expect to find a mouth (the duduwa) where usually he perceives the abdomen, and so on.

This means that the kwaisaruvi is used in a 'shifted' sense and the shift signalled through the expression plane of the g.s. (the kwaisaruvi is carved as two concaves coconut shells which do not 'represent' a coconut but something else, also) as well as by the context in which the g.s. has been carved. In fact, the framework of the lagimu in which the kwaisaruvi has been carved, is not 'naturalistic', so the perceiver is informed that the 'scattering' of the g.ss. on the wood surface means that the g.ss. are used as metaphors.

Yet the expression plane of the kwaisaruvi, as well as of other g.ss., reveals its metaphorical value as in the case of the verbal sign used metaphorically. In fact, the expression plane of the kwaisaruvi expresses the 'shift' on the ground of which I can establish its metaphorical value: the g.s. is carved and painted in an 'unusual way'. The perceiver can see an 'astonishing' g.s. carved in an 'astonishing' place (the framework of the lagimu). Yet the extraneousness is perceived at the iconographical level, which masks the symbolic level. In fact, to discover that the kwaisaruvi symbolizes the idea of beauty, a perceiver needs to work on the verbal level (the language of the critic) and to label the g.ss. with a 'noun' (pakeke). Then, within the verbal sign he should work on the content plane, on which the symbolic meaning of the sign has been expressed. To sum up, every Kitawa man can perceive a lagimu and tabuya as a set of ordered scrolls, dots, lines and so on, carved and painted in the wood surfaces (aesthetic reading).

Some men (usually the carvers and men who take part on the kula) can establish that the g.ss. have been carved in a 'shifted' space and in an unusual way, compared to the 'naturalistic' modes of representation. The result is that the figures which they perceive is an 'astonishing' flying creature (iconographic reading). Only a few men, the tokabitanu bougwa, can give an interpretation of the meanings associated to each g.s. carved on the prow (symbolic reading). In this case, the carver acts as a critic and works with a 'metalanguage'. That is, he uses 'words' which label the g.s.

CONCLUSION

I have shown that when a Kitawan carver is reading the values expressed by a prow he can act on three levels: aesthetic, iconographic and symbolic.

1. The aesthetic level: a carver perceives a prow as an ordered framework of scrolls, dots and lines, carved on the wood surface. Moreover, unlike a simple perceiver he knows 'why' a scroll or dot, has been carved in a given space of the prow and not in another space. Each g.s., in fact, expresses visually an established order, accepted for a given period of time, of some aesthetic principles such as harmony, balance, beauty and so on. The kwaisaruvi and the weku, for example, realize the principle of 'visual balance' of the kula canoe, while the kailamila beba and kaimatara beba visualize the concept of symmetry, and the karawa the concept of 'axis': yet the three elements are related to each other. In fact, the symmetry between kaimatara beba and kailamila beba can be established only on the ground of the karawa.

But to know the reason why the weku is carved on the left side of a lagimu while the kwaisaruvi on its left side, does not add anything to the pure aesthetic appreciation of that lagimu: a simple perceiver can see that two g.ss. carved in the same shape and painted with the same colour would disturb its visual balance, when it is put on a kula canoe.

2. The iconographic level: a carver knows that the lagimu and tabuya represent iconographically an astonishing, flying monster, and this value is expressed through the expression plane of the g.ss. The carver knows, for example, that the two empty holes labelled weku, are a visual device used to represent the iconographic value of 'voice', 'shout', or 'organs of speech'.

So, the iconographic value and the aesthetic value of a g.s. should be read on its expression plane because these values appear as visual forms:

a) the aesthetic value of the weku, appears as an empty g.s. which balances the kwaisaruvi carved as a solid and black g.s.;

b) the iconographic value of the weku appears as a cavity which 'per se' should metaphorize the voice or shout.

In both cases a carver works on the visual level, at the level of forms, and he does not need the mediation of the verbal language 'to perceive', 'to see', these forms. In fact, the aesthetic value and the iconographic value express themselves by means of non-verbal language.

3. The symbolic level: this is the level on which usually only a tokabitamu bougwa operates. One who, for example, associates with the weku the meaning of 'shout as primeval act of creation', as well as the image of a mythical hero. Yet, his interpretation is just a 'supposition' (utobobuta) which may or may be not true. In fact, in order to associate the meaning of 'primeval act of creation' with the weku, a tokabitamu bougwa should transcend the nature of the visual sign typical of the weku and collect the ensemble of items scattered in his own cultural background, as well as in the cultural tradition of Kitawa. In this work of collecting information to be associated to the weku, a tokabitamu bougwa acts as a critic who uses the verbal language and works on the content plane of the verbal sign (weku) which labels the g.s. carved on the prow. Hence, the word which labels the g.s. helps to identify the probable symbolic meanings attached to the g.s., but the 'word' does not 'mean' the g.s. In fact, if I label each g.s. carved on the prow with numbers, such 1, 2, 3, and so on, the aesthetic and the iconographic meaning of each g.s. and of the whole prow will not change: the g.ss. will represent the same values.

But it will not be the same if I designate, for example, the weku with the word gwadi (child): the symbolic meaning of the g.s. should be, perhaps, a different one. This means that the meaning associated to the word which designates a g.s. determines the symbolic reading of the g.s. That is to say, when he is working or perceiving a lagimu or tabuya a carver acts primarily on the expression plane of the g.ss. which compose the prow. Then, only when he is interpreting the symbolic content expressed by the same g.ss. does he act on the content plane of the words which label the g.ss.

In the Introduction I wrote that a man can appreciate Raphael's Madonna della seggiola without thinking 'what' the symbolic meaning of the painting should be, because its real meaning is expressed only by the order of the g.ss. Mutatis mutandis, I can appreciate the beauty of the kula canoe's prows, that is, their formal arrangement of dots, scrolls, lines and so on, without thinking 'what' they express symbolically.

Yet just as a perceiver, in order to interpret ('suppose') the symbolic meaning of Raphael's Madonna, should cross the boundaries of the visual order of the g.ss. which form the painting, so a perceiver, (both a carver and a man extraneous to the culture in which the prow has been carved) when analysing symbolically a lagimu or tabuya, should recall into the framework of the prow some elements of Kitawan culture which are not expressed by the formal order of the g.ss. carved on the prow. In doing that, he needs to label the painting or the prow, as well as the g.ss. which form the painting or the prow, with a 'noun' or a title (for example, Madonna della seggiola, lagimu, tabuya, etc.). In doing that, he is working on the verbal level and he is interpreting the symbolic meaning of 'some words' with non-verbal signs. The meaning which he associates arbitrarily with a word is always the meaning of a verbal sign. Then, this meaning is transferred in a non-verbal context and becomes the meaning of a g.s. so that the symbolic meaning of a g.s. is doubly arbitrary.

This mechanism is quite clear for those Kitawan carvers who are intellectually gifted. In fact, the term utobobuta used by Siyakwakwa in some of his statements (cf. Conversation C), and which I translated as 'supposition' and 'to suppose', express very well the ambiguous nature of the symbolic reading both of a verbal and non-verbal sign.

It should be remembered that the relationship between a g.s. and the word which designates that g.s. is completely arbitrary. In fact, the word which designates a g.s. is sometimes different from the word which designates an item of the natural environment from which the g.s. has been derived. For example, I have shown that the term doka which labels the two central g.ss. on the upper part of the lagimu, is not related to the name goragora which labels the nautilus shell from which the g.s. carved on the prow has been derived through a process of stylization and abstraction. But, the word doka if it is analysed from a symbolic point of view expresses in its content plane the concept of 'intellectual activity' which the carver

wishes to express through the g.s. While the content plane of the word goragora does not express the same symbolic meaning of the term doka, even if the latter is an iconographic interpretation of the former.

To sum up, a carver distinguishes the aesthetic, or formal, interpretation from the symbolic interpretation of a g.s. The latter is carried on the content plane of the noun which labels the g.s., while the former is carried on the expression plane of the g.s. And the discrepancy between the nature of the verbal sign and the nature of a non-verbal sign justifies the two readings. In fact, I have shown that the non-verbal sign (such as the g.ss. carved on the prow) is not articulated into the content plane and the expression plane as the verbal sign. So the impossibility of reading a g.s. symbolically is not typical only of a work of art produced, for example, in a Western society, but it is typical also of a work of art produced in a Melanesian society, such as Kitawa.

If Siyakwakwa, Tonori and Towitara, told me that the weku could symbolize the 'voice of the hero', or that the lagimu could be interpreted as the face of a man, this means that from a methodological point of view they cannot be sure of their symbolic interpretation, because their interpretative insecurity depends on the morphological nature of the non-verbal sign: the weku as a g.s. expresses itself only on the expression plane because the content plane is typical of the verbal sign which labels the g.s. So the symbolic interpretation of the weku should be referred to the noun which labels it. But, the symbolic interpretation has nothing to do with the weku as a g.s. which expresses only an aesthetic and iconographic value.

 This means that the aesthetic and iconographic reading is more accessible than the symbolic reading. If it is true that only a carver, who knows very well the traditional meanings associated with the g.ss. carved on the prows, can give a symbolic interpretation of the lagimu and tabuya, it is also true that every inhabitant of Kitawa can appreciate the aesthetic value of the prow. An aesthetic appreciation does not require any reference to extra-contextual elements, that is, to an ensemble of values which are not pertinent to the aesthetic nature (framework) of the prow. Or, better, these extra-contextual elements are 'immanent' to the prow. Yet they are transformed into aesthetic or formal elements.

If the weku symbolizes the shout as 'creative act', this symbolic value has been expressed through a form which has denied the morphological nature of the symbolic values (expressed on the content plane of the word which label the g.s.) and has transformed it into an iconographic value (the two holes fretted on the wood and which are associated to the concept of 'emptiness'). But during the process of transformation the g.s. had lost its symbolic value (that is to be related, through the word which labels it, to some mythical, religious, social and other values) and has acquired the nature of a non-verbal sign, and has become a 'pure form'. This 'form', visualised by the two oblong holes, just because it is a 'form' can be perceived by everybody. For the same reason, everybody can appreciate, or not, Raphael's Madonna della seggiola, without thinking of the symbolic value which the painting might express.

Raphael

So, when the perceiver (reader) is analysing the prow of a kula canoe or whatever else for that matter (such as, for example, the Madonna della seggiola), he should specify if he is interested only in the aesthetic and iconographic interpretation, which he should carry on the expression plane of the g.ss., or also in a symbolic interpretation of the same g.ss.

In the latter case, he should carry the analysis on the content plane of the words which label the g.ss. and he would need to be supported by a semantic analysis of the words. This means that he works at the level of the verbal language. Moreover he should not forget that the meaning of a word, that is a verbal sign is associated arbitrarily to the expression plane of the sign, and this arbitrariness in its turn influences the symbolic value (reading) of the g.s.

In fact, if we accept that a verbal sign is formed by means of an arbitrary association between a content plane (signifié) and an expression plane (signifiant), when this sign is used to label a g.s. (that is, a non verbal sign), this arbitrariness increases and causes sometimes a high degree of uncertainty on the symbolic interpretation of the g.s.

We have seen in fact, that when Siyawkwa and Tonori talk about the symbolic meaning of the kwaisaruvi, for example, they give a different interpretation from that given by Towitara, but in the meantime accept Towitara's interpretation because it is judged more 'correct' or 'pertinent'. Why should the interpretation of Towitara be accepted as more

'correct'? I think that there are two kinds of answers to this question:

a) Towitara's interpretation is based on the principles of 'coherence' and 'non-contradiction': the meanings of 'eye' and 'beauty' associated symbolically to the kwaisaruvi do not contradict the symbolic values expressed by the other g.ss. carved on the lagimu, and is 'coherent' with the general symbolic meaning expressed by the lagimu.

b) Towitara's interpretation is given also on the ground of a deep knowledge of the traditional culture of Kitawa, as well as of the mythology related to the kula. This means that the symbolic meaning which Towitara associates with the g.ss. are also the symbolic meanings of the traditional culture of Kitawa carvers, and this gives to the interpretation of Towitara greater prestige.

The latter point confirms that a symbolic interpretation is based on the arbitrary association between a given g.s. and a cultural value. In fact, if Siyakwakwa and Tonori accept the symbolic interpretation given by Towitara, it is because Towitara is respected as a depository of the traditional culture of Kitawa carvers and of the kula mythology. This remains true even if the association between a g.s. and a symbolic meaning made by Towitara is established on the ground of a 'supposition'.

To sum up, if the symbolic interpretation of a g.s. (or an ensemble of g.ss. which form a work of art, such as the kula canoe's prows) is formed on the ground of a 'supposition' made by the author of the g.s., then an ethnographer who is analysing the same work or g.s., should identify this 'supposition' or he should reconstruct it by means of a semantic analysis of the word which labels the g.s. This means that without the explicit support of the author of the symbolic value of a g.s., an ethnographer (who confirms his function of interpreter or critic) can give only an aesthetic or iconographic reading (interpretation) of the g.s. Or, also, he can in his turn, only make conjectures as to what the symbolic meaning of a g.s. is.

essentially??

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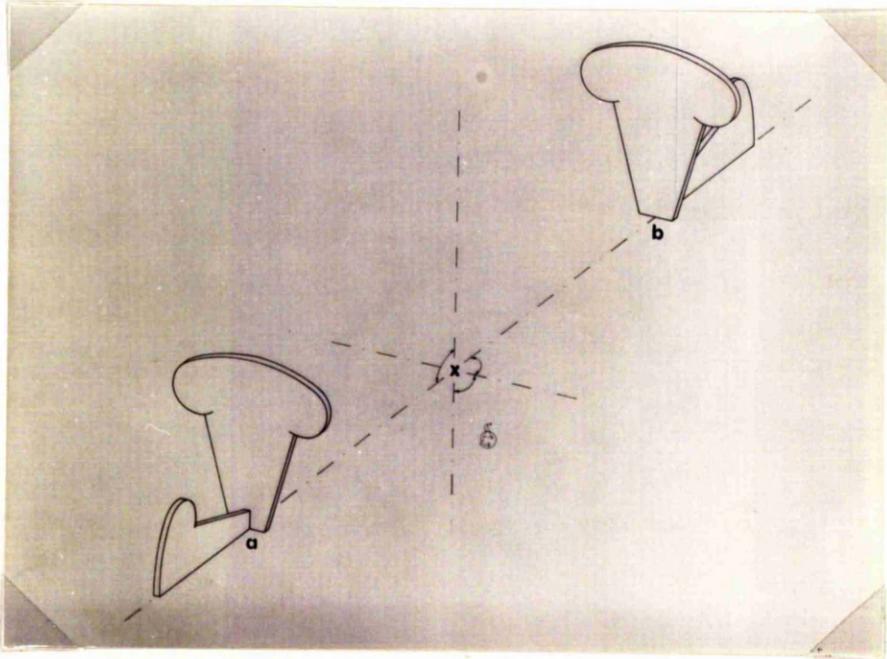
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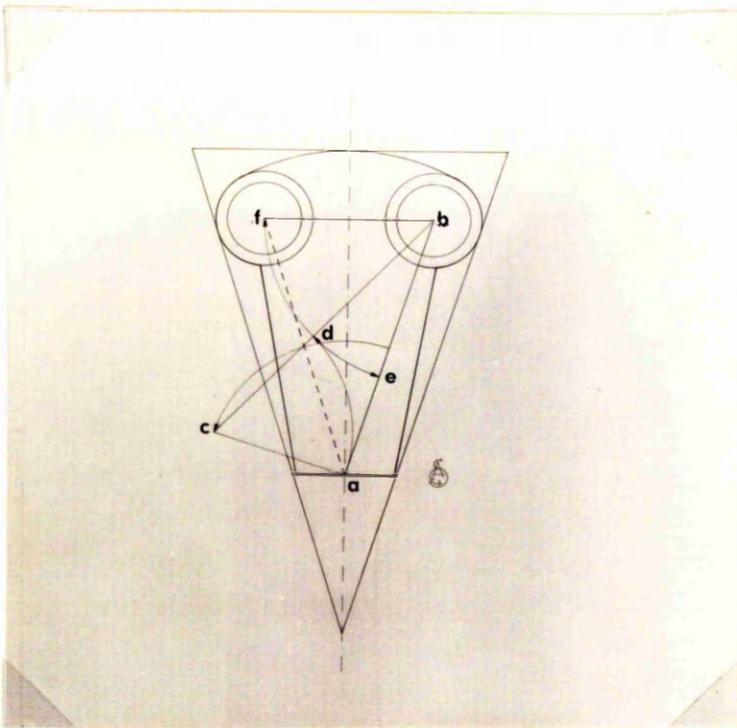
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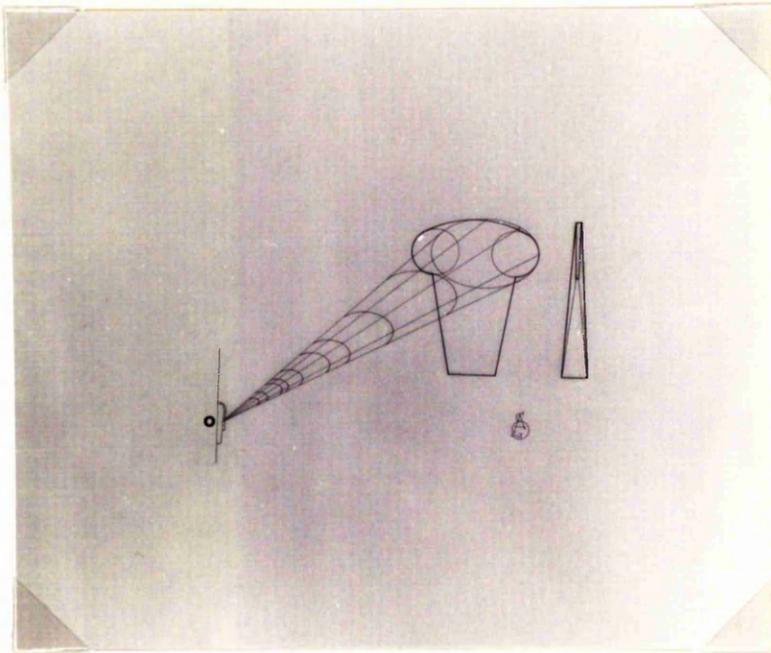


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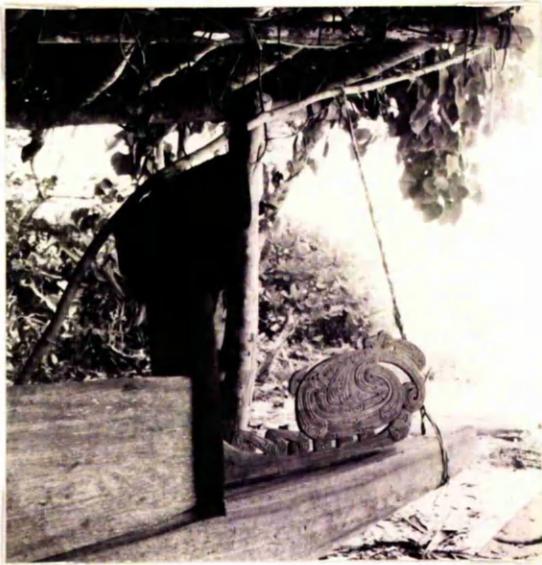
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Figure 3

FB is the golden section of AB. To draw the golden section of AB, its half AC is to be taken and orthogonally drawn on A. We draw the circle (C, AC) that intersects CB at D, and finally we draw the circle (B, BD) that intersects AB at E; it is the golden section of AB.



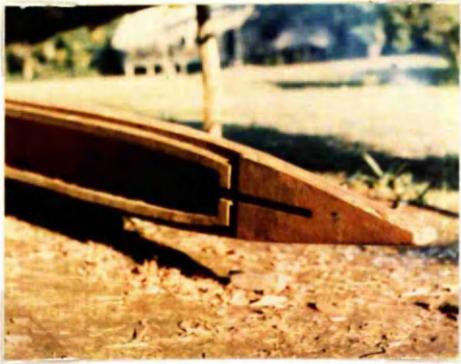
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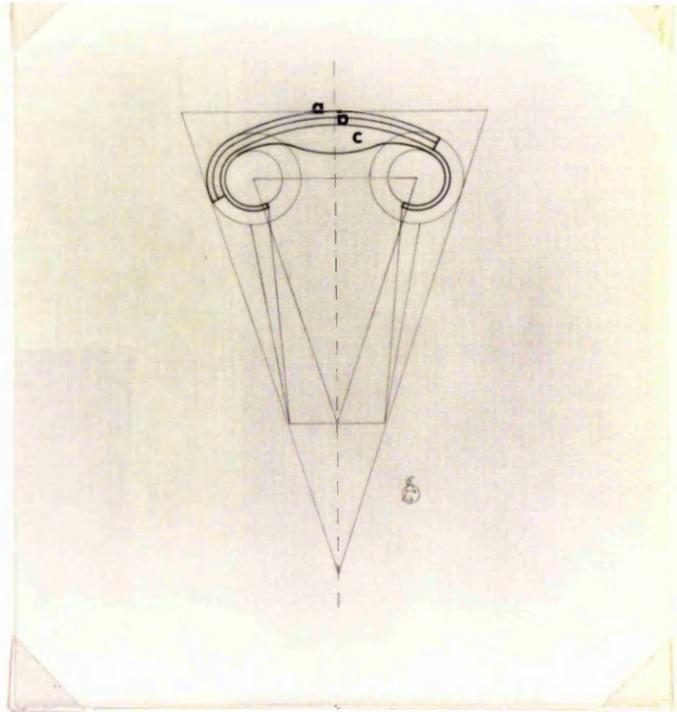
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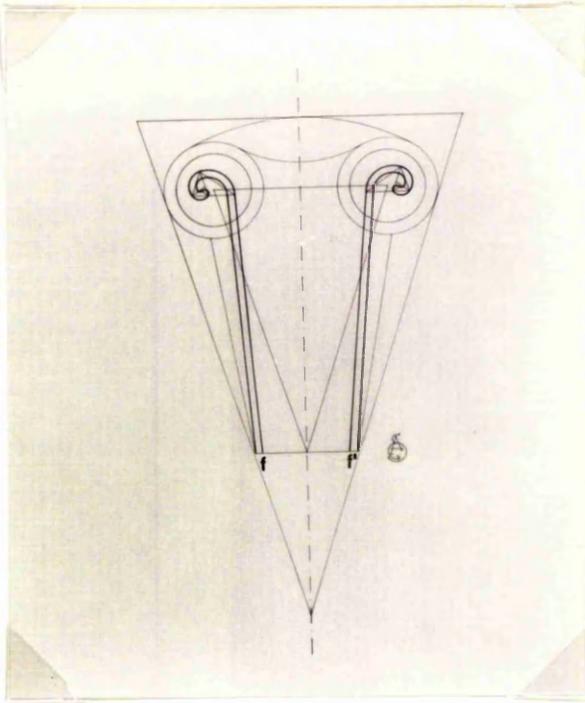


9

- B, susawila
- C, rekoreko or siyakwakwa
- D, kabilabala
- E, gigiwani
- F, doka
- G, tokwalu
- H, matagatu
- I, weku
- J, kwaisaruvi

- A, monikiniki
- K, kara kaimalaka
- L, kara kaivau
- M, vakaboda
- N, karau
- O, ubwara or matara ina
- P, ginigini
- Q, karawa
- R, duduwa
- S, kaikikila

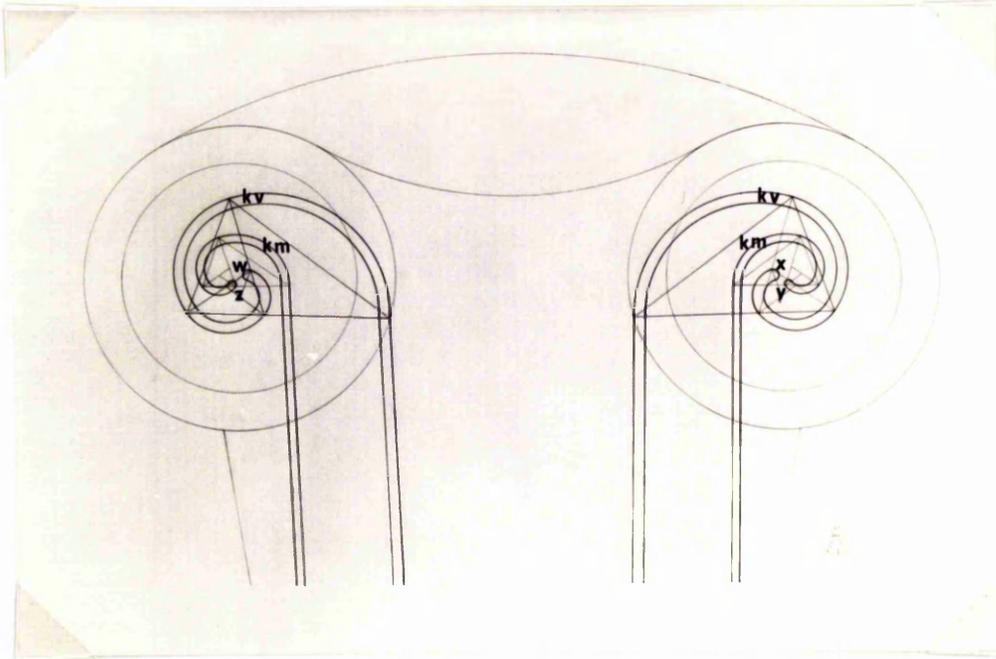
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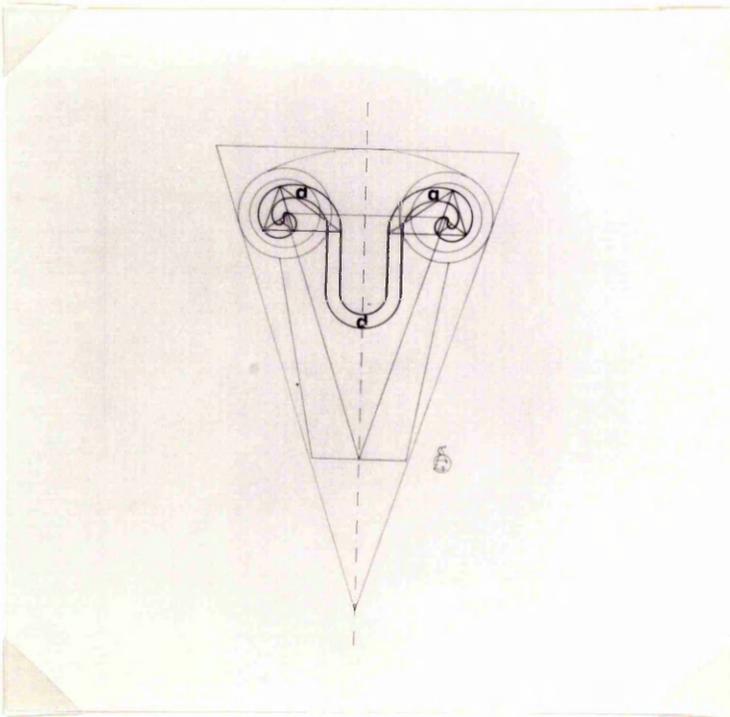
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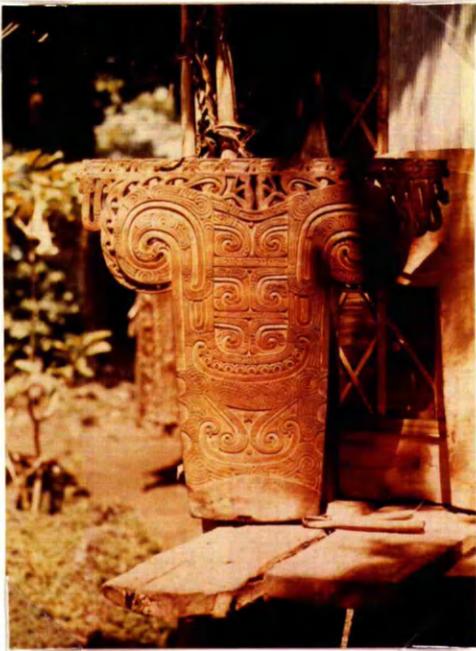
p.t.o. →

Figure I2

kv = kara kaivau
km = kara kaimalaka
y = starting-point of the spiral km (right)
x = starting-point of the spiral kv (right)
z = starting-point of the spiral km (left)
w = starting-point of the spiral kv (left)



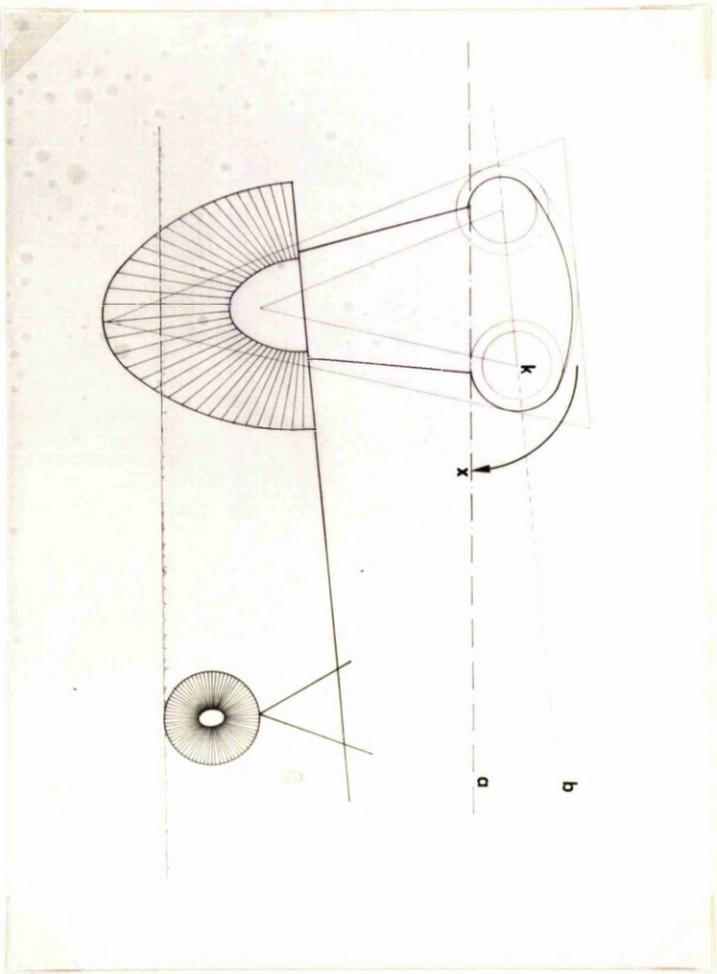
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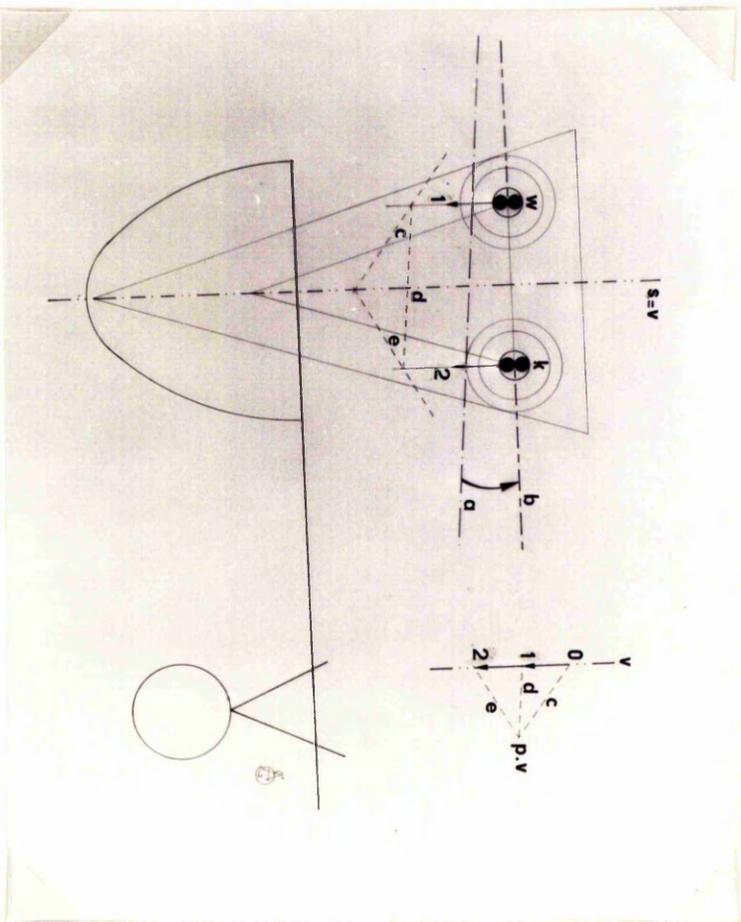
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14



16



17

schema TK

p.t.o. →

Figures I6, I7, I8 and I9

\underline{s} = axis of symmetry of the lagimu

\underline{v} = quasi-axis (apparent) due to the difference of mass of the weku and kwaisaruvi

$\underline{O1}$ = quasi-mass vector (weku)

$\underline{O2}$ = quasi-mass vector (kwaisaruvi)

P.V. = quasi-pole of the quasi-funicular polygon

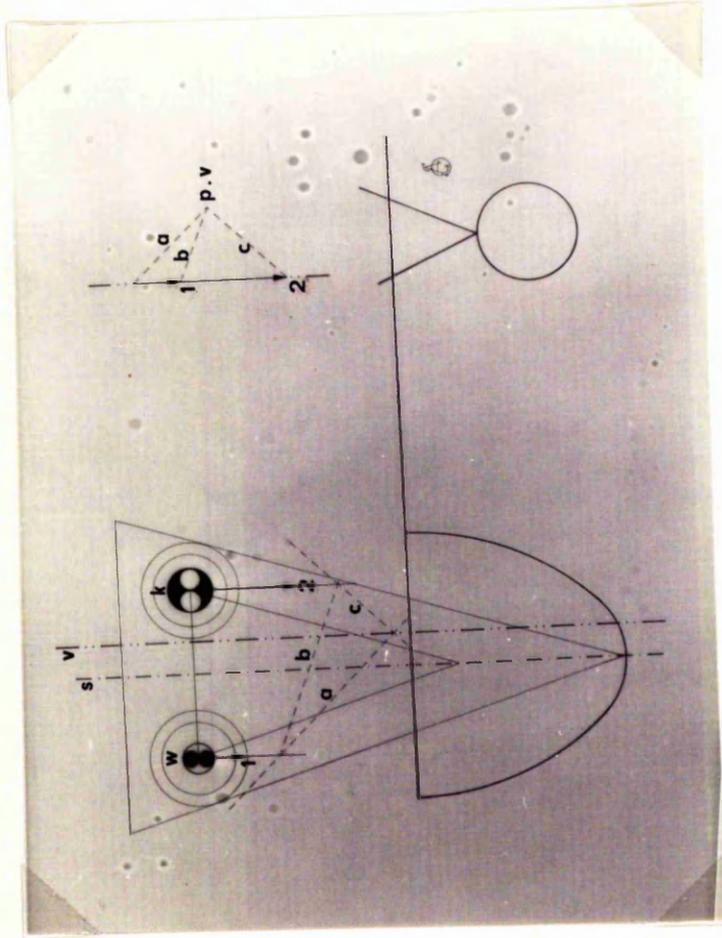
$\underline{a-b-c}$ (figures I8 and I9), $\underline{d-e}$ (figure I7) = sides of the quasi-funicular polygon

The intensity of the quasi-mass vector is proportional to the surface of g.s.s., that is to their quasi-mass. The displacement of the symmetry axis \underline{s} from axis \underline{v} is due to the different intensity of quasi-masses proportional to the g.s.s., and it is determined through the composition of quasi-mass vectors $\underline{O1}$ and $\underline{O2}$, by using the method of the funicular polygon (graphic method to place the resultant inside the space of non-convergent forces).

Polygonal construction of the 'schema-lagimu' forces

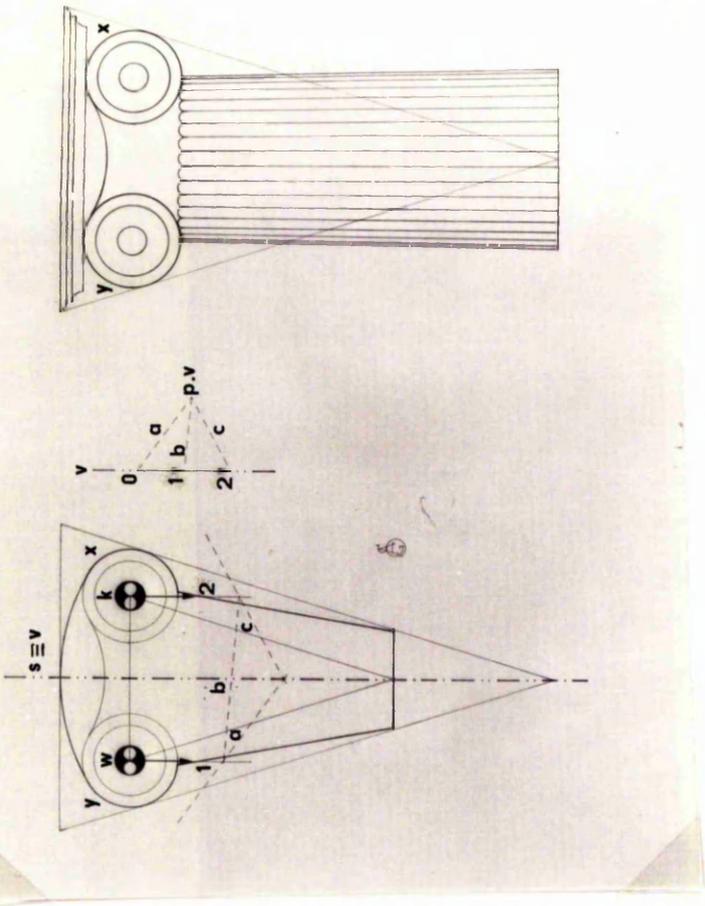
- 1, the quasi-mass vectors are parallel to each other and summed up in a vector sense (figures on the right of the lagimu):
- 2, the points 0, 1, 2, shall be connected to the quasi-pole P.V., arbitrarily chosen, so fixing the sides of the funicular polygon (a, b, c);
- 3, by considering the polygon and drawing parallels to its sides (a-c or c-a), we will find the crossing point V on the quasi-axis \underline{v} .

In figures I7 and I9 the quasi-axis and the axis of symmetry coincide, since the quasi-mass vectors are equal.



18

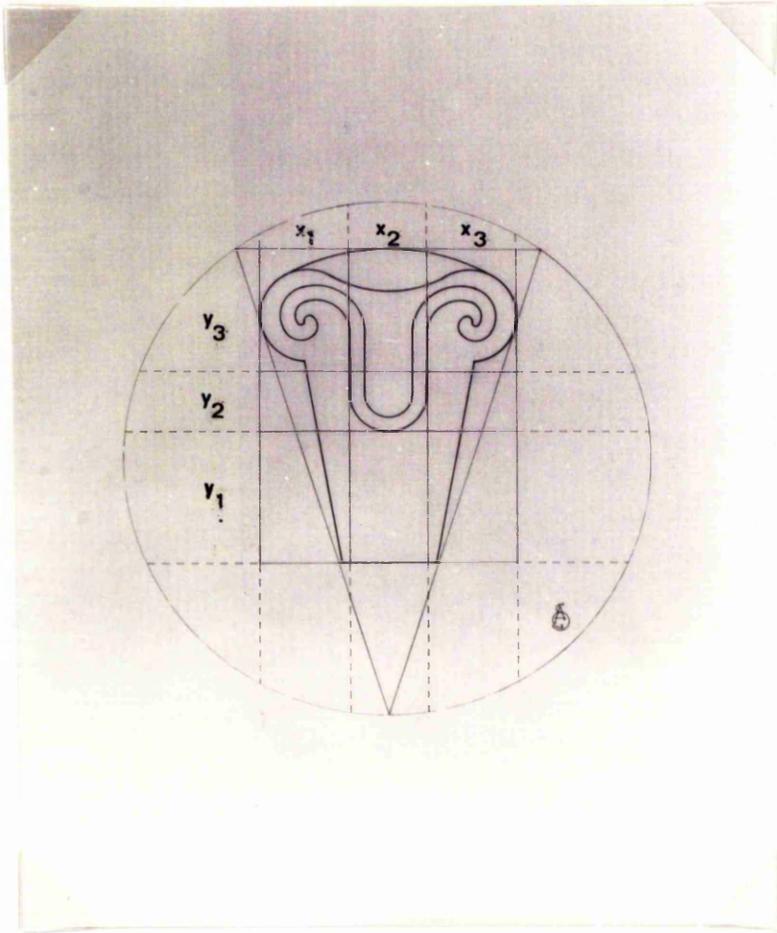
schema T



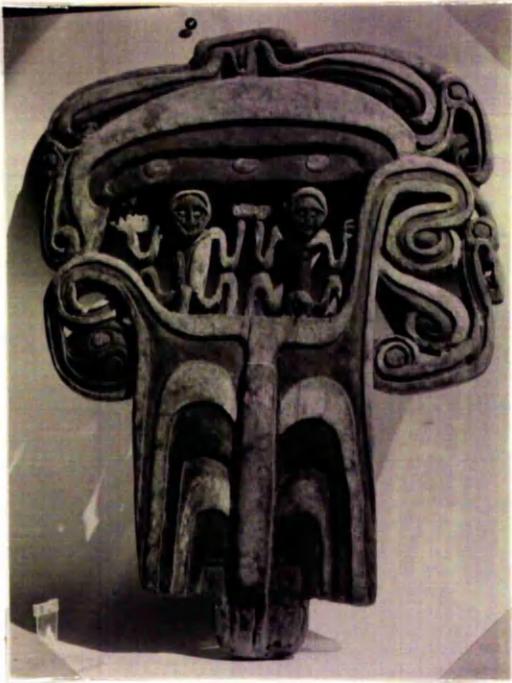
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schema To









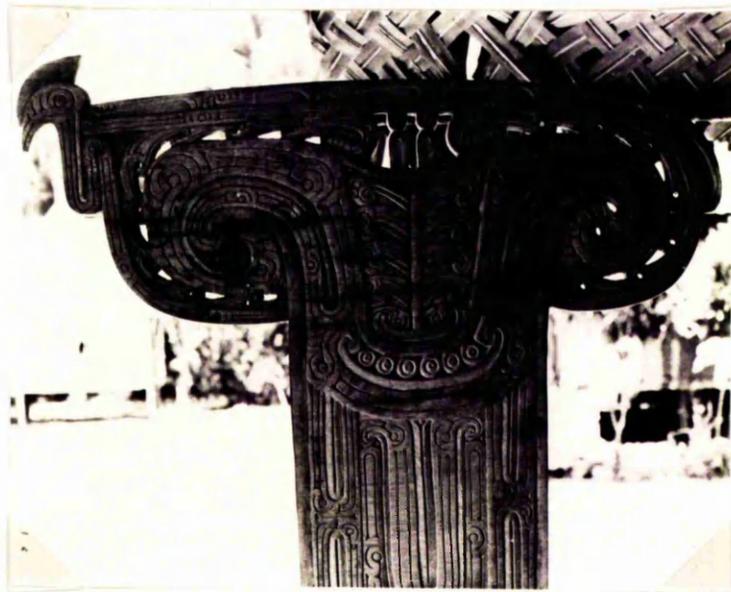
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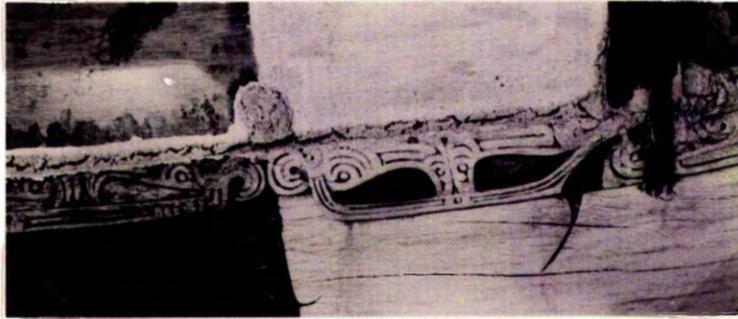
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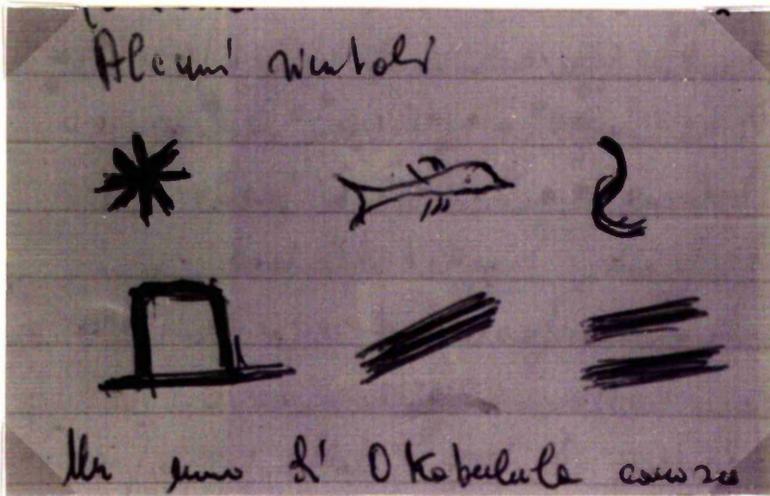
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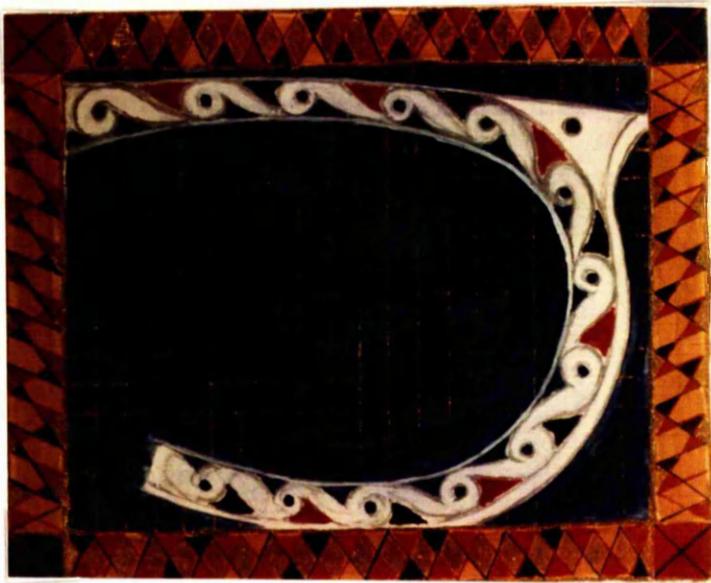
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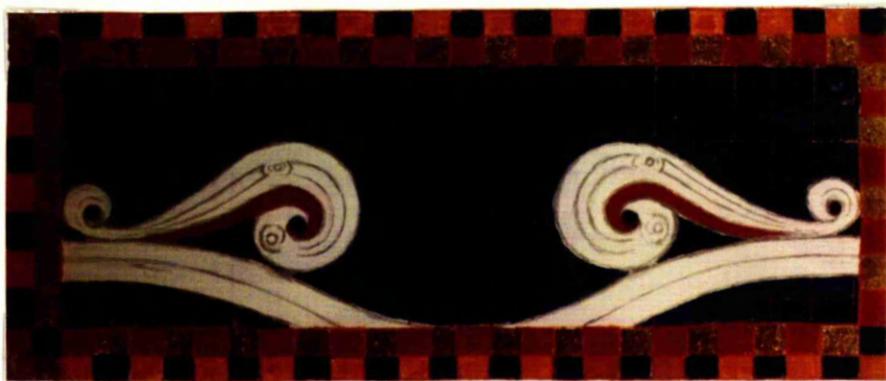
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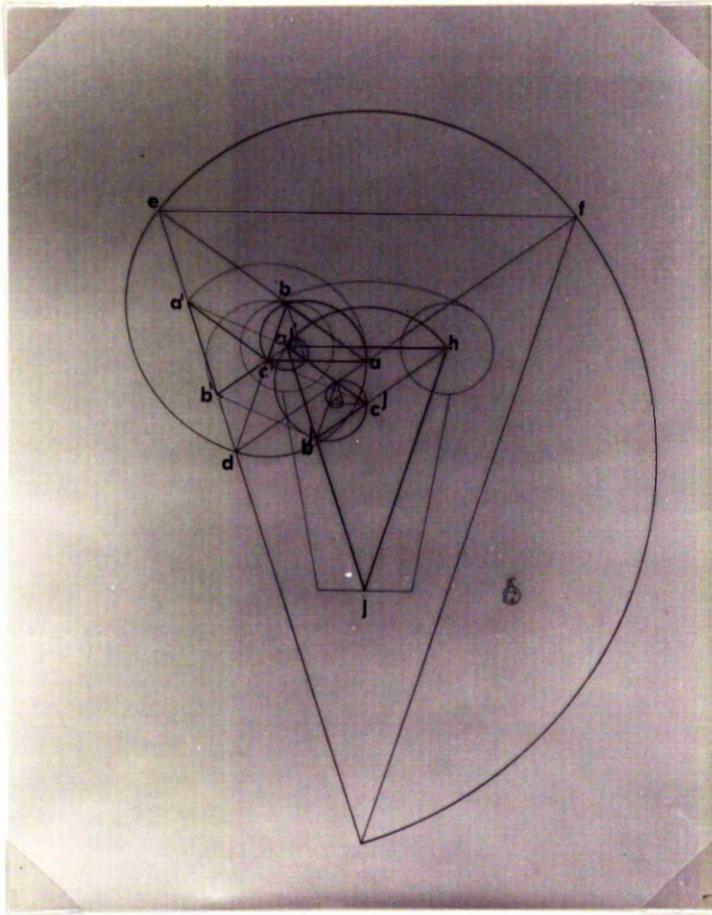
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35



36

p.t.o.



Figure 36

The triangle EFG, that inscribes the schema of the lagimu, is the last of a 'gnomic' series of triangles including the g.ss.

So, we have that the triangle $A^j B^j C^j$ (that includes the weku or kwaisaruvi), is the 'gnomon' of the triangle $A^j H^j$; the 'translation' triangle $A^i B^i C^i$, is the 'gnomon' of the triangle DEA; the triangle DEA is the 'gnomon' of the triangle EFG.



37



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39



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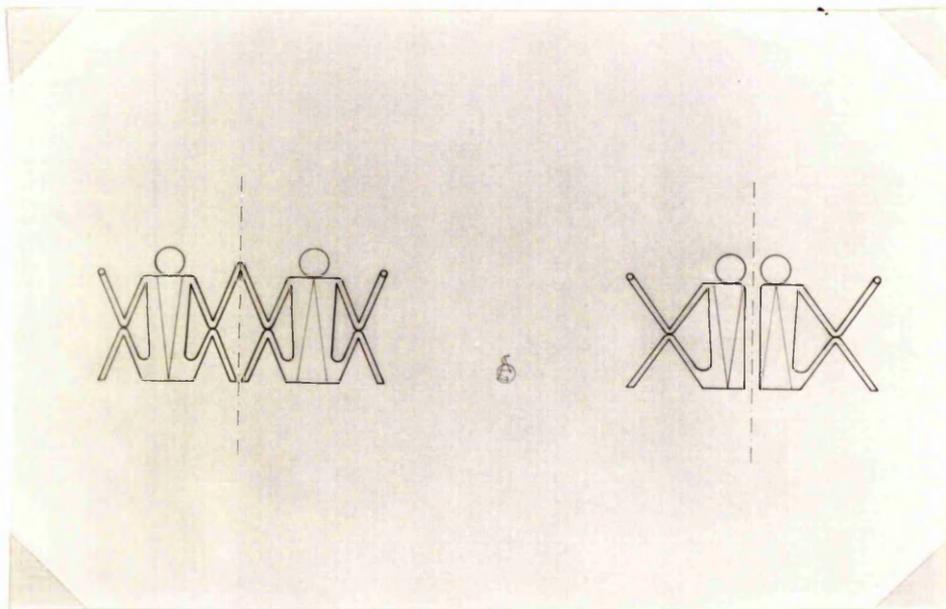
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B, matara ina

C, ubwara

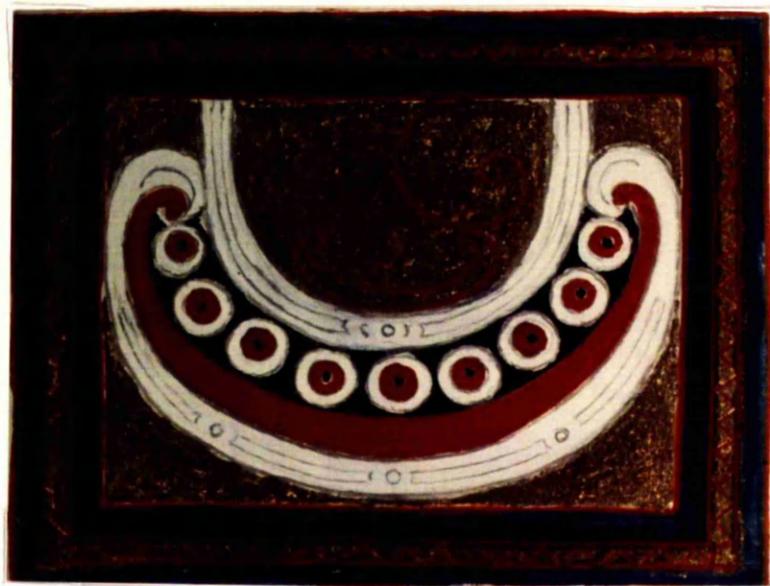
D, matagatu



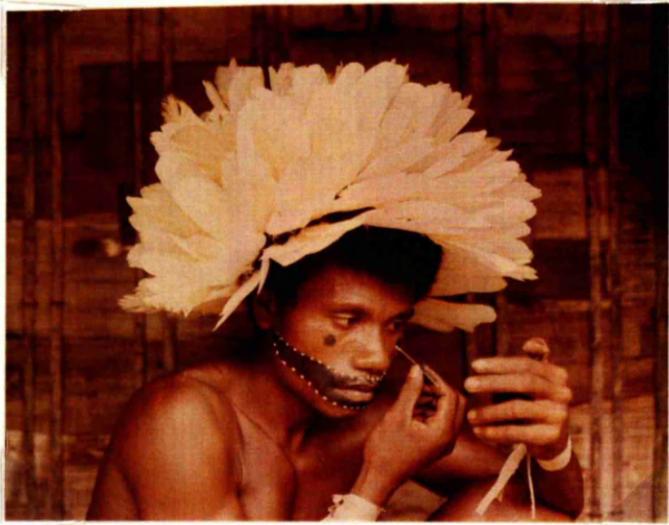
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E, ubwara





52



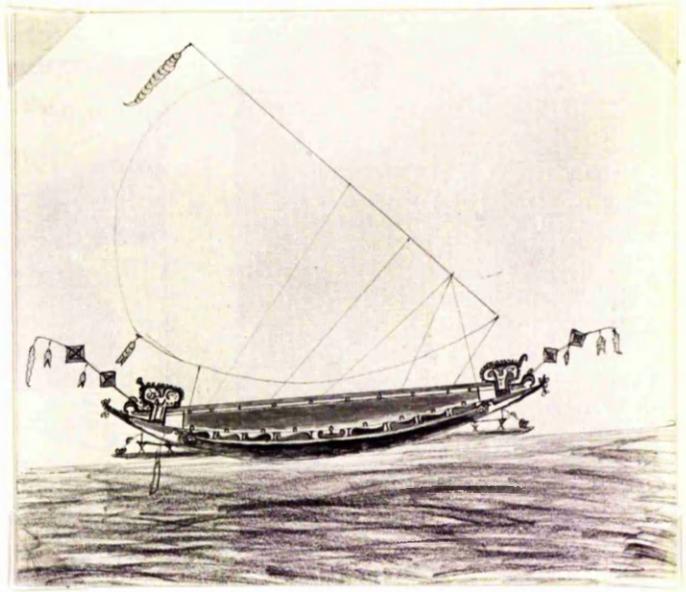
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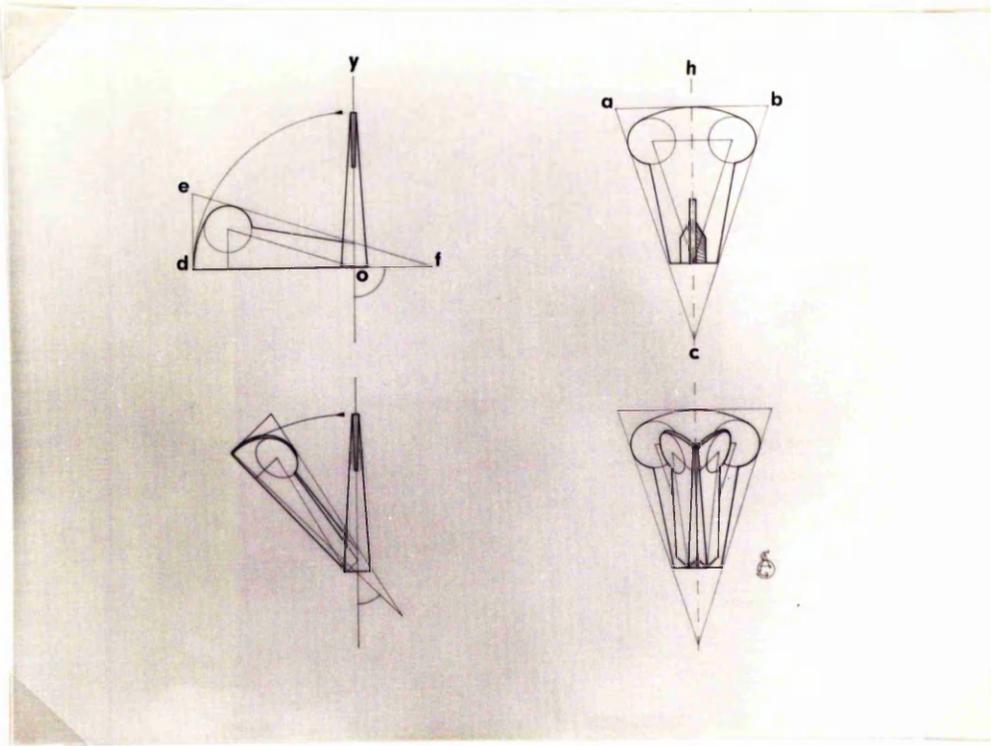
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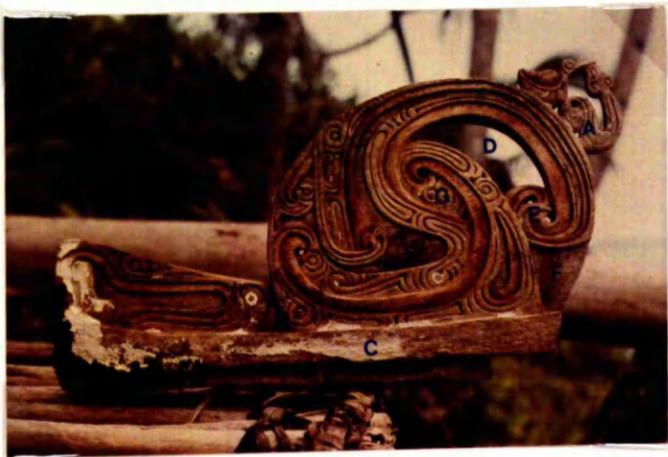
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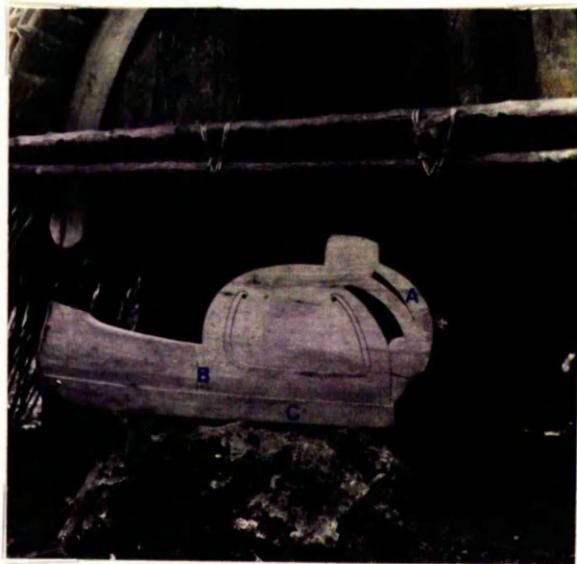
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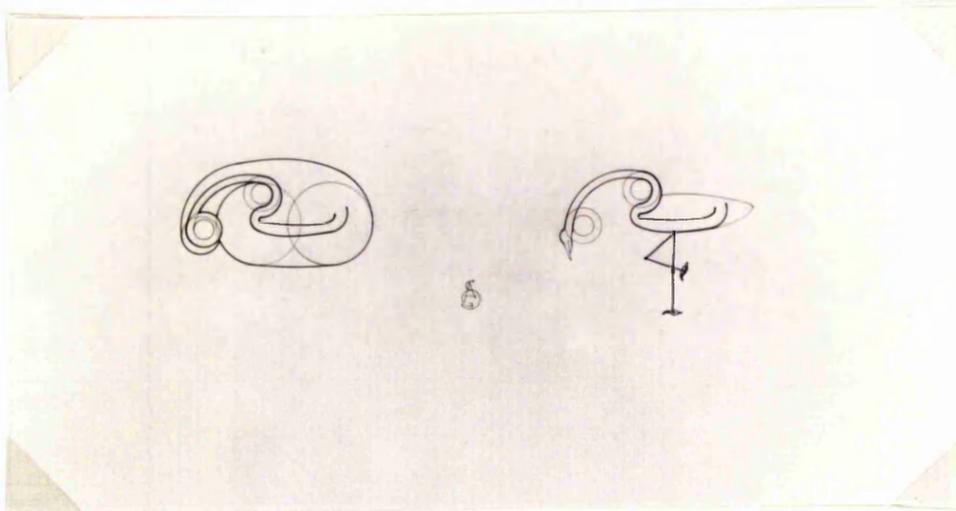
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59



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Figs. 58, 59:

A, susawila, monikiniki, reKoreKo

B, moraboi

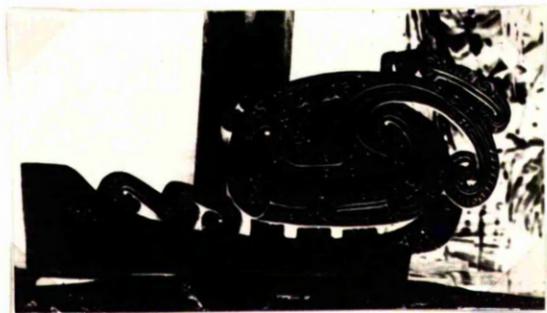
C, kaikikila

D, buribwau

E, weku

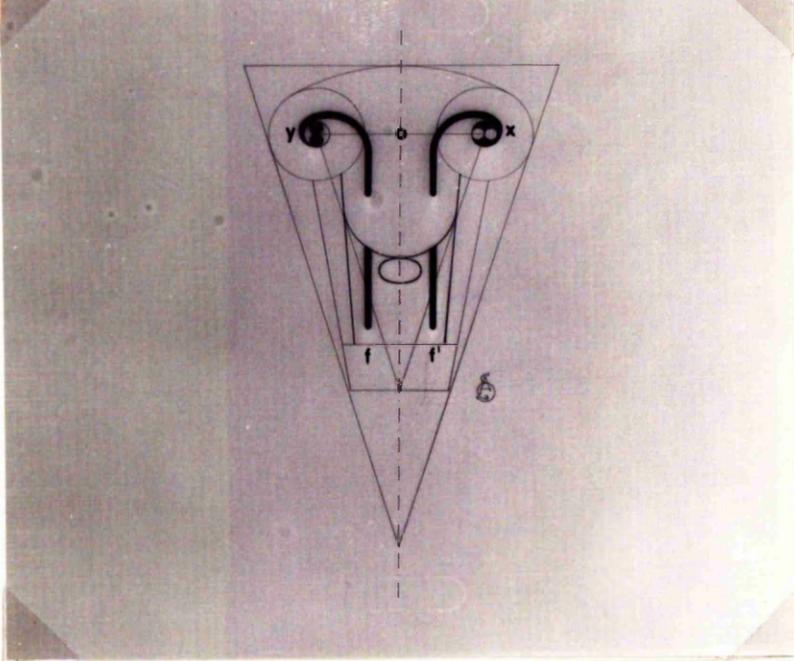
F, matagatu

G, doka

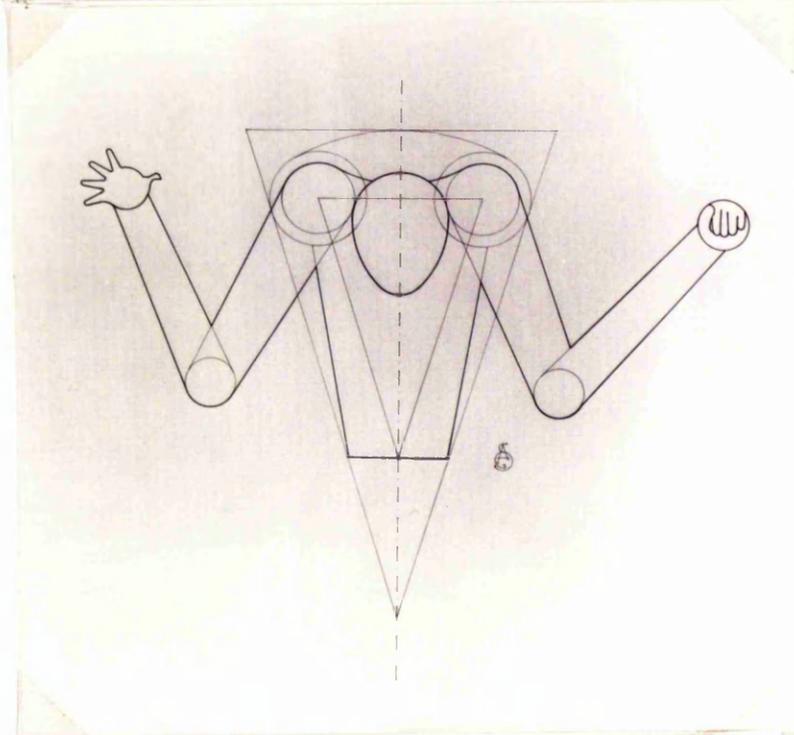


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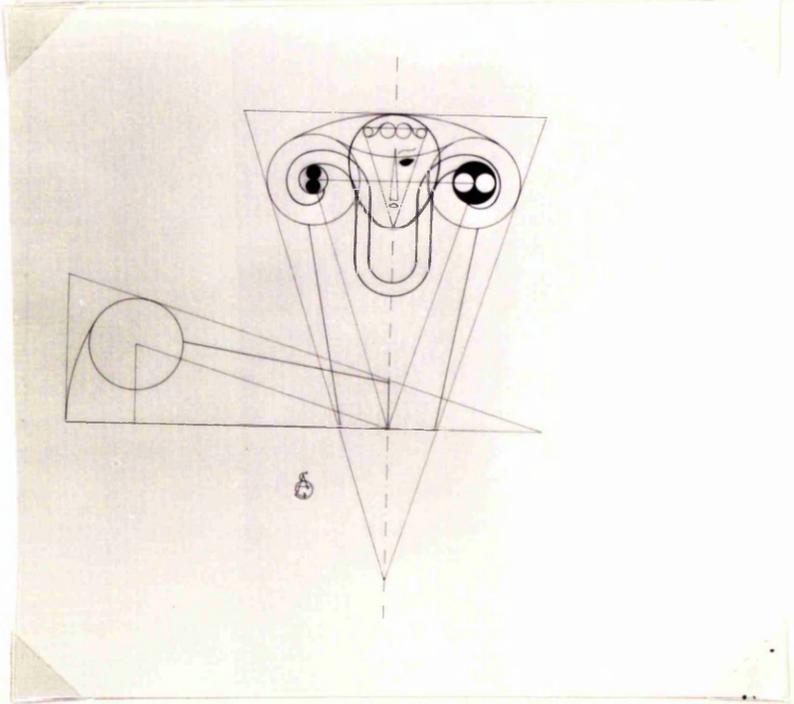
H, manabweta



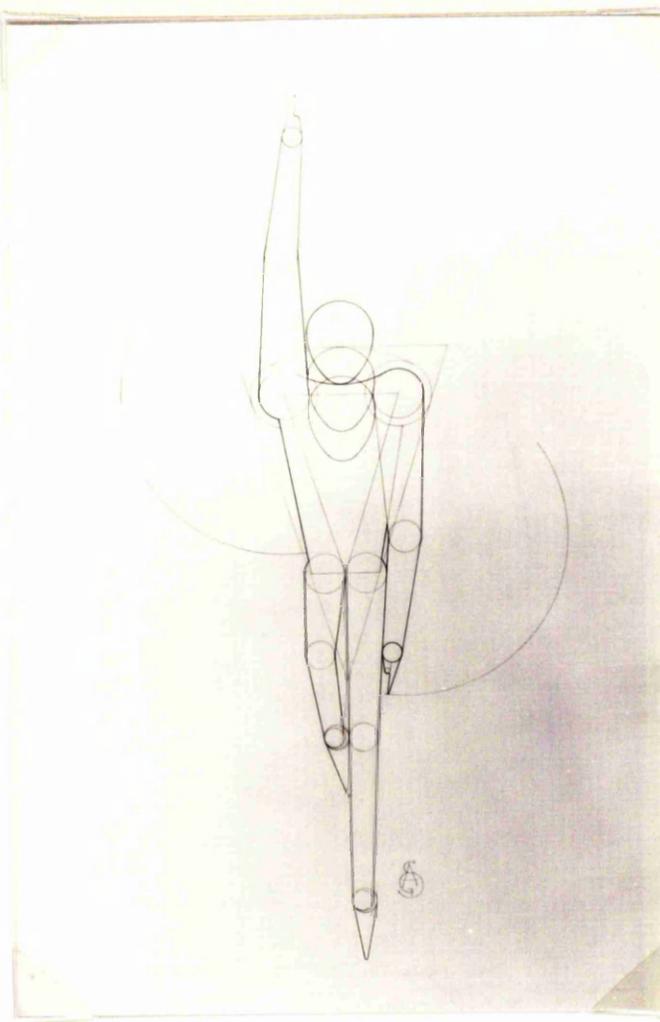
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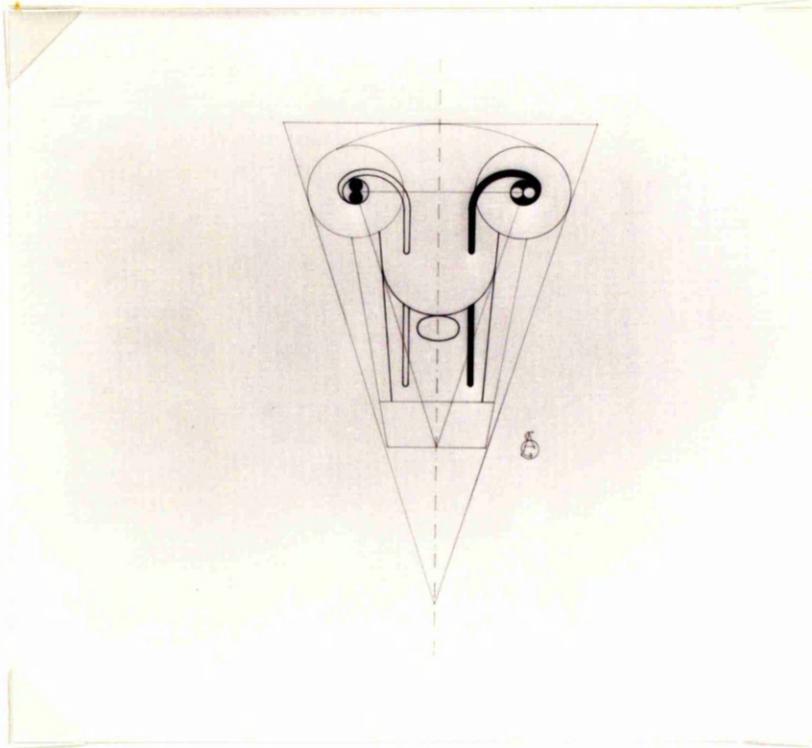
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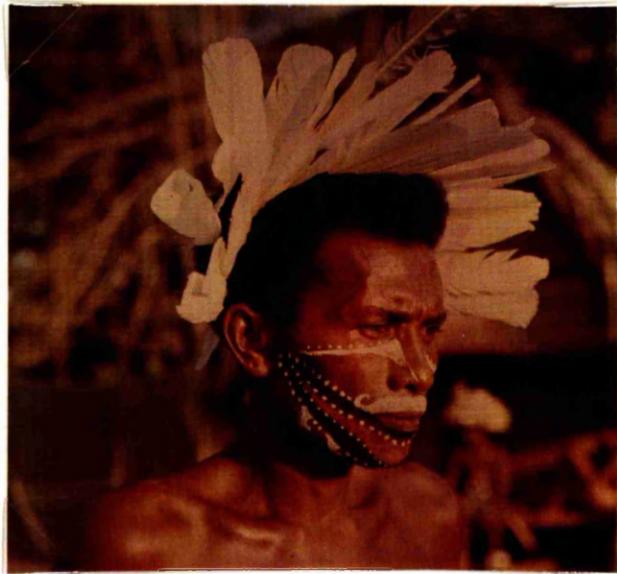
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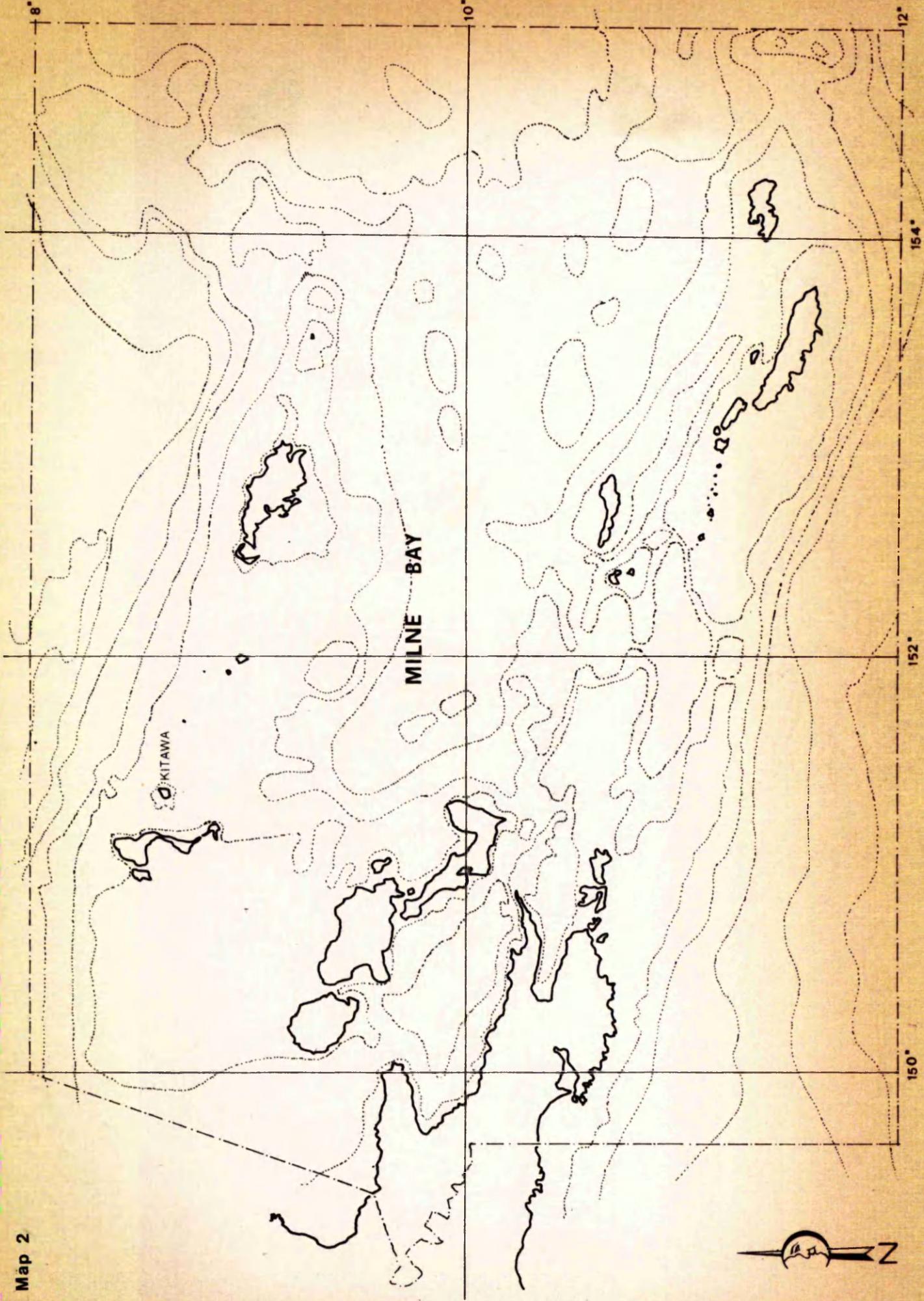


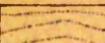
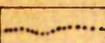
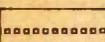
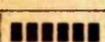
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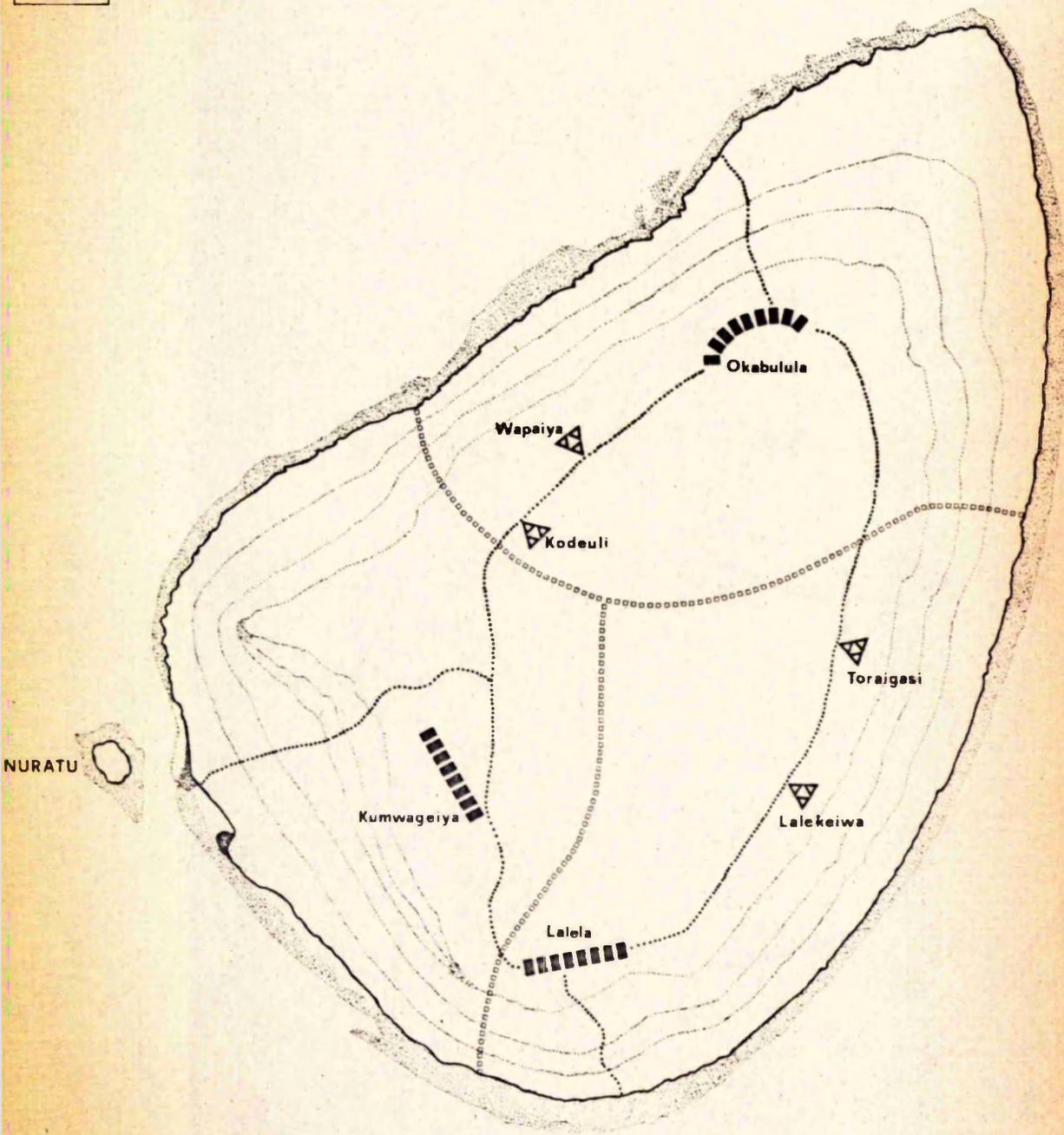


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Map 2



-  CORAL REEF
-  APPROXIMATE CONTOURS
-  PATHS
-  BOUNDARIES
-  VILLAGES
-  HAMLETS



0 1 2km.

THE WOODCARVERS OF KITAWA AND THEIR CANOES:
A LINGUISTIC AND AESTHETIC ANALYSIS
OF VISUAL ART IN MELANESIA

APPENDIX

by Giancarlo Massimo Giuseppe SCODITTI
of Darwin College, Cambridge

A dissertation submitted for the Ph.D. Degree
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

THE AESTHETIC CONVERSATIONS

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Notes on the 'Aesthetic Conversations'

The linguistic data, which I call 'Aesthetic Conversations' were recorded on Kitawa in 1976.¹

From August 1976 to September 1976 I recorded the speeches of Siyakwakwa Tonisuiya, and from September to the end of October 1976, Tonori Kiririyei attended to the conversations, taking part actively in the discussion. The conversations were held in my hut, in the village of Kumwageiya, while those with Tonori were held in his village, Lalekeiwa.

I used an Uher 220 portable tape-recorder, with two automatic tracks and a double microphone which is part of the equipment of the recorder. I recorded 10 cassettes, Basf 90C, with Siyakwakwa, and 3 with both Tonori and Siyakwakwa. This means that the length of each of the 13 cassettes is about one hour and a half.

The texts here transcribed and translated, refer to the three cassettes recorded with Siyakwakwa and Tonori. I have labelled them with the letters A, B and C.

The role of Towitara Buyoyu in the 'Aesthetic Conversations'

The order of speeches with Siyakwakwa and Tonori follows a linguistic and methodological grid which has been determined by Towitara Buyoyu,² with whom I had discussed in 1973-1974 a range of matters concerning the

-
- (1) The conversations have been first transcribed into a written form with phonetic symbols (IPA chart). I would like to acknowledge the remarkable amount of help I have had with regard to the phonetic transcription, from Professor George B. Milner, as well as from Dr Francis Nolan (Department of Linguistics, University of Cambridge). Both the Nowau and the English text have been computerized at the Literary and Linguistic Computing Centre, University of Cambridge. It is a pleasure to acknowledge here the help of Dr J.L. Dawson and his staff (particularly Mrs Cinzia Caballero) for the physical preparation of the texts.
 - (2) Towitara in our conversations spoke Vakutan, the language spoken in Vakuta, an island in the south of Trobriands, from which came the Kumwageiyans. So, my own use of Towitara's terms earned the disapproval of Siyakwakwa, who in the conversations used only Nowau.

technique of carving as well as the aesthetics and the symbolism related to the graphic signs (g.ss.) carved on a lagimu and tabuya.

Towitara, who died on May 1975, had used in our conversations two types of language: a) a 'technical' and 'aesthetic' language, that is a language related to the technique of carving, as well as to the definition of some aesthetic concepts which can be related, for example, to our own concepts of beauty, symmetry, balance, schema, model, reproduction and so on. To define some of these he had resorted sometimes to both 'dead metaphors' and 'living metaphors' (Mooij 1976). The basic concepts of 'schema' and 'expression', for example, were defined by Towitara respectively with a 'dead metaphor' -mwata/'schema' — and a 'living metaphor' — migira/'expression'; b) a 'symbolic' language, that is a language related to the symbolic meanings associated with the g.ss. carved on a prow. In using these two levels of discourse Towitara reflects clearly the sharp distinction which a carver makes between the aesthetic appreciation of a prow and its symbolic interpretation.

The language of the 'Aesthetic Conversations'

The language of the 'Aesthetic Conversations' reflects the reasoning followed by a tokabitamu in carving a prow, as well as the complex relationship between: a) a knowledge of the technique of carving, and b) the ability to speak about that technique, as well as about its aesthetic and symbolic implications.

These types of insight are clearly distinguished by Kitawa carvers, and not possessing one of them does not prejudice the career and the reputation of a carver. For example, Gumaligisa Bela is a good carver but he does not know how to discuss the technique of carving or the aesthetic and symbolic meanings associated with a g.,s. while Siyakwakwa is a good cutter of a kula canoe, a relatively good carver of tabuya, and an extraordinary connoisseur of the terminology and aesthetics related to Kitawa carvers. So, a profound knowledge of the language is regarded as crucial only for an understanding of the symbolic meaning of a g.s., as well as of its aesthetic value.

Tonori who acknowledges in some of his remarks that he does not know Nowau, does not speak in the context of everyday Nowau but rather in the aesthetic and symbolic language relating to a g.s. on a lagimu and tabuya. Yet, the difficulty of understanding and using symbolic language is not typical of Tonori, but is also related to the complex relationship between a g.s. (non-verbal sign) and a word (verbal sign) which labels the former. In fact, when we talk in the 'Aesthetic Conversations' about the symbolic meanings of a prow, that is, of a visual work of art, we argue first about the meaning expressed by a word, then we associate the chosen meaning with the g.s. labelled with the word. To make explicit this intellectual operation requires a remarkable capacity to understand the complex relationship between a verbal sign and a non-verbal one, as well as a profound knowledge of the symbolism related to the g.ss. carved on a prow of a kula canoe. This knowledge is typical of few tokabitamu bougwa such as Towitara, or of a very gifted mind such as that of Siyakwakwa. A young man, such as Tonori, even if is a good carver, cannot be expected to have this depth of knowledge.

Thus, one of the lessons which can be learned from an analysis of the 'Aesthetic Conversations' is that the knowledge of carving a prow is separate from the knowledge of the symbolic meanings associated with it, and separate also from its aesthetic appreciation.

The texts

I have deleted from the Nowau text my own part in the conversations, because I judged it more important to establish clear sets of Nowau conversation than to 'correct' my Nowau which, at the beginning, was faulted by many lexemes borrowed from Towitara Buyoyu, as well as from Boyowa.³ My pronunciation of Nowau was also more affected by alveolar (lateral/approximant) and palato-alveolar phonemes, which characterize Boyowa, than by velar, uvular (both fricative and approximant), and glottal phonemes, which characterize Nowau.

(3) The use of Boyowa lexemes sometimes caused perplexity to Tonori. The presence of Siyakwakwa, who translated all Boyowa terms into Nowau, was decisive.

In any case my remarks in Nowau are recorded in the cassettes placed in the pocket inside the back cover, and their order is fully reproduced in the English text.

I have also removed from the text in Nowau all allomorphs, such, for example, as lube gu which sometimes is uttered luba gu. I have tried, also, to respect in both the interlinear and free translations the use of 'dead' and 'living' metaphors, borrowed from Towitara, which I discovered were ignored by Tonori but not by Siyakwakwa. This obstacle made it advisable to make frequent use of the same methaphor, even if in a different context.

In the interlinear translation each Nowau lexeme has always been translated by a fixed corresponding English lexeme, avoiding all its synonyms, so that the computer could be able to read the frequency of each lexeme.

In the free translation in English I have tried to do justice to the 'sense' of each set of remarks, taking into account the context in which it had been uttered, together with the cultural background which characterizes the language of Kitawa carvers, as well as the colloquial form of their speech.

Table of symbols and notational conventions

Nowau text

- a) between a classifier particle and a noun-stem,
e.g. to-kataraki
b) between a verbal form and a personal pronoun,
e.g. b-a nukwa
- / a) plural, both in verbal and nominal forms,
e.g. i livala/sa
b) a verbal reduplicated form,
e.g. li/livala
c) a nominal reduplicated form,
e.g. bogi/bogi
d) between an auxiliary verb and a verb-stem,
e.g. ta/maya
- + a) link-vowel,
e.g. n+u ku kaui
b) an 'affixation',
e.g. i seka+i+ya
- ... interruption, pause or colloquial form
- () 'reconstructed form',
e.g. (to)-kabitamu
- (()) a verbal or nominal form splitted in its constituents elements, e.g. kaikekita = ((kai-kekita))
- _____ a pidgin or English form uttered by a Nowau speaker,
e.g. buki
- lw. link-vowel

SG, n^o Speaker Giancarlo, order of speech
SS, n^o Speaker Siyakwakwa, order of speech
ST, n^o Speaker Tonori, order of speech
STO, n^o Speaker Togeruwa, order of speech

English text (free translation)

. . . interruption, pause or colloquial form
() alternation, accepted by the Nowau speakers
(()) 'inserted' by the ethnographer
[] referred to the context
A.SG, n^o Cassette A., speaker Giancarlo, order of speech
B.SS, n^o Cassette B., speaker Siyakwakwa, order of speech
C.ST, n^o Cassette C., speaker Tonori, order of speech
A.STO, n^o Cassette A., speaker Togeruwa, order of speech

Nowau and English Texts

Interlinear Translation

Cassette A

*SS,2.

Avei kumila ?
Which¹ clan ?

*SS,4.

Bougwa ku reka ? Bougwa ku vitoka tulosila biga mkosina katupoil
Already you heard ? Already you know deeply skilful word they³ question

n - i nukwa + i[^] mu . Gera , desi , yeigu b - a nukwa , ké ?
has - he tell + lw. your³ . Not , enough , I¹ will - I tell , agreed ?

Gera , biga mkona wara , yoka kaiga mu sitana , kaina i¹ taboda
Not , word it² only , you¹ voice your³ a little , or it entangle

mtona , ee yeigu b - a li(vala) / livala , b - i reka ee igau b -
he¹ , and I¹ will - I speak / speak , will - he heard and still will -

i mapu . I katupoi + e[^] mu , ee biga , avei tuta n + u[^] ku
he answer . He ask + lw. your³ , and word , which¹ time has + lw. you

kau buwa , mimilisi buwa n - i seka + i[^] mu , bougwa ku
chew betel nut , some¹ betel nut has - he give + lw. your³ , already you

kau ? Ee bougwa ku mapu , mu teitu , avei teitu mimilisi buwa
chew ? And already you answer , your³ age , which¹ age some¹ betel nut

n - i seka + i[^] mu , bougwa ku kau buwa ee bougwa ku mapu .
has - he give + lw. your³ , already you chew betel nut and already you answer .

Kaina bougwa ku nukoli kaina gera . Ee tuveira , aveira n - i seka + i[^]
Or already you know or not . And then , who has - he give + lw.

mu , n + u^ ku kaui ? Kaina kada mu , kaina nuba + i^ mu ,
your³ , has + lw. you chew ? Or uncle your³ , or friend + lw. your³ ,

kaina tama mu ? Ee , igau , bougwa ku mapu , bougwa ku nukwa :
or father your³ ? And , still , already you answer , already you tell :

aveira n - i seka + i^ mu buwa n + u^ ku kaui ?
who has - he give + lw. your³ betel nut has + lw. you chew ?

*ST,5.

Tabu¹ gu n - i seka + i^ gu , buwa n - a kaui .
Ancestor me has - he give + lw. me , betel nut has - I chew .

*ST,7.

Kurina .
Kurina .

*SS,8.

Tuveira n - i katupoi + e^ mu : mtona bougwa to - kabitamu bougwa ,
Then has - he ask + lw. your³ : he¹ already man² - craft already ,

kaina ?
or ?

*ST,9.

(To) - kabitamu bougwa .
(Man²) - craft already .

*SS,10.

La dala ? ... kala kumila ... kala kumila aveira ? Ee amafiyaga ra² ?
His¹ house ? ... his clan ... his clan who ? And what name its² ?

Ku livala ! Gera mwau mkona . Kulabuta !
You speak ! Not hard it² . Nukulabuta !

*ST,12.

Kulabuta , kabata .
Nukulabuta , kabata .

*ST,14.

Gera a nukoli . A doka¹ ...
Not I know . I think ...

*ST,16.

Makara mtona .

Like, as he¹ .

*ST,18.

Seiki !

Maybe !

*SS,19.

Aveira ? Gera ! A doka¹ makara tuelve , Kaina ?

Who ? Not ! I think like, as twelve , Or ?

*SS,21.

Bouna .

Good .

*ST,22.

Kama taiyu wara . I mili buwa , i seka + i[^] gu , a kauri , o¹ veru .

Ourl¹ two only . He blend betel nut , he give + lw. me , I chew , in village .

*SS,24.

I mili ...

He blend ...

*ST,26.

I megei , igau , i seka + i[^] gu , n - a kauri , I mili , i megei ,
He proffer , still , he give + lw. me , has - I chew , He blend , he proffer ,

i seka + i[^] gu .

he give + lw. me .

*ST,28.

Gera !

Not !

*ST,30.

Gera i seka + i[^] gu .

Not he give + lw. me .

*ST,32.

Seiki ! Peira yeigu gwadi yeigu . Ee a sisu ee igau tutana b -

Maybe ! For I¹ child I¹ . And I stay² and still a little¹ will -

i seka + i[^] gu , gera , i kariga , seiki ! Igau , tutana b - a nukoli ,
he give + lw. me , not , he die , maybe ! Still , a little¹ will - I know ,

b - a seka + i[^] mu .
will - I give + lw. your³ .

*SS,34.

Beisa tuta i katupoi + e[^] mu : kidamwa natu mu , kaina kada¹ mu ,
Now time he ask + lw. your³ : if son your³ , or nephew your³ ,

b - i³ kabitamu / sa kaina gera ? Yoka peira gera ku nukoli megwa .
will - they craft / them or not ? You¹ for not you know ritual words .

Ee mtosina + ga b - i³ kataraki / sa kaina gera ?
And they⁴ + however will - they skill / them or not ?

*ST,35.

Gera b - i³ kataraki / sa .
Not will - they skill / them .

*ST,37.

I megei , (i) seka + i[^] gu , a mumu .
He proffer , (he) give + lw. me , I drink .

*SS,39.

Avaka n - i¹ kougwa , n - i seka + i[^] mu buwa kaina sopi ?
What² has - it be first , has - he give + lw. your³ betel nut or water ?

*ST,41.

I megei , i seka + i[^] gu , gera ... b - i megei o¹ teiga gu b -
He proffer , he give + lw. me , not ... will - he proffer in ear¹ me will -

a reka makara , peira gera samwa nano gu ... yeigu ...
I heard like, as , for not not at all mind me ... I¹ ...

*SS,43.

Bougwa i¹ titora nano mu !
Already it penetrate mind your³ !

*SS,45.

Kaina yoka sitana n - i¹ moumwau . N - i katupoi + e[^] mu :
Or you¹ a little has - it be difficult . Has - he ask + lw. your³ :

avei tuta n - i vitoura , i mili buwa , n - i seka + i^ mu ,
which¹ time has - he initiate , he blend betel nut , has - he give + lw. your³ ,

bougwa ku kaui buwa , kaina sopi ee n + u^ ku masisi , avaka
already you chew betel nut , or water and has + lw. you sleep , what²

n - i¹ kougwa , ku mimi kaina ku kina ? Kaina ku mimi kaina ku kina ?
has - it be first , you dream or you see ? Or you dream or you see ?

*SS,47.

Peira n - i seka + i^ mu buwa , n + u^ ku kaui ee makara +
For has - he give + lw. your³ betel nut , has + lw. you chew and like, as +

ga kataraki , n - i¹ simatili nano mu , sitana makara ku
however skill , has - it disclose mind your³ , a little like, as you

mimi , kaina ? Makara ku kina ginigini ...
dream , or ? Like, as you see cuts ...

*ST,48.

Gera a mi(mi) / mimi , n - i seka + i^ gu sopi , bougwa ...
Not I dream / dream , has - he give + lw. me water , already ...

*SS,49.

Gera b + u^ ku katuwayai ! Ku sisu ! Mamanu mu ! Ku livala !
Not will + lw. you nod ! You stay² ! Calm your³ ! You speak !

*ST,50.

Bougwa i seka + i^ gu , sopi a mumu , a sisu wara , b - a ma(sisi) /
Already he give + lw. me , water I drink , I stay² only , will - I sleep /

masisi bogi / bogi beisa salouta nano gu avaka avaka , gera a mimi ...
sleep night / night now focus mind me what² what² , not I dream ...

*SS,52.

Gera b + u^ ku tamatama ! Ku livala ! Peira b - i¹ kawa kaiga
Not will + lw. you dangle ! You speak ! For will - it confirm voice

mu .
your³ .

*SS,53.

Yoka ...

You¹ ...

*ST,54.

Gera mwau , bouna (i¹) gagabila , peira yeigu gera b - a nu(koli) / nukoli ,
Not hard , good (it) possible , for i¹ not will - I know / know ,

biga magamaga . Kwaiveka biga a nu(koli) / nukoli , kwaivira biga gera a nu(koli) /
word many . Big⁴ word I know / know , some word not I know /

nukoli .

know .

*ST,56.

Gera a mimi , gera avaka . Bougwa a masisi , nano gu i¹ sa(louta) / salouta .
Not I dream , not what² . Already I sleep , mind me it focus / focus .

Kidamwa b - a vagi kwaitara kaina ginigini , lagimu , tabuya , beisa bougwa
If will - I do¹ one² or cuts , lagimu , tabuya , now already

i¹ si(matili) / simatili nano gu .

it disclose / disclose mind me .

*ST,58.

N - a kaui buwa ?

Has - I chew betel nut ?

*ST,60.

I mili , i seka + i[^] gu , gera ta¹ nu(koli) / nukoli yakidasa makaisina ...
He blend , he give + lw. me , not we two³ know / know we they⁵ ...

*SS,61.

Gera ! N - i seka + i[^] mu buwa , ku kaui ee yoka ku ki(na) /
Not ! Has - he give + lw. your³ betel nut , you chew and you¹ you see /

kina lagimu kouya tabuya ?

see lagimu with, and tabuya ?

*ST,62.

Beisa bougwa n - a kaui ee n - i³ wouwa + i[^] / si¹ tomumwoya
Now already has - I chew and has - they marteline¹ + lw. / them¹ old men

((to - mumwoya)) lagimu , tabuya , bougwa b - a ki(na) / kina wara ,
((man² - old)) lagimu , tabuya , already will - I see / see only ,

beisa a ma bougwa a takayesa wara .
now I come already I reproduce only .

*ST,64.

Bougwa b - a ki(na) / kina , b - a wa¹ , b - a ki(na) / kina b -
Already will - I see / see , will - I go , will - I see / see will -

i³ gini / sa kara gigiwani , kara mwata , kara meikela ...
they cut / them its caterpillar , its snake, structure , its sea swallow ...

Ee malaka , vau ee beisa bougwa n - a ki(na) / kina . N - a ma
And red¹ , black¹ and now already has - I see / see . Has - I come

beisa , bougwa i¹ boda b - a vagi makara , wara . B - a
now , already it put together will - I do¹ like, as , only . Will - I

takayesa wara b - a gini ...
reproduce only will - I cut ...

*SS,66.

Biga Lalela !
Word Lalela !

*SS,68.

Gera , biga bougwa bouna , peira gora mtona gera b - i nukoli monita ,
Not , word already good , for also he¹ not will - he know truth ,

peira yoka n + u[^] ku livala . N - i katupoi + e[^] mu , yoka
for you¹ has + lw. you speak . Has - he ask + lw. your³ , you¹

bougwa ku ki(na) / kina kara kai - vau , malaka , koura kwaisaruvi ,
already you see / see its wood - black¹ , red¹ , black² coconut husk ,

kaina pupwakau , kaina ginigini wara . Ginigini bougwa ku nukoli ginigini
or very white , or cuts only . Cuts already you know cuts

pupwakau , makara makaisina . Pupwakau b + a[^] ta¹ mwala . Ginigini
very white , like, as they⁵ . Very white will + lw. we two³ paint . Cuts

n - i dokal¹ , ee makara kwaisaruvi , bougwa ku nukoli pelalamina¹
has - he think , and like, as coconut husk , already you know outrigger side

gera b + a[^] tal¹ tapwala , kara kwaisaruvi makara . Ee weku
not will + lw. we two³ fret well , its coconut husk like, as . And shout

bougwa n + u[^] ku nu(koli) / nukoli , ee n - i dokal¹ kara mwata
already has + lw. you know / know , and has - he think its snake, structure

ee beisa n - i¹ vakeitu + ya wara teiga ra² lagimu makara yaga
and now has - it go off + from¹ only ear¹ its² lagimu like, as name

ra² n - i dokal¹ kara mwata , ee migira lagimu makamwa
its² has - he think its snake, structure , and face lagimu this and this

makara , ká ! Bougwa ku kina makara b + a[^] tal¹ gini b -
like, as , look ! Already you see like, as will + lw. we two³ cut will -

i¹ ra³ o² tanawa , b - i¹ vakeitu teiga ra² n + e[^] + i¹
it go¹ at bottom¹ , will - it go off ear¹ its² has + lw. + it

ra³ o nakaiwa ; yaga ra² kara mwata ee beisa + ga tapwara
go¹ on high ; name its² its snake, structure and now + however behind¹

lagimu b - i ra³ o² kai - kikila beisa migira lagimu b - i dokal¹
lagimu will - he go¹ at wood - support now face lagimu will - he think

makara . Ee i katupoi + e[^] mu , bougwa b + u[^] ku nukoli makara
like, as . And he ask + lw. your³ , already will + lw. you know like, as

b + a[^] tal¹ gini peira mi(ra) Kumwageiya i³ gini / sa karawa ,
will + lw. we two³ cut for inhabitants Kumwageiya they cut / them fern ,

yakidasa bougwa makara manasina kara gigiwani makara . Ee n + e[^] +
we already like, as they¹ its caterpillar like, as . And has + lw. +

i¹ ra³ o² kai - kikila bougwa ku nu(koli) / nukoli makara , ee
it go¹ at wood - support already you know / know like, as , and

migira b - i katupoi + e[^] mu , b + u[^] ku nanamsa makara . Ee
face will - he ask + lw. your³ , will + lw. you thought like, as . And

ra² mwata o nakaiwa makara weku , doka , kwaisaruvi ,
its² snake, structure on high like, as shout , imagination, idea , coconut husk ,

tokwalu , ee makara . Kaina bougwa i katupoi + e[^] mu bougwa
carved image , and like, as . Or already he ask + lw. your³ already

ku kina kaina gera ?
you see or not ?

*SS,70.

Gera mwau ! Yokamu , ku mumu sopi , ku kaui buwa makara sitana ,
Not hard ! You yourself , you drink water , you chew betel nut like, as a little ,

bougwa monita kataraki monita , to - kabitamu bougwa . Yeigu gera + kil .
already truth skill truth , man² - craft already . I¹ not + too .

Peira biga mtona ra biga i livala ura nanamsa b - il sakelu lagimu ,
For word he¹ his² word he speak my² thought will - it go fast lagimu ,

tabuya . Seina nanakwa a ma(pu) / mapu , ké ? Ku livala mkosina biga !
tabuya . Very¹ quick I answer / answer , agreed ? You speak they³ word !

*ST,71.

Migira averufiya ? N - i seka + i[^] + ya¹ makaisina lagimu ...
Face where¹ ? Has - he give + lw. + at² they⁵ lagimu ...

*SS,72.

N - i doka¹ migira bougwa manasina duduwa n + e[^] + i¹ ra³ o²
Has - he think face already they¹ mouth has + lw. + it go¹ at

tanawa ...
bottom¹ ...

*ST,73.

... kara mwata , beba , susawila ...
... its snake, structure , butterfly , sea eagle ...

*SS,74.

Makai[^]yama + ga mwata , beba , n + e[^] + i¹ ra³ susawila ,
Here² + however snake, structure , butterfly , has + lw. + it go¹ sea eagle ,

tokwalu , gigiwani , doka , kwaisaruvi , weku , Beisa
carved image , caterpillar , imagination, idea , coconut husk , shout , Now

yaga ra² ra² mwata n - i doka¹ . Ee makara mwata
name its² its² snake, structure has - he think . And like, as snake, structure

n - i doka¹ mkosina . Ee igau b - i katupoi + e[^] mu , b -
has - he think they³ . And still will - he ask + lw. your³ , will -

u[^] ku nanamsa " Makara !".
lw. you thought " Like, as !".

*ST,75.

Gera watara b - a nu(koli) / nukoli biga .
Not any will - I know / know word .

*ST,78.

Bougwa i¹ taboda nano gu !
Already it entangle mind me !

*SS,79.

Bougwa ku gini lagimu !
Already you cut lagimu !

*SS,81.

Ae ! Ae ! Yeigu bougwa !
Oh¹ ! Oh¹ ! I¹ already !

*ST,83.

Seina sima ...
Very¹ light ...

*ST,85.

Yeigu gera monita a nukoli . Bougwa a livala biga gera a nukoli ... kwaiveka
I¹ not truth I know . Already I speak word not I know ... big⁴

avaka mkona a nukoli ... mkosina katupoi¹ gera a nukoli ...
what² it² I know ... they³ question not I know ...

*ST,87.

Beisa tuta !
Now time !

*SS,88.

Avei gwadi ?
Which¹ child ?

*SS,90.

I nukwa + i[^] mu , i kaibiga biga gera i nukoli monita ...
He tell + lw. your³ , he talk word not he know truth ...

*SS,92.

Kokoveka wara biga i nukoli , kwekena gera i nukoli .
Very big only word he know , small⁵ not he know .

*SS,94.

To - kabitamu ... makara yoka to - kabitamu .
Man² - craft ... like, as you¹ man² - craft .

*SS,96.

Yeigu gera !
I¹ not !

*SS,98.

(To) - kabitamu yeigu gera . Buwa bougwa i seka , peira gera i
(Man²) - craft I¹ not . Betel nut already he give , for not he

katukila kununa , yeyuna , sineu , kokona ,
respect inside parts of the head , tail , entrails , betel nut, a bad one ,

buwa kokona
betel nut betel nut, a bad one

*STO,99.

Yeigu kidamwa b - a kasisu kama taiyu , peira to - kekita yeigu ee
I¹ if will - I stay our¹ two , for man² - small³ I¹ and

b - i yusa bobouma , kununa , yeyuna , mtaga
will - he forbid forbidden food , inside parts of the head , tail , but

beisa n - a ma , toiya tama gu i³ seka + i[^] + gu / sa , a kamu ,
now has - I come , also¹ father me they give + lw. + me / them , I eat ,

gera nano gu , igau gwadi yeigu .
not mind me , still child I¹ .

*SS,100.

Yeigu gera a ki / madagi , makara madagi , beisa bougwa wara kara utobobuta
I¹ not I re- / smooth , like, as smooth , now already only its supposition

manasina manu ...

they¹ bird ...

*SS,102.

A takeiwa bagula . Komwedona boda . Ee bougwa b - i¹ kosi ,
I cut down¹ garden . All put together . And already will - it finish ,

gera makara ... kwaivasi , gera ... takeiwa ... taivasi ... yeigu Nabwai ,
not like, as ... four¹ , not ... cut down¹ ... four² ... I¹ Nabwai ,

Daramwesi ... peira Tonori i sura , bougwa b - i waiwa , b +
Daramwesi ... for Tonori he mistake¹ , already will - he forget¹ , will +

a[^] kal¹ waiwa beisa yoka o mu bwara , peira gugwadi gera ,
lw. we two² forget¹ now you¹ on your³ hut , for children not ,

mtosina seina tuvi teiga / si¹ gudiresi . Lalekeiwa gera i³ nukoli /
they⁴ very¹ deaf ear¹ / them¹ youngs . Lalekeiwa not they know /

sa peira Tonori ee yeigu gera b - a dabumi !

them for Tonori and I¹ not will - I trust !

*SS,104.

Bougwa i² nukwa ... nova , nova kwayai n - i² nukwa + i[^]
Already she tell ... yesterday , yesterday evening has - she tell + lw.

gu , i² kaibiga " bogiu b - i ma " , a ra³ wa
me , she talk " the day after tomorrow will - he come " , I go¹ at¹

ra¹ bwara , i² kaibiga " Bogiu b - i ma " , oo !
her¹ hut , she talk " The day after tomorrow will - he come " , oh !

Kaina yoka sitana bouna peira seina magamaga buki bougwa n + u[^]
Or you¹ a little good for very¹ many book already has + lw.

ku kapetu , ee i² katupoi " Yoka ambeisa b + u[^] ku ra³ ?"
you stop talking , and she ask " You¹ where will + lw. you go¹ ?"

Ká !" Yeigu bougwa b - a bagula , gera b - a ma !" " Aa ! B +
Look !" I¹ already will - I garden , not will - I come !" " Indeed ! Will +

u[^] ku ma , b + u[^] ku sisu kagu !" " Gera !" Nageira yokamui[^]ya
lw. you come , will + lw. you stay² my¹ !" " Not !" Today you yourselves

(to) - kabitamu bougwa , bougwa n + u[^] ku vagi / sa kami tice
(man²) - craft already , already has + lw. you do¹ / them your teacher

yeigu . Aa ! monita nuba + i[^] gu ! Yeigu gera (to) - kabitamu monita ,
I¹ . Indeed ! truth friend + lw. me ! I¹ not (man²) - craft truth ,

peira biga . Gera makara a vagakora , yeigu gera (to) - kabitamu monita
for word . Not like , as I train , I¹ not (man²) - craft truth

makara mtona Tonori ... Tokwaisai , (to) - kabitamu monita .
like , as hel Tonori ... Tokwaisai , (man²) - craft truth .

*SS,106.

Peira biga gera i nukoli ... Ee yeigu makara , kidamwa b - a gini lagimu ,
For word not he know ... And I¹ like , as , if will - I cut lagimu ,

tabuya , gera bouna , b - i¹ gaga , b - a livala sitana bouna , b -
tabuya , not good , will - it bad , will - I speak a little good , will -

a gini + ga gera bouna , peira gera (to) - kabitamu monita .
I cut + however not good , for not (man²) - craft truth .

*SS,108.

Gera igau ! Bougwa makara b - a sisu , b - a sigagai . Igau
Not still ! Already like , as will - I stay² , will - I seat myself . Still

b + u[^] ku ki + madagi , ee bateri b - i¹ yameda .
will + lw. you re- + smooth , and battery will - it waste .

*ST,110.

I¹ boda , kedá ?
It put together , isn't that right ?

*SS,112.

Oo ! Tonori (to) - kabitamu bougwa !
Oh ! Tonori (man²) - craft already !

*SS,114.

I kokora beisa tomota , mtona . I kaibiga nano ra bougwa i¹ sisu
He frighten now people , he¹ . He talk mind his² already it stay²

b - i gini , b - i vagi , b - i gini , bougwa i¹ boda .
will - he cut , will - he do¹ , will - he cut , already it put together .

Ee kara³ kokora + ga beisa tomota peira b - i³ katudada / sa
And his³ frighten + however now people for will - they tease / them

mwada b - i³ gigira / sa .
otherwise will - they laugh / them .

*SS,116.

Yeigu a vagi bougwa kaboma igau to - kekita yeigu , ee i³ gigira +
I¹ I do¹ already wooden dish still man² - small³ I¹ , and they laugh +

i[^] + gu / sa tomumwoya , namumwoya ((na² - mumwoya)) . I¹ ra³ ,
lw. + me / them old men , old women ((female - old)) . It go¹ ,

a lakubeli kaitara keou , kai - kekita wara , kara² mwareita menana
I cut down one⁴ fishing canoe , wood - small³ only , her herself she¹

Toweyei kara³ koura mwareita menana n - i² kaibiga " Aa ! Desi
Toweyei his³ black² herself she¹ has - she talk " Indeed ! Enough

wara , ku sisu / sa , b - i vagi / vagi " . A lakubeli kaitara keou
only , you stay² / them , will - he do¹ / do¹ " . I cut down one⁴ fishing canoe

a gini pusa , a varutu pawa i doka¹ . I³ gigira / sa " Yoka
I cut swelling , I struggle power he think . They laugh / them " You¹

desi , ku lewa " , ee a peka , a lewa , ee a lakubeli kaiyuwaura
enough , you renounce " , and I refuse , I renounce , and I cut down second one

ura keou ee a gini , bougwa sitana , a varutu n - a gini ,
my² fishing canoe and I cut , already a little , I struggle has - I cut ,

gera a da(bumi) / dabumi beisa tomota b - i³ katudada / si¹ , a ne(i) /
not I trust / trust now people will - they tease / them¹ , I gain end /

nei wara peira (to) - kabitamu .
gain end only for (man²) - craft .

*SS,117.a.

A doka¹ i sopa / sopa mtona ! Yeigu bouna !
I think he lie / lie he¹ ! I¹ good !

*SS,119.

Monita bougwa ku nukoli .
Truth already you know .

*SS,121.

Gera bougwa makara , mtosina to - kabitamu ...
Not already like, as , they⁴ man² - craft ...

*SS,123.

Ku gini ! B + u[^] ku venoki , b - i katupoi + e[^] mu mkosina
You cut ! Will + lw. you finish¹ , will - he ask + lw. your³ they³

n + u[^] ku gini ...
has + lw. you cut ...

*SS,126.

Nukulabuta !
Nukulabuta !

*SS,128.

Nukubai , Nukwasisiga , to - malasi ... to - nukulabuta , to - nukubai ,
Nukubai , Nukwasisiga , man² - malasi ... man² - nukulabuta , man² - nukubai ,

to - nukwasisiga , bouna ...
man² - nukwasisiga , good ...

*SS,130.

Kainaga ! Oo ! Igau ! Malaka b - i¹ wa¹ b + u[^] ku penita aa !
Certainly ! oh ! Still ! Red¹ will - it go will + lw. you paint¹ indeed !

Bougwa makara a vagi bougwa ...
Already like, as I do¹ already ...

*SS,131.

Bougwa !

Already !

*ST,133.

B - a kina makaya , (i¹) sa (louta) / salouta nano gu , i¹ boda
Will - I see as this , (it) focus / focus mind me , it put together

wara b - a gini , yaga / si¹ manu gera a nukoli monita , natara a nu(koli) /
only will - I cut , name / them¹ bird not I know truth , one¹ I know /

nukoli , mimilisi + na gera a nukoli ...

know , some¹ + the not I know ...

*ST,135.

Bougwa b - a kina wara , ee b - a gini wara kara kai - vau , kara
Already will - I see only , and will - I cut only its wood - black¹ , its

kai - malaka , pupwakau ...

wood - red¹ , very white ...

*ST,137.

Avaka avei tuta ?

What² which¹ time ?

*STO,138.

Ee igau b - a livala . Avei tuta n - i seka + i[^] + mu / si¹
And still will - I speak . Which¹ time has - he give + lw. + your³ / them¹

buwa n + u[^] ku kaui , n + u[^] ku venoki o¹ nano mu wara ,
betel nut has + lw. you chew , has + lw. you finish¹ in mind your³ only ,

bougwa i nukwa + i[^] mu kaina ku kina kwaitara lagimu o¹ daba mu
already he tell + lw. your³ or you see one² lagimu in head your³

i¹ sisu , kaina gera ?

it stay² , or not ?

*SS,139.

Kaina ku ruruwai ...

Or you remember, memorize ...

*ST,140.

Beisa a sileula , a gini wara makaisina gai , kena . A gini wara ee b -
Now I start , I cut only they⁵ ebony , spatula . I cut only and will -

a kina mtosina to - mumwoya ee b - i gini lagimu , tabuya . Ee beisa
I see they⁴ man² - old and will - he cut lagimu , tabuya . And now

a ki (na) / kina wara , i¹ salouta nano gu , beisa b - a vagi kaitara
I see / see only , it focus mind me , now will - I do¹ one⁴

lagimu . Beisa b - i¹ boda b - a gini .
lagimu . Now will - it put together will - I cut .

*SS,141.

B - i¹ salouta , watara bougwa ku nukoli biga kaina gera ? Ee makara "
Will - it focus , any already you know word or not ? And like, as "

i ruruwai " , ee " i salouta " " i ruruwai " . Avei
he remember, memorize " , and " he focus " " he remember, memorize " . Which¹

tuta b - i kina lagimu o kadewo , b - i kina o² lagimu , b i
time will - he see lagimu on beach , will - he see at lagimu , will he

kinawa ((kina + wa)) o kadewo , bougwa i kinawa o kadewo i gini ,
leave ((see + at¹)) on beach , already he leave on beach he cut ,

makara bougwa i¹ sisu o daba ra . Avei tuta b - i ma
like, as already it stay² on head his² . Which¹ time will - he come

o veru , b - i sisu kaina makaina lagimu o kadewo bougwa n -
on village , will - he stay² or it¹ lagimu on beach already has -

i kina , bougwa n - i¹ sisu o daba ra . Avei tuta b - i
he see , already has - it stay² on head his² . Which¹ time will - he

kinawa kaitara , kaivasi , b - i paisewa ee bougwa makara " i kina " ,
leave one⁴ , four³ , will - he work and already like, as " he see " ,

kaina makara " bougwa i ruruwai " . Ee b - i gini bougwa
or like, as " already he remember, memorize " . And will - he cut already

makara .
like, as .

*ST,143.

Bougwa b - a kina , b - i¹ kinawa , b - a ma gora b - a gini ,
Already will - I see , will - it leave , will - I come also will - I cut ,

bougwa i¹ boda .
already it put together .

*SS,145.

Gera !
Not !

*SS,146.

Uu ! ... Bougwa n + u[^] ku kina , ku ma , b + u[^] ku paisewa , ku
Um ! ... Already has + lw. you see , you come , will + lw. you work , you

tai kai - tara kai - kekita lagimu , tabuya ? Ká ! Makaisina¹ makara
cut wood - one wood - small³ lagimu , tabuya ? Look ! These like, as

kara kwarakuna ...
its small canoe, model ...

*ST,147.

Kai - kekena ... kai - kekita ...
Wood - small² ... wood - small³ ...

*ST,149.

Kwaivira tuta b - a gini kai - kekita ee b - a ki(na) / kina i¹
Some time will - I cut wood - small³ and will - I see / see it

kosi , a kauri , a sera , i¹ gabu ...
finish , I chew , I put on , it burn ...

*SS,150.

I katupoi + e[^] mu yamuyamu ((yamu / yamu)) ku pa(isewa) / paisewa ,
He ask + lw. your³ everyday ((day / day)) you work / work ,

kaina kwaitara tuta , kwaitara tuta ?
or one² time , one² time ?

*ST,151.

Kwaitara tuta , kwaitara tuta ...

One² time , one² time ...

*ST,153.

Mtona n - i visuleka¹ + i[^] gu ? Gera i kina , bougwa i kariga , igau

He¹ has - he teach + lw. me ? Not he see , already he die , still

n - a pa(isewa) / paisewa , beisa tuta .

has - I work / work , now time .

*ST,155.

Aveira i ma , i kina , i¹ kosi , oo ! Bougwa n - i nu(koli) / nukoli .

Who he come , he see , it finish , oh ! Already has - he know / know .

Lalela , Lalekeiwa . N - a gini lagimu , kai - kekena , tabuya , i³ livala /

Lalela , Lalekeiwa . Has - I cut lagimu , wood - small² , tabuya , they speak /

sa " Oo ! Seina bouna !"

them " Oh ! Very¹ good !"

*ST,157.

I³ livala / sa ? ...

They speak / them ? ...

*SS,158.

Bougwa i³ ma + i[^] / sa , i³ kina / sa , makaya¹ bouna , makaya¹

Already they come + lw. / them , they see / them , this and this good , this and this

gagana ((gaga + na¹)) . Aveira watara i nukwa + i[^] mu makara ?

very bad ((bad + very)) . Who any he tell + lw. your³ like, as ?

*ST,159.

Gera !

Not !

*ST,161.

Tetora + i[^] + gu wara ura ginigini . Ee tomota mimilisi kaina i³ kina /

Self + lw. + me only my² cuts . And people some¹ or they see /

sa gagana , gera b - i³ nukwa + i[^] + gu / sa .

them very bad , not will - they tell + lw. + me / them .

*ST,163.

Ituwali si katota , amafyaga ra² ? ... Si ginigini , malaka ...
Different their look¹ , what name its² ? ... Their cuts , red¹ ...

*ST,165.

Kurina
Kurina

*SS,167.

Makaisina n - i gini i¹ sisu kaina gera ? Bougwa i³ gimwara / sa ,
They⁵ has - he cut it stay² or not ? Already they purchase / them ,

i¹ kosi .
it finish .

*ST,168.

Bougwa i³ gimwara / sa , i¹ kosi . Kai - tara n - a wouya makara ,
Already they purchase / them , it finish . Wood - one has - I finish² like, as ,

makaina n - a wouya n - a seka + i[^] mu .
it¹ has - I finish² has - I give + lw. your³ .

*ST,170.

Ee makara . Bougwa i kau mtona kara³ koura Modayowa , gera i mai[^]ya
And like, as . Already he take he¹ his³ black² Modayowa , not he come here

((ma + ya²)), i kipera , i ra³ , i gimwara beisa Tonugana . I seka
((come + here¹)), he hide , he go¹ , he purchase now Tonugana . He give

mira Iwa , i³ ra³ / sa , i³ gimwara / sa ...
inhabitants Iwa , they go¹ / them , they purchase / them ...

*SS,171.

Ee bougwa i³ gimwara / sa , i¹ kosi ee ra ginigini mtona kara³
And already they purchase / them , it finish and his² cuts he¹ his³

to - visuleka .
man² - teacher¹ .

*ST,173.

Makara mu lagimu makaina n - a gini , n - a seka + i[^] mu ?
Like, as your³ lagimu it¹ has - I cut , has - I give + lw. your³ ?

Makara Kurina makaina n - a gini .
Like, as Kurina it¹ has - I cut .

*SS,174.

Bougwa n - i katupoi + e[^] mu peira wara yoka n + u[^] ku gini
Already has - he ask + lw. your³ for only you¹ has + lw. you cut

mu lagimu makara wara tabu¹ mu n - i gini makaisina , ee
your³ lagimu like, as only ancestor your³ has - he cut they⁵ , and

b + u[^] ku livala yoka " makara wara !"
will + lw. you speak you¹ " like, as only !"

*ST,176.

Makara wara ... n - i gini tetorara ((tetora + ra)), makara n -
Like, as only ... has - he cut himself ((self + his²)), like, as has -

a ma , a gini .
I come , I cut .

*ST,178.

Monita !
Truth !

*ST,180.

I¹ gagabila wara ituwali . Kidamwa b - i gini ee yeigu b - a ma ,
It possible only different . If will - he cut and I¹ will - I come ,

b - a gini ituwali , ituwali wara .
will - I cut different , different only .

*ST,182.

Igau , b + u[^] ku katuvisi ... b + u[^] ku wouya ...
Still , will + lw. you make clear ... will + lw. you finish² ...

*SS,183.

Gera ... aveira ra ginigini i boda b + u[^] ku takayesa ?
Not ... who his² cuts he put together will + lw. you reproduce ?

*ST,184.

I¹ boda kidamwa ...
It put together if ...

*SS,186.

Takayesa ...

Reproduce ...

*SS,188.

Ee kidamwa mtona bougwa i kaibiga , ká ! Kawa mu " yoka i¹
And if he¹ already he talk , look ! Confirm your³ " you¹ it

boda b + u[^] ku takayesa " , b - i ta / nukwa mtona , ee kidamwa +
put together will + lw. you reproduce " , will - he do / tell he¹ , and if +

ga taitara ((tai¹ - tara)) bougwa i siwa , b + u[^] ku livala +
however one³ ((male - one)) already he rest , will + lw. you speak +

ga " Ké ! Mtona i¹ boda b - i takayesa ? " Kaina yoka
however " Agreed ! He¹ it put together will - he reproduce ? " Or you¹

b + u[^] ku kaibiga " Yeigu i¹ boda b - a takayesa " , ee
will + lw. you talk " I¹ it put together will - I reproduce " , and

mtona b + u[^] ku nukwa kawa mu " Ké ! Ee i¹ boda
he¹ will + lw. you tell confirm your³ " Agreed ! And it put together

b + u[^] ku takayesa ? " Ee makara biga mkona .
will + lw. you reproduce ? " And like, as word it² .

*ST,190.

Kidamwa aveira ra ginigini b - a kina ra kai , beisa b - a ma ,
If who his² cuts will - I see his² wood , now will - I come ,

b - a takayesa wara ...
will - I reproduce only ...

*ST,192.

Gera ...

Not ...

*SS,193.

Avei tuta b + u[^] ku kina mtona tomwoya ((to - mwoya)) ra
Which¹ time will + lw. you see he¹ old man ((man² - old¹)) his²

ginigini Kumwageiya , ee b + u[^] ku kina , b + u[^] ku ma , b +
cuts Kumwageiya , and will + lw. you see , will + lw. you come , will +

u[^] ku takayesa makaina n - i vagi koveka ((ko - veka)) o luvi ...
lw. you reproduce it¹ has - he do¹ big¹ ((abs. - big)) on after ...

weku , pelai[^]tala ((pela - i[^] + tara)) kwaisaruvi , pelai[^]tala weku ...
shout , one side ((side - lw. + one)) coconut husk , one side shout ...

*ST,194.

Kidamwa b - a ra³ , b - a ma , i¹ boda b - a takayesa .
If will - I go¹ , will - I come , it put together will - I reproduce .

*ST,196.

Weku ...
Shout ...

*ST,198.

Weku , bougwa makara .
Shout , already like, as .

*ST,200.

Kedã ! I¹ taboda yeigu nano gu ! Mimirisi i pwalala , mimirisi
Isn't that right ! It entangle I¹ mind me ! Some¹ he pierce , some¹

i taboda ...
he entangle ...

*SS,202.

I kaibiga , avaka peira tomwoya Kumwageiya ra lagimu pelai[^]tala weku
He talk , what² for old man Kumwageiya his² lagimu one side shout

ee pelayuwai[^]la + ga ((pela - yuwa + i[^] + la¹ + ga)) i gini
and second side + however ((side - two¹ + lw. + its + however)) he cut

kara kwaisaruvi ? Ee yokamu + ga tabu¹ mu ra ginigini
its coconut husk ? And you yourself + however ancestor your³ his² cuts

pelayuwai[^]la weku wara , kwaisaruvi + ga gera . Avaka peira ? I katupoi +
second side shout only , coconut husk + however not . What² for ? He ask +

e[^] mu . Bougwa i¹ boda b + u[^] ku mapu kaina gera ? Gera ,
lw. your³ . Already it put together will + lw. you answer or not ? Not ,

b - a mapu yeigu . To - kabitamu / sa mtosina taitara ituwali ra
will - I answer I¹ . Man² - craft / them they⁴ one³ different his²

manu ee taitara ituwali . Gera i¹ gagabila taiyu to - kabitamu / sa
bird and one³ different . Not it possible two man² - craft / them

monita b - i takayesa sora ra manu gera gagabila sora to -
truth will - he reproduce companion his² bird not possible companion man² -

kabitamu monita b - i takayesa sora ra manu . Gera . Ee
craft truth will - he reproduce companion his² bird . not . And

kidamwa mtosina kavasaki , kaina makara igau b - i³ vagakora / sa ,
if they⁴ apprentice , or like, as still will - they train / them ,

ee magi ra b - i takayesa mtona to - kabitamu bougwa ra manu ,
and wish his² will - he reproduce he¹ man² - craft already his² bird ,

ee mtosina + ga taiyu monita to - kabitamu / sa ituwali ra
and they⁴ + however two truth man² - craft / them different his²

manu taitara ituwali , ra manu taitara makara . Ee ku kina , mtona
bird one³ different , his² bird one³ like, as . And you see , he¹

to - mwoya Kumwageiya i gini weku , kwaisaruvi ee mtona + ga
man² - old¹ Kumwageiya he cut shout , coconut husk and he¹ + however

tabu¹ ra mtona , kara³ to - visuleka , i gini pelayuwai[^]la weku ,
ancestor his² he¹ , his³ man² - teacher¹ , he cut second side shout ,

ee peira magi si¹ tomota b - i³ kina / sa aveira b - i³ yakaura /
and for wish them¹ people will - they see / them who will - they congratulate /

sa , beisa . Ku nukoli , makara i³ liwala / sa aveira b - i kougwa
them , now . You know , like, as they speak / them who will - he be first

aveira b - i kougwa , ee makara si nanamsa to - kabitamu monita .
who will - he be first , and like, as their thought man² - craft truth .

*SS,204.

Sineu ...
Entrails ...

*SS,206.

Peira bobouma .
For forbidden food .

*ST,208.

Gera bobouma ...
Not forbidden food ...

*ST,210.

bobouma peira (to) - kataraki , sineu , bulukwa , gera b +
forbidden food for (man²) - skill , entrails , wild pig , not will +

a¹ ta¹ kamu , sineu , kununa , gera b + a¹ ta¹
lw. we two³ eat , entrails , inside parts of the head , not will + lw. we two³

kamu . Peira bobouma .
eat . For forbidden food .

*SS,212.

Tuveira ? " O luvi¹ " b - i¹ livala " tuveira ? " .
Then ? " On after, then " will - it speak " then ? " .

*SS,214.

Tuveira avaka bobouma ?
Then what² forbidden food ?

*ST,216.

Beisa n - a nukoli : sineu ina , bulukwa ee kununa
Now has - I know : entrails fish , wild pig and inside parts of the head

ina . Ee beisa n - a nukoli , n - i nukwa + i¹ gu . Ee makamwa
fish . And now has - I know , has - he tell + lw. me . And this and this

avaka , avaka , yeyuna , kaina avaka , gera i nukwa + i¹ gu .
what² , what² , tail , or what² , not he tell + lw. me .

*ST,218.

B - a kamu igau b - i¹ taboda daba gu . Gera b - a gini lagimu
Will - I eat still will - it entangle head me . Not will - I cut lagimu

b - i¹ bouna .
will - it good .

*SS,220.

Ava ginigini ...
Which cuts ...

*SS,222.

B + u[^] ku takayesa ?
Will + lw. you reproduce ?

*SS,223.

Ava ginigini ku doka¹ b + u[^] ku takayesa ? a
Which cuts you think will + lw. you reproduce ? a

*ST,224.

Beisa mkosina ginigini b - a kina , b - a ma , b - a vagi wara ,
Now they³ cuts will - I see , will - I come , will - I do¹ only ,

gera kwaitara ((kwai - tara)) ginigini b - a kina , b - a ma , b -
not one² ((abs. - one)) cuts will - I see , will - I come , will -

a takayesa kwaitara + ga b - a peka , gera . Mkosina aveira ra
I reproduce one² + however will - I refuse , not . They³ who his²

kataraki , aveira ra kataraki b - a kina , beisa b - a kina , beisa
skill , who his² skill will - I see , now will - I see , now

b - a ma , b - a takayesa . Gera , kidamwa gera magi gu ...
will - I come , will - I reproduce . Not , if not wish me ...

*SS,226.

B + u[^] ku takayesa !
Will + lw. you reproduce !

*ST,227.

Ee , migireu b - a takayesa ginigini .
And , clear will - I reproduce cuts .

*SS,228.

I¹ gagabila ...
It possible ...

*ST,229.

I¹ gagabila b - a takayesa ...
It possible will - I reproduce ...

*SS,231.

B + u[^] ku takayesa ...
Will + lw. you reproduce ...

*ST,233.

Ee b - a takayesa makaisina , malaka , vau .
And will - I reproduce they⁵ , red¹ , black¹ .

*ST,235.

B - a takayesa !
Will - I reproduce !

*ST,237.

I¹ gagabila .
It possible .

*SS,239.

Kidamwa magi mu , tutana ...
If wish your³ , a little¹ ...

*ST,241.

Kaitara ((kai - tara)) b - i¹ wouya ituwali , ee makara Kumwageiya
One⁴ ((wood - one)) will - it finish² different , and like, as Kumwageiya

ee makara Tokwaisai , aveira ? Nabwai , malaka , vau b - i¹ ma .
and like, as Tokwaisai , who ? Nabwai , red¹ , black¹ will - it come .

Ee kidamwa tetorara b - i¹ ma , b - i¹ bobwa , b - i¹
And if himself will - it come , will - it cut across , will - it

tupwa , b - i¹ sewa , o nakaiwa .
not finished , will - it give up , on high .

*ST,243.

B - a takayesa ...
Will - I reproduce ...

*ST,245.

Mtosina b - a takayesa wara , tokwalu .
They⁴ will - I reproduce only , carved image .

*ST,247.

Meikela , beisa meikela , b - a takayesa wara .
Sea swallow , now sea swallow , will - I reproduce only .

*ST,249.

B - a kina , b - a ma , bougwa b - a takayesa . I¹ gagabila wara .
Will - I see , will - I come , already will - I reproduce . It possible only .

*SS,250.

Mkosina komwedona bougwa ku gini ku venoki . B - i livala yoka mu
They³ all already you cut you finish¹ . Will - he speak you¹ your³

paisewa tema wara . Mwada makara yakemai[^]sa ((yakema + i[^] / sa))
work accept only . Otherwise like, as we¹ ((we two + lw. / them))

peira mimilisi + na , mimilisi gera ...
for some¹ + the , some¹ not ...

*SS,252.

Ava ginigini ...
Which cuts ...

*ST,254.

I¹ sisu mwata wa beba mapelasina¹ ((ma¹ + pela -
It stay² snake, structure at¹ butterfly these¹ ((this + side -

si¹ + na)) . Pelai[^]tala i¹ sisu mwata , pelayuwai[^]la i¹
them¹ + the)) . One side it stay² snake, structure , second side it

sisu mwata .
stay² snake, structure .

*ST,256.

I¹ gagabila b - a takayesa .
It possible will - I reproduce .

*ST,258.

Gera b - i¹ bouna degadega b - a tamwala !
Not will - it good yellow will - I paint² !

*ST,260.

Kara kai - pwakau bougwa pwakau b - a tagabu . Amafiyaga ((ama + i[^] +
Its wood - white already white will - I spread . What name ((what + lw. +

yaga)) ra² ? Kidakokola beisa b - a tamwala b - i¹ madagi . Malaka ,
name)) its² ? Coral now will - I paint² will - it smooth . Red¹ ,

kidamwa gilagila penita , i¹ boda . Vau walata , avaka tuveira
if blue¹ paint¹ , it put together . Black¹ pot , what² then

dimudimu si¹ vavagi , bateri , beisa b - a tamwala , b - i¹
white man them¹ things , battery , now will - I paint² , will - it

bouna . Yello , penita dimudimu gera b - i¹ bouna .
good . Yellow , paint¹ white man not will - it good .

*ST,262.

Makaisina b + a[^] ta¹ vagi , vau gera b - i¹ bouna . B +
They⁵ will + lw. we two³ do¹ , black¹ not will - it good . Will +

a[^] ta¹ sera malaka , gera b - i¹ kwama .
lw. we two³ put on red¹ , not will - it embellish .

*ST,264.

Gera makamwa , gera boubwau ...
Not this and this , not black ...

*ST,266.

Seiki ! Tomota avaka si¹ nanamsa . Kidamwa taitara magi ra b -
Maybe ! People what² them¹ thought . If one³ wish his² will -

i mwala , oo ! Desi ! B - i vagi . To - mumwoya + ga , to -
he paint , oh ! Enough ! Will - he do¹ . Man² - old + however , man² -

bwabougwa , gera i¹ gagabila b - i³ vagi / sa makara degadega ee
past , not it possible will - they do¹ / them like, as yellow and

dedamata . Beisa bougwa walata b - i³ kwali / sa , b - i³ ma +
blue . Now already pot will - they scratch / them , will - they come +

i[^] / sa , b - i³ vagi / sa vau .
lw. / them , will - they do¹ / them black¹ .

*ST,268

Tomota si lagimu peira si waga ? Kidamwa b - i³ kovi / sa , b -
People their lagimu for their canoe ? If will - they break / them , will -

i³ tagwara / sa , magi - si¹ yeigu b - i³ ma + i[^] + ya² /
they agree / them , wish - them¹ I¹ will - they come + lw. + here¹ /

sa , oo ! I¹ gagabila b - a vagi .
them , yes¹ ! It possible will - I do¹ .

*SS,270.

Kwaivira ...
Some ...

*SS,272.

Lagimu yoka n + u[^] ku paisewa , n + u[^] ku gini ?
Lagimu you¹ has + lw. you work , has + lw. you cut ?

*ST,273.

Beisa tuta ?
Now time ?

*ST,275.

Gera " taitara " i seka + i[^] gu , " kaitara " ((kai - tara)) lagimu . Gera ,
Not " one³ " he give + lw. me , " one⁴ " ((wood - one)) lagimu . Not ,

tabuya kaitara wara ...
tabuya one⁴ only ...

*ST,277.

Damuramwara , Lalekeiwa .
Damuramwara , Lalekeiwa .

*SS,279.

Avei tuta b + u^ ku kamu ina sineu ?
Which¹ time will + lw. you eat fish entrails ?

*ST,281.

Igau . Kaina b - a to - mwoya , makara mtona kaina makara mtona ,
Still . or will - I man² - old¹ , like, as he¹ or like, as he¹ ,

ee b - a kamu . Igau b - i seka + i^ gu aveira ra lagimu , ra
and will - I eat . Still will - he give + lw. me who his² lagimu , his²

tabuya , kaina ra waga ee b - a tai , b - a gini ee igau b -
tabuya , or his² canoe and will - I cut , will - I cut and still will -

a kamu sineu .
I eat entrails .

*SS,283.

Kwaitara tuta . Beisa tuta wa paka wara n - a kamu sineu , wosi ,
One² time . Now time at¹ feast only has - I eat entrails , performance ,

paka .
feast .

*SS,285.

E bougwa n - a kamu sineu ...
yes already has - I eat entrails ...

*SS,287.

Sineu ...
Entrails ...

*SS,289.

Ununu ?
Cooked greens, vegetables ?

*SS,291.

Makara yeigu wara gera magi gu !
Like, as I¹ only not wish me !

*SS,293.

Aa ! Gera b - i¹ kosi tabu , tabu b - i¹ sisu !
Indeed ! Not will - it finish taboo , taboo will - it stay² !

*SS,295.

Kidamwa taitara magi ra gera b - i kamu , ra tabu b - i¹ sisu
If one³ wish his² not will - he eat , his² taboo will - it stay²

wara . Ee kidamwa taitara magi ra b - i kamu , bougwa b - i¹
only . And if one³ wish his² will - he eat , already will - it

kosi ra tabu b - i kamu . Gera tubukona b + a[^] ta¹ nanamsa¹ ,
finish his² taboo will - he eat . Not moon will + lw. we two³ think¹ ,

kaina gera teitu¹ , gera . Tokarai[^]waga tetorara , tokarai[^]waga .
or not year , not . Leader himself , leader .

*SS,297.

Tabu monita ! Avei tuta lagimu b - a ta / gini kaina waga b - a
Taboo truth ! Which¹ time lagimu will - I do / cut or canoe will - I

ta / tai tabuya b - a ta gini ee tabu bougwa b - i¹ kosi . Ee
do / cut tabuya will - I do cut and taboo already will - it finish . And

b - a ta / kamu . Kidamwa + ga lagimu gera ta / gini , kidamwa waga
will - I do / eat . If + however lagimu not do / cut , if canoe

gera ta / tai , beisa tabu b - i¹ sisu . Gera (i¹) gagabila b -
not do / cut , now taboo will - it stay² . Not (it) possible will -

a ta / kamu , peira gera ta / paisewa .
I do / eat , for not do / work .

*SS,299.

B - i¹ kosi ...
Will - it finish ...

*SS,301.

B - i¹ sisu ...
Will - it stay² ...

*SS,303.

Mtona , makara ...

He¹ , like, as ...

*SS,305.

Kidamwa yoka naboya b + u[^] ku paisewa ra lagimu mtona , ee i¹
If you¹ tomorrow will + lw. you work his² lagimu he¹ , and it

boda + ga sineu bulukwa b + u[^] ku kamu¹ kaina gera ?
put together + however entrails wild pig will + lw. you your¹ or not ?

*ST,306.

Gera , igau b - a paisewa bougwa i¹ kosi lagimu , tabuya , ee igau
Not , still will - I work already it finish lagimu , tabuya , and still

b - a kamu sineu . Peira bougwa a nukoli .
will - I eat entrails . For already I know .

*SS,307.

Komwedona ra paisewa waga ...

All his² work canoe ...

*ST,308.

Paisewa , avaka , avaka . B - a nu(koli) / nukoli b - i¹ kosi ,
Work , what² , what² . Will - I know / know will - it finish ,

bougwa i¹ si(matili) / simatili nano gu , b - i¹ kosi , b - a kamu
already it disclose / disclose mind me , will - it finish , will - I eat

sineu .
entrails .

*SS,310.

Lagimu ...

Lagimu ...

*SS,312.

Peira gera (to) - kabitamunonita yeigu , waga wara i¹ boda .
For not (man²) - craft truth I¹ , canoe only it put together .

Peira i peka , a kina , waga n - a tai n + e[^] + i¹ kosi , ee n -
For he refuse , I see , canoe has - I cut has + lw. + it finish , and has -

a kamu .
I eat .

*SS,314.

Uu ! Gera ituwali .
Um ! Not different .

*ST,315.

Ee gera ituwali , beisa tabu kwaitara wara . (To) - kataraki tutana ,
And not different , now taboo one² only . (Man²) - skill a little¹ ,

(to) - kataraki kwaiveka ((kwai - veka)), tabu sineu gera b - a
(man²) - skill big⁴ ((abs. - big)), taboo entrails not will - I

ta / kamu .
do / eat .

*SS,317.

Bougwa makara !
Already like, as !

*SS,319.

Gera !
Not !

*SS,321.

Kada mu .
Uncle your³ .

*SS,323.

Gera veyo mu ...
Not relative your³ ...

*SS,325.

Mkona ku gagabila katupoil n - i nukwa + i[^] mu !
It² you possible question has - he tell + lw. your³ !

*192

*ST,326.

Beisa veyo gu wara b - a seka megwa . Kidamwa mtona to - mwoya ,
Now relative me only will - I give ritual words . If he¹ man² - old¹ ,

kidamwa b - i sisu , igau , beisa tuta , b - a to - veka b -
if will - he stay² , still , now time , will - I man² - big will -

i seka + i[^] gu . Ee i kariga , b - a sisu , veyo gu b - a seka +
he give + lw. me . And he die , will - I stay² , relative me will - I give +

i[^] gu Ee igau , b - i kariga , b - a sisu , veyo gu b -
lw. me And still , will - he die , will - I stay² , relative me will -

a seka , dala gu , to - nukulabuta b - a seka .
I give , house me , man² - nukulabuta will - I give .

*SS,328.

Tomakava ((to - makava)) , tomakava , i¹ gagabila b + u[^] ku
Outsider ((man² - no relative)) , outsider , it possible will + lw. you

seka megwa kaina gera ?
give ritual words or not ?

*ST,329.

Gera i¹ gagabila .
Not it possible .

*ST,331.

Veyo gu wara b - a seka , ku nukoli ... kaina nату gu , kidamwa b -
Relative me only will - I give , you know ... or son me , if will -

a kariga , igau b - i kitikeli b - i ra³ o² nukogwa .
I die , still will - he hand on will - he go¹ at high¹ .

*SS,333.

Nukulabuta .
Nukulabuta .

*ST,335.

B - a seka + i[^] mu !
Will - I give + lw. your³ !

*ST,337.

Gera !
Not !

*SS,339.

Nukulabuta wara ee dala ituwali , il gagabila b + u^ ku seka kaina
Nukulabuta only and house different , it possible will + lw. you give or

gera ?

not ?

*ST,340.

Gera , dala yeigu wara b - a seka . Gera ituwali dala b - a seka ,
Not , house I¹ only will - I give . Not different house will - I give ,

gera . To - nukulabuta dala ituwali , gera b - a seka . Beisa to -
not . Man² - nukulabuta house different , not will - I give . Now man² -

nukulabuta dala yeigu b - a seka .

nukulabuta house I¹ will - I give .

*ST,342.

Kabata .

Kabata .

*SS,343.

Nuba gu , pilisi , seinu mwau il kougwa peira (to) - kataraki
Friend me , please , very¹ hard it be first for (man²) - skill

neitibi !

native !

*SS,345.

Peira ku nukoli waura i³ tabu / sa gera ituwali dala b - a ta /
For you know reason they taboo / them not different house will - I do /

seka . Seinu mwau ! Peira (to) - kataraki makara yoka n + u^
give . Very¹ hard ! For (man²) - skill like, as you¹ has + lw.

ku paisewa , ku paisewa ee b + u^ ku ra³ , mapu mu b - i³
you work , you work and will + lw. you go¹ , answer your³ will - they

seka + i^ + mu / sa . Ee (to) - kataraki makara . Kidamwa dala
give + lw. + your³ / them . And (man²) - skill like, as . If house

ituwali gera b - i seka , peira mtona ra dala tabul ra , kaina
different not will - he give , for he¹ his² house ancestor his² , or

kada ra , ee igau avei tuta b - i paisewa gwadi mtona , ee tomota
uncle his² , and still which¹ time will - he work child he¹ , and people

si waga kaina si lagimu , tomota ee b - i³ katubaya / sa karu ,
their canoe or their lagimu , people and will - they fit out / them yam ,

buwa , kaina bulukwa , ina ee b - i³ mai^ya / sa ee b -
betel nut , or wild pig , fish and will - they come here / them and will -

i kamu .

he eat .

*ST,346.

Mapu ra² ra kataraki ...

Answer its² his² skill ...

*SS,347.

Mapu ra² ra kataraki , ku kina gera i¹ gagabila dala ituwali
Answer its² his² skill , you see not it possible house different

b - a ta seka .

will - I do give .

*ST,348.

Kwaimwau ((kwai - mwau)) .

Very difficult ((abs. - hard)) .

*ST,350.

Dala gu ?

House me ?

*SS,352.

Gera b - i yobweiri gu ?

Not will - he favourite pupil me ?

*SS,354.

(To) - kataraki ...

(Man²) - skill ...

*ST,355.

Kidamwa mtona gera b - i seka + i^ gu karu , kaina bulukwa , kara³ buwa ,
If he¹ not will - he give + lw. me yam , or wild pig , his³ betel nut ,

beisa b - a kina gera b - a seka . Kidamwa taitara tokekita ((to -
now will - I see not will - I give . If one³ young man ((man² -

kekita)) dala gu b - a seka .
small³)) house me will - I give .

*SS,357.

Mu dala ...
Your³ house ...

*SS,359.

Bougwa mkona kara³ mapu . Mtona i yobweiri gu .
Already it² his³ answer . He¹ he favourite pupil me .

*ST,360.

Ee , mtona n - i yobweiri gu b - a seka , mtona gera n - i
And , he¹ has - he favourite pupil me will - I give , he¹ not has - he

yobweiri gu gera b - a seka .
favourite pupil me not will - I give .

*SS,362.

Yobweiri ... mtona ... mtosina gugwadi komwedona ra dala mtona ,
Favourite pupil ... he¹ ... they⁴ children all his² house he¹ ,

komwedona kaina wane , tu , tri , poura , ee ra dala mtona ,
all or one⁵ , two³ , three⁴ , four⁴ , and his² house he¹ ,

mtosina gugwadi aveira b - i kavikavira ra paisewa mtona ,
they⁴ children who will - he distinguish oneself his² work he¹ ,

kaina ra bagula ee b - i ra³ , b - i poula ina , b - i
or his² garden and will - he go¹ , will - he fish¹ fish , will - he

seka , i kamu mtona . Kaina buwa b - i kaui , b - i seka , b -
give , he eat he¹ . Or betel nut will - he chew , will - he give , will -

i kaui mtona . Ee i¹ gagabila b - i seka megwa peira to -
he chew he¹ . And it possible will - he give ritual words for man² -

kabitamu .
craft .

*SS,364.

Ee kidamwa mtosina magamaga , ká ! Mtosina gera b - i³ seka / sa ina ,
And if they⁴ many , look ! They⁴ not will - they give / them fish ,

gera b - i³ ra³ / sa , b - i³ paisewa / sa peira ra bagula ,
not will - they go¹ / them , will - they work / them for his² garden ,

gera buwa b - i³ seka / sa , gera i¹ gagabila b - i seka .
not betel nut will - they give / them , not it possible will - he give .

Ra dala wara ee peira gera , gera i³ kabikaura / sa ra paisewa ,
His² house only and for not , not they follow / them his² work ,

gera i¹ gagabila b - i seka .
not it possible will - he give .

*SS,366.

Ee gera b - i paisewa .
And not will - he work .

*SS,368.

Gera i¹ boda b - a paisewa ...
Not it put together will - I work ...

*SS,370.

Ina , bulukwa ...
Fish , wild pig ...

*SS,372.

Ká ! Kidamwa yeigu makara gwadi yeigu , ee yeigu makara gwadi yeigu ,
Look ! If I¹ like, as child I¹ , and I¹ like, as child I¹ ,

gera i¹ gagabila b - a rakaya ((ra³ + ka + ya¹)) o bagula ,
not it possible will - I go at, with ((go¹ + get + at²)) on garden ,

gera b - a bagula peira b - il boda b - a bagula , gera i¹
not will - I garden for will - it put together will - I garden , not it

boda b - a ra³ , b - a poula ina , b - a mai[^]ya
put together will - I go¹ , will - I fish¹ fish , will - I come here

((ma + ya²)), b - u[^] ku kamu , gera i¹ boda b - a poula .
((come + here¹)), will - lw. you eat , not it put together will - I fish¹ .

Ee bulukwa gera makara b - a vagi , b - a ra³ , b - a bena ,
And wild pig not like, as will - I do¹ , will - I go¹ , will - I find ,

b - a ma , b - a seka + i[^] mu , b + u[^] ku kamu , peira igau ,
will - I come , will - I give + lw. your³ , will + lw. you eat , for still ,

tokekita yeigu . Ee aveira ((avei + ra)), kidamwa b - i seka +
young man I¹ . And who ((which¹ + his²)), if will - he give +

i[^] mu peira bulukwa , ina , karu , b - i seka + i[^] gu yeigu b +
lw. your³ for wild pig , fish , yam , will - he give + lw. me I¹ will +

u[^] ku megei , buwa , kaina sopi b - a kataraki ? Tama ra ,
lw. you proffer , betel nut , or water will - I skill ? Father his² ,

inal¹ ra !
mother his² !

*SS,374.

Tama ra , inal¹ ra ! Gwadi tama ra , inal¹ ra . Kidamwa
Father his² , mother his² ! Child father his² , mother his² . If

gwadi inal¹ ra , tama ra , b - i³ yobweiri / sa mtona
child mother his² , father his² , will - they favourite pupil / them he¹

ee i¹ gagabila mtona b - i tagwara , b - i seka , gwadi b - i
and it possible he¹ will - he agree , will - he give , child will - he

kataraki .
skill .

*SS,376.

Gera magi ra b - i kataraki ? Ee b - i sisu , kaina bwada
Not wish his² will - he skill ? And will - he stay² , or younger brother

ra ee b - i³ seka / si¹ b - i kataraki . Mtona gwadi kidamwa
his² and will - they give / them¹ will - he skill . He¹ child if

i kaibiga " Gera magi gu to - kataraki " , b - i peka , ee bwada
he talk " Not wish me man² - skill " , will - he refuse , and younger brother

ra , kaina taiyu wara , kaina bwada ra ee b - i seka .
his² , or two only , or younger brother his² and will - he give .

Mtona b - i kataraki , peira tama ra , inal ra , i³ yobweiri /
He¹ will - he skill , for father his² , mother his² , they favourite pupil /

sa mtona , ee mtona magi ra natu si¹ mtosina b - i kataraki .
them he¹ , and he¹ wish his² son them¹ they⁴ will - he skill .

*ST,378.

Aa ! Magi si¹ , kidamwa b - i kataraki natu si¹ , oo ! I¹
Indeed ! Wish them¹ , if will - he skill son them¹ , oh ! It

boda b - a ta seka , peira ku nukoli , inal ra , tama ra ,
put together will - I do give , for you know , mother his² , father his² ,

avaka bougwa i youmada karu , bulukwa , buwa , ina , n - i seka
what² already he invest yam , wild pig , betel nut , fish , has - he give

magi ra natu ra b - i kataraki , oo ! B - a ta seka .
wish his² son his² will - he skill , oh ! Will - I do give .

*ST,380.

B + u[^] ku yobweiri gu , ee natu mu magi mu b - i
Will + lw. you favourite pupil me , and son your³ wish your³ will - he

kataraki , oo ! I¹ boda b - a paresi , beisa tuta b - i
skill , oh ! It put together will - I offer gifts , now time will - he

kataraki , peira seinu peula , n + u[^] ku yobweiri gu .
skill , for very¹ strong , has + lw. you favourite pupil me .

*ST,382.

Gera b - a peka , peira avaka bougwa n - i yobweiri gu , kidamwa
Not will - I refuse , for what² already has - he favourite pupil me , if

natu mu i¹ boda , b - i seka , b - i kabitamu .
son your³ it put together , will - he give , will - he craft .

*SS,383.

Peira bougwa ku yobweiri , kidamwa gera b + u[^] ku yobweiri ,
For already you favourite pupil , if not will + lw. you favourite pupil ,

gera b + u[^] ku seka bulukwa , buwa , karu , ina ...
not will + lw. you give wild pig , betel nut , yam , fish ...

*SS,385.

Ee gera wara , bougwa b + u[^] ku peka yoka ee gera wara . Ee mtona
And not only , already will + lw. you refuse you¹ and not only . And he¹

gera tuveira b - i yobweiri mu . Bougwa b - i paka + i[^]
not then will - he favourite pupil your³ . Already will - he feast + lw.

mu , kaina yoka makara bwada mu mtona ee mtona + ga
your³ , or you¹ like, as younger brother your³ he¹ and he¹ + however

natu ra ee i nukwa + i[^] mu , b - i nukwa + i[^] mu tuwa +
son his² and he tell + lw. your³ , will - he tell + lw. your³ elder brother +

da " Magi gu natu gu ku vagi b - i kabitamu " , ee yoka b + u[^]
our " Wish me son me you do¹ will - he craft " , and you¹ will + lw.

ku peka , gera magi mu b + u[^] ku vagi b - i peka + i[^] mu ,
you refuse , not wish your³ will + lw. you do¹ will - he refuse + lw. your³ ,

gera magi ra yoka .
not wish his² you¹ .

*ST,387.

Gera !
Not !

*ST,389.

I³ sisu / sa gugwadi magamaga !
They stay² / them children many !

*ST,391.

N - i yobweiri gu wara mtona kidamwa b - i mai[^]ya agu ina ,
Has - he favourite pupil me only he¹ if will - he come here my fish ,

kaina kagu buwa , ee igau b - i kabitamun , b - a seka .
or my¹ betel nut , and still will - he craft , will - I give .

*SS,393.

... peira mu dala ...
... for your³ house ...

*ST,395.

Aa ! Magamaga !
Indeed ! Many !

*SS,396.

Ura dala magamaga ...
My² house many ...

*ST,398.

Beisa komwedona magi gu peira bwada gu mtosina ? Aveira kidamwa mtona
Now all wish me for younger brother me they⁴ ? Who if he¹

b - i yobweiri gu , b - a seka .
will - he favourite pupil me , will - I give .

*SS,400.

... b - a visuleka¹ ...
... will - I teach ...

*SS,402.

... gera komwedona ...
... not all ...

*SS,404.

... gera b - i mapu ...
... not will - he answer ...

*SS,406.

... (to) - kabitamu bougwa ...
... (man²) - craft already ...

*SS,408.

... komwedona b - i³ yobweiri / sa ...
... all will - they favourite pupil / them ...

*ST,410.

Kidamwa komwedona bougwa i³ yobweiri + gu / sa , ee magi gu gora
If all already they favourite pupil + me / them , and wish me also

taitara wara b - a seka . Gera taiyu , ((tail - yu)) , gera taitoru
one³ only will - I give . Not two , ((male - two²)) , not three²

((tail - toru)) , beisa taitara .
((male - three)) , now one³ .

*ST,412.

Sitana b - a seka b - i kabitamu , ee mtona veyo gu taitara b -
A little will - I give will - he craft , and he¹ relative me one³ will -

a seka , b - i kabitamu .
I give , will - he craft .

*ST,414.

I¹ boda b - a seka , peira natu gu , ... igau ...
It put together will - I give , for son me , ... still ...

*ST,416.

Peira n - a kasisu ((ka + sisu)) n - i yobweiri gu , i¹
For has - I stay ((get + stay²)) has - he favourite pupil me , it

boda b - a seka , b - i kabitamu . Igau ee b - i livala ,
put together will - I give , will - he craft . Still and will - he speak ,

ra waga b - i tai , kaina ra tabuya . B - i³ suluma / sa
his² canoe will - he cut , or his² tabuya . Will - they cook / them

kara¹ , kara³ mona beisa yeigu b - i³ salalaga mona , karu ...
food , his³ pudding now I¹ . will - they offer , go up pudding , yam ...

*SS,417.

... tokarai^waga ((to - kara³ + i^ + waga)) ...
... leader ((man² - his³ + lw. + canoe)) ...

*ST,418.

... b - a karai^waga yeigu .
... will - I leadership I¹ .

*SS,420.

I¹ gagabila !
It possible !

*SS,422.

Gera i¹ gagabila !
Not it possible !

*SS,424.

B - i gini !
Will - he cut !

*SS,426.

Aa ! B - i¹ ma !
Indeed ! Will - it come !

*SS,428.

Yamuyamu .
Everyday .

*ST,429.

B - i ma , b - i kamu , beisa yeigu .
Will - he come , will - he eat , now I¹ .

*SS,430.

B - i masisi .
Will - he sleep .

*ST,432.

Ee b - i ma , b - a visulekal . Gagana ku peka , bouna ku
And will - he come , will - I teach . Very bad you refuse , good you

gini .
cut .

*SS,434.

Kainaga !
Certainly !

*ST,435.

Ee yeigu wara n - a visuleka¹ mu , b + u[^] ku vagi makara wara
And I¹ only has - I teach your³ , will + lw. you do¹ like, as only

ura kataraki . Gera ituwali . Lalela ...
my² skill . Not different . Lalela ...

*SS,437.

I¹ gagabila !
It possible !

*SS,439.

B - a gini ituwali ginigini
Will - I cut different cuts

*ST,441.

I¹ gagabila , kidamwa b + u[^] ku gini ituwali , gera ...
It possible , if will + lw. you cut different , not ...

*ST,443.

Ee i kaibiga mtona ? Nano gu wara , peira il pwalala daba ra o¹ veru .
And he talk he¹ ? Mind me only , for it pierce head his² in village .

Kidamwa b - i nanamsa¹ b - i gini makara kataraki , b - i gini
If will - he think¹ will - he cut like, as skill , will - he cut

wara !
only !

*SS,445.

B - a mwamoura lagimu ...
Will - I shape¹ lagimu ...

*SS,447.

Ituwali mwamoura ...
Different shape¹ ...

*ST,449.

Uu ! ... Gera il¹ gagabila ituwali mwamoura . Makara yeigu b - a mwamoura ,
Um ! ... Not it possible different shapel¹ . Like, as I¹ will - I shapel¹ ,

makara b + u[^] ku vagi .
like, as will + lw. you dol .

*SS,451.

Ituwali mwamoura ...
Different shapel¹ ...

*SS,452.

Kidamwa bougwa monita b + u[^] ku kabitamu , ee il¹ gagabila wara ituwali
If already truth will + lw. you craft , and it possible only different

mwamoura b + u[^] ku katupeili . Ee kidamwa + ga gera monita b +
shapel¹ will + lw. you change, modify . And if + however not truth will +

u[^] ku kabitamu , igau , ee bougwa b + u[^] ku takayesa beisa mtona
lw. you craft , still , and already will + lw. you reproduce now hel

ra mwamoura ...
his² shapel¹ ...

*SS,454.

Kidamwa lagimu kaiyu ((kai - yu)) ku gini , kaina kaitoru ((kai -
If lagimu two⁴ ((wood - two²)) you cut , or three³ ((wood -

toru)) . kaivasi ((kai - vasi)) , b + u[^] ku tai waga , ee bougwa
three)) . four³ ((wood - four)) , will + lw. you cut canoe , and already

b + u[^] ku to - kabitamu bougwa .
will + lw. you man² - craft already .

*SS,456.

Mtona mu to - visuleka , kaina tomota , peira bougwa b - i³
Hel¹ your³ man² - teacher¹ , or people , for already will - they

kina / sa bouna wara b + u[^] ku gini . Kaina b + u[^] ku tai waga
see / them good only will + lw. you cut . Or will + lw. you cut canoe

bouna ee tomota komwedona " Oo ! To - kabitamu bougwa mtona !" Peira i³
good and people all " Oh ! Man² - craft already he¹ !" For they

kina / sa bouna , migireu ...
see / them good , clear ...

*ST,457.

Migireu !
Clear !

*SS,458.a.

Migireu !
Clear !

*SS,460.

Peira gera i nukoli / sa !
For not he know / them !

*ST,462.

Ee , igau ...
And , still ...

*SS,463.

Gera igau ...
Not still ...

*SS,465.

To - kabitamu bougwa ...
Man² - craft already ...

*SS,467.

I¹ gagabila wara !
It possible only !

*ST,468.

I¹ gagabila .
It possible .

*SS,469.

Peira , ku nukoli , mtona mu to - visuleka yaga ra " to -
For , you know , he¹ your³ man² - teacher¹ name his² " man² -

kabitanu bougwa ", ee i kina tutana , gera bouna . Ee tomota + ga ,
craft already ", and he see a little¹ , not good . And people + however ,

mtosina gera i³ nukoli / sa , i³ kina / sa , i³ doka¹ / sa bougwa
they⁴ not they know / them , they see / them , they think / them already

bouna , ee i³ kaibiga / sa " Oo ! To - kabitanu bougwa " ! Ee to -
good , and they talk / them " Oh ! Man² - craft already " ! And man² -

visuleka i kina " Tutana gera bouna " .
teacher¹ he see " A little¹ not good " .

*SS,471.

Gera , ra nanamsa mtona kami to - visuleka o nukogwa , tomota gera ,
Not , his² thought he¹ your man² - teacher¹ on high¹ , people not ,

o nukoyeki .
on bottom .

Cassette B

*ST,1.

Beisa Togeruwa ra paisewa ?
Now Togeruwa his² work ?

*ST,3.

Pelalamina ((Pela - lamina)) .
Right side ((Side - outrigger)) .

*ST,4.

Beisa mtona ee mi(ra) Kumwageiya ee n + e[^] + i wa¹ , yakema Lalela
Now he¹ and inhabitants Kumwageiya and has + lw. + he go , we two Lalela

kaina tai¹ - tara i vagi kaina gera ; watara ku nukoli yoka , Siyakwakwa
or male - one he do¹ or not ; any you know you¹ , Siyakwakwa

kai - tara o¹ veru / sa i³ vagi / sa makara ; gera beisa mi(ra)
wood - one in village / them they do¹ / them like, as ; not now inhabitants

Kumwageiya wara yakemai[^]sa gera i¹ sisu kwaisaruvi , bougwa weku wara .
Kumwageiya only we¹ not it stay² coconut husk , already shout only .

*SS,6.

Pelalamina ?
right side ?

*ST,7.

Oo ! Seiki ! Gera a nukoli , ra kataraki tetorara .
Oh ! Maybe ! Not I know , his² skill himself .

*SS,9.

Kabutuvatusi ...
Distinguish ...

*SS,11.

Kabutuvatusi !
Distinguish !

*SS,13.

Kara katumiki¹ " kabutuvatusi " ? " Kabutuvatusi " i¹ katumiki pelalamina ,
Its meaning " distinguish " ? " Distinguish " it mean right side ,

pelakatala ((pela - katala)) .
left side ((side - left)) .

*SS,15.

Pelalamina kwaisaruvi , pelakatala weku .
Right side coconut husk , left side shout .

*ST,17.

Pelalamina ...
Right side ...

*SS,18.

Aveira n - i katupoi + e[^] mu ?
Who has - he ask + lw. your³ ?

*SS,20.

Weku .
Shout .

*SS,21.

Ee peira yakema kama to - visuleka bougwa n - i vagi makara .
And for we two our¹ man² - teacher¹ already has - he do¹ like, as .

Ee yakemai[^]sa Lalela ta¹ gini / sa weku wara . Pelalamina , pelakatala
And we¹ Lalela we two³ cut / them shout only . Right side , left side

weku wara .
shout only .

*ST,22.

Pelapwalala ((pela - pwalala)) ee bougwa pelakatala ,
Pierced side ((side - pierce)) and already left side ,

pelataboda ((pela - taboda)) , pelalamina .
put together side, entangled side ((side - entangle)) , right side .

*SS,24.

I lumwailova ...
He forget ...

*ST,26.

Mtona bougwa o¹ gwadi ra , a doka¹ ... avaka mtona , kada ra ?
He¹ already in child his² , I think ... what² he¹ , uncle his² ?

*ST,28.

Bougwa i kaui buwa , sopi ...
Already he chew betel nut , water ...

*ST,30.

I kamu bobouma ...
He eat forbidden food ...

*ST,32.

Sineu , kununa ...
Entrails , inside parts of the head ...

*ST,33.a.

Beisa bougwa i¹ rabougwa , i¹ sisu o¹ nano ra , peira kabitamu ,
Now already it come first , it stay² in mind his² , for craft ,

kataraki . I¹ sisu o¹ daba ra , o¹ nano ra , ee n - i¹
skill . It stay² in head his² , in mind his² , and has - it

sisu , n - i toveka ((to - vekal)) , beisa tuta igau n - i
stay² , has - he grow ((man² - grow¹)) , now time still has - he

kamu bobouma , sineu , kununa ...
eat forbidden food , entrails , inside parts of the head ...

*ST,35.

E i kamu mtona Togeruwa . Ee beisa gora ra nanamsa i¹ sisu wara ,
Yes he eat he¹ Togeruwa . And now also his² thought it stay² only ,

kataraki ; kidamwa b - i gini lagimu , bouna wara .
skill ; if will - he cut lagimu , good only .

*SS,37.

I sopa !
He lie !

*SS,39.

Togeruwa ! Beisa peira wara n + u[^] ku katupoi yoka i sopa , bougwa i
Togeruwa ! Now for only has + lw. you ask you¹ he lie , already he

katukila , bobouma gera i kamu .
respect , forbidden food not he eat .

*SS,41.

Ee gera i kamu bobouma . Makaya¹ i nukwa + i[^] mu , i
And not he eat forbidden food . This and this he tell + lw. your³ , he

kaibiga mwada bougwa i kamu , gera i kamu . Ee kidamwa b - i kamu ,
talk otherwise already he eat , not he eat . And if will - he eat ,

b - i kamu bobouma , gera b - i vagi makara .
will - he eat forbidden food , not will - he do¹ like, as .

*SS,43.

I peka , gera magi ra ...
He refuse , not wish his² ...

*SS,45.

Bougwa i mumu sopi ...
Already he drink water ...

*SS,47.

Towitara i kaibiga ?
Towitara he talk ?

*SS,49.

Oo ! Peira il nu(mata) / numata wowo ra nageira i peka , gera i tai
Oh ! For it be weak / be weak body his² today he refuse , not he cut

lagimu .
lagimu .

*ST,51.

Ta(boda) / taboda ...
Entangle / entangle ...

*ST,53.

Kidamwa yamu / yamu b + u[^] ku paisewa ee beisa ginigini wara , ku gini
If day / day will + lw. you work and now cuts only , you cut

wara , tapwala gera . Kidamwa sopi b + u[^] ku mumu , buwa b +
only , fret well not . If water will + lw. you drink , betel nut will +

u[^] ku kauri , beisa b + u[^] ku tapwala .
lw. you chew , now will + lw. you fret well .

*SS,55.

Makara ...
Like, as ...

*SS,57.

Gera b + u[^] ku tapwala !
Not will + lw. you fret well !

*ST,59.

Gugwadi yakemai[^]ya ((yakema + i[^] + ya³)) ?
Children we two with ((we two + lw. + with¹)) ?

*SS,61.

Gera i¹ gagabila !
Not it possible !

*SS,63.

Seina mwau tapwala !
Very¹ hard fret well !

*SS,65.

Ee , a doka¹ bougwa makara , seiki !
And , I think already like, as , maybe !

*SS,67.

bobouma ...
forbidden food ...

*SS,69.

Yoka mu nanamsa makara ?
You¹ your³ thought like, as ?

*SS,71.

Mu nanamsa makara , yakemai[^]sa bougwa ka¹ kina peira tomota ra²
Your³ thought like, as , we¹ already we two² see for people its²

Kitawa . Tomota ra² Kitawa bougwa ka¹ kina , bougwa monita bobouma .
Kitawa . People its² Kitawa already we two² see , already truth forbidden food .

Peira yakema ka¹ kina , ká ! Katukila bobouma , ka¹ paisewa
For we two we two² see , look ! Respect forbidden food , we two² work

ginigini lagimu tabuya , waga . Ee mtosina + ga bobouma i³ kamu /
cuts lagimu tabuya , canoe . And they⁴ + however forbidden food they eat /

sa gera taitara i gini lagimu , gera taitara i paisewa waga .
them not one³ he cut lagimu , not one³ he work canoe .

*ST,73.

Beisa bougwa makara !
Now already like, as !

*ST,75.

Mtosina n - i³ kamu / kamu / sa bobouma , beisa gera i³ nukoli /
They⁴ has - they eat / eat / them forbidden food , now not they know /

sa lagimu , gera tabuya , bougwa i³ sisu / sa wara . B + i³ ta¹
them lagimu , not tabuya , already they stay² / them only . Will + they we two³

livala / sa gelu b - i³ kovi / sa , gelu b - i³ ra³ / sa
speak / them rib will - they break / them , rib will - they go¹ / them

b - i³ kovi / sa , si gelu wara . Komwedona b - i³ ma + i[^] +
will - they break / them , their rib only . All will - they come + lw. +

ya² / sa , lagimu b - i¹ ra³ i³ kovi / sa , komwedona b -
here¹ / them , lagimu will - it go¹ they break / them , all will -

i³ ma + i[^] + ya² / sa , gera b - i³ mori / sa , gera ,
they come + lw. + here¹ / them , not will - they shape² / them , not ,

peira gera i³ nukoli / sa , peira bobouma bougwa i³ kamu / sa .
for not they know / them , for forbidden food already they eat / them .

Kidamwa yakida bobouma , bobouma gera b + a[^] ta¹
If we two¹ forbidden food , forbidden food not will + lw. we two³

kamu ee beisa b + a[^] ta¹ ra³ , b + a[^] ta¹ kovi o¹
eat and now will + lw. we two³ go¹ , will + lw. we two³ break in

naodu ee b + a[^] ta¹ seli wara , beisa ta / mori kaikekita
bush and will + lw. we two³ rough only , now do / shape² small¹

((kai - kekita)) wara yaga ra² ...
((wood - small³)) only name its² ...

*ST,77.

Ta / mori kaikekita yaga ra² ...
Do / shape² small¹ name its² ...

*SS,78.

Bougwa makara gera ginigini ...
Already like, as not cuts ...

*ST,79.

Wawa peula b + a[^] ta¹ lewa¹ o¹ naodu , beisa b +
Rubbish strong will + lw. we two³ renounce, leave in bush , now will +

a[^] ta¹ paisewa , peira b - i¹ kekita ta / mai[^]ya , i¹ gagabila
lw. we two³ work , for will - it small³ do / come here , it possible

b + a[^] ta¹ keula ee b + a[^] ta¹ ma ee igau b +
will + lw. we two³ take¹ and will + lw. we two³ come and still will +

a[^] ta¹ paisewa . Peira bobouma (b + a[^]) ta¹ katukila ,
lw. we two³ work . For forbidden food (will + lw.) we two³ respect ,

gera (b + a[^]) ta¹ kamu sineu , gera kununa ,
not (will + lw.) we two³ eat entrails , not inside parts of the head ,

beisa bobouma . Kidamwa b + a[^] ta¹ kamu sineu ,
now forbidden food . If will + lw. we two³ eat entrails ,

kununa , gera b + a[^] ta¹ vagi . Seina mwau !
inside parts of the head , not will + lw. we two³ do¹ . Very¹ hard !

*SS,81.

Bougwa makara .
Already like, as .

*ST,83.

Peira bobouma ?
For forbidden food ?

*SS,84.

Yeigu bougwa a venoki mkona katupoi¹ !
I¹ already I finish¹ it² question !

*ST,86.

Tetorara ?
Himself ?

*SS,87.

Peira yeigu nano gu bougwa a livala . Nageira Tonori b - i livala .
For I¹ mind me already I speak . Today Tonori will - he speak .

*ST,88.

Aa ! Bougwa i¹ taboda nano gu !
Indeed ! Already it entangle mind me !

*ST,90.

Peira n i³ katukila + gu / sa peira bobouma , peira b - a gini
For has they respect + me / them for forbidden food , for will - I cut

lagimu , tabuya , peira b - a tapwala weku , tokwalu . Beisa n +
lagimu , tabuya , for will - I fret well shout , carved image . Now has +

i³ katukila + gu / sa gera b - a kamu sineu , kununa ,
they respect + me / them not will - I eat entrails , inside parts of the head ,

yeyuna . Yeyuna ku nukoli ? B - a ta / rairai yama b - i¹ tatata .
tail . Tail you know ? Will - I do / engrave hand will - it tremble .

Beisa bobouma wara ; beisa n - i³ katukila + gu / sa tabu , gera
Now forbidden food only ; now has - they respect + me / them taboo , not

a kamu / kamu , nageira ku kina b - a gini , bouna wara yama gu , ee nano
I eat / eat , today you see will - I cut , good only hand me , and mind

gu . Kidamwa b - a kamu sineu , yeyuna , kununa , beisa
me . If will - I eat entrails , tail , inside parts of the head , now

b - i¹ taboda daba gu , peira bobouma a kabasawa , a kamu ,
will - it entangle head me , for forbidden food I no respect , I eat ,

nageira b - i¹ taboda . Beisa bobouma , bougwa bobouma .
today will - it entangle . Now forbidden food , already forbidden food .

*ST,92.

Mimilisi + na¹ beisa tuta ginigini ituwali yeigu .
Some¹ + very now time cuts different I¹ .

*ST,94.

Yeigu .
I¹ .

*ST,96.

Ituwali , wara , kidamwa b - a kina avaka ura nanamsa , beisa b -
Different , only , if will - I see what² my² thought , now will -

a ma , b - a vagi ituwali wara .
I come , will - I do¹ different only .

*ST,98.

... Beisa makamwa gera i vagi , beisa yeigu wara .
... Now this and this not he do¹ , now I¹ only .

*ST,100.

Tetorara i vagi duduwa .
Himself he do¹ mouth .

*ST,102.

Beisa i vagi tetorara , Kurina i vagi .
Now he do¹ himself , Kurina he do¹ .

*ST,104.

Gera a gini , ká ! Beisa ura ginigini makara tetorara , ituwali yeigu .
Not I cut , look ! Now my² cuts like , as himself , different I¹ .

Ku nukoli , bougwa makara n - a to - kabitamu peula , ee ituwali ,
You know , already like , as has - I man² - craft strong , and different ,

ituwali .
different .

*ST,106.

Ura ginigini yeigu ? Gera b - a gini , beisa yeigu b - a droini pelai[^]tala
My² cuts I¹ ? Not will - I cut , now I¹ will - I draw one side

igau mapelasina i¹ masisi ura veru , ee b - a droini b - i¹
still they² it stay¹ my² village , and will - I draw will - it

kosi peira malaka , vau , ee igau b - a gini makara Togeruwa ,
finish for red¹ , black¹ , and still will - I cut like , as Togeruwa ,

ká ! Gera pwakau . Beisa mapelana ((mal + pela - na)) a vagi wara malaka ,
look ! Not white . Now it³ ((this + side - the)) I do¹ only red¹ ,

vau ee pwakau gora komwedona gera a gini .
black¹ and white also all not I cut .

*ST,108.

Susawila , kaina meikela .
Sea eagle , or sea swallow .

*ST,110.

E , i¹ sisu .
Yes , it stay² .

*ST,112.

Gera ituwali .
Not different .

*ST,114.

Ee makara , gera ituwali .
And like, as , not different .

*ST,116.

Ee makara Kurina ra lagimu .
And like, as Kurina his² lagimu .

*ST,118.

Ee ku nukoli , bougwa a mumu sopi , a kauri buwa , beisa ra lagimu ,
And you know , already I drink water , I chew betel nut , now his² lagimu ,
ra kataraki Kurina komwedona o¹ daba gu i¹ masisi .
his² skill Kurina all in head me it stay¹ .

*ST,120.

Igau b - i gini tetorara , b - i rairai lagimu tabuya , beisa b -
Still will - he cut himself , will - he engrave lagimu tabuya , now will -
a ma , b - a kina wara ra kataraki , bougwa o¹ nano gu b - i³
I come , will - I see only his² skill , already in mind me will - they
masisi / si¹ , o¹ daba gu . Ee b - i siwa , b - a ma , bougwa
sleep / them¹ , in head me . And will - he rest , will - I come , already

b - a takayesa vavagi .
will - I reproduce things .

*ST,122.

Gera , amafyaga ((ama + i^ + yaga)) ra² , b - a masisi , b - a
Not , what name ((what + lw. + name)) its² , will - I sleep , will - I

kina makara bougwa kara kakina¹ lagimu . Beisa b - a masisi , ura
see like, as already its shape lagimu . Now will - I sleep , my²

nanamsa gora b - a vagi kaitara lagimu . Komwedona , aveira ra lagimu ,
thought also will - I do¹ one⁴ lagimu . All , who his² lagimu ,

kataraki , beisa bougwa o¹ nano gu i¹ sisu .
skill , now already in mind me it stay² .

*ST,124.

Gera . Bougwa tokekita yeigu , i kariga . Ee beisa i pita buwa ,
Not . Already young man I¹ , he die . And now he crush betel nut ,

a kaudi , sopi a mumu , a sisu , i kariga , ee makara a vagakora , yokwami
I chew , water I drink , I stay² , he die , and like, as I train , you¹ (pl.)

makara treni , yakema vagakora , kaikekena ((kai - kekena)) lagimu .
like, as training , we two vagakora , small ((wood - small²)) lagimu .

A vagakora , a kakina ((ka + kina)) ee sitana bouna , sitana gagana ,
I train , I get a look ((get + see)) and a little good , a little very bad ,

peira igau .
for still .

*ST,126.

Ra kataraki ...
His² skill ...

*ST,128.

Ginigini bouna , ginigini gagana ...
Cuts good , cuts very bad ...

*ST,130.

I nukwa + i[^] mu ?
He tell + lw. your³ ?

*ST,132.

Gera aveira i nukwa + i[^] gu . N - i³ wal + i[^] / sa to - kataraki /
Not who he tell + lw. me . Has - they go + lw. / them man² - skill /

sa , ee Tokwaisai ee makara mtona , i³ kina / sa bouna wara . Ee
them , and Tokwaisai and like, as hel , they see / them good only . And

gera ta / nukoli , kaina i³ sinapwa + gu / sa , kaina monita , kaina sopa !
not do / know , or they tell lie + me / them , or truth , or lie !

*SS,134.

Feira bougwa nova ...
For already yesterday ...

*SS,136.

Nova n - a nukwa + i[^] mu bougwa ku nukoli . Ká ! Nageira n +
Yesterday has - I tell + lw. your³ already you know . Look ! Today has +

e[^] + i ma , n - i katupoi , Tonori n - i livala ee makara ...
lw. + he come , has - he ask , Tonori has - he speak and like, as ...

*ST,138.

Beisa tuta .
Now time .

*ST,140.

Magi mu ?
Wish your³ ?

*SS,142.

Teitul n + e[^] + i¹ ma , n - i¹ rabougwa ra lagimu ...
Year has + lw. + it come , has - it come first his² lagimu ...

*ST,144.

Lagimu n - a seka ...
Lagimu has - I give ...

*ST,146.

Ee makara ...
And like, as ...

*ST,148.

Beisa tuta sitana ituwali . Ee bougwa makara , ee tutana ituwali .
Now time a little different . And already like, as , and a little¹ different .

Ku nukoli , makaisina ((mal¹ + kai - si¹ + na)) kara kaimalaka
You know , they⁵ ((this + wood - them¹ + the)) its wooden red

((kai - malaka)) , vau , ...
((wood - red¹)) , black¹ , ...

*ST,150.

Beisa ol¹ tanawa ee ituwali , beisa nano gu wara i pwalala ee avaka
Now in bottom¹ and different , now mind me only he pierce and what²

ituwali ...
different ...

*ST,152.

Beisa makamwa beisa tetorara wara . Gera taitara yakema + ya³ Lalela
Now this and this now himself only . Not one³ we two + with¹ Lalela

i vagi , beisa makamwa . Beisa il¹ kina wara makaisina Nagega lagimu ,
he do¹ , now this and this . Now it see only they⁵ Nagega lagimu ,

beisa i ma , i vagi , ká ! Sori ! Gera makara Togeruwa i vagi malaka
now he come , he do¹ , look ! Sorry ! Not like, as Togeruwa he do¹ red¹

il¹ ma , ká ! O kaikikila ((kai - kikila)) . Beisa + ga Kurina
it come , look ! On wooden leg ((wood - support)) . Now + however Kurina

i vagi , il¹ ma , il¹ towa wara o nakaiwa , il¹ bobwa . Ee
he do¹ , it come , it leave here only on high , it cut across . And

i vagi makara Nagega , gera il¹ ma o kaikikila .
he do¹ like, as Nagega , not it come on wooden leg .

*ST,154.

Yeigu kidamwa b - a vagi b - i¹ roura , b - i¹ ma o kaikikila
I¹ if will - I do¹ will - it walk , will - it come on wooden leg

makara mtona , Togeruwa , i¹ boda b - a vagi . B - i towa
like, as hel , Togeruwa , it put together will - I do¹ . Will - he leave here

makara Kurina , i¹ boda wara .
like, as Kurina , it put together only .

*ST,156.

Beisa kidamwa b - a kina aveira , aveira , kaina o Bweiyowa , kidamwa
Now if will - I see who , who , or on Bweiyowa (Boyowa) , if

ituwali b - i³ vagi / sa , beisa b - a ma , bougwa b - a
different will - they do¹ / them , now will - I come , already will - I

takayesa ituwali . Kidamwa gora ra kataraki b - a vagi , beisa b -
reproduce different . If also his² skill will - I do¹ , now will -

a gini , b - i¹ ra³ kaitara lagimu .
I cut , will - it go¹ one⁴ lagimu .

*SS,158.

O tanawa .
On bottom¹ .

*ST,160.

Igau b - a vagi kaitara kaiveka ((kai - veka)) , ee igau b - a
Still will - I do¹ one⁴ big³ ((wood - big)) , and still will - I

vagi duduwa b - i¹ bouna ra² kasisu , sitana b - i¹ busi
do¹ mouth will - it good its² stay , a little will - it drip down

kaina b - i¹ simwa , kaina makara , makaina ((ma¹ + kai -
or will - it stay here¹ , or like, as , it¹ ((this + wood -

na)) gora peira droini¹ , peira makara buki ee beisa a vagi n -
the)) also for drawing , for like, as book and now I do¹ has -

i¹ kanamwa mapelana .
it stay here it³ .

*ST,162.

Bougwa makara Kurina .
Already like, as Kurina .

*ST,164.

Bougwa makara b - a gini ...
Already like, as will - I cut ...

*ST,166.

Beisa gera b - i¹ bouna b - a ta / ma + ya³ malaka , b - a
Now not will - it good will - I do / come + with¹ red¹ , will - I

ta / semwa ...
do / put aside ...

*ST,168.

Gera i¹ gagabila , beisa malaka b - i¹ sisu wara ...
Not it possible , now red¹ will - it stay² only ...

*ST,170.

Bougwa a nukwa mu monita , avei tuta bougwa ku wal / sa o Onumugwa ,
Already I tell your³ truth , which¹ time already you go / them on Onumugwa ,

ká ! Beisa ginigini wara a nukoli , ee yaga ra² + ga avaka , avaka ,
look ! Now cuts only I know , and name its² + however what² , what² ,

gera a nukoli monita .
not I know truth .

*ST,172.

A nukoli yaga ra² malaka , vau ee kara katumiki¹ / si¹ o nopoura
I know name its² red¹ , black¹ and its meaning / them¹ on inside

gera a nukoli .
not I know .

*SS,174.

Katupeili !
Change, modify !

*SS,176.

B + u[^] ku katupeili ...
Will + lw. you change, modify ...

*ST,178.

B - il masisi makaya . Kidamwa b - i^l katupeili , gera b -
Will - it sleep as this . If will - it change, modify , not will -

il bouna ...
it good ...

*ST,180.

Gera b - il katupeili .
Not will - it change, modify .

*ST,182.

Gera i^l gagabila .
Not it possible .

*ST,184.

Beisa gera il gagabila b + a[^] ta^l katupeili , beisa bougwa
Now not it possible will + lw. we two³ change, modify , now already

b - i^l masisi peira buna b - a ta / lobu , b - a pwala .
will - it sleep for shell will - I do / decorate , will - I fret .

*ST,186.

Bougwa makara . Kidamwa katupeili (i^l) gagabila , ká ! Kaina b -
Already like, as . If change, modify (it) possible , look ! Or will -

a ta / semwa ee kidamwa kaitara aveira kataraki b - a ta / semwa ,
I do / put aside and if one⁴ who skill will - I do / put aside ,

beisa i^l boda b - a ta / katupeili . Makaisina gera i^l gagabila ,
now it put together will - I do / change, modify . They⁵ not it possible ,

b i^l sisu wara .
will it stay² only .

*ST,188.

Kidamwa magi / da gera susawila ee ta / lewa wara . Kidamwa magi / da
If wish / our not sea eagle and do / renounce only . If wish / our

susawila il boda b - a ta / vagi , Beisa i¹ gagabila b -
sea eagle it put together will - I do / do¹ , Now it possible will -

a ta / katupeili . Malaka gera il gagabila b - a ta / katupeili .
I do / change, modify . Red¹ not it possible will - I do / change, modify .

*ST,190.

Gera b - a ta / katupeili . Pelakatala beisa tapwala weku , pelalamina
Not will - I do / change, modify . Left side now fret well shout , right side

gera . B - a ta / semwa kara tapwala , ta / taboda wara .
not . will - I do / put aside its fret well , do / entangle only .

*ST,192.

Beisa Towitara , gera ta¹ nukoli / sa peira ra kataraki . I livala
Now Towitara , not we two³ know / them for his² skill . He speak

kwaisaruvi , weku . Kurina + ga weku i tapwala , i pwalala . Ta /
coconut husk , shout . Kurina + however shout he fret well , he pierce . Do /

kina b - il ra³ , i¹ sakapu . Mapelana taboda b - i¹ sisu .
see will - it go¹ , it come out . It³ entangle will - it stay² .

Kara kakina¹ bougwa makara weku .
Its shape already like, as shout .

*SS,194.

Bougwa ku kamu kagul !
Already you eat my food !

*SS,196.

Mtona n - i nukwa ...
He¹ has - he tell ...

*ST,197.

Siyakwakwa seinano ra i nukoli , biga n - i katuvisi . Yeigu
Siyakwakwa very¹ mind his² he know , word has - he make clear . I¹

gera a nukoli monita biga .
not I know truth word .

*SS,199.

Peira to - kabitamu bougwa , kedá ! Yeigu gera .
For man² - craft already , isn't that right ! I¹ not .

*SS,201.

Aveira ?
Who ?

*SS,203.

Gera a masawa , peira mtona i nukwa + i[^] mu , i kaibiga yeigu wara n -
Not I joke , for hel he tell + lw. your³ , he talk I¹ only has -

a yavisi peira biga . Ku nukoli , mtona o nukogwa , yeigu o tanawa .
I untangle for word . You know , hel on high¹ , I¹ on bottom¹ .

Mtona amafiyaga ra to - kabitamu bougwa peira buwa , peira sopi ,
Hel¹ what name his² man² - craft already for betel nut , for water ,

yeigu kuku ...
I¹ fibre round the kernel of betel nut ...

*SS,205.

Gera !
Not !

*SS,207.

Pilisi nuba gu !
Please friend me !

*SS,209.

Yeigu nuba gu monita yokamu ! Gera i¹ gagabila kwaitara biga b -
I¹ friend me truth you yourself ! Not it possible one² word will -

a sinapwa mu . Kidamwa bougwa a mumu sopi b - a livala " kagu¹
I tell lie your³ . If already I drink water will - I speak " my food

bougwa a mumu sopi " , nageira ...
already I drink water " , today ...

*SS,211.

Gera buwa ...
Not betel nut ...

*SS,213.

Kuku .
Fibre round the kernel of betel nut .

*SS,215.

Ee , gera monita . To - kataraki wara yeigu , mtona yaga ra to -
And , not truth . Man² - skill only I¹ , he¹ name his² man² -

kabitamu bougwa . Yeigu , ku kina , igau b - a gini , b - a ma ,
craft already . I¹ , you see , still will - I cut , will - I come ,

b - i¹ taboda ((ta + boda)) , yeigu gera b - a vagi makara
will - it entangle ((do + put together)) , I¹ not will - I do¹ like, as

mtona ra ginigini . Mtona magi ra b - i gini , b - i gini ,
he¹ his² cuts . He¹ wish his² will - he cut , will - he cut ,

yeigu gera .
I¹ not .

*SS,217.

Monita !
Truth !

*ST,219.

Bouna .
Good .

*ST,221.

Magi gu , kidamwa b - a vagi kora kaitara kaikekita makara , peira bouna
Wish me , if will - I do¹ try one⁴ small¹ like, as , for good

rekoreko , kwaisaruvi .
morning bird , coconut husk .

*ST,223.

Kala¹ bulula ?
Its¹ nose ?

*SS,224.

Matara ((Mata + ra)) , kaina ?
Eyel ((Eye + his²)) , or ?

*ST,226.

Migira ? ((magi + ra)) .

Face ? ((wish + his²)) .

*SS,227.

O katala !

On left !

*SS,229.

Kwaisaruvi ...

Coconut husk ...

*ST,231.

Beisa makaina bouna , makaina bouna , pelalamina i¹ sisu mtona kwaisaruvi
Now it¹ good , it¹ good , right side it stay² he¹ coconut husk

ee mtona weku , gera weku i¹ gipwalala wara . Beisa i vagi taboda
and he¹ shout , not shout it make a hole only . Now he do¹ entangle

o tanawa , makara kwaisaruvi wara ...

on bottom¹ , like, as coconut husk only ...

*ST,233.

Pelakatala ...

Left side ...

*ST,235.

Gagana !

Very bad !

*ST,237.

Gera b - i¹ gula .

Not will - it settle .

*ST,239.

Avaka bougwa i¹ gula ?

What² already it settle ?

*SS,241.

Gera , gera ku nukoli !

Not , not you know !

*ST,243.

Bougwa i¹ gula ...
Already it settle ...

*ST,245.

Bougwa " i¹ kurega " .
Already " it balance " .

*ST,247.

Gera ?
Not ?

*SS,249.

Gera ku nukoli peira mkona biga bougwa i¹ gula ?
Not you know for it² word already it settle ?

*SS,251.

Gera ku nukoli ...
Not you know ...

*SS,253.

Yeigu katupoi + e[^] mu b - a livala , kaina Tonori wara b - i livala ?
I¹ ask + lw. your³ will - I speak , or Tonori only will - he speak ?

*ST,255.

Peira yeigu a nukoli wara bougwa ' i¹ gula ' , ee gera a nukoli kara katumiki¹ ,
For I¹ I know only already ' it settle ' , and not I know its meaning ,

avaka . Mtona bougwa i nukoli .
what² . He¹ already he know .

*SS,256.

Mkona biga b - i³ kaibiga / sa " Gera i¹ gula " , ee gera b -
It² word will - they talk / them " Not it settle " , and not will -

a ta / vagi makara . Kidamwa i³ kaibiga / sa " Bougwa i¹ gula "
I do / do¹ like, as . If they talk / them " Already it settle "

ee b + u[^] ku vagi . Peira kara katumiki¹ to - mumwoya , tokunibougwa ,
and will + lw. you do¹ . For its meaning man² - old , long time ago ,

gera i³ vagi / sa . Ee b - a ta / kaibiga " Gera i¹ gula " b -
not they do¹ / them . And will - I do / talk " Not it settle " will -

a ta / vagi , peira to - mumwoya gera i³ vagi / sa . Ee b - a
I do / do¹ , for man² - old not they do¹ / them . And will - I

ta / kaibiga gera i¹ gula , peira to - mumwoya gera i³ vagi / sa .
do / talk not it settle , for man² - old not they do¹ / them .

*SS,258.

Ee makara !
And like, as !

*ST,259.

Bougwa i³ vagi / sa to - mumwoya ...
Already they do¹ / them man² - old ...

*SS,260.

Ee b - i kaibiga " Bougwa i¹ gula " , peira to - mumwoya bougwa
And will - he talk " Already it settle " , for man² - old already

i³ vagi / sa makara . Ee kidamwa + ga b - i kaibiga " Gera
they do¹ / them like, as . And if + however will - he talk " Not

i¹ gula " , to - mumwoya gera i³ vagi / sa , ee makara . Peira
it settle " , man² - old not they do¹ / them , and like, as . For

to - mumwoya kara i¹ katumiki biga mkona " Bougwa i¹ gula " , gera
man² - old its it mean word it² " Already it settle " , not

i¹ gula . Peira to - mumwoya bougwa i³ vagi / sa makara ee
it settle . For man² - old already they do¹ / them like, as and

yaga ra " Bougwa i¹ gula " ...
name his² " Already it settle " ...

*ST,261.

I¹ gula , tobwabougwa !
It settle , ancestors !

*SS,262.

Kaina b - i kaibiga " Gera i¹ gula " ee to - munwoya gera i³
Or will - he talk " Not it settle " and man² - old not they

vagi / sa . Makara mkona biga .
dol / them . Like, as it² word .

*SS,264.

Mkosina biga kara katumiki¹ yeigu bougwa ku nukoli nuba gu !
They³ word its meaning I¹ already you know friend me !

*ST,265.

Mtona i nukoli biga , yeigu gera a nukoli monita . Kwaiveka biga a nukoli ,
He¹ he know word , I¹ not I know truth . Big⁴ word I know ,

kokekita ((ko - kekita)) kara katumiki¹ gera a nukoli .
small⁴ ((abs. - small³)) its meaning not I know .

*ST,267.

Monita !
Truth !

*SS,268.

Kaina triki !
Or trick !

*ST,270.

Peira gwadi yeigu , kedá ?
For child I¹ , isn't that right ?

*SS,272.

Aveira ?
Who ?

*SS,274.

Bouna , nageira b + u[^] ku livala , yeigu gera magi gu !
Good , today will + lw. you speak , I¹ not wish me !

*ST,275.

B + u[^] ku paresi gu , kedá ?
Will + lw. you offer gifts me , isn't that right ?

*SS,276.

Gera , yeigu b - a kapetu b - a kaui ...
Not , I¹ will - I stop talking will - I chew ...

*ST,278.

Bougwa il gula tobwabougwa pelakatala weku bougwa i tapwala . Ee
Already it settle ancestors left side shout already he fret well . And

pelalamina makara kwaisaruvi , makara Towitara ra kwaisaruvi . Ee
right side like, as coconut husk , like, as Towitara his² coconut husk . And

mtona Kurina beisa bougwa makara weku . Weku pelakatala i tapwala ,
hel¹ Kurina now already like, as shout . Shout left side he fret well ,

pelalamina gera i tapwala makara kwaisaruvi .
right side not he fret well like, as coconut husk .

*ST,280.

B - il kanamwa pelakatala , gera il¹ gagabila .
Will - it stay here left side , not it possible .

*ST,282.

Pelalamina ...
Right side ...

*ST,284.

Pelakatala ...
Left side ...

*SS,286.

Bouna !
Good !

*ST,287.

Kidamwa ...
If ...

*ST,289.

B - il ra³ pelakatala ...
Will - it gol¹ left side ...

*ST,291.

Ee gera , gera il gagabila ...
And not , not it possible ...

*ST,293.

Beisa keuna wara , gera il sisu rekoreko makara Towitara , keuna
Now snake only , not it stay² morning bird like, as Towitara , snake

wara . Ee pelakekita ((pela - kekita)) beba , ee beisa pelakatala .
only . And small side ((side - small³)) butterfly , and now left side .

*ST,295.

Pelalamina ...
Right side ...

*ST,297.

Pelakatala ...
Left side ...

*ST,299.

Pelakekita beba pelakatala .
Small side butterfly left side .

*ST,301.

Beisa beba !
Now butterfly !

*ST,303.

Beisa beba . Beisa beba pelai^{veka} ((pela - i[^] + veka)) pelalamina .
Now butterfly . Now butterfly big side ((side - lw. + big)) right side .

*SS,305.

Kaiyu lagimu ...
Two⁴ lagimu ...

*ST,307.

Mwata ...
Snake, structure ...

*ST,309.

Beisa , ká ! Beisa tabuaura ((tabu(ya) + vau + ra²)) makaina
Now , look ! Now stern-tabuya ((tabuya + black¹ + its²)) it¹

yagara .
name¹ .

*ST,311.

Tabuvaura , tabuvaura weku b - a ta / pwalala mapelasina . Ku nukoli ,
Stern-tabuya , stern-tabuya shout will - I do / pierce they² . You know ,

b - a ta / kina , ká ! Beisa migira b - i¹ ma . Kidamwa tabudabwara
will - I do / see , look ! Now face will - it come . If bows-tabuya

((tabu(ya) + dabwa + ra²)) ee beisa weku b - i¹ ma beisa ee kwaisaruvi
((tabuya + head¹ + its²)) and now shout will - it come now and coconut husk

b - i¹ ma beisa¹ b - a ta / pwalala b - a ta / kina .
will - it come here will - I do / pierce will - I do / see .

*ST,313.

Beisa weku taboda .
Now shout entangle .

*SS,315.

Tapwalala ((ta / pwalala)) !
Pierce well ((do / pierce)) !

*ST,317.

Gera pwalala .
Not pierce .

*SS,318.

Ee a lumwailova ! Bougwa a livala gera b - a nukwa + i[^] mu , desi
And I forget ! Already I speak not will - I tell + lw. your³ , enough

b - a kapetu , peira bougwa n + u[^] ku nukwa + i[^] + gu / sa
will - I stop talking , for already has + lw. you tell + lw. + me / them

gera b - a livala , avaka peira nageira b - a peka , igau b +
not will - I speak , what² for today will - I refuse , still will +

u[^] ku ne(i) / nei / sa mi biga .
lw. you gain end / gain end / them your² word .

*ST,320.

Gera i¹ gagabila . Kidamwa b - a katupeili vau b - i¹ kinawa
Not it possible . If will - I change, modify black¹ will - it leave

beisa malaka , malaka b - i¹ ra³ beisa vau , gera b - i¹ bouna ,
now red¹ , red¹ will - it go¹ now black¹ , not will - it good ,

gagana wara .
very bad only .

*ST,322.

Gera b - i¹ gula tobwabougwa b - a ta / ma , b - a ta / vagi
Not will - it settle ancestors will - I do / come , will - I do / dol

makara . Beisa tobwabougwa n - i¹ vagi vau o tanawa , malaka
like, as . Now ancestors has - it dol black¹ on bottom¹ , red¹

o nakaiwa . Beisa i¹ gula makara .
on high . Now it settle like, as .

*ST,324.

Gera i¹ gagabila .
Not it possible .

*ST,326.

Beisa b + u[^] ku penita degadega , gera b - i¹ bouna . Beisa b -
Now will + lw. you paint¹ yellow , not will - it good . Now will -

i³ kina / sa beisa " Aa ! Beisa gera i nukoli mtona , gera (to) -
they see / them now " Indeed ! Now not he know hel¹ , not man² -

kabitamumu ! " Makara to - kwabu " .
craft ! " Like, as man² - common " .

*ST,328.

Bougwa n - i³ vagi / sa to - munwoya tokunibougwa . Malaka i³
Already has - they dol¹ / them man² - old long time ago . Red¹ they

gini / sa , vau , pwakau , bougwa masineiki kwaitoru ((kwai - toru)) .
cut / them , black¹ , white , already that's all three¹ ((abs. - three)) .

Gera il gagabila b - a ta / ma , b - a ta / vagi kwaitara , kwaivasi
Not it possible will - I do / come , will - I do / do¹ one² , four¹

((kwai - vasi)) , gera il gagabila .
((abs. - four)) , not it possible .

*ST,330.

Beisa ginigini wara ? Seina kaiveka ((kai - veka)) pupwakau gera b -
Now cuts only ? Very¹ big³ ((wood - big)) very white not will -

il bouna . Pupwakau kaiveka , kaikekena malaka , vau , gera b -
it good . Very white big³ , small red¹ , black¹ , not will -

il bouna . Beisa kara kakina¹ lagimu gagana wara . Kidamwa makara pupwakau ,
it good . Now its shape lagimu very bad only . If like, as very white ,

makara vau , makara malaka , beisa b - a ta / kina bouna .
like, as black¹ , like, as red¹ , now will - I do / see good .

*ST,332.

Tutana pupwakau beisa bouna , kidamwa kaikoveka ((kai - ko - veka))
A little¹ very white now good , if big² ((wood - abs. - big))

pupwakau beisa gera bouna . Kaikoveka vau gera bouna . Malaka kaikoveka
very white now not good . Big² black¹ not good . Red¹ big²

gera bouna . Beisa makara malaka , makara vau , makara pupwakau ,
not good . Now like, as red¹ , like, as black¹ , like, as very white ,

beisa b - a ta / kina lagimu kara kakinal bouna wara .
now will - I do / see lagimu its shape good only .

*SS,334.

I katupoi + e[^] mu yeigu a re(ka) / reka wara mkosina peira avaka il¹
He ask + lw. your³ I¹ I heard / heard only they³ for what² it

katumiki b - a livala , beisa tuta gera magi gu b - a livala , b -
mean will - I speak , now time not wish me will - I speak , will -

a sisu wara .
I stay² only .

*ST,335.

Yeigu + ga bougwa il taboda !
Il + however already it entangle !

*SS,336.

Seiki ! Kami taiyu b + u^ ku livala / sa !
Maybe ! Your two will + lw. you speak / them !

*ST,337.

Beisa b + u^ ku lumutaku ee igau b - a livala . Ee b - i kinawa
Now will + lw. you not assist and still will - I speak . And will - he leave

ee gera , kaina naboya b + u^ ku ma , b + u^ ku nukwa ee " I
and not , or tomorrow will + lw. you come , will + lw. you tell and " He

sinapwa + i^ mu ! " , ká ! Ee beisa monita b + u^ ku nukoli .
tell lie + lw. your³ ! " , look ! And now truth will + lw. you know .

Kidamwa ...

If ...

*SS,339.

Gera il gagabila !
Not it possible !

*ST,340.

Beisa biga komwedona ...
Now word all ...

*ST,342.

Bougwa monita yeigu b - a livala biga bougwa a nukoli peira mkosina avaka ,
Already truth Il will - I speak word already I know for they³ what² ,

avaka . Gera a nukoli , gera b - a livala . Igau , b - a livala , bougwa
what² . Not I know , not will - I speak . Still , will - I speak , already

b - a sopa ! Beisa b - a nukoli wara , ura a nukoli tetoragu ((tetora +
will - I lie ! Now will - I know only , my² I know myself ((self +

gu)) ee b - a livala . Mkosina gera a nukoli , gera b - a livala .
me)) and will - I speak . They³ not I know , not will - I speak .

*SS,344.

Ee makaya , bougwa ku li(vala) / livala bouna . Peira + ga katupoil
And as this , already you speak / speak good . For + however question

yeigu n - a nu(kwa) / nukwa + i^ mu , katupoil¹ mtona , mtona katupoil¹
I¹ has - I tell / tell + lw. your³ , question he¹ , he¹ question

ituwali , ee ku livala yoka ku ra³ ituwali . Ee mkona n - a nu(kwa) /
different , and you speak you¹ you go¹ different . And it² has - I tell /

nukwa + i^ mu , igau ku reka biga ra katupoil¹ mtona avaka katupoil¹
tell + lw. your³ , still you heard word his² question he¹ what² question

ura nanamsa mtosina biga kara³ mapu , ava b + u^ ku mapu peira
my² thought they⁴ word his³ answer , which will + lw. you answer for

ra katupoil¹ mtona .
his² question he¹ .

*ST,345.

Gera a nukoli kwaitara katupoil ee watara igau , yoka ku nukwa peira
Not I know one² question and any still , you¹ you tell for

bougwa a livala . Yeigu gera a nukoli naveka ((na² - veka)) biga , gera
already I speak . I¹ not I know big⁵ ((female - big)) word , not

wara .
only .

*SS,346.

Peira i nukwa + i^ gu tosopasopa ((to - sopa + sopa)) , yeigu gera b -
For he tell + lw. me lying ((man² - lie + lie)) , I¹ not will -

a livala !
I speak !

*ST,347.

Beisa makara a katudewa , kedã ?
Now like, as I practise , isn't that right ?

*SS,349.

Yoka tonagowa ((to - nagowa)) ! Ku livala !
Youl bad man ((man² - bad, silly)) ! You speak !

*ST,351.

Bouna , ee gera bougwa a nukoli monita . Mtona bougwa i nukoli , i nukwa +
Good , and not already I know truth . He¹ already he know , he tell +

i[^] gu .
lw. me .

*SS,352.

I katupoi + e[^] mu , avei tuta n + u[^] ku kauri buwa , igau
He ask + lw. your³ , which¹ time has + lw. you chew betel nut , still

tokekita yoka , ee makara ginigini bougwa i³ masisi / sa o daba
young man you¹ , and like, as cuts already they sleep / them on head

mu , kaina gera ?
your³ , or not ?

*ST,353.

Igau tutana n - a toveka , ee i¹ talapula wara mkosina avaka kataraki
Still a little¹ has - I grow , and it appear¹ only they³ what² skill

lagimu kara kakinal¹ , tabuya , waga . Ee n - i¹ si(matili) / simatili
lagimu its shape , tabuya , canoe . And has - it disclose / disclose

beisa yeigu n - i¹ kosi , makamwa tokekita yeigu , a kauri buwa ,
now I¹ has - it finish , this and this young man I¹ , I chew betel nut ,

sopi , ee a sisu . Ee b - a ka(tudewa) / katudewa , b - a ma ,
water , and I stay² . And will - I practise / practise , will - I come ,

a kokoula kwaiga , b - a tapwala , beisa b - a tapwala pelapwalala
I carry coconut shell , will - I fret well , now will - I fret well pierced side

wara .
only .

*SS,354.

Bougwa watara ku nukoli mkona biga ?
Already any you know it² word ?

*SS,356.

" N - il talapula nano gu ! " Bougwa ku nukoli ...
" Has - it appear¹ mind me ! " Already you know ...

*SS,358.

Gera ' mimi ' , gera ' kina ' , gera ' b - il masisi ' wa daba ra ,
Not ' dream ' , not ' see ' , not ' will - it sleep ' at1 head his² ,

yaga ra² ' ruruwai ' ... ' ruruwai ' ...
name its² ' remember, memorize ' ... ' remember, memorize ' ...

*SS,360.

Bougwa b - a nukwa , n - i nukoli ee igau b - i mapu . Bougwa
Already will - I tell , has - he know and still will - he answer . Already

b - a nukwa wara avaka mu nanamsa n + u[^] ku livala . Il gagabila
will - I tell only what² your³ thought has + lw. you speak . It possible

yokamu ((yoka + mu)) b + u[^] ku mo(ri) / mori lagimu ,
you yourself ((you¹ + your³)) will + lw. you shape² / shape² lagimu ,

b + u[^] ku semwa ee b + u[^] ku kawa + ga peni , igau
will + lw. you put aside and will + lw. you confirm + however pen , still

ku lakeda kaina makara ku leni , ku leni bougwa i¹ kosi , igau
you trace or like, as you line , you line already it finish , still

b + u[^] ku kawa kaiwouwai ((kai - wouwa)) , b + u[^] ku
will + lw. you confirm marteline ((wood - marteline¹)) , will + lw. you

seya , b + u[^] ku gini , kaina gera ?
put in , will + lw. you cut , or not ?

*ST,361.

Gera .
Not .

*SS,362.

Tabu !

Taboo !

*ST,364.

Gera il gagabila b - a leni b - il kosi o nukoyeki igau b -
Not it possible will - I line will - it finish on bottom still will -

a kawa kaiwouwai b - a gini , makara b - a tapwala gera . Beisa
I confirm marteline will - I cut , like, as will - I fret well not . Now

bougwa o nano gu n - il masisi , weku , tokwalu , ee b - a keula
already on mind me has - it sleep , shout , carved image , and will - I takel

kaiwouwai b - a tapwala wara , wara . Gera b - il kougwa , b -
marteline will - I fret well only , only . Not will - it be first , will -

a leni o nukoyeki igau b - a tapwala .
I line on bottom still will - I fret well .

*SS,365.

Bougwa , bouna ! I katupoi + e[^] mu : avaka peira , kaina avaka il
Already , good ! He ask + lw. your³ : what² for , or what² it

katumiki , gera b - il kougwa b + u[^] ku leni o nukoyeki b +
mean , not will - it be first will + lw. you line on bottom will +

u[^] ku gini , gera b + u[^] ku leni o nukoyeki , avaka il katumiki ,
lw. you cut , not will + lw. you line on bottom , what² it mean ,

avaka peira bobouma , kaina tabu , kaina avaka ?
what² for forbidden food , or taboo , or what² ?

*ST,366.

Seiki ! A doka¹ tabu leni , a doka¹ !
Maybe ! I think taboo line , I think !

*SS,367.

Ee mkona tabu avaka il katumiki ? Kaina makara i katupoi + e[^] mu
And it² taboo what² it mean ? Or like, as he ask + lw. your³

mtona .
hel .

*SS,369.

B + u^ ku leni ...
Will + lw. you line ...

*ST,371.

B - i sisu agu to - visuleka ? B - i kina b - a leni ,
Will - he stay² my man² - teacher¹ ? Will - he see will - I line ,

n - i kaibiga b - a kawa kaiwouwai b - a sera . Gera i¹ gagabila .
has - he talk will - I confirm marteline will - I put on . Not it possible .

B - i kaibiga " Avaka makamwa b + u^ ku vagi ? " . Beisa gera
Will - he talk " What² this and this will + lw. you do¹ ? " . Now not

i¹ gagabila , b - i¹ tabu !
it possible , will - it taboo !

Cassette C

*SS,2.

Mi nanamsa !
Your² thought !

*SS,4.

... b + u[^] ku nukwa + i[^] + gu / sa ...
... will + lw. you tell + lw. + me / them ...

*ST,6.

Amakara mtona bougwa i livala ?
What¹ he¹ already he speak ?

*SS,8.

N i katupoi + e[^] mu mtona , peira ginigini mkosina , mimilisi + na
Has he ask + lw. your³ he¹ , for cuts they³ , some¹ + the

igau n + u[^] ku sera , kuwovau ginigini , ee tomumwoya + ga si
still has + lw. you put on , new one cuts , and old men + however their

ginigini ituwali . Ee yoka peira seiná to - kabitamu peula kuwovau
cuts different . And you¹ for very¹ man² - craft strong new one

ginigini ku sera , i¹ boda b - i¹ bouna peira lagimu kara
cuts you put on , it put together will - it good for lagimu its

mwata , b - a ta / mwala bougwa bouna kara kakina¹ kaina b -
snake, structure , will - I do / paint already good its shape or will -

i¹ gagana ? Ká ! N - i katupoi + e[^] mu , makara , ee b +
it very bad ? Look ! Has - he ask + lw. your³ , like, as , and will +

u[^] ku mapu .
lw. you answer .

*ST,9.

Kidamwa kuwovau ginigini b - a gini , ee tomumwoya si ginigini kaina
If new one cuts will - I cut , and old men their cuts or

ituwali , ee kidamwa b - a ta / mwala , beisa bouna wara , gera avaka
different , and if will - I do / paint , now good only , not what²

kara gaga .

its bad .

*ST,11.

Uu ! Beisa ura nanamsa , beisa b - a vagi lagimu kidamwa ituwali ee
Um ! Now my² thought , now will - I do¹ lagimu if different and

b - a ta / mwala gera beisa bouna wara . Gera avaka kara gaga .
will - I do / paint not now good only . Not what² its bad .

*SS,13.

Gera , peira tokabitamu mtona avaka bougwa i nanamsa¹ , n - i livala ,
Not , for craftsman he¹ what² already he think¹ , has - he speak ,

makara bougwa makara .

like, as already like, as .

*SS,15.

Tapwala ! Kidamwa tapwala kwaitara kuwovau , b - i vagi ra² tapwala
Fret well ! If fret well one² new one , will - he do¹ its² fret well

mtona peira weku b - i tapwala ituwali , ee b - a ta / mwala b -
he¹ for shout will - he fret well different , and will - I do / paint will -

il gagana . Kaina kwaisaruvi b - i tai ituwali , kwaitara kuwovau ,
it very bad . Or coconut husk will - he cut different , one² new one ,

peira ra² taitai b - a ta / mwala b - il gagana . Kaina kara kaimalaka
for its² cuts¹ will - I do / paint will - it very bad . Or its wooden red

igau b - i sera kaitara , kuwovau , ituwali ee b - a ta / mwala
still will - he put on one⁴ , new one , different and will - I do / paint

b - il gagana . Beisa + ga ginigini kuwovau b - i gini , b -
will - it very bad . Now + however cuts new one will - he cut , will -

a ta / mwala ee bougwa bouna wara . Weku wara bougwa i ta / pwalala bouna
I do / paint and already good only . Shout only already he do / pierce good

ee ginigini kuwovau b - i gini b - a ta / mwala bougwa bouna . Ee
and cuts new one will - he cut will - I do / paint already good . And

b - i seka lagimu ra² mwata bouna , makara .
will - he give lagimu its² snake, structure good , like, as .

*SS,17.

Ee bougwa ! Bougwa monita . Kidamwa b - i gini pelaiyu wara beba ,
And already ! Already truth . If will - he cut both sides only butterfly ,

ee b - il sisu takainowa . Gera b - a ta / mwala averufiya pelakatala ,
and will - it stay² no sign . Not will - I do / paint where¹ left side ,

averufiya pelalamina , ee sitana bougwa takainowa . Waura makara . Gera
where¹ right side , and a little already no sign . Reason like, as . Not

b - a ta / vatusi , ké ? Ee kidamwa + ga b - i vagi makara
will - I do / set up , agreed ? And if + however will - he do¹ like, as

pelai^veka pelalamina , b - il ra³ wa lamina , pelakekita b -
big side right side , will - it go¹ at¹ outrigger , small side will -

il ra³ o katala , ee lagimu bouna ra² katota b - il tora o
it go¹ on left , and lagimu good its² look¹ will - it stand on

nopoura waga . Bouna , ee peira makara tomumwoya i³ vagi / sa n +
inside canoe . Good , and for like, as old men they dol / them has +

e^ + il ma , makara . Mtona + ga ra nanamsa igau b - i
lw. + it come , like, as . He¹ + however his² thought still will - he

vagi kwaitara ((kwai - tara)) ginigini kuwovau ee b - a ta / kina bougwa
dol one² ((abs. - one)) cuts new one and will - I do / see already

bouna ee gera + ga makara tomumwoya i³ gini / sa . Ee sitana .
good and not + however like, as old men they cut / them . And a little .

Sitana . I³ paisewa / sa , i³ gini / sa . Ee makara ura nanamsa .
A little . They work / them , they cut / them . And like, as my² thought .

*ST,19.

Monita ! Kidamwa b a toveka wara kidamwa tetoragu , kaina makara weku ,
Truth ! If will I grow only if myself , or like, as shout ,

kaina kwaisaruvi . ee kara kaimalaka , kara kaivau ((kai - vau)) ,
or coconut husk and its wooden red , its wooden black ((wood - black¹)) ,

mwata , kuwovau b - a sera , gera b - il bouna . Beisa
snake, structure , new one will - I put on , not will - it good . Now

tobwabougwa . Tomumwoya makara n - i³ vagi / sa weku , kwaisaruvi ,
ancestors . Old men like, as has - they dol / them shout , coconut husk ,

kara kaivau malaka , mwata , beisa makara tomumwoya n -
its wooden black red¹ , snake, structure , now like, as old men has -

i³ vagi / sa makara b - a vagi . Ee ginigini tutana tomumwoya
they dol / them like, as will - I do¹ . And cuts a little¹ old men

il bweibusi , beisa tuta yeigu ura nanamsa magamaga , ee a gini ituwali
it come down , now time I¹ my² thought many , and I cut different

ee beisa b - a ta / mwala , beisa bouna wara . Kidamwa b - il gaga
and now will - I do / paint , now good only . If will - it bad

metoya malaka ee vau , mwata beisa b - il gagana . Kidamwa
from red¹ and black¹ , snake, structure now will - it very bad . If

ginigini ituwali tomumwoya ee ituwali yeigu b - a gini makara , b -
cuts different old men and different I¹ will - I cut like, as , will -

a ta / mwala beisa bouna . Gera avaka .
I do / paint now good . Not what² .

*SS,21.

Yeigu bougwa a mapu , masivana n - il kosi .
I¹ already I answer , in this time has - it finish .

*SS,23.

Ee ké ? b - a livala peira makara katupoil ?
And agreed ? will - I speak for like, as question ?

*SS,25.

Kaina i katupoi + e[^] mu peira kwaisaruvi vau ee sitana makara
Or he ask + lw. your³ for coconut husk black¹ and a little like, as

mwau , ee waura i³ semwa / sa pelalamina peira lamina sitana
hard , and reason they put aside / them right side for outrigger a little

ra² peula . Ee i doka¹ makara kwaisaruvi mwau sitana ee weku +
its² strong . And he think like, as coconut husk hard a little and shout +

ga peira gera vau i¹ sisu gagabila , makara , ká ! Kidamwa
however for not black¹ it stay² possible , like, as , look ! If

waga b - a ta / kina b - il ma , ee b - a ta / sisu makara
canoe will - I do / see will - it come , and will - I do / stay² like, as

b - a ta / kina + ga waga b - il seulama , ee sitana b -
will - I do / see + however canoe will - it sail¹ , and a little will -

i¹ karatatava makara . Ee n - i kaibiga b - a ta / kina b -
it lose its balance like, as . And has - he talk will - I do / see will -

a ta / vatusi kwaisaruvi il sisu pelalamina , ee makara b - il¹
I do / set up coconut husk it stay² right side , and like, as will - it

ra³ o tanawa , ee weku + ga pelakatala , makara gagabila i doka¹
go¹ on bottom¹ , and shout + however left side , like, as possible he think

b - il¹ ra³ o nakaiwa , peira gagabila n + e[^] il¹ wa¹ mapelana
will - it go¹ on high , for possible has + lw. it go it³

pelakatala bwarita wara makara . Gera kaitara il¹ sisu ee kwaisaruvi +
left side sea only like, as . Not one⁴ it stay² and coconut husk +

ga n + e[^] + il¹ ma makaya . I doka¹ makara mwau , ee peira
however has + lw. + it come as this . He think like, as hard , and for

ra² peula + ga mwada makaina ee n - a ta / vagi kwaisaruvi
its² strong + however otherwise it¹ and has - I do / do¹ coconut husk

b - il¹ ra³ o pelalamina . Ee n - i katupoi + e[^] mu makara .
will - it go¹ on right side . And has - he ask + lw. your³ like, as .

Ee yoka + ga mu nanamsa , makara b + u[^] ku livala . Ee
And youl + however your³ thought , like, as will + lw. you speak . And

n - i nukwa + i[^] mu yoka pelaiyu wara weku n , + u[^] ku vagi .
has - he tell + lw. your³ you¹ both sides only shout has + lw. you do¹ .

I kaibiga kara kakinal makara sitana o daba ra² wara , o nakaiwa
He talk its shape like, as a little on head its² only , on high

wara . Ee makara + ga ku mapu n - a ta / vagi .
only . And like, as + however you answer has - I do / do¹ .

*ST,26.

Ké ! Peira yeigu lagimu n - a vagi pelaiyu weku . Gera b - a takayesa
Agreed ! For I¹ lagimu has - I do¹ both sides shout . Not will - I reproduce

kaina makara mtona tomwoya Towitara , makara peira pelai[^]tala weku , pelai[^]tala
or like, as he¹ old man Towitara , like, as for one side shout , one side

kwaisaruvi . Ee yeigu ava tabu¹ gu makanwa n - i vagi , makaya
coconut husk . And I¹ which ancestor me this and this has - he do¹ , as this

ku dokal / sa tomota peira weku , ee beisa pelakatala weku bougwa i
you think / them people for shout , and now left side shout already he

tapwala , i pwalala , ee pelalamina bougwa (il) taboda wara ee bougwa
fret well , he pierce , and right side already (it) entangle only and already

i³ dokal / sa makara kwaisaruvi wara . Gera b - i vagi makara
they think / them like, as coconut husk only . Not will - he do¹ like, as

kokoveka ((ko - (veka) + ko - veka)) makara mira Kumwageiya .
very big ((abs. - (big) + abs. - big)) like, as inhabitants Kumwageiya .

Beisa gera . N - i vagi tapwala pelakatala peira weku ee bougwa (il)
Now not . Has - he do¹ fret well left side for shout and already (it)

taboda pelalamina . Kidamwa pelai[^]veka beba o pelakatala .
entangle right side . If big side butterfly on left side .

*ST,28.

Mtona peira kwaisaruvi n - il masisi pelalamina ?
He¹ for coconut husk has - it sleep right side ?

*ST,30.

Gera a nukoli yeigu seinagaiya , gera b - a nu(koli) / nukoli biga bougwa
Not I know il too much , not will - I know / know word already

il taboda nano gu .
it entangle mind me .

*SS,32.

Peira ku nukoli kara³ nanamsa mtona makara . Avei tuta waga b -
For you know his³ thought he¹ like, as . Which¹ time canoe will -

il kota o bwarita ee makaina lamina b - il ra³ o nakaiwa ,
it sail¹ on sea and it¹ outrigger will - it go¹ on high ,

waga b - il ra³ o tanawa . Waura n - i³ vagi / sa mapelasiwena
canoe will - it go¹ on bottom¹ . Reason has - they do¹ / them those

pelalamina pelai[^]veka . Ee ra nanamsa makara . Nageira n - i³ vagi /
right side big side . And his² thought like, as . Today has - they do¹ /

sa pelalamina pelai^veka n - i³ sera / sa kwaisaruvi makara sitana
them right side big side has - they put on / them coconut husk like, as a little

mwau , i dokal b - i¹ tuma makaina lamina b - i¹ kotuboboura
hard , he think will - it push down it¹ outrigger will - it anchor

makara waga . Makara ra nanamsa .
like, as canoe . Like, as his² thought .

*ST,33.

Yoka mu nanamsa ?
You¹ your³ thought ?

*ST,35.

Beisa mapelana pelalamina , yaga ra² kwaisaruvi , beisa gera mwau . Beisa
Now it³ right side , name its² coconut husk , now not hard . Now

yoka mu nanamsa ku dokal mwau , beisa gera mwau . Beisa bougwa tomwoya
you¹ your³ thought you think hard , now not hard . Now already old man

n - i gula n + e[^] + i ma . Beisa bougwa kwaisaruvi b - i¹
has - he settle has + lw. + he come . Now already coconut husk will - it

sisu pelalamina pelai^veka , beba pelakatala weku pelakekita beba .
stay² right side big side , butterfly left side shout small side butterfly .

Ee gera mwau pelalamina b - i¹ ra³ , b - i¹ pirasi , gera , kaina
And not hard right side will - it go¹ , will - it help , not , or

(i¹) gagabila pelakatala . Beisa b - a ta / sikera , igau tomota naya ,
(it) possible left side . Now will - I do / to sit on , still people sail² ,

ee bougwa b - a ta / sikera , igau tomota naya , ee bougwa b -
and already will - I do / to sit on , still people sail² , and already will -

i¹ karatatava . Ee kidamwa b - a ta / salalaga o kadewo b -
it lose its balance . And if will - I do / offer, go up on beach will -

a ta / tabusi ee b - i¹ tora , b - i¹ kotuboboura sitana ,
I do / drip down¹ and will - it stand , will - it anchor a little ,

ee sitana b - i¹ karatatava . Ee gera mwau mapelana kwaisaruvi ,
and a little will - it lose its balance . And not hard it³ coconut husk ,

beisa bougwa tomwoya n - i gula , n + e[^] + i ma , beisa kara kakinal¹
now already old man has - he settle , has + lw. + he come , now its shape

n - i³ vagi / sa tomumwoya ee n - i³ sera / sa o daba ra²
has - they do¹ / them old men and has - they put on / them on head its²

waga , ee n - i³ kina / sa pelai[^]veka pelalamina b - i¹ ra³ ,
canoe , and has - they see / them big side right side will - it go¹ ,

pelakekita pelakatala . Beisa bouna kara kakinal¹ . Gera mwau , gera . Beisa
small side left side . Now good its shape . Not hard , not . Now

bougwa i gula tomwoya .
already he settle old man .

*ST,37.

Kidamwa tabu¹ gu b - i vagi pelalamina kwaisaruvi , ee makara Towitara ,
If ancestor me will - he do¹ right side coconut husk , and like, as Towitara ,

ee beisa yeigu n - a ma , i¹ boda , makara b - a vagi .
and now I¹ has - I come , it put together , like, as will - I do¹ .

Ee gera i vagi tabu¹ gu makara Towitara , pelalamina kwaisaruvi .
And not he do¹ ancestor me like, as Towitara , right side coconut husk .

Beisa i vagi vau makara weku , ee weku pelakatala i pwalala , ee
Now he do¹ black¹ like, as shout , and shout left side he pierce , and

pelalamina gera i pwalala . Beisa tabu¹ gu ra nanamsa ee yeigu n -
right side not he pierce . Now ancestor me his² thought and I¹ has -

a ma , makara a takayesa . Ee mtona Towitara , mira Kumwageiya ,
I come , like, as I reproduce . And he¹ Towitara , inhabitants Kumwageiya ,

oo ! Ituwali . Makara beisa bougwa kwaisaruvi wara ee gera makara
oh ! Different . Like, as now already coconut husk only and not like, as

yakema + ya³ kwaisaruvi vau b - i¹ kaiveka , vau kaikekita
we two + with¹ coconut husk black¹ will - it big³ , black¹ small¹

wara . Masina gera b - il pwalala . Kidamwa pelakatala b - il pwalala
only . This¹ not will - it pierce . If left side will - it pierce

ee weku .
and shout .

*SS,39.

Bougwa n - i nukwa + i[^] mu mtona . Peira Towitara gera tal nukoli /
Already has - he tell + lw. your³ he¹ . For Towitara not we two³ know /

sa aveira kara³ tovisuleka¹ ((to - visuleka)) . Vakuta , ee beisa .
them who his³ teacher ((man² - teacher¹)) . Vakuta , and now .

Ee i visuleka¹ , i sera kwaisaruvi pelalamina . Mtona tabu¹ ra ,
And he teach , he put on coconut husk right side . He¹ ancestor his² ,

bougwa i nukwa + i[^] mu , i vagi gera kwaisaruvi pelalamina . Waura
already he tell + lw. your³ , he do¹ not coconut husk right side . Reason

n + e[^] + il ma , n - i¹ takayesa mtona makara . Ee nanamsa +
has + lw. + it come , has - it reproduce he¹ like, as . And thought +

ga peira waura i³ vagi / sa pelai[^]veka pelalamina , ee si nanamsa
however for reason they do¹ / them big side right side , and their thought

tomumwoya makara . Peira toiya kwaisaruvi i³ vagi / sa mwau sitana .
old men like, as . For also¹ coconut husk they do¹ / them hard a little .

O katala waga wara ee beisa + ga o bwarita , ee i³ vagi / sa
On left canoe only and now + however on sea , and they do¹ / them

pelakekita beba , peira (i¹) gagabila . Makara yeigu ura nanamsa .
small side butterfly , for (it) possible . Like, as I¹ my² thought .

*SS,41.

A doka¹ makara .
I think like, as .

*ST,43.

Bougwa a livala peira tabu¹ gu igau tokekita ((to - kekita)) yeigu
Already I speak for ancestor me still young man ((man² - small³)) I¹

ee i kariga , gera avaka biga komwedona b - i nukwa + i^ gu bougwa
and he die , not what² word all will - he tell + lw. me already

il kosi . Igau tokekita yeigu i kariga ee gera ta¹ nukoli to -
it finish . Still young man I¹ he die and not we two³ know man² -

mwoya . A doka¹ migira ((magi + ra²)) waga , peira lagimu , tabuya ,
old¹ . I think face ((wish + its²)) canoe , for lagimu , tabuya ,

b - a ta / sera ee b - a ta / vakasi bougwa b - il bouna . Kidamwa
will - I do / put on and will - I do / fix already will - it good . If

lagimu gera , tabuya gera , b - a ta / vakasi sabwamwa budakai gera b -
lagimu not , tabuya not , will - I do / fix nothing broadside not will -

il bouna . Kidamwa lagimu b - il tora ee b - a ta / vakasi gera
it good . If lagimu will - it stand and will - I do / fix not

b - il bouna . Bougwa b - il kapusi lagimu . Kidamwa tabuya b -
will - it good . Already will - it overturn lagimu . If tabuya will -

a ta / sera b - il matuwa ee b - a ta / vakasi waga , bougwa b -
I do / put on will - it toughen and will - I do / fix canoe , already will -

il matuwa makara .
it toughen like, as .

*SS,45.

... manu wadora ...
... bird mouth² ...

*SS,47.

(I¹) gagabila makara ! Beisa bougwa makara n + u^ ku livala , yeigu
(It) possible like, as ! Now already like, as has + lw. you speak , I¹

bougwa a nukwa + i^ mu bougwa makara !
already I tell + lw. your³ already like, as !

*SS,49.

Tau wadora ((wado + ra)) . Tau wadora , weku il katumiki
Man¹ mouth² ((mouth¹ + his²)) . Man¹ mouth² , shout it mean

tau wadora !
man¹ mouth² !

*SS,51.

Pakeke a dokal¹ yeigu ura nanamsa wara i¹ katumiki tau teigara
Black fish I think I¹ my² thought only it mean man¹ ear

((teiga + ra²)) .
((ear¹ + its²)) .

*SS,53.

Peira kwaisaruvi , ku nukoli , b - i¹ sira makara , makara kalevila
For coconut husk , you know , will - it appear like, as , like, as skin

nuya ... ee teigara mapelana ((ma¹ + pela - na)) bougwa ku kina ,
coconut ... and ear it³ ((this + side - the)) already you see ,

peira kwaisaruvi i¹ sisu o dedana , ee tau teigara . Ura nanamsa
for coconut husk it stay² on behind , and man¹ ear . My² thought

a dokal makara .
I think like, as .

*SS,55.

Nano gu a dokal¹ duduwa tau matara ((mata + ra)) . Yeigu a dokal¹ !
Mind me I think mouth man¹ eye¹ ((eye + his²)) . I¹ I think !

*SS,57.

Peira duduwa makara matara , ee ku nukoli matara mkosina ((ma¹ + ko -
For mouth like, as eye¹ , and you know eye¹ they³ ((this + abs. -

si¹ + na)) kwaitara ((kwai - tara)) kaiyu ((kai - yu)) , ee
them¹ + the)) one² ((abs. - one)) two⁴ ((wood - two²)) , and

gera tuveira i³ vagi / sa . Ee igau avei tuta b - i³ soba /
not then they do¹ / them . And still which¹ time will - they self decorate /

sa , b - i soba tau makaivena , ká ! O matara , ee i
them , will - he self decorate man¹ that , look ! On eye¹ , and he

vagi makara duduwa b - i¹ sera pwakau makara duduwa . Vau ,
do¹ like, as mouth will - it put on white like, as mouth . Black¹ ,

vau b - i¹ kumu , ká ! Ee makara pwakau b - i¹ vagi ,
black¹ will - it blacken , look ! And like, as white will - it do¹ ,

ee bougwa makara kara kakinal¹ sitana duduwa makara sobal¹
and already like, as its shape a little mouth like, as self decoration

makaina b - i¹ sera o matara , ká ! Ee makara vau b - i¹
it¹ will - it put on on eye¹ , look ! And like, as black¹ will - it

kumu , ee pwakau b - i sera makaina ((mal + kai - na)) b -
blacken , and white will - he put on it¹ ((this + wood - the)) will -

i tuni , ká ! Ee b - i¹ ma , makaya , vau . A dokal¹ duduwa
he dot , look ! And will - it come , as this , black¹ . I think mouth

matara .
eye¹ .

*SS,59.

Karawa makara tau vatakora , ká !
Fern like, as man¹ trunk , look !

*SS,61.

Doka deli gigiwani daba ra tau ... bougwa daba ra
Imagination, idea with caterpillar head his² man¹ ... already head his²

tau . Ee bougwa bweiyani bougwa i¹ venoki , kaina bouna ?
man¹ . And already red already it finish¹ , or good ?

*SS,63.

Bougwa , tau daba ra gigiwani .
Already , man¹ head his² caterpillar .

*ST,65.

Yeigu ... pilisi , gera a nu(koli) / nukoli peira avaka ...
I¹ ... please , not I know / know for what² ...

*ST,67.

Beisa bougwa a dokal¹ makara , kaina bougwa monita peira n - i livala
Now already I think like, as , or already truth for has - he speak

Siyakwakwa . Manasina ((mal + na² - si¹ + na)) makamwa , avaka
Siyakwakwa . They¹ ((this + female - them¹ + the)) this and this , what²

manasina ?.. kaina meikela , ee beisa b - a ta / doka¹ makara kurura ,
they¹ ?.. or sea swallow , and now will - I do / think like, as hair ,

beisa n - i³ vagi / sa tomumwoya , a doka¹ makara . Beisa ura nanamsa .
now has - they dol / them old men , I think like, as . Now my² thought .

Kaina n - i³ vagi / sa manasina kara meikela , beisa a doka¹ kurura ,
Or has - they dol / them they¹ its sea swallow , now I think hair ,

tomota kurura . Ee susawila peira meikela gera ku nukoli , susawila ,
people hair . And sea eagle for sea swallow not you know , sea eagle ,

susawila ...
sea eagle ...

*ST,69.

... ura biga ...
... my² word ...

*ST,71.

... ee beisa kurura tomota . Beisa makamwa kara beba , ee kwaisaruvi ,
... and now hair people . Now this and this its butterfly , and coconut husk ,

weku , ee beisa bougwa monita teigara , tomota teigara .
shout , and now already truth ear , people ear .

*ST,73.

... teigara , beisa teigara gera kara ituwali . Beisa ura nukoli¹ kidamwa
... ear , now ear not its different . Now my² knowledge if

mkosina ((mal + ko - si¹ + na)) n - i livala , gera b - a sopa .
they³ ((this + abs. - them¹ + the)) has - he speak , not will - I lie .

Bougwa yeigu a nukoli , gera b - a sopa . Kidamwa ava a nukoli , aveira
Already I¹ I know , not will - I lie . If which I know , who

a nukoli , b - a nukwa + i[^] mu , gera a nukoli gera b - a nukwa +
I know , will - I tell + lw. your³ , not I know not will - I tell +

i^h mu .
lw. your³ .

*SS,75.

Beisa biga monita , makara ' , gera + kil¹ monita ' makara ' b - i
Now word truth , like, as ' , not + too truth' ' like, as ' will - he

vagi migira tomota , ee ' makara ' wara tomota . Gera b - i gini ' makara '
dol face people , and ' like, as ' only people . Not will - he cut ' like, as '

tomota monita , ' makara ' tokwalu , gera . Lagimu wara kara nanamsa '
people truth , ' like, as ' carved image , not . Lagimu only its thought '

makara ' tomota migira toiya wowora ((wowo + ra)) , ká ! Peira
like, as ' people face also¹ body¹ ((body + his²)) , look ! For

ku nukoli , susawila kurura ; gigiwani , doka , daba ra ;
you know , sea eagle hair ; caterpillar , imagination, idea , head his² ;

duduwa matara ; ee weku ' makara ' wadora ((wado + ra)) ; peira
mouth eye¹ ; and shout ' like, as ' mouth² ((mouth¹ + his²)) ; for

manu ee weku manu wadora ; ká ! ; ee , avaka ,... tomota kaikela b -
bird and shout bird mouth² ; look ! ; and , what² ,... people leg will -

il tora wa pwepwaya , kaina wa kebira , ee ' makara ' kaikikila
it stand at¹ ground , or at¹ floor , and ' like, as ' wooden leg

tomota kaikela Lagimu ' makara ' . Gera + ga b - a ta / kina ' makara '
people leg Lagimu ' like, as ' . Not + however will - I do / see ' like, as '

wara tomota gera , ' makara ' kara ' utobobuta ' .
only people not , ' like, as ' its ' supposition ' .

*ST,77.

... kara katumiki¹ makara . Kidamwa yeigu b - a livala " Naboya Aku
... its meaning like, as . If I¹ will - I speak " Tomorrow Aku

b - il ma " , seiki ! Kidamwa naboya b - il ma Aku bougwa monita
will - it come " , maybe ! If tomorrow will - it come Aku already truth

b - a kaibiga , oo ! Ká ! Bougwa a utobobuta¹ , peira gera a kina monita
will - I talk , oh ! Look ! Already I suppose , for not I see truth

Aku b - i¹ ma , kaina gera a reka b - i¹ ma , makara a utobobuta¹
Aku will - it come , or not I heard will - it come , like, as I suppose

wara ee kawa gu , ká ! " Naboya Aku b - i¹ kota " ee naboya
only and confirm me , look ! " Tomorrow Aku will - it sail¹ " and tomorrow

b - i¹ kota Aku ee bougwa monita makara , kaina naboya gera ee
will - it sail¹ Aku and already truth like, as , or tomorrow not and

gera b - i¹ kota , makara utobobuta mkona kara katumiki¹ . Makara '
not will - it sail¹ , like, as supposition it² its meaning . Like, as '

seiki ' . Mkona ((ma¹ + ko - na)) utobobuta makara ' seiki ' . Kaina
maybe ' . It² ((this + abs. - the)) supposition like, as ' maybe ' . Or

monita , kaina gera . Makara gera monita makara migira tomota , makara
truth , or not . Like, as not truth like, as face people , like, as

utobobuta wara . Kidamwa + ga b + u[^] ku ra³ , b + u[^] ku katupoi
supposition only . If + however will + lw. you go¹ , will + lw. you ask

tomota komwedona Kitawa " Ké , lagimu makara tomota , kaina ?" , Gera i³
people all Kitawa " Agreed , lagimu like, as people , or ?" , Not they

nukoli / sa komwedona gera b - i³ nukoli / sa b - i livala / sa .
know / them all not will - they know / them will - he speak / them .

Monita wara Towitara bougwa katupoi + e[^] mu , b - i livala bougwa
Truth only Towitara already ask + lw. your³ , will - he speak already

makara . Peira (to) - kabitamu bougwa mtona . Bougwa makara yeigu ura
like, as . For man² - craft already he¹ . Already like, as I¹ my²

nanamsa .
thought .

*ST,79.

Ee beisa biga monita mtona n - i livala . Peira gera b - i³ buri /
And now word truth he¹ has - he speak . For not will - they mistake /

sa tomumwoya makara tokunibougwa , taitara tomota n - i³ vagi / sa
them old men like, as long time ago , one³ people has - they do¹ / them

migira waga komwedona b - i¹ kosi , b - i¹ kinawa o lagimu , gera ,
face canoe all will - it finish , will - it leave on lagimu , not ,

beisa i³ kaibiga / sa wara migira waga . Ee migira makara tomota , i¹
now they talk / them only face canoe . And face like, as people , it

kina lagimu migira . Kidamwa lagimu gera , gera b - i¹ bouna , peira gera
see lagimu face . If lagimu not , not will - it good , for not

migira . Kidamwa lagimu b - a ta / utoyera bougwa b - i¹ vagi migira .
face . If lagimu will - I do / stand up already will - it do¹ face .

Ku nukoli b - i¹ sakelu o nuweiwa , kaina b - i¹ wola , b -
You know will - it go fast on off , or will - it paddle , will -

i¹ ta / kina migira waga makaina , beisa lagimu migirawaga . Kidamwa lagimu
it do / see face canoe it¹ , now lagimu face canoe . If lagimu

gera , gera migira b - i¹ bouna . Kidamwa lagimu b - a ta / utoyera
not , not face will - it good . If lagimu will - I do / stand up

wa waga ee beisa migira lagimu . Tomota b - i³ kina / sa , b -
at¹ canoe and now face lagimu . People will - they see / them , will -

i³ yakaura / sa , kaina bouna lagimu , beisa migira . Beisa tomumwoya
they congratulate / them , or good lagimu , now face . Now old men

gera b - a ta / ma , b - a ta / toveka yakida goduwovau , gera .
not will - I do / come , will - I do / grow we two¹ generation , not .

Bougwa tomumwoya i³ gula / sa wara lagimu migira waga . B - a ta /
Already old men they settle / them only lagimu face canoe . Will - I do /

wouwa b - i¹ kosi , b - a ta / utoyera , b - a ta / mwala ,
marteline¹ will - it finish , will - I do / stand up , will - I do / paint ,

migira waga . Beisa makara .
face canoe . Now like, as .

*SS,85.

Kaina makara migira tau , kaina migira vivira , makara gera ituwali !
Or like, as face man¹ , or face woman , like, as not different !

*SS,87.

Tabu ... peira wara ku livala , ku kaibiga avaka + ga peira makara
Taboo ... for only you speak , you talk what² + however for like, as

vivira a kaibiga , a dokal¹ makara . Ee gera gora i³ kaibiga / sa tomota ,
woman I talk , I think like, as . And not also they talk / them people ,

i³ kaibiga / sa migira vivira gera ; i³ kaibiga / sa migira tau ,
they talk / them face woman not ; they talk / them face man¹ ,

yakida makara migira tau . Peira vivira tabu . Avei tuta kaivasi
we twol like, as face man¹ . For woman taboo . Which¹ time four³

((kai - vasi)) waga vivira tabu , gera b - i² kewa , gera b - i²
((wood - four)) canoe woman taboo , not will - she sail , not will - she

sira , gera b - i² kewa , b - i² sisu . Ee waura gera i³
appear , not will - she sail , will - she stay² . And reason not they

kaibiga / sa migira vivira , gera . Peira tau bougwa i paisewa makaina
talk / them face woman , not . For man¹ already he work it¹

waga b - i kewa tau , ee waura i³ kaibiga / sa migira tau .
canoe will - he sail man¹ , and reason they talk / them face man¹ .

Ee peira i nukoli o nopoura avaka makaina waga b - i¹ kewa , b -
And for he know on inside what² it¹ canoe will - it sail , will -

i¹ wola , bougwa i nukoli o nopoura waura i³ kaibiga / sa migira
it paddle , already he know on inside reason they talk / them face

tau . Ee gera i³ kaibiga / sa migira vivira , gera , i³ kaibiga /
man¹ . And not they talk / them face woman , not , they talk /

sa migira tau .
them face man¹ .

English Text - Free Translation

Cassette A

*SG,1.

Tonori, do you remember when you tasted red betel in order to become a carver? Tell me, first of all, who gave you the red betel? Your father, your mother's brother, or perhaps a friend of yours? Which is his clan, and his sub-clan? Is he a master-carver (a great artist)?

How old were you when you tasted red betel in order to become a carver? Do you think my questions are clear? [Tonori is embarrassed. Siyakwakwa corrects Giancarlo's sentence]:

*SS,2.

What clan does he belong to?

*SG,3.

[Giancarlo repeats the last part of question 1]

*SS,4.

Did you hear? You ought to understand by now what the questions he asked you mean. [Giancarlo tries to repeat the question to Tonori] ... No, that's enough, now I'll ask him, is that all right? [He is interrupted by Giancarlo who asks if it was not clear because his knowledge of Nowau language is not perfect.] No, your knowledge of our language is good; perhaps the pronunciation is not completely correct (perhaps the sounds are not very clear), or else he got confused. Now I'll repeat the question, he will listen another time, and then he'll be able to answer. He asked you [addressed to Tonori] when you tasted red betel, because someone must have offered you a little red betel that you tasted. You must be able to answer this question. Then he asked you how old you were when you were offered the red betel that you tasted, you ought to be able to answer this question too. Perhaps you know the answer, perhaps you don't. Also, who offered you the red betel you tasted? One of your mother's brothers, or a friend of yours, or perhaps your father? Take you time to answer. But you should know the answers. Who offered you the red betel that you tasted?

*ST,5.

The brother of my mother's mother (ancestor) offered me red betel, and I tasted it.

*SG,6.

What is he called?

*ST,7.

Kurina.

*SS,8.

He also asked you if he was a master-carver.

*ST,9.

Yes, he is (was) a master-carver.

*SS,10.

His clan... his clan... his clan, which is it? It's... it's... it's name.
Speak! This isn't at all hard... Kulabuta (Nukulabuta):

*SG,11.

Yes, you should tell me his clan... his sub-clan

*ST,12.

... Kulabuta and kabata.

*SG,13.

Do you remember how old you were when you tasted red betel?

*ST,14.

I don't know, I don't think I know...

*SG,15.

Were you very young? Like him? [he points to a son of Siyakwakwa, present
at the conversation, about 8-10 years old]

*ST,16.

Yes , like him.

*SG,17.

How old might he be? Perhaps 6, or 5?

*ST,18.

Perhaps.

*SS,19.

Who? No! I think he's 12, perhaps. Or else?

*SG,20.

Tell me, when he offered you red betel to taste, were you in the forest, or on the beach, or near the water of the sea? Were there just you two? Are my questions clear?

*SS,21.

Yes, they are clear.

*ST,22.

There were just the two of us. He mixes the areca nut in the black ebony mortar, together with the white powder and the green fruit of the pepper plant. Then he offers me the red mixture and I taste it. All this happened in the village.

*SG,23.

When he offered you red betel he first mixed... How do you say "mixed" in Nowau? I used a Boyowa term.

*SS,24.

((You say)) i mili , "he mixes"...

*SG,25.

.. and when he mixed the red betel in the black ebony mortar, did he murmur (chant, sing) the ritual words? Was it like that, or not?

*ST,26.

He mixes the red betel in the black ebony mortar, then he offers me the mixture and I taste it. Yes, he mixes the red betel in the black mortar, murmurs the ritual words and offers me the red mixture (he offers me the gifts of a carver).

*SG,27.

Do you know the ritual words murmured over the black ebony mortar?

*ST,28.

No.

*SG,29.

Didn't he give them to you?

*ST,30.

No, he didn't give them to me.

*SG,31.

Why not?

*ST,32.

I don't know! Perhaps because I was still a child. As time went on, he would have given them to me, perhaps. But it wasn't like that because he died. If I'd known them, even a few of them, I would have given them to you.

*SG,33.

If now you wanted to make a son or a nephew of yours for example, become a carver, could you do it, seeing that you don't know the ritual words to initiate him into art? [Tonori looks embarrassed]

*SS,34.

Now he has asked you if your son, or perhaps you nephew, could become a carver or not, seeing that you don't know the ritual words for initiation into art. So, can they become carvers, or not?

*ST,35.

No, they couldn't become carvers.

*SG,36.

After he made you drink the water? What kind of water? And did he murmur (chant) ritual words also on the spring water he offered you?

*ST,37.

He murmurs (chants) the ritual words, he offers me spring water collected in the hollow of his hands, I drink it.

*SG,38.

When? Did he offer you first the spring water or the red betel? [Tonori is embarrassed]

*SS,39.

What did he offer you first, the red betel or the spring water? [Tonori's embarrassment increases]

*SG,40.

Wait.. [addressed to Siyakwakwa]. I would like to know if he offered you the spring water after the red betel and if he murmured (chanted) the ritual words over the water.

*ST,41.

Yes, he murmured the ritual words, then he offered me the spring water... but his murmuring (ritual chant) I didn't perceive well enough for it to remain locked in my ears, because my mind and my memory were still too weak...

*SG,42.

This question is a bit complicated. I'll use some Boyowa words because I don't know how to say it in your language. Do you remember what happened next? After the initiation, did you "see" or "dream"? Did you "see" or "dream" something after you tasted the red betel? And after you "saw" ((the lagimu and tabuya)) did you fall asleep?

*SS,43.

Your mind has tired! (your mind has been struck by a hard question!)

*SG,44.

Yes, it's true, this is a difficult question, complicated.

*SS,45.

Probably you find yourself in difficulty too [addressed to Giancarlo]. He asked you [to Tonori] if, when your ancestor initiated you into the art and mixed the betel nut in the black ebony mortar, he offered you the red mixture, and if you tasted it, and if, after that, you drank spring water, and if, in the end you fell asleep. What happened first of all? Did you "see", did you "dream"? Did you "dream" or "see" something?

*SG,46.

There's a great difference between "dreaming" and "seeing", as you well know. Wait! Be patient a moment! [addressed to Siyakwakwa]

*SS,47.

Your ancestor offered you red betel, you tasted it and, as with all carvers, your mind opened itself to knowledge, and you had a sensation that is between dreaming and seeing the designs ((of the lagimu and the tabuya))... [Tonori is very confused]

*ST,48.

No, I didn't dream, and he offered me water to drink. I drank the water he offered me...

*SS,49.

Stop nodding your head! Keep still! Keep calm! Speak!

*ST,50.

He offered me spring water and I drank it. Then I stayed with him, in his hut, I slept for days and days and my mind grew more and more clear, perceptive, bringing the designs into focus. No, I didn't dream the designs...

*SG,51.

So you didn't dream...

*SS,52.

And don't swing your legs! Speak! You must give body to my voice ((you must confirm what I have said)).

*SG,52.b.

Come on, say something. Oh my brother! Do you think it is difficult? But no...!

*SS,53.

[To Tonori] You...

*ST,54.

No, it isn't difficult, they are clear (acceptable) questions. The fact is that I can't express myself very well and I don't know all the meanings of the words. I know the general meaning of the words but not all the details.

*SG,55.

But I only want to know what you know well, really...

*ST,56.

I didn't dream, nothing like that. I only slept and my mind focused itself on the prows. If I want to carve a lagimu or a tabuya, I can do so because my mind has been "opened".

*SG,57.

But after you tasted the red betel, did you "see" the lagimu and the tabuya, or not? [He insists on the verb "to see" to find out if he is also expressing the concept of vision.]

*ST,58.

If I tasted the red betel?

*SG,59.

Yes, after he offered you the red betel and you tasted it, after that did you "see" the lagimu and the tabuya?

*ST,60.

He mixed the red betel with the powder and the green fruit in the black ebony mortar, then he offered me the red mixture... but we don't remember (know) these things well...

*SS,61.

No! [impatiently]. He offered you the red betel, you tasted it, and then did you "see" the lagimu and the tabuya ((or not?))

*ST,62.

Yes, I tasted the red betel, but afterwards I watched (observed) the old carvers who were carving (beating with a mallet on a wood chisel) lagimu and tabuya. I only watched, and then I went back to my hut and copied (reproduced) in wood what I had seen.

*SG,63.

Did you see (observe) the face/expression of the lagimu or its snake/frame? And did you see it with all its designs, like the cry of the mysterious bird, the sign of beauty, the design of imagination, the long procession of the pale caterpillars, and did you also see all the colours? Did you see the lagimu coloured?

*ST,64.

I used to go and watch, yes I used to go, and I watched them while they carved on the lagimu the long procession of the pale caterpillars, its face/expression, its sea martins... [there is a brief interruption] ...and then all its red, black colour. I saw all this, and then I came here (returned to my hut) and tried to put the designs together the way I'd seen them But when I carved, I copied... (But I reproduced in my carving only what I had seen)...

*SG,65.

Did... you see the lagimu with all its colours, red, white, black? Or did you see the designs without the colours? [All talk at once. Tonori starts to say he may not have understood the question well and mumbles, embarrassed. Siyakwakwa rebukes Tonori and tells him the language is that of their village - Lalela - and that Giancarlo is using the same language too...]

*SS,66.

It's Lalela language!

*SG,67.

Perhaps I don't know your language well, I express myself badly?

*SS,68.

No, your language is good, the fact is that he doesn't know what you are talking about very well. [Addressed to Tonori] He asked you if you saw the lagimu with its black and red colour, with the design of beauty and the white, or else just the designs uncoloured. Do you see/know which are the designs which are just scratched on? These ones, coloured white, are the designs just scratched on the surface of the wood, they are only decorative, without much importance, and he [referred to Giancarlo] believes that for this reason they are filled in white. And regarding the design of beauty (kwaisaruvi), you already know that it is carved on the side of the balance of the canoe, and on this part of the lagimu a different design cannot be carved. You already know the design of the cry of the mysterious bird (weku). Well, he thinks that these two designs represent the snake/frame of the lagimu. And these two protruding parts, like the ears of the lagimu, he thinks that they too form the snake/frame of the lagimu. The face/expression of the lagimu is instead composed of these designs, look here! [He shows him a drawing of the lagimu made by Giancarlo pointing to all the designs that should be coloured white]. Do you see? If you carve the designs starting from the bottom and going away from the protruding parts, you go upwards, and you get the snake/frame of the lagimu. This part that goes towards the lower part of the lagimu, on the other hand, he thinks is the face/expression of the lagimu. He also asked you if you know how to carve like the carvers of Kumwageiya who carve the design of the body of a man (the figure of the great fern) and the design of the long procession of the pale caterpillars, but this last design is also carved by us carvers of Lalela. And [looking at the drawing] the designs that make up the horrible mouth (duduwa) go towards

the bottom of the lagimu, and he asked if you thought that this lower part is the face/expression of the lagimu. While the snake/frame is formed of designs carved in the top part, like the design of the cry of the mysterious bird, of imagination, of beauty and of the hero-carver. These are the question he asked you. Have you seen the designs we are talking about?

*SG,69.

Oh my brother! [Tonori becomes more embarrassed; stifles coughs, mumbling different noises indicating a delicate situation can be heard]

*SS,70.

It's not all that difficult! Not for you, who have drunk the spring water and have tasted the red betel. It is true that you are an expert carver, as it is true that you are a real carver. While I am not, and if I speak it is because he wants to know what I think. I can really only just carve a tabuya, even if I am improving. But I'm talking too much, aren't I? You speak, using these words!

*ST,71.

Which is the face/expression of the lagimu? Where is it? My ancestor let me know, showing them to me, only the face/expression of these lagimu...

*SS,72.

He thinks that the face/expression is formed by the design which, starting from the horrible mouth (duduwa) go downwards...

*ST,73.

... and its snake/frame is formed by its butterfly wings and its long procession of the pale caterpillars...

*SS,74.

It's like this: the snake/frame of the lagimu starts from its butterfly wings, from the long procession of the pale caterpillars, from the hero-carver, from the procession of the sea-eagles and the shell which symbolizes imagination, and then, from the design of beauty and the cry of the mysterious bird. He thinks that all these designs constitute the snake/frame of the lagimu. Yes, he believes that the snake/frame is formed by these designs. He asked you if you too think the "same"!

*ST,75.

... I don't know many of the words, I truly don't know what they mean.

*SG,76.

So what can you see? Now do you know what the snake/frame of the lagimu is? It is formed by the cry of the mysterious bird (weku), the design of beauty (kwaisaruvi), the long procession of the pale caterpillars, the shell which symbolizes imagination, and then by red, black and shining white. Look here [pointing to the drawing], see the fish eye, the hut, yes, right here... So, what can you see after you have tasted the red betel? The lagimu with all its designs, or only with some of them? Do you want me to make more sketches?

*STO,77.

Perhaps you would like to draw what you saw after you tasted the red betel. Don't you want to? Draw what you saw after you tasted the red betel your ancestor gave you. You will have seen the face/expression of the lagimu, or else its snake/frame. The face/frame is formed of just the white designs cut superficially, while the snake/frame is formed by the red, black and white colours...

*SG,77.a.

Ah... Do you want to draw the designs you saw after you tasted the red betel?...

*ST,78.

But now my mind is confused, and my thoughts are whirling around together!

*SG,78.a.

Ah... But no! You are a real carver, my friend! It's a true!... I must call you "my brother".

*SS,79.

Yet you know how to carve a lagimu!

*SG,80.

Take courage! I am asking you these questions because I noted that in your lagimu there are many designs which I haven't seen in other lagimu, like the design of the carver-hero. Only you know why you carve these designs. I am interested to know whether you saw your designs after you tasted the red betel. Siyakwakwa, do you want to say anything?

*SS,81.

Ah... enough of me!

*SG,82.

[Tonori has started to draw, and Giancarlo watching him says turning to Togeruwa and Siyakwakwa] He is an excellent drawer. What do you think, Siyakwakwa? Tonori, do you want me to bring the lamp nearer?

*ST,83.

((No)), there's enough light...

*SG,84.

So you don't want the lamp?...

*ST,85.

I can't express myself very well. I've already said that I don't know the language well... I only know what the words mean in general... but I can't answer your questions...

*SG,86.

... this is because you're still young...

*ST,87.

((I can't express myself)) now!

*SS,88.

Who is it, who are you? [addressed to a little boy who is trying to enter in the hut]

*SG,89.

Go away!

*SS,90.

[to Giancarlo] He answered you, he can't express himself well...

*SG,91.

... It'll take time, be patience...

*SS,92.

He can only express himself in general terms, but he doesn't know the shades of meaning, the synonyms (the many meanings of the word).

*SG,93.

So he isn't a real carver... [said jokingly, and Tonori laughs, amused].

*SS,94.

He's a real carver... like you, you really are a carver, [said with a roguish tone, still joking]

*SG,95.

No! You're the one who is a carver... [he carries on the joke with Siyakwakwa]

*SS,96.

Not me, I'm not!

*SG,97.

Liar! He [pointing Togeruwa out to Siyakwakwa] isn't, he didn't want to be. But perhaps we don't know if anyone really offered him red betel. Who knows!

*SS,98.

No, I'm not a carver. The red betel was offered to him [Togeruwa] but he didn't observe the taboos and ate the entrails of animals, and also the inner parts of animals' heads, and fish tails and the red betel kokona...

*STO,99.

Truly when I was the age at which you were initiated, when I was a small boy, my uncle Towitara (he) imposed taboos on me, like not eating the inner parts of animals' heads and fish tails. But when I went to live with my father, he gave me everything that I had been forbidden to eat, and so my mind did not perceive any more, could no longer visualise the designs. And this happened because I was a small boy.

*SS,100.

[Continuing the conversation as if Togeruwa had not spoken at all and not taking much notice] I can't do it with great precision [looking at Tonori's drawing] so well finished. I would only be able to do the outline of these birds...

*SG,S,To,101.

[There are voices coming from the village, it has just turned midnight. There is a coming and going of inhabitants to and from the village of Lalela. They are chatting, laughing, spitting out the red betel they have

chewed. While Tonori goes on drawing, the others talk of this and that. Togeruwa asks for some black tobacco, while Siyakwakwa talks about work in the yam gardens, after Giancarlo had asked him where he had been all morning]

*SS,102.

I cut trees in the yam gardens. We were all together. And the work is by now almost finished, no... perhaps... four have not been cut down. There were four of us, Nabwai, Daramwesi, and ... because Tonori made a mistake and had come over to you, in your hut ((he thought)) we were supposed to come to you. The youngest ones pretend not to know the work well... because I don't have much faith in Tonori! [Other noises from the village disturb the conversation. Siyakwakwa gets annoyed and shouts at them to be quiet. The coming and going continues]

*SG,103.

[To Siyakwakwa] Are you tired?... Tomorrow I'm going to see her [she is Namutuma, a Lalela woman who is famous for her skilfulness in making skirts]... perhaps I'll go in the afternoon...

*SS,104.

She said yesterday, she said yesterday evening, "He's coming tomorrow". In fact I'd gone to her hut and she said just that, "The day after tomorrow he's coming". Ah! [sniggering] It's not so simple with you! You turn up with a pile of exercise books! By now you should have a profound knowledge of our art! And she asked me then, "Where are you going the day after tomorrow?" and I... : "I've decided to go to the yam gardens, so I can't really come!" and she: "Aah, come on, come to see me!" and I: "No!" [to Giancarlo] You today are the real carver, you are my teacher [laugh from Giancarlo]. Truly! That's so. I'm not a carver, I'm only good at talking ((for the explanation))... For me it's like a continuous apprenticeship, because I am not a true carver like Tonori, Tokwaisai,... they are real carvers.

*SG,105.

But I don't think Tokwaisai's a carver! Don't laugh [to Siyakwakwa who is chuckling pleased with Giancarlo's statement], I'm telling the truth. His designs are not carved well. Do you remember when in 1973/4 I coloured the lagimu that Tokwaisai had carved for Gidou's canoe? For me it was a hard job, because when I put on the colours the black ran into the red and this ran into the white and so on. All the colours ran into each other. So I say Tokwaisai isn't a carver. Then he can't express himself, his explanations

are never clever.

*SS,106.

Because he can't express himself well... I, for example, don't know how to carve a lagimu or a tabuya well, and recognize that they are not beautiful, but I'm not bad at expressing myself... in effect, I don't know how to carve well because I'm not a real carver.

*SG,107.

You mean that you aren't "yet", you need more time.

*SS,108

It is not a matter of waiting! This is the way it is, and it will always be like that. Wait [referring to the batteries of the tape-recorder which were wearing out]. Do everything with a lot of care and precision because the batteries are about to run out.

*SG,109.

No... there are some more, look!

*ST,110.

You bring everything ((all that is necessary)) don't you?

*SG,111.

I'm doing it for you. [with an ironic tone] [The noises in the village go on. Giancarlo goes out onto the verandah and sees many young people with red designs on their faces and flowers in their hair. He asks why. Siyakwakwa laughing replies that ... they are going to look for love. Giancarlo asks in a teasing tone, "And why don't you go?" Tonori and Togeruwa snigger impudently, Siyakwakwa answers that he is too old for "such things" Togeruwa and Tonori continue giggling...]

*SS,112.

Oh! Tonori is a true carver! [He says this looking at his almost completed drawing]

*SG,113.

Yes, it's true, Tonori draws very well.

*SS,114.

He's Togeruwa nervous with people. He said that he could carve the lagimu and the tabuya because his mind is able to harmonize all the designs. But

he is very nervous with people... who would tease him (if he carved).

*SG,115.

Yes... Togeruwa is really nervous of people who criticize him.

*SS,116.

I, for example, started carving a wooden bowl. I was scarcely a boy and all the adults, men and women, teased me. Some time later, I went to cut a tree to carve out a little fishing canoe and Towayei's woman, with her body covered with black smoke like a death sign, said, "That's enough, stop teasing him! He'll develop!" Then I felled a tree to carve out a fishing canoe, I carved its pusa, I tried with all my strength (I pushed myself to the limits) but I was discouraged again. They kept on teasing me, saying to me "Give up!" I refused to abandon my attempts and I cut down another tree for my fishing canoe, and I started to carve it a bit; I did all I could to carve something well, I didn't have much faith in the people who would tease me again. But I tried my best to make my dream come true — to be a carver!

*SG,S,T,To,117.

[There's a pause for a moment, and general chatting. Tonori is about to finish his drawing. Siyakwakwa coughs every now and then. Giancarlo asks him if he wants some quinine, he'll bring him it tomorrow. Togeruwa interrupts and teasing Siyakwakwa suggesting that the cough is not real but pretended...]

*SS,117.a.

I say that ((Togeruwa)) is lying, he is telling a pack of lies. I really am a good man.

*SG,118.

[Remarking on the fact that carvers seem "different" from the rest of the population, for example, he has noticed that they do not work very much in the yam gardens, and indeed they often do not take part in collective jobs, above all the heaviest ones...]

It can certainly not be said that you are a great worker in the yam gardens! I don't think you'd be able to [still addressing Siyakwakwa] nor would Tonori and Towitara ((be able to work very hard in the gardens)).

*SS,119.

It is exactly so (it's true), and you know it.

*SG,120.

Aren't I right perhaps? Isn't it so?

*SS,121.

It is exactly so; we admit that carvers...

*SG,122.

Yes, I really have the impression that you carvers are different from the others, isn't it true? I really think so, I already realized this in 1973/74... and again now... [mumbling from Tonori] What is the matter, my brother?

*SS,123.

You just draw! When you have finished he will ask you questions about what you've drawn...

*SG,S,T,TO,124.

[There are more coughs from Siyakwakwa. Togeruwa mimics him. Tonori continues to grumble and Siyakwakwa does not pay any attention to him] ...

*SG,125.

[Turning to Togeruwa] Does Siyakwakwa belong to your own clan? Is he a Malasi man?...

*SS,126.

I am a Nukulabuta man!

*SG,127.

Nukulabuta, how?...

*SS,128.

... Like Nukubai, Nukwasisiga, Malasi man, Nukulabuta man, Nukubai man, Nukwasisiga man, all right...

*G,S,T,To,129.

[Interferences from outside... Tonori continues complaining]

*SS,130.

But look at that — are you perhaps going to use the red now? Aaah! So you are; I do that too... [mumbling from Tonori]

*SS,131.

He has finished!

*SG,132.

Finished! So, after you tasted red betel, you "saw" a lagimu the same as this one? [pointing to the drawing done by Tonori]

*ST,133.

I see ((a lagimu)) like this after my mind was opened and I see everything together. I don't know the names of the birds very well. I only know some names, but a lot I don't know...

*SG,134.

And did you see the lagimu with all its colours? With its white, black and red?

*ST,135.

I saw it with all its colours, and then I cut out a lagimu and coloured it with its black, red and white...

*SG,136.

Do you remember when all this happened?

*ST,137.

"When" what? (What should I remember?).

*STO,138.

Wait, now I'll ask him. When they offered you the red betel and you tried it, and everything became fixed in your mind, did you "see" a lagimu that impressed itself on your mind, or not?

*SS,139.

If you memorized it...

*ST,140.

... ((It was like this:)) I started to carve the spatulas of black ebony for the red betel. I just carved these, and in the meantime I carefully observed the old carvers who were carving lagimu and tabuya. "Seeing" for me means this above all, and then my mind was as if struck (was impressed) and I carved the first lagimu. And I carried on carving it with all the designs harmonized on its surface.

*SS,141.

[to Giancarlo] Do you understand now, at least in broad terms, what the word "bring into focus" (salouta) means? Its meaning is like that of "memorize" (ruruwai), and the concepts expressed by "memorize" and "bring into focus" or "be impressed" or "be struck" are very similar. When he sees the lagimu on the beach, he continues to perceive it the way he saw it, and the way he perceived it on the beach is the way he carves it, because that is how it is impressed on his mind. When he returns to the village, perhaps he sees another lagimu like the one he saw on the beach, or else he memorizes only the one that impressed itself on his memory. And when he has finished one (when he has left one) he carves others (he works four of them). And "seeing" is interpreted as if it were "memorizing", "perceiving". And he carves what he has "seen", "perceived".

*SG,142.

... So you "saw" the lagimu of the canoe on the beach, and also the tabuya. Did you?

*ST,143.

I saw it, then I went away (I left the site), I came here, in the village, and I started to carve a wooden surface (carved all the designs linked among themselves).

*SG,144.

Then did you work with your teacher-initiator ((working his lagimu and tabuya)) day after day, or did you start to carve lagimu and tabuya on a reduced scale? Oh my brother!

[Tonori is embarrassed. Siyawkwakwa intervenes with decided tone]:

*SS,145.

No! [embarrassed pause]

*SS,146.

Um! ... after you "saw", you came to your hut, and you started to work on little lagimu and tabuya? Look! As if they were little models...

*ST,147.

Little models .. on a reduced scale.

*SG,148.

And did you practise every day or every now and then? And did you practise the art of carving day after day, or every now and then?

*ST,149.

Every time I carved ((a lagimu)) on a reduced scale, I looked at it completed, I tasted a little red betel, I look at it intently, (I stay still, I linger) and then I burn it...

*SS,150.

He asked you if you carved every day or just sometimes?

*ST,151.

Every so often, not every day...

*SG,152.

When you are carving a lagimu or a tabuya, did your teacher-initiator come and look and say "this is carved badly" or "this is carved well", or else did he not say anything?

*ST,153.

My teacher-initiator? No, he didn't come to see because he died very soon afterwards, and I continued working (practising) on my own, as I do now.

*SG,154.

But didn't other carvers come, from Lalela, Lalekeiwa, who looking at your work, commented on it with expression like, for example, "it is carved well", or "it is carved badly".

*ST,155.

Anyone could come and see my finished work and comment on it (know it), the inhabitants of both Lalela and Lalekeiwa. As soon as a lagimu or a tabuya was carved, they exclaimed, "Oooh! It's done really well!" (it's a good piece of work).

*SG,156.

But did anyone say to you in a particular way, "These designs are well carved" or "these designs are badly carved" for example?

*ST,157.

If they said it?...

*SS,158.

When they come to you, they looked and commented, "This design is carved well, this, however, is carved badly". Was there someone who said this to you?

*ST,159.

No! ((nobody in particular)).

*SG,160.

So you judged yourself on your own?

*ST,161.

On my own (myself). I criticized my designs myself. Most people, if they see designs done badly, don't tell me (are not capable of judging a badly executed lagimu or tabuya).

*SG,162.

I've noticed that the designs, some designs, carved in your lagimu are different from those carved in the lagimu of Towitara, Gumaligisa, Tokwaisai. In fact, I haven't seen them in their lagimu.

*ST,163.

They seem different, as it's said. ... their designs, the red colour...

*SG,164.

Yes... for example, the design of the carver-hero, is very different... [contented laugh from Tonori] and did you get these designs from ... what is your teacher-initiator called?

*ST,165.

Kurina.

*SG,166.

... From Kurina's lagimu? Is it so? [murmur of approval from Tonori and Siyawkwa] Is there a lagimu of Kurina's at Lalekeiwa?

*SS,167.

Are there any prows, a lagimu or a tabuya carved (by Kurina) or have they given them all away?

*ST,168.

They have all been bought, there isn't even one left. When I finish one the same as Kurina's, I'll give it to you as soon as it's finished.

*SG,169.

... Good!

*ST,170.

Yes, exactly the same as that one. Modayowa with his body covered in black smoke took the last lagimu, and didn't even let us see it, he did it, then he went away, and gave it to Tonugana, who in turn gave it to the Iwa people, who, after they'd taken it (bought) went off...

*SS,171.

So, there are no more lagimu or tabuya with the designs carved by his teacher-initiator.

*SG,172.

And is your lagimu different now from the one Kurina carved?

*ST,173.

((Do you remember)) the lagimu I carved and gave you? It is exactly the same as those Kurina carved.

*SS,174.

He asked you a direct question in a certain way, that is, if you carve the lagimu with the same designs that your ancestor carved and you answered... "like him"!

*SG,175.

... Like your ancestor, or in a different way? ... Well?

*ST,176.

Exactly the same as he did... as he carved — I then came to my hut and carved in the same way.

*SG,177.

Do you really carve in the same way, really?

*ST,178.

Really!

*SG,179.

It is possible for you to carve designs which are different from Kurina's?

*ST,180.

Yes, it's possible for me to carve different designs. If he is carving and I watch him and then carve different designs, this is possible.

*SG,181.

And which designs can you vary / copy?

*ST,182.

If you explain what you want to say better... if you explain it better...

*SS,183.

No... Which are the designs that he harmonized on the wooden surface and that you can copy?

*ST,184.

If the designs harmonized on the wooden surface...

*SG,185.

How do you say "takayesa" in your language?

*SS,186.

"Takayesa"...

*SG,187.

How do you say it: "takayesa" or "takayasa"?

*SS,188.

If he, answering you, said, "You can copy the designs that have been harmonized on the surface of the lagimu", this is a correct expression. You can ask somebody present "Can he really copy the designs that have been harmonized among themselves?" or else you can say, "I can copy the designs harmonized among themselves". And you can ask him: "Can you really copy the designs harmonized among themselves?" Yes, these are definitely the correct, right expressions.

*SS,189.

[Siyakwaka grumbles. There is an interruption]

*ST,190.

If I see that the designs someone is carving are attractive, like for example the design of the sea eagle, or the designs carved on the black ebony spatula for the red betel, then when I go back to my hut, I copy them... [Giancarlo mumbles and his mumble indicate his doubt about Siyakwakwa and Tonori's answers]

*SG,191.

... Now... I've noticed that in Tokwaisai's lagimu there isn't any difference between the design of the cry of the mysterious bird (weku), carved on the left, and the design of beauty (kwaisaruvi), carved on the right. They are the same, there's no difference. While in Towitara's lagimu the difference between the two designs is respected. Do you realize this?...

*ST,192.

No... [with a timid tone, almost as if apologising]

*SS,193.

Suppose you see the designs carved by the old man [Towitara] of Kumwageiya and after seeing them you return to your hut, do you copy them exactly as they have been carved by him in a lifesize lagimu?... ((Do you copy)) the design of beauty on the opposite side? One on one side, and on the other side the cry of the mysterious bird...

*ST,194.

If I go to watch the work of carving the lagimu, when I go back to my hut, I carve, copying them, all the designs that have already been harmonized.

*SG,195.

So this is a lagimu of yours [pointing to the drawing of Tonori] and the design carved on the left is called "the cry of the mysterious bird" (weku)... isn't it called that?

*ST,196.

Yes... it is the design of the cry of the mysterious bird (weku)...

*SG,197.

[Laughing] Sure! But also the design you've drawn on the right is the cry of the mysterious bird, isn't it?

*ST,198.

Yes... It's the design of the cry of the mysterious bird.

*SG,199.

But in the lagimu of Towitara the design of beauty is carved on the right, while the design of the cry of the mysterious bird is carved on the left side. While in your lagimu and Kurina's lagimu the design of the mysterious bird is carved both on the right and the left. Why is that?

*ST,200.

My head is bursting (my head is coming to pieces)! I manage to understand some things, but not others...

*STO,201.

[Voice of Togeruwa trying to encourage Tonori]

*SS,202.

He asked you why the old man of Kumwageiya carves the design of the cry of the mysterious bird on one side, and on the other side (on the opposite side) the design of beauty, while you and your ancestor carve the design of the mysterious bird on both sides, but not the design of beauty. Why? He asked you this. Have you understood clearly, and can you reply, or not? No, he cannot answer, I'll answer then.

You [to Giancarlo] must understand that carvers usually carve different designs, in fact it is not acceptable (possible) that two "real" carvers carve identical designs (It is not possible that two master-carvers copy each other's designs). No, it really isn't possible. And if by chance apprentice-carvers, or someone who is still carrying out the work of carving, wish to copy a design of a master-carver, they can do this. But two true carvers, two master-carvers, must carve different designs on their lagimu and tabuya. It's like that.

And listen (look) while the old man of Kumwageiya carves the design of the cry of the mysterious bird and the black design of beauty, Tonori's ancestor, his teacher-initiator only carves the design of the mysterious bird. This happens because carvers want to distinguish themselves and desire the admiration of men. You know it... carvers want men to talk about them and say who is the best of them. This is the wish of the true carvers!

*SG,203.

You should know that you must observe certain prohibitions if you want to become a carver, above all a master-carver. For example, you must not eat, and you should know this, fish tail, and, ... how do you say it?...

*SS,204.

The intestines (entrails)...

*SG,205.

... the intestines... the intestines of the wild pig. Do you know this?

*SS,206.

Because they are prohibited foods. .. taboos.

*SG,207.

... And now, do you eat intestines of the wild pig, fish?

*ST,208.

No, because they are taboos (they are prohibited).

*SG,209.

Do you know all the taboos you must observe?

*ST,210.

((Do you want to know all the taboos that a carver must observe?)) I musn't eat the intestines of the wild pig, or fish tail, or the internal part of the fish head. These are inviolable taboos.

*SG,211.

... And what other taboos must you respect? (do you know?).

*SS,212.

... afterwards, ... "afterwards" in our language is "tuveira".

*SG,213.

So, "afterwards"? [Tonori is embarrassed]

*SS,214.

What are the other taboos that you must observe? [Tonori titters, embarrassed]

*SG,215.

Do you know any others?

*ST,216.

I only know these taboos, and they are: I mustn't eat the intestines of the wild pig and the internal part of the head of the fish. I only know these taboos, and my ancestor told me to respect these. And all the rest, like, for example, that I mustn't eat fish tail, or the other things, he never told me.

*SG,217.

And do you know why you can't eat the intestines of the wild pig, and fish. Why?

*ST,218.

If I ate forbidden food my mind would cloud over, it would get confused. And then I couldn't carve a beautiful lagimu any more.

*SG,219.

Let's imagine that you eat.. now... ummm... it's quite hard... so, what designs...

*SS,220.

You say, "ava", "what designs"...

*SG,221.

... Well... what designs can you copy? How do you say copy?

*SS,222.

"Bu ku takayesa": "can you copy"?

*SS,223.

So, what designs can you [to Tonori] copy? [Giancarlo repeats the question]

*ST,224.

The designs I like (observe). Then I come to my hut and carve them. There aren't designs which may be copied and others which may not. But if I don't like a certain design, I don't carve it. And if there's a design of any carver that I like, I come to my hut and carve it. This is the way I work: if I think a design is beautiful, I come back to my hut and carve it, but if I don't like it, I don't carve (do) it...

*SG,225.

But if you are attracted by the beauty of many designs (of all the designs), it is possible for you to copy them all and carve them on your lagimu?

*SS,226.

[Correcting Giancarlo again] "Bu ku takayesa"!

*ST,227.

And, if I think the designs are beautiful, I copy (carve) them.

*SS,228.

Yes, it's possible...

*ST,229.

Yes, I can copy them, it's possible for me...

*SG,230.

So... in your lagimu there are red, black and white colours, and these colours are also found in the lagimu of Towitara, Tokwaisai, Nabwai and Pilimoni, and always in the same spaces. For you it's possible... how do you say...

*SS,231.

Can you "copy" them... [teasing Giancarlo who cannot remember the verb]

*SG,232.

Can you copy them: the red, white ... may you do it?

*ST,233.

Yes (and), I can copy these colours, red, black.

*SG,234.

So you can copy these?

*ST,235.

I can copy them!

*SG,236.

Can you really copy them if you want?

*ST,237.

Certainly it's possible.

*SG,238.

It is possible if you want it?

*SS,239.

If you want, a bit...

*SG,240.

Strange... I say this because in Kurina's lagimu, as in the lagimu, that Tonori has drawn, I don't seem to have seen that the red and black colours fill in all the available spaces, while in Kumwageiya village the colours are painted on the whole design that they are to colour.

*ST,241.

Every lagimu is finished off in a different way, so the lagimu carved by Kumwageiya carvers present some variations compared with the lagimu carved, for example, by Tokwaisai, or by, what's his name?... ah! Nabwai, who, as well used red and black colours (painting them over the design). A carver, by himself, may decide not to paint a colour over the whole surface that is traditionally reserved for that colour, and cover only a smaller area, or else leave it incomplete. Or else he may decide not to colour the top part of the lagimu.

*SG,242.

And do you copy even the red and black colour that surrounds the design of the cry of the mysterious bird? Look here! [points to Tonori's drawing]

*ST,243.

I can copy them...

*SG,244.

Is it possible for you to copy the design of the carver-hero?

*ST,245.

Yes, I can copy the designs of the carver-hero and his companion [it is referred to the other tokwalu carved in the upper part of the lagimu]

*SG,246.

And the shell (doka) design of imagination, of intelligence? This one here...

*ST,247.

This is really the design of the sea martin, yes, I can copy it.

*SG,248.

So you can copy the design of imagination and the pale caterpillars?

*ST,249.

Yes... I watch the teacher-initiator who is carving, then I come to my hut, and I copy, carve the same designs. I can do it, naturally.

*SS,250.

You can, you who, by now, know how to carve all the designs. He [meaning Giancarlo] has said that only your work is done well. You are not like the rest of us who only know certain designs... [Tonori smiles, pleased]

*SG,251.

Now, for you, ... "what" ... how do you say "what"?

*SS,252.

"Ava": "what" designs...

*ST,254.

((This)) snake/structure is carved into the left side of the lagimu, on the protruding part. A snake is carved on the left and another snake is carved on the right side.

*SG,255.

Is it possible for you to copy it?

*ST,256.

It is possible to copy it.

*SG,257.

[Addressing Siyakwakwa and speaking of Tonori] With him it is all different. [To Tonori] Is it possible for you to copy the usual colours of the lagimu, red, white? For example, can you use yellow, a colour of white men, or where now there's white, can you use brown? If you want, if you wish, can you use yellow in place of one of the usual colours? Can you?

*ST,258.

But if I use yellow, the effect of the lagimu will be very bad!

*SG,259.

So the effect will be positive, good, only if you use the usual colours, black, red?

*ST,260.

Yes. For white, only the tint made from the burnt coral powder is used, What's it called? Ah! Yes! kidakokola, it's got from coral, burnt and crushed. Then we spread the white like a patina on the surface of the lagimu. The blue can also go with the red, they go well together. For black we use the pigment obtained by scraping the bottom of burnt earthenware pots, and sometimes, from old batteries we get from the whites. If we use these colours the lagimu becomes beautiful. But yellow doesn't produce a nice effect. We get yellow from the whites [It's a tint that comes from the white men's store on Kiriwina]

*SG,261.

Why is it that many carvers use blue instead of black, if it's true that it's not possible to modify the usual colours?

[Giancarlo shows Tonori a range of blue colours, Caran d'Ache]

*ST,262.

If, truly, we use the non-usual tints instead of black, the effect produced by the lagimu is not beautiful. And once blue is put next to red the effect produced by the lagimu is really not very nice!

*SG,263.

And for you this colour [showing a dark blue, ultramarine] produces the same effect as black?

*ST,264.

No, not at all, it isn't like black...

*SG,265.

... and so why in many lagimu is blue used?

*ST,266.

Who knows! who knows other people's ideas! (who knows how people think). But if anyone wants to use blue, he can do so, it's up to him to decide! Any way, the old carvers of the past didn't use blue or yellow. They only used black obtained from scraping the burnt bottom of earthenware pots, and they painted ((lagimu and tabuya)) only with this colour.

*SG,267.

Well then, have you carved a lagimu for someone's canoe?

*ST,268.

You say the lagimu for someone's canoe? If it happens that a ((lagimu)) breaks and the owners agree that they want me to be the carver of a new ((lagimu)) and they come to ask me, then it's possible that I would work, carve, a new lagimu.

*SG,269.

And now, is there a lagimu... how do you say it: "kwaivila"?

*SS,270.

"Kwaivira" - (some)...

*SG,271.

Are you carving a lagimu now? ... How do you say, "Are you carving"?

*SS,272.

"Lagimu nu ku paisewa", are you working a lagimu?

*ST,273.

Now?

*SG,274.

You carved one for me in 1973/4...

*ST,275.

... You don't say "taitarara" but "kaitara" [to refer to a wooden object] you gave me lagimu. Then I carved just one tabuya...

*SG,276.

Who for?...

*ST,277.

For Damuramwara, from the village of Lalekeiwa.

*SG,278.

When can you eat forbidden food, like the intestines of wild pig, fish?

*SS,279.

When can you [to Tonori] eat the entrails (intestines) of fish?

*SG,280.

Or, if you like, when are food prohibitions no longer valid?

*ST.281.

Not for a long time. When I'm old like Togeruwa or Siyakwakwa, then I'll be able to eat the forbidden foods. And when someone engages me to carve a lagimu or a tabuya for his canoe, or else his canoe for the kula, then I'll work and carve, and only then I will be able to eat the forbidden foods.

*SG,282.

[To Siyakwaka] But what about you now, do you eat the intestines of fish and wild pig, or not?

*SS,283.

Sometimes. Now it is only at feasts that I eat the forbidden foods. It is only when there are dances and songs that I don't respect the taboos. I usually eat the taboos when there are feasts.

*SG,284.

And are you allowed to?

*SS,285.

Yes.. on these occasions. I eat forbidden foods, like, for example, entrails...

*SG,286.

And why was it that once, when we were eating in your hut, you didn't want... what's it called?...

*SS,287.

"Sineu" ... entrails.

*SG,288.

No... no... not entrails. What's it called?... "Ununu" I think.

*SS,289.

"Ununu", cooked greens?

*SG,290.

Yes, that's it, perhaps because it was cooked with coconut pulp, that's slimy...

*SS,291.

But perhaps I just didn't feel like it!

*SG,292.

But now taboos on food are over for you, or...

*SS,293.

No, they are not over, really not. I still have to respect the taboos!
(they still exist).

*SG,294.

And when will they be over? (when will it end?).

*SS,295.

If someone doesn't want to eat forbidden food, it means that the taboos are still valid, they still exist. But if someone wants to eat forbidden food, it means that for him the taboos aren't valid any longer and so he does eat forbidden food. It isn't a question of months or years. It's not like that. The ability to respect the taboos or not is left up to the carver. It's he who has to decide.

*SG,296.

But if you, for example, are responsible for respecting the taboos (for not eating the taboos) or not respecting them, then these are not real, genuine taboos?

*SS,297.

Of course they are! They are true taboos! Only when I have carved a lagimu well or carved a canoe well for the kula, or else carved a tabuya well, only then will I be able to say that the taboos are over. Only then will I be able to eat the prohibited foods. But if one doesn't carve a lagimu or work a canoe for the kula, in this case the taboos must be observed. It isn't possible to eat prohibited foods when you still don't know the art of carving on wood.

*SG,298.

In the case that you know how to carve a lagimu, or a tabuya, or cut out a canoe for the kula, in this case the taboos can be violated...

*SS,299.

... yes, in this case the taboos end...

*SG,300.

... while if you don't know how to carve, the taboos remain...

*SS,301.

... sure, they remain...

*SG,302.

... as for Tonori...

*SS,303.

... as for him.

*SG,304.

[To Tonori] Let's say, for example, that you must carve a lagimu for tomorrow, in this case would you still respect the taboos?

*SS,305.

If you [to Tonori] had to carve a tabuya for tomorrow, could you eat the intestines of the wild pig and all the rest, or not?

*ST,306.

No, when I know the art of carving lagimu and tabuya well, how to cut a canoe for the kula, only then will I be able to eat prohibited foods. Because only then will I know well, truly...

*SS,307.

... all the work to do with the canoe for the kula...

*ST,308.

... the work, all that there is to know, and my mind will have become perceptive (acute), open, only then will I be able to eat the forbidden foods.

*SG,309.

[To Siyakwakwa] Then for you the taboos are still valid because you don't really know well the art of carving the...

*SS,310.

... the lagimu ...

*SG,311.

... the lagimu.

*SS,312.

Because I'm not a real carver yet, in fact I only know how to carve the canoe for the kula well. In the meantime I'll not eat the forbidden food until I have carved a canoe well for the kula.

*SG,313.

And the prohibition against eating forbidden foods exists both for a carver of lagimu and tabuya and for carvers of canoes for the kula?

*SS,314.

That's quite right, there isn't any difference.

*ST,315.

Yes, that's quite right. Both a good carver and a mediocre carver must respect the taboo about the entrails of animals.

*SG,316.

And are the ritual words murmured both for carver of lagimu and tabuya, and for a cutter-out of canoes for the kula?

*SS,317.

That's perfectly right! There's no difference.

*SG,318.

Let's imagine that... are you [to Siyakwakwa] tired?

*SS,319.

No!

*SG,320.

Let's imagine that I, living in Lalela or Lalekeiwa, want to become a carver... and let's pretend that I am the right age to be initiated. In this case, could I receive the gift of the ritual words, seeing that I'm not your son, nor...

*SS,321.

... son of your sister (nephew).

*SG,322.

... nor I am a son of a sister of yours (nephew of yours) but I'm just a friend of yours. Is this possible, or not? And if, for example, it was

Togeruwa who asked you for the ritual words, would it be possible to you to give them to him, seeing that he isn't your son, or a nephew of yours?

*SS,323.

... nor is he from the same clan...

*SG,324.

... is it possible, then? [Embarrassed silence from Tonori]

*SS,325.

But it is an acceptable (possible) question that he has asked you!

*ST,326.

I can only give the ritual words to a member of my own clan. If the old carver [Kurina] was alive, he would have given them to me as soon as I had got big. But he's dead. Otherwise I would have given them to someone from my own clan and sub-clan. I would have given them to a Nukulabuta man.

*SG,327.

It's only possible to give them to him... But imagine that there isn't any member of your clan, in that case, can you give the ritual words to someone else? ...

*SS,328.

... to a member of another clan, an outsider... is it possible for you to give him the ritual words, or not?

*ST,329.

No, it isn't possible.

*SG,330.

So, only to a member of your clan.

*ST,331.

I can only give it to a member of my clan. You must know... should my son die, then the ritual words would pass in cultural inheritance to the first in line of succession.

*SG,332.

So, if I was in your clan -- what's it called?

*SS,333.

Nukulabuta.

*SG,334.

So, if I was a Nukulabuta man, you would ...

*ST,335.

... I would give them to you!

*SG,336.

While if I was a Malasi man ...

*ST,337.

No ((I would not give them to you))!

*SG,338.

And if I was from your own clan but a different sub-clan?

*SS,339.

If the clan (Nukulabuta) is the same but the house (sub-clan) is different. In such a case is it possible for you to give the ritual words?

*ST,340.

No, the ritual words I can only give to a member of my own house (sub-clan). If the house is the same, then I can give him the ritual words. Even if someone belongs to my clan, Nukulabuta, but is from another house, even in this case I would not give him the ritual words. I would only give them to a member of my own clan and my own house.

*SG,341.

Your house is kabata?

*ST,342.

Yes, it's kabata.

*SS,343.

[To Giancarlo] Please, my friend, it's very hard for a native carver to speak! (to come the point in these things) [Said in a very severe tone, recalling that a very delicate, almost secret, subject is discussed]

*SG,344.

I know...

*SS,345.

Yet you should know the reason why the prohibitions on food are not imposed on the members of a different house (sub-clan)! Our work (subject) is really very delicate: the work of a carver is like what you are doing. Now you are working, and when you have finished you will go back to your village and there you will receive a reward for your work. It's the same thing for the work of a carver. If by chance I should give my art to a member of another house (sub-clan) and he rewards me, ah! it would really be a delicate business for me to 'eat' his reward! The reason (criterion) which must guide the choice of a carver is different. An old carver (teacher-initiator) must initiate (choose) a son, a nephew, or else a grandson or grand-nephew from the following generation and must give the ritual words to him. He mustn't, absolutely, give the ritual words to a member of a different house, but only to a grandson or the son of one of his sisters. And when the boy they are given to works for other men, who can commission a canoe from him for his kula, or else a lagimu, and or compensate him with yams, red betel, with wild pig, fish, and offer him all these gifts, then he can eat the gift.

*ST,346.

The reward (donation) for his skilfulness (craftsmanship) ...

*SS,347.

... it's the reward for his skilfulness (craftsmanship). Look... (listen) It really isn't possible for me to give the ritual words to a member of a different house.

*ST,348.

It's truly hard.

*SG,349.

But if the person you've initiated and belongs to your own house doesn't bring the gifts, so doesn't offer you red betel, a white bracelet (mwari) or a red necklace (vaiguwa), or a wild pig, even in that case would you nevertheless give him the ritual words for becoming a carver?

*ST,350.

If he belongs to my own house?

*SG,351.

Yes, if he belongs to your house.

*SS,352.

If he isn't your favourite pupil?

*SG,353.

No, I mean to say, if he doesn't give you the wild pig, or the white bracelet, if he doesn't make the offerings — in this case would you still give him the ritual words to become...

*SS,354.

... a carver ...

*ST,355.

If by chance the person I chose doesn't give me the wild pig, the red betel, if this should happen (if I should see this) then I wouldn't give him the ritual words. And the ritual words, in this case, I would give to another boy of my own house.

*SG,356.

Now let's imagine that there are several boys of the age for initiation, and that all belong to your own house,...

*SS,357.

... to your house ...

*SG,358.

... in that case, which boy would you choose to initiate into craftsmanship?

*SS,359.

Whoever offers the best gift (whoever has already made a large gift) becomes your favourite pupil.

*ST,360.

That's just it! I give the ritual words to the one who is my favourite pupil (the chosen one), but I wouldn't give them to someone I haven't chosen.

*SG,361.

What do you call such a person? Yobweri?

*SS,362.

"Favourite pupil", "chosen one", "ward"... If there are many young boys who can be initiated and all belong to his own house, I don't know, for example, one, two, three, four etc. and all from his own house, well, in this case the one who turned out more brilliant (active, clever) in working for him would be chosen — the one best at working in his yam garden, fishing and taking the fish to the teacher for him to eat, or giving red betel for the teacher to taste. To the one who does this, and behaves like this, the teacher (he) will give the ritual words for becoming a carver.

*S-,363.

[There are noises from the village, Tonori asks who is there. There are some small boys trying to enter the hut, Giancarlo tells them to go away at once, in a commanding tone]

*SS,364.

So, if there are a lot of youths of the right age for initiation and they don't give the teacher (him) fish, and don't go and work in his yam gardens, then it wouldn't be possible for him to give them the ritual words. It isn't at all possible for him to offer the gift of the ritual words. And this happens even if all of them belong to his own house. In fact, if the established rules are not followed, it isn't possible for him to give the ritual words.

*SG,365.

But how can it be possible for a boy to work in your yam gardens, go fishing for you; I don't believe that a boy could do all that...

*SS,366.

No, he couldn't do it.

*SG,367.

So who is it who goes to work on behalf of the boy? Who is it offers the gifts to the teacher in his place? If you, Tonori, wanted to initiate, for example, Siyakwakwa if, say, he is a member of your household and clan, and he can't...

*SS,368.

... can't work for all this (that I cannot do all these things put together) ...

*SG,369.

... can't work in your yam gardens, nor can offer you ...

*SS,370.

... fish, wild pig ...

*SG,371.

... in that case, who is it who gives fish, wild pig, to the teacher-initiator? [Tonori is embarrassed]

*SS,372.

Listen (look)! If I was a boy, and let's pretend I'm a boy at the age of initiation, it wouldn't be possible for me to go to the yam gardens, or to go fishing and then return and give it to you so that you can eat. I wouldn't be capable of catching so much fish. And I couldn't raise (make) a wild pig big enough, then go and catch it (take it), come back to the village and give it to you to eat. I couldn't do all these things because I would still be too young. So who will offer you the wild pig, the fish, the yams, so that you can murmur over the red betel or the spring water the ritual words so that I would become a carver? My father and my mother!

*SG,373.

Ha! His father and mother!

*SS,374.

His father and mother! Exactly! His father, his mother. If the father and mother of the youth want him to become the favourite pupil and if the teacher agrees to murmur (to give) him the ritual words, then in that case the boy could become a carver.

*SG,375.

And if the youth doesn't want it, and refuses to become a carver?

*SS,376.

If he doesn't want to become a carver? Nothing at all happens, it is quite in order. He can do it. Probably the ritual words for becoming a carver would be given to his brother. If the boy chosen says, "I don't want to become a carver", and refuses then one of his brothers, or yet another boy immediately after him in the line of succession, would receive the ritual

words for becoming a carver. And he would become a carver because his father and mother would have decided that he should become the chosen one (favourite pupil), if he also agrees. Parents desire, want their sons to become carvers.

*SG,377.

So it's the father and mother who desire that a son should become a carver, they are the ones who want it more than he does. Is that it?

*ST,378.

Oh! They want their sons to become carvers! If it is all right by them! They offer all the gifts (that I told you), because you must realize that the father and mother of the boy have invested in food, wild pig, fish, and have offered these gifts, because a parent wants, at this point, his son to become a carver. That's why that they offer gifts.

*SG,379.

But let's imagine that I, having a certain right to ask you to train my son as a carver, because we are part of your clan and your house, and offer you fish, wild pig, red betel, and so show that you strongly desire what I ask you, but you don't want my son ...

*ST,380.

... ((to become)) my favourite pupil. If you want your son to become a carver and you had offered me gifts, in that case he could become a carver because you ardently want him to become my favourite pupil.

*SG,381.

But if you don't want my son to become a carver?

*ST,382.

I can't refuse him, because by then he would be my chosen one and if your son had offered me gifts he would become a carver.

*SS,383.

Because by then you'd be his favourite pupil, and if you don't become the favourite pupil you don't give him wild pig, red betel, yams, fish...

*SG,384.

But I want to know if I, for example, am an old carver and Tonori wants his son to become my favourite pupil because he belongs to my own clan and house, and offers me gifts like red betel, wild pig, but in spite of this I

absolutely don't want to accept him — is that possible?

*SS,385.

All right, it's possible, there's nothing wrong if you've decided not to accept him. It means that he wouldn't become your favourite pupil (ward). However, they have offered you gifts (they have feasted you, they have offered a feast for you) and if it is your brother, who, by chance, asks you, tells you, about his son, "I want my son to work with you to become a carver", but you refuse, you absolutely don't want the son of your brother to be initiated to become a carver, but they have offered you gifts, well! In that case you would be rejected by them, you would no longer be accepted in their hut.

*SG,S,T,To,386.

[There's a moment of relaxation after the tension of the last questions, considered very delicate. Red betel and tobacco are passed around. Tonori congratulates Giancarlo on his questions. Giancarlo asks Tonori if he is tired]

*ST,387.

No I'm not!

*SG,388.

Now is there a youth, a young boy in your village who belongs to your own clan and your own house?

*ST,389.

There are many!

*SG,390.

So, there are some. And among these, who would you like as your ward (favourite pupil)?

*ST,391.

The one who comes to me bringing fish, red betel that I will taste will become my ward (favourite pupil). He, as time goes on, will become a carver and I will give him the ritual words.

*SG,392.

And how many young boys are there of your...

*SS,393.

... of your household ...

*SG,394.

... of your household?

*ST,395.

Ah! Many.

*SS,396.

There are a lot in my house too ...

*SG,397.

But don't you favour one in particular as your ward?

*ST,398.

Of all of them, I'd prefer my youngest brother, I'd like him as my ward and I'd give him the ritual words.

*SG,399.

If I was your teacher-initiator -- the way I am for my students in my village - in that case I can favour one rather than another, if I think that he is cleverer than the others, because I regard him more highly. If I want to be the ...

*SS,400.

... the teacher (if I want to teach)...

*SG,401.

... the teacher of one or two and not of ...

*SS,402.

... not of all ...

*SG,403.

... not of all, but all want to become my wards, I can only favour one, I can do this, because, perhaps, in my village things run in a different way than they do here. In fact, in my village, only a person who is truly intelligent can teach at a University. Otherwise...

*SS,404.

... he doesn't bring gifts (one doesn't reply), he isn't accepted...

*SG,405.

... no, it's not quite like that, because the choice is not based on reward. Now, if I want one of them to become like me, to become my ward, because he is truly ...

*SS,406.

... very intelligent...

*SG,407.

... very intelligent. Is it possible for you to act like me, or not? [An embarrassed silence follows]. Let's imagine that four or six young boys come and all of them give gifts, like food, red betel, and all...

*SS,408.

... and all desire to be the chosen one, the favourite pupil ...

*SG,409.

... that's it!! In that case, which young boy would you pick?

*ST,410.

If there are many who all want to become my favourite pupil, in that case I just choose one, to whom I murmur the ritual words. Only one would be the favourite pupil, not two or three.

*SG,411.

And on the basis of which criteria do you choose just one, is it perhaps because he is the most intelligent one? Do you act the way I do? Or do you choose him on the basis of other considerations? Is it possible for your son to be initiated into art by you? But it shouldn't be possible, seeing that his clan is different from yours...

*ST,412.

He can become a carver if I murmur him the ritual words, as he could become the only one chosen from my clan to whom I murmur the ritual words.

*SG,413.

So it's possible to give the magic words to your son, even if his clan and his household are different from yours. Is that it?

*ST,414.

I can give everything to my son ... wait ...

*SG,415.

So it's possible for your son. But it's not possible to give the ritual words to Togeruwa, for example, even if Togeruwa and your son belong to the same clan and the same house that are different from yours ... but for your son it's possible.

*ST,416.

Because I am here (we are both in the same hut) and for this reason he can become my pupil, I can give everything to him and he can become a carver. After some time "he will speak" and "he will cut" his canoe, or his lagimu, or a tabuya, and he will give them to someone. And they will cook his food, his yam pudding, and he will give them to me, he will make me an offering of food, pudding, yams ...

*SS,417.

[to Tonori] He can decide himself ...

*ST,418.

... I'm the one who decides (who to initiate).

*SG,419.

So it is possible for your son to become a carver?

*SS,420.

It is possible!

*SG,421.

So for your son it is possible to become a carver even if he belongs to a different clan from yours, while for a member of the same clan as your son it isn't possible ...

*SS,422.

... no, it's not possible!

*SG,423.

And, afterwards, the one you initiated comes to stay in your hut ... "ba gini" ...

*SS,424.

[With pedantic tone] You say, "bi gini"! (to carve).

*SG,425.

To start to carve?

*SS,426.

Of course he comes!

*SG,427.

And does he also come to you to eat and sleep? Day after day?

*SS,428.

Day after day (every day).

*ST,429.

He comes, eats, sleeps at my place.

*SS,430.

He also stays to sleep.

*SG,431.

And when he is staying with you, do you tell him, looking at the lagimu which he has carved, which designs are carved well and which are carved badly? [affirmation both by Siyakwakwa and Tonori] It is like that, the way it was for your teacher-initiator?

*ST,432.

Yes, he comes to me and if I am his teacher, and I tell him, "You mustn't carve the designs badly (ugly), you must avoid these. You must only carve beautiful designs (only designs in correct style)".

*SG,433.

And so if I come to you every day, as your favourite pupil and work at a lagimu or a tabuya, are the designs I carve the same as yours? It isn't possible for me to carve different designs, is it?

*SS,434.

That's quite right!

*ST,435.

If I have been your teacher-initiator, you must carve according to the patterns of my style, only. You can't do it a different way. Lalela ... [the sentence is interrupted by Giancarlo]

*SG,436.

... if I come to you every day, because you are my teacher, and I'm just a simple boy and not a carver, is it possible for me to carve different designs?

*SS,437.

It's possible!

*SG,438.

Wait ... If I'm your pupil and come to you every day to learn the art of carving and so copy your designs, can't I, for example, carve ... how do you say "change"? ...

*SS,439.

... carve different designs.

*SG,440.

Is it possible?

*ST,441.

It is possible, if you carve (want to carve) different designs, not ... [sentence interrupted]

*SG,442.

... but if your teacher comes and says "Who told you to carve these designs?"

*ST,443.

If he says this? I'd reply, "My head", because my mind has been struck (enlightened) since I've been in the village. If anyone manages to invent new designs, he can carve them as well. But if he wants to carve designs like other carvers, he can do so!

*SG,444.

But this is possible for you because you haven't been under the control of a teacher! So you were free to invent before the others. But for the normal pupil-carver guided by his teacher, I don't think it's possible... If I come to you day after day and try to ..., "ba tatatai" isn't correct,

how do you say it?

*SS,445.

"Model (give form to)" a lagimu ... So my lagimu is the same as yours, it isn't ...

*SG,446.

[He is trying to interrupt Siyakwakwa]

*SS,447.

... it's different, its form isn't different ...

*SG,448.

They have the same form, line, ... so it isn't possible for me to modify it.

*ST,449.

No! it isn't possible to give it a different form. The way I model it, you must do the same.

*SG,450.

When is it possible for me ... how do you say, "vary"?

*SS,451.

To give different form ((in the sense of modifying it)) ... [There is a moment's pause]

*SS,452.

If you are a real carver, an established carver, is it then possible for you to vary the form (of the designs). But if you aren't a true carver yet then you have to copy the form (of the designs) of the teacher...

*SG,453.

And when will I be judged a real carver?

*SS,454.

When you know how to carve two, three or four lagimu well, and know how to carve the canoe for the kula, only then will you be a real carver.

*SG,455.

And who is it who decides that I have become a true carver? You, as my teacher?

*SS,456.

Yes, your teacher-initiator, who, seeing the designs you've carved, decides that they are beautiful. Or else the inhabitants of the village, who, seeing a canoe for the kula that you have carved, exclaim, "He really is a true carver!" because they can see that the work has been done well...

*ST,457.

... that it's beautiful, it's done well (clear, bright)!

*SG,458.

But if my teacher, you, for example, say that I'm not yet a carver, but the people in the village say the opposite ...

*SS,458.a.

... splendid!

*SG,459.

... splendid, good...

*SS,460.

... but they don't know how to judge (people can't judge, don't know)! ...

*SG,461.

... this isn't possible, so if you, my teacher, say that I'm not a carver while the people of the village say that I am, in that case your opinion is that ...

*ST,462.

... you aren't yet ...

*SS,463.

... you aren't, you still need time (you must wait) ...

*SG,464.

I'm not yet ... a ...

*SS,465.

... a true carver ...

*SG,466.

So this can happen (is possible)?

*SS,467.

It can happen!

*ST,468.

It's possible.

*SS,469.

This happens because, you must know, that your teacher is called "a true carver", so when he observes (your work) he's able to judge and to say that your work isn't done well. While men (people) don't know the art of carving (they are unskilful) so when they look they can think that your work has been done well and can exclaim, "Oh! He's a true carver!" While your teacher looks and says "It isn't done well yet".

*SG,470.

But whose opinion counts most ... That of people or that of the teacher?

*SS,471.

No... (that of people doesn't count). The opinion of your teacher is the one that has value. The people's counts less.

Cassette B

*ST,1.

Did Togeruwa carve this lagimu?

*SG,2.

Yes, Togeruwa carved it and it's a bit like the lagimu of Towitara. For example, there's the design of the morning bird (rekoreko) and here [pointing to the design] the cry of the mysterious bird, and also of beauty, here on this other side, on the side ...

*ST,3.

... on the side of the outrigger [a moment's silence].

*ST,4.

The design of beauty (kwaisaruvi) is characteristic of Towitara, as it is of the other carvers of Kumwageiya. We carvers of Lalela don't carve it, even if there are those who, like for example Siyakwakwa himself, try to copy it. Anyhow, this design is typical of Kumwageiya's lagimu but we, usually, don't use it, while we always carve the design of the cry of the mysterious bird (weku).

*SG,5.

And do you know why Towitara carves the design of beauty on the side of the ...

*SS,6.

... of the outrigger?

*ST,7.

Who knows! I really don't know; Towitara (he) is responsible for his own style.

*SG,8.

Siyakwakwa, do you know why?

*SS,9.

"Kabutuvatusi" ...

*SG,10.

Why?

*SS,11.

"Kabutuvatusi"!

*SG,12.

And what does it mean?

*SS,13.

What does "kabutuvatusi" mean? "Kabutuvatusi" means "to mark", "to distinguish" the right part of the lagimu from the left.

*SG,14.

And why are the two parts different? For what reason does the right side of the lagimu need to be distinguished from the left?

*SS,15.

On the right side of the lagimu we carve the black design of beauty, while on the left side we do the design of the cry of the mysterious bird.

*SG,16.

Why, then, on Tonori's lagimu on the left part the same design is carved that is carved on the part towards the ...

*ST,17.

... outrigger (on the right)...

*SS,18.

Who said so?

*SG,19.

You did! In fact, on the lagimu of Towitara the black design of beauty is on the right, while on Tonori's lagimu on both sides there's the design ...

*SS,20.

... of the cry of the mysterious bird [a moment of silence follows].

*SS,21.

Because our teacher-initiator used to carve it like that! We carvers of Lalela only carve the design of the cry of the mysterious bird. Both on the right side and on the left side of the lagimu, we only carve the design of the mysterious bird.

*ST,22.

Yes, the fretted (pierced) part is on the left side of the lagimu, while the solid one is on the right, on the side of the outrigger.

*SG,23.

Now ... This is a lagimu carved by Togeruwa [Giancarlo shows him a lagimu by Togeruwa]. In effect, it hasn't been done very well. But it's interesting because Togeruwa maintains he was able to carve it because the designs "fixed" themselves (were memorized) in his mind, even if before he can execute them well on the surface of the wood, some time will pass. But still the designs were memorized at the moment of initiation, in exactly the way it happened for you too. So, why is it that Togeruwa is able to carve the designs even though he hasn't respected the food taboos, like you? [There follows a long silence, full of embarrassment and suspicion towards Giancarlo and Togeruwa] Because you told me that if someone is initiated into art but then did not respect the taboos about food, he would not be able to carve, because ...

*SS,24.

... he would forget ...

*SG,25.

... he would forget all the designs. If this is true, how is it that Togeruwa knows how to carve the designs of the lagimu?

*ST,26.

Because during his childhood I think that his ... what is Towitara (he) to him, his uncle perhaps? ...

*SG,27.

... yes, Towitara's his uncle ...

*ST,28.

... offered him red betel, that he tasted, and the spring water ...

*SG,29.

... yes, that's true; Togeruwa (he) tasted the red betel, however, he also ate prohibited food ...

*ST,30.

... yes he ate prohibited food ...

*SG,31.

... yes, that's so ...

*ST,32.

Like the intestines of animals, the internal soft parts of the heads (of animals)...

*SG,33.

And why, then, can Togeruwa (does Togeruwa know how to) carve the designs, even if not very well?

*ST,33a

This (Togeruwa's ability to carve) is possible because the designs impressed themselves on his mind at the moment of initiation, which means he could have become a carver. The images of the designs were impressed on his mind, in his memory; then time passed and he grew up. But afterwards he ate forbidden food, like the intestines of animals, the internal, soft part of their heads ...

*SG,34.

... so Togeruwa ate forbidden food! ...

*ST,35.

Yes, he ate forbidden food, did Togeruwa. But despite this, the designs are impressed, are left, in his memory. For this reason, if he wants to carve a lagimu, he can do so (he is capable of doing it).

*SG,36.

And you, Siyakwakwa, what do you think about it?

*SS,37.

He is lying!

*SG,38.

Who?

*SS,39.

Togeruwa! He lied to you when you asked him if he had forgotten to respect the traditions. No, he hasn't eaten forbidden food.

*SG,40.

So he hasn't eaten it, and so, why hasn't he carved a lagimu before now?

*SS,41.

No, he hasn't eaten it [Siyakwakwa's tone is very sure]. He answered like that and told you that he has eaten it, but he couldn't have done. If he really had eaten forbidden food, he wouldn't have been able to carve in this way (he wouldn't have been able to carve this lagimu).

*SG,42.

But if it's true that he hasn't eaten forbidden food, for what reason, then, hasn't he carved a lagimu before? And why does he hide the fact that he knows how to carve a lagimu?

*SS,43.

He refuses, he doesn't want...

*SG,44.

Wait a minute. Towitara told me that Togeruwa tasted red betel and ...

*SS,45.

... drank the spring water ...

*SG,46.

... however, he also ate forbidden food ...

*SS,47.

Did Towitara tell you so?

*SG,48.

Yes!

*SS,49.

Well then! (if it was he who told you, can you believe it). Probably he (Togeruwa) can't carve (well) because he has lost all his creative sensibility and doesn't even know how to carve a lagimu well.

*SG,50.

But if it's true that if an initiate eats forbidden food he can't carve a lagimu, or a tabuya, why is it that Togeruwa knew how to carve designs on the lagimu? Then it isn't true that the image of the lagimu fixes itself in the mind of the initiate after he's tasted the red betel and drunk the spring water? It's only a question of technical practice. I, for example,

can draw the designs on the surface of the wood of the lagimu, even if I don't know the technique for carving them yet, above all as far as the fretted part is concerned, and I can do them because I've observed how it's done day after day, I've observed your technique ... and, just by watching, the schema of the lagimu, or the tabuya, has impressed itself on my mind. In the end I think I could even carve a tabuya, whether ugly or beautiful. I think that at present I could draw the designs, while I couldn't carve them yet, because ...

*ST,51.

... they aren't clear to you yet, you see them in a confused way ...

*SG,52.

... so that I think I could become a carver if I worked a lot, if I practised the art of carving out. I think that's the way it is, just like that. What do you think?

*ST,53.

Even if you worked day after day, you would just scratch the surface of the wood, you could only scratch it superficially. But you couldn't carve really well, carve the wood out. Only if you drank the spring water and tasted the red betel, only then could you really carve.

*SG,54.

Well, this is what you think. And you, Siyakwakwa?

*SS,55.

Bah! May be ... [the tone is very doubtful, irritated]

*SG,56.

And if I then demonstrated that I really know how to carve a fine lagimu, what would you say?

*SS,57.

No, you couldn't carve! [angry tone]

*SG,58.

And why couldn't it be possible? If I practised day after day, carving the designs as well as designing them, why couldn't it be possible? If I did what you did when you were apprentices...

*ST,59.

... when we were young boys?

*SG,60.

That's right, in the same way as the initiates like you, when you used to carve lagimu of wood on a reduced scale, just the same! I would carve lagimu on a reduced scale first, and then a lifesize lagimu. In your opinion, could I become a carver, seeing that I'd practised for so long and with your same technique?

*SS,61.

It's not at all possible! [angry and almost dramatic tone]

*SG,62.

But why isn't it possible?

*SS,63.

Carving is very difficult!

*SG,64.

Of course! I fully agree! But while it was difficult at first for me to draw a lagimu well — remember in 1974, especially the top part — now I know how to do it. So I think it would be the same if I wanted to carve a lagimu. I could do the same thing, that is, practise, so that at the end I could carve a beautiful lagimu ...

*SS,65.

Bah! Could be! Maybe! [his tone has reached a peak of irritation]

*SG,66.

And if that's so, then it means that it isn't true that if someone doesn't respect the ...

*SS,67.

.. the taboos ...

*SG,68.

he can't become a carver. Even if I ate the intestines of the wild pig and fish, but worked day after day, practised, this means I could become a carver ...

*SS,69.

So this is what you think?

*SG,70.

Yes, this is what I think.

*SS,71.

This is what you think, but we have to take our customs into account, the Kitawa traditions. And according to the traditions of Kitawa these are the taboos to respect. Because we, listen hard, if we respect the taboos can carve lagimu, tabuya and cut out a canoe. Those who eat forbidden food ... not one could carve a lagimu, not one could cut out a canoe for the kula.

*SG,72.

And your [to Tonori] personal opinion about this?

*ST,73.

It's the same (it is exactly so)!

*SG,74.

Well, it's the same for you too.

*ST,75.

Whoever has continued eating forbidden food does not know the work of the tabuya and lagimu, he doesn't know it, and that's that! We two tell you that those who eat forbidden food, ordinary people, know how to cut the ribs of the canoe, and when they come with us (carvers) into the forest, they cut the wood for the ribs of the canoe, they only know how to do this. And if all the ordinary men come with us into the forest, they only help to cut the wood that the shape of lagimu will come out of, they cut the bulk of the wood but they can't, because they don't know how to model the shape itself, they really don't know how to do it, and this is because they have all eaten the forbidden foods. But we two don't eat forbidden food, so that when we go to the forest to cut the wood together with the others, we can cut out a rough form, and then shape it. Actually, we model the wood, we get a real, true lagimu shape out of it ...

*SG,76.

... What did you say?

*ST,77.

Shape, model.

*SS,78.

That's exactly it: it's the shape, the form of the lagimu without its designs...

*ST,79.

... and the wood left over, the biggest chips, we leave in the forest. (we cut out the rough form, the shape of the lagimu is trimmed in the forest). Then we continue working the shape of the wood so that it gets thinner all the time, so that the thickness of the wood diminishes, so that we can take it away with us. Then we come to the village and a little at a time, bit by bit, we continue working it. And as we respect the taboos, we don't eat the intestines of animals, or the soft internal parts of their heads. These are taboos. But if we ate intestines and the interior, soft parts of animals' heads, then we wouldn't be able to work, to carve!

*SG,80.

It's very difficult to follow you in this field; I don't agree but I respect your ideas. That's all right, it must be how you say ...

*SS,81.

It's exactly that way [triumphant tone].

*SG,82.

Now then ... Tonori, what does "taboo" mean for your?

*ST,83.

What does "taboo" mean? [he laughs nervously, amazed by the question]

*SS,84.

I've finished with this question, I'm not saying any more!

*SG,85.

Don't take [to Tonori] any notice ... he's lying!

*ST,86.

Who, him? (he himself).

*SS,87.

The fact is that now I've said everything I thought. Now it's Tonori who must speak.

*ST,88.

Ah! My head is confused!

*SG,89.

Don't tell lies! [Tonori laughs]

*ST,90.

It's because they ordered me to respect these taboos that I can now carve lagimu and tabuya, and carve out the design of the cry of the mysterious bird and the design of the carver-hero (Monikiniki). And because they imposed the taboos on me, I don't eat intestines, the internal parts of the heads of animals, and fish tails. Do you know what it means not to eat fish tail? If I ate them, at the moment of carving, my hand would tremble. These are the taboos, this is the meaning of "taboo" that I respect and because of which, as you can see, I can now carve, and because of which my hand is sure, steady, and my mind is sharp, perceptive. If I ate forbidden food, like fish tails and the soft internal parts of animals' heads, then my mind would get confused. This is the meaning of "taboo" and these are the results if they aren't respected.

*SG,91.

Good ... Now, be patient for a moment because we talked about this yesterday as well, with Siyakwakwa. So, this is a lagimu of yours [showing the drawing done by Tonori] and should be the same as the ones Kurina carved. Is that right? Or are there some designs on your lagimu that Kurina never carved?

*ST,92.

In fact some of the designs I introduced, I invented them myself.

*SG,93.

Who introduced, invented them?

*ST,94.

I did.

*SG,95.

And which ones are they?

*ST,96.

All the designs that my head (fantasy, imagination) suggests to me are different.

*SG,97.

However, the design of the carver-hero is the same as Kurina's while this one, and that other one ... [points out some white-coloured scrolls]

*ST,98.

... this one and that other one aren't on Kurina's lagimu. I was the one who carved (introduced) these.

*SG,99.

And is the design of the horrible mouth (duduwa) the same as Kurina's?

*ST,100.

Yes, it's the same as Kurina's (he himself carves the design of the horrible mouth).

*SG,101.

And that design? [points to another scroll]

*ST,102.

Yes, Kurina carves this one too (he does it also).

*SG,103.

Which designs distinguish your lagimu from Kurina's?

*ST,104.

Here ((in this drawing)) I haven't drawn them (leave a light trace, scratch). Here — look — these designs are the same as Kurina's (of him himself). However, now I carve some new designs (now some of my designs are different from some of his). You must realize, in fact, that now I am a master (of carving) (a real carver) and, moreover, gifted stylistically, so that I can introduce new designs.

*SG,105.

But which are the other designs you introduced?

*ST,106.

Which are my designs? I haven't finished drawing them yet. I've only drawn a few and only on one part of the drawing of the lagimu that I've left in my village. I've already coloured the drawings with red and black, but not with white, so the drawing of the lagimu is still without the white, just like this one of Togeruwa's. So the drawing I've done has only been coloured red and black, but I still have to paint the designs white.

*SG,107.

And this design is the ... what's it called? - "susawila", or "papa" (dolphin).

*ST,108.

It's the design of the procession of the sea eagles (susawila), or else the sea martins.

*SG,109.

And is this design also on the lagimu of Kurina?

*ST,110.

Yes, it's on his lagimu too (yes, there is).

*SG,111.

Isn't it different?

*ST,112.

No, it isn't different.

*SG,113.

And is the design of the snake the same?

*ST,114.

Yes, it's exactly the same.

*SG,115.

So this design too is the same as the one on Kurina's lagimu ...

*ST,116.

Yes, it's just the same as the one on Kurina's lagimu.

*SG,117.

But is the lagimu that has remained impressed in your mind after you drank the spring water and tasted the red betel the same as this one that you've drawn?

*ST,118.

You must understand that when I drank the spring water and tasted the red betel, both the lagimu and the style of Kurina impressed themselves on my mind.

*SG,119.

But after you tasted the red betel did you "see" in the true sense of "perceive" an actual object, a lagimu like the one you've drawn... did you actually see it?

*ST,120.

While (Kurina) is carving, or else makes the rough sketch of the designs on the surface of a lagimu or a tabuya, I watch carefully everything he does, both the designs and the technique and style, and try to fix everything in my mind, to memorize it. And while he rests (leaves his work for a short time) I return to my hut and I reproduce, copy, everything that I've "seen" (memorized).

*SG,121.

I admit that it's bit difficult for me to get a clear picture of all this... Now you must tell me if, after you chewed the red betel, you did see or you did not see the image ((in the sense of a vision)) of a lagimu like the one you've drawn. This is because yesterday Siyakwakwa said that the "vision" of the lagimu is seen after the red betel is tasted. Do you agree?

*ST,122.

No, it's not that when I fall asleep, I see the image, the form, of the lagimu. It is already in my mind, it is impressed, before I fall asleep. I carve the lagimu the way it is impressed in my memory!

*SG,123.

And afterwards, day after day, you stayed with Kurina and worked at lagimu on a reduced scale, didn't you?

*ST,124.

No, it wasn't like that. In fact, when I was still a boy he died. After the pounding of the betel nut ((in the mortar)) and my tasting it, some time passed (I was still). Then I practised, you say "to have training" while we use the word "vagakora", at carving a lagimu on a reduced scale. I practised and every time I looked at the lagimu and realized that some designs were carved well and others badly. In fact some time would pass before they were beautiful, correct.

*SG,125.

Now ... according to what Siyakwakwa said, a teacher-initiator tells his pupil, about ...

*ST,126.

... about his technique, his style ...

*SG,127.

... which designs are beautiful, correct, and which are ugly, badly executed ...

*ST,128.

... which are executed well and which badly ...

*SG,129.

... but it was different for you because he died. Who told you... Who counselled you ...?

*ST,130.

... (Who supervised me) ... who counselled me?

*SG,131.

Yes ... Who said something to you while you were carving ... your lagimu on a reduced scale?

*ST,132.

Nobody has ever said anything to me. Every now and then other carvers came, Tokwaisai, for example, and Siyakwakwa (this one here present) they looked and said (they look and say) that I was carving well. But who knows if it was the truth! (we two don't know it). Perhaps they were lying! Who knows if they were telling, and if they are still telling, the truth! They may even be lying!

*SG,133.

Who knows! Perhaps Siyakwakwa was telling the truth, because he is good [with teasing tone]. But Tokwaisai no! He is perfidious and will surely have been lying.

*SS,134.

But you said so yourself yesterday ...

*SG,135.

Yes, that's true. What I said about Tokwaisai is true, but I don't know whether it's also true regarding what Tonori is talking about.

*SS,136.

I already told you yesterday what I think about Tokwaisai (about him). Today Tonori is saying more or less what I told you, he has the same opinion.

*SG,137.

How do you say ...? Ah! When is it possible for you to carve a lagimu different from Kurina's?

*ST,138.

Now.

*SG,139.

Was the lagimu you gave me in 1974 the same as Kurina's?

*ST,140.

[Not having understood the question well] Do you want one?

*SG,141.

No ...

*SS,142.

No, he doesn't want to know this ... years ago (the years that are past) you gave him one of your lagimu (the lagimu that came first to him) ...

*SG,143.

... Yes, I'd like one of your lagimu, but now ...

*ST,144.

Ah! Yes, the lagimu that I gave you ...

*SG,145.

... so, was it the same as Kurina's lagimu?

*ST,146.

Yes, it was the same ...

*SG,147.

And are the lagimu you carve now different from your first lagimu, and Kurina's?

*ST,148.

Yes, today I carve in a slightly different way. It is just so, my lagimu are a bit different. Look at (you know, you must recognize) these designs coloured red and black ...

*S12

*SG,149.

... they're different ...

*ST,150.

Yes, these designs carved on the bottom part of the lagimu are different. I invented them myself (my mind carved them), and they are really different ...

*SG,151.

... And why ... what's happening? I'm sorry ... you continue talking.

*ST,152.

[Going on after being interrupted by Giancarlo who doesn't finish his question] This design and this other one are only carved on his ((Kurina's)) lagimu. None of us at Lalela carves them. This design, on the other hand, resembles a design carved only in Nagega style lagimu, and the sign comes up to there [pointing to Togeruwa's lagimu]. He carves it like this, Sorry! [he has bumped Giancarlo while he points out the design on Togeruwa's lagimu]. It isn't like on Togeruwa's lagimu where the red is put on so that it reaches this point, look, right down here. This is the way Kurina alone carved it, and the design stands from here, and has been shortened. And he has carved it in Nagega style, which is why it doesn't reach down to the bottom.

*SG,153.

So, now, could you carve the two side bands painted red in a different way?

*ST,154.

If I want to carve the two bands lengthening them in a way that they would reach down to the bottom part of the lagimu, as in Togeruwa's case, I can do it. Otherwise I carve them the way they are in Kurina's lagimu (the way Kurina leaves them in their place).

*SG,155.

And why do you now want to interpret the two side bands painted red in a different way?

*ST,156.

Because from time to time I may be attracted by new designs, or by a new way of representing ancient designs. When, in fact, I go around ((by kula)) like, for example, in the Bweiyowa islands, I have the possibility of seeing other designs, so I can copy them when I go home, and carve them on my lagimu. But if I am more attracted to Kurina's different style, I can easily carve a lagimu in his style.

*SG,157.

So ... in Towitara's lagimu the design of the horrible mouth is here [pointing to the middle part of the lagimu, slightly towards the bottom] almost in the middle while in Kurina's lagimu it is ...

*SS,158.

... further down.

*SG,159.

Yes, good ... but where would you want to carve the design of the horrible mouth, or wouldn't you carve it at all?

*ST,160.

When I carve a lifesize lagimu I'll also carve the design of the horrible mouth (duduwa) that can also be beautiful, carved in a correct way. Or else it can be slightly moved to one side, just as I've drawn in on the page.

*SG,161.

In the event that you don't want to carve the two side bands, because you don't like them, can you carve other designs in their place?

*ST,162.

No, I'll carve them the way Kurina does (just like Kurina).

*SG,163.

No ... wait a minute, I want to know if you are free not to carve the two red side bands, and also the bands covered with black colour, because in all the lagimu, both Towitara's and Kurina's, are always in the same place.

*ST,164.

I'll carve the same designs in the same places ...

*SG,165.

... all right ... but if you carve and colour the red bands in this area, here [showing an area of the lagimu different from the one in which the red bands are] and instead of them carve, for example, the design of the eye of the fish, can you do this?

*ST,166.

It wouldn't have a good effect if you move the bands and the places coloured red, and let ... [the sentence is not finished]

*SG,167.

... ah! Then it isn't possible ...

*ST,168.

No, it really isn't possible, only the red colour must be used here ...

*SG,169.

And do you know for what reason the red colour has been put on these designs in particular?

*ST,170.

I've already told you what I know, the time you came to the village of Onumugwa. I only know the names of the designs (these designs) but what they mean I really don't know.

*SG,171.

You know! (you know what you know!).

*ST,172.

All right, I only know the term "red" or "black", but what they mean I really don't know.

*SG,173.

So it isn't possible to ... how do you say "vary", katupeili?

*SS,174.

"Katupeili"!

*SG,175.

... It isn't possible to change, vary ...

*SS,176.

(You say) "You cannot change": "bu ku katupeili" ...

*SG,177.

... You cannot vary, change, the place of the red colour which must stay where it is now (it must be painted in the same place, just as in traditional lagimu).

*ST,178.

Sure, it stays (it will stay) in its place. If it is changed (moved, varied), the effect of the lagimu will be negative, ugly ...

*SG,179.

... it won't be positive, beautiful. And is it possible to change the areas painted black?

*ST,180.

No, it isn't possible to move them (change them).

*SG,181.

And the white? (can it be changed)?

*ST,182.

No, it isn't possible.

*SG,183.

And is it possible for you to vary the design of intelligence, imagination ((doka))?

*ST,184.

No, it isn't possible to vary this design, it must be carved where it is now, because it's used to attach the white shells which beautify the ((lagimu)).

*SG,185.

It's the same function as that of the pale caterpillars (the design of the gigiwani).

*ST,186.

Like that, if I was very capable, expert, and if I manage to understand, comprehend the art and its technique and its process, then in that case everything changes (and a new object is produced). But as for these designs, it isn't possible to vary them, change them; they remain here, in their traditional places.

*SG,187.

And the designs of the sea eagles (susawila) or dolphins (papa): is it possible to vary these?

*ST,188.

If we don't want to carve the procession of the sea eagles, we needn't do so. If instead we want to carve the procession of the sea eagles, it is possible do so. It is possible to change these designs. But it isn't possible to change the red coloured bands, absolutely not.

*SG,189.

What about the design of the cry of the mysterious bird, can you change that one?

*ST,190.

No, it isn't possible to change it. On the left hand ((of the lagimu)) is carved the design of the mysterious bird, but not on the right hand, where I carve a solid design (heavy, a mass).

*SG,191.

And why does Towitara, unlike Kurina, carve the design of the cry of the mysterious bird only on the left?

*ST,192.

Towitara decided to do this, but we don't know what he wanted to express with his craftsmanship. He decided to carve the black design of beauty on one side and on the other side the design of the mysterious bird. Instead, Kurina carved the design ((of the mysterious bird)) both on the right and left of the lagimu, but he carved out the left-hand design. If we look it appears like a sign you can look through, because it's carved out (fretwork). The other design is on the heavy part (on the right) of the lagimu, so is "closed" even if it's form is like that of the design of the cry of the mysterious bird (weku).

*SG,193.

[Tonori laughs] Why are you laughing?

*SS,194.

Now you [to Giancarlo] have "eaten" me! [idiomatic expression]

*SG,195.

How?

*SS,196.

He said ...

*ST,197.

Siyakwakwa is very intelligent and can express his ideas with clarity. I can't express myself very well.

*SG,198.

It's not true, you [to Tonori] know how to express yourself well too.

*SS,199.

Yes, because he is a good carver isn't that so? I'm not, however.

*SG,200.

Don't start joking ... I am a friend of yours, but it's obvious that every now and then you make fun of me.

*SS,201.

Who?

*SG,202.

You two!

*SS,203.

I'm not joking; the fact is that he told you that I'm the only one who can express my ideas with clarity. You must realize, however, that he is "at the top" while I'm nearer "the bottom". His name is "true carver", master-carver, because he has tasted the red betel, while I have only chewed the husk of the red betel nut ...

*SG,204.

... Don't tell lies! If you too have tasted the red betel and drunk the spring water ...

*SS,205.

No, it isn't true!

*SG,206.

Please, my friend ... [the tone becomes teasing]

*SS,207.

... please my friend [Tonori laughs]

*SG,208.

Ah! But go on, ... I, who am a true friend to you ...

*SS,209.

... I am truly your friend! It really isn't possible for me to lie to you. If I had drunk the spring water, I would have said "I've drunk my water". Today ...

*SG,210.

... only spring water? Haven't you tasted red betel?

*SS,211.

No, I've not tasted red betel ...

*SG,212.

What's it called?

*SS,213.

The husk of the betel nut (kuku).

*SG,214.

Sure, the husk of the betel nut. But it doesn't make much difference. Isn't it perhaps the same thing?

*SS,215.

Oh no, it's not at all the same thing! I'm only a canoe-cutter (cutter out of canoes for kula), while he is a real carver. I, listen, need time before I will be able to carve well, but for now, when I carve, I get the designs mixed up between the designs. I can't carve the designs well yet, while he can. If he wants to carve well, he can, but I can't.

*SG,216.

Could be!

*SS,217.

It really is so!

*SG,218.

Now ... according to you [to Tonori] the fact that Towitara carves the black design of beauty (kwaisaruvi) and the design of the morning bird (rekoreko or siyakwakwa) on the same area of the lagimu (on the right), is correct, or not?

*ST,219.

It's correct.

*SG,220.

And would you want to carve them in the same way as his and in the same place?

*ST,221.

Yes, I'd like to (it is my desire), and if he should carve a lagimu on a reduced scale, I'll try to carve them the same as Towitara's. In fact the designs of beauty and the morning bird go very well together, they harmonize (they fulfil the aim).

*SG,222.

And why would you carve the design of the morning bird and the black design of beauty precisely on the right part of the canoe? If this is the canoe, for example [Giancarlo makes a sketch of a canoe] and you look at ... how do you say? ...

*ST,223.

... its stem?

*SS,224.

Or else its eye?

*SG,225.

No, we have not understood each other. If this is the canoe and you look at it standing in front of it, you can see that it leans to ...

*ST,226.

[Continuing his line of thought and search for the right word] ... its face/expression?

*SS,227.

... I understand -- to the left!

*SG,228.

... to the left. Now, I want to know if, taking into account the list of the canoe, which makes the hull lean to the left while it rises on the outrigger side ...

*SS,229.

... on the side of the black design of beauty ...

*SG,230.

... which lagimu is more correct, Towitara's or Kurina's -- taking into account the position of the outrigger. What do you think?

*ST,231.

It is correct for the black design of beauty to be carved on the outrigger side, the way it is also correct for the design of the cry of the mysterious bird which is on the right not to be fretted. All that is visually heavy, like, for example, the design of beauty that is carved on the space on the right of the lagimu, so that it appears to weigh it down ...

*SG,232.

... and if this is the reason, then why would you like to carve the black design of beauty? ...

*ST,233.

... on the left ...

*SG,234.

... on the left. According to you, if you carve this design on the left too, will the effect be positive or negative?

*ST,235.

Negative!

*SG,236.

And for what reason is it negative?

*ST,237.

Not "bi gula".

*SG,238.

What? What does "bi gula" mean? Do you want to draw ...

*ST,239.

How can I explain the meaning of "bi gula"? [Tonori laughs]

*SG,240.

Why are you laughing? Perhaps I know that it means ...

*SS,241.

No, you don't know!

*SG,242.

Then I'd like to know what it means ...

*ST,243.

You say, "bougwa i gula" ...

*SG,244.

So?

*ST,245.

It's like "bougwa i kurega".

*SG,246.

"Bougwa i kurega"? And what does it mean?

*ST,247.

Don't you know?

*SG,248.

No, I really can't manage to understand ... why don't you explain it to me with a drawing?

*SS,249.

So you really don't know the meaning of "i gula"?

*SG,250.

No, I really don't know.

*SS,251.

So you don't know ...

*SG,252.

I've told you that I don't know what "i gula" means!

*SS,253.

Who must answer the question? Tonori or I?

*SG,254.

You decide ... I don't know the word.

*ST,255.

I only know the expression "bougwa i gula", but I can't explain what it means. Siyakwakwa can explain it well, better.

*SS,256.

If they say ((the carvers)) "The lagimu is not balanced in relation to the canoe", it means it hasn't been carved in the correct way. If, instead, they say "It is balanced", then it means it has been carved in the correct way. The meaning of "balance" has been established in the past by the old carvers, (what it means that a lagimu is balanced in relation to the canoe was established in the past). The meaning of "balance" was established in the past by the old carvers, yes, that's right. So if we say, "It isn't balanced" it is because in the past the old carvers didn't carve a lagimu that was unbalanced in relation to the axis of the canoe. And if we say that "it is not balanced" it's because judgement is based on what the old carvers, who never carved a lagimu which was "unbalanced" in relation to the canoe, established in the past.

*SG,257.

So the basic reason is that the old carvers established this rule on balance, so that it isn't possible for you to vary the designs which guarantee the visual balance of the canoe.

*SS,258.

That's exactly it!

*ST,259.

That's the way the old carvers carved ...

*SS,260.

... and we say, "It's balanced" because the old carvers carved lagimu respecting the rule. But if we say, "It isn't balanced", it is because the old carvers didn't carve lagimu which were unbalanced in relation to the axis of the canoe. That is exactly how it is. That is the meaning that the old carvers give to the sentence, "It is balanced" and "It isn't balanced". The old carvers carved in this way ((respecting the principle of balance)), which is the reason why today we say "It is balanced" ...

*ST,261.

"It is balanced" according to the customs of the past!

*SS,262.

Or, "It isn't balanced" because the old carvers didn't carve a incorrect lagimu. That is the meaning of "i gula".

*SG,263.

Good, now I know what "i gula" means!

*SS,264.

At last, my friend, you know the meaning of the word the way I explained it to you!

*ST,265.

He can express himself very well, I don't. I sense the meanings of words but I don't know how to explain them. I know the language in general but I don't know the shades of meaning (I only know the big language but not the little language).

*SG,266.

Perhaps that's so.

*ST,267.

That's exactly so!

*SS,268.

Perhaps he's making it all up! [teasing tone]

*SG,269.

He doesn't do that.

*ST,270.

Because I'm still a boy, aren't I? [in a tone asking for protection and at the same time slightly teasing towards Siyakwakwa]

*SG,271.

Who knows! At any rate, now Siyakwakwa is becoming aggressive, sarcastic, nasty ...

*SS,272.

Who?

*SG,273.

You, yes, you! You are really sarcastic ...

*SS,274.

Ah! Fine. Then today you can speak [to Tonori], I don't want too, I don't feel like it! [angry tone]

*ST,275.

You'll help me, won't you?

*SS,276.

No, that's enough, I'm not saying any more, and now I'm going to have some red betel ...

*SG,277.

No. Don't be like that, come on, Siyakwakwa [teasing tone, while Tonori laughs softly]

*ST,278.

So "It is balanced", and it is for this reason that in the past the design of the cry of the mysterious bird was carved on the left side of the lagimu. While on the right the black design of beauty was carved, as in the case of Towitara. While Kurina only carved the design of the mysterious bird, and carved it out on the left part of the lagimu, while on the right he didn't carve any design the same as the black design of beauty.

*SG,279.

But if then, for you, it isn't possible to carve the black design of beauty on the left?

*ST,280.

Carve it on the left? No, it's not possible.

*SG,281.

So why, on Kurina's lagimu, is it carved both on the left and on the...

*ST,282.

... on the right ...

*SG,283.

...that's it — the design on the right is exactly the same as the one on the ...

*ST,284.

... on the left.

*SG,285.

But if this is the hull of the canoe and that is its outrigger, [pointing to the sketch] all the weight ((including the "visual effect")) is moved to the left and the whole does not seem to be even "visually" balanced. But if you, like Kurina carve the design of the cry of the mysterious bird on the left, the imbalance increases, and the whole seems even more unbalanced towards the left. Have I made myself clear?

*SS,286.

Yes, you are clear!

*ST,287.

If ...

*SG,288.

While in Towitara's case the visual balance is established, respected, because the design of the cry of the mysterious bird is on the ...

*ST,289.

... on the left ...

*SG,290.

... while in Kurina's lagimu the same design is on both the right and left
...

*ST,291.

... maybe, but it's not possible, it really isn't possible ...

*SG,292.

... and yet it seems that in Kurina's lagimu the design of the cry of the mysterious bird is carved on the right and the left. Where's the difference? It seems to me that on the right there is, as well, only the snake that makes the shape of the canoe heavier.

*ST,293.

Yes, the snake is only carved on the right, unlike Towitara's lagimu where on the same part there's the design of the morning bird. But in Kurina's lagimu, the wing of the butterfly on the left is smaller, while the snake has been carved on the right.

*SG,294.

But from what, then, can it be understood that one design should be carved on ... ((seeing that they are both the same))

*ST,295.

... on the right ...

*SG,296.

... and the other on ...

*ST,297.

... on the left ...

*SG,298.

... because for me it's very difficult to distinguish the difference between the two designs.

*ST,299.

((It is understood)) From the smaller wing on the butterfly which is on the left.

*SG,300.

Which is the wing of the butterfly?

*ST,301.

This is the wing of the butterfly! [pointing to the protruding part on the left]

*SG,302.

But this, too, is a butterfly wing! [pointing to the protruding part on the right]

*ST,303.

Yes, this is a butterfly wing too. But the bigger wing is on the right. (on the outrigger side).

*SG,304.

Good! Now, if there are "two" lagimu ... [the word "two" is said in English, so Siyakwakwa corrects:]

*SS,305.

... kaiyu lagimu ...

*SG,306.

... if, for example, we have a lagimu of Towitara's and one of Kurina's, in the first lagimu the right part is easily distinguishable from the left part because there are two different designs carved: on the left the design of the cry of the mysterious bird, on the right the black design of beauty. In Kurina's lagimu, the two parts are not very easily distinguishable, perhaps the protruding part on the right is slightly bigger, but it isn't very clearly distinguishable, even if there is the ...

*ST,307.

... the snake ...

*SG,308.

... the snake on the right which is also slightly different compared with the one on the left.

*ST,309.

But the left side of the lagimu can be distinguished by this, look! (is distinguishable because it goes with the stern-tabuya) [indicating the one protruding on the left]

*SG,310.

What's it called?

*ST,311.

Poop-lagimu. In the poop-lagimu I carve out the design of the cry of the mysterious bird on the left side. If I look at it, its shape can be clearly seen. But if I take the prow-lagimu, then the design of the cry of the mysterious bird is carved on this other part, while the black design of beauty ends up on the opposite side, it is carved here [points to the place]. Actually, the design seems reversed if one looks at the two lagimu, stern and bow, from the same observation point in perspective. But in fact, taking the structure of the canoe into account, the weku is always on the left and the kwaisaruvi on the right of the person observing.

*SG,312.

So we can consider the design of the cry of the mysterious bird, carved on the right, as not exactly the same as the one on the left?

*ST,313.

Yes, in fact the design of the cry of the mysterious bird carved on the right is on the side that looks heavier.

*SG,314.

So this one here (the weku on the right) doesn't get ... how do you say? I don't remember the verb ...!

*SS,315.

... carve ...ah! fret! (in the sense of cut right through, pierced, open carving)!

*SG,316.

Ah! So, the design of the cry of the mysterious bird on the right isn't fretted; now I understand.

*ST,317.

That's right, it doesn't get fretted.

*SS,318.

Now that I remember (forget)! I'd decided not to tell you anything else, because you told me not to say any more — I refuse to do it today, so you'll have to manage by yourselves (you must reach the goal with your own

knowledge of the language).

*SG,319.

Today he really is unbearable! [To Tonori] Can you change the position of the colours? For example, putting the red where the white goes, and the white where the black goes, and so on?

*ST,320.

It isn't possible. If you change the position of the colours, painting the black where the red goes and the red where the black goes, the effect will be wrong, ugly.

*SG,321.

And do you know why?

*ST,322.

It's in the past that it was decided not to change the position of the colours, and from that time on the red has been painted on the largest surfaces, and the black on the smallest ones. It was decided to do it that way.

*SG,323.

Good. If you want to use completely different colours, for example, yellow or brown, can you?

*ST,324.

It isn't possible. X24

*SG,325.

And if I colour the spaces that are red now with, for example, yellow, what will the new colour be called? ((the place coloured with the new colour)).

*ST,326.

But if I paint these spaces yellow, the effect will be very bad. And if the people see something similar, they say, "he knows nothing about carving, he isn't a good carver". It's like saying that he's an ordinary man, a non-carver.

*SG,327.

And can you tell me for what reason only three colours are used on the lagimu: white, red and black.

*ST,328.

The old carvers have used them from the past. They have always used black, white and red, and only those three colours. It is not allowed to use either one or two colours, it really isn't possible.

*SG,329.

And would you use just one colour to colour all the designs? Or would you like to colour just some designs, leaving the others plain?

*ST,330.

Just some designs? But if I only use white, for example, to colour designs, the effect will not be positive, beautiful. Or if the white predominates over the red and black, the result won't be positive. In this case the image of the lagimu will be really ugly. But if white, red and black are all used, then we'll have a beautiful object.

*SG,331.

So if the three colours are used in the right proportions the effect is good. (if one uses a surface with a little black and a little red).

*ST,332.

If the white covers a moderate (not big) surface, the effect is beautiful, but if the white covers a surface that is too large, then the effect will be bad. The same for the black, which produces a bad effect if it covers a surface that is too great. But if we keeps to the right sizes between the surfaces covered in white, red or black, then we can look at a fine lagimu.

*SG,333.

I understand. [looking in a questioning way at Siyakwakwa as if inviting him to speak]

*SS,334.

I must listen only to the questions that he is asking you [to Tonori] which I could answer. But as I don't want to speak now, I'm keeping quiet. [the tone is still angry]

*ST,335.

But I'm tired!

*SS,336.

You talk, the two of you!

*ST,337.

His silence certainly doesn't help you [Giancarlo] to understand! I could tell you new (other) things another time. But when he gets over it (when he has finished sulking) and you, coming back again, ask questions, you could think that I've lied to you. I only know well what you have heard. If ...

*SG,338.

But I never said you say things that aren't true!

*SS,339.

That is not possible (that we should tell you things that aren't true)!

*ST,340.

All that I know ...

*SG,341.

... [to Siyakwakwa] you are lying!

*ST,342.

All that I know, understand, I say. If I don't know something, I don't say it, I don't speak. Because if I spoke about things I don't know, I would say things that are wrong. What I know well myself, I tell you. But the things I don't know well, I don't invent.

*SG,343.

Yes, that is true.

*SS,344.

You have spoken well! The fact is that often I have butted in because your questions didn't get the right answers from him [Tonori], in the sense that there wasn't agreement between your questions and his replies. So that I often had to explain Tonori's answers to your questions from my own knowledge.

*ST,345.

I don't know the answer to this question, and for others like it time will have to pass before you can know my ideas about them. I still don't know the "true" language.

*SS,346.

As you told me I'm a liar, I won't speak any mor [resentful tone]!

*ST,347.

But I'm still practising, aren't I? (But I cannot answer certain questions, because I still consider myself an apprentice in carving, isn't that so?).

*SG,348.

Today he's really overbearing, impossible ... You [Siyakwakwa] are really aggressive [Tonori laughs, amused, and the atmosphere lightens].

*SS,349.

You [Giancarlo] are the one who is aggressive! Go on, keep asking questions.

*SG,350.

Just a minute ... This is the expression/face of the lagimu; can you [Tonori] remember if it remained implanted after you had tasted the red betel or else after you had drunk the cold water? Is the question clear?

*ST,351.

It's correct; the fact is that I don't know the subject very well, or the answer. If he ((Kurina)) had told me, now I'd know [Giancarlo put on a discouraged expression]

*SS,352.

He asked you if when, as a child, you tasted the red betel the designs implanted themselves, as it were, on your mind, in your memory, or not?

*ST,353.

While I was growing up, bit by bit, the image of the lagimu, of the tabuya and of the canoe started to develop in my memory, as did all the other designs. And these images came to the surface of my mind gradually when I was still a boy and tasted the red betel, the spring water, and waited. Then I started to practise, I used to go around observing ((nature)), I gathered coconuts ((as models for the kwaisaruvi)), I carved them on the lagimu, on the right, while on the left I carved the design of the cry of the mysterious bird (the figure with the holes).

*SS,354.

Do you know the meaning of this word?

*SG,355.

Yes, I think I know.

*SS,356.

It means "starts to appear", "emerges in my mind", now you know what it means...

*SG,357.

Now I am starting to understand what it means -- it isn't really a dream.

*SS,358.

No, it isn't a dream, it's not like dreaming, seeing or "being in his head", but it's a real, true "fixing in one's mind"... The correct term is "fix in one's mind".

*SG,359.

Good. Is it possible for you, as for Siyakwakwa, to draw the designs first on the wood, with a pencil for example (with something that leaves a mark), and then to carve them?

*SS,360.

Wait for me to ask him in a way that he can answer, tell you what you want to know. I'll ask the question in such a way that what you have in mind will be clearer. Is it possible for you [Tonori] to give shape to the lagimu tracing the designs first, using a pen for example, and once you've finished tracing them, to carve them using a sculptor's mallet, so penetrating ((the wood)) and obtaining real, true carved designs, or not?

*ST,361.

No, it isn't possible.

*SS,362.

It's forbidden!

*SG,363.

And do you know why it's forbidden to draw the designs before carving them? [an embarrassed silence, Tonori laughs, a little tired and nervous]

*ST,364.

It's not possible to trace the designs first on the wood and when they're finished, carve them using mallet and chisel and then, after that, finish them off. The designs must be fixed in one's mind (all the work must be controlled, possessed in the mind) so that the design of the cry of the mysterious bird, and the carver-hero, must be fixed in my mind. They must be carved directly on the wood using the mallet and chisel, You don't trace the design first and then carve it. Definitely not.

*SS,365.

At last! Good! But he asked you, and he wants to know: why don't you draw first and then carve? What does this mean, why is it? Is it perhaps a prohibition, a taboo? Or what?

*ST,366.

Who knows! I think that it's forbidden to draw the designs, it must be a taboo to observe.

*SS,367.

But what does this taboo mean? ((That's what he wants to know)).

*SG,368.

If I'm your teacher and see that you are ... How do you say?

*SS,369.

Drawing, tracing the designs ...

*SG,370.

... tracing the designs, I rebuke you and say you mustn't do it, is this what happens? And do you know what this means?

*ST,371.

If my teacher was here? If he sees that I'm tracing the designs on the wood and tells me that I must use (confirm what is impressed in my mind) a mallet to carve with — it isn't possible to draw, trace the design first, he would say to me, "Why are you doing this?". No, it really isn't possible, it's prohibited!

Cassette C

*SG,1.

Now I'd like to know your opinion ... Did I say it right?

*SS,2.

((You say,)) "Mi nanamsa" ((and not)) "mu nanamsa"!

*SG,3.

Your opinion about what you told me ...

*SS,4.

... ((You say)), "Said to me" ...

*SG,5.

... what you said to me about the snake/shape of the lagimu. In fact, while in Towitara's lagimu it's possible to outline clearly the snake/shape of certain designs, like the cry of the mysterious bird and the black design of beauty, in Tonori's lagimu it is more difficult, because the two designs resemble each other. Now I'd like to know, if a good carver like Tonori, who is very skilled in carving the surface of a lagimu, wanted to introduce new designs, would the snake/shape of the lagimu be modified? You answer first, Tonori, and then you, Siyakwakwa.

*ST,6.

What's he talking about?

*SG,7.

Listen to me, you are a good carver and also you know how to invent new designs, above all because you give far more attention to the face/expression of the lagimu than to its snake/shape, so that the latter is less important for you than the former. Is that right? Have I been clear? [Tonori is embarrassed]

*SS,8.

He asked you, about the designs carved in your lagimu, if some are different compared with those carved by the old carvers. He also wants to know whether, if you should carve a certain number of new designs, seeing that you can do this because you are a good, a true, carver, the snake/shape of the lagimu would be modified. And if this should happen, and once all these designs were coloured, would the effect produced by the "new" lagimu be beautiful, or not? That is what he asked you, and you

should answer.

*ST,9.

If I carved designs that were different compared with traditional ones, and then colour them, the expression/face of the lagimu would still be beautiful, correct; the lagimu would not be ugly.

*SG,10.

Is this what you think?

*ST,11.

Sure! This is exactly what I think, and if I carved (made, worked) new designs on the lagimu, when I coloured them it would still look beautiful. It wouldn't be an ugly lagimu.

*SG,12.

And what do you think, Siyakwakwa?

*SS,13.

((What do you expect me to think?)) As he is a true carver, what he has said may be taken as true.

*SG,14.

I agree, but I'd like to know what you think about it yourself.

*SS,15.

Do you want to know what I think about the art and technique of carving especially when new designs are introduced, or when traditional designs and colours are altered? If the design of the cry of the mysterious bird is altered, or another completely different one is put in its place, when it is coloured, the effect of the entire lagimu will be without question ugly, incorrect. The same thing applies to the black design of beauty and the two lateral bands which are now coloured red. If, instead, he introduces new designs in the area of the lagimu which is painted white, the new designs are acceptable, because the combination of colours on the lagimu does not vary. What is essential is that the design of the cry of the mysterious bird (weku) is carved and cut out in the usual space ((just as it is equally important that the other basic designs should be respected)). It doesn't matter if new designs are carved in the area coloured white, because the effect of the lagimu will be good, beautiful, and its shape will be just as correct.

*SG,16.

You have told me that the black design of beauty (kwaisaruvi) must always be carved on the right side of the lagimu, so as to balance the appearance of the whole canoe when the lagimu is inserted into it. And this is because, being black and completely solid, the design seems to weigh down and produces a sense of balance. Here if this design is not carved according to custom the impression of balance in the canoe as a whole will be missing, as in the case of the lagimu which Tonori gave me two years ago. I'd like to know if you agree with me on this point.

*SS,17.

I agree! That's exactly it! In fact, if he cuts the two parts that stick out (the two butterfly wings) equally, it won't be very easy to tell the right side from the left side, even when the designs have been coloured. Isn't that the way it is? Because it is also true that if I cuts the part that sticks out on the right, that is, the part that goes towards the outrigger of the canoe, larger compared with the left, the lagimu will still make the canoe appear to lie evenly, according to the rules laid down by the old carvers which are still followed. So that if Tonori wants to carve, introduce, a new design, he can do so providing he follows the old rules of what is square and level. His new idea, in this case, is accepted, even if it could be judged not really "correct" (positive) on the basis of the old rules. This is what I think.

*SG,18.

And what do you think, Tonori.

*ST,19.

That's exactly right! In fact if I bring in a new design which is not in keeping with the meaning, for example, of the design of the cry of the mysterious bird or of beauty, or else of the two red side bands, or of the black designs, or of the snake outline itself of the canoe, in this case the effect it will produce will be quite wrong. This will be because the old carvers established rules (guide-lines) which are shown by the designs of the cry of the mysterious bird (weku), of beauty (kwaisaruvi), by red and black. And I follow those rules, those guide-lines. But it is also true that I can find a design that does not matter much (all the designs that are coloured white) even if it has not been carved in the past. So that if I can think of a new unimportant design, I may carve it in place of the usual one. The colour effect of the lagimu won't be altered because of this, as long as the new design is kept to the white designs, even if they

have never been carved before by the old carvers. But I must be sure to keep to the design coloured red and black.

*SG,20.

All this is fine. But if this, for example, is the canoe [Giancarlo draws a canoe] and that is its outrigger, we have said that once the canoe is in the water it raises itself up on the right, so that in order to make it seem level the heavy designs, like the black design of beauty, are carved on the right side of the lagimu. In fact, this design, especially when it is coloured black, appears to weigh down and restore the line of the canoe, which becomes parallel again with the line of the sea (water-line). This is not achieved if one of your [to Tonori] lagimu is inserted in the canoe, as the design of the cry of the mysterious bird is carved both on the right and on the left, the canoe "seems" to lean even more to the left. Is that right? Is the problem clear? [Embarrassed silence] Siyakwakwa, do you want to speak?

*SS,21.

I have already answered, and I have said everything I had to say.

*SG,22.

But couldn't you [to Siyakwakwa] explain this problem to him? Couldn't you ask the same question, but in a clearer way?

*SS,23.

Ah! Have I got to ask him this question? [The tone underlines his importance in the conversation]

*SG,24.

Yes. Make it clearer.

*SS,25.

Giancarlo asked you if the black design of beauty (kwaisaruvi) is carved in the part of the lagimu which goes towards the outrigger to make the right side of the canoe seem heavier. In fact, he says that while the design of the cry of the mysterious bird (weku) is a "light" design, being empty and not coloured black, the black design of beauty is a "heavy" design. Look here! [points to Giancarlo's drawing] In fact, if I am on the beach and watch a canoe sailing toward us, I can see that it leans to the left. Now Giancarlo says that owing to the effect of the black design of beauty, which weighs the whole canoe down to the right, it seems to be level again, because on the left of the lagimu is the cry of the

mysterious bird which is a design he regards as "light", and contrast with the "heavy" design carved on the right. So that, still according to him, he says if a "heavy" design isn't carved on the right ((of the lagimu)), like the kwaisaruvi, the canoe does not seem to lie even in the water. That,, according to him, is the reason why we carve the design of beauty on the right side of the lagimu. This is wat he thinks and now he wants to know what you think of his idea. He wants to know, also, why you carve the design of the cry of the mysterious bird both on the right and left side of the lagimu, not following, therefore, the rule (principle) of harmony (balance). Now you should answer.

*ST,26.

So, I must explain the reason why I carve on my lagimu two designs which are equal amongst themselves, that is, two designs of the cry of the mysterious bird, unlike Towitara who carves two different designs, on the right the black design of beauty, on the left the design of the cry of the mysterious bird. The reason is that I copied my ancestor's designs in my lagimu. But the design of the cry of the mysterious bird which I carve on the left is fretted, while the same design is carved solid when it is on the right. So that the two designs are not altogether the same, as people think. But it is also true that we carvers of Lalela do not carve a "heavy" design on right side of the lagimu, the way the carvers of Kumwageiya do. It must be remembered, then, that the difference between the design carved on the right and the one on the left comes from the fact that the first is solid while the second is fretted. Also, the part that sticks out on the right of the lagimu is much bigger compared with the part that sticks out on the left.

*SG,27.

I agree, however, you must explain to me why Towitara, or his teacher (his uncle) felt the need to make a sharp distinction between the right and left areas of the lagimu, carving the black design of beauty on the part which goes towards the outrigger.

*ST,28.

Do you want to know why the black design of beauty (kwaisaruvi) is carved in the part of the lagimu which goes towards the outrigger?

*SG,29.

Yes. In fact, if you think that in order to tell the right-hand part of the lagimu from its left-hand part it is enough to carve out the design carved in it, for what reason, then, did Towitara feel the need to bring in a new

design on the right, and, what is more, one coloured black?

*ST,30.

I really don't know ... [embarrassed] ... I don't know how to express myself well ... I don't know the language thoroughly, and then I can't express myself in a way that makes sense... I'm feeling tired, confused.

*SG,31.

Don't worry ... you only need to tell me what you think, your opinion. It doesn't seem so difficult to me. Don't worry. In fact for me it's important to know what you think because I want to check my notes (what I've written in my notebook), and see if I've understood properly, if we agree. Why isn't a design like the cry of the mysterious bird carved at Lalela the way it is at Kumwageiya? It's important to know why, to understand Towitara's ideas too. Do you agree with Towitara's explanation that the design of the cry of the mysterious bird is used to make the canoe seem more level? [Tonori is totally embarrassed, almost depressed]

*SS,32.

I'll explain what he thinks. When the canoe sails the outrigger rises on the right while the hull "fishes", sinks, in the water, so he is saying that the black design of beauty is carved in the part of the lagimu that goes towards the outrigger, that is, in the part that juts out, to make this area seem heavier, so that the outrigger seems to be weighed down whole canoe seems to lie more evenly (seems more stable). This is what he thinks (this is his interpretation).

*ST,33.

[To Giancarlo] Do you think that it is really the way it is? Is that what you think?

*SG,34.

Yes.

*ST,35.

But the black design of beauty (kwaisaruvi) carved on the right of the lagimu isn't a "heavy" design (is not used to make it heavier). You think that it is a "heavy" design, but I don't think it is (it isn't used to make the canoe heavier on the right). It is only a design invented, introduced, by Towitara (the old man) when he arrived [from Vakuta]. So that now the black design of beauty is carved on the larger part that sticks out of the lagimu and the design of the cry of the mysterious bird (weku) on the

smaller part that sticks out. But that is not why the part of the lagimu which goes towards the outrigger seems heavier and the left side lighter. No, not at all. In fact, once we are in the canoe and it is sailing along, the hull still leans to the left. And as soon as we disembark, the canoe rocks a bit and then finds its own level, settles itself, but still leaning a bit to the left. So that it doesn't seem to me that the black design of beauty makes the hull heavy, but it is only a design invented, introduced by the old man when he arrived at Kitawa and it was suggested to the old carvers who later carved it on the top part of the lagimu. But it is also true that the old carvers had already established that the bit of the lagimu that sticks out went to the right, turned towards the outrigger, and the smaller part on the left, so that the level appearance had already been achieved. So it's not that the black design (kwaisaruvi) introduced by Towitara makes it heavier, it's not that you need it to make it seem to lie more evenly. It should only be seen as an idea of his that came to him later ((an ulterior visual stratagem)).

*SG,36.

And why don't you carve the black design of beauty seeing that it has also been accepted by the old carvers (that you keep talking about)?

*ST,37.

Because my ancestor Kurina did not carve it. If he had carved the black design of beauty (kwaisaruvi) on the right side of the lagimu, I would have done the same. But he didn't do it, but he preferred to carve two designs which were the same. However, the one on the left is fretted, while the right-hand one is solid, so that I copy the designs of my ancestor who acted differently from Towitara who introduced the black design of beauty. Towitara and the other carvers of Kumwageiya differ from us in that the black design of beauty occupies a bigger area compared with our design which, though being carved in the same space, is smaller and with less black in it. However, you must remember that the design we carve on the right isn't fretted like it is on the left.

*SG,38.

And you, Siyakwakwa, what do you think?

*SS,39.

I think the same as he does. We don't know who Towitara's teacher was ... perhaps he was from Vakuta, yes, I think he was from Vakuta ... and he must have taught him to carve the black design of beauty (kwaisaruvi) on the right side of the lagimu. And the reason why Tonori doesn't carve the same

design on the right is because his ancestor Kurina didn't use to carve it and he acts in the same way. And all the carvers of Lalela act in the same way. They carve the part that sticks out on the right bigger than the part that sticks out on the left. And they do this because they know that the bigger part balances the smaller part, the left of the lagimu, serves to make the whole canoe heavier. So that it doesn't matter that the cry of the mysterious bird (weku) carved on the right is small, not very noticeable. That is what I think, the way I look at it.

*SG,40.

In essence, then, my idea that the design of the cry of the mysterious bird (weku) has been carved on the right to improve the balance of the canoe more, could be correct?

*SS,41.

Yes, it could be correct.

*SG,42.

According to you [Tonori] why have the lagimu and tabuya been put in canoes?

*ST,43.

But I've already told you that while I was still a boy my ancestor died and did not have time to tell me everything I ought to know, and as he died when I was still a young boy, I don't know exactly what he thought about it. According to me, the lagimu represents the face of the canoe, and together with the tabuya serves to fix the broadside, so that the whole structure of the canoe is strengthened. If we didn't use the lagimu and tabuya, we wouldn't know where and how to fix the broadside of the canoe. The same applies if only the lagimu was used, because it would fall. But if we fix the tabuya too, it reinforces the whole thing and we can fix the other pieces of the canoe, and the whole thing becomes stronger, more resistant.

*SG,44.

What you are saying is fine, is correct, but perhaps you don't know what the designs carved on the lagimu mean (they hide within themselves). For example, according to me, "weku" is meant to be ...

*SS,45.

... the mouth of the mysterious bird ...

*SG,46.

... yes, while doka and the procession of gigiwani (the pale caterpillars) represent idea, intelligence, and for this reason they are placed inside the "head" of the man, the hero. In fact, Towitara told me so, as he also told me that it is very important for a tokabitamu to know how to carve the design of intelligence, imagination (doka) — while "weku" could mean both the voice of the mysterious bird, and one of its eyes. And this is because you yourselves have told me it is impossible to see this bird in the forest, but you can hear its almost-human cry. The "kwaisaruvi", on the other hand, could stand for an eye, because it is like the black design of beauty that the girls paint around their eyes with the black smoke of the coconut. The "duduwa" could be the design "bulukalakala" which the men paint on their chins and round their mouths, so could stand for a mouth. The "karawa", on the other hand, represents the body, the torso of the figure. The "beba", the two parts that stick out of the lagimu, stand for the right and left of the body, its arms. The "kaikikila" is its legs. While the "tabuya" stands for the nose of this face, which is moved to the lagimu. So the lagimu and the tabuya symbolize the face and body of a man. What do you think, Siyakwakwa?

*SS,47.

That's right! That's exactly right! You have explained it really well, and I can tell you that I think the same!

*SG,48.

And what does the "weku" stand for for you? The mouth, or else an eye?

*SS,49.

A man's mouth. A man's mouth, yes, it actually stands for the mouth of a man!

*SG,50.

If the weku is the mouth of a man, is it correct, then, to interpret the kwaisaruvi as the design of an eye?

*SS,51.

No, I think that the pakeke (or kwaisaruvi) stands for the ears of a man.

*SG,52.

Why is that?

*SS,53.

Because you must realize that the kwaisaruvi is like the burnt husk of the coconut, and it really looks like an ear [indicating the design in Giancarlo's drawing]. It is also placed leaning backwards (it gives the effect of being moved towards the back) and really looks like a man's ear. According to me, it means, stands for, this.

*SG,54.

And the duduwa?

*SS,55.

According to me, the duduwa represents a man's eye. But this is just an opinion of mine!

*SG,56.

And why is that?

*SS,57.

... Why could the duduwa be an eye? You must realize that eyes are actually shown by this design. In fact, when a man makes his eyes up for a dance, he makes little white dots like those of the duduwa right round the eye [miming the act of putting make up on an eye]. While the black is painted all round the eye, making a fish-shaped mark, and then right round that lots of little white dots are made, like this, right here [continuing to mime a man making himself up] so that the make-up seems just like a duduwa. The black mark is spotted with white, all round, like this [repeating gesture]. Yes, I'm sure that the duduwa stands for an eye.

*SG,58.

And could the karawa stand for the body, the trunk, of a man?

*SS,59.

Yes, the karawa, the fern, actually stands for the trunk of a man, look! [indicating his own torso]

*SG,60.

And the doka with the gigiwani?

*SS,61.

The doka and the gigiwani are the head of a man, that's it. Is there enough red? Is that all right? [referring to the drawing which Giancarlo is finishing with colours during the conversation]

*SG,62.

So you agree that ...

*SS,63.

... that the procession of the pale caterpillars are the head of a man?
Yes, I do.

*SG,64.

Tonori, you speak now [Tonori is worried, he laughs nervously, awkwardly]
But, you mustn't worry. You must only tell me what you think, in fact,
each of us has different ideas about what we're talking about. Perhaps the
way I look at it is different from yours or Siyakwakwa's.

*ST,65.

I ... please, I don't know what we're talking about ...

*SG,66.

... but you mustn't get upset! You must just tell me what you think, just
like Siyakwakwa and I. And this is to see if what I've written is just an
explanation of mine, or not...

*ST,67.

I think it's exactly as Siyakwakwa has said. This design (this one here)
is, how do you say? Ah! the design of the sea martin and we think that it
stands for the hair of a man. The old carvers carved it this way, and I
think that it stands for hair. This is what I think. In fact, these
designs of the sea martin (meikela) were intended to be the hair of a man
and I think this is true. Ah! I meant to say the sea eagles (susawila)
because probably you don't know the term meikela, so they are the designs
of the sea eagles, yes, sea eagles.

*SG,68.

I know what meikela means, because I've already written it in my notebook,
I know the meaning of the term, of ...

*ST,69.

... of my word ...

*SG,70.

... therefore the design meikela has the same value as the design
susawila, they are the same thing ...

*ST,71.

... yes, this design is meant to be the hair of a man. While the wings of the butterfly (the two parts of the lagimu that stick out) where the kwaisaruvi and the weku are carved, stand for his ears, the ears of a man.

*SG,72.

Ah! For you they stand for the ears of a man, don't they?

*ST,73.

Yes, the ears, these designs stand for the ears, their meaning isn't different. This is what I think. I'm not lying. This is what I think, and I'm not lying. All that I know, I tell you, and what I don't know I will not tell you.

*SG,74.

Good! But if the lagimu and tabuya stand for the face of a man, it is very difficult for an ordinary inhabitant of Kitawa, who isn't a carver, and often even for carvers, to recognize a "face" in these two things. In fact, it would have been difficult for me too, if Towitara hadn't told me, and especially if he hadn't explained the meaning of the signs carved in the lagimu and tabuya. Why does a carver, to represent the face of a man, use these designs, which few people are able to explain? Essentially the lagimu and tabuya are "as if they were a face" but they aren't a real face...

*SS,75.

Yes, it's true that it's a make believe, a pretence, it isn't really the face of a man, but it's only "as if it were". The lagimu is carved as if it were the face of a man, but it isn't, it isn't a real face, it isn't recognizable, as in the case of a sculpture. However, what the lagimu means to represent is the face of a man and his body, look! [indicating Giancarlo's drawing which has developed the designs of the lagimu into an image of a man-monster] You understand, in fact, that the design susawila stand for his hair; the doka and gigiwani is meant to be his intelligence, mind, head; the duduwa his eye; the weku stands for his mouth, voice, cry -- even if it's the mouth of a bird, we still think it is meant to be the mouth/voice of a man; the kwaisaruvi the ears of a man; the karawa is as it were the trunk/chest of a man, look! Here! [indicating the drawing and his own torso] Then ... what? Ah! The kaikikila stands for the legs of a man, when he walks on the ground or the floor of a hut, yes, the kaikikila are like the legs of a man. This is what the lagimu "seems". But it isn't a

real man, we don't look on the lagimu as a real man, but as a hunch of him; it's a supposition (utobobuta)...

*SG,76.

... what did you say?

*SS,77.

... the meaning of the word is this: if I say, for example, "Aku [It is a missionary-boat] will arrive tomorrow" and I just say that, "Tomorrow Aku will arrive", my statement may or may not be true, and if tomorrow Aku actually arrives, it means I have told the truth. I have therefore said that I supposed; in fact, I haven't seen Aku arrive, nor have I certain news of his arrival. So that I have only "supposed", and my hunch must be confirmed by reality. So that when I say, "Tomorrow Aku will set sail", if Aku really sets sail it means that my hunch is true. But it could happen that Aku doesn't set sail. The word utobobuta means exactly this. It's like "perhaps". It's like "suppose", "perhaps". And what I suppose may be true or false. So that the lagimu "might" be, represent, the face of a man, as it might just be an "explanation" of him, the "make believe" of a face. In fact, if you go to any inhabitant of Kitawa and ask him, "Is the lagimu like the face of a man?" nobody will be able to answer, because they don't know. Nobody will be able to answer you. Only Towitara was able to tell you, and it's the truth. But he is a great carver, a true master-carver. This is what I think.

*SG,78.

And you, Tonori, what do you think?

*ST,79.

((Siyakwakwa)) has told the truth. Because the old carvers of the past did not make mistakes, and probably one of them, after finishing the carving of a lagimu, must have looked at it and decided that it was meant to be the face of a man. In fact, the face-lagimu looks just like the face of a man. And if the lagimu isn't there, the canoe isn't complete, it's like a body without a head. In fact, when I fix the lagimu in the canoe this really seems to be its face. You must understand that when the canoe sails at great speed, or is rowed, the lagimu seen from a distance looks like an animated face, it looks like its face. Yes, if the lagimu isn't there, the canoe really seems to be a body without a head.

When people look at the canoe, they rejoice if the lagimu is beautiful, as they rejoice at a beautiful face. And the fact that the lagimu represents

the face of the canoe was not learnt by the old carvers from the present generation, not at all; they decided it themselves. When I've finished carving a lagimu and put it in the canoe, I give it the last touch of colour, and it really looks like the face of the canoe. That's truly so!

*SG,80.

And for what reason did the old carvers want to give the canoe a face? And why the face of a man in particular, or could it also have been the face of a woman?

*SS,81.

Of a man! [emphatically]

*SG,82.

Why is that?

*SS,83.

Because the old people saw the lagimu as if it were the face of a man, even if this is only a make believe. They thought that the lagimu could be the face of the canoe and so they carved it as if it was the face of a man who is made up for the dances, or some other festivity, with black and white colours, so that when people see him making up, they exclaim, "Ah! He is painting another face on his face!" and in the same way a carver makes up, colours, the lagimu with white, red and black, as if it were truly the face of a man who is making himself up. And looking at the lagimu, he exclaims, "It really looks like the face of a man". It is the face of a man who is making himself up. So that the lagimu is thought of as if it were the face of a canoe, which in its turn is seen as if it were the face of a man. But it's all a "simulation", which is expressed in the words, "It is as if it were the face of a man".

*SG,84.

But could the lagimu and the tabuya stand for the face of a woman?

*SS,85.

It could be ... it could be either the face of a man or a woman!

*SG,86.

And how could it be the face of a woman, seeing that it is forbidden for a woman to get into a canoe?

*SS,87.

Yes, it's true that it's forbidden for her to get into a canoe, it's taboo. But as you said, suggested, that it could be the face of a woman then I, too, say that it could be so. However, the people, the old carvers, have never said, stated, that the lagimu is the face of a woman. They only said that it stands for the face of a man, so that for us also it stands for the face of a man. In fact, women are taboo. When, for example, the canoes set sail, women are not involved, but stay on land. And for this reason they have never said that the lagimu stands for a woman. In fact, it is the man who constructs the canoe, it is he who sets sail, and this is another reason for which the lagimu stands for the face of a man. You must understand, also, that it is the man who knows the canoe "from the inside", when it sails, when it sets sail, or when it is rowed. And this is another reason why it is said that it stands for the face of a man. No, it really isn't right to say that the lagimu is the face of a woman. It is really the face of a man.

Nowau Text

Cassette A

*SS,2.

Avei kumila?

*SS,4.

Bougwa ku reka? Bougwa ku vitoka tulosila biga mkosina katupoi ni nukwai[^] mu. Gera, desi, yeigu ba nukwa, ké? Gera, biga mkona wara, yoka kaiga mu sitana, kaina i taboda mtona, ee yeigu ba li(vala)/livala, bi reka ee igau bi mapu. I katupoie[^] mu, ee biga, avei tuta nu[^] ku kauri buwa, mimilisi buwa ni sekai[^] mu, bougwa ku kauri? Ee bougwa ku mapu, mu teitu, avei teitu mimilisi buwa ni sekai[^] mu, bougwa ku kauri buwa ee bougwa ku mapu. Kaina bougwa ku nukoli kaina gera. Ee tuveira, aveira ni sekai[^] mu, nu[^] ku kauri? Kaina kada mu, kaina nubai[^] mu, kaina tama mu? Ee, igau, bougwa ku mapu, bougwa ku nukwa: aveira ni sekai[^] mu buwa nu[^] ku kauri?

*ST,5.

Tabu gu ni sekai[^] gu, buwa na kauri.

*ST,7.

Kurina.

*SS,8.

Tuveira ni katupoie[^] mu: mtona bougwa tokabitamu bougwa, kaina?

*ST,9.

(To)kabitamu bougwa.

*SS,10.

La dala? ... kala kumila ... kala kumila aveira? Ee amafyaga ra? Ku livala! Gera mwau mkona. Kulabuta!

*ST,12.

Kulabuta, kabata.

*ST,14.

Gera a nukoli. A doka ...

*ST,16.

Makara mtona.

*ST,18.

Seiki!

*SS,19.

Aveira? Gera! A doka makara tuelve, Kaina?

*SS,21.

Bouna.

*ST,22.

Kama taiyu wara. I mili buwa, i sekai^ gu, a kaui, o veru.

*SS,24.

I mili ...

*ST,26.

I megei, igau, i sekai^ gu, na kaui, I mili, i megei, i sekai^ gu.

*ST,28.

Gera!

*ST,30.

Gera i sekai^ gu.

*ST,32.

Seiki! Peira yeigu gwadi yeigu. Ee a sisu ee igau tutana bi sekai^ gu, gera, i kariga, seiki! Igau, tutana ba nukoli, ba sekai^ mu.

*SS,34.

Beisa tuta i katupoie^ mu: kidamwa natu mu, kaina kada mu, bi kabitamu/sa kaina gera? Yoka peira gera ku nukoli megwa. Ee mtosinaga bi kataraki/sa kaina gera?

*ST,35.

Gera bi kataraki/sa.

*ST,37.

I megei, (i) sekai^ gu, a mumu.

*SS,39.

Avaka ni kougwa, ni sekai^ mu buwa kaina sopi?

*ST,41.

I megei, i sekai^ gu, gera ... bi megei o teiga gu ba reka makara, peira gera samwa nano gu ... yeigu ...

*SS,43.

Bougwa i titora nano mu!

*SS,45.

Kaina yoka sitana ni moumwau. Ni katupoie^ mu: avei tuta ni vitoura, i mili buwa, ni sekai^ mu, bougwa ku kaui buwa, kaina sopi ee nu^ ku masisi, avaka ni kougwa, ku mimi kaina ku kina? Kaina ku mimi kaina ku kina?

*SS,47.

Peira ni sekai^ mu buwa, nu^ ku kaui ee makaraga kataraki, ni simatili nano mu, sitana makara ku mimi, kaina? Makara ku kina ginigini ...

*ST,48.

Gera a mi(mi)/mimi, ni sekai^ gu sopi, bougwa ...

*SS,49.

Gera bu^ ku katuwayai! Ku sisu! Mamanu mu! Ku livala!

*ST,50.

Bougwa i sekai^ gu, sopi a mumu, a sisu wara, ba ma(sisi)/masisi bogi/bogi beisa salouta nano gu avaka avaka, gera a mimi ...

*SS,52.

Gera bu^ ku tamatama! Ku livala! Peira bi kawa kaiga mu.

*SS,53.

Yoka ...

*ST,54.

Gera mwau, bouna (i) gagabila, peira yeigu gera ba nu(koli)/nukoli, biga magamaga. Kwaiveka biga a nu(koli)/nukoli, kwaivira biga gera a nu(koli)/nukoli.

*ST,56.

Gera a mimi, gera avaka. Bougwa a masisi, nano gu i sa(louta)/salouta. Kidamwa ba vagi kwaitara kaina ginigini, lagimu, tabuya, beisa bougwa i si(matili)/simatili nano gu.

*ST,58.

Na kauri buwa?

*ST,60.

I mili, i sekai^ gu, gera ta nu(koli)/nukoli yakidasa makaisina ...

*SS,61.

Gera! Ni sekai^ mu buwa, ku kauri ee yoka ku ki(na)/kina lagimu kouya tabuya?

*ST,62.

Beisa bougwa na kauri ee ni wouwai^/si tomumwoya ((tomumwoya)) lagimu, tabuya, bougwa ba ki(na)/kina wara, beisa a ma bougwa a takayesa wara.

*ST,64.

Bougwa ba ki(na)/kina, ba wa, ba ki(na)/kina bi gini/sa kara gigiwani, kara mwata, kara meikela ... Ee malaka, vau ee beisa bougwa na ki(na)/kina. Na ma beisa, bougwa i boda ba vagi makara, wara. Ba takayesa wara ba gini ...

*SS,66.

Biga Lalela!

*SS,68.

Gera, biga bougwa bouna, peira gora mtona gera bi nukoli monita, peira yoka nu^ ku livala. Ni katupoie^ mu, yoka bougwa ku ki(na)/kina kara kaivau, malaka, koura kwaisaruvi, kaina pupwakau, kaina ginigini wara. Ginigini bougwa ku nukoli ginigini pupwakau, makara makaisina. Pupwakau ba^ ta mwala. Ginigini ni doka, ee makara kwaisaruvi, bougwa ku nukoli pelalamina gera ba^ ta tapwala, kara kwaisaruvi makara. Ee weku bougwa nu^ ku nu(koli)/nukoli, ee ni doka kara mwata ee beisa ni vakeituya wara teiga ra lagimu makara yaga ra ni doka kara mwata, ee migira lagimu makamwa makara, ká! Bougwa ku kina makara ba^ ta gini bi ra o tanawa, bi vakeitu teiga ra ne^i ra o nakaiwa; yaga ra kara mwata ee beisaga tapwara lagimu bi ra o kaikikila beisa migira lagimu bi doka makara. Ee i katupoie^ mu, bougwa bu^ ku nukoli makara ba^ ta gini peira mi(ra) Kumwageiya i gini/sa karawa, yakidasa bougwa makara manasina kara gigiwani makara. Ee ne^i ra o kaikikila bougwa ku nu(koli)/nukoli makara, ee migira bi katupoie^ mu, bu^ ku nanamsa makara. Ee ra mwata o nakaiwa makara weku, doka, kwaisaruvi, tokwalu, ee makara. Kaina bougwa i katupoie^ mu bougwa ku kina kaina gera?

*SS,70.

Gera mwau! Yokamu, ku mumu sopi, ku kaui buwa makara sitana, bougwa monita kataraki monita, tokabitamu bougwa. Yeigu geraki. Peira biga mtona ra biga i livala ura nanamsa bi sakelu lagimu, tabuya. Seina nanakwa a ma(pu)/mapu, ké? Ku livala mkosina biga!

*ST,71.

Migira averuŷya? Ni sekai^ya makaisina lagimu ...

*SS,72.

Ni doka migira bougwa manasina duduwa ne[^]i ra o tanawa ...

*ST,73.

... kara mwata, beba, susawila ...

*SS,74.

Makai[^]yamaga mwata, beba, ne[^]i ra susawila, tokwalu, gigiwani, doka, kwaisaruvi, weku, Beisa yaga ra ra mwata ni doka. Ee makara mwata ni doka mkosina. Ee igau bi katupoi[^] mu, bu[^] ku nanamsa "Makara!".

*ST,75.

Gera watara ba nu(koli)/nukoli biga.

*ST,78.

Bougwa i taboda nano gu!

*SS,79.

Bougwa ku gini lagimu!

*SS,81.

Ae! Ae! Yeigu bougwa!

*ST,83.

Seina sima ...

*ST,85.

Yeigu gera monita a nukoli. Bougwa a livala biga gera a nukoli ...
kwaiveka avaka mkona a nukoli ... mkosina katupoi gera a nukoli ...

*ST,87.

Beisa tuta!

*SS,88.

Avei gwadi?

*SS,90.

I nukwai[^] mu, i kaibiga biga gera i nukoli monita ...

*SS,92.

Kokoveka wara biga i nukoli, kwekena gera i nukoli.

*SS,94.

Tokabitamu ... makara yoka tokabitamu.

*SS,96.

Yeigu gera!

*SS,98.

(To)kabitamu yeigu gera. Buwa bougwa i seka, peira gera i katukila kununa, yeyuna, sineu, kokona, buwa kokona

*STO,99.

Yeigu kidamwa ba kasisu kama taiyu, peira tokekita yeigu ee bi yusa bobouma, kununa, yeyuna, mtaga beisa na ma, toiya tama gu i sekai[^]gu/sa, a kamu, gera nano gu, igau gwadi yeigu.

*SS,100.

Yeigu gera a ki/madagi, makara madagi, beisa bougwa wara kara utobobuta manasina manu ...

*SS,102.

A takeiwa bagula. Komwedona boda. Ee bougwa bi kosi, gera makara ... kwaivasi, gera ... takeiwa ... taivasi ... yeigu Nabwai, Daramwesi ... peira Tonori i sura, bougwa bi waiwa, ba[^] ka waiwa beisa yoka o mu bwara, peira gugwadi gera, mtosina seina tuvi teiga/si gudiresi. Lalekeiwa gera i nukoli/sa peira Tonori ee yeigu gera ba dabumi!

*SS,104.

Bougwa i nukwa ... nova, nova kwayai ni nukwai[^] gu, i kaibiga "boghiu bi ma", a ra wa ra bwara, i kaibiga "Boghiu bi ma", oo! Kaina yoka sitana bouna peira seina magamaga buki bougwa nu[^] ku kapetu, ee i katupoi "Yoka ambeisa bu[^] ku ra?" Ká! "Yeigu bougwa ba bagula, gera ba ma!" "Aa! Bu[^] ku ma, bu[^]

ku sisu kagu!" "Gera!" Nageira yokamui[^]ya (to)kabitamu bougwa, bougwa nu[^]
ku vagi/sa kami tice yeigu. Aa! monita nubai[^] gu! Yeigu gera (to)kabitamu
monita, peira biga. Gera makara a vagakora, yeigu gera (to)kabitamu monita
makara mtona Tonori ... Tokwaisai, (to)kabitamu monita.

*SS,106.

Peira biga gera i nukoli ... Ee yeigu makara, kidanwa ba gini lagimu,
tabuya, gera bouna, bi gaga, ba livala sitana bouna, ba giniga gera bouna,
peira gera (to)kabitamu monita.

*SS,108.

Gera igau! Bougwa makara ba sisu, ba sigagai. Igau bu[^] ku kimadagi, ee
bateri bi yameda.

*ST,110.

I boda, kedá?

*SS,112.

Oo! Tonori (to)kabitamu bougwa!

*SS,114.

I kokora beisa tomota, mtona. I kaibiga nano ra bougwa i sisu bi gini, bi
vagi, bi gini, bougwa i boda. Ee kara kokoraga beisa tomota peira bi
katudada/sa mwada bi gigira/sa.

*SS,116.

Yeigu a vagi bougwa kaboma igau tokekita yeigu, ee i gigirai[^]gu/sa
tomumwoya, namumwoya ((namumwoya)). I ra, a lakubeli kaitara keou,
kaikokita wara, kara mwareita menana Toweiyei kara koura mwareita menana
ni kaibiga "Aa! Desi wara, ku sisu/sa, bi vagi/vagi". A lakubeli kaitara
keou a gini pusa, a varutu pawa i doka. I gigira/sa "Yoka desi, ku lewa",
ee a peka, a lewa, ee a lakubeli kaiyuwaura ura keou ee a gini, bougwa
sitana, a varutu na gini, gera a da(bumi)/dabumi beisa tomota bi
katudada/si, a ne(i)/nei wara peira (to)kabitamu.

*SS,117.a.

A doka i sopa/sopa mtona! Yeigu bouna!

*SS,119.

Monita bougwa ku nukoli.

*SS,121.

Gera bougwa makara, mtosina tokabitamu ...

*SS,123.

Ku gini! Bu^ ku venoki, bi katupoie^ mu mkosina nu^ ku gini ...

*SS,126.

Nukulabuta!

*SS,128.

Nukubai, Nukwasisiga, tomalasi ... tonukulabuta, tonukubai,
tonukwasisiga, bouna ...

*SS,130.

Kainaga! Oo! Igau! Malaka bi wa bu^ ku penita aa! Bougwa makara a vagi
bougwa ...

*SS,131.

Bougwa!

*ST,133.

Ba kina makaya, (i) sa (louta)/salouta nano gu, i boda wara ba gini,
yaga/si manu gera a nukoli monita, natara a nu(koli)/nukoli, mimilisina
gera a nukoli ...

*ST,135.

Bougwa ba kina wara, ee ba gini wara kara kaivau, kara kaimalaka, pupwakau
...

*ST,137.

Avaka avei tuta?

*ST0,138.

Ee igau ba livala. Avei tuta ni sekai^mu/si buwa nu^ ku kaui, nu^ ku venoki o nano mu wara, bougwa i nukwai^ mu kaina ku kina kwaitara lagimu o daba mu i sisu, kaina gera?

*SS,139.

Kaina ku ruruwai ...

*ST,140.

Beisa a sileula, a gini wara makaisina gai, kena. A gini wara ee ba kina mtosina tomumwoya ee bi gini lagimu, tabuya. Ee beisa a ki (na)/kina wara, i salouta nano gu, beisa ba vagi kaitara lagimu. Beisa bi boda ba gini.

*SS,141.

Bi salouta, watara bougwa ku nukoli biga kaina gera? Ee makara "i ruruwai", ee "i salouta" "i ruruwai". Avei tuta bi kina lagimu o kadewo, bi kina o lagimu, b i kinawa ((kinawa)) o kadewo, bougwa i kinawa o kadewo i gini, makara bougwa i sisu o daba ra. Avei tuta bi ma o veru, bi sisu kaina makaina lagimu o kadewo bougwa ni kina, bougwa ni sisu o daba ra. Avei tuta bi kinawa kaitara, kaivasi, bi paisewa ee bougwa makara "i kina", kaina makara "bougwa i ruruwai". Ee bi gini bougwa makara.

*ST,143.

Bougwa ba kina, bi kinawa, ba ma gora ba gini, bougwa i boda.

*SS,145.

Gera!

*SS,146.

Uu! ... Bougwa nu^ ku kina, ku ma, bu^ ku paisewa, ku tai kaitara kaikekita lagimu, tabuya? Ká! Makaisina makara kara kwarakuna ...

*ST,147.

Kaikekena ... kaikekita ...

*ST,149.

Kwaivira tuta ba gini kaikekita ee ba ki(na)/kina i kosi, a kaui, a sera,
i gabu ...

*SS,150.

I katupoie[^] mu yamuyamu ((yamu/yamu)) ku pa(isewa)/paisewa, kaina
kwaitara tuta, kwaitara tuta?

*ST,151.

Kwaitara tuta, kwaitara tuta ...

*ST,153.

Mtona ni visulekai[^] gu? Gera i kina, bougwa i kariga, igau na
pa(isewa)/paisewa, beisa tuta.

*ST,155.

Aveira i ma, i kina, i kosi, oo! Bougwa ni nu(koli)/nukoli. Lalela,
Lalekeiwa. Na gini lagimu, kaikekena, tabuya, i livala/sa "Oo! Seina
bouna!"

*ST,157.

I livala/sa? ...

*SS,158.

Bougwa i mai[^]/sa, i kina/sa, makaya bouna, makaya gagana ((gagana)).
Aveira watara i nukwai[^] mu makara?

*ST,159.

Gera!

*ST,161.

Tetorai[^]gu wara ura ginigini. Ee tomota mimilisi kaina i kina/sa gagana,
gera bi nukwai[^]gu/sa.

*ST,163.

Ituwali si katota, amafiyaga ra? ... Si ginigini, malaka ...

*ST,165.

Kurina

*SS,167.

Makaisina ni gini i sisu kaina gera? Bougwa i gimwara/sa, i kosi.

*ST,168.

Bougwa i gimwara/sa, i kosi. Kaitara na wouya makara, makaina na wouya na sekai^ mu.

*ST,170.

Ee makara. Bougwa i kau mtona kara koura Modayowa, gera i mai^ya ((maya)), i kiperu, i ra, i gimwara beisa Tonugana. I seka mira Iwa, i ra/sa, i gimwara/sa ...

*SS,171.

Ee bougwa i gimwara/sa, i kosi ee ra ginigini mtona kara tovisuleka.

*ST,173.

Makara mu lagimu makaina na gini, na sekai^ mu? Makara Kurina makaina na gini.

*SS,174.

Bougwa ni katupoie^ mu peira wara yoka nu^ ku gini mu lagimu makara wara tabu mu ni gini makaisina, ee bu^ ku livala yoka "makara wara!"

*ST,176.

Makara wara ... ni gini tetorara ((tetorara)), makara na ma, a gini.

*ST,178.

Monita!

*ST,180.

I gagabila wara ituwali. Kidamwa bi gini ee yeigu ba ma, ba gini ituwali, ituwali wara.

*ST,182.

Igau, bu^ ku katuvisi ... bu^ ku wouya ...

*SS,183.

Gera ... aveira ra ginigini i boda bu^ ku takayesa?

*ST,184.

I boda kidamwa ...

*SS,186.

Takayesa ...

*SS,188.

Ee kidamwa mtona bougwa i kaibiga, ká! Kawa mu "yoka i boda bu^ ku takayesa", bi ta/nukwa mtona, ee kidamwaga taitara ((taitara)) bougwa i siwa, bu^ ku livalaga "Ké! Mtona i boda bi takayesa?" Kaina yoka bu^ ku kaibiga "Yeigu i boda ba takayesa", ee mtona bu^ ku nukwa kawa mu "Ké! Ee i boda bu^ ku takayesa?" Ee makara biga mkona.

*ST,190.

Kidamwa aveira ra ginigini ba kina ra kai, beisa ba ma, ba takayesa wara ...

*ST,192.

Gera ...

*SS,193.

Avei tuta bu^ ku kina mtona tomwoya ((tomwoya)) ra ginigini Kumwageiya, ee bu^ ku kina, bu^ ku ma, bu^ ku takayesa makaina ni vagi koveka ((koveka)) o luvi ... weku, pelai^tala ((pelai^tara)) kwaisaruvi, pelai^tala weku ...

*ST,194.

Kidamwa ba ra, ba ma, i boda ba takayesa.

*ST,196.

Weku ...

*ST,198.

Weku, bougwa makara.

*ST,200.

Kedá! I taboda yeigu nano gu! Mimilisi i pwalala, mimilisi i taboda ...

*SS,202.

I kaibiga, avaka peira tomwoya Kumwageiya ra lagimu pelai^tala weku ee pelayuwai^laga ((pelayuwai^laga)) i gini kara kwaisaruvi? Ee yokamuga tabu mu ra ginigini pelayuwai^la weku wara, kwaisaruviga gera. Avaka peira? I katupoie^ mu. Bougwa i boda bu^ ku mapu kaina gera? Gera, ba mapu yeigu. Tokabitamu/sa mtosina taitara ituwali ra manu ee taitara ituwali. Gera i gagabila taiyu tokabitamu/sa monita bi takayesa sora ra manu gera gagabila sora tokabitamu monita bi takayesa sora ra manu. Gera. Ee kidamwa mtosina kavasaki, kaina makara igau bi vagakora/sa, ee magi ra bi takayesa mtona tokabitamu bougwa ra manu, ee mtosinaga taiyu monita tokabitamu/sa ituwali ra manu taitara ituwali, ra manu taitara makara. Ee ku kina, mtona tomwoya Kumwageiya i gini weku, kwaisaruvi ee mtonaga tabu ra mtona, kara tovisuleka, i gini pelayuwai^la weku, ee peira magi si tomota bi kina/sa aveira bi yakaura/sa, beisa. Ku nukoli, makara i livala/sa aveira bi kougwa aveira bi kougwa, ee makara si nanamsa tokabitamu monita.

*SS,204.

Sineu ...

*SS,206.

Peira bobouma.

*ST,208.

Gera bobouma ...

*ST,210.

bobouma peira (to)kataraki, sineu, bulukwa, gera ba^ ta kamu, sineu, kununa, gera ba^ ta kamu. Peira bobouma.

*SS,212.

Tuveira? "O luvi" bi livala "tuveira?".

*SS,214.

Tuveira avaka bobouma?

*ST,216.

Beisa na nukoli: sineu ina, bulukwa ee kununa ina. Ee beisa na nukoli, ni nukwai^ gu. Ee makamwa avaka, avaka, yeyuna, kaina avaka, gera i nukwai^ gu.

*ST,218.

Ba kamu igau bi taboda daba gu. Gera ba gini lagimu bi bouna.

*SS,220.

Ava ginigini ...

*SS,222.

Bu^ ku takayesa?

*SS,223.

Ava ginigini ku doka bu^ ku takayesa? a

*ST,224.

Beisa mkosina ginigini ba kina, ba ma, ba vagi wara, gera kwaitara ((kwaitara)) ginigini ba kina, ba ma, ba takayesa kwaitaraga ba peka, gera. Mkosina aveira ra kataraki, aveira ra kataraki ba kina, beisa ba kina, beisa ba ma, ba takayesa. Gera, kidamwa gera magi gu ...

*SS,226.

Bu^ ku takayesa!

*ST,227.

Ee, migireu ba takayesa ginigini.

*SS,228.

I gagabila ...

*ST,229.

I gagabila ba takayesa ...

*SS,231.

Bu^ ku takayesa ...

*ST,233.

Ee ba takayesa makaisina, malaka, vau.

*ST,235.

Ba takayesa!

*ST,237.

I gagabila.

*SS,239.

Kidamwa magi mu, tutana ...

*ST,241.

Kaitara ((kaitara)) bi wouya ituwali, ee makara Kumwageiya ee makara Tokwaisai, aveira? Nabwai, malaka, vau bi ma. Ee kidamwa tetorara bi ma, bi bobwa, bi tupwa, bi sewa, o nakaiwa.

*ST,243.

Ba takayesa ...

*ST,245.

Mtosina ba takayesa wara, tokwalu.

*ST,247.

Meikela, beisa meikela, ba takayesa wara.

*ST,249.

Ba kina, ba ma, bougwa ba takayesa. I gagabila wara.

*SS,250.

Mkosina komwedona bougwa ku gini ku venoki. Bi livala yoka mu paisewa tema wara. Mwada makara yakemai[^]sa ((yakemai[^]/sa)) peira mimilisina, mimilisi gera ...

*SS,252.

Ava ginigini ...

*ST,254.

I sisu mwata wa beba mapelasina ((mapelasina)). Pelai[^]tala i sisu mwata, pelayuwai[^]la i sisu mwata.

*ST,256.

I gagabila ba takayesa.

*ST,258.

Gera bi bouna degadega ba tamwala!

*ST,260.

Kara kaipwakau bougwa pwakau ba tagabu. Amafiyaga ((amai[^]yaga)) ra? Kidakokola beisa ba tamwala bi madagi. Malaka, kidamwa gilagila penita, i boda. Vau walata, avaka tuveira dimudimu si vavagi, bateri, beisa ba tamwala, bi bouna. Yello, penita dimudimu gera bi bouna.

*ST,262.

Makaisina ba[^] ta vagi, vau gera bi bouna. Ba[^] ta sera malaka, gera bi kwama.

*ST,264.

Gera makamwà, gera boubwau ...

*ST,266.

Seiki! Tomota avaka si nanamsa. Kidamwa taitara magi ra bi mwala, oo!
Desi! Bi vagi. Tomunwoyaga, tobwabougwa, gera i gagabila bi vagi/sa makara
degadega ee dedamata. Beisa bougwa walata bi kwali/sa, bi mai^/sa, bi
vagi/sa vau.

*ST,268

Tomota si lagimu peira si waga? Kidamwa bi kovi/sa, bi tagwara/sa, magisi
yeigu bi mai^ya/sa, oo! I gagabila ba vagi.

*SS,270.

Kwaivira ...

*SS,272.

Lagimu yoka nu^ ku paisewa, nu^ ku gini?

*ST,273.

Beisa tuta?

*ST,275.

Gera "taitara" i sekai^ gu, "kaitara" ((kaitara)) lagimu. Gera, tabuya
kaitara wara ...

*ST,277.

Damuramwara, Lalekeiwa.

*SS,279.

Avei tuta bu^ ku kamu ina sineu?

*ST,281.

Igau. Kaina ba tomwoya, makara mtona kaina makara mtona, ee ba kamu. Igau
bi sekai^ gu aveira ra lagimu, ra tabuya, kaina ra waga ee ba tai, ba gini
ee igau ba kamu sineu.

*SS,283.

Kwaitara tuta. Beisa tuta wa paka wara na kamu sineu, wosi, paka.

*SS,285.

E bougwa na kamu sineu ...

*SS,287.

Sineu ...

*SS,289.

Ununu?

*SS,291.

Makara yeigu wara gera magi gu!

*SS,293.

Aa! Gera bi kosi tabu, tabu bi sisu!

*SS,295.

Kidamwa taitara magi ra gera bi kamu, ra tabu bi sisu wara. Ee kidamwa taitara magi ra bi kamu, bougwa bi kosi ra tabu bi kamu. Gera tubukona ba^ ta nanamsa, kaina gera teitu, gera. Tokarai^waga tetorara, tokarai^waga.

*SS,297.

Tabu monita! Avei tuta lagimu ba ta/gini kaina waga ba ta/tai tabuya ba ta gini ee tabu bougwa bi kosi. Ee ba ta/kamu. Kidamwaga lagimu gera ta/gini, kidamwa waga gera ta/tai, beisa tabu bi sisu. Gera (i) gagabila ba ta/kamu, peira gera ta/paisewa.

*SS,299.

Bi kosi ...

*SS,301.

Bi sisu ...

*SS,303.

Mtona, makara ...

*SS,305.

Kidamwa yoka naboya bu^ ku paisewa ra lagimu mtona, ee i bodaga sineu bulukwa bu^ ku kamu kaina gera?

*ST,306.

Gera, igau ba paisewa bougwa i kosi lagimu, tabuya, ee igau ba kamu sineu. Peira bougwa a nukoli.

*SS,307.

Komwedona ra paisewa waga ...

*ST,308.

Paisewa, avaka, avaka. Ba nu(koli)/nukoli bi kosi, bougwa i si(matili)/simatili nano gu, bi kosi, ba kamu sineu.

*SS,310.

Lagimu ...

*SS,312.

Peira gera (to)kabitamu monita yeigu, waga wara i boda. Peira i peka, a kina, waga na tai ne^i kosi, ee na kamu.

*SS,314.

Uu! Gera ituwali.

*ST,315.

Ee gera ituwali, beisa tabu kwaitara wara. (To)kataraki tutana, (to)kataraki kwaiveka ((kwaiveka)), tabu sineu gera ba ta/kamu.

*SS,317.

Bougwa makara!

*SS,319.

Gera!

*SS,321.

Kada mu.

*SS,323.

Gera veyo mu ...

*SS,325.

Mkona ku gagabila katupoi ni nukwai^ mu! *192

*ST,326.

Beisa veyo gu wara ba seka megwa. Kidamwa mtona tomwoya, kidamwa bi sisu, igau, beisa tuta, ba toveka bi sekai^ gu. Ee i kariga, ba sisu, veyo gu ba sekai^ gu Ee igau, bi kariga, ba sisu, veyo gu ba seka, dala gu, tonukulabuta ba seka.

*SS,328.

Tomakava ((tomakava)), tomakava, i gagabila bu^ ku seka megwa kaina gera?

*ST,329.

Gera i gagabila.

*ST,331.

Veyo gu wara ba seka, ku nukoli ... kaina natu gu, kidamwa ba kariga, igau bi kitikeli bi ra o nukogwa.

*SS,333.

Nukulabuta.

*ST,335.

Ba sekai^ mu!

*ST,337.

Gera!

*SS,339.

Nukulabuta wara ee dala ituwali, i gagabila bu[^] ku seka kaina gera?

*ST,340.

Gera, dala yeigu wara ba seka. Gera ituwali dala ba seka, gera. Tonukulabuta dala ituwali, gera ba seka. Beisa tonukulabuta dala yeigu ba seka.

*ST,342.

Kabata.

*SS,343.

Nuba gu, pilisi, seinu mwau i kougwa peira (to)kataraki neitibi!

*SS,345.

Peira ku nukoli waura i tabu/sa gera ituwali dala ba ta/seka. Seinu mwau! Peira (to)kataraki makara yoka nu[^] ku paisewa, ku paisewa ee bu[^] ku ra, mapu mu bi sekai[^]mu/sa. Ee (to)kataraki makara. Kidamwa dala ituwali gera bi seka, peira mtona ra dala tabu ra, kaina kada ra, ee igau avei tuta bi paisewa gwadi mtona, ee tomota si waga kaina si lagimu, tomota ee bi katubaya/sa karu, buwa, kaina bulukwa, ina ee bi mai[^]ya/sa ee bi kamu.

*ST,346.

Mapu ra ra kataraki ...

*SS,347.

Mapu ra ra kataraki, ku kina gera i gagabila dala ituwali ba ta seka.

*ST,348.

Kwaimwau ((kwaimwau)).

*ST,350.

Dala gu?

*SS,352.

Gera bi yobweiri gu?

*SS,354.

(To)kataraki ...

*ST,355.

Kidamwa mtona gera bi sekai^ gu karu, kaina bulukwa, kara buwa, beisa ba kina gera ba seka. Kidamwa taitara tokekita ((tokekita)) dala gu ba seka.

*SS,357.

Mu dala ...

*SS,359.

Bougwa mkona kara mapu. Mtona i yobweiri gu.

*ST,360.

Ee, mtona ni yobweiri gu ba seka, mtona gera ni yobweiri gu gera ba seka.

*SS,362.

Yobweiri ... mtona ... mtosina gugwadi komwedona ra dala mtona, komwedona kaina wane, tu, tri, poura, ee ra dala mtona, mtosina gugwadi aveira bi kavikavira ra paisewa mtona, kaina ra bagula ee bi ra, bi poula ina, bi seka, i kamu mtona. Kaina buwa bi kauri, bi seka, bi kauri mtona. Ee i gagabila bi seka megwa peira tokabitamu.

*SS,364.

Ee kidamwa mtosina magamaga, ká! Mtosina gera bi seka/sa ina, gera bi ra/sa, bi paisewa/sa peira ra bagula, gera buwa bi seka/sa, gera i gagabila bi seka. Ra dala wara ee peira gera, gera i kabikaura/sa ra paisewa, gera i gagabila bi seka.

*SS,366.

Ee gera bi paisewa.

*SS,368.

Gera i boda ba paisewa ...

*SS,370.

Ina, bulukwa ...

*SS,372.

Ká! Kidamwa yeigu makara gwadi yeigu, ee yeigu makara gwadi yeigu, gera i gagabila ba rakaya ((rakaya)) o bagula, gera ba bagula peira bi boda ba bagula, gera i boda ba ra, ba poula ina, ba mai^ya ((maya)), bu^ ku kamu, gera i boda ba poula. Ee bulukwa gera makara ba vagi, ba ra, ba bena, ba ma, ba sekai^ mu, bu^ ku kamu, peira igau, tokekita yeigu. Ee aveira ((aveira)), kidamwa bi sekai^ mu peira bulukwa, ina, karu, bi sekai^ gu yeigu bu^ ku megei, buwa, kaina sopi ba kataraki? Tama ra, ina ra!

*SS,374.

Tama ra, ina ra! Gwadi tama ra, ina ra. Kidamwa gwadi ina ra, tama ra, bi yobweiri/sa mtona ee i gagabila mtona bi tagwara, bi seka, gwadi bi kataraki.

*SS,376.

Gera magi ra bi kataraki? Ee bi sisu, kaina bwada ra ee bi seka/si bi kataraki. Mtona gwadi kidamwa i kaibiga "Gera magi gu tokataraki", bi peka, ee bwada ra, kaina taiyu wara, kaina bwada ra ee bi seka. Mtona bi kataraki, peira tama ra, ina ra, i yobweiri/sa mtona, ee mtona magi ra natu si mtosina bi kataraki.

*ST,378.

Aa! Magi si, kidamwa bi kataraki natu si, oo! I boda ba ta seka, peira ku nukoli, ina ra, tama ra, avaka bougwa i youmada karu, bulukwa, buwa, ina, ni seka magi ra natu ra bi kataraki, oo! Ba ta seka.

*ST,380.

Bu^ ku yobweiri gu, ee natu mu magi mu bi kataraki, oo! I boda ba paresi, beisa tuta bi kataraki, peira seina peula, nu^ ku yobweiri gu.

*ST,382.

Gera ba peka, peira avaka bougwa ni yobweiri gu, kidamwa natu mu i boda, bi seka, bi kabitamu.

*SS,383.

Peira bougwa ku yobweiri, kidamwa gera bu^ ku yobweiri, gera bu^ ku seka bulukwa, buwa, karu, ina ...

*SS,385.

Ee gera wara, bougwa bu^ ku peka yoka ee gera wara. Ee mtona gera tuveira bi yobweiri mu. Bougwa bi pakai^ mu, kaina yoka makara bwada mu mtona ee mtonaga natu ra ee i nukwai^ mu, bi nukwai^ mu tuwada "Magi gu natu gu ku vagi bi kabitamu", ee yoka bu^ ku peka, gera magi mu bu^ ku vagi bi pakai^ mu, gera magi ra yoka.

*ST,387.

Gera!

*ST,389.

I sisu/sa gugwadi magamaga!

*ST,391.

Ni yobweiri gu wara mtona kidamwa bi mai^ya agu ina, kaina kagu buwa, ee igau bi kabitamu, ba seka.

*SS,393.

... peira mu dala ...

*ST,395.

Aa! Magamaga!

*SS,396.

Ura dala magamaga ...

*ST,398.

Beisa komwedona magi gu peira bwada gu mtosina? Aveira kidamwa mtona bi yobweiri gu, ba seka.

*SS,400.

... ba visuleka ...

*SS,402.

... gera komwedona ...

*SS,404.

... gera bi mapu ...

*SS,406.

... (to)kabitamu bougwa ...

*SS,408.

... komwedona bi yobweiri/sa ...

*ST,410.

Kidamwa komwedona bougwa i yobweirigu/sa, ee magi gu gora taitara wara ba seka. Gera taiyu, ((taiyu)), gera taitoru ((taitoru)), beisa taitara.

*ST,412.

Sitana ba seka bi kabitamu, ee mtona veyo gu taitara ba seka, bi kabitamu.

*ST,414.

I boda ba seka, peira natu gu, ... igau ...

*ST,416.

Peira na kasisu ((kasisu)) ni yobweiri gu, i boda ba seka, bi kabitamu. Igau ee bi livala, ra waga bi tai, kaina ra tabuya. Bi suluma/sa kara, kara mona beisa yeigu bi salalaga mona, karu ...

*SS,417.

... tokarai^waga ((tokarai^waga)) ...

*ST,418.

... ba karai^waga yeigu.

*SS,420.

I gagabila!

*SS,422.

Gera i gagabila!

*SS,424.

Bi gini!

*SS,426.

Aa! Bi ma!

*SS,428.

Yamuyamu.

*ST,429.

Bi ma, bi kamu, beisa yeigu.

*SS,430.

Bi masisi.

*ST,432.

Ee bi ma, ba visuleka. Gagana ku peka, bouna ku gini.

*SS,434.

Kainaga!

*ST,435.

Ee yeigu wara na visuleka mu, bu^ ku vagi makara wara ura kataraki. Gera ituwali. Lalela ...

*SS,437.

I gagabila!

*SS,439.

Ba gini ituwali ginigini

*ST,441.

I gagabila, kidamwa bu^ ku gini ituwali, gera ...

*ST,443.

Ee i kaibiga mtona? Nano gu wara, peira i pwalala daba ra o veru. Kidamwa bi nanamsa bi gini makara kataraki, bi gini wara!

*SS,445.

Ba mwamoura lagimu ...

*SS,447.

Ituwali mwamoura ...

*ST,449.

Uu! ... Gera i gagabila ituwali mwamoura. Makara yeigu ba mwamoura, makara bu^ ku vagi.

*SS,451.

Ituwali mwamoura ...

*SS,452.

Kidamwa bougwa monita bu^ ku kabitamu, ee i gagabila wara ituwali mwamoura bu^ ku katupeili. Ee kidamwaga gera monita bu^ ku kabitamu, igau, ee bougwa bu^ ku takayesa beisa mtona ra mwamoura ...

*SS,454.

Kidamwa lagimu kaiyu ((kaiyu)) ku gini, kaina kaitoru ((kaitoru)). kaivasi ((kaivasi)), bu^ ku tai waga, ee bougwa bu^ ku tokabitamu bougwa.

*SS,456.

Mtona mu tovisuleka, kaina tomota, peira bougwa bi kina/sa bouna wara bu[^] ku gini. Kaina bu[^] ku tai waga bouna ee tomota komwedona "Oo! Tokabitamu bougwa mtona!" Peira i kina/sa bouna, migireu ...

*ST,457.

Migireu!

*SS,458.a.

Migireu!

*SS,460.

Peira gera i nukoli/sa!

*ST,462.

Ee, igau ...

*SS,463.

Gera igau ...

*SS,465.

Tokabitamu bougwa ...

*SS,467.

I gagabila wara!

*ST,468.

I gagabila.

*SS,469.

Peira, ku nukoli, mtona mu tovisuleka yaga ra "tokabitamu bougwa", ee i kina tutana, gera bouna. Ee tomotaga, mtosina gera i nukoli/sa, i kina/sa, i doka/sa bougwa bouna, ee i kaibiga/sa "Oo! Tokabitamu bougwa"! Ee tovisuleka i kina "Tutana gera bouna".

***SS,471.**

Gera, ra nanamsa mtona kami tovisuleka o nukogwa, tomota gera, o nukoyeki.

Cassette B

*ST,1.

Beisa Togeruwa ra paisewa?

*ST,3.

Pelalamina ((Pelalamina)).

*ST,4.

Beisa mtona ee mi(ra) Kumwageiya ee ne^i wa, yakema Lalela kaina taitara i vagi kaina gera; watara ku nukoli yoka, Siyakwakwa kaitara o veru/sa i vagi/sa makara; gera beisa mi(ra) Kumwageiya wara yakemai^sa gera i sisu kwaisaruvi, bougwa weku wara.

*SS,6.

Pelalamina?

*ST,7.

Oo! Seiki! Gera a nukoli, ra kataraki tetorara.

*SS,9.

Kabutuvatusi ...

*SS,11.

Kabutuvatusi!

*SS,13.

Kara katumiki "kabutuvatusi"? "Kabutuvatusi" i katumiki pelalamina, pelakatala ((pelakatala)).

*SS,15.

Pelalamina kwaisaruvi, pelakatala weku.

*ST,17.

Pelalamina ...

*SS,18.

Aveira ni katupoie[^] mu?

*SS,20.

Weku.

*SS,21.

Ee peira yakema kama tovisuleka bougwa ni vagi makara. Ee yakemai[^]sa Lalela ta gini/sa weku wara. Pelalamina, pelakatala weku wara.

*ST,22.

Pelapwalala ((pelapwalala)) ee bougwa pelakatala, pelataboda ((pelataboda)), pelalamina.

*SS,24.

I lumwailova ...

*ST,26.

Mtona bougwa o gwadi ra, a doka ... avaka mtona, kada ra?

*ST,28.

Bougwa i kaui buwa, sopi ...

*ST,30.

I kamu bobouma ...

*ST,32.

Sineu, kununa ...

*ST,33.a.

Beisa bougwa i rabougwa, i sisu o nano ra, peira kabitamu, kataraki. I sisu o daba ra, o nano ra, ee ni sisu, ni toveka ((toveka)), beisa tuta igau ni kamu bobouma, sineu, kununa ...

*ST,35.

E i kamu mtona Togeruwa. Ee beisa gora ra nanamsa i sisu wara, kataraki;
kidamwa bi gini lagimu, bouna wara.

*SS,37.

I sopa!

*SS,39.

Togeruwa! Beisa peira wara nu^ ku katupoi yoka i sopa, bougwa i katukila,
bobouma gera i kamu.

*SS,41.

Ee gera i kamu bobouma. Makaya i nukwai^ mu, i kaibiga mwada bougwa i
kamu, gera i kamu. Ee kidamwa bi kamu, bi kamu bobouma, gera bi vagi
makara.

*SS,43.

I peka, gera magi ra ...

*SS,45.

Bougwa i mumu sopi ...

*SS,47.

Towitara i kaibiga?

*SS,49.

Oo! Peira i nu(mata)/numata wowo ra nageira i peka, gera i tai lagimu.

*ST,51.

Ta(boda)/taboda ...

*ST,53.

Kidamwa yamu/yamu bu^ ku paisewa ee beisa ginigini wara, ku gini wara,
tapwala gera. Kidamwa sopi bu^ ku mumu, buwa bu^ ku kauri, beisa bu^ ku
tapwala.

*SS,55.

Makara ...

*SS,57.

Gera bu^ ku tapwala!

*ST,59.

Gugwadi yakemai^ya ((yakemai^ya))?

*SS,61.

Gera i gagabila!

*SS,63.

Seina mwau tapwala!

*SS,65.

Ee, a doka bougwa makara, seiki!

*SS,67.

bobouma ...

*SS,69.

Yoka mu nanamsa makara?

*SS,71.

Mu nanamsa makara, yakemai^sa bougwa ka kina peira tomota ra Kitawa. Tomota ra Kitawa bougwa ka kina, bougwa monita bobouma. Peira yakema ka kina, ká! Katukila bobouma, ka paisewa ginigini lagimu tabuya, waga. Ee mtosinaga bobouma i kamu/sa gera taitara i gini lagimu, gera taitara i paisewa waga.

*ST,73.

Beisa bougwa makara!

*ST,75.

Mtosina ni kamu/kamu/sa bobouma, beisa gera i nukoli/sa lagimu, gera tabuya, bougwa i sisu/sa wara. Bi ta livala/sa gelu bi kovi/sa, gelu bi ra/sa bi kovi/sa, si gelu wara. Komwedona bi mai^ya/sa, lagimu bi ra i kovi/sa, komwedona bi mai^ya/sa, gera bi mori/sa, gera, peira gera i nukoli/sa, peira bobouma bougwa i kamu/sa. Kidamwa yakida bobouma, bobouma gera ba^ ta kamu ee beisa ba^ ta ra, ba^ ta kovi o naodu ee ba^ ta seli wara, beisa ta/mori kaikekita ((kaikekita)) wara yaga ra ...

*ST,77.

Ta/mori kaikekita yaga ra ...

*SS,78.

Bougwa makara gera ginigini ...

*ST,79.

Wawa peula ba^ ta lewa o naodu, beisa ba^ ta paisewa, peira bi kekita ta/mai^ya, i gagabila ba^ ta keula ee ba^ ta ma ee igau ba^ ta paisewa. Peira bobouma (ba^) ta katukila, gera (ba^) ta kamu sineu, gera kununa, beisa bobouma. Kidamwa ba^ ta kamu sineu, kununa, gera ba^ ta vagi. Seina mwau!

*SS,81.

Bougwa makara.

*ST,83.

Peira bobouma?

*SS,84.

Yeigu bougwa a venoki mkona katupoi!

*ST,86.

Tetorara?

*SS,87.

Peira yeigu nano gu bougwa a livala. Nageira Tonori bi livala.

*ST,88.

Aa! Bougwa i taboda nano gu!

*ST,90.

Peira n i katukilagu/sa peira bobouma, peira ba gini lagimu, tabuya, peira ba tapwala weku, tokwalu. Beisa ni katukilagu/sa gera ba kamu sineu, kununa, yeyuna. Yeyuna ku nukoli? Ba ta/rairai yama bi tatata. Beisa bobouma wara; beisa ni katukilagu/sa tabu, gera a kamu/kamu, nageira ku kina ba gini, bouna wara yama gu, ee nano gu. Kidamwa ba kamu sineu, yeyuna, kununa, beisa bi taboda daba gu, peira bobouma a kabasawa, a kamu, nageira bi taboda. Beisa bobouma, bougwa bobouma.

*ST,92.

Mimilisina beisa tuta ginigini ituwali yeigu.

*ST,94.

Yeigu.

*ST,96.

Ituwali, wara, kidamwa ba kina avaka ura nanamsa, beisa ba ma, ba vagi ituwali wara.

*ST,98.

... Beisa makamwa gera i vagi, beisa yeigu wara.

*ST,100.

Tetorara i vagi duduwa.

*ST,102.

Beisa i vagi tetorara, Kurina i vagi.

*ST,104.

Gera a gini, ká! Beisa ura ginigini makara tetorara, ituwali yeigu. Ku nukoli, bougwa makara na tokabitamu peula, ee ituwali, ituwali.

*ST,106.

Ura ginigini yeigu? Gera ba gini, beisa yeigu ba droini pelai^tala igau mapelasina i masisi ura veru, ee ba droini bi kosi peira malaka, vau, ee igau ba gini makara Togeruwa, ká! Gera pwakau. Beisa mapelana ((mapelana)) a vagi wara malaka, vau ee pwakau gora komwedona gera a gini.

*ST,108.

Susawila, kaina meikela.

*ST,110.

E, i sisu.

*ST,112.

Gera ituwali.

*ST,114.

Ee makara, gera ituwali.

*ST,116.

Ee makara Kurina ra lagimu.

*ST,118.

Ee ku nukoli, bougwa a mumu sopi, a kauri buwa, beisa ra lagimu, ra kataraki Kurina komwedona o daba gu i masisi.

*ST,120.

Igau bi gini tetorara, bi rairai lagimu tabuya, beisa ba ma, ba kina wara ra kataraki, bougwa o nano gu bi masisi/si, o daba gu. Ee bi siwa, ba ma, bougwa ba takayesa vavagi.

*ST,122.

Gera, amaiyaga ((amai^yaga)) ra, ba masisi, ba kina makara bougwa kara kakina lagimu. Beisa ba masisi, ura nanamsa gora ba vagi kaitara lagimu. Komwedona, aveira ra lagimu, kataraki, beisa bougwa o nano gu i sisu.

*ST,124.

Gera. Bougwa tokekita yeigu, i kariga. Ee beisa i pita buwa, a kaui, sopi a mumu, a sisu, i kariga, ee makara a vagakora, yokwami makara treni, yakema vagakora, kaikekena ((kaikekena)) lagimu. A vagakora, a kakina ((kakina)) ee sitana bouna, sitana gagana, peira igau.

*ST,126.

Ra kataraki ...

*ST,128.

Ginigini bouna, ginigini gagana ...

*ST,130.

I nukwai^ mu?

*ST,132.

Gera aveira i nukwai^ gu. Ni wai^/sa tokataraki/sa, ee Tokwaisai ee makara mtona, i kina/sa bouna wara. Ee gera ta/nukoli, kaina i sinapwagu/sa, kaina monita, kaina sopa!

*SS,134.

Peira bougwa nova ...

*SS,136.

Nova na nukwai^ mu bougwa ku nukoli. Ká! Nageira ne^i ma, ni katupoi, Tonori ni livala ee makara ...

*ST,138.

Beisa tuta.

*ST,140.

Magi mu?

*SS,142.

Teitu ne^i ma, ni rabougwa ra lagimu ...

*ST,144.

Lagimu na seka ...

*ST,146.

Ee makara ...

*ST,148.

Beisa tuta sitana ituwali. Ee bougwa makara, ee tutana ituwali. Ku nukoli, makaisina ((makaisina)) kara kaimalaka ((kaimalaka)), vau, ...

*ST,150.

Beisa o tanawa ee ituwali, beisa nano gu wara i pwalala ee avaka ituwali ...

*ST,152.

Beisa makamwa beisa tetorara wara. Gera taitara yakemaya Lalela i vagi, beisa makamwa. Beisa i kina wara makaisina Nagega lagimu, beisa i ma, i vagi, ká! Sori! Gera makara Togeruwa i vagi malaka i ma, ká! O kaikikila ((kaikikila)). Beisaga Kurina i vagi, i ma, i towa wara o nakaiwa, i bobwa. Ee i vagi makara Nagega, gera i ma o kaikikila.

*ST,154.

Yeigu kidamwa ba vagi bi roura, bi ma o kaikikila makara mtona, Togeruwa, i boda ba vagi. Bi towa makara Kurina, i boda wara.

*ST,156.

Beisa kidamwa ba kina aveira, aveira, kaina o Bweiyowa, kidamwa ituwali bi vagi/sa, beisa ba ma, bougwa ba takayesa ituwali. Kidamwa gora ra kataraki ba vagi, beisa ba gini, bi ra kaitara lagimu.

*SS,158.

O tanawa.

*ST,160.

Igau ba vagi kaitara kaiveka ((kaiveka)), ee igau ba vagi duduwa bi bouna ra kasisu, sitana bi busi kaina bi simwa, kaina makara, makaina ((makaina)) gora peira droini, peira makara buki ee beisa a vagi ni

kanamwa mapelana.

*ST,162.

Bougwa makara Kurina.

*ST,164.

Bougwa makara ba gini ...

*ST,166.

Beisa gera bi bouna ba ta/maya malaka, ba ta/semwa ...

*ST,168.

Gera i gagabila, beisa malaka bi sisu wara ...

*ST,170.

Bougwa a nukwa mu monita, avei tuta bougwa ku wa/sa o Onumugwa, ká! Beisa ginigini wara a nukoli, ee yaga raga avaka, avaka, gera a nukoli monita.

*ST,172.

A nukoli yaga ra malaka, vau ee kara katumiki/si o nopoura gera a nukoli.

*SS,174.

Katupeili!

*SS,176.

Bu^ ku katupeili ...

*ST,178.

Bi masisi makaya. Kidamwa bi katupeili, gera bi bouna ...

*ST,180.

Gera bi katupeili.

*ST,182.

Gera i gagabila.

*ST,184.

Beisa gera i gagabila ba^ ta katupeili, beisa bougwa bi masisi peira buna ba ta/lobu, ba pwala.

*ST,186.

Bougwa makara. Kidamwa katupeili (i) gagabila, ká! Kaina ba ta/semwa ee kidamwa kaitara aveira kataraki ba ta/semwa, beisa i boda ba ta/katupeili. Makaisina gera i gagabila, b i sisu wara.

*ST,188.

Kidamwa magi/da gera susawila ee ta/lewa wara. Kidamwa magi/da susawila i boda ba ta/vagi, Beisa i gagabila ba ta/katupeili. Malaka gera i gagabila ba ta/katupeili.

*ST,190.

Gera ba ta/katupeili. Pelakatala beisa tapwala weku, pelalamina gera. Ba ta/semwa kara tapwala, ta/taboda wara.

*ST,192.

Beisa Towitara, gera ta nukoli/sa peira ra kataraki. I livala kwaisaruvi, weku. Kurinaga weku i tapwala, i pwalala. Ta/kina bi ra, i sakapu. Mapeiana taboda bi sisu. Kara kakina bougwa makara weku.

*SS,194.

Bougwa ku kamu kagu!

*SS,196.

Mtona ni nukwa ...

*ST,197.

Siyakwakwa seina nano ra i nukoli, biga ni katuvisi. Yeigu gera a nukoli monita biga.

*SS,199.

Peira tokabitamu bougwa, kedá! Yeigu gera.

*SS,201.

Aveira?

*SS,203.

Gera a masawa, peira mtona i nukwai^ mu, i kaibiga yeigu wara na yavisi peira biga. Ku nukoli, mtona o nukogwa, yeigu o tanawa. Mtona amafiyaga ra tokabitamu bougwa peira buwa, peira sopi, yeigu kuku ...

*SS,205.

Gera!

*SS,207.

Pilisi nuba gu!

*SS,209.

Yeigu nuba gu monita yokamu! Gera i gagabila kwaitara biga ba sinapwa mu. Kidamwa bougwa a mumu sopi ba livala "kagu bougwa a mumu sopi", nageira ...

*SS,211.

Gera buwa ...

*SS,213.

Kuku.

*SS,215.

Ee, gera monita. Tokataraki wara yeigu, mtona yaga ra tokabitamu bougwa. Yeigu, ku kina, igau ba gini, ba ma, bi taboda ((taboda)), yeigu gera ba vagi makara mtona ra ginigini. Mtona magi ra bi gini, bi gini, yeigu gera.

*SS,217.

Monita!

*ST,219.

Bouna.

*ST,221.

Magi gu, kidamwa ba vagi kora kaitara kaikekita makara, peira bouna rekoreko, kwaisaruvi.

*ST,223.

Kala bulula?

*SS,224.

Matara ((Matara)), kaina?

*ST,226.

Migira? ((magira)).

*SS,227.

O katala!

*SS,229.

Kwaisaruvi ...

*ST,231.

Beisa makaina bouna, makaina bouna, pelalamina i sisu mtona kwaisaruvi ee mtona weku, gera weku i gipwalala wara. Beisa i vagi taboda o tanawa, makara kwaisaruvi wara ...

*ST,233.

Pelakatala ...

*ST,235.

Gagana!

*ST,237.

Gera bi gula.

*ST,239.

Avaka bougwa i gula?

*SS,241.

Gera, gera ku nukoli!

*ST,243.

Bougwa i gula ...

*ST,245.

Bougwa "i kurega".

*ST.247.

Gera?

*SS,249.

Gera ku nukoli peira mkona biga bougwa i gula?

*SS,251.

Gera ku nukoli ...

*SS,253.

Yeigu katupoie[^] mu ba livala, kaina Tonori wara bi livala?

*ST,255.

Peira yeigu a nukoli wara bougwa ' i gula ', ee gera a nukoli kara katumiki, avaka. Mtona bougwa i nukoli.

*SS,256.

Mkona biga bi kaibiga/sa "Gera i gula", ee gera ba ta/vagi makara. Kidamwa i kaibiga/sa "Bougwa i gula" ee bu[^] ku vagi. Peira kara katumiki tomumwoya, tokunibougwa, gera i vagi/sa. Ee ba ta/kaibiga "Gera i gula" ba ta/vagi, peira tomumwoya gera i vagi/sa. Ee ba ta/kaibiga gera i gula, peira tomumwoya gera i vagi/sa.

*SS,258.

Ee makara!

*ST,259.

Bougwa i vagi/sa tomumwoya ...

*SS,260.

Ee bi kaibiga "Bougwa i gula", peira tomumwoya bougwa i vagi/sa makara. Ee kidamwaga bi kaibiga "Gera i gula", tomumwoya gera i vagi/sa, ee makara. Peira tomumwoya kara i katumiki biga mkona "Bougwa i gula", gera i gula. Peira tomumwoya bougwa i vagi/sa makara ee yaga ra "Bougwa i gula" ...

*ST,261.

I gula, tobwabougwa!

*SS,262.

Kaina bi kaibiga "Gera i gula" ee tomumwoya gera i vagi/sa. Makara mkona biga.

*SS,264.

Mkosina biga kara katumiki yeigu bougwa ku nukoli nuba gu!

*ST,265.

Mtona i nukoli biga, yeigu gera a nukoli monita. Kwaiveka biga a nukoli, kokekita ((kokekita)) kara katumiki gera a nukoli.

*ST,267.

Monita!

*SS,268.

Kaina triki!

*ST,270.

Peira gwadi yeigu, kedá?

*SS,272.

Aveira?

*SS,274.

Bouna, nageira bu^ ku livala, yeigu gera magi gu!

*ST,275.

Bu^ ku paresi gu, kedá?

*SS,276.

Gera, yeigu ba kapetu ba kaui ...

*ST,278.

Bougwa i gula tobwabougwa pelakatala weku bougwa i tapwala. Ee pelalamina makara kwaisaruvi, makara Towitara ra kwaisaruvi. Ee mtona Kurina beisa bougwa makara weku. Weku pelakatala i tapwala, pelalamina gera i tapwala makara kwaisaruvi.

*ST,280.

Bi kanamwa pelakatala, gera i gagabila.

*ST,282.

Pelalamina ...

*ST,284.

Pelakatala ...

*SS,286.

Bouna!

*ST,287.

Kidamwa ...

*ST,289.

Bi ra pelakatala ...

*ST,291.

Ee gera, gera i gagabila ...

*ST,293.

Beisa keuna wara, gera i sisu rekoreko makara Towitara, keuna wara. Ee pelakekita ((pelakekita)) beba, ee beisa pelakatala.

*ST,295.

Pelalamina ...

*ST,297.

Pelakatala ...

*ST,299.

Pelakekita beba pelakatala.

*ST,301.

Beisa beba!

*ST,303.

Beisa beba. Beisa beba pelai^veka ((pelai^veka)) pelalamina.

*SS,305.

Kaiyu lagimu ...

*ST,307.

Mwata ...

*ST,309.

Beisa, ká! Beisa tabuvaura ((tabu(ya)vaura)) makaina yagara.

*ST,311.

Tabuvaura, tabuvaura weku ba ta/pwalala mapelasina. Ku nukoli, ba ta/kina, ká! Beisa migira bi ma. Kidamwa tabudabwara ((tabu(ya)dabwara)) ee beisa weku bi ma beisa ee kwaisaruvi bi ma beisa ba ta/pwalala ba ta/kina.

*ST,313.

Beisa weku taboda.

*SS,315.

Tapwalala ((ta/pwalala))!

*ST,317.

Gera pwalala.

*SS,318.

Ee a lumwailova! Bougwa a livala gera ba nukwai[^] mu, desi ba kapetu, peira bougwa nu[^] ku nukwai[^]gu/sa gera ba livala, avaka peira nageira ba peka, igau bu[^] ku ne(i)/nei/sa mi biga.

*ST,320.

Gera i gagabila. Kidamwa ba katupeili vau bi kinawa beisa malaka, malaka bi ra beisa vau, gera bi bouna, gagana wara.

*ST,322.

Gera bi gula tobwabougwa ba ta/ma, ba ta/vagi makara. Beisa tobwabougwa ni vagi vau o tanawa, malaka o nakaiwa. Beisa i gula makara.

*ST,324.

Gera i gagabila.

*ST,326.

Beisa bu[^] ku penita degadega, gera bi bouna. Beisa bi kina/sa beisa "Aa! Beisa gera i nukoli mtona, gera (to)kabitamu!" Makara tokwabu ".

*ST,328.

Bougwa ni vagi/sa tomumwoya tokunibougwa. Malaka i gini/sa, vau, pwakau, bougwa masineiki kwaitoru ((kwaitoru)). Gera i gagabila ba ta/ma, ba ta/vagi kwaitara, kwaivasi ((kwaivasi)), gera i gagabila.

*ST,330.

Beisa ginigini wara? Seina kaiveka ((kaiveka)) pupwakau gera bi bouna. Pupwakau kaiveka, kaikekena malaka, vau, gera bi bouna. Beisa kara kakina lagimu gagana wara. Kidamwa makara pupwakau, makara vau, makara malaka, beisa ba ta/kina bouna.

*ST,332.

Tutana pupwakau beisa bouna, kidamwa kaikoveka ((kaikoveka)) pupwakau beisa gera bouna. Kaikoveka vau gera bouna. Malaka kaikoveka gera bouna. Beisa makara malaka, makara vau, makara pupwakau, beisa ba ta/kina lagimu kara kakina bouna wara.

*SS,334.

I katupoie^ mu yeigu a re(ka)/reka wara mkosina peira avaka i katumiki ba livala, beisa tuta gera magi gu ba livala, ba sisu wara.

*ST,335.

Yeiguga bougwa i taboda!

*SS,336.

Seiki! Kami taiyu bu^ ku livala/sa!

*ST,337.

Beisa bu^ ku lumutaku ee igau ba livala. Ee bi kinawa ee gera, kaina naboya bu^ ku ma, bu^ ku nukwa ee" I sinapwai^ mu! ",ká! Ee beisa monita bu^ ku nukoli. Kidamwa ...

*SS,339.

Gera i gagabila!

*ST,340.

Beisa biga komwedona ...

*ST,342.

Bougwa monita yeigu ba livala biga bougwa a nukoli peira mkosina avaka, avaka. Gera a nukoli, gera ba livala. Igau, ba livala, bougwa ba sopa! Beisa ba nukoli wara, ura a nukoli tetoragu ((tetoragu)) ee ba livala.

Mkosina gera a nukoli, gera ba livala.

*SS,344.

Ee makaya, bougwa ku li(vala)/livala bouna. Peiraga katupoi yeigu na nu(kwa)/nukwai[^] mu, katupoi mtona, mtona katupoi ituwali, ee ku livala yoka ku ra ituwali. Ee mkona na nu(kwa)/nukwai[^] mu, igau ku reka biga ra katupoi mtona avaka katupoi ura nanamsa mtosina biga kara mapu, ava bu[^] ku mapu peira ra katupoi mtona.

*ST,345.

Gera a nukoli kwaitara katupoi ee watara igau, yoka ku nukwa peira bougwa a livala. Yeigu gera a nukoli naveka ((naveka)) biga, gera wara.

*SS,346.

Peira i nukwai[^] gu tosopasopa ((tosopasopa)), yeigu gera ba livala!

*ST,347.

Beisa makara a katudewa, kedá?

*SS,349.

Yoka tonagowa ((tonagowa))! Ku livala!

*ST,351.

Bouna, ee gera bougwa a nukoli monita. Mtona bougwa i nukoli, i nukwai[^] gu.

*SS,352.

I katupoie[^] mu, avei tuta nu[^] ku kaui buwa, igau tokekita yoka, ee makara ginigini bougwa i masisi/sa o daba mu, kaina gera?

*ST,353.

Igau tutana na toveka, ee i talapula wara mkosina avaka kataraki lagimu kara kakina, tabuya, waga. Ee ni si(matili)/simatili beisa yeigu ni kosi, makamwa tokekita yeigu, a kaui buwa, sopi, ee a sisu. Ee ba ka(tudewa)/katudewa, ba ma, a kokoula kwaiga, ba tapwala, beisa ba tapwala pelapwalala wara.

*SS,354.

Bougwa watara ku nukoli mkona biga?

*SS,356. " Ni talapula nano gu! "Bougwa ku nukoli ...

*SS,358.

Gera ' mimi ', gera ' kina ', gera ' bi masisi ' wa daba ra, yaga ra ' ruruwai ' ... ' ruruwai ' ...

*SS,360.

Bougwa ba nukwa, ni nukoli ee igau bi mapu. Bougwa ba nukwa wara avaka mu nanamsa nu^ ku livala. I gagabila yokamu ((yokamu)) bu^ ku mo(ri)/mori lagimu, bu^ ku semwa ee bu^ ku kawaga peni, igau ku lakeda kaina makara ku leni, ku leni bougwa i kosi, igau bu^ ku kawa kaiwouwai ((kaiwouwa)), bu^ ku seya, bu^ ku gini, kaina gera?

*ST,361.

Gera.

*SS,362.

Tabu!

*ST,364.

Gera i gagabila ba leni bi kosi o nukoyeki igau ba kawa kaiwouwai ba gini, makara ba tapwala gera. Beisa bougwa o nano gu ni masisi, weku, tokwalu, ee ba keula kaiwouwai ba tapwala wara, wara. Gera bi kougwa, ba leni o nukoyeki igau ba tapwala.

*SS,365.

Bougwa, bouna! I katupoie^ mu: avaka peira, kaina avaka i katumiki, gera bi kougwa bu^ ku leni o nukoyeki bu^ ku gini, gera bu^ ku leni o nukoyeki, avaka i katumiki, avaka peira bobouma, kaina tabu, kaina avaka?

*ST,366.

Seiki! A doka tabu leni, a doka!

*SS,367.

Ee mkona tabu avaka i katumiki? Kaina makara i katupoie^ mu mtona.

*SS,369.

Bu^ ku leni ...

*ST,371.

Bi sisu agu tovisuleka? Bi kina ba leni, ni kaibiga ba kawa kaiwouwai ba sera. Gera i gagabila. Bi kaibiga" Avaka makamwa bu^ ku vagi? ".Beisa gera i gagabila, bi tabu!

Cassette C

*SS,2.

Mi nanamsa!

*SS,4.

... bu^ ku nukwai^gu/sa ...

*ST,6.

Amakara mtona bougwa i livala?

*SS,8.

N i katupoie^ mu mtona, peira ginigini mkosina, mimilisina igau nu^ ku sera, kuwovau ginigini, ee tomumwoyaga si ginigini ituwali. Ee yoka peira seina tokabitamu peula kuwovau ginigini ku sera, i boda bi bouna peira lagimu kara mwata, ba ta/mwala bougwa bouna kara kakina kaina bi gagana? Ká! Ni katupoie^ mu, makara, ee bu^ ku mapu.

*ST,9.

Kidamwa kuwovau ginigini ba gini, ee tomumwoya si ginigini kaina ituwali, ee kidamwa ba ta/mwala, beisa bouna wara, gera avaka kara gaga.

*ST,11.

Uu! Beisa ura nanamsa, beisa ba vagi lagimu kidamwa ituwali ee ba ta/mwala gera beisa bouna wara. Gera avaka kara gaga.

*SS,13.

Gera, peira tokabitamu mtona avaka bougwa i nanamsa, ni livala, makara bougwa makara.

*SS,15.

Tapwala! Kidamwa tapwala kwaitara kuwovau, bi vagi ra tapwala mtona peira weku bi tapwala ituwali, ee ba ta/mwala bi gagana. Kaina kwaisaruvi bi tai ituwali, kwaitara kuwovau, peira ra taitai ba ta/mwala bi gagana. Kaina kara kaimalaka igau bi sera kaitara, kuwovau, ituwali ee ba ta/mwala bi gagana. Beisaga ginigini kuwovau bi gini, ba ta/mwala ee bougwa bouna wara. Weku wara bougwa i ta/pwalala bouna ee ginigini kuwovau bi gini ba ta/mwala bougwa bouna. Ee bi seka lagimu ra mwata bouna, makara.

*SS,17.

Ee bougwa! Bougwa monita. Kidamwa bi gini pelaiyu wara beba, ee bi sisu takainowa. Gera ba ta/mwala averufiya pelakatala, averufiya pelalamina, ee sitana bougwa takainowa. Waura makara. Gera ba ta/vatusi, ké? Ee kidamwaga bi vagi makara pelai^veka pelalamina, bi ra wa lamina, pelakekita bi ra o katala, ee lagimu bouna ra katota bi tora o nopoura waga. Bouna, ee peira makara tomumwoya i vagi/sa ne^i ma, makara. Mtonaga ra nanamsa igau bi vagi kwaitara ((kwaitara)) ginigini kuwovau ee ba ta/kina bougwa bouna ee geraga makara tomumwoya i gini/sa. Ee sitana. Sitana. I paisewa/sa, i gini/sa. Ee makara ura nanamsa.

*ST,19.

Monita! Kidamwa b a toveka wara kidamwa tetoragu, kaina makara weku, kaina kwaisaruvi ee kara kaimalaka, kara kaivau ((kaivau)), mwata, kuwovau ba sera, gera bi bouna. Beisa tobwabougwa. Tomumwoya makara ni vagi/sa weku, kwaisaruvi, kara kaivau malaka, mwata, beisa makara tomumwoya ni vagi/sa makara ba vagi. Ee ginigini tutana tomumwoya i bweibusi, beisa tuta yeigu ura nanamsa magamaga, ee a gini ituwali ee beisa ba ta/mwala, beisa bouna wara. Kidamwa bi gaga metoya malaka ee vau, mwata beisa bi gagana. Kidamwa ginigini ituwali tomumwoya ee ituwali yeigu ba gini makara, ba ta/mwala beisa bouna. Gera avaka.

*SS,21.

Yeigu bougwa a mapu, masivana ni kosi.

*SS,23.

Ee ké? ba livala peira makara katupoi?

*SS,25.

Kaina i katupoie^ mu peira kwaisaruvi vau ee sitana makara mwau, ee waura i semwa/sa pelalamina peira lamina sitana ra peula. Ee i doka makara kwaisaruvi mwau sitana ee wekuga peira gera vau i sisu gagabila, makara, ká! Kidamwa waga ba ta/kina bi ma, ee ba ta/sisu makara ba ta/kinaga waga bi seulama, ee sitana bi karatatava makara. Ee ni kaibiga ba ta/kina ba ta/vatusi kwaisaruvi i sisu pelalamina, ee makara bi ra o tanawa, ee wekuga pelakatala, makara gagabila i doka bi ra o nakaiwa, peira gagabila ne^ i wa mapelana pelakatala bwarita wara makara. Gera kaitara i sisu ee kwaisaruviga ne^i ma makaya. I doka makara mwau, ee peira ra peulaga mwada makaina ee na ta/vagi kwaisaruvi bi ra o pelalamina. Ee ni katupoie^ mu

makara. Ee yokaga mu nanamsa, makara bu[^] ku livala. Ee ni nukwai[^] mu yoka pelaiyu wara weku nu[^] ku vagi. I kaibiga kara kakina makara sitana o daba ra wara, o nakaiwa wara. Ee makaraga ku mapu na ta/vagi.

*ST,26.

Ké! Peira yeigu lagimu na vagi pelaiyu weku. Gera ba takayesa kaina makara mtona tomwoya Towitara, makara peira pelai[^]tala weku, pelai[^]tala kwaisaruvi. Ee yeigu ava tabu gu makamwa ni vagi, makaya ku doka/sa tomota peira weku, ee beisa pelakatala weku bougwa i tapwala, i pwalala, ee pelalamina bougwa (i) taboda wara ee bougwa i doka/sa makara kwaisaruvi wara. Gera bi vagi makara kokoveka ((ko(veka)koveka)) makara mira Kumwageiya. Beisa gera. Ni vagi tapwala pelakatala peira weku ee bougwa (i) taboda pelalamina. Kidamwa pelai[^]veka beba o pelakatala.

*ST,28.

Mtona peira kwaisaruvi ni masisi pelalamina?

*ST,30.

Gera a nukoli yeigu seinagafiya, gera ba nu(koli)/nukoli biga bougwa i taboda nano gu.

*SS,32.

Peira ku nukoli kara nanamsa mtona makara. Avei tuta waga bi kota o bwarita ee makaina lamina bi ra o nakaiwa, waga bi ra o tanawa. Waura ni vagi/sa mapelasiwena pelalamina pelai[^]veka. Ee ra nanamsa makara. Nageira ni vagi/sa pelalamina pelai[^]veka ni sera/sa kwaisaruvi makara sitana mwau, i doka bi tuma makaina lamina bi kotuboboura makara waga. Makara ra nanamsa.

*ST,33.

Yoka mu nanamsa?

*ST,35.

Beisa mapelana pelalamina, yaga ra kwaisaruvi, beisa gera mwau. Beisa yoka mu nanamsa ku doka mwau, beisa gera mwau. Beisa bougwa tomwoya ni gula ne[^]i ma. Beisa bougwa kwaisaruvi bi sisu pelalamina pelai[^]veka, beba pelakatala weku pelakekita beba. Ee gera mwau pelalamina bi ra, bi pirasi, gera, kaina (i) gagabila pelakatala. Beisa ba ta/sikera, igau tomota naya, ee bougwa ba ta/sikera, igau tomota naya, ee bougwa bi karatatava. Ee

kidamwa ba ta/salalaga o kadewo ba ta/tabusi ee bi tora, bi kotuboboura sitana, ee sitana bi karatatava. Ee gera mwau mapelana kwaisaruvi, beisa bougwa tomwoya ni gula, ne^i ma, beisa kara kakina ni vagi/sa tomumwoya ee ni sera/sa o daba ra waga, ee ni kina/sa pelai^veka pelalamina bi ra, pelakekita pelakatala. Beisa bouna kara kakina. Gera mwau, gera. Beisa bougwa i gula tomwoya.

*ST,37.

Kidamwa tabu gu bi vagi pelalamina kwaisaruvi, ee makara Towitara, ee beisa yeigu na ma, i boda, makara ba vagi. Ee gera i vagi tabu gu makara Towitara, pelalamina kwaisaruvi. Beisa i vagi vau makara weku, ee weku pelakatala i pwalala, ee pelalamina gera i pwalala. Beisa tabu gu ra nanamsa ee yeigu na ma, makara a takayesa. Ee mtona Towitara, mira Kumwageiya, oo! Ituwali. Makara beisa bougwa kwaisaruvi wara ee gera makara yakemaya kwaisaruvi vau bi kaiveka, vau kaikekita wara. Masina gera bi pwalala. Kidamwa pelakatala bi pwalala ee weku.

*SS,39.

Bougwa ni nukwai^ mu mtona. Peira Towitara gera ta nukoli/sa aveira kara tovisuleka ((tovisuleka)). Vakuta, ee beisa. Ee i visuleka, i sera kwaisaruvi pelalamina. Mtona tabu ra, bougwa i nukwai^ mu, i vagi gera kwaisaruvi pelalamina. Waura ne^i ma, ni takayesa mtona makara. Ee nanamsaga peira waura i vagi/sa pelai^veka pelalamina, ee si nanamsa tomumwoya makara. Peira toiya kwaisaruvi i vagi/sa mwau sitana. O katala waga wara ee beisaga o bwarita, ee i vagi/sa pelakekita beba, peira (i) gagabila. Makara yeigu ura nanamsa.

*SS,41.

A doka makara.

*ST,43.

Bougwa a livala peira tabu gu igau tokekita ((tokekita)) yeigu ee i kariga, gera avaka biga komwedona bi nukwai^ gu bougwa i kosi. Igau tokekita yeigu i kariga ee gera ta nukoli tomwoya. A doka migira ((magira)) waga, peira lagimu, tabuya, ba ta/sera ee ba ta/vakasi bougwa bi bouna. Kidamwa lagimu gera, tabuya gera, ba ta/vakasi sabwanwa budakai gera bi bouna. Kidamwa lagimu bi tora ee ba ta/vakasi gera bi bouna. Bougwa bi kapusi lagimu. Kidamwa tabuya ba ta/sera bi matuwa ee ba ta/vakasi waga, bougwa bi matuwa makara.

*SS,45.

... manu wadora ...

*SS,47.

(I) gagabila makara! Beisa bougwa makara nu^ ku livala, yeigu bougwa a nukwai^ mu bougwa makara!

*SS,49.

Tau wadora ((wadora)). Tau wadora, weku i katumiki tau wadora!

*SS,51.

Pakeke a doka yeigu ura nanamsa wara i katumiki tau teigara ((teigara)).

*SS,53.

Peira kwaisaruvi, ku nukoli, bi sira makara, makara kalevila nuya ... ee teigara mapelana ((mapelana)) bougwa ku kina, peira kwaisaruvi i sisu o dedana, ee tau teigara. Ura nanamsa a doka makara.

*SS,55.

Nano gu a doka duduwa tau matara ((matara)). Yeigu a doka!

*SS,57.

Peira duduwa makara matara, ee ku nukoli matara mkosina ((makosina)) kwaitara ((kwaitara)) kaiyu ((kaiyu)), ee gera tuveira i vagi/sa. Ee igau avei tuta bi soba/sa, bi soba tau makaivena, ká! O matara, ee i vagi makara duduwa bi sera pwakau makara duduwa. Vau, vau bi kumu, ká! Ee makara pwakau bi vagi, ee bougwa makara kara kakina sitana duduwa makara soba makaina bi sera o matara, ká! Ee makara vau bi kumu, ee pwakau bi sera makaina ((makaina)) bi tuni, ká! Ee bi ma, makaya, vau. A doka duduwa matara.

*SS,59.

Karawa makara tau vatakora, ká!

*SS,61.

Doka deli gigiwani daba ra tau ... bougwa daba ra tau. Ee bougwa bweiyani bougwa i venoki, kaina bouna?

*SS,63.

Bougwa, tau daba ra gigiwani.

*ST,65.

Yeigu ... pilisi, gera a nu(koli)/nukoli peira avaka ...

*ST,67.

Beisa bougwa a doka makara, kaina bougwa monita peira ni livala Siyakwakwa. Manasina ((manasina)) makamwa, avaka manasina? ... kaina meikela, ee beisa ba ta/doka makara kurura, beisa ni vagi/sa tomumwoya, a doka makara. Beisa ura nanamsa. Kaina ni vagi/sa manasina kara meikela, beisa a doka kurura, tomota kurura. Ee susawila peira meikela gera ku nukoli, susawila, susawila ...

*ST,69.

... ura biga ...

*ST,71.

... ee beisa kurura tomota. Beisa makamwa kara beba, ee kwaisaruvi, weku, ee beisa bougwa monita teigara, tomota teigara.

*ST,73.

... teigara, beisa teigara gera kara ituwali. Beisa ura nukoli kidamwa mkosina ((makosina)) ni livala, gera ba sopa. Bougwa yeigu a nukoli, gera ba sopa. Kidamwa ava a nukoli, aveira a nukoli, ba nukwai^ mu, gera a nukoli gera ba nukwai^ mu.

*SS,75.

Beisa biga monita, makara ', geraki monita ' makara ' bi vagi migira tomota, ee ' makara ' wara tomota. Gera bi gini ' makara ' tomota monita, ' makara ' tokwalu, gera. Lagimu wara kara nanamsa ' makara ' tomota migira toiya wowora ((wowora)), ká! Peira ku nukoli, susawila kurura; gigiwani, doka, daba ra; duduwa matara; ee weku ' makara ' wadora ((wadora)); peira manu ee weku manu wadora; ká!; ee, avaka, ... tomota kaikela bi tora wa pwepwaya, kaina wa kebira, ee ' makara ' kaikikila tomota kaikela Lagimu ' makara '. Geraga ba ta/kina ' makara ' wara tomota gera, ' makara ' kara ' utobobuta '.

*ST,77.

... kara katumiki makara. Kidamwa yeigu ba livala" Naboya Aku bi ma ",seiki! Kidamwa naboya bi ma Aku bougwa monita ba kaibiga, oo! Ká! Bougwa a utobobuta, peira gera a kina monita Aku bi ma, kaina gera a reka bi ma, makara a utobobuta wara ee kawa gu, ká!" Naboya Aku bi kota "ee naboya bi kota Aku ee bougwa monita makara, kaina naboya gera ee gera bi kota, makara utobobuta mkona kara katumiki. Makara ' seiki '. Mkona ((makona)) utobobuta makara ' seiki '. Kaina monita, kaina gera. Makara gera monita makara migira tomota, makara utobobuta wara. Kidamwaga bu^ ku ra, bu^ ku katupoi tomota komwedona Kitawa" Ké, lagimu makara tomota, kaina?", Gera i nukoli/sa komwedona gera bi nukoli/sa bi livala/sa. Monita wara Towitara bougwa katupoie^ mu, bi livala bougwa makara. Peira (to)kabitamu bougwa mtona. Bougwa makara yeigu ura nanamsa.

*ST,79.

Ee beisa biga monita mtona ni livala. Peira gera bi buri/sa tomumwoya makara tokunibougwa, taitara tomota ni vagi/sa migira waga komwedona bi kosi, bi kinawa o lagimu, gera, beisa i kaibiga/sa wara migira waga. Ee migira makara tomota, i kina lagimu migira. Kidamwa lagimu gera, gera bi bouna, peira gera migira. Kidamwa lagimu ba ta/utoyera bougwa bi vagi migira. Ku nukoli bi sakelu o nuweiwa, kaina bi wola, bi ta/kina migira waga makaina, beisa lagimu migira waga. Kidamwa lagimu gera, gera migira bi bouna. Kidamwa lagimu ba ta/utoyera wa waga ee beisa migira lagimu. Tomota bi kina/sa, bi yakaura/sa, kaina bouna lagimu, beisa migira. Beisa tomumwoya gera ba ta/ma, ba ta/toveka yakida goduwovau, gera. Bougwa tomumwoya i gula/sa wara lagimu migira waga. Ba ta/wouwa bi kosi, ba ta/utoyera, ba ta/mwala, migira waga. Beisa makara.

*SS,81.

Tau!

*SS,83.

Peira kara nanamsa, gera monita. Kara nanamsa i kaibiga/sa migira waga, ké? Lagimu i tapwala migira makara waga, kaina yakida, ká! Migira tau. Ee waura i kaibiga/sa makara, migira tau, avei tuta bi soba, bi soba tau kaina peira wosi kaina peira paka, bi soba migira, bi sera vau, pupwakau," Aa! Migira tau mtona i soba ".Ee lagimu i gini/sa kara kaivau, malaka, ee waura i utobobuta/sa i kina/sa lagimu i gini/sa peira kara soba makara. I kaibiga/sa" A doka makara migira tau "ee ne^i soba ee makara lagimu ee beisa bi doka/sa makara lagimu migira waga. Ee tau migira. Ee kara

utobobuta i kaibiga/sa" Makara tau migira ".

*SS,85.

Kaina makara migira tau, kaina migira vivira, makara gera ituwali!

*SS,87.

Tabu ... peira wara ku livala, ku kaibiga avakaga peira makara vivira a kaibiga, a doka makara. Ee gera gora i kaibiga/sa tomota, i kaibiga/sa migira vivira gera; i kaibiga/sa migira tau, yakida makara migira tau. Peira vivira tabu. Avei tuta kaivasi ((kaivasi)) waga vivira tabu, gera bi kewa, gera bi sira, gera bi kewa, bi sisu. Ee waura gera i kaibiga/sa migira vivira, gera. Peira tau bougwa i paisewa makaina waga bi kewa tau, ee waura i kaibiga/sa migira tau. Ee peira i nukoli o nopoura avaka makaina waga bi kewa, bi wola, bougwa i nukoli o nopoura waura i kaibiga/sa migira tau. Ee gera i kaibiga/sa migira vivira, gera, i kaibiga/sa migira tau.

LEXICON: NOWAU - ENGLISH

a = I (466)	bwarita = sea (3)
a^ = lw. (24)	bweibusi = come down (1)
aa = indeed (11)	bweiyani = red (1)
ae = oh! (2)	bweiyowa = bweiyowa boyowa (1)
agu = my (2)	da = our (3)
aku = aku (5)	daba = head (17)
ama = what (2)	dabumi = trust (3)
amafiyaga = what name (5)	dabwa = head ¹ (1)
amakara = what ¹ (1)	dala = house (19)
ambeisa = where (1)	damuramwara = damuramwara (1)
ava = which (6)	daramwesi = daramwesi (1)
avaka = what ² (50)	dedamata = blue (1)
avei = which ¹ (21)	dedana = behind (1)
aveira = who (28)	degadega = yellow (3)
averufiya = where ¹ (3)	deli = with (1)
b = will (756)	desi = enough (5)
bagula = garden (7)	dimudimu = white man (2)
bateri = battery (2)	doka = imagination, idea (4)
beba = butterfly (14)	doka ¹ = think (38)
beisa = now (195)	droini = draw (2)
beisa ¹ = here (1)	droini ¹ = drawing (1)
beni = find (1)	duduwa = mouth (10)
biga = word (42)	e^ = lw. (39)
bobouma = forbidden food (28)	e = yes (3)
bobwa = cut across (2)	ee = and (349)
boda = put together (34)	ga = however (46)
bogi = night (2)	gabu = burn (1)
bogiu = the day after tomorrow (2)	gaga = bad (5)
boubwau = black (1)	gagabila = possible (57)
bougwa = already (255)	gagana = very bad (13)
bouna = good (72)	gai = ebony (1)
budakai = broadside (1)	gelu = rib (3)
buki = book (2)	gera = not (383)
bulukwa = wild pig (10)	gigira = laugh (3)
bulula = nose (1)	gigiwani = caterpillar (6)
buna = shell (1)	gilagila = blue ¹ (1)
huri = mistake (1)	gimwara = purchase (5)
busi = drip down (1)	gini = cut (84)
buwa = betel nut (33)	ginigini = cuts (43)
bwabougwa = past (1)	gipwalala = make a hole (1)
bwada = younger brother (5)	goduwovau = generation (1)
bwara = hut (2)	gora = also (9)

gu = me (109)
 gudiresi = youngs (1)
 gugwadi = children (5)
 gula = settle (23)
 gwadi = child (12)
 i = he (380)
 i[^] = lw. (88)
 i¹ = it (342)
 i² = she (10)
 i³ = they (141)
 igau = still (61)
 ina = fish (12)
 inal¹ = mother (6)
 ituwali = different (52)
 iwa = iwa (1)
 ka = get (3)
 kã = look (29)
 ka¹ = we two² (5)
 kabasawa = no respect (1)
 kabata = kabata (2)
 kabikaura = follow (1)
 kabitamu = craft (45)
 kaboma = wooden dish (1)
 kabutuvatusi = distinguish (4)
 kada = uncle (4)
 kadal¹ = nephew (1)
 kadewo = beach (5)
 kagu = my¹ (2)
 kagu¹ = my food (2)
 kai = wood (36)
 kaibiga = talk (41)
 kaiga = voice (2)
 kaikekena = small (2)
 kaikekita = small¹ (4)
 kaikela = leg (2)
 kaikikila = wooden leg (4)
 kaikoveka = big² (3)
 kaimalaka = wooden red (3)
 kaina = or (111)
 kainaga = certainly (2)
 kaitara = one⁴ (14)
 kaitoru = three³ (1)

kaivasi = four³ (3)
 kaivau = wooden black (2)
 kaiveka = big³ (4)
 kaiwouwai = marteline (4)
 kaiyu = two⁴ (3)
 kaiyuwaura = second one (1)
 kakina = get a look (1)
 kakina¹ = shape (10)
 kala = his (2)
 kala¹ = its¹ (1)
 kalevila = skin (1)
 kama = our¹ (3)
 kami = your (3)
 kamu = eat (45)
 kamu¹ = your¹ (1)
 kanamwa = stay here (2)
 kapetu = stop talking (3)
 kapusi = overturn (1)
 kara = its (51)
 kara¹ = food (1)
 kara² = her (1)
 kara³ = his³ (15)
 karai[^]waga = leadership (1)
 karatatava = lose its balance (3)
 karawa = fern (2)
 kariga = die (9)
 karu = yam (6)
 kasisu = stay (3)
 katala = left (4)
 kataraki = skill (41)
 katota = look¹ (2)
 katubaya = fit out (1)
 katudada = tease (2)
 katudewa = practise (3)
 katukila = respect (7)
 katumiki = mean (8)
 katumiki¹ = meaning (8)
 katupeili = change, modify (12)
 katupoi = ask (28)
 katupoi¹ = question (12)
 katuvisi = make clear (2)
 katuwayai = nod (1)

kau = take (1)
 kauri = chew (25)
 kavasaki = apprentice (1)
 kavikavira = distinguish oneself (1)
 kawa = confirm (8)
 ké = agreed (9)
 kebira = floor (1)
 kedā = isn't that right (6)
 kekena = small² (3)
 kekita = small³ (12)
 kena = spatula (1)
 keou = fishing canoe (3)
 keula = takel (2)
 keuna = snake (2)
 kewa = sail (4)
 ki = re- (2)
 ki na = see (1)
 ki¹ = too (2)
 kidakokola = coral (1)
 kidamwa = if (98)
 kikila = support (3)
 kina = see (85)
 kinawa = leave (7)
 kiperā = hide (1)
 kitawa = kitawa (3)
 kitikeli = hand on (1)
 ko = abs. (8)
 kokekita = small⁴ (1)
 kokona = betel nut, a bad one (2)
 kokora = frighten (2)
 kokoula = carry (1)
 kokoveka = very big (2)
 komwedona = all (20)
 kora = try (1)
 kosi = finish (22)
 kota = sail¹ (4)
 kotuboboura = anchor (2)
 kougwa = be first (7)
 koura = black² (3)
 kouya = with, and (1)
 koveka = big¹ (1)
 kovi = break (5)
 ku = you (215)
 kuku = fibre round the kernel of
 betel nut (2)
 kulabuta = nukulabuta (2)
 kumila = clan (3)
 kumu = blacken (2)
 kumwageiya = kumwageiya (9)
 kununa = inside parts of the
 head (10)
 kurega = balance (1)
 kurina = kurina (11)
 kurura = hair (5)
 kuwovau = new one (10)
 kwabu = common (1)
 kwai = abs. (7)
 kwaiga = coconut shell (1)
 kwaimwau = very difficult (1)
 kwaisaruvi = coconut husk (45)
 kwaitara = one² (17)
 kwaitoru = three¹ (1)
 kwaivasi = four¹ (2)
 kwaiveka = big⁴ (4)
 kwaivira = some (3)
 kwali = scratch (1)
 kwama = embellish (1)
 kwarakuna = small canoe, model (1)
 kwayai = evening (1)
 kwekena = small⁵ (1)
 la = his¹ (1)
 la¹ = its (1)
 lagimu = lagimu (85)
 lakeda = trace (1)
 lakubeli = cut down (3)
 lalekeiwa = lalekeiwa (3)
 lalela = lalela (6)
 lamina = outrigger (5)
 leni = line (9)
 lewa = renounce (3)
 lewa¹ = renounce, leave (1)
 livala = speak (59)
 lobu = decorate (1)
 lumutaku = not assist (1)

lumwailova = forget (2)
luvi = after (1)
luvil¹ = after, then (1)
ma = come (68)
mal¹ = this (10)
madagi = smooth (4)
magamaga = many (7)
magi = wish (30)
mai[^]ya = come here (5)
makaina = it¹ (17)
makaisina = they⁵ (11)
makaisina¹ = these (1)
makaivena = that (1)
makai[^]yama = here² (1)
makamwa = this and this (11)
makara = like, as (239)
makava = no relative (1)
makaya = as this (6)
makaya¹ = this and this (3)
malaka = red¹ (28)
malasi = malasi (1)
mamanu = calm (1)
manasina = they¹ (6)
manu = bird (11)
mapelana = it³ (7)
mapelasina = they² (2)
mapelasina¹ = these¹ (1)
mapelasiwena = those (1)
mapu = answer (19)
masawa = joke (1)
masina = this¹ (1)
masineiki = that's all (1)
masisi = sleep (14)
masisi = stay¹ (2)
masivana = in this time (1)
mata = eye (2)
matara = eye¹ (8)
matuwa = toughen (2)
megei = proffer (6)
megwa = ritual words (4)
meikela = sea swallow (7)
menana = she¹ (2)

metoya = from (1)
mi = your² (2)
migira = face (44)
migireu = clear (4)
mili = blend (5)
mimi = dream (8)
mimilisi = some¹ (10)
mira = inhabitants (6)
mkona = it² (16)
mkosina = they³ (16)
modayowa = modayowa (1)
mona = pudding (2)
monita = truth (49)
mori = shape² (5)
moumwau = be difficult (1)
mtaga = but (1)
mtona = hel (95)
mtosina = they⁴ (18)
mu = your³ (110)
mumu = drink (9)
munwoya = old (14)
mwada = otherwise (4)
mwala = paint (14)
mwamoura = shapel¹ (7)
mwareita = herself (2)
mwata = snake, structure (18)
mwau = hard (19)
mwoya = old¹ (5)
n = has (177)
na = the (13)
na¹ = very (2)
na² = female (3)
naboya = tomorrow (7)
nabwai = nabwai (2)
nagega = nagega (2)
nageira = today (10)
nagowa = bad, silly (1)
nakaiwa = high (8)
namumwoya = old women (1)
nanakwa = quick (1)
nanamsa = thought (35)
nanamsa¹ = think¹ (3)

nano = mind (28)
 naodu = bush (2)
 natara = one¹ (1)
 natu = son (10)
 naveka = big⁵ (1)
 naya = sail² (2)
 nei = gain end (4)
 neitibi = native (1)
 nopoura = inside (4)
 nova = yesterday (4)
 nuba = friend (6)
 nukogwa = high¹ (3)
 nukoli = know (116)
 nukolil¹ = knowledge (1)
 nukoyeki = bottom (5)
 nukubai = nukubai (2)
 nukulabuta = nukulabuta (7)
 nukwa = tell (43)
 nukwasisiga = nukwasisiga (2)
 numata = be weak (2)
 nuweiwa = off (1)
 nuya = coconut (1)
 o = on (58)
 ol¹ = in (17)
 ol² = at (6)
 onumugwa = onumugwa (1)
 oo = oh (15)
 oo = yes¹ (1)
 paisewa = work (29)
 paka = feast (4)
 pakeke = black fish (1)
 paresi = offer gifts (2)
 pawa = power (1)
 peira = for (153)
 peka = refuse (12)
 pela = side (11)
 pelai[^]tala = one side (7)
 pelai[^]veka = big side (8)
 pelaiyu = both sides (3)
 pelakatala = left side (25)
 pelakekita = small side (6)
 pelalamina = right side (34)

pelalamina¹ = outrigger side (1)
 pelapwalala = pierced side (2)
 pelataboda = put together side,
 entangled side (1)
 pelayuwai[^]la = second side (4)
 peni = pen (1)
 penita = paint¹ (4)
 peula = strong (6)
 pilisi = please (3)
 pirasi = help (1)
 pita = crush (1)
 poula = fish¹ (3)
 poula = four⁴ (1)
 pupwakau = very white (11)
 pusa = swelling (1)
 pwakau = white (8)
 pwala = fret (1)
 pwalala = pierce (15)
 pwepwaya = ground (1)
 ra = his² (116)
 ra¹ = her¹ (1)
 ra² = its² (34)
 ra³ = go¹ (37)
 rabougwa = come first (2)
 rairai = engrave (2)
 rakaya = go at, with (1)
 reka = heard (7)
 rekoreko = morning bird (2)
 roura = walk (1)
 ruruwai = remember, memorize (6)
 sa = them (155)
 sa louta = focus (1)
 sabwamwa = nothing (1)
 sakapu = come out (1)
 sakelu = go fast (2)
 salalaga = offer, go up (2)
 salouta = focus (7)
 samwa = not at all (1)
 seiki = maybe (11)
 seinaga¹ = very¹ (13)
 seinaga¹iya = too much (1)
 seka = give (78)

seli = rough (1)
 semwa = put aside (6)
 sera = put on (16)
 seulama = sail¹ (1)
 sewa = give up (1)
 seya = put in (1)
 si = their (11)
 sil = them¹ (20)
 sigagai = seat myself (1)
 sikera = to sit on (2)
 sileula = start (1)
 sima = light (1)
 simatili = disclose (7)
 simwa = stay here¹ (1)
 sinapwa = tell lie (3)
 sineu = entrails (20)
 sira = appear (2)
 sisu = stay² (50)
 sitana = a little (25)
 siwa = rest (2)
 siyakwakwa = siyakwakwa (3)
 soba = self decorate (7)
 soba¹ = self decoration (2)
 sopa = lie (10)
 sopi = water (15)
 sora = companion (3)
 sori = sorry (1)
 suluma = cook (1)
 sura = mistake¹ (1)
 susawila = sea eagle (9)
 ta = do (90)
 ta¹ = we two³ (29)
 taboda = entangle (20)
 tabu = taboo (19)
 tabu¹ = ancestor (11)
 tabudabwara = bows-tabuya (1)
 tabusi = drip down¹ (1)
 tabuvaura = stern-tabuya (3)
 tabuya = tabuya (23)
 tagabu = spread (1)
 tagwara = agree (2)
 tai = cut (10)

tai¹ = male (4)
 taitai = cuts¹ (1)
 taitara = one³ (17)
 taitoru = three² (1)
 taivasi = four² (1)
 taiyu = two (7)
 takainowa = no sign (2)
 takayesa = reproduce (35)
 takeiwa = cut down¹ (2)
 talapula = appear¹ (2)
 tama = father (8)
 tamatama = dangle (1)
 tamwala = paint² (3)
 tanawa = bottom¹ (9)
 tapwala = fret well (24)
 tapwalala = pierce well (1)
 tapwara = behind¹ (1)
 tara = one (11)
 tatata = tremble (1)
 tau = man¹ (27)
 teiga = ear¹ (5)
 teigara = ear (7)
 teitu = age (2)
 teitu¹ = year (2)
 tema = accept (1)
 tetora = self (3)
 tetoragu = myself (2)
 tetorara = himself (10)
 tice = teacher (1)
 titora = penetrate (1)
 to = man² (91)
 tobwabougwa = ancestors (5)
 togeruwa = togeruwa (6)
 toiya = also¹ (3)
 tokabitamu = craftsman (1)
 tokarai[^]waga = leader (3)
 tokekita = young man (7)
 tokunibougwa = long time ago (3)
 tokwaisai = tokwaisai (3)
 tokwalu = carved image (6)
 tomakava = outsider (2)
 tomota = people (35)

tomumwoya = old men (16)
 tomwoya = old man (6)
 tonagowa = bad man (1)
 tonori = tonori (7)
 tonugana = tonugana (1)
 tora = stand (4)
 toru = three (3)
 tosopasopa = lying (1)
 toveka = grow (4)
 tovisuleka¹ = teacher (1)
 towa = leave here (2)
 toweiyei = toweiyei (1)
 towitara = towitara (10)
 treni = training (1)
 tri = three⁴ (1)
 triki = trick (1)
 tu = two³ (1)
 tubukona = moon (1)
 twelve = twelve (1)
 tulosila = skilful (1)
 tuma = push down (1)
 tuni = dot (1)
 tupwa = not finished (1)
 tuta = time (36)
 tutana = a little¹ (10)
 tuveira = then (8)
 tuvi = deaf (1)
 tuwa = elder brother (1)
 u[^] = lw. (114)
 ununu = cooked greens,
 vegetables (1)
 ura = my² (22)
 utobobuta = supposition (6)
 utobobuta¹ = suppose (3)
 utoyera = stand up (3)
 uu = um (4)
 vagakora = train (4)
 vagakora = vagakora (1)
 vagi = do¹ (99)
 vakasi = fix (4)
 vakeitu = go off (2)
 vakuta = vakuta (1)
 varutu = struggle (2)
 vasi = four (3)
 vatakora = trunk (1)
 vatusi = set up (2)
 vau = black¹ (34)
 vavagi = things (2)
 veka = big (10)
 veka¹ = grow¹ (1)
 venoki = finish¹ (5)
 veru = village (5)
 veyo = relative (6)
 visuleka = teacher¹ (9)
 visuleka¹ = teach (5)
 vitoka = know deeply (1)
 vitoura = initiate (1)
 vivira = woman (7)
 wa = at¹ (9)
 wa¹ = go (6)
 wado = mouth¹ (2)
 wadora = mouth² (6)
 waga = canoe (38)
 waiwa = forget¹ (2)
 walata = pot (2)
 wane = one⁵ (1)
 wara = only (136)
 watara = any (6)
 waura = reason (11)
 wawa = rubbish (1)
 weku = shout (50)
 wola = paddle (2)
 wosi = performance (2)
 wouwa = marteline¹ (3)
 wouya = finish² (4)
 wowo = body (2)
 wowora = body¹ (1)
 ya = from¹ (1)
 ya¹ = at² (2)
 ya² = here¹ (5)
 ya³ = with¹ (4)
 yaga = name (15)
 yagara = name¹ (1)
 yakaura = congratulate (2)

yakema = we two (8)
yakemai[^]sa = we¹ (4)
yakemai[^]ya = we two with (1)
yakida = we two¹ (4)
yakidasa = we (2)
yama = hand (2)
yameda = waste (1)
yamu = day (4)
yamuyamu = everyday (2)
yavisi = untangle (1)
yeigu = i¹ (98)
yello = yellow (1)
yeyuna = tail (6)
yobweiri = favourite pupil (18)
yoka = you¹ (37)
yokamu = you yourself (4)
yokamui[^]ya = you yourselves (1)
yokwami = you¹ pl. (1)
youmada = invest (1)
yu = two² (3)
yusa = forbid (1)
yuwa = two¹ (1)

LEXICON: ENGLISH - NOWAU

a bad one = kokona (2)	behind ¹ = tapwara (1)
a little = sitana (25)	betel nut = buwa (33)
a little ¹ = tutana (10)	betel nut = kokona (2)
abs. = ko (8)	big = veka (10)
abs. = kwai (7)	big side = pelai [^] veka (8)
accept = tema (1)	big ¹ = koveka (1)
after = luvi (1)	big ² = kaikoveka (3)
after = luvi ¹ (1)	big ³ = kaiveka (4)
age = teitu (2)	big ⁴ = kwaiveka (4)
agree = tagwara (2)	big ⁵ = naveka (1)
agreed = ké (9)	bird = manu (11)
aku = aku (5)	black = boubwau (1)
all = komwedona (20)	black fish = pakeke (1)
already = bougwa (255)	black ¹ = vau (34)
also = gora (9)	black ² = koura (3)
also ¹ = toiya (3)	blacken = kumu (2)
ancestor = tabu ¹ (11)	blend = mili (5)
ancestors = tobwabougwa (5)	blue = dedamata (1)
anchor = kotuboboura (2)	blue ¹ = gilagila (1)
and = ee (349)	body = wowo (2)
and = kouya (1)	body ¹ = wowora (1)
answer = mapu (19)	book = buki (2)
any = watara (6)	both sides = pelaiyu (3)
appear = sira (2)	bottom = nukoyeki (5)
appear ¹ = talapula (2)	bottom ¹ = tanawa (9)
apprentice = kawasaki (1)	bows-tabuya = tabudabwara (1)
as = makara (239)	break = kovi (5)
as this = makaya (6)	broadside = budakai (1)
ask = katupoi (28)	burn = gabu (1)
at = o ² (6)	bush = naodu (2)
at ¹ = wa (9)	but = mtaga (1)
at ² = ya ¹ (2)	butterfly = beba (14)
bad = gaga (5)	bweiyowa boyowa = bweiyowa (1)
bad = nagowa (1)	calm = mamanu (1)
bad man = tonagowa (1)	canoe = waga (38)
balance = kurega (1)	carry = kokoula (1)
battery = bateri (2)	carved image = tokwalu (6)
be difficult = moumwau (1)	caterpillar = gigiwani (6)
be first = kougwa (7)	certainly = kainaga (2)
be weak = numata (2)	change = katupeili (12)
beach = kadewo (5)	chew = kaui (25)
behind = dedana (1)	child = gwadi (12)

children = gugwadi (5)
 clan = kumila (3)
 clear = migireu (4)
 coconut = nuya (1)
 coconut husk = kwaisaruvi (45)
 coconut shell = kwaiga (1)
 come = ma (68)
 come down = bweibusi (1)
 come first = rabougwa (2)
 come here = mai^ya (5)
 come out = sakapu (1)
 common = kwabu (1)
 companion = sora (3)
 confirm = kawa (8)
 congratulate = yakaura (2)
 cook = suluma (1)
 cooked greens = ununu (1)
 coral = kidakokola (1)
 craft = kabitamu (45)
 craftsman = tokabitamu (1)
 crush = pita (1)
 cut = gini (84)
 cut = tai (10)
 cut across = bobwa (2)
 cut down = lakubeli (3)
 cut down¹ = takeiwa (2)
 cuts = ginigini (43)
 cuts¹ = taitai (1)
 damuramwara = damuramwara (1)
 dangle = tamatama (1)
 daramwesi = daramwesi (1)
 day = yamu (4)
 deaf = tuvi (1)
 decorate = lobu (1)
 die = kariga (9)
 different = ituwali (52)
 disclose = simatili (7)
 distinguish = kabutuvatusi (4)
 distinguish oneself = kavikavira (1)
 do = ta (90)
 dol¹ = vagi (99)
 dot = tuni (1)
 draw = droini (2)
 drawing = droini¹ (1)
 dream = mimi (8)
 drink = mumu (9)
 drip down = busi (1)
 drip down¹ = tabusi (1)
 ear = teigara (7)
 ear¹ = teiga (5)
 eat = kamu (45)
 ebony = gai (1)
 elder brother = tuwa (1)
 embellish = kwama (1)
 engrave = rairai (2)
 enough = desi (5)
 entangle = taboda (20)
 entangled side = pelataboda (1)
 entrails = sineu (20)
 evening = kwayai (1)
 everyday = yamuyamu (2)
 eye = mata (2)
 eye¹ = matara (8)
 face = migira (44)
 father = tama (8)
 favourite pupil = yobweiri (18)
 feast = paka (4)
 female = na² (3)
 fern = karawa (2)
 fibre round the kernel of
 betel nut = kuku (2)
 find = bena (1)
 finish = kosi (22)
 finish¹ = venoki (5)
 finish² = wouya (4)
 fish = ina (12)
 fish¹ = poula (3)
 fishing canoe = keou (3)
 fit out = katubaya (1)
 fix = vakasi (4)
 floor = kebira (1)
 focus = sa louta (1)
 focus = salouta (7)
 follow = kabikaura (1)

food = karal (1)
 for = peira (153)
 forbid = yusa (1)
 forbidden food = bobouma (28)
 forget = lumwailova (2)
 forget¹ = waiwa (2)
 four = vasi (3)
 four¹ = kwaivasi (2)
 four² = taivasi (1)
 four³ = kaivasi (3)
 four⁴ = poura (1)
 fret = pwala (1)
 fret well = tapwala (24)
 friend = nuba (6)
 frighten = kokora (2)
 from = metoya (1)
 from¹ = ya (1)
 gain end = nei (4)
 garden = bagula (7)
 generation = goduwovau (1)
 get = ka (3)
 get a look = kakina (1)
 give = seka (78)
 give up = sewa (1)
 go = wa¹ (6)
 go at = rakaya (1)
 go fast = sakelu (2)
 go off = vakeitu (2)
 go up = salalaga (2)
 go¹ = ra³ (37)
 good = bouna (72)
 ground = pwepwaya (1)
 grow = toveka (4)
 grow¹ = veka¹ (1)
 hair = kurura (5)
 hand = yama (2)
 hand on = kitikeli (1)
 hard = mwau (19)
 has = n (177)
 he = i (380)
 hel¹ = mtona (95)
 head = daba (17)
 head¹ = dabwa (1)
 heard = reka (7)
 help = pirasi (1)
 her = kara² (1)
 her¹ = ra¹ (1)
 here = beisa¹ (1)
 here¹ = ya² (5)
 here² = makai[^]yama (1)
 herself = mwareita (2)
 hide = kipera (1)
 high = nakaiwa (8)
 high¹ = nukogwa (3)
 himself = tetorara (10)
 his = kala (2)
 his¹ = la (1)
 his² = ra (116)
 his³ = kara³ (15)
 house = dala (19)
 however = ga (46)
 hut = bwara (2)
 I = a (466)
 i¹ = yeigu (98)
 idea = doka (4)
 if = kidamwa (98)
 imagination = doka (4)
 in = o¹ (17)
 in this time = masivana (1)
 indeed = aa (11)
 inhabitants = mira (6)
 initiate = vitoura (1)
 inside = nopoura (4)
 inside parts of the
 head = kununa (10)
 invest = youmada (1)
 isn't that right = kedá (6)
 it = i¹ (342)
 it¹ = makaina (17)
 it² = mkona (16)
 it³ = mapelana (7)
 its = kara (51)
 its = la¹ (1)
 its¹ = kala¹ (1)

its² = ra² (34)
 iwa = iwa (1)
 joke = masawa (1)
 kabata = kabata (2)
 kitawa = kitawa (3)
 know = nukoli (116)
 know deeply = vitoka (1)
 knowledge = nukoli¹ (1)
 kumwageiya = kumwageiya (9)
 kurina = kurina (11)
 lagimu = lagimu (85)
 lalekeiwa = lalekeiwa (3)
 lalela = lalela (6)
 laugh = gigira (3)
 leader = tokarai[^]waga (3)
 leadership = karai[^]waga (1)
 leave = kinawa (7)
 leave = lewa¹ (1)
 leave here = towa (2)
 left = katala (4)
 left side = pelakatala (25)
 leg = kaikela (2)
 lie = sopa (10)
 light = sima (1)
 like = makara (239)
 line = leni (9)
 long time ago = tokunibougwa (3)
 look = ká (29)
 look¹ = katota (2)
 lose its balance = karatatava (3)
 lw. = a[^] (24)
 lw. = e[^] (39)
 lw. = i[^] (88)
 lw. = u[^] (114)
 lying = tosopasopa (1)
 make a hole = gipwalala (1)
 make clear = katuvisi (2)
 malasi = malasi (1)
 male = tail¹ (4)
 man¹ = tau (27)
 man² = to (91)
 many = magamaga (7)
 marteline = kaiwouwai (4)
 marteline¹ = wouwa (3)
 maybe = seiki (11)
 me = gu (109)
 mean = katumiki (8)
 meaning = katumiki¹ (8)
 memorize = ruruwai (6)
 mind = nano (28)
 mistake = buri (1)
 mistake¹ = sura (1)
 modayowa = modayowa (1)
 model = kwarakuna (1)
 modify = katupeili (12)
 moon = tubukona (1)
 morning bird = rekoreko (2)
 mother = ina¹ (6)
 mouth = duduwa (10)
 mouth¹ = wado (2)
 mouth² = wadora (6)
 my = agu (2)
 my food = kagu¹ (2)
 my¹ = kagu (2)
 my² = ura (22)
 myself = tetoragu (2)
 nabwai = nabwai (2)
 nagega = nagega (2)
 name = yaga (15)
 name¹ = yagara (1)
 native = neitibi (1)
 nephew = kada¹ (1)
 new one = kuwovau (10)
 night = bogi (2)
 no relative = makava (1)
 no respect = kabasawa (1)
 no sign = takainowa (2)
 nod = katuwayai (1)
 nose = bulula (1)
 not = gera (383)
 not assist = lumutaku (1)
 not at all = samwa (1)
 not finished = tupwa (1)
 nothing = sabwamwa (1)

now = beisa (195)
 nukubai = nukubai (2)
 nukulabuta = kulabuta (2)
 nukulabuta = nukulabuta (7)
 nukwasisiga = nukwasisiga (2)
 off = nuweiwa (1)
 offer = salalaga (2)
 offer gifts = paresi (2)
 oh = oo (15)
 oh¹ = ae (2)
 old = mumwoya (14)
 old man = tomwoya (6)
 old men = tomumwoya (16)
 old women = namumwoya (1)
 old¹ = mwoya (5)
 on = o (58)
 one = tara (11)
 one side = pelai¹tala (7)
 one¹ = natara (1)
 one² = kwaitara (17)
 one³ = taitara (17)
 one⁴ = kaitara (14)
 one⁵ = wane (1)
 only = wara (136)
 onumugwa = onumugwa (1)
 or = kaina (111)
 otherwise = mwada (4)
 our = da (3)
 our¹ = kama (3)
 outrigger = lamina (5)
 outrigger side = pelalamina¹ (1)
 outsider = tomakava (2)
 overturn = kapusi (1)
 paddle = wola (2)
 paint = mwala (14)
 paint¹ = penita (4)
 paint² = tamwala (3)
 past = bwabougwa (1)
 pen = peni (1)
 penetrate = titora (1)
 people = tomota (35)
 performance = wosi (2)

pierce = pwalala (15)
 pierce well = tapwalala (1)
 pierced side = pelapwalala (2)
 please = pilisi (3)
 possible = gagabila (57)
 pot = walata (2)
 power = pawa (1)
 practise = katudewa (3)
 proffer = megei (6)
 pudding = mona (2)
 purchase = gimwara (5)
 push down = tuma (1)
 put aside = semwa (6)
 put in = seya (1)
 put on = sera (16)
 put together = boda (34)
 put togetherd side = pelataboda (1)
 question = katupoi¹ (12)
 quick = nanakwa (1)
 re- = ki (2)
 reason = waura (11)
 red = bweiyani (1)
 red¹ = malaka (28)
 refuse = peka (12)
 relative = veyo (6)
 remember = ruruwai (6)
 renounce = lewa (3)
 renounce = lewa¹ (1)
 reproduce = takayesa (35)
 respect = katukila (7)
 rest = siwa (2)
 rib = gelu (3)
 right side = pelalamina (34)
 ritual words = megwa (4)
 rough = seli (1)
 rubbish = wawa (1)
 sail = kewa (4)
 sail¹ = kota (4)
 sail¹ = seulama (1)
 sail² = naya (2)
 scratch = kwali (1)
 sea = bwarita (3)

sea eagle = susawila (9)
sea swallow = meikela (7)
seat myself = sigagai (1)
second one = kaiyuwaura (1)
second side = pelayuwai^{la} (4)
see = ki na (1)
see = kina (85)
self = tetora (3)
self decorate = soba (7)
self decoration = soba^l (2)
set up = vatusi (2)
settle = gula (23)
shape = kakina^l (10)
shape¹ = mwamoura (7)
shape² = mori (5)
she = i² (10)
she¹ = menana (2)
shell = buna (1)
shout = weku (50)
side = pela (11)
silly = nagowa (1)
siyakwakwa = siyakwakwa (3)
skilful = tulosila (1)
skill = kataraki (41)
skin = kalevila (1)
sleep = masisi (14)
small = kaikekena (2)
small canoe = kwarakuna (1)
small side = pelakekita (6)
small¹ = kaikekita (4)
small² = kekena (3)
small³ = kekita (12)
small⁴ = kokekita (1)
small⁵ = kwekena (1)
smooth = madagi (4)
snake = keuna (2)
snake = mwata (18)
some = kwaivira (3)
some¹ = mimilisi (10)
son = natu (10)
sorry = sori (1)
spatula = kena (1)

speak = livala (59)
spread = tagabu (1)
stand = tora (4)
stand up = utoyera (3)
start = sileula (1)
stay = kasisu (3)
stay here = kanamwa (2)
stay here¹ = simwa (1)
stay¹ = masisi (2)
stay² = sisu (50)
stern-tabuya = tabuvaura (3)
still = igau (61)
stop talking = kapetu (3)
strong = peula (6)
structure = mwata (18)
struggle = varutu (2)
support = kikila (3)
suppose = utobobuta¹ (3)
supposition = utobobuta (6)
swelling = pusa (1)
taboo = tabu (19)
tabuya = tabuya (23)
tail = yeyuna (6)
take = kau (1)
take¹ = keula (2)
talk = kaibiga (41)
teach = visuleka¹ (5)
teacher = tice (1)
teacher = tovisuleka¹ (1)
teacher¹ = visuleka (9)
tease = katudada (2)
tell = nukwa (43)
tell lie = sinapwa (3)
that = makaivena (1)
that's all = masineiki (1)
the = na (13)
the day after tomorrow = bogiu (2)
their = si (11)
them = sa (155)
them¹ = si¹ (20)
then = luvi^l (1)
then = tuveira (8)

these = makaisinal (1)
thesel¹ = mapelasinal¹ (1)
they = i³ (141)
they¹ = manasina (6)
they² = mapelasina (2)
they³ = mkosina (16)
they⁴ = mtosina (18)
they⁵ = makaisina (11)
things = vavagi (2)
think = doka¹ (38)
think¹ = nanamsa¹ (3)
this = ma¹ (10)
this and this = makamwa (11)
this and this = makaya¹ (3)
this¹ = masina (1)
those = mapelasiwena (1)
thought = nanamsa (35)
three = toru (3)
three¹ = kwaitoru (1)
three² = taitoru (1)
three³ = kaitoru (1)
three⁴ = tri (1)
time = tuta (36)
to sit on = sikera (2)
today = nageira (10)
togeruwa = togeruwa (6)
tokwaisai = tokwaisai (3)
tomorrow = naboya (7)
tonori = tonori (7)
tonugana = tonugana (1)
too = ki¹ (2)
too much = seinagafiya (1)
toughen = matuwa (2)
toweiyei = toweiyei (1)
towitara = towitara (10)
trace = lakeda (1)
train = vagakora (4)
training = treni (1)
tremble = tatata (1)
trick = triki (1)
trunk = vatakora (1)
trust = dabumi (3)

truth = monita (49)
try = kora (1)
twelve = tuelve (1)
two = taiyu (7)
two¹ = yuwa (1)
two² = yu (3)
two³ = tu (1)
two⁴ = kaiyu (3)
um = uu (4)
uncle = kada (4)
untangle = yavisi (1)
vagakora = vagakora (1)
vakuta = vakuta (1)
vegetables = ununu (1)
very = na¹ (2)
very bad = gagana (13)
very big = kokoveka (2)
very difficult = kwaimwau (1)
very white = pupwakau (11)
very¹ = seinu (13)
village = veru (5)
voice = kaiga (2)
walk = roura (1)
waste = yameda (1)
water = sopi (15)
we = yakidasa (2)
we two = yakema (8)
we two with = yakemai[^]ya (1)
we two¹ = yakida (4)
we two² = ka¹ (5)
we two³ = ta¹ (29)
we¹ = yakemai[^]sa (4)
what = ama (2)
what name = amafiyaga (5)
what¹ = amakara (1)
what² = avaka (50)
where = ambeisa (1)
where¹ = averufiya (3)
which = ava (6)
which¹ = avei (21)
white = pwakau (8)
white man = dimudimu (2)

who = aveira (28)
wild pig = bulukwa (10)
will = b (756)
wish = magi (30)
with = deli (1)
with = kouya (1)
with = rakaya (1)
with¹ = ya³ (4)
woman = vivira (7)
wood = kai (36)
wooden black = kaivau (2)
wooden dish = kaboma (1)
wooden leg = kaikikila (4)
wooden red = kaimalaka (3)
word = biga (42)
work = paisewa (29)
yam = karu (6)
year = teitu¹ (2)
yellow = degadega (3)
yellow = yello (1)
yes = e (3)
yes¹ = oo (1)
yesterday = nova (4)
you = ku (215)
you yourself = yokamu (4)
you yourselves = yokamui[^]ya (1)
you¹ = yoka (37)
you¹ pl. = yokwami (1)
young man = tokekita (7)
younger brother = bwada (5)
youngs = gudiresi (1)
your = kami (3)
your¹ = kamu¹ (1)
your² = mi (2)
your³ = mu (110)

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