

According to the psychocultural thesis here submitted, myth varies with the historical stages of cultural thought, but the process of myth-making does not die a natural death with the emergence of critical, scientific thought. Each epoch has its own type of myth and the age of science has inevitably produced its own secular myths of rationalization. We must reckon with the fact that cultural progress is not inevitable, and that rational thought has proved itself quite capable of undermining its own foundations by espousing myth as a "higher" form of truth in the interests of national solidarity²³ and by reducing all cultural ideologies to the level of fictions. Normative, critical, scientific thought provides the only tested means of combatting the growth of myth, but it may do so only on condition that it retains its own integrity, and does not mistake reason for rationalization.

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²³ Bidney, 1949.

ULITHI AND THE OUTER NATIVE WORLD*

By WILLIAM A. LEVISA

ULITHI occupies a significant and strategic place in the relationships which exist among the natives of the West Caroline Islands, particularly the area under the domination of Yap. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the manner in which the various islands and atolls are structurally linked to one another, as well as to scan the more distant horizons of the native world known to Ulithians.

External relations between Ulithi and certain islands stretching from Yap almost to Truk are determined by political, kinship, and religious factors. Politically, the atoll is subordinate to Yap, on the west, but superior to "Woleai"—the name which the people of Ulithi apply to the string of islands between them and Truk, on the east. It is the main link in the chain of authority which originates in the Gagil district of Yap and terminates with Pulap, Pulusuk, and Namonuito, about seven hundred miles to the east (see Fig. 1). The political connections between these various places are supplemented by a parallel set of pseudo-kinship ties. In fact, political and kinship relationships, real or pretended, form one inseparable system—a paternalistic suzerainty, as it were. In addition, Yap occupies a special place as the seat of certain religious activities and locales.

The historical connections among the islands involved in the Yap sphere of influence have not been worked out, but it is apparent that the various relationships serve primarily as vehicles for the transmission of tribute, gifts, and religious offerings. Orders which emanate from Yap to Ulithi and "Woleai" are essentially concerned with such goods. The flow, however, is not in one direction; there is a lesser, though nevertheless considerable, flow the other way.

In the middle period of the Japanese administration, and especially in 1948 under the American regime, the actual operation of the system about to be described was dealt a severe blow. Since in order to understand the system at all it must be set forth as it was when, not long ago, it flourished in full vigor, this paper refers to it in the present tense.

* The field work on which this paper is based was done in 1947 and 1948-49 as part of the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (CIMA) sponsored by the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council. The author was aided in this work by the further sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago. While he has attempted to adhere to a synthesis derived wholly from data obtained on Ulithi, it has been most helpful to have available pertinent unpublished materials supplied by Dr. David Schneider of the Harvard team of anthropologists who worked on Yap in 1947-48. Dr. Schneider has read the present manuscript and his generosity in clarifying discrepancies is greatly appreciated. The manuscript has had the benefit of readings also by Professors G. P. Murdock, Edwin Burrows, and Melford Spiro, CIMA anthropologists, and the opportunity is here taken to thank them for their kindness.

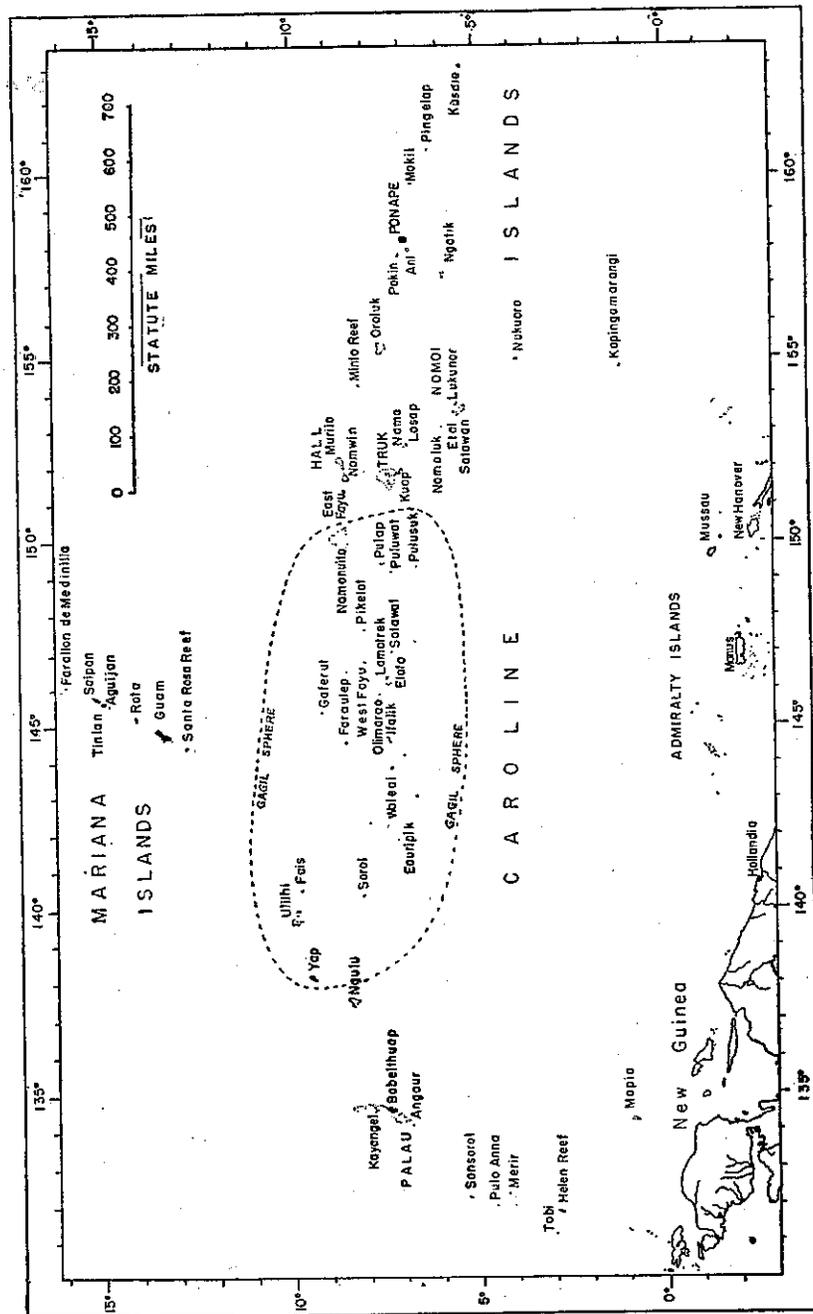


FIG. 1.—The Gagil sphere of authority in the Caroline Islands.

It should be emphasized that the account which follows cannot adequately describe the complete Yap sphere of authority. First of all, the data were procured from the point of view of Ulithi, and there may be discrepancies between the system as analyzed by others and the materials given here. Secondly, Yap controls islands which are not adequately covered from the vantage point offered by Ulithi. Thus, the atoll of Ngulu is a direct satellite of the Gorrer district of Yap, and, though it has close cultural connections with Ulithi, it is not a formal part of the structure which involves Ulithi. For Ulithi does not have ties with that part of Yap outside the Gagil district. In fact, with one exception, its relation to Gagil is restricted to two villages, Gatchepar and Onean.¹ The exception to this rule is provided in the case of the relatively minor Fal Chohoi sib of Ulithi, which looks towards a patrilineal grouping in Gagil located in the village of Riken.² The reason for this aberration is unknown. On Ulithi, it is said that long ago even Onean was not included in the system.³ Certainly, Onean's ties are definitely less widespread than those of Gatchepar, so that this lends credibility to the statement. A caution, however, should be introduced at this point against regarding the link-

¹ Known as Hachapar and Ielial, respectively, on Ulithi. In general, wherever Yap names are referred to in this discussion, the Yap version is given preference, if it is known. The spelling of native terms will, with some additions, follow the orthography proposed by S. H. Elbert, *Ulithi-English and English-Ulithi Word Lists* (United States Military Government, 1947). The additions are as follows: *ä* is pronounced as *u* in "sun"; *kh*, the voiceless palatal fricative, is used in most cases where Elbert uses hard *g*.

² The terminology employed by writers with respect to unilateral descent groups in Micronesia is not uniform and needs clarification. There are in this area the descent groups which American anthropologists usually term "sibs." However, recent investigators in the field have shown an inclination to introduce the term "lineage" in those cases where the members of these kin groupings can show an actual, not merely a traditional, genealogical relationship. A lineage therefore differs from a sib only in so far as traceable descent is concerned. According to this definition, on Ulithi there are both sibs and lineages, each being matrilineal. In order to prevent confusion, the present paper employs one term, sib, for both of these, since no fruitful distinction exists between the two. The people of Ulithi themselves have a single term, *hailang*, for each of them, and see no difference in their character, though some investigators who have worked in Micronesia have found that lineages are members of particular sibs. While the present writer simplifies matters with respect to Ulithi by using one term alone, it is necessary to recognize that a special situation exists on Yap. There, recent work has indicated the presence of two kinds of descent groups, one matrilineal and the other patrilineal. The Harvard anthropologists refer to them as "matrisibs" and "patrilines," respectively, but for the sake of simplicity they will here be referred to as "matrilineal sibs" and "patrilineal lineages." The Yap matrilineal sib is limited in power, function, and importance, though district chieftainships are passed on within it. The Yap patrilineal lineage, on the other hand, is the land-owning, inheriting, and succeeding unit, and village chieftainships are passed on within it.

³ A personal communication from Dr. Schneider seems to clear up this matter. In it he states that the village of Onean is a newly-rich, upstart village which has by dint of a series of astute political moves which coincided with wars moved up in half a century from low to high caste, attaining a number five and then a number two position in the seven strata into which the nine classes of people on that island are ranked.

ages between Ulithi and Yap as being a phenomenon arising out of relationships between the villages as such. If Yap villages are alluded to, it is by virtue of the fact that they contain within them the appropriate kin groups.

There are no data in Ulithi which throw light on how this whole system got started. The theory is attractive that the people of Yap are intrusive in this part of the Caroline Islands, and that they have organized the natives and land of the subject islands in such a way as to reflect their own caste system.⁴ There is no way of knowing if there has ever been a rebellion against this system on the part of the people of Ulithi or the islands to the east.

THE POLITICAL RELATION BETWEEN ULITHI AND YAP

The Yap-Ulithi-"Woleai" chain of authority begins in the Gagil district of Yap. More specifically, it originates with the head of the Wolei matrilineal sib, which is located in Gatchepar village, since the chieftainship of Gagil district is vested in this sib, and the head of the sib must not only belong to it, but must also be a resident of Gatchepar village. At the time of this study, Fithingmau Niga, an aged man, was the paramount chief. As such he was the head of the leading matrilineal sib in the principal village of the district.

When the paramount chief of Gagil issues an order to the islands east of Yap, it first goes to the paramount chief of Ulithi Atoll. This chief is the head of the Lamathakh sib, a kin group which in point of fact has become biologically extinct but has been replaced by members of the rather prolific Fasilus sib.⁵

Ulithi then transmits the order in two directions, one spreading internally, the other externally. Internally, it goes to the head of the Lamrui sib, which is the second ranking sib, though it, too, is biologically extinct and has been replaced by individuals who belong to the great Hofalü sib, widespread throughout the Carolines. From this chief, the order passes to the head of the Fal Le Mei sib, whose importance stems from the fact that he is the superior *metang*, or council head, of the two *metang* who officiate together on the island of Mogmog, where the Lamathakh and Lamrui sibs are located. Next, the order passes to the head of the Lugalap sib on the island of Sorlen, immediately east of Mogmog. From there it goes simultaneously to the head of the Mürüch sib

⁴ Schneider states that the relations between the high caste of Yap and the people of Ulithi resemble the relations between the high and the low castes on Yap. There, the basis of relationship is fundamentally one of land ownership. The *milingai*, or lower caste, does not own the land it lives on, its land belonging to certain patrilineal lineages of the *pilung*, or upper-caste grouping. Not all such upper-caste groupings own lower-caste land; only some of them do. Yet it is the lineage and not the village which is the landowning unit. What interests us here is that the people of Ulithi and "Woleai" are regarded by the Yapese as people of the *milingai*, or low-caste, and that certain Yap lineages own certain lands in these islands to the east.

⁵ In Ulithi, the oldest male of a sib is the head of that sib. All sibs are matrilineal, the double descent situation which prevails on Yap being absent.

on Mangejang, the Hapelim sib on Lam, and the Fasilus sib on Pigelelel.⁶ The head of the Mürüch sib, the first-named of these three, relays the order to the Hachlau and Lipipi sib heads on the island of Falalop. He also relays it, simultaneously, to the Lebohat sib head on Fasseraï and the Fachal sib head on Lossau. From Falalop the order goes to the head of the Ifang sib on Asor and the Bugat Le Palap sib on Losiep. The chain of authority is indicated in Fig. 2.

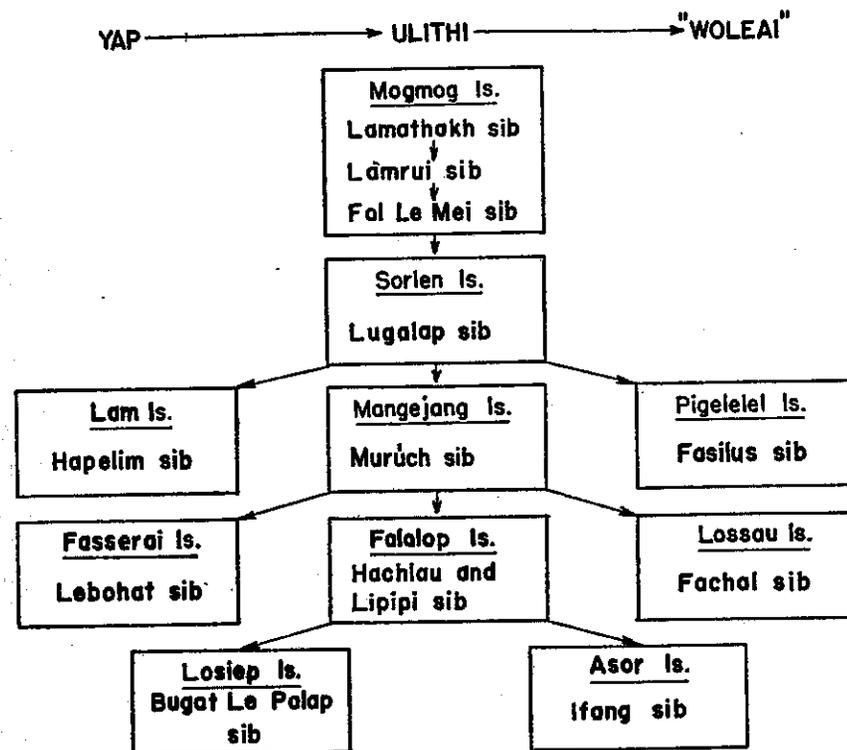


FIG. 2.—The internal diffusion of orders in the chain of authority from Yap to Ulithi to "Woleai."

So that he may consult with the paramount chief of Gagil for orders, an annual voyage to Yap is expected of the paramount chief of Ulithi. These orders, which are political, as distinguished from kinship and religious matters, are concerned with *pitigil tamol*, or tribute, which consists principally of fine fiber textiles, mats, rope, and food. It goes only to the chief of Gagil district. It is sent irregularly, demands for its delivery being imparted either at the

⁶ This sib is independent of the Fasilus sib on Mogmog. Marriage between the two is permitted.

annual conference or by sending out a special emissary from Yap to Ulithi.⁷ Several years may elapse before a demand for *pitigil tamol* is made by Gagil.

THE SAWEI RELATION BETWEEN ULITHI AND YAP

Another aspect of the Yap-Ulithi system is to be found in the so-called *sawei* relationship maintained between the two. It is based on owner-tenant relationships, as well as caste, but it has a softer character than the political relationships discussed above.

Each Ulithi sib is called the "child" of its opposite grouping in Gagil, the latter being called its "parent." The gifts which one exchanges with the other are called *sawei*, a term that is likewise applied to the baskets used to transport the gifts. The word has a more general meaning, and is used to describe the groupings which exchange gifts, as well as the relationship itself.

Though actually the *sawei* relationship is one between two caste groups, one of which is the landlord and the other the serf, in practice it is best understood in terms of gift-exchange and reciprocal hospitality between groups maintaining the attitude that they are "parent" and "child." Whether real kinship exists now, or existed in the past, is problematical, but the symbolism, as well as a whole complex of correspondingly appropriate behavior, is nevertheless maintained.

Sawei is not tribute. It is hard to justify even calling it "rent," for if the term were to be used in this manner we would be presented with the ludicrous situation of the landlord giving his serf more "rent" than he receives; for, if anything, the "child," in this case Ulithi, gets the better of the bargain, or, at least, comes out even, as we shall see.

Political considerations enter into this scheme only in an indirect way. A patrilineal lineage in Yap may lose some of its landholdings. Otherwise, however, political control is a wholly separate matter, and a political chief has no authority over the activities of a man acting as spokesman and head of the landholding lineage.⁸

⁷ In recent years, Fithingmau has been sending Foneg, a chief of lesser rank. Actually, the role of emissary should be filled by Bugulru, a chief of higher rank than Foneg, but he is too young for the assignment. Since 1948 Foneg's trips have fallen to the vanishing point, especially because the American civil administration officers feel that he is *persona non grata* to the tributary islands of Yap. It is interesting to note that Foneg is a Ulithian by birth and was adopted as a boy by a Yapese woman, Metun, who herself traces descent to the Lamathakh (Fasilus) sib on Ulithi. However, her husband, Inefel, was a Yapese. Foneg now identifies himself completely with Yap, where by reason of his adoption, he acts as head of several lineages which are biologically but not socio-politically extinct.

⁸ This conclusion flows from certain data supplied by Dr. Schneider for Yap, where the class position of a village may be reduced as the result of war, in which case one or another of its constituent patrilineal lineages may be stripped of its low-caste lands. Or, a lineage may lose its low-caste lands because it, or one of its members, gets involved in some criminal action. While such records are not at hand to show that this applies to Ulithi landholdings, records for the internal situation at Gagil do exist.

TABLE 1.—List of lands and descent groupings in a *sawei lap* relationship.

Sawei District	Ulithi			Yap		
	"Tenant" Matrilineal Sib	Location	Incumbent Head (1949)	"Owner" Patrilineal Lineage	Location	Incumbent Head (1949)
Mogmog: Lul Le Paling	Lamathakh	Mogmog	Wegelemar	Mario	Gatchepar	Fithingmau Niga
Mogmog: Lul Le Eawachich	Lamru	Mogmog	Mälisou	Pebinau	Gatchepar	Fithingmau Niga
Potangeras, Horaizon, Telethakh	Lamathakh and Lamru	Mogmog	Wegelemar and Mälisou	Mario and Pebinau	Gatchepar	Fithingmau Niga
Pigelelel, Elapig	Fasilus	Pigelelel	Turul	Tatho	Gatchepar	Fithingmau Tulk
Song, Pogel	?	Song	Bwichelemar	Thelengach	Onean	Figir Laruan
Asor, Begef, Eoet	Ifang	Asor	Haleng	Fetepebwal	Onean	Figir Laruan
Sorlen, Lam, Sorenleng, Iongolpalap, Piras, Elemat, Eleute	Lugalap	Sorlen	Kän			
Mangejang, Feitabul, Frethau, Songe-tigech, Pau, Eahl, Pugulut, Koroga-wappu	Murich	Mangejang	Chitioir	Tohobwi	Gatchepar	Bugulu
Lossau, Fig	Fachal	Lossau	Chinwerekh	Fetefang	Gatchepar	Bugulu
Isel Paling, Yaretuwachich	Lamathakh	Mogmog	Wegelemar	?	Gatchepar	Seleng
Fasserai, Eau	Lebohat ¹	Fasserai	Harongothal	Hangalai	Gatchepar	Foneg
Falalop, Cielap, Iar	Hachlau ²	Falalop	Rukhiöl	Wolpei No. 1	Onean	Fatamag
Losiep	Bugat Le Palap	Losiep	Linghrang	Felchhangar	Gatchepar	Fanechor

¹ Lebohat also acts as representative for the Folemol sib on Fasserai, whose incumbent head (1949) is Thitchoh. This sib has *sawei lap* status.

² Hachlau also acts as representative for the Lipipi Wachich, Limat, Taroth, Fal Mökch, Limat, Wachich, Kar, and Fowach sibs on Falalop, whose respective incumbent heads (1949) are Mangel, Iäch Thar, Mahothal, Mälisou (Falalop), Mangel, Huar, and Ithuerang. These sibs have *sawei lap* status.

We may now examine in detail the actual tie-up between specific lands on Ulithi, and the sibs which "own" them locally, as well as the patrilineal lineages which control them from Yap. First of all, a division must be recognized between those sibs which are *lap*, or big, and those which are *wachich*, or small. The basis for this distinction, which extends to the respective chiefs, seems to depend on whether or not the sib controls large or small landholdings, the big groups controlling whole *sawei* districts, and the small ones controlling subdivisions of these districts. At any rate, the distinction is always made by natives, in whose minds there is no confusion as to whether or not a sib and its head is *lap* or *wachich*. Table 1 shows the *sawei* landownership districts of Ulithi and the "big" sibs which control them locally, as well as the "big" Yap lineages which ultimately "own" them. The chiefs who are paired with one another are of equivalent rank. Thus, the paramount chief of Ulithi deals with the paramount chief of Gagil district on Yap. But all chiefs have direct relations with one another, never working through the political chiefs, who, as such, have no part in the *sawei* complex at all.

The Ulithi *sawei lap* is ordinarily a sib which outranks all others for the islands, groups of islands, or parts of islands which constitute the *sawei* district. Thus, the west side of the island of Mogmog (Lul Le Paling) is controlled locally by the leading sib of that side, while the east side of the island (Lul Le Eawachich) is controlled by the leading sib of that side, these being, respectively, Lamathakh and Lamrui. Whether a sib is important by virtue of being the head of a *sawei* district, or whether it was important before Yap domination, one can not say. This much is true, however—though these sibs have a political standing within the local system independent of the *sawei* standing, they more or less coincide. Despite the rule which says that "big" sibs have "big" status, there are some sibs with such status that are really comparatively unimportant in the local scene and, in fact, contribute their gifts by means of Ulithi chiefs who carry on direct major gift relations. In Table 1, these sibs are pointed out in the footnotes. How the total dual arrangement has come about is not known, but it may tentatively be suggested that it represents, on the one hand, an imposed *sawei* arrangement coming from Yap, and, on the other, an indigenous political arrangement which existed prior to that time.

The *sawei wachich* sibs may now be examined. They are of minor rank, as we have indicated, and their lands are subdivisions of *lap* divisions. These small sibs are listed in Tables 2 and 3. In the case of the listings in Table 2, the landholdings of these *sawei wachich* are easy to work out, since they consist of whole islands, even though small and unimportant ones. In the case of Table 3, the lands belonging to the sibs are subdivisions of various islands, and because of their complexity are not listed. The Ulithi sib, Limat, is curious in that, as indicated in a footnote to Table 1, it has an indirect *lap* status, whereas in Table 2 it is definitely *wachich*. This means that Limat sends "big" gifts

to Wolpei No. 1 on Yap and "small" ones to Tolriokh No. 2 on that same island.

TABLE 2.—List of lands and descent groupings in a *sawei wachich* relationship.

Sawei Sub-District	Ulithi			Yap		
	"Tenant" Matrilineal Sib	Location	Incumbent Head (1949)	"Owner" Patrilineal Lineage	Location	Incumbent Head (1949)
Malotel	Hamakhrang	Mogmog	Peilukh	Tolriokh No. 1	Gatchepar	Ioubalau
Mas	Fal Khel	Falalop	Bwabewech	Tera	Gatchepar	Thing
Bulubul	Limat	Falalop	Mahothal	Tolriokh No. 2	Gatchepar	Thing
Lolang	Taupefang	Fassera	Waterü	Ipo	Gatchepar	Thepengakh

Just as sibs are classed as *lap* or *wachich*, so are the gifts which they send, with the single exception just noted. A "big" sib always sends and receives "big" gifts, at least as far as Ulithi is concerned. But some lineages on Yap hold a dual position, being *lap* and *wachich* at the same time, though never with reference to the same Ulithi sib. Thus Table 1 shows that Yap Fetepebwai is "big" with respect to Ulithi Ifang and Lugalap, but Table 3 shows the same lineage to be "small" with respect to Fal Puloi and Maiefang. The reason for this double role is not clear, but one cannot help but feel that if the matter could be adequately probed, it would turn out that this situation has been brought about for either one of two reasons—the extinction of lineages on Yap, with their subsequent absorption by other lineages which have persisted till today, or, as would seem to be more likely, the transference of landholdings from one lineage to another because of default through war or crime.

Another feature of the *sawei* relationship is the extension of hospitality, and on this important role we shall dwell for but a brief moment at this time. It has already been indicated that each Ulithi sib, known locally as a *hailang*, is reckoned as the "child" of a designated "parent" lineage on Yap, referred to as a *tabinaww*. The relationship is symbolized by the actual use of kinship terms. Thus, a Ulithian addresses the Yapese of his corresponding lineage as *tömai* or *silei*, father or mother, whichever the case may be, being addressed in turn as *lai*, child. The relationship goes beyond mere terminology. In social interaction the prevailing theme is, again, that of parent-child behavior. Yapese in Gagil district look after Ulithian guests as one would a son or daughter, and supervise their actions as parents might, rewarding them when

TABLE 3.—List of remaining descent groupings in a *sawei wachich* relationship, with the names of lands omitted.

Ulithi			Yap		
"Tenant" Matrilineal Sib	Location	Incumbent Head (1949)	"Owner" Patrilineal Lineage	Location	Incumbent Head (1949)
Lipipi	Falalop	Mukhul	Falehar	Gatchepar	Fithingmau Tuluk
Üspath	Falalop	Bwabwech	Theलगच	Onean	Figir Wachich
Likipä	Falalop	Mälisou (Falalop)			
Ifang Wachich	Asor	İtelukh	Fetepebwai	Onean	Figir Laruan
Wölepei	Lam	Thiguliel			
Hapelim	Lam	Ienefel			
Lifal	Falalop	Huior	Felechangar	Gatchepar	Bugulru
Lifal Wachich No. 1	Falalop	Rösölmal			
Lifal Wachich No. 2	Falalop	Mangel			
Fal Puloi	Mangejang	Chüoior	Tohobwi	Gatchepar	Bugulru
Maiefang	Mangejang	Chüoior	Thumnuch	Gatchepar	Seleng
Fal Howal	Falalop	Maielemar			
Maiür	Sorlen	Wegelemar	Bwoleau	Gatchepar	Seleng
Feliör	Asor	Rolmar	Märiang	Gatchepar	Foneg
Fal Huliföi	Mogmog	Suwel			
Iucholop	Falalop	Habungumar	Lothowerekh	Gatchepar	Foneg
Chuchü	Fasserai	Harongothal	Hangalai	Gatchepar	Foneg
Fal Le Mei	Mogmog	Ubwoth	Ipo	Gatchepar	Thepengakh
Hathiar	Mogmog	Mälisou			
Taupefang	Fasserai	Waterü			

TABLE 3 (continued)

Ulithi			Yap		
"Tenant" Matrilineal Sib	Location	Incumbent Head (1949)	"Owner" Patrilineal Lineage	Location	Incumbent Head (1949)
Maiefang	Falalop	Huar	Felängien	Gatchepar	Thepengakh
Hamakhrang	Mogmog	Peilukh	Tolriokh No. 1	Gatchepar	Ioubalau
Metathou	Asor	Lalawe	Mangalru No. 1	Onean	Mangelol
Maiür Wachich	Asor	Iathelmarech	Mangalru No. 2	Onean	Maching
Maralbwöl	Asor	İtelukh			
Maiür	Asor	Lalawe	Mangel	Gatchepar	Lüchu
Fal Khel	Falalop	Bwabwech	Tora	Gatchepar	Thing
Röt	Falalop	Rösölmal	Wolpei No. 2	Onean	Thapoi
Fal Chohoi	Falalop	Uwelpelui	Chökhil	Riken	Buchun
Lekhfali	Mogmog	Ifanglimar	Felärus	Gatchepar	Bwemele
Lemat	Mogmog	Ianger	Iowal	Gatchepar	Hamanang

they are "good" and punishing them when they are "bad." They feed, clothe, and house them, and load them with gifts when they leave. In return, the Ulithian must show filial respect and obedience. If a Yapese comes to Ulithi—as he seldom does—his *sawei* sib there must act towards him as a grown child towards a parent. The Ulithian, because of his low caste, must accept the fatherly role of all Gagil Yapese, not only those of his *sawei* lineage, though as far as the groupings themselves are concerned it is only those which are joined in *sawei* that call one another parent and child.

THE RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ULITHI AND YAP

While the precise religious relationship between Ulithi and Yap has not been finally worked out, we know a good deal about it. Each year the Ulithi sibs of big *sawei* rank must transmit *mepel*, or religious offerings, to the Yap lineages with which they are paired. The *mepel* is handed over to each chief of the appropriate lineage. He receives it on behalf of his group's principal ancestral ghost, the people of both Ulithi and Yap having a system of ancestor worship in which these ghosts play a large part in human affairs. On the sur-

face, it might appear that the Yap ghosts also belong to the people of Ulithi, but they are better explained as another aspect of the caste system. It is likely that the offerings sent to Yap are compensation for services rendered by these ghosts to the sibs of Ulithi, and that the role of Yap lineages is to act as an intermediary with such ghosts. Such a pattern is in harmony with the paternalistic attitude taken by the upper caste and has a basis in a situation which exists internally between the castes on Yap.⁹

Mepel, like tribute but unlike *sawei*, flows only from Ulithi to Yap, for there would be no point in its going in the other direction. German writers used to suppose that the offerings went exclusively to the paramount chief of Gagil. If that chief receives a large amount, it is either because the contributing Ulithi sib is the most important of its atoll, or because the Yap lineages' ghosts are very powerful. The other sibs are under no obligation to send religious offerings to the Märlö lineage on Yap, for they do not have a *sawei* relationship with it.

THE RELATION OF ULITHI TO "WOLEAI"

Between Ulithi and the islands to the east, known collectively as "Woleai," a political relationship exists which closely repeats the pattern between Yap and Ulithi, except that in this case orders do not originate in Ulithi, which merely transmits those received from higher up. Therefore, Ulithi does not receive *pitigil tamol* in its own right; it transmits it to Yap.¹⁰ Ulithi has a *sawei lap* relationship with "Woleai," however, which is almost exactly like the one it has with Yap. It also acts as the intermediary in a separate *sawei lap* relation which exists between "Woleai" and Yap.

A more detailed analysis of the above facts may begin by first following the thread of political relationships where it was left off above.¹¹ It was pointed out there that when Ulithi receives orders from Yap it transmits them not only internally, but to Fais, Sorol, and Woleai. The first two do not pass the order any further, whereas Woleai does, transmitting it to Eauripik, Faraulep, and Ifalik. Of these three, Ifalik passes it on to Lamotrek, which passes it on simultaneously to Elato and Satawal. Satawal passes it on to Puluwat, which relays it to Pulap, Pulusuk, and Namonuito. The complete chain of authority, omitting internal ramifications, is illustrated in Fig. 3. It is scrupulously observed, and "Woleai" will not execute orders from Yap except via Ulithi.

The political importance of Ulithi in the Yap sphere of authority, then, is

⁹ Schneider states that on Yap each patrilineal lineage which owns a low-caste land looks out for the spiritual welfare of its low-caste tenants. He does not believe, as was told the author on Ulithi, that the great spirit, Iongolap, is an ancestral ghost of the leading Gagil lineage. The people of Ulithi may well be quite confused on this matter, for they seem to know surprisingly little about Iongolap, except that he is very powerful.

¹⁰ "Woleai" does not always send its tribute to Yap at the same time that Ulithi does.

¹¹ On page 32.

that it acts as intermediary between "Woleai" and Yap; it even represents these islands at Gagil, for their chiefs never consult directly *vis-à-vis* the chief at Gagil. In fact, they ordinarily do not make the trip to Yap at all, traveling only as far as Ulithi, where they ascertain from its paramount chief what orders have been issued to them. On account of the long distances involved, such trips are made every two or three years instead of annually.¹²

As has been indicated, a *sawei lap* relationship exists between Ulithi and "Woleai" which duplicates that between Ulithi and Yap. However, a Ulithian

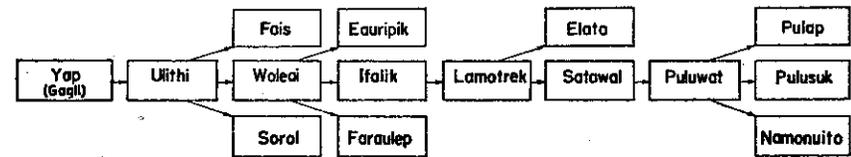


FIG. 3.—The chain of authority from Yap to Ulithi to "Woleai."

who is a *sawei lap* chief with respect to Yap is not in all cases a similar chief with respect to "Woleai," though there are several who hold this dual position. Conversely, some of the Ulithi men who are chiefs for "Woleai" islands do not have a similar position with respect to Yap. This argues for a separation of the two landlord-serf systems existing in "Woleai." In its orientation with the islands to the east the role of Ulithi is of course reversed, and its sibs are now the "parent" and the sibs of "Woleai" are their "children."¹³ It will be remembered that the islands of "Woleai" have direct *sawei lap* relationships with Yap, so that with respect to that island, too, they are "children." This means that in each instance Yap is a "parent." Table 4 lists the Ulithi *sawei* chiefs and the eastern islands for which they are responsible.

Just as Ulithi sends *sawei* to Yap, so "Woleai" sends it to Ulithi. It is not as large, however, and is sent not annually but every two or three years. A return gift, of course, is always made.

¹² Fais and Sorol are exceptions to this general scheme, for they receive their orders once a year. However, since their people are unskilled in navigation, special arrangements must be made to communicate with them, something that is not difficult, because they are comparatively close to Ulithi. The latter sends a canoe to Fais to fetch the paramount chief there. But it does so before, rather than after, the trip has been made by Ulithi to take *pitigil tamol* to Yap. This is to enable the Fais chief to visit the Wolpei Le Thapoi lineage at Gagil, rather than to see the paramount chief there. In fact, he never consults with the latter, and so rigid is the formality that he does not know what instructions are to be given him till the return trip to Ulithi has been completed. As for Sorol, the paramount chief there does not make trips to Yap, as does the chief from Fais. Like Fais, it does not send a canoe to Ulithi, for, even in the days before the typhoon which caused the evacuation of virtually all of its inhabitants, the people of Sorol were so unskilled in navigation that they never negotiated long voyages. Therefore, instead of fetching the chief of Sorol to Ulithi and giving him his orders there, Ulithi annually sends an emissary to him.

¹³ It was not precisely ascertained which "Woleai" sibs have this *sawei* relation with Ulithi, but it is likely that it is the leading matrilineal sib of each island.

Ulithi has another intermediary role, because "Woleai" has a *sawei* relationship not only with Ulithi, but also with Yap. This means that if Yap, Ulithi, and "Woleai" are thought of as three units in a system, each exercises two simultaneous *sawei* relations.¹⁴ But, though Ulithi deals directly with the unit to the west and the unit to the east, Yap and "Woleai" must deal indirectly with one another, through Ulithi as intermediary. On account of the great distances in the Carolines this arrangement seems eminently sensible, though the possibility must never be overlooked that unknown historical reasons rather than expediency may have been father to the scheme.

TABLE 4.—List of the Ulithi Sibs "owning" the islands of "Woleai" at the *sawei lap* level

Ulithi Sib	Location	Incumbent Head (1949)	"Woleai" Islands "Owned"
Lamathakh	Mogmog	Wegeleamar	Utagal (Woleai), Puluwat, Pulap, Pulusuk, Namonuito
Fal Le Mei	Mogmog	Ubwoth	Lamotrek, Satawal, Elato
Hathiar	Mogmog	Ianger	Faraulep
Lipipi	Falalop	Makhul	Sorol
Hachlau	Falalop	Rukhliol	Falalop (Woleai)
Lifal	Falalop	Iurus	Falalis (Woleai)
Fal Howal	Falalop	Iäch Thar	Paliau (Woleai)
Mürüch	Mangejang	Chüoior	Mariaon-Saliap-Tagaulap (Woleai), Eau-ripik
Lebohat	Fasserai	Harongothal	Fais, Raur (Woleai), Ifalik

As for *sawei wachich* relationships, a certain imbalance is seen to exist in the symmetrical plan hitherto outlined, for this minor kind of pairing is lacking between "Woleai" and the two units to the west. The reason for this is not

¹⁴ The atolls of "Woleai" are properly treated as a unit for *sawei* purposes, for they have only external, no internal, *sawei* relationships. Thus, all these islands and atolls are, for present purposes, as much of a unit as the several islands of Ulithi alone.

clear, but it may reflect the fact that the islands of "Woleai" are owned always as complete units, not in fractions.

It will by now be apparent that a situation exists in which the islands of "Woleai" are held simultaneously by the patrilineal lineages of Yap and the matrilineal sibs of Ulithi. This seeming paradox may possibly be explained on the grounds that Yap gives Ulithi *sawei* benefits as a reward for its position as intermediary with "Woleai," and that we should not define ownership of land in the *sawei* sense too literally. Ulithi informants, in discussing this system, always stressed the amity between *sawei* sibs, and when hard-pressed for a translation of the word would say it meant "friend," though this is obviously not its real meaning. At any rate, they never referred to it as implying land ownership, this meaning having been read into it by the author since leaving the field.

Ulithi has a third intermediary role, as the agent for the transmission of *mepel*, or religious offerings, from "Woleai" to certain designated *sawei* lineages on Yap. These offerings are delivered to Ulithi from the east, from there to be transmitted westward. Fig. 4 shows in schematic form the complete structure as it has been described up to this point.

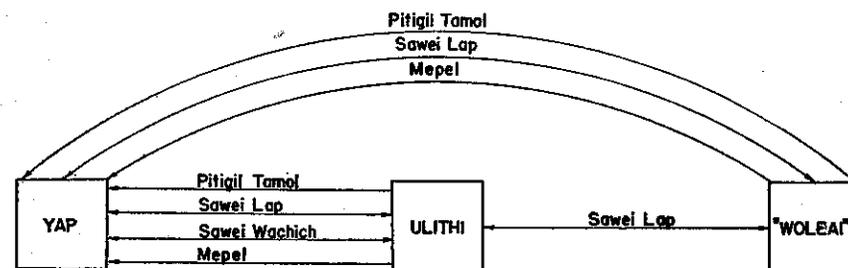


FIG. 4.—The flow of tribute, gifts, and religious offerings among the islands of the Gagil sphere of authority.

In summary, while Ulithi derives a certain amount of prestige by being the intermediary between Yap and "Woleai," it does not have power to originate orders or to receive tribute. It exercises no political control over the islands of the east, except as the instrument of the paramount chief at Gagil. It is allowed no formal initiative by Yap in directing the affairs of these islands, though there is little doubt that it has some degree of influence by virtue of its closeness to Yap. Whatever real authority it exercises over "Woleai" is due to the parent role in the *sawei* system which it has with respect to those islands, but this is a matter which operates only between sibs as such, and not on an island level.

ULITHI AND THE REST OF THE NATIVE WORLD

Having defined the structural aspects of the relationships which exist between Ulithi, Yap and "Woleai," let us proceed to clothe the skeleton with flesh and blood. We may then make a brief survey of the relation of Ulithi to the islands outside the sphere of Yap authority.

There can be no doubt that the Yap political "empire" forms the real universe of the Ulithian, and that in this universe Yap plays the principal part, for it is with Yap that social intercourse is most intense.

The trips which are made to Yap to pay tribute are the means by which Ulithi and the eastern islands fulfill their political obligations, carry on the exchange of goods, and satisfy personal requirements. These voyages, made by fleets of large sea-going "flying proas," transport a not inconsiderable number of individuals, bent either on official or private business. About every two or three years canoes from Woleai, Faraulep, Eauripik, Lamotrek, Ifalik, Elato, and Satawal arrive by arrangement at Ulithi. Each of these islands or atolls sends a canoe apiece, except Woleai, which sends eight, one for each of its main islands: Utagal, Fulalis, Saliap, Tagaulap, Mariaon, Falalop, Paliu, and Raur. Up to the middle of the last century, the atolls of Pulap, Namonuito, Puluwat, and Pulusuk used to send canoes of their own, but they no longer do so, now transmitting their tribute goods through Satawal. Fais, close to Ulithi, has never sent tribute or other goods in its own boats. Since its people do not have sails for their canoes, they either have a Ulithian canoe come to transport them and their goods, or they enlist Ulithian navigators to sail canoes which they have obtained from Yap but which they are themselves incapable of handling.

When all the canoes have assembled in the large lagoon at Ulithi, they head southwest for Yap as soon as the weather is propitious. The fleet totals twenty-two canoes, for, in addition to all those above, Ulithi sends eight of its own, each representing a major island in the atoll. They are capable of carrying many passengers and a considerable amount of cargo. A navigator, or *pelii*, from the island of Falalop in Ulithi Atoll is traditionally in charge of the fleet, and is in complete command when the canoes are in the open sea.

A considerable exchange of inter-island goods takes place on this occasion. In the case of tribute, the kinds of things sent to Yap are woven breechclouts, coconut oil (*hapakep*), sennit rope, pandanus sails, pandanus mats, tobacco (obtained, in the case of Ulithi, from Fais), and a food substance known as *uloluh*.¹⁵ The religious offerings sent to Yap are of three kinds—fiber loin-cloths of the *machi* type,¹⁶ pandanus mats, and coconut oil. The tribute sent

¹⁵ This is made of palm sap which has been boiled till it is sticky, after which grated coconut is stirred into it. The liquid is poured into bamboo moulds and allowed to dry; then the bamboo is broken away, leaving a hard stick of sweetened coconut meat.

¹⁶ Characterized by an intricate black and red design, and used only on special occasions.

by all the islands subject to Yap is the same, except that in the case of offerings Ulithi alone transmits loin-cloths and pandanus mats, its supply being deemed sufficient, it is said, for the great Yap spirit, Iongolap.

One might be tempted to assume that Ulithi and the other peoples tributary to Yap are at a disadvantage in their relations with that island; but this is not so, for what is received from Yap is considered to be more than ample repayment. Yap, while it gives nothing in return for tribute and religious offerings, does make a return for the *sawei* always brought on these voyages, a return that consists of such plant foods as squash, sweet potatoes, taro, false taro (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), bread-fruit, yams, and bananas. It sends no fish, for these are plentiful in the other islands. It also gives gifts of turmeric, combs, bamboo, and purses made of a long grass called *boger*. To the low-lying islands subordinate to Yap these goods mean a great deal, for so poor is their soil that they either lack many of the products which they receive or else can produce them only in insufficient quantity. In fact, taking the greater size and richness of Yap into account, it would seem that the balance is really in favor of the tributary islands.

In addition to the exchanges already described, informal trading is carried on between individuals, in food, turmeric, purses, and combs, even if they do not live in Gagil. All in all, then, the great voyages undertaken to Yap are the occasions for much interchange of goods.

The relation between Ulithi and Yap, as well as between "Woleai" and Yap, permits the visitors to receive certain benefits and hospitality as long as they remain on that island. Many of them have relatives whom they wish to visit, while others go because they wish to avail themselves of timber and other facilities for building canoes to take home, and still others are motivated purely by a spirit of adventure. Visiting is commonplace, figures showing that sixty-five per cent of all the people of Ulithi, for example, have been on Yap at some time or other. The *sawei* relationship assures that the visitor is well oriented and well cared for; he is at home there, much as a child is at home when he goes to stay with his parents. He has his niche.

When a Ulithian arrives on Yap, either on official or personal business, he reports straight to the *sawei* lineage to which he is affiliated, and receives its shelter and hospitality till he leaves.¹⁷ He is given a place to sleep. If he has come to build a canoe, he is given all facilities required. He receives all his food, usually raw, from the members of the host lineage. This consists of fish, true and pseudo-taro, sweet potatoes, squash, yams, *booi* (Polynesian chestnuts), breadfruit, sugar cane, watermelons, mountain apples, and papayas.

¹⁷ The paramount chief of Ulithi used to stay in the men's house at Gatchepar known as the Falaso, though he could stay with his *sawei* kinfolk if he preferred. The Falaso was also open to the paramount chiefs of "Woleai." Other visitors could, if they wished, stay at the Falaso, but ordinarily they did not. This men's house was destroyed by the Japanese during the war for fear it might serve as a landmark for enemy planes. It has not been rebuilt.

Certain foods, however, are taboo to him while he is on Yap. The restriction is especially applicable to fish, where over fifty species and varieties, ordinarily eaten by the Yapese, are forbidden to him. These include thirteen kinds of trigger-fish, five kinds of surgeon-fish, eight kinds of jack-fish, three kinds of rudder-fish, two kinds of puffers, three kinds of sur-mullet, two kinds of hound-fish, fourteen kinds of sea bass, two kinds of wrasse, and a scattered number of others: pompano, thread-backed butterfly-fish, sole, trunk-fish, black marlin, porcupine-fish, and four—*likh*, *therü*, *hathekkh*, *teiau*—which are unidentified. There are, in addition, two kinds of cuttle fish, regarding which there is no general agreement as to whether a taboo does or does not exist. The visitor is not, however, underfed, for the number of species and varieties in the waters of this part of the world is considerable. And, though some of the choicest fish are forbidden him, the Ulithian, even in his own homeland, may not eat many of these same fish.

Certain plant foods are also taboo. The banana and the *rowal*, a large fruit which does not grow on Ulithi, are on the proscribed list; true taro may not be eaten if the root is ramified; and yams which have been cut in two are also taboo. The restrictions on plant foods, being so few in number, impose no hardship on the Ulithian, whose poor coralline soil yields fewer varieties and less quantity of many of the foods he sees on Yap.

In order to put these restrictions in their proper light, it should be noted that they apply not only to Ulithians who go to Yap, but also to those who go to "Woleai." Moreover, they in turn apply to all people who go to Ulithi from these eastern islands. As a matter of fact, even the Yapese must observe them whenever they travel, so that, in so far as food is concerned, one can say that the taboo is impartial and not designed to maintain the superiority of any group.

Other restrictions on social behavior, however, seem inspired by considerations of caste. While the Ulithian is referred to as a child and is treated paternalistically, the Yapese appear to have transcended these limits by imposing a series of proscriptions which are unrelated to religion, as is mainly the case with food. One type seems to be motivated by an element of jealousy. On Yap, a Ulithian may not chew betel nut, for, especially in the case of a man, it is apt to redden his lips and make him "attractive" to Yapese women. The visitor may not use turmeric as a cosmetic, nor wear leis. The visitor may not wear colored clothing, but is restricted to black and white. A Ulithian may not court a Yapese woman, unless she is of lower caste.¹⁸ He may not carry his personal belongings in the long type of basket he uses at home; instead, he must use a special round one called a *butotangarekh*. This would imply that some of the

¹⁸ Since the war, two Ulithi men have gone to Yap and married upper caste women. According to rumor, the Yapese have threatened these men's lives.

restrictions on the visitor are designed to maintain the caste differences which exist on Yap, but are absent on Ulithi.¹⁹

All the above limitations are taboos in the narrow sense, for they have sacred connotations. Yap, through its position as the religious center of this part of the Caroline Islands, has for centuries been able to wield the threat of supernatural sanctions over its tributary and satellite tribes. According to native belief throughout this area, the great spirit, Iälulwe, will punish those who violate them. In addition, there are automatic, impersonal sanctions. Thus, as long as the visitor remains on Yap he must observe a strict rule of etiquette which requires that on meeting any Yapese man, woman, or child, he must bow low and utter the word *Soro!* several times as they pass by him. If a Yapese is seated he may not walk past him, though he is permitted to ask the individual to stand up so that he may pass. The visitor does not feel he is degrading himself by this action, which is also one which he must perform towards certain persons in his own homeland. The word *Soro*, whatever its etymology, is tantamount to "Excuse me." But since these acts of subordination are not entirely political or religious in character, one may well argue that they merely constitute a form of respect towards one's elders and superiors.

On Yap the Ulithian must follow a widespread rule, which insists that any man, regardless of whether he is a Yapese, Ulithian, or "Woleaian," must speak the language of any place where he happens to be visiting. While Yapese is a very different language from Ulithian, sixty-three per cent of all males twenty years or over in age on Ulithi know how to speak it, while the percentage for females of similar age is thirteen, i.e., forty-five per cent for the combined sexes.

Many Ulithi women have migrated to Yap, where they have married and settled down. Their children have been adopted into the lineages of their *sawei*, and, largely because of the depletion of some of these lineages in recent years, they have attained positions of headship. On account of the caste restrictions which apply to males from other islands, the number of men who have migrated to Yap is far less. And, while they may marry lower caste women, Ulithians ordinarily avoid marriage to any Yapese women whatever.

¹⁹ Schneider states that the above account of the relationships between Yap "parent" and Ulithi "child" is a precisely accurate account, too, of the caste relationships *inside Yap* for land-owner lineages and the low-caste people who are permitted to live on that land. Just as in Ulithi, he says, Yap high-caste landowning lineages are responsible for their respective low-caste wards. They furnish them food, refuge, magical aid, and so forth. From the Yap point of view, Ulithi as a total unit has only a vague territorial meaning; but as a collection of named lands and kinship groups attached to those lands, it has precisely the same meaning which any other low-caste land unit and its associated personnel has to a particular lineage. All this, he agrees, is additional support that the Yapese define Yap-Ulithi relations as cross-caste. The present writer, however, would like to reiterate here what he has stated elsewhere, namely, that Ulithi does not seem to be a "natural" member of this caste system and that the relations are not as rigidly effective as they perhaps are within Yap.

When a Yapese visits Ulithi, he is cared for there by his *sawei* sib, whether it be major or minor. He is fed, clothed and housed, and does no work in return. If he comes from outside of Gagil district, which is rare, and therefore has no *sawei* sib, he is cared for by the chief of whatever island of the atoll he is visiting. It has previously been remarked that Yapese are subject to the same food taboos when they are visiting other islands as are Ulithians who are visiting Yap, for the restrictions are imposed not on any particular group but on all persons who leave their homeland and travel. A Yapese, however, may marry any Ulithi woman, since there is no barrier to marrying into his *sawei* sib, even though such persons are his "children." He is treated with all the respect due to a "parent" by a "child," so that he need not cry out *Sorol!* to Ulithians or otherwise subordinate himself, though he must follow other customs and forms of etiquette of the atoll.

Yapese visitors fall into three groups: those who are simple visitors, those who come to make a marriage or see a spouse's family, and specialists in manipulating the supernatural, called *tauptop*, who go out from Yap to perform certain magical and religious rituals.²⁰ They visit on their own initiative, except when the paramount chief at Gagil sends them to perform harmful magic against the people of Ulithi for having disobeyed orders. Generally, the work of the *tauptop* is much desired by Ulithians, who solicit them to increase food crops and fish, stop epidemics, ward off typhoons, make rain, promote the fertility of women, and kill off pestilences of ants. These specialists are richly rewarded by the people of the atoll or individual island where they operate by the gifts presented to them through the chiefs of these islands.

In the structure we have been describing, Fais is next to Yap in importance, as far as Ulithi is concerned. It is its closest neighbor, being about fifty miles to the east. When a Ulithian goes to Fais he is cared for by the paramount chief there, who belongs to the Ipur lineage and is the *sawei lap* for the entire island. A *sawei* relationship on the *wachich* level does not exist. It is apparent that here, as in the other islands east of Ulithi, Fais is treated as a whole both for purposes of political relationships and gift exchange, for, unlike the situation with respect to Yap, there is no pairing with the individual sibs on the island. This, among other things, would seem to indicate that however truly the *sawei* system may be a function of caste within Yap itself, it is even more diluted in Fais than in Ulithi, where, we have already noted, caste prohibitions on marriage are retained, even though *sawei* gifts flow two ways. The fact that between Ulithi and Fais there is not a pairing of sibs and that intermarriage takes place freely is more reason than ever for us to believe that the caste system becomes more and more artificial as it travels to the east.

²⁰ It is said by Ulithians that on Yap they are called *machmach* if they are all-round magicians, and *pigilili* if they care for certain sacred spots on Ulithi. But data from anthropologists who worked on Yap not yet clarified, do not seem to verify this terminology.

The formal responsibilities of the paramount chief of an outlying island toward his guests are minimized by the fact that the visitor generally attaches himself to relatives and friends for hospitality, for there has been a considerable exchange of population between Ulithi and Fais. Many of the people of Fais have taken over some of the biologically extinct sibs of Ulithi, and the reverse is probably also true. Trade between the two groups is important and frequent, not being restricted to *sawei* exchange alone. Ulithi supplies fish, *luch*,²¹ pandanus mats, and second-hand canoes. It also supplies certain products which have their origin in Yap: turmeric, certain containers,²² fine small grass pocketbooks, wooden combs, and shells for scraping coconut meat.²³ Ulithi gets much food, especially breadfruit, sweet potatoes, squash, watermelons, and lemons, the soil of Fais being unusually rich in phosphates. From there it also gets its highly prized tobacco, as well as sennit and *bul* belts.²⁴ While there are expert tattooers in each place, distant pastures seem greener and there is much interchange of work. Fais sends neither tribute nor religious offerings to Ulithi, though it does to Yap.

Sorol is the next island in point of practical importance. Intercourse is less frequent than with either Yap or Fais because the distance involved is greater. Since the people of Sorol are not navigators, they move almost entirely in Ulithi canoes. There has been migration in both directions, many people from each atoll having become incorporated into the sibs of the other. The pattern of trade, exchange, and hospitality follows that which exists between Ulithi and Yap, except that Sorol does not furnish foodstuffs. But it does supply *bul* belts, as well as paddles,²⁵ wooden bowls,²⁶ and necklaces.²⁷

With Woleai, Eauripik, Ifalik, Faraulep, Lamotrek, Elato, Satawal, Puluwat, Pulap, Pulusuk, and Namonuito, relations are much less intimate. Intermarriage, trade, and *sawei*, however, are practiced, all patterned on the usual "Woleai" type.

How is Ulithi oriented to the aboriginal world outside the political structure with which we have been dealing? Most important is Ngulu, a small island under the control, not of Gagil district, but of Gorrer district on Yap. A person from Ulithi who wishes to visit Ngulu must first obtain permission from the paramount chief of Gorrer, and a visitor from Ngulu to Ulithi must see

²¹ Grated coconut mixed with thickened coconut palm sap, not poured into moulds.

²² Called *walher*, and made from the spathe of the areca palm tree found at the base of the leaves. On Yap they are also used as sitting pads for men and as "diapers" for babies.

²³ These shells are called *gurugur*.

²⁴ These belts, worn by women, are made of sea shells and coconut shell.

²⁵ Ulithi imports paddles, not because it lacks the wood, but because it is said that Sorol has the time and labor to make them.

²⁶ These bowls, called *tapi*, are made of the wood of *Colophyllum inophyllum* and of *Guetarda speciosa*.

²⁷ Made of sea shells and coconut shell.

the Gagil paramount chief, giving him a fine fiber loincloth at the time that he makes his request. These actions indicate an acknowledgement of the authority of the chief over the atoll to be visited. Relations between Ulithi and Ngulu are never of the *sawei* type, but there is some intermarriage and trade. Ulithi sends rope, fine woven fiber loincloths, and two Yapese products—turmeric and wooden combs—and receives pandanus mats, pandanus pocket-books, *bul* belts, tobacco, and oddly enough, turmeric and combs which likewise originate on Yap. Ngulu does not send religious offerings to Ulithi.²⁸

Penetrating still further beyond the Yap sphere of authority, we come to four islands to the southwest—Sonsorol, Pulo Anna, Merir, and Tobi. While these are smaller and further from Ulithi than Palau, they are more important to it. It is said that some of the local sibs established themselves on these four islands when people from Ulithi became lost at sea and eventually found refuge there. These sibs continue to survive, forming the incentive for a certain amount of travel. Ulithians are always welcome, though no trade is carried on because of the distances and hazards involved.

To the east Truk derives its importance from the fact that a considerable part of the population of Ulithi, namely, eighteen per cent, belongs to four great sibs—Hofalü, Soflachikh, Mongolfach, Sawöl—which also exist on Truk. Travel between Ulithi and Truk is very infrequent. The visitor to Truk is cared for by the paramount chief of the atoll, unless he belongs to one of the four great sibs, when he is cared for by that sib. Intermarriage with Trukese is permitted but not practiced on account of the great distance involved. There is no information as to whether in the past canoes ever purposely negotiated the hundreds of miles of water between the two atolls. At any rate, modern contact is effected entirely through foreign ships. There are no trade relations. It is interesting, from the historical point of view, that in such matters as language, land tenure, kinship, and religion, Ulithi is very much akin to Truk.

While Palau is considered to be less important to Ulithi than is Truk, contacts with the former have been more frequent. Visits, in the past, were made chiefly on behalf of Yap for the purpose of procuring limestone from which the great discs known as stone "money" are made. Until the advent of foreign ships, native canoes and rafts were used. There is no trade between Ulithi and Palau, and only slight intermarriage. Hospitality is extended to visitors by paramount chiefs, but it is not on a kinship basis. Culturally, Palau is much further from Ulithi than is Truk. The language is greatly different.

As for the other islands of the Carolines, such as Ponape and Kusaie, they are mere names to the Ulithians, though their cultural affinities to Ulithi are recognized.

²⁸ Space does not permit the recounting of an interesting myth regarding the settling of Ngulu. Briefly, it concerns the marriage of a Ulithi man to a Yap woman, who went to Ngulu when it was still uninhabited and there established the nucleus of the present population.

Surprisingly enough, the islands of the Marianas, while in a separate group, are better known. Ulithians have never had direct contact with them, except in modern ships, but have carried on indirect relations with them through the people of Woleai Atoll, who go there in their own canoes for the purpose of fetching tobacco. Guam, at least in recent history, has never been important to Ulithi, but Saipan, Tinian, and Rota have attained some significance because of the presence there of the four great sibs found in Ulithi and elsewhere in the Carolines. These kin connections have resulted in some visiting to these islands.²⁹

The Marshall Islands are known only by tradition and the occasional visits of seamen working on modern ships, but there is some awareness of cultural and racial affinities with that area of Micronesia. The same is true of the Gilbert Islands. No one has ever heard of the Ellice Islands.

Outside Micronesia, the place which is best known is the Philippines. This is simply a matter of geography, for Ulithians lost at sea often drift there. Filipinos are said to be kindly and honest, and there is a vague feeling of cultural kinship.

Polynesia is known by hearsay, and there is no conception of ethnic relationship. The island of Nukuoro is known by name. Kapingamarangi has never been heard of.

New Guinea is said to be the home of man-eaters, and is feared, though the island is known purely by hearsay. There is no feeling of cultural or racial relationships with its people.

THE CHANGING SCENE

The picture drawn in the preceding pages must be brought up to date if it is to conform to present reality. The advent of the great powers has considerably altered the character of contact and transportation between Ulithi and the other islands of the native world. The greatest change took place in the second decade of the century, when restrictions were placed on long voyages in canoes. At that time the Japanese, alarmed at the downward trend in population and the great expense incurred in repatriating men lost at sea, forbade travel between islands. Steamers now provide a poor substitute for visiting and trade, however, since being subject to the convenience of the foreign administration, there is far less freedom than before in transporting goods and people. Ships call infrequently, often by-passing an island if the weather is stormy at a particular time, so that its people may be isolated for half a year or more. When ships take on passengers or cargo, they do so without proper understanding of the niceties of the situation, and may bluntly interfere with

²⁹ Early in the century a great typhoon struck Ulithi. About two hundred inhabitants were taken to Saipan by the German administration. The people remained there over ten years, relations being excellent, because many Ulithians had sib mates there. On account of this incident in history, Ulithi feels a close and sentimental tie with Saipan.

the operation of the native system. The transportation problem became very acute during World War II, when for a matter of five years the hazards and exigencies of the struggle brought transportation to a virtual standstill. The after-effects of the war perhaps be permanent.

Ulithi's relations with Yap have undergone considerable change, partly as the result of this very growing infrequency of contact. Political emissaries make only sporadic visits, and tribute has fallen off to a faint trickle. Difficulty in getting about has, of course, also affected Ulithi's relationships with "Woleai," though trips to nearby Fais are now being made in canoes about two or three times a year. There is talk of resuming contact with Sorol.

The weakening of relationships with Yap are due also to a change in attitude towards that island, for Ulithians are now predominantly Christians, and Yapese are still largely pagans. The old system of political relationships had a sacred character which has now largely been lost in the minds of Ulithians. The new religion has freed the bulk of the population from the fear of supernatural reprisals by Yap, since the wrath of the great spirits and their priests at Gatchepar village in Gagil is no longer dreaded as in the past, when Yap was able to wield the threat of epidemics, typhoons, and famines over their subject peoples to the east. As for *mepel*, it is no longer sent to Yap, for there is no point in sending offerings for spirits who have, in the eyes of most people, lost their place in the Ulithian adjustment to the supernatural world.

The education of the younger people in Japanese and American schools has further served to alienate Ulithi from Yap. Western education has opened new horizons. It has had a levelling effect, too, because it has put Ulithians, as well as other subject peoples, on the same footing with Yapese in the acquisition of a knowledge of the modern world and some of its mechanics. When opportunities for schooling were first made available to these natives the people of Yap were vexed at the move and have continued to be so ever since. Being anxious to retain their superior position, they view with alarm the growing alienation of the Ulithians, and sometimes try actively to hinder their education.

To the three factors above listed, namely, inadequate transportation, Christianity, and education, there may possibly be added a fourth—decline in population. The phenomenal falling off in the number of people on Yap has made it difficult to maintain old institutions. The depletion of lineages, for example, has already been noted, this shrinkage having the effect both of elevating outsiders from the eastern islands to places of prominence, and of forcing Yapese to double and triple up as heads of lineages. According to Ulithians, the disintegration of the social structure and the falling off of manpower on Yap has made that island corrupt and resentful.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Schneider does not agree with this point of view. He says that one of the most surprising things about Yap is the extent to which the structure of the society has permitted a constant,

The deterioration in relations between Yap and Ulithi is felt by the individual who travels to Yap. He is now only grudgingly cared for by his *sawei*. His quarters are poor and his food is bad. Moreover, unlike in the old days, he must now work, and work hard, in exchange for his lodging and food. He comes with gifts, but receives none in return. He is treated with ill-concealed scorn, as if he were a stupid country cousin, and is continually forced to crouch and say, "*Sorol Sorol*" In the old days, this sort of deference was not felt degrading, since he was treated with kindness and consideration. Now, in view of the one-sidedness of his relationship with his grasping hosts, he takes umbrage at the obligations imposed upon him. Christianity and education cause him to view caste distinctions as shallow, absurd, and irritating. They have also freed him to the extent that he now knows when he is being deluded or cheated by the Yapese. True, deceit was also practiced against him in the old days, as for example, during the German administration, when the Yapese appropriated any pay he might earn working for the foreigners. But he let it pass, for, after all, he felt much as a dutiful son would towards a benevolent parent. Nowadays, however, he is very sensitive to Yap duplicity. But because he retains enough of the old caste attitudes of subordination and humility it is hard for him to realize that under modern foreign control he is a relatively free man, and therefore he dares not protest.

The Ulithian reacts to Yap oppression by avoidance. So great is the present Ulithian aversion to the island of Yap that if at all possible he shuns going there for schooling or medical treatment. He much prefers to go to Palau, which is far more distant, because there he is unfettered. When he does find it necessary to go to Yap he tries to keep away from Gatchepar and Onean; instead, he stays with friends at Yaptown, for, since the advent of the foreigner, Ulithians have established social relations outside of Gagil district. While Yaptown is a small village, the visitor there has a certain independence of action and can avoid the "kinship" and political obligations exacted of him in Gagil, where he is so much a part of the preëxisting system of the past that he feels hemmed in and exploited.

As a people, Ulithians have practically stopped sending *pigitil tamol*, *sawei*,

functional reintegration. "The kinship system, predicated on a large population, has reintegrated to a small population with remarkably few scars. And so, too, I would say, did the system which governed relations with Ulithi. This was done by fusing, joining, and reallocating statuses with respect to Ulithi, not by dropping or abandoning them. The thing that has been lost has been the willing coöperation of the Ulithians. The people of Yap want desperately and ardently to maintain the Ulithi-'Woleai' empire because prestige is so important to them. In the face of their desire to keep the empire, their integration or reintegration in the face of depopulation is quite understandable." While the present writer would agree that Schneider's observations are probably correct with reference to the preservation of the formal structure, there still remains the question of manpower. It is possible that the economic effects of the decline in population may, as Ulithians say, be significant.

and *mepel* to Yap. The last shipment of such goods to Gagil was several years ago. On a personal level, however, trade now continues, though not within the old structure of formal relations, since one can now choose the friends with whom he wishes to deal.

All this contrasts strikingly with the previous state of affairs. By and large, according to older men who participated in the old tribute-gift voyages, their relations with Yap used to be felicitous. They did not come out second-best in so far as material wants were concerned. No work was expected of them in exchange for the food and lodging provided by the "parent" lineage. But now even most of the middle-aged men have come to resent the people of Gagil.

As for the younger people of Ulithi, they are definitely opposed, albeit passively, to the preservation of the old system. They object mostly to Gagil, but they have come to hold Yapese in general in low esteem. Almost all the men below the age of thirty have gone to school on Yap and worked there, either before or during the war. They regard the Yapese as liars, drunkards, thieves, character-defamers, and murderers. They believe that they always present Ulithians in a bad light to the foreign authorities. They resent Yap efforts to keep them from receiving an education. But this resentment is suppressed, so that even among themselves they rarely criticize their western overlords, not only because of their customary reserve but also because of the deference they feel toward the old men, especially pagans and sib heads, who wish to preserve the earlier *status quo*.

On the whole, then, Ulithians would like to terminate formal relations with Yap. They see no advantage in maintaining such connections in the face of corruption. The only danger in alienating the Yapese is that they may deprive themselves of certain supplies—timber, bamboo, hibiscus bark, banana fiber—which must be imported from that island. The young people are aware of this and they reply to this argument, perhaps precipitously, by stating that Palau can fulfill all of Ulithi's needs, and on a commercial basis, rather than through *sawei*. Some pagans fear that the Yapese may devise supernatural reprisals if offended, but these people form a fast-shrinking minority.

The situation with regard to "Woleai" is altogether different from that with Yap. Political and *sawei* relationships, though exercised with growing infrequency, have an agreeable character, and the prevailing spirit is excellent. The people of these islands are drawn together by a bond of equality, friendship, culture, and language. They have intermarried freely.

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A SHOSHONE INNOVATOR¹

By FRED VOGET

THE diffusion of culture has usually been treated by students of the American Indian with special reference to the cultural and, to a lesser extent, the social conditions favoring adoption by the receptor society. It has become increasingly evident, however, that an adequate understanding of the diffusion of culture also requires a full consideration of the special circumstances obtaining in the donor society. This is especially so because current acculturation studies emphasize the fact that anthropologists no longer are dealing with situations of social and cultural homogeneity, and for that reason a simple analysis on the basis of cultural compatibility or cultural disintegration no longer serves to explain the diffusion of culture complexes between reservation groups. In 1944, Stewart called attention to this problem, but he failed to grasp the fact that no reservation today can be treated as if but one "native" culture were represented there.² The contact of cultures of differential complexity has produced not only social and cultural disintegration of the less complex but new social categories and cultural integrations also, which, until a relatively stable situation arises through their establishment as a part of the total configuration, germinate problems of adjustment. In some situations we may have to deal with individuals who, in effect, are social isolates in that they do not share in sufficient degree a common socio-cultural background and certain basic dissatisfactions which serve to unite them into a functional group. In other instances we may have to deal with functional groups possessing a special culture, which, according to its value emphasis and content, may be classified as native, native-modified, white-modified, and white. The existence of differentially acculturated groups (hence possessing a different culture content and integration) has become apparent in the course of personality studies, such as those of Hallowell among the Ojibwa,³ and of acculturation studies like that of Mekeel.⁴

A significant result of the psychological investigations among the acculturated groups is the correlation which has been shown to exist between the degree of acculturation and personality structure. Thus for example, it was found that the largest proportion of well-adjusted and maladjusted individuals occurred in the more acculturated of two Ojibwa groups.⁵ When it is con-

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² Stewart, 1944, pp. 68 and 91.

³ Hallowell, 1948, pp. 340-346.

⁴ Mekeel, 1936.

⁵ Hallowell, 1948, p. 343.