

The Social Structure of a Samoan Village

Community

DEREK FREEMAN

1948

Edited and introduced by Peter Hempenstall

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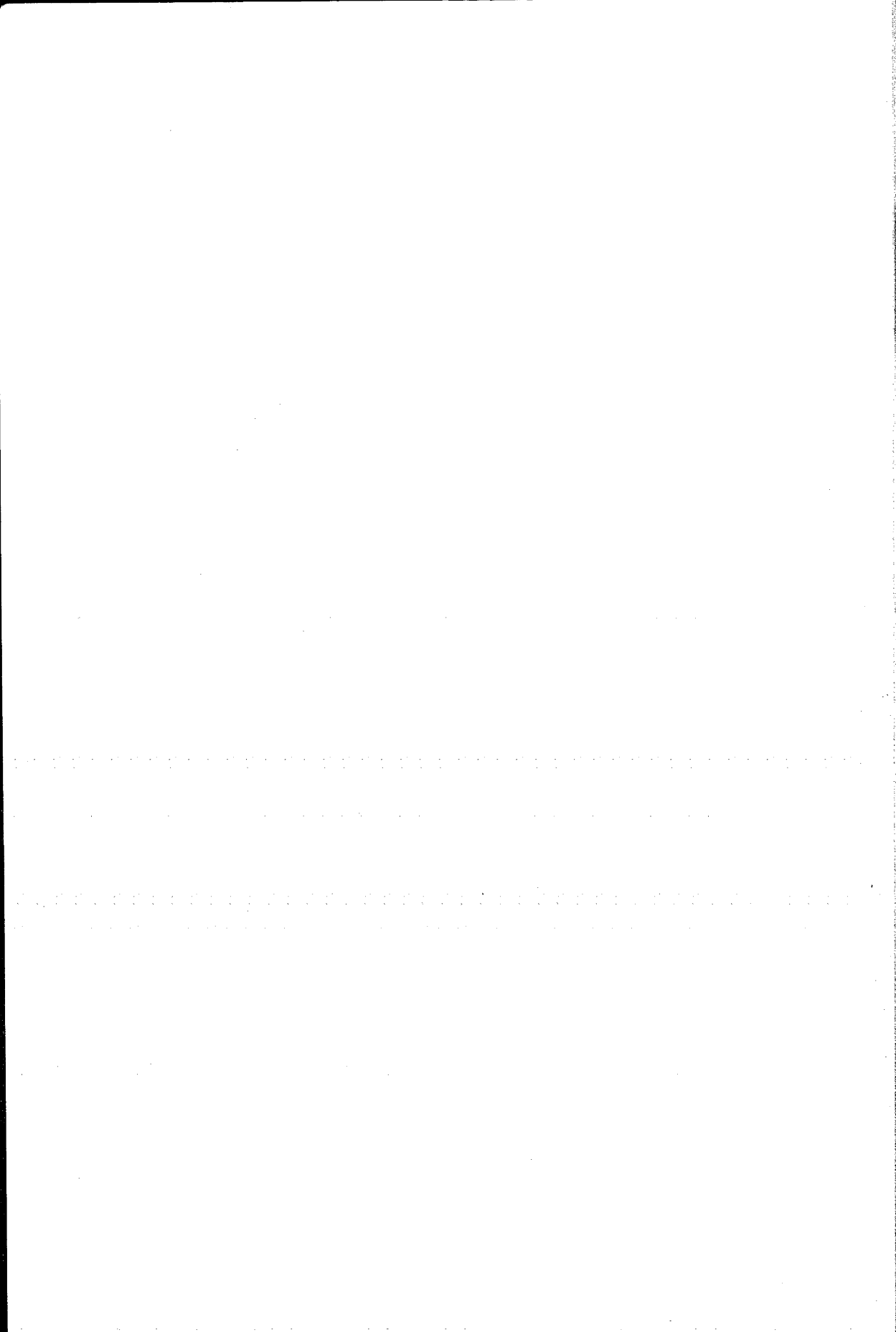
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Foreword

Well before his dispute with Margaret Mead over her ethnographic account of Samoa, Derek Freeman entered into another controversy over Samoa. Unlike the Mead controversy, this dispute was carried out briefly and was confined to a single academic journal – the *American Anthropologist* between 1964 and 1966. It was prompted by, and principally directed toward, an article, 'Political authority and the structure of kinship in aboriginal Samoa' published in 1962 by the American anthropologist, Mervin Ember.¹

Derek replied to this article with an article of his own, 'Some observations on kinship and political authority in Samoa' in 1964.² There were subsequent rejoinders in the same journal from Mervin Ember and Marshall Sahlins, who was indirectly implicated in the discussion, and then, with a brief reply by Derek and a further flurry by Ember, this academic encounter came to an end.³ Importantly, Derek's intervention drew critically on his study of the village community of Sa'anapu and directly on his 1948 thesis.

The dispute was over issues of kinship, local descent groups and the processes of lineage segmentation in relation to chiefly titles – issues seemingly of an arcane sort that excite some anthropologists but drive others to distraction. Most academic disputes tend not to be conclusive but at least to some in a position to judge these matters, Derek's response to Ember was indeed decisive. Thus, for example, a few years later, the Finnish anthropologist and Pacific scholar, Jukka Siikala, writing on Samoan social structure in a comparative context, noted that 'In his criticism of Ember, Derek Freeman has convincingly proved that the Samoan kin system is ramified in typical Polynesian style, and thus every extended family has a precise place in the kin's genealogical system. The status and importance of the *matai* depends precisely on the authority afforded him by

¹ Mervin Ember, 'Political authority and the structure of kinship in aboriginal Samoa', *American Anthropologist* (n.s.), 64:5 (1962), pp.964-71.

² Derek Freeman, 'Some observations on kinship and political authority in Samoa', *American Anthropologist* (n.s.), 66:3 (1964), pp.553-68.

³ Mervin Ember, 'Reply to Freeman', *ibid.*, 620-2; Marshall D. Sahlins, 'That's not what I said: a reply to Derek Freeman', *ibid.*, pp.616-20; Derek Freeman, 'Samoa: a matter of emphasis', *American Anthropologist* (n.s.), 67:6 (1965), pp.1534-7; Mervin Ember, 'Samoa kinship and political structure: an archaeological test to decide between two alternative reconstructions (Ember's vs Freeman's)', *American Anthropologist* (n.s.), 68:1 (1966), pp.163-8.

the genealogical structure of his kin. The relative ranking of different *matai* titles was explicitly manifest on every occasion when representatives of different 'aiga came in contact...'.⁴ Although Derek's 1964 article gave only the barest indication of the rich ethnography of Sa'anapu on which it was partially based, its significance was recognized as important for comparative purposes.

The publication of this volume, *The Social Structure of a Samoan Village Community*, more than fifty years after it was submitted as a thesis for a Postgraduate Diploma in Anthropology, is a testimony to the quality of Derek's capacities as an ethnographer. This ethnography of a single Samoan village at a particular time, just prior to the Second World War, retains its value both as an historical document and as a contribution to continuing comparative analysis.

The kind of analysis that Derek engages in this work and the framework he adopts reflects the period in which he was writing. The study gives a clear indication of what, in 1948, were the exciting new ideas that were emanating primarily from anthropologists such as Edward Evans-Pritchard and Meyer Fortes. Despite the fact that this work is – and could hardly be otherwise – a product of its time, the quality of the ethnography – the clarity, depth and thoroughness of analysis – makes it exemplary.

The first portion of the thesis is concerned with what Derek describes as the 'Samoan lineage system'. His focus is on the lineages in Sa'anapu village and their internal composition. Derek is able to identify the 'twenty-four named local minimal lineages' that formed part of the 'eight minor lineages' of the village. Each is headed by a *matai* or chief, either of titular (*ali'i*) or executive (*tulafale*) rank. Then, based on his comprehensive census of the village, Derek is able to identify the membership of every individual within a particular Sa'anapu lineage and explain their relationship relative to their lineage *matai*. In this analysis, he distinguishes different kinds of lineal, affinal and adoptive relationships that can occur as well as the exceptions to predominant social norms of lineage affiliation. Drawing on his intimate knowledge of such exceptions, he is also able to provide illuminating evidence on the options and flexibility available to individuals in adapting social rules in unusual circumstances. Perhaps most illuminating (and relevant) to an understanding of Samoan social organization is Derek's attention to the importance of affinal relations between descendants of a brother (*tama tane*) and descendants of a sister (*tama fafine*). Thus Derek documents the founding of a number of lineages in Sa'anapu, by the settlement of a sister's son (*tama sa*) in a brother's lineage. Whereas Derek's inspiration may have been drawn from the 'African models' of Evans-Pritchard and Fortes, his analysis is a nuanced examination of a Pacific society.

The next step in his analysis is a discussion of the composition of the 'households'

⁴ Jukka Siikala, *Cult and Conflict in Tropical Polynesia: a study of traditional religion, Christianity and nativistic movements*, Helsinki, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1982, p.177.

(by which he refers to the separate houses within a specific settlement identified by their own cooking ovens) for each of the various lineages of the village. This carries his analysis from the relatively abstract level of lineage segment to the more concrete level of residential households and individual houses. Again it is Derek's examination of exceptions to the norm of the household composition that prove to be particularly illuminating. Thus, for example, the highest ranking titular chief in Sa'anapu in 1943 maintained a joint-household with his executive chief from a different lineage – an arrangement that highlighted the special relationship between *tulafale* and *ali'i*.

Crucial to his analysis is Derek's discussion of the role of chiefs (*matai*). He uses the term 'chief' for the higher titled figures (*ali'i*) and for the executive figures (*tulafale*) who act and speak on their behalf, but he distinguishes clearly among them and their differential titles. The transmission of these titles from generation to generation is what holds Samoan social life together. Derek discusses at some length the reciprocal responsibilities and duties among chiefs that accord with their titles and he then goes on to discuss the 'order of precedence' that was formally and publicly displayed in the strict arrangement of seating in the village council (*fono*) and in the ordered recitation of honorific phrases (*fa'alupega*) for these titles as each chief took up his assigned place.

Derek then carries forward his analysis in relation to other institutionalized groups, particularly the *aumaga* or gathering of untitled men and goes on to examine the ceremonial division of pig and turtle meat in recognition of lineage relations and titles, with the most esteemed portion of meat allocated as 'God's share' to the village pastor. In tying together the summary argument of his thesis, Derek concludes with the hope that he will be able to return to further analysis in the future and ends his effort with the Samoan saying – one which he quoted often – that 'the qualities of a canoe are tested in deep waters'.

The quality of Derek's analysis in this monograph is, in my view, equal to his analysis of Iban social organization. In fact, it could be argued that there is a close relationship between this study and Derek's *Report on the Iban*. Derek embarked on his fieldwork among the Iban soon after he finished his thesis on Samoa. He conducted this fieldwork from January 1949 until June 1951 and had written his *Iban Report* by April 1953. There is less than five years between the two studies. Both show the same rigorously focused attention to local social organization, the composition of groups and relations among them. In the case of the Iban, this has to do with the structure of the longhouse community and organization of the *bilek* family. Among the Samoans, it is concerned with internal differentiation, precedence and the transmission of titles.

It is also interesting to note the contrasts between these two studies. From his research among the Iban, Derek developed his understanding of cognatic or bilateral kinship. This resulted in his brilliant theoretical examination of the idea of a 'kindred'. By its nature, as Derek indeed demonstrated, a kindred group is structured differently to that of a 'lineage'. The processes of segmentation, of inheritance and of the

transmission of authority differ significantly. Derek's earlier study of Samoan social organization undoubtedly enabled him to highlight, as clearly as he did, the differing features of kindred relations.

Over the years, in many of our discussions together, Derek would insist that the 'structural' analyses that exemplified his earlier work ceased to interest him. Instead he was endeavouring to create a new paradigm for anthropology – one that would recognize the biological component in individual human behaviour. In these efforts, he felt he was isolated within anthropology and not well understood. This left him to fight battles on many fronts. To me, however, Derek was always, first and foremost, a brilliant ethnographer and I would frequently remind him that I viewed his previous work as a major ethnographic contribution to the field.

The hallmark of a good ethnography is not simply the quality of its analysis and persuasiveness of its argument – what Evans-Pritchard would call 'revealing the grain of the wood'; it is also its capacity to provide a sufficiently detailed description to allow others to translate and reinterpret it in a wider comparative framework. By these standards, this volume is indeed excellent ethnography. It can be translated well into a contemporary comparative framework.

Some years after Derek retired, the Department of Anthropology in conjunction with the Departments of Linguistics and Prehistory embarked upon a Comparative Austronesian Project whose explicit aim was to develop a framework for comparison of societies across the whole of the Austronesian-speaking world. In some ways, for example in its subtle examination of 'precedence' – a concept relied on heavily for comparative purposes – this volume is exemplary. Although the perspective Derek adopted in this volume is recognizably of its time, the analysis that he puts forward can readily be reinterpreted in a contemporary fashion and remains, as all good ethnographies, a valuable contribution to our understanding.

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Editor's Introduction

AMONG ANTHROPOLOGISTS who are prominent in Samoan studies, the name Derek Freeman leaps naturally to mind. Yet his study of the village of Sa'anapu on the southern coast of Samoa's main island Upolu, published here for the first time, is not the work one normally associates with the New Zealand born anthropologist.

That work is his attack on Margaret Mead's famous 1928 book on Samoa, published in 1983 as *Margaret Mead and Samoa. The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*.¹ A refutation of the case for cultural determinism as allegedly taught by Franz Boas and confirmed by Mead for Samoa, this book ignited disputation and controversy to a degree never before – or since – seen in north American anthropology circles. Freeman had to endure an extraordinary range and depth of vituperation from American colleagues for daring to criticize the findings of the darling of American social science and a leading public intellectual – only recently deceased. The 'crisis' threw up worlds of literature, including journal issues devoted to attack and defence, a raft of books, and even a play by Australia's leading playwright David Williamson, *Heretic*, an ambiguous presentation of the clash between Freeman's critical intelligence and the effect of his personality on his closest social relations.² Freeman attempted to close off this chapter of his controversial academic career with a book in 1999, which dealt compassionately with Mead for asking the right questions, even while she was being duped by her Samoan informants.³ But the Samoan crisis pursued him into the last days before his death in July 2001.

Derek Freeman perhaps won the war over Mead's rendering of Samoan society, but he and his reputation were scarred by the battles – at least till posterity decides otherwise. *Margaret Mead and Samoa* was a formal refutation of the Boasian doctrine based on Mead's single case, as well as a programmatic statement about the

¹ Cambridge Mass. 1983. The Mead book that came under Freeman's attack was *Coming of Age in Samoa: a psychological study of primitive youth for western civilization*, New York 1928, London 1929.

² *Heretic: based on the life of Derek Freeman*, Melbourne 1996. The literature on the Mead-Freeman controversy is too detailed to list here. A sample would include Lowell D. Holmes, *Quest for the Real Samoa*, South Hadley 1987; James Côte, *Adolescent Storm and Stress*, Hillsdale 1994; Martin Orans, *Not Even Wrong*, Novato 1996. Special issues on the controversy were published by *The American Anthropologist* and *Canberra Anthropology* in 1983, and *Pacific Studies* in 1984.

³ *The Fateful Hoaxing of Margaret Mead*, Boulder 1999.

interaction of biological and cultural factors in humankind's evolution. Unfortunately such niceties were obscured as the embattled warriors talked past one another, the book being misread as a counter-ethnography of Samoan culture and Freeman's style of argument condemned. The entire 'Mead thing' has been likened to a black hole into which every sensible judgement disappeared and was crushed out of reasonable recognition.⁴ The great irony is that a real ethnographic study of Samoa sat on Freeman's bookshelves for forty years, produced by Freeman himself as a young man, in which Mead is given her due as a key authority and the Samoans take centre stage as a people living in paradise, whose social structure is complex yet satisfying for those living within it.

DEREK FREEMAN was born in Wellington, New Zealand, on 16 August 1916. His father, Australian born, was a hair dresser and hoped young Derek would follow in the trade. His mother was the strong minded daughter of a prominent Presbyterian family and had the greater impact on Derek's intellectual and emotional growth; she wished him to become a missionary. Instead he rejected organized religion at age sixteen, read deeply into radical literature and went to Victoria University College in 1934 to become a teacher, studying psychology, philosophy and education. Freeman was active in student literary circles and in debating; in 1937 he challenged the German consul in a public meeting over Nazi treatment of German Jews and won the Plunket medal for public oratory for a fiery speech on the Spanish Civil War.⁵ For recreation he climbed mountains in the southern alps, where he was involved in a serious fall in which one of his companions died and he was forced to carry the other out to safety. Mountains remained a passion all his life, as did the forests and plants of New Zealand; he planted his Canberra home in New Zealand flora.

At VUC Freeman studied under Ernest Beaglehole, a student of Morris Ginsberg in London and Edward Sapir at Yale University. Beaglehole had done anthropological research in Hawaii and in Pukapuka and this inspired in the young Freeman the possibility of doing his own fieldwork. It was Beaglehole who also brought Freeman into contact with Margaret Mead's work, when Freeman joined his MA seminar in psychology. But perhaps the greatest influence on the radicalizing mind of the young Freeman was the Indian Tamil philosopher Krishnamurti who toured New Zealand in

⁴ Interview Don Tuzin, San Diego, 29 June 2004.

⁵ Free Discussions Club, 'Unofficial report on the meeting held on the 8th April 1937', in possession of Doug Munro. See also Victoria University College publications *Spike and Salient* for 1935-1937 for Freeman's poems. The details of Freeman's life history are taken mainly from two sources: Freeman's interview with Frank Heimans 12 Feb. 2001, TRC 4660, Oral History Section, Canberra, National Library of Australia; and G.N. Appell and T.N. Madan, 'Derek Freeman: notes towards an intellectual biography', in their edited collection *Choice and Morality in Anthropological Perspective. Essays in honor of Derek Freeman*, Albany 1988, pp 3-27.

the 1930s. Freeman was struck by Krishnamurti's Buddhist-like views and his questioning of cultural determinism and false ideas in religion. By severe intellectual effort, one could win through to enlightenment: Freeman was hugely impressed and carried this impulse with him throughout his life.

A period at Wellington Teachers College after University – Freeman never finished his Arts degree – led him to some years of teaching primary school children and studies of their socialization. But he wanted to escape the constricting social and moral atmosphere of New Zealand's 'tightening society' of the 1930s,⁶ so he applied for and won a position in the Education Department of New Zealand's mandate colony Western Samoa. The islands' lushness, their handsome people and the romance of Samoa's past all gripped him the moment he landed on Upolu in April 1940.

The relaxed teaching regime afforded Freeman plenty of time to pursue his own interests and he learned to speak Samoan fluently, researched and wrote about caves and earth mounds which he explored in the depths of the Samoan forests, and thereby became familiar with the village of Sa'anapu, a village on the southern coast of Upolu which was only accessible from the northern town of Apia over difficult mountain trails.⁷ As Freeman himself tells us in the preface to his study, he was able to make several journeys to Sa'anapu between May 1942 and November 1943, staying for a two-month period between December 1942 and February 1943. He lived in the household of the village mayor or *pulenu'u*, Lauvī Vainu'u, an executive or 'talking' chief of the village, whose son Ioani or John had died recently. When John Derek Freeman turned up in Sa'anapu, he was, according to Freeman, regarded as a replacement son and adopted by Lauvī Vainu'u.⁸ The chief gradually opened to the young researcher the mysteries of the village lineage system, the important genealogies, mythic tales, and the customary practices of the chiefs in their formal gatherings or *fono*. Freeman's access was made easier when the assembled chiefs conferred on him the title of Logona-i-tagā ('heard at the tree felling'), a title belonging to the *manaia* or son of the leading chief of the lineage 'Anapu, and thus the leader of the young men. This enabled Freeman to attend all *fono* and observe at first hand the behaviour of chiefs from the perspective of the young men of the village.⁹

Freeman obtained several crucial books while he was in Western Samoa – Franz Boas's *General Anthropology* (1938) and Mead's *From the South Seas. Studies of adolescence and sex in primitive societies* (1939), which included her 1928 study *Coming of Age in Samoa*. (It is likely Freeman had already read Mead while studying with

⁶ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged. A history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*, Penguin 2000, pp. 121-25.

⁷ See Peter Hempenstall, 'On missionaries and cultural change in Samoa. Derek Freeman preparing for a "heretical" life', *Journal of Pacific History*, 39:2 (2004), 241-50.

⁸ Interview Heimans p.15.

⁹ From information supplied by Professor Serge Tcherkézoff Jan. 2006.

Beaglehole in New Zealand.) He later claimed¹⁰ that sitting in on village court cases which adjudicated on matters of sexual assault first shifted his mind to question Margaret Mead's idyllic picture of a society in which easy sexual relations were celebrated. He saw every day in Sa'anapu how a family's young women were strictly guarded and noticed the tensions over the surreptitious 'capture' of brides in night-time visits. He also had a relationship with a Samoan nurse in Apia, who explained to him the tabus over sexual intercourse before marriage.

His relations with his own New Zealand community were more fraught. Freeman had come to Western Samoa as a pacifist, revolted by the ruptures of the 1930s.¹¹ Such an attitude, which made him refuse to join the local defence force, along with his open association with Samoans, was frowned on by the New Zealand establishment. He was, claims Freeman, ostracized¹² until he relented when Japan bombed Pearl Harbor. Patrolling with the local contingent enabled him to visit more places in Samoa, including the island of Savai'i, but in November 1943 he returned to New Zealand where he told Beaglehole he thought Mead had made an error about the Samoans. His comment drew only a laugh. Two decades passed before Freeman gave any sign that he had seriously changed his mind about her work.

Freeman went into New Zealand's Volunteer Naval Reserve and was taken to England to be trained as an officer. While in London he enrolled to study Japanese at the School of Oriental and African Studies, thinking he would be sent to Japan as an interpreter during the roll-back of their forces in Asia. But he found the lessons dull and was relieved to be posted to Southeast Asia. The atom bomb saved him from any front-line action, his ship diverted to Borneo to take the Japanese surrender. There he had his first encounter with the Iban, an imperious head-hunting people who lived in large groups in river-side long houses. Freeman admitted later he was impressed by their swaggering confidence.¹³ But Samoa was still in the blood, and on the way home from Asia to New Zealand, sick from tropical skin disease, Freeman convalesced in Sydney, where he took the opportunity to examine early missionary records in the Mitchell Library. He did the same in the Turnbull Library in Wellington before another visit to Samoa in 1946 with the Irish writer Robert Gibbings, who asked Freeman to be his interpreter and research assistant. Freeman was offered a rehabilitation bursary for further study by the New Zealand government and he travelled back to London to study anthropology with Raymond Firth, Malinowski's successor at the London School of Economics in the University of London.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.17.

¹¹ Don Tuzin, 'Obituary: Derek Freeman 1916-2001', *American Anthropologist*, 104:3 (September 2002), 5.

¹² Freeman to Field 22 Nov 1984, MSS 522: Freeman papers Series 1, Box 8, Folder 1, Geisel Library, Mandeville Special Collections, Univ. of California San Diego (hereinafter Freeman UCSD).

¹³ Interview Heimans p. 24.

Firth was prepared to accept as an academic foundation for PhD studies the work Freeman had already done on Samoa, but the University of London demurred. Its statutes forbade the award of the PhD to someone who had not finished a first degree and there was some uncertainty whether Freeman could, under the terms of his bursary, stay in England for the required two years residence. Despite Firth's active advocacy the University would not budge and Freeman was eventually set for an Academic Postgraduate Diploma.¹⁴ He sat in classes with other antipodeans – W.R. Geddes and Cyril Belshaw among them – and was taught by Siegfried Nadel, an Austrian with qualifications in psychology and philosophy and an accomplished musician with an international reputation. Nadel's 'lambency of mind'¹⁵ was a powerful force for Freeman. He was caught by Nadel's appeal for a 'dynamic anthropology' in which psychology, sociology and history connected as a framework for understanding human societies.

As we listened to his lectures and attended his seminars we became quickly aware that a powerful new force had, for us, entered the world of social anthropology. All of those who heard that first course of lectures will remember how illuminating and intensely stimulating they were. In particular, they gave one the feeling that social anthropology was a subject of immense possibilities, and made one view further field research as an exciting, exceptional opportunity to advance a little further our understanding of human societies.¹⁶

Other forces began to shape Freeman's choice of an intellectual approach to his inherited discipline. His life in Samoa had introduced him to the highly formalized structure of the Samoan village revolving around a hierarchy of lineages, the chiefly titles associated with them and the richly ornate behaviour of chiefs in meetings. He found the perfect, encouraging response to this among the social anthropologists of Oxford University, where Radcliffe Brown held the Chair and the emerging tyros E.E. Evans Pritchard and Meyer Fortes were resident. In February 1947 he gave a paper at Oxford which Fortes described as 'exceedingly brilliant'. Two days later, at the London School of Economics, the same paper was condemned as 'structure ad nauseam' by Firth, while another colleague called it 'mere phantasy'.¹⁷ Firth was more interested in the 'narrative coherence' of social behaviour and its description by anthropologists as part of a humane literature; this was the genre that had grown out of Malinowski's practices.¹⁸ The Oxford anthropologists were drawn to more formal studies of social structure, especially kinship; Freeman was drawn ineluctably to them so that, though

¹⁴ Firth to Freeman 22 Feb. 1945, 28 May 1945, 1 July 1946, Series 1, Box 8, Folder 4, Freeman UCSD.

¹⁵ 'Siegfried Frederick Nadel, 1903-1956', *Oceania*, 27:1 (Sept. 1956), 10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

¹⁷ Appell and Madan, 'Derek Freeman', p. 6; Freeman to Fortes 28 Feb. 1948, Series 1, Box , Folder 9, Freeman UCSD.

¹⁸ Adam Kuper, *Anthropology and Anthropologists. The British school*, London 1996, pp.69-70.

indebted to Firth for his supervision, he began meeting for 'secret' tutorials with Meyer Fortes in London.¹⁹

Freeman was busy with a number of Pacific related tasks: he made a study of Polynesian records at Trinity College Dublin for publication in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, which had been his mainstay while in Samoa; he burrowed into documents on the Peruvian slave trade among Polynesian islands in London; he began sorting and classifying the papers of A.M. Hocart in Monmouthshire for the Turnbull Library in Wellington; and he gave radio talks on interesting Pacific personalities like Bully Hayes whom he came across in his researches.²⁰ But the thesis for his Academic Postgraduate Diploma in Anthropology was his first priority and it was submitted, with relief, to Firth on 14 May 1948. 'The Social Structure of a Samoan Village Community' was examined – by Max Gluckman, another noted structuralist – on 5 and 6 July and the Diploma awarded.²¹

THE NEXT PHASE of Freeman's active, all consuming intellectual life began immediately after his exams. On the train to Switzerland to climb the Matterhorn, he encountered Monica Maitland whom he had met briefly in London. They began a courtship that ended in their marriage in November 1948 and Monica's partnering of Freeman in all his scholarly adventures from that moment, while she pursued her own life as a sculptor and artist.

Their first adventure was a life among those intriguing Iban of Sarawak from 1949 to 1951. Freeman was able to persuade Edmund Leach, a graduate of Malinowski's classes and an emerging power within the discipline, to recommend him to the Colonial Social Science Research Council for a funded project studying the Iban for the government of Sarawak – an offshoot of the applied anthropology that had grown out of war-time conditions in the former colonies. Freeman's mission was to study land use and agricultural technology among Iban dry rice hill cultivators. His report, published in editions in 1955 and 1970, has been judged 'a masterpiece of ethnographic method and analytic insight. To this day it is unsurpassed as an anthropological case study of swidden agriculture and its socio-cultural correlates'.²² The Freemans returned to London in 1951 where Firth had been trying to find a suitable department for Freeman to sue for his PhD. Oxford and Durham (where Nadel had taken the Chair) were considered but regulations about residence requirements hamstrung him again. Meyer Fortes, who had taken up the Chair of

¹⁹ Interview Heimans, p.26.

²⁰ BBC broadcast 'Calling the Islands' 1 Oct. 1947. Transcript in possession of Doug Munro.

²¹ J.D. Freeman diaries, in possession of Mrs M. Freeman.

²² Tuzin, 'Obituary', 6. See *Report on the Iban of Sarawak*, Kuching 1955, London 1970.

Social Anthropology at Cambridge, had no hesitation in inviting Freeman to write up his Iban materials in Fortes' department and Freeman eventually took his PhD in 1953.²³

Under the terms of his bursary Freeman was required to return to New Zealand for at least a year. He was offered a job as visiting lecturer in anthropology by the retiring Director of the Otago Museum in Dunedin, H. D. Skinner. He went with ringing endorsements from Meyer Fortes who recognized the good his thesis work had done in opening his colleagues' eyes to the potential of anthropology at Cambridge. Meyer Fortes predicted a brilliant future, though his examiners' reports drew attention to a certain tendency to 'go off the deep end' in theoretical argument.²⁴ Fortes would have been happy to keep him at Cambridge if a senior position were available. And Freeman was ambitious. He preferred New Zealand with its mountain landscapes but Dunedin was a way station to a glittering career in the new British structuralist anthropology of which he was already seen as a coming force. Fortes was happy to arrange for Freeman to spend several years in the United States and in early 1954 his patron Raymond Firth alerted Freeman to a Readership at the School of Oriental and African Studies.²⁵ Freeman was excited but at the same time he was approached by Siegfried Nadel, who had taken up the Foundation Chair of Anthropology at the new Australian National University in Canberra, Australia. Here was a chance to join his admired teacher, in a new research-only position in an institution dedicated to focusing without distraction on studying the Pacific and Southeast Asia. Though Otago University offered him a permanent position in anthropology, and he had a year's lectures up his sleeve, he and Monica packed and moved to Canberra.²⁶

The 1950s were a productive period in Freeman's processing of his Iban materials. His report on the Iban for the Sarawak government was published; so too his *Iban Agriculture*, a more focused variant of the report. He was recognized for his contributions on the cognatic social structure of Iban society, and his article 'On the concept of the kindred' won the Curl Bequest prize in the United Kingdom in 1960.²⁷ But the great career testing the boundaries of structuralist anthropology was undermined, partly by fortuitous circumstance, partly by currents that had flowed in Freeman's mind and personality since his first encounters with psychology training under Ernest Beaglehole. In 1956 Freeman lost an intellectual mentor when S.F. Nadel died suddenly in his sleep; he was 53. The plans for expanding the intellectual penumbra of anthropology and sociology were disrupted and the Canberra department, barely consolidated, was thrown into a phase of reappraisal and readjustment. J.A.

²³ Correspondence Firth, Series 1, Box 8, Folder 4; and Fortes, Folder 9, Freeman UCSD.

²⁴ Interview Heimans p.45. Fortes to Freeman 18 Dec. 1953, Series 1, Box 8, Folder 9, Freeman UCSD.

²⁵ Firth to Freeman 9 Feb. 1954, Series 1, Box 8, Folder 4, Freeman UCSD.

²⁶ V.P. Morrell, *The University of Otago: a centennial history*, Dunedin 1969, p.182.

²⁷ Appell and Madan, 'Derek Freeman', pp.7-8, 11.

Barnes was appointed in August 1957 to succeed Nadel; Freeman was offered a Readership at the same time, but strains were evident in departmental relations.

These were exacerbated in the early 1960s when Freeman went back to Borneo to investigate, on behalf of the University, a breakdown in the relations between the curator of the Sarawak Museum and a research student in Freeman's department. He found a strained situation with two people whose psychological and emotional states were creating both personal and institutional animosities. The British curator, Tom Harrisson, considered the museum his personal preserve and was hostile to the introduction of anthropologists among the local peoples. Freeman was caught up in the deteriorating circumstances, confronted aggressively by Harrisson and accused of smashing a museum carving.

Freeman later spoke of a 'cognitive abreaction' to these events in Borneo in 1961.²⁸ They left him momentarily disoriented and the ANU sent Barnes to bring him back to Canberra. Freeman was gripped by a new passion for anthropology to find a way to deal with such human problems. More and more he became convinced that British structural-functionalist anthropology could not account for this nature and range of human behaviour. Living among the Iban had already begun to turn him in this direction. He and Monica worked within a dense social environment of families congregated in long houses, in which symbolic rituals and real conflicts were daily intertwined. The Freemans witnessed a people with a rich dream life, epic chants, and a head hunting ritual in which coconuts were laid beside dried trophy heads and split asunder in one blow to release seed for both a new human crop of heads and the sacred rice of the Iban. Derek could find no explanation for this in anthropological literature. His mind switched to the search for a more scientific form of understanding.²⁹

Returned to Canberra, Freeman began an intensive reading campaign in genetics, neuro-science, evolutionary biology and ethology, and the ideas of Karl Popper on knowledge and scientific method. He saw himself as returning to the all-embracing reach of the 'natural historian'³⁰ and abandoning the paradigm of cultural relativism that he had taken for granted in his Samoa days. In a back-to-the-future incident, he encountered Margaret Mead in Canberra in 1964 and told her much of her argument about the sexual freedom of young Samoan women was in error. Mead was discomfited by his challenge, which he repeated in a seminar meeting.³¹ The signal was given for what would become the great altercation of the 1980s. Meanwhile Freeman launched his new intellectual direction with a period of psychoanalytic training at the London

²⁸ Interview Heimans p. 42. See also Appell and Madan, 'Derek Freeman', pp.11-12.

²⁹ It also meant that his vast notes on the religious life of the Iban lay untouched through the years, while he devoted time to this new and all absorbing trajectory of development.

³⁰ Quoted in Appell and Madan, *ibid.*, p.13.

³¹ Phyllis Grosskurth, *Margaret Mead*, Penguin 1988, p.92.

Institute of Psychoanalysis in 1963, and met Konrad Lorenz in Europe who began to advise him in the study of ethology.

These developments were not greeted with enthusiasm in the department of anthropology at the ANU, which was strongest in ethnographic fieldwork within a wide range of societies in Asia and the Pacific. Freeman portrays their attitude, and that of psychiatrists to whom he read his papers, as one of hostility,³² but he was allowed to go off to Samoa again in 1965, after 20 years' absence, to begin a more concentrated study of the ethology of Samoan behaviour, in particular patterns of dominance among chiefs. He told a colleague: 'In recent years my time has been taken up in a radical rethinking of the basis of anthropology. In brief, I am working towards a unified theory that takes into account not only man's customs, but the human nature, psychology and evolutionary history that has brought them into being and actively sustains them.'³³

The whole Freeman family spent two years in Samoa, encamped in Sa'anapu where his chiefly title enabled him to roam comparatively freely and observe. They were arduous years, at least for Derek and Monica, full of overwork. 'I am nothing if not an ardent anthropologist', Freeman wrote to John Barnesback in Canberra,³⁴ but the cost was exhaustion and another collapse with questions being asked again about his state of mind. New revelations about Margaret Mead's time on Ta'u and the effect Samoans claimed her image of Samoan women was having on their moral reputation were partly responsible.³⁵ The Freemans returned to Australia at the beginning of 1968, bags bulging with notes and tapes. Derek began almost immediately the book that became the *cause célèbre* of 1983, presenting papers along the way that left no doubt about his intentions and ideas.

At the same time Freeman's conviction that anthropology needed to expand its remit to include the biogenetic basis of human choice had him lobbying for a department of ethology to be set up at the ANU. He hoped the university, in alliance with government industrial and scientific research institutes, would become a world centre for the study of human behaviour.³⁶ Interestingly, Meyer Fortes, while constantly supportive of his brilliant student, remained sceptical of Freeman's more absolute claims about ethology's contribution to studies of culture; he wanted Freeman to get back to his Iban publications.

In October 1972 Freeman was appointed to the Chair of Anthropology in his department, which was growing rapidly but abandoning its original coverage of sociology. These were controversial times in Freeman's relations with colleagues and

³² Interview Heimans pp.57-58; Freeman to Fortes 10 Jan. 1963, Series 1, Box 8, Folder 9, Freeman UCSD.

³³ Freeman to Crocombe 19 Jan. 1965, Series 1, Box 6, Folder 7, Freeman UCSD.

³⁴ 16 Oct 1967, Series 1, Box 2, Folder 20, Freeman UCSD.

³⁵ Interview Monica Freeman 9 Oct. 2002.

³⁶ Correspondence with Macfarlane Burnett, Series 1, Box 5, Folder 1, Freeman UCSD.

the institution. Episodes of erratic behaviour, punishing forensic and debating skills in seminar gatherings of staff and students, and criticisms of the 'moral choices' made by the ANU in its art acquisitions lent Freeman a notoriety that had some colleagues – though not all – alleging he was mentally ill. Through it all he remained committed to what he saw as a 'prophetic task' to develop an 'interactionist anthropology' that would take it away from either an environmental or purely sociobiological approach to study exogenetic and genetic factors in human culture together.³⁷ He wanted anthropology to transcend the nature-nurture dichotomy, to put brain function together with cultural dynamics to explain human choice. It remains to be judged how developed or original Freeman's ideas were.³⁸

Judgements about his anthropological work in general are inevitably influenced by the Margaret Mead controversy. Freeman retired from active academic life in 1981 though he remained a Visiting Fellow in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the ANU. His old mentor, Meyer Fortes, died in January 1983, with Freeman relentlessly pursuing all comers who had the temerity to challenge his refutations of Mead. Perhaps responding to the wave of hysterical attacks on him from professional colleagues in north America, after the publication of *Margaret Mead and Samoa*, he demanded engagement with his views of all who raised their heads above the parapet, prodding them repeatedly till they lapsed into confusion or silence. He died in Canberra just before his 85th birthday, on 6 July 2001. The white noise enveloping this affair and a life spent largely in rebuttal have obscured judgements about the depth and worth of Freeman's career in anthropology, and the contribution he made towards a genuine ethnography of Samoa. His 1948 study of Sa'anapu reclaims some of that ground and returns a more complete Samoan society to centre stage.

THIS STUDY of a Samoan village is from an earlier era of empirical ethnography associated with the British tradition of structural functionalism that was evolving in the 1940s. Yet Derek Freeman's thesis is not the simple product of extensive training in that tradition. Freeman collected most of his data in the years before he travelled to London. He made his observations in Western Samoa as an independent, amateur anthropologist, working at right-angles to his job as a teacher. Neither is his study of Sa'anapu part of that other tradition of British anthropology during the inter-war period – the anthropologist as servant of the colonial administration in the

³⁷ Freeman to Macfarlane Burnett 2 Apr. 1980 Series 1, Box 8, Folder 9, Freeman UCSD.

³⁸ For a sceptical view see Serge Tcherkézoff, *Le mythe occidental de la sexualité polynésienne 1928-1999. Margaret Mead, Derek Freeman et Samoa*, Paris 2001; and his 'Is anthropology about individual agency or culture? or why "Old Derek" is doubly wrong', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 110:1 (2001), 59-78.

modernization of native peoples. Freeman was no ally of the New Zealand colonial authorities. Indeed his work was regarded with suspicion because he separated himself from his compatriots and did not share their aloofness from Samoans.

Samoa is a fabulous set of islands – 'fabulous' in the postmodern sense of capturing the Western imagination through a mixture of romantic, white fables and social scientific arguments about its people and their way of relating to one another. None of this is present in Freeman's thesis study, nor yet the self-reflexiveness of the ethnographer about his place in the process of collecting data that has become accepted practice in parts of the discipline. Yet Freeman showed himself to be a fine, even romantic story-teller in this piece of work. The disciplined, meticulous notes of the fieldworker, which underpin the 1948 thesis and are available to see in Freeman's private papers at the University of California in San Diego – neatly filed lists of genealogies, kinship charts, a history of the village – also convey messages and writings which suggest a poetic, sensuous feel for his surroundings. There are beautiful line drawings of seating plans, the disposition of Samoan houses, or *fale*, within the village. There are stories about individual *matai*, the title holders within lineages, their encounters with their neighbours, controversies and deceptions, all systematically recorded and organized, but brimming with life and colour, and Freeman's admiration or amusement. It is perhaps ironic that in Chapter I there is something Margaret Mead-like in Freeman's descriptions of the Samoan landscape and Sa'anapu village on its tiny tongue of land dominated by the tides.

The thesis is divided into two parts. Part I deals with the setting of Sa'anapu village and Freeman's explanation of Samoa's complex lineage system. He avoids sketching in the history of Samoans' contacts with the West, and there is no hint of the struggle between Samoan nationalists and the New Zealand administration, which consumed the islands less than a decade before Freeman's arrival. The 'historical turn' pioneered by Evans Pritchard was not yet in vogue in Freeman's school of anthropological training and was never really mastered by Freeman. On his own initiative, however, he was the first to work conscientiously through the missionary records in Australian and New Zealand archives and the London Missionary Society in London. He used them to compare contemporary spatial, demographic and social detail with the earliest observations by the missionaries to achieve a crude picture of changes that Sa'anapu might have undergone in the intervening years. He also showed his debt to Evans Pritchard, Radcliffe Brown and Meyer Fortes in Chapter II by linking his study of the Samoan lineage system with their studies of kinship, especially in Africa. There is a richness in Freeman's description of Samoans' everyday concern with genealogy – how it could distract and goad chiefs, accompany children's games, encourage secrecy and

add to his own difficulties in extracting information because of its powerful political implications.

Chapter III portrays the bonds that held Samoans together, not just their genealogical links spread throughout the island group, but also the psychological bonds that tied them to a locale and village community – Freeman was already alert to the importance of ‘place’ in people’s sense of identity, which is a common emphasis in cultural studies today. In Chapter V, Freeman describes *avaga*, the custom of marriage by bride capture, and the ritual defloration often accompanying it. This would become a key point of argument in his later dispute over Margaret Mead’s interpretation of Samoan sexual behaviour but here it is described without comment.

The people who dominate Freeman’s study are the chiefs of Sa’anapu. Chapter VII gives us one of the clearest descriptions we have of the gradations of chieftainship and Freeman provides a fine-grained appreciation of the differences between *ali’i*, or titular chiefs, and *tulafale*, or executive chiefs. The manifold duties of the latter, Freeman contended, were not adequately expressed in previously utilized descriptions of them as ‘orator’ chiefs. Freeman’s discussions of chiefs, indeed the first 150 pages of his study, make clear this is not just a small, abstract ‘village study’ adequate to earn Freeman his diploma so that he could move onto higher studies. It is a lively, sympathetic study of people in a particular social setting which opens a window on the entire island group-wide social structure of Samoa and the dynamic relationships that existed in Freeman’s day, as one hundred years before, between members of elementary families, lineages both maximal and minimal, and especially titled chiefs with their status rivalries and personality clashes. Paradox abounds, which is striking given Freeman’s later stern decrees about how Samoan society worked.³⁹ This alone makes ‘The Social Structure of a Samoan Village Community’ a significant historical document that has been hidden from view for too long.

Central to Freeman’s method of proceeding are lists, tables and charts covering, among other things, demographic information, lines of succession and age categories of title-holders. The work is partly a proto-quantitative survey of various facets of Sa’anapu village life. Freeman experienced difficulties in counting persons and positions, but he was confident he could overcome any shortcomings with a ‘sociological enquiry’.⁴⁰ And in fact the tone and descriptive power of Freeman’s prose does prevent the thesis being a dry, abstract work of measuring.

Part II centres on the ceremonial relationships expressed in the behaviour of chiefs within the formal institution of the village council, or *fono*. It ties into this setting the

³⁹ Poignant in this connection is a letter Freeman wrote to George Stocking forty years later in which he stated: ‘the world may well, as you say, be “full of paradoxes”. The work of scholars, surely, should not be.’²² Aug. 1990, Series 1, Box 22, Folder 2, Freeman UCSD.

⁴⁰ See Chapter I, footnote 3.

varied social groups of the village – the *aumaga*, or untitled adult males, the *aualuma*, the adult females of the lineages comprising the village, and the church community, a vital component of the social solidarity that ties the structures and functions of the Sa'anapu lineage system together. Again, one cannot help but register Freeman's admiration for the (theoretical) stability reinforced on every social occasion by the institutionalized expression of the structural relations among the chiefs and people of Sa'anapu. In Chapter IX he describes the formal seating plan for chiefs within the *fale* where the village *fono* takes place, and the disciplined rigour in the recitation of the *fa'alupega* – the honorific phrases connected to each lineage of note, which are rooted in that lineage's history and precedence within the village. In the same chapter he also shows how Samoans delight in subtle variations to these ritual practices on a given day, to record their pleasure or displeasure at a momentary triumph or lapse by a member of the community.

Freeman was observing Samoan society in the 1940s from a privileged position, which became an accusation against him in later years to diminish the value of his pronouncements about Samoa. His 1948 thesis study nonetheless makes of Sa'anapu, with all its groups from the highest to the lowest, a living, breathing social organism, while at the same time advancing a limited number of ideas about the study of social structure.

The latter become evident in Freeman's concluding section (Chapter XVII). He disagrees with Radcliffe Brown's argument that social structure is a concrete reality that can be directly observed in the field. It is an abstraction, arrived at by the anthropologist's observations raised to the level of a structural explanation (though Freeman was convinced that Samoans themselves were perfectly clear about the nature of their social structure, as demonstrated in the seating plan for the village *fono*, which determined precedence and behaviour). In what perhaps is the first hint of Freeman's ultimate dissatisfaction with the aridity of the British school of structural functionalism, he argued that resting arguments about society on abstract structural features was not enough. He had shown that Samoan society, as exemplified in Sa'anapu, operated as a dynamic matrix of relationships in which chiefs played the leading roles but which 'extended to embrace all person to person relationships of a pervasive and persisting character'. There was necessarily, therefore, an element of story-telling about individual cases in order to appreciate the rich density of social behaviour. And crucially also, a historical dimension, crudely focused, it must be said, or only those aspects of the past that had come down to the present as persisting elements of social structure, but a historical focus nonetheless, which foreshadowed Freeman's later jousts over the historical accuracy of others' portrayals of Samoan society.

In the war of words that followed the Margaret Mead dispute, Freeman's American detractors expressed scepticism that he had any credentials to pronounce upon Mead's picture of Samoa. Because the University of London had kept no copy of his diploma thesis, it was suggested that perhaps it never existed.⁴¹ This late publication will prove that it did, and still does, providing us with a powerful local study less than two decades after Mead carried out her study in the more easterly area of the Samoan group. Freeman's thesis is the first in-depth village study of a people who were already, thanks to Mead, at the centre of the West's imagining about how environment shapes culture. At the same time, it provides a glimpse into the archive of social anthropology itself, as a system of enquiry in a specific cultural tradition developing its assumptions, its intellectual variety and its scientific pretensions.

AS FAR AS POSSIBLE Derek Freeman's thesis has been left exactly as it was written in 1948. Some editorial interventions have, however, had to be made to prepare the text for publication. Freeman himself tinkered with the text over the years, making the occasional marginal annotation or changing a word here and there. Where significant examples of this occur, I have added an extra symbol footnote in bold to distinguish it from original footnotes. Once or twice I have also added comments in bold to Freeman's own footnotes, to explain an obscurity, or make a comment where a footnote was missing in the original. I have not attempted to identify more precisely particular primary documents used, simply listing them under the originating and current archival institution. Freeman numbered his footnotes afresh, starting at 1, on each page; I have re-numbered them consecutively throughout each chapter.

Freeman used short-hand citations of books and journals in his footnotes, and *op.cit.* where he meant *ibid.*. I have made corrections where warranted and italicized book and journal titles (Freeman used inverted commas), but left most citations as they were originally. A full bibliography of all material cited has been added, and it begins with a list of the journal abbreviations which Freeman used in his footnotes; the original copy of the thesis did not contain a bibliography.

Freeman's original text contains a number of schematic kinship diagrams and some neat line drawings of Sa'anapu village. These have not been redrawn, but inserted as they originally appeared, in page order, in order to remain true to the original. His personal papers at University of California, San Diego, contain the same diagrams often differently titled. I have, however, used those found in the 1948 thesis. The photographs and drawing of Freeman himself (the latter by his wife Monica, and from a later period), plus the larger map of the Samoa group of islands, are new to this

⁴¹ Interview Heimans 1988, p.28.

edition. Finally, spelling has been left in its original form (one exception: 'coconut' for 'cocoanut'), and underlining in the text has been italicized.

I have to thank the Freeman family, and especially Monica Freeman, for their help in preparing this publication. Monica responded tirelessly to my questions and let me poke about in Derek's library for bits and pieces I needed. I thank colleagues who have read and commented upon this introduction: Don Tuzin, Karen Nero, Serge Tcherkézoff, and Jim Fox, who also wrote the Foreword. Pauline Wedlake typed a clean, modernized copy from a complex 1940s typescript. My wife, Jacquie, read and corrected my prose. Niel Gunson and Jenny Terrell have made it possible and were cheerfully patient throughout the drawn-out process of getting it right.

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Introduction

This study of the social structure of a Samoan village community has two purposes: it is offered as a contribution to the social anthropology of contemporary Samoa, and as an examination of some aspects of the theory of social structure.

In scope, the material presented is limited to the study of a single community – the village of Sa'anapu on the south coast of the island of Upolu in Western Samoa. This deliberate restriction of field requires some explanation.

Anthropological interest in Samoa received its first impetus from the publication, in Paris and London in 1798, of La Pérouse's narrative of his Pacific voyage of 1787. Thirty-nine years later, John Williams' memorable book *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands* appeared and, since that date, an extensive literature has accumulated. The United States Exploring Expedition, which surveyed Samoa in 1839 under the command of Captain Charles Wilkes, USN, had as members of its corps of 'scientific gentlemen', Charles Pickering and Horatio Hale, whose official duties included ethnographic enquiry; but most of the early accounts of Samoan life are to be found in the publications of missionaries like Turner, Stair, and Brown; naval officers like Erskine, Walpole, and Hood; and consular agents like Pritchard and Trood. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a group of distinguished German scholars began to devote attention to Samoan society. Principal among its members were von Bülow; the jurists Stuebel and Schultz; and Augustin Krämer – a surgeon in the German Imperial Navy. With the work of these men, the scientific study of Samoan social institutions may be said to have begun. Following the occupation of German Samoa by New Zealand forces in 1914, serious study lapsed; but, during 1925 – 1926, Margaret Mead did field-work in the Manu'a group of Eastern Samoa[#] and, a few years later, Buck and Keesing conducted research which led to exhaustive studies of Samoan ethnology, and Samoan political and social development.

From the earliest times, students of Samoan society have stressed the great importance of the village community as a political and social unit. It may seem strange

[#] This, and footnote 1 in chapter VII are virtually the only references to Margaret Mead. It is unclear whether Freeman is referring to both Mead works on Samoa (see bibliography).

then to record that, in all that has been written, there is not a single study of a village community. This lack has, without doubt, been a serious obstacle to the understanding of Samoan society for, to a very large extent, Samoan social institutions can only be properly analysed and understood against the background of village social structure.

I first visited Sa'anapu in May 1942, while making an archaeological survey of Seuao Cave – a celebrated site, the scene of an historic siege, lying about two miles inland from Sa'anapu village.¹ Most of my time was spent in surveying the cave and making excavations but, during the course of this work, I formed friendships with several of the Sa'anapu chiefs and, before leaving, I was able to spend two or three days examining the village and meeting its people. For some months previously, I had been visiting various parts of the south coast of Upolu with a view to selecting a village for intensive study; as a result of the reconnaissance which followed my work at the Seuao Cave, I decided on Sa'anapu.

At this time I was living in Apia, and the only way of reaching Sa'anapu and the other villages on the south coast of Upolu was by a rough forest track crossing the mountains by a 2,000 ft high pass, and taking some seven or eight hours to traverse on foot. However, on horseback this time could be reduced by almost half, and this brought Sa'anapu within reasonable range. Again, I was able to maintain contact with the members of the village during their frequent visits to Apia.

A second sojourn in Sa'anapu was made in September 1942 and, from this time onwards until my departure from Samoa in November 1943, I was able to arrange regular visits. My longest single stay was for two months, from December 1942 to February 1943, when a detailed census and kinship survey was completed. It is the lineage structure of the village during this period and, more particularly, during the month of January 1943 that we shall be describing and analysing in the following pages. Following my release from the RNVR, I was able to make a brief return visit to Sa'anapu in July and August of 1946.

When my investigations began in Sa'anapu in September 1942, I had already been in Samoa for two and a half years and was fairly well conversant with the essentials of Samoan social organization, having lived in and studied a number of village communities on Upolu, and spent some months in villages on the island of Savai'i when on military service. From this experience I was able, to some extent, to formulate in advance the main problems I had to solve. This previous experience and study also meant that, from the outset, I was able to conduct all my enquiries at Sa'anapu in the Samoan language – in which I am qualified by government examination.

¹ J. D. Freeman, "The Seuao Cave", *JPS*, vol. LII, 1943, pp. 1 – 109.

When working in Sa'anapu, I lived in the household of Lauvī Vainu'u – one of the chiefs whose friendship I had gained during my archaeological excavations at Seuao Cave. This afforded me the valuable opportunity of observing a Samoan household from the inside, for I was able to actively participate in the everyday life of its members. Lauvī Vainu'u himself was one of the leading *tulafale*, or executive chiefs of Sa'anapu village, and its elected government headman, or *pulenu'u*. He proved an excellent friend and mentor, and whatever value my Sa'anapu notes may have is very largely due to the untiring assistance of old Lauvī Vainu'u.

I am indebted, too, to the Directors of the London Missionary Society for granting me access to the magnificent collection of manuscript letters, journals, and reports held at Livingstone House, London.

PART I

Chapter I

The Setting

The island of Upolu, on the south coast of which Sa'anapu village stands, is elongate, 45 miles in length and 8 to 12 miles wide; its area is approximately 430 square miles. An ill-defined mountain ridge running east and west, and topped by the cones of extinct volcanoes, forms its backbone. This ridge reaches its greatest height of 3,600 feet at about its mid-point, and throughout its length is a barrier to easy travel. The summit of the island consists for the most part of a plateau a mile or more in width, in places swampy, with old volcanic cones rising above it, some of them with small and beautiful lakes in their craters. In these mountains the rain-fall is heavy, about 200 inches per annum on the north side of the watershed, and to the south, where the moist prevailing wind strikes the mountains, higher still. Most of this water is carried off in a series of gorges which lie roughly parallel to one another, and extend northwards and southwards to the sea. Leaving the central plateau the water descends rapidly – there are innumerable waterfalls – until it reaches the lower and less steep parts of the island. The gorges in which these streams run are deeply cut, with precipitous and in many places unscalable sides. Moreover these ravines are numerous, so that in some places the intervening, lateral ridges are narrow, and some of them knife-edged.

The whole island – with the exception of the cultivated land – is covered with dense tropical forest, and in the mountains where the rainfall is so abundant, the tangled vegetation is well nigh impenetrable. Except at three or four places where the mountain ridge is crossed by tracks,¹ the interior of the island is still not fully mapped, and is largely unknown to Europeans and the present generation of Samoans alike. Intermittently – along both sides of the island – great lava flows, now well wooded, issue from ancient craters, fan out, and descend with a gradual and majestic sweep to the sea. Far inland at its source, a lava flow is often steep and marred by gorges, but nearer the sea, where its slope becomes more gentle, it provides the site for extensive

¹ During the recent Pacific war a road was built across the island of Upolu from Leulumoega to Lotofagā. By 1946 this road was having a marked effect on the lives of the people of Sa'anapu.

native gardens, for in the course of time the basaltic rocks and shales have weathered into fertile soils. There are several sizable rivers, but the surface layers of this volcanic island are remarkably pervious to water, and as they descend many of the torrents grow smaller in their course, some disappearing entirely; and the greater part of the drainage from the mountains is by way of subterranean channels. This water forms a water-table, and most of it reaches the surface again near high-tide mark in a series of springs. It is on the flat strips of coastal land, at the mouths of rivers or close to these springs, that the vast majority of the Samoan people live.² Thus on Upolu, except where the coast is iron-bound, and the black cliffs of basalt fall almost straight into deep water, the perimeter of the island is marked by an almost unbroken succession of villages. Along this narrow coastal belt and extending inland for half a mile or more, stand the thickly serried coconut palms which answer so many vital native needs. Further inland the sombre forest is broken by the quicker green of cultivated land – the patchwork quilt of gardens where grow the taro, yams, bananas, breadfruit, sugar-cane and kava of this predominantly agricultural people.

Sa'anapu village, the subject of our study, lies on the south coast of the island of Upolu, at the western boundary of the Safata district. Its site is a low sandy isthmus about a mile in length and varying in width from 280 yards at its widest point to scarcely more than 20 yards at its narrowest. At no point is this small isthmus more than three or four feet above high water springs. To the south lies the great expanse of the lagoon, extending outward almost two miles to the barrier reef. Here are to be found the ancient and traditionally named shallow-water fishing grounds of the Sa'anapu people; beyond the reef in water hundreds of fathoms deep are the spots favoured for the catching of bonito and shark. To the north of the village, fringed with mangrove trees, there meanders a brackish tidal inlet. This inlet, fed by a series of copious, fresh-water springs, joins the lagoon at the village's eastern end, where with another inlet from the east it forms a large estuary. Sa'anapu, on its tiny tongue of land is a village dominated by the tides. Spanning the inlet at two strategic points are bridges of native making – a series of single coconut logs resting on heavy lava-stone foundations – both giving access to the great, stone-walled enclosures where the village pigs are kept, and to the rough foot tracks that lead off inland to the village gardens. At a few other places, when the tide is out, it is possible to wade across the inlet. The springs that well up at seven separate places on the inlet's inland edge are sources of excellent fresh water, and upon them the people of Sa'anapu rely for the whole of their supply. But it is only during the two or three hours before and after low water that the springs are free from contamination by the sea, and thus at each low

² Only 11 of the 192 villages of Western Samoa lie inland. (*Report on the Administration of the Mandated Territory of Western Samoa, for the Year ended 31st March, 1946*, New Zealand, 1946, p.2).

tide, the women and girls of the village whose task it is, must draw all the fresh water required for use during the following eight or ten hours. Although there is no name for the inlet as a whole, each of the seven springs is named, and when the tide is out each becomes an animated centre of social life. With buckets suspended from their carrying-poles, girls troop to and fro across the narrow bridges drawing water; at the lava's edge women laugh and gossip while they pound the dirt from their families' clothes, or scour out cooking pots, their children scampering and squealing in the shallow pools; an old chief returning from his taro garden stops to question a party of young men (members of the *aumaga*) just back from fishing who have come to cleanse the salt water from their skins..... Here at the village springs, social relationships are at their most informal, and each day as the human tide ebbs and flows with the rise and fall of the sea, confidences are shared, assignations made, and suspicions whispered.

The approach to the villages to the east of Sa'anapu (the communities of Sataoa, Lotofagā, Nu'usuatia, and Vaie'e, with which the people of Sa'anapu have important lineage relationships) is direct enough when the tide is out, for it is then possible to wade across the quarter-mile wide estuary, but at high water a canoe is called for – unless one is prepared to cross the main inlet by bridge and make a long detour around the mangrove swamps. This unusual local setting, resulting in a certain isolation, has exercised a constant effect upon Sa'anapu's social relations with neighbouring villages. At its centre, with one side abutting on the lagoon, lies the village *malae* – an open space of white sand, irregular in shape, and about an acre in extent. This *malae*, known by the ancient name of Latatuli, is the site of social ceremonies that involve the village as a whole – especially in its formal relations with other village communities. Here speeches are made by contending executive chiefs (*tulafale*) – staffs in hand and fly-flaps (*fue*) on their shoulders; here food is distributed, and fine mats (*'ie toga*) and bark-cloth (*siapo*) presented; here in former days lineage heralds announced war plans and warriors assembled. To-day the *malae* has at its centre a concrete cricket pitch – an object of great pride to the villagers – on which inter-village matches are played whenever the opportunity arises. On either side of the *malae*, and facing the sea, the village homesteads are scattered along the length of the isthmus.

In most contemporary Samoan villages one encounters architectural innovations, rectangular houses with concrete foundations and roofs of corrugated iron, but in Sa'anapu every dwelling is of traditional design and every roof thatched with sugar-cane leaves for it is a village known throughout Samoa for its guild of carpenters. With the glaring exception of its towering church (all of the villagers are Christians), the village probably has today an aspect almost identical with that of ancient times.

A short distance to the east of the *malae* at a place known as Va-iti, the isthmus

reaches its narrowest point. At high tide it is scarcely 20 yards in width, and in storms the waves break right across into the swampy margin of the inlet. This topographical feature divides the village into two territorial sections: Lumā, to the east, and Tuā, to the west. There is evidence that this division is not of great antiquity, and socially Sa'anapu is still a clear unit, but Samoans develop exceedingly strong ties to specific localities, and there are signs of this division, plainly topographical in origin (it has been caused by sea erosion), gradually extending to economic and social organization. Each village 'section' maintains its own bridge across the tidal inlet, and although each bridge is used freely by all members of the village, there is a strong tendency for each village 'section' to use quite separate springs for bathing and for drawing water – for the simple reason of greater ease of access. Likewise each 'section' has a separate walled enclosure for its pigs; and their gardens lie in somewhat different directions. All these factors strongly reinforce feeling for locality. The appearance and atmosphere of the two 'sections' are also clearly contrasted in the eyes of the villagers. At Lumā, the houses are huddled closely together in a grove of breadfruit trees, for there is little land on which to build. Erosion by the sea is a constant menace, and the seashore has been strewn with lava boulders in attempts to break the force of the waves. At Tuā, on the other hand, land is relatively plentiful, at least for building, and the houses are evenly spaced beneath sparsely growing coconut palms.

As it stands, the present settlement was planned and built for the opening of the village church in 1937 – an occasion of tremendous importance to the villagers (for the church had taken over twenty years to plan and build) in which thousands of guests from all over the Samoan group participated, and were lavishly entertained for over a week. The church building itself stands in the centre of the village, slightly to the rear of the *malae*. Behind it and away to the west the coconut palms stretch in an unbroken phalanx. The church is a massive structure of heterogeneous design, with white plastered walls, a red, iron roof and two yellow, wood-capped towers. Constructed entirely of European materials by native carpenters it is a source of incessant pride to the people of Sa'anapu – a monument to village solidarity and the flamboyant symbol of an alien culture and its religion.

In front of the church, and facing the *malae*, is the great school-house of the village *faijeau* (pastor) – a large building of native pattern which is used for a wide variety of social purposes. In Tuā, close to the sea, stand two small houses of inferior workmanship which serve as the site of the Government school.

To the westward, and immediately adjoining the village, is the Government District Hospital which serves the village communities on either side of Sa'anapu for a distance of about six or seven miles in each direction. It consists of a small concrete building divided into two sections - one a dispensary and the other an operating room. The staff is made up of a Native Medical Practitioner (a Samoan trained at the

Central Medical School, Suva, Fiji), and two native nurses. Four 'wards' – each a house built in native style – stand close at hand. The people of Sa'anapu are responsible for the maintenance of one of these.

The accompanying map shows in detail the disposition of the village houses.* To the uninitiated eye there is small semblance of order in their grouping, and a total lack of discernible boundary marks only adds to the impression, but in fact, Sa'anapu, like any other Samoan village follows a well defined pattern which reflects much of its social structure. Explanation of this pattern must be preceded however by some account of the inhabitants of the village and their social groupings.

The Demography of the Sa'anapu Community

In January 1943, the population of Sa'anapu village was 400.³ For Samoa this is a fairly high figure, and Sa'anapu may properly be described as a large village. An estimate based on the official 1945 census returns for Upolu, Manono and Apolima makes the mean average number of inhabitants in a village community to be approximately 340. Only about one quarter of the villages on the island of Upolu exceed 400 in their number of inhabitants, and most of these are on the north coast, in the immediate vicinity of Apia – the chief port and centre of government for Western Samoa. In the Government census taken on September 25th, 1945, the population of Sa'anapu is given as 408 – and only one other village on the south coast of Upolu is shown as exceeding this total. The comparatively large size of Sa'anapu is a distinct asset in its rivalries – economic, social and religious – with the villages of the surrounding districts.

An analysis of the population of Sa'anapu village – in terms of age⁴ and sex – as it stood in January, 1943, is shown in the following table [below].

Two points in this Table are worthy of comment: (i) the slight disparity in numbers between the sexes; and (ii) the predominantly youthful character of the population of Sa'anapu village.

* No map was found in Derek Freeman's own copy of the thesis, but the copy held at UCSD contains a copy used here (see appendix).

³ Within the Samoan group, from village to village, and from district to district, there is always a constant movement of population. This involves difficulties for the demographer, for a mere count of heads in a village may give highly misleading results. These difficulties disappear when a demographic survey is accompanied by sociological enquiry. The population figures, etc. given in the present study were collected during an intensive investigation of lineage groupings in January, 1943.

⁴ Most of the ages given must be classed as careful estimates only. Records existed for many of the children, but for only a limited number of the adults. However once the ages of a few men and women had been accurately estimated from documentary evidence, it was possible by systematic questioning to estimate fairly exactly the ages of almost all of the rest of the adult community. These estimates were checked against a chronological table of outstanding events in recent Samoan history. Even the most dubious cases are, we believe, accurate to within four or five years.

Both of these factors are observable in the population of Western Samoa as a whole. The 1945 census showed that males (31,834 in a total native population of 62,422) made up approximately 51% of the population, while females (30,588) made up 49% of the total. In Sa'anapu this disparity in numbers is more strongly marked, males making up 54% of the village population, and female 46%. There is no reason to believe however that this disparity has any sociological significance.

Of far greater pertinence to the social anthropologist is the pronouncedly youthful character of the village population. The position is summarized in Table II, in which the population of the Sa'anapu community is arranged in seven groups, at ten-year intervals, from birth to 70 years.

TABLE I

<i>Age in Years</i>	<i>No. of Males</i>	<i>No. of Females</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Birth – 5 yrs	33	35	68
6 yrs – 10 yrs	48	38	86
11 yrs – 15 yrs	30	16	46
16 yrs – 20 yrs	20	16	36
21 yrs – 25 yrs	17	12	29
26 yrs – 30 yrs	22	20	42
31 yrs – 35 yrs	12	13	25
36 yrs – 40 yrs	8	4	12
41 yrs – 45 yrs	8	5	13
46 yrs – 50 yrs	4	7	11
51 yrs – 55 yrs	3	4	7
56 yrs – 60 yrs	3	4	7
61 yrs – 65 yrs	5	7	12
66 yrs – 70 yrs	3	3	6
TOTALS	216	184	400

The age groupings apparent in this Table would seem to be typical of all the villages of Western Samoa at the present time. The 1945 census of Western Samoa showed 47.7% of the native population of 62,422 as being 14 years of age and under; the figure for Sa'anapu village in 1943 was 48%. This general situation has been brought about by a remarkable rise in the population of Western Samoa during the last quarter of a century, from 32,601 in 1921, to 62,422 in 1945.⁵

⁵ *Government Census Returns for 1921 and 1945.*

TABLE II

Age in Years	Number of Individuals	Percentage of Total Village Population
Birth - 10	154	38.5%
11-20	82	20.5%
21-30	71	17.7%
31-40	37	9.3%
41-50	24	6.0%
51-60	14	3.5%
61-70	18	4.5%

The causes of this extraordinary increase are difficult to isolate with any exactness for the necessary data is largely unavailable. It is probable however that one of the principal causes has been a fall in the infant mortality rate⁶ following the dissemination of modern ideas of hygiene and child welfare, and the systematic training of young Samoan men and women as Native Medical Practitioners⁷ and nurses. Economic and sociological factors have also played a part. Food supplies in Samoa are abundant, and there has been no danger of the population over-reaching the means of subsistence. Cash crops such as the banana and cocoa have become firmly and very successfully

⁶ Detailed death statistics, kept at our instigation during the five year period 1941-1945, indicate however that the infant mortality rate for Sa'anapu village, at least, is still fairly high:

TABLE III

Year	Under 1 month	Under 1 year	1-5 Yrs	6-10 Yrs	11-15 Yrs	16-20 Yrs	21-30 Yrs	Over 30 Yrs
1941		3	2		1			
1942	1	3	1			1	2	3
1943	3	2	3	3		1		2
1944		2	3					2
1945			1					2
Totals	4	10	10	3	1	2	2	9
Total number of live births:			1941 -	16				
			1942 -	20				
			1943 -	21				
			1944 -	26				
			1945 -	21				

⁷ In the year 1928 the Central Medical School was established in Suva, Fiji, through the collaboration of the Rockefeller Foundation and the various British island dependencies in the Western Pacific. At this School native Samoans are trained and qualify as Native Medical Practitioners. The Report of the Administration of Western Samoa for the year ending March 31st, 1946, shows that there were 22 certificated N.M.P. practising in Western Samoa, and 118 locally trained native nurses.

For a discussion of the N.M.P. system see: S.M. Lambert, *A Yankee Doctor in Paradise*, Boston U.S.A., 1941 (Samoa, pp.202-221); F.M. Keesing, *Modern Samoa*, London, 1934, pp.375-395; and *The South Seas in The Modern World*, London, 1942, pp.200-224.

established during the period under review, and have provided a strong incentive for the increasing of each lineage household's available labour force. No important natural or artificial checks have operated. Further, during the last twenty-five years Samoan political aspirations, after a protracted struggle, have gradually achieved recognition; this has possibly provided a favourable 'psychological milieu' – but the linking of such a situation with population increase is fraught with many methodological difficulties, and lies outside the scope of our present study.⁸

⁸ It is interesting to note that that the rapid rise in population of recent years, will in another decade be exercising important effects on Samoan social structure. As local minimal lineages increase in size, it is probable that segmentation will become increasingly common; it is well possible too that this process will operate at higher levels in the lineage structure, and the splitting of village communities into two or more self-sufficient sections may become a frequent phenomenon.

Chapter II

The Samoan Lineage System

In January, 1943 there were 400 individuals of both sexes and widely varying ages living in Sa'anapu village. What were the fundamental social groupings of these 400 people?

The first group that must be isolated and defined is the village community itself. This is not a simple task for many complexly related factors must be distinguished and their relative importance assessed; moreover one can only hope to define properly the Samoan village community by seeing it as an integral part of the lineage system upon which Samoan society at large is based. We must commence then with a discussion of the main principles of the Samoan lineage system.

The term 'lineage' was first used by E.W. Gifford in 1926 in describing the social and political organization of the Miwok of Central California.¹ Gifford writes: "The fundamental thing about the Miwok lineages is that their members are bound together by genealogical relationship, although today, under the altered conditions of life among Caucasians, the members of the lineages are scattered. The exact relationship that each person bears to every other member of the lineage is usually remembered. Lineage membership, as indicated by the use of the term patrilineal, passes only through the father to offspring. Children never belong to the lineage of their mother."² It is also noted that the Miwok lineage is an exogamous unit. In his 1926 paper³ Gifford also applies the term lineage to a number of the Shoshonean peoples of Southern California, the Desert Cahuilla, the Serrano, the Southern Diegueño, the Cupeño, the Luiseño, etc. After surveying the evidence Gifford concludes that "it seems not unlikely that lineages, either patrilineal or matrilineal, underlie the political organization of all the Californian tribes." In a paper published eight years earlier⁴ Gifford had used the term 'clan' instead of 'lineage' to denote the groups mentioned above.

¹ E.W. Gifford, "Miwok Lineages and the Political Unit in Aboriginal California," *American Anthropologist*, N.W. vol.28, 1926, pp.389-401.

² *Ibid.* pp.389-390.

³ *Ibid.* p.392 seq.

⁴ E.W. Gifford, "Clans and Moieties in Southern California," *Univ. Cal. Publ. Amer. Arch. Ethn.*, vol.XIV, 1918.

In 1929 Gifford employed the term lineage to refer to the *haa* of Tonga (in western Polynesia).⁵ The Tongan *haa* is a patrilineal group which closely resembles the lineages of Samoa. Within its wider degrees of span it is not a strictly exogamous group. According to Gifford: "There was no rule against marriage within the *haa*. Close blood relationship was the only bar. Patrilocal residence is said to have been the rule with both chiefs and commoners, a factor which would tend to keep the patrilineal *haa* localized." Gifford also draws attention to the segmentary (or ramified)⁶ nature of the Tongan lineages: "The whole lineage system may be likened to a tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs;" and comments on the "splitting of major lineages into minor ones" All these characteristics also apply to the Samoan lineage system.

Professor R.H. Lowie adopted the term lineage in 1929 to refer to the matrilineal groups of the Hopi.⁷ He comments: "Since 'family' has definite connotations, Gifford's term 'lineage' seems preferable for a uni-lateral group of real blood-kin."⁸ At about this time the term was also adopted by Professor A.R. Radcliffe-Brown.⁹ In 1933 Dr E.E. Evans-Pritchard defined lineage for the Nuer;¹⁰ and in his monograph published seven years later¹¹ considerably extended the theoretical analysis of the Nuer system. Another African lineage system, that of the Tallensi, has been fully analysed by Dr M. Fortes.¹² For many of the concepts employed in the analysis of the Samoan lineage system that follows we are indebted variously to Professor Gifford, Professor Evans-Pritchard, and Dr Fortes.

For Samoa, a lineage may be defined as an association of people of both sexes comprising all the descendants by remembered genealogies from a known and named male ancestor in an unbroken agnatic line.¹³

Here we are using the term 'lineage' to apply to an association of living men, women and children all of whom trace their descent from a particular male progenitor. It is also possible however to use the term lineage as applying to all the individuals descended from this progenitor both living and dead. Sometimes it may be necessary to refer to a lineage in this latter sense – but not very often, for the past members of a lineage only assume significance when their genealogical position is the sanction of

⁵ E.W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*, Bulletin 61, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1929, pp.27-47.

⁶ Gifford does not himself use these terms.

⁷ R.H. Lowie, "Notes on Hopi Clans," *Anthropological Papers*, American Museum of Natural History, vol. XXX, 1929, pp.303-360.

⁸ *Ibid*, p.330.

⁹ Professor Radcliffe-Brown's use of the term lineage at this period was confined to unpublished work. In his Presidential Address to the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1941, he discussed a number of different types of lineage. Ref.: A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On the Study of Kinship Systems," *J.R.A.I.*, vol. LXXI, 1941, pp.1-18.

¹⁰ E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "The Nuer, Tribe and Clan," *Sudan Notes and Records*, (Section I-IV), vol. XVI, 1933, pp.1-53.

¹¹ E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940. ("The Lineage System," pp.192-248).

¹² M. Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship Among the Tallensi*, Oxford, 1945.

¹³ Footnote missing in original text. Freeman later substituted the word 'predominantly' for his original phrase 'an unbroken agnatic line'.

lineage relationships among the living. The sense in which the term is employed should always be clear from the context.

Within the total lineage system, lineages of varying span may be distinguished.¹⁴ Lineages may be said to vary in span proportionately to the number of generations accepted as having intervened between their living members and the founding progenitor from whom they trace their descent. In Samoa, there are a number of great lineages the members of which trace their origin back through remembered genealogies to a progenitor held to be independent of, and not related to the members of any other lineage. These great lineages of reputedly independent origin may conveniently be called maximal lineages, for they are the lineages of the greatest span to which any individual Samoan can belong.¹⁵ The progenitor of such a maximal lineage stands at the apex of a far-reaching segmentary structure, for in the course of time dependent lineages of varying order of span have emerged within the total range of each maximal lineage. The process whereby a dependent lineage emerges may be termed the process of segmentation. The process of segmentation involves the setting up of a named lineage group at a particular generation level which, while it diverges from an hitherto integral lineage group and functions thenceforward as a separate social entity, is nevertheless linked to its parent lineage by clearly formulated genealogical ties. The genealogical points of divergence within any particular lineage may be termed points of segmentation. A divergent lineage group – in reference to the lineage from which it has diverged – may be termed a lineage segment. In some cases two or more segments emerge at the same generation level. Such segments may be said to be of the same order of segmentation. A lineage is thus a relative group, for its range of reference in any given instance depends on the particular person who is recognized as the point of divergence in tracing descent.

Within any maximal lineage it is possible to isolate lineage segments which, relative to the apex of the maximal lineage progressively decrease in span until the minimal lineages – the smallest functioning lineage units of Samoan society – are reached. The minimal lineage of smallest span existing in contemporary Samoa is that consisting of a titled man and his children. However data collected in Sa'anapu village and

¹⁴ Footnote missing in original text.

¹⁵ In the present study we have used 'maximal lineage' in preference to the term 'clan.' Final decision as to the nature of the Samoan maximal lineage must await further research, but present knowledge suggests that the maximal lineage conforms to the general principles upon which the Samoan lineage system as a whole is based; (i.e. genealogical ties are always postulated). The term 'clan' on the other hand, is sometimes used to denote a group in which genealogical ties are either not postulated, or not demonstrable by genealogies. Professor Lowie (*op.cit.*: p.330), for example, shows that some Hopi clans contain a number of distinct matrilineal lineages, between which no bond of blood-kinship is discoverable. Professor Radcliffe-Brown (*op.cit.*: p.10) views the clan as a group which is "not actually or demonstrably (by genealogies) a lineage...." Professor Evans-Pritchard (*op.cit.*: p.192) however regards the two terms (for the Nuer) as interchangeable: "A clan is a system of lineages and a lineage a genealogical segment of a clan. One might speak of the whole clan as a lineage, but we prefer to speak of lineages as segments of it and define them as such."

elsewhere in Western Samoa shows that the model (effective) minimal lineage is one of three-generation span.¹⁶

We have now defined both the maximal lineage (the lineage of widest span to which any of its members belong) and the minimal lineage (the lineage of narrowest span to which any of its members belong). No such exact description can be given however of the lineages of widely varying span which lie between these two extremes. All that can be done in these instances is to state the point of segmentation to which a particular lineage owes its origin, and to indicate its position relative to either extreme of the total lineage structure of which it is a part. The relative position of intermediate lineages may thus be indicated by using such adjectives as : major, medial, and minor. When such terms are resorted to however it should be recognized that they indicate no more than relative position within a particular lineage structure, and in a very approximate sense only, for the Samoan lineage structure is much more complex in its ramifications than this very limited range of terms suggests.¹⁷

In Samoa, all lineages – from the maximal right down to the minimal – are named. In most cases the name of a lineage is that of its founding progenitor, but instances do occur of a lineage adopting a new name (subsequent to its emergence) to commemorate some especially noteworthy event in its history.¹⁸

The name borne by a lineage is handed down from generation to generation. It is used in two main ways:

- (i) as a term to refer to all the members of a lineage both living and dead;
- (ii) as the title held by the elected head of the lineage concerned.

When used in the first sense a lineage name is always prefixed by the particle *Sa* meaning: "The Lineage of".¹⁹ Thus, for example, when one speaks of the *Sa Mulitalo* (a minor lineage of *Sa'anapu* village) one is referring to all those individuals descended patrilineally from the first *Mulitalo* who is held to have founded the lineage about ten generations ago. According to its context the term *Sa Mulitalo* may refer to

¹⁶ See p.43, chap.IV.

¹⁷ A detailed examination of the complex ramifications of the maximal and major lineages of Samoa does not fall within the province of the present study which is primarily concerned with the analysis of village social structure. Furthermore the field-research necessary for any such examination has not yet been carried out. The brief general account of the total Samoan lineage system here presented is based on two main sources: (i) an enquiry into the wider lineage affiliations of the *Sa'anapu* village community; and (ii) a study of the extensive collection of genealogies and *fa'alufega* made by Dr Augustin Krämer during the period 1897-1899. (A. Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, (Erster Band), Stuttgart, 1902).

¹⁸ An example of this is the maximal lineage now known as the *Sa Malietoa*. According to tradition the name *Malietoa* first came into use about twenty generations ago following the defeat and expulsion of the Tongans who had been occupying part of Samoa for some years. The departing Tui Tonga shouted from his canoe: "*Malie tau! Malie toa!*" ("Well fought! Brave warriors!"), and part of this honorific phrase was adopted by the *Malietoa* lineage as its title. (S. Ella, "The War of Tonga and Samoa and the Origin of the Name *Malietoa*," *J.P.S.*, vol. VIII, pp.231-234.

¹⁹ The Tongan term for lineage is *haa*. This is the phonetic equivalent of the Samoan *sa*. *Sa* is also used in the Tokelau Islands. (G. MacGregor, *Ethnology of Tokelau Islands*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1937, p.48).

only the living members of the lineage, or alternatively to all those individuals both living and dead who have been members of the Mulitalo lineage since its inception. All Samoans have personal names (*igoa vala'au*) which are used in normal day to day intercourse, but if ever a man wants to indicate his exact social position he will affix the name of the immediate lineage of which he is a member by virtue of patrilineal descent. The same applies to women. The name given is that of a man's minimal lineage, but if questioned further he will usually be able to list the names of those lineage segments of more inclusive span of which he is also a member, finally arriving at the maximal lineage from which he ultimately traces his descent.

Another term widely used to refer to a lineage is *āiga*.²⁰ Thus, for example, the *Āiga Taulagi* is a major lineage of about ten generations depth having important affiliations with the major lineage, Sa Tunumafono, of which the lineage of the principal titular chief (*ali'i*) of Sa'anapu village is a segment. The term may equally be applied to minor and minimal lineages. Again the word is used to describe the process of segmentation whereby a new lineage emerges, as in the phrase: "*'Ua fai lo la āiga*" – "They (the group referred to) have made (i.e. have brought into being) their lineage." *Āiga* is also employed to describe all those individuals who are related consanguineously. Thus, a man referring to his brothers and sisters will say "*Matou te āiga*" – "We (excluding the person addressed) are consanguineous kin." *Āiga* may be used too in the singular as in the phrase: "*O se āiga 'o matou lenā*" – "That is a kinsman of ours." In this sense *āiga* may apply to any of one's kindred (the cognatic category which includes all of a man's father's kin and all of his mother's kin)²¹ however remote.

The name of the lineage is also used as the chiefly title of that one of its male members who is its *matai*, or elected head. Thus, for example, the elected head of the Sa Mulitalo (mentioned above) holds the chiefly title of Mulitalo, a title which is used constantly and in all social situations. Similarly the head of the maximal lineage, Sa Malietoa, holds the chiefly title of Malietoa.

Unlike the lineage systems which have been described for Africa, the Samoan lineage is not a strictly exogamous group within its wider degrees of span (i.e. within maximal and major lineages).²² Within minor and minimal lineages however, exogamy is rigorously enforced. Moreover even within major lineages, intra-lineage marriages are relatively rare, and extra-lineage unions the norm both preferred and actual. The exact extent of intra-lineage marriage (in Sa'anapu village) will be discussed in due course.

²⁰ Pratt, *Dictionary of the Samoan Language*, Samoa, 1911, p.6. There are several editions dating back to 1862. The 1911 edition, correctly titled *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language*, was co-produced with J.E. Newell.

²¹ Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, p.194.

²² As already noted E.W. Gifford has used the term 'lineage' to apply to both exogamous and non-exogamous descent groups.

The Work of Dr. Augustin Krämer

The total lineage structure of Samoan society has not yet been fully studied. Present knowledge rests mainly on the investigations of Dr. Augustin Krämer, a surgeon in the German Imperial Navy, who during the years 1897-1899, collected an extensive series of genealogies and *fa'alupega*. These were published in 1902 with detailed annotations.²³ Krämer's chief interest however was in historical reconstruction, and his principal purpose was the faithful recording of the main lines of descent of the maximal lineages of the leading titular chiefs. He also devoted some attention however to the genealogies of major lineages, and to inter-lineage affiliations, mainly in an attempt to reduce his genealogies to a uniform time scale. Thus he gives the number 33 to the generation of chiefs who were holding lineage titles during the period he was in Samoa, and ascending generations are then numbered consecutively in decreasing order (i.e., from 33 to 1).

In Krämer's critical judgement the genealogy of only one maximal lineage, the Sa Tui A'ana, could be traced back 'accurately' through all 33 generations, and he makes Malamagaga'e, the male progenitor of the Tui A'ana maximal lineage the starting point of his chronology. Other maximal lineages of Western Samoa as established by Krämer are the Sa Tui Atua (28 generations), and the Sa Tagaloa (22 generations).²⁴ Sociologically viewed the attempt to establish genealogies of such antiquity as 'true' is an undertaking fraught with grave methodological hazards.²⁵ Krämer himself makes it clear that sooner or later the genealogies of all the maximal lineages merge into mythology, but the criteria he uses to mark this point are never fully stated. Furthermore full cognizance is not taken of the tendency of Samoans to remember only those members of a line of descent whose genealogical position has a definite sociological function (i.e. marks a significant point of segmentation governing relations between existing lineage segments); and to forget the socially unimportant intermediate names. Of greater consequence is the converse process, the tendency for names to be deliberately incorporated in a remote section of a genealogy, either to increase lineage prestige or to provide the sanction for a desired course of action.

For our present purpose however Krämer does demonstrate that there are in Samoa a number of lineages whose members trace their descent back through remembered genealogies to a progenitor held to be independent of, and not related to, the members of any other maximal lineage.

²³ Dr. Augustin Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, (Erster Band), Stuttgart, 1902.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.446.

²⁵ Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, p.199 seq.

Samoa Genealogies

Samoaans, living as they do in a society based on lineage principles have an intense interest in all matters genealogical. Indeed there is no subject which more eagerly provokes discussion. Old chiefs will sit day-long endeavouring to trace out the intricate ramifications of some great lineage, each of them on the alert for some scrap of information that he can add to his existing knowledge; a formal assembly of chiefs engrossed in some topic of ceremonial or economic moment will break off their deliberations to enquire of one another the identity and genealogical connections of some stranger observed passing through their village; even children may be heard shouting genealogical tags at one another in their games. There is in fact no subject by which Samoan culture sets a greater store, or upon which it places stronger emphasis. Despite this general interest it is extraordinarily difficult to collect full genealogies in the field, for while the members of one lineage are usually ready to discuss the genealogy of another from hearsay, they are extremely reluctant to divulge their own line of descent, without good reason. This attitude is understandable, for almost every material and social privilege in Samoa is in some way dependent upon one's genealogical position, and the whole sphere of genealogy is deeply charged with emotion.

Genealogies are not remembered for their own sakes; they are viewed primarily as the *memoria technica* of a particular lineage structure – the scaffolding, as it were, upon which native society is erected. In Samoa, the tenure of land, the right to usufruct of the sea, the claim to chiefly titles, the privilege of receiving special portions of a pig, turtle, or shark at a feast, and other rights innumerable, all have as their primary sanction position within the lineage structure as defined genealogically. In a very real sense then genealogical knowledge is the most valuable and potent knowledge a man can possess, for only through this knowledge can he hope to become adept in the understanding and the handling of the intricacies of Samoan social life.

The position of any segment in the total structure of a lineage is always open to attack. The members of another and opposed segment may challenge their rivals' rights in some concrete situation, supporting their case by casting doubt on some section of the genealogy of the group they are attacking. So much is this the case that the public recital of another lineage's genealogy is always interpreted as an insult. The *matai* of a lineage may recite his own genealogy to rebut a slander, elaborate a social procedure, or validate a claim; but the general attitude (well borne out in practical experience) is that a man recites the genealogy of a lineage other than his own only to point out some flaw in it – to disparage rather than to praise.

When I commenced my field-work in Sa'anapu I was told by the assembled *matai* of the village that I would not be able to enquire into any of the genealogies of the lineages making up the village. They had no objection to my plotting the kinship ties

of the living members of the village – the ban applied only to extended lines of descent. Week by week I was able to pick up scraps of information, but it was not until a few weeks before my final departure that one of the executive chiefs (*tulafale*) of the village – as a gesture of great friendship – made available, and discussed with me, his own set of genealogies showing the formation of Sa'anapu village.

In contemporary Samoa many lineages now have their genealogies written down, but they are still recorded in the same form as those transmitted from one generation to another by word of mouth. The genealogies are unilinear in form. Only the main line of agnatic descent and succession is recorded: the names of those who have held the chiefly title of the lineage concerned, and the names of their respective spouses. In the case of the spouses it is usual to include either their lineages or districts of origin. The names of siblings are usually included only when the siblings concerned mark points of segmentation (i.e. were responsible for founding lineage segments which have survived). Affiliations by affinity (in the case of daughters) with other and important lineages, are sometimes noted. No attempt is made to preserve the names of lineage members who did not succeed to the lineage title, or alternatively, did not become the progenitors of dependent and surviving segments.

The Sa Tunumafono – a Major Lineage

Quoted below is a part of the genealogy of Tunumafono who gave rise to the named and major lineage of Sa Tunumafono, of which the principal lineages of Sa'anapu, and of the neighbouring villages of Satoa, Lotofagā, and Vaie'e are the constituent segments. The genealogy is given exactly as it was written out on a separate page in the *tusi gafa* (genealogy book) of one of the leading executive chiefs of Sa'anapu village:

Usu Pui-puifatu ia Timu-i-paepae-tele (i Faleata),
fa'ae'e le gafa 'o Seiuli;

Usu Seiuli ia Tu'u-muli-a'ega (lo afafine 'o Tuigale'ava),
fa'ae'e le gafa 'o Tunumafono;
toe fa'ae'e le gafa 'o Fe'onu'u (le teine);

Usu Tunumafono ia Puia-le-moli (le alo 'o Niuafolau, i A'ana),
fa'ae'e le gafa 'o Pule;

Usu Tunumafono ia Saulaufala (le alo 'o Tuli, i Falefā),
fa'ae'e le gafa 'o Afemata;

Usu Tunumafono ia Lupetolagamai (le tama'ita'i Vaie'e),
fa'ae'e le gafa 'o Maugagaoā;

Usu Tunumafono ia Ua'ifanua (le tama'ita'i Tutuila, le alo 'o Maneo),
fa'ae'e la gafa 'o Taa.

Translation:

Joined in marriage *Puipuiifatu* and *Timu-i-paepaetele* (of Faleata district)
setting up the line of *Seiuli*;

Joined in marriage *Seiuli* and *Tu'u-muli-a'ega* (the daughter of Tuigale'ava)
setting up the line of *Tunumafono*;

And again, the line of *Fe'onu'u* (a girl);

Joined in marriage *Tunumafono* and *Pula-le-moli* (the daughter of Niuafolau, a
titular chief of A'ana)
setting up the line of *Pule*

Joined in marriage *Tunumafono* and *Saulaufala* (the daughter of Iuli, the titular chief
of Falefa)
setting up the line of *Afemata*;

Joined in marriage *Tunumafono* and *Lupetolagamai* (a woman of Vaie'e)
setting up the line of *Maugagaoa*;

Joined in marriage *Tunumafono* and *Ua'ifanua* (the daughter of Maneo, a titular
chief of Tutuila)
setting up the line of *Taa*.

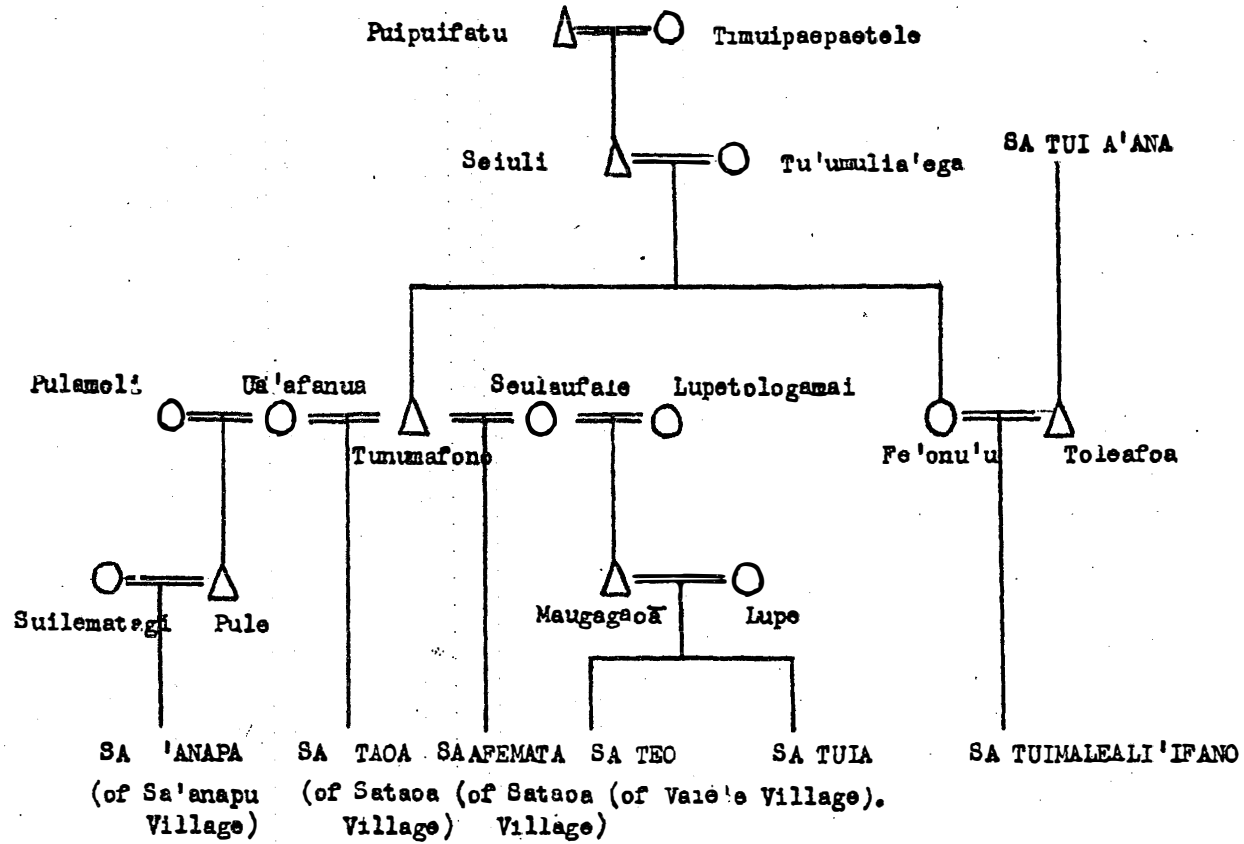
This brief genealogy represents the version held by the leading executive chiefs of Sa'anapu village of the process of segmentation which gave rise to the principal lineage segments of the major lineage of Sa Tunumafono.

It may be set out (with several additions from another genealogy) as follows [next page].

The events described in this genealogy are believed to have happened about ten generations ago.²⁶ It is difficult however to make any case for their historicity. Among the various surviving lineage segments of the Sa Tunumafono there is considerable disagreement on many minor points. There is, for example, no unanimity as to the identity of Tunumafono's successive spouses, not is there agreement as to the order of Birth of his sons. Order of birth is, moreover, an issue of some importance, for the

²⁶ Krämer (*op.cit.*: p.98) lists the marriage of Fe'onu'u and Toleafoa as generation 25 (i.e. eight generations prior to the title-holding generation of the years 1897-1899; but in another place (p.296) he shows Puipuiifatu, whom he recognizes as the paternal grandfather of Tunumafono and Fe'onu'u, as belonging to generation 21. It is possible that the 'telescoping' of intermediate generations may account for this inconsistency. Again Krämer (p.296) gives Tapuvaemamatu'u (of Safata) and not Tu'umulia'ega (the daughter of Tuigale'ava) as the spouse of Puipuiifatu's son Seiuli. Puipuiifatu himself was a member of the Sa Levalasi line, an important segment of the maxmial lineage of Sa Tui Atua.

THE TUNUMAFONO LINEAGE.



relative seniority of the lineage segments involved depends upon it. All of the lineage segments concerned do agree however that they are all descended from Tunumafono. During subsequent generations further segmentation has occurred, and to-day the five village communities of Sa'anapu, Sataoa, Lotofagā, Nu'usuatia, and Vaie'e with populations of 408, 308, 322, 125 and 218 respectively,²⁷ are known as Sa Tunumafono. Collectively their principal lineage segments constitute a major and named lineage of approximately ten generations depth. The five communities form a clearly demarcated territorial unit being all situated on a stretch of the south coast of Upolu about four miles in length. The exact disposition of the five villages is shown in the accompanying sketch map.

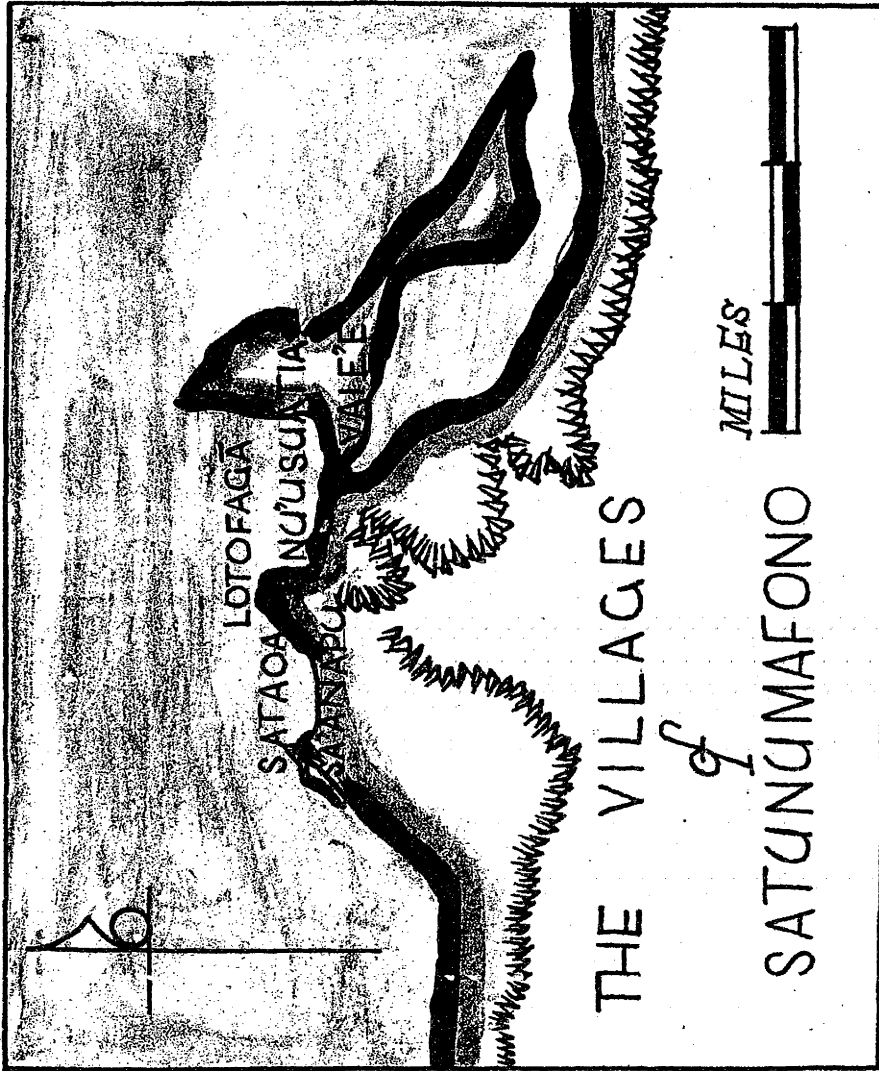
The Sa Tunumafono only emerges as a (corporate)[#] group in contradistinction to other major lineages of approximately the same generation depth. This can be illustrated by considering certain events in the history of the Sa Tunumafono. From the genealogy fragment already quoted it will be observed that Tunumafono had a full sister named Fe'onu'u, who became the spouse of Toleafoa,²⁸ of the Tui A'ana line. Tunumafono and Fe'onu'u stand to one another in what is, for Samoa, an extremely important relationship, that of siblings of the opposite sex. This relationship between siblings is one which operates at all levels of the Samoan lineage system. A male sibling is termed a *tama tane* (male child), and a female sibling, *tama fafine* (female child). Between the two of them there exists a relationship which is based on the concept of their equivalence in terms of descent. Such siblings are described as being *tino e tasi* – literally, "of the one body;" and the relationship between them is termed a *feagaiga*, a word which is used to describe any two persons, or groups of persons, standing in more or less balanced opposition one to the other. While succession is predominantly through males, at any given generation level a sister is recognized as having certain definite rights and privileges. She may, for example, veto the plans of the *tama tane* group, or call upon them, should the need arise, for direct material assistance.²⁹ The two terms *tama tane* and *tama fafine* are relative terms. They always apply to a particular sibling group, but this group may be at any generation level of the lineage system. Moreover the two categories may be made to apply to all of the lineal descendants of any two siblings of the opposite sex. In this case all of the descendants

²⁷ Government Census, 25th September, 1945.

[#] The word 'corporate' is bracketed and crossed out by Freeman in a later pencilled annotation.

²⁸ Toleafoa was also known as Va'afusuaga (Krämer, *op. cit.* p.171).

²⁹ An important sanction, in this regard, is the belief in the power of the sister to lay a curse on the *tama tane* group. Cf. "The privileges and powers of the sister and the sister's children in the family in Samoa were very great . . . Their curse was especially dreaded, as it was supposed to cause barrenness in a woman or the death of children in the family. The only way to prevent these results was by propitiating the one who had uttered the curse, after which he or she would fill his or her mouth with water and spurt it over the person against whom the imprecation had been uttered." (G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London 1910, p.41). The Rev. G. Brown was a missionary in western Samoa from 1860 to 1870.



of the brother are termed *tama tane*, and are recognized as a corporate* group in opposition to the descendants of the sister who are termed *tama fafine*. In most cases this relationship does not persist for more than two or three generations (i.e. not beyond a sister's grand-children). In certain circumstances however, as when the descendants of a brother and sister compose lineages which achieve special prominence, the *tama tane* – *tama fafine* relationship may be remembered very much longer. Thus, for example, the descendants of Fe'onu'u are still looked upon as standing in a *tama fafine* relationship to all the dependent lineages making up the Sa Tunumafono. Fe'onu'u is termed the *feagiaga tele* (the great *feagiaga*) of the Sa Tunumafono. To-day, two of Fe'onu'u's principal descendants (i.e. individuals descended patrilineally from the union of Fe'onu'u and Toleafoa) are Laumatia and Toleafoa. These two men are titular chiefs and the elected heads of the minor lineages, Sa Laumatia and Sa Toleafoa. They now live in Fausaga, a village community a few miles to the east of the territory now occupied by the five settlements of Sa Tunumafono.

On certain occasions, as for example on the death of one of the titled lineal descendants of Tunumafono (e.g. Taea, the principal titular chief of Sataoa village) either Toleafoa or Laumatia (or both of them) have important functions³⁰ to perform by reason of the *tama tane* – *tama fafine* relationship existing between the descendants of Tunumafono and those of his sister, Fe'onu'u. Genealogical evidence suggests that this relationship has persisted through about ten generations. Further, it is primarily a relationship between persons, that is between well defined positions in a particular lineage structure which are occupied for varying periods by successive generations of individuals. The individuals die, and are replaced by other individuals, but the *tama tane* – *tama fafine* relationship as between the lineage groups descended from Tunumafono and his sister Fe'onu'u tends to persist relatively unchanged through time. We would submit that we are justified in isolating this *tama tane* – *tama fafine* relationship as one of the important structural principles of Samoan society.

Toleafoa, the husband of Tunumafono's sister Fe'onu'u, was the third son of Tui A'ana Faumuina, of the maximal lineage, Sa Tui A'ana.³¹ He had two elder half-siblings (by different mothers), Fonoti, Tui A'ana Faumuina's first born, and Samalaulu, a half-sister. Following Tui A'ana Faumuina's death a struggle for succession developed³² and Toleafoa and Samalaulu joined forces in war against their elder paternal half-brother, Fonoti – whose claims based on the dogma of

* The word 'corporate' is bracketed and crossed out by Freeman in a later pencilled annotation.

³⁰ Cf. "When a man died, it was the *tama fafine* who had the privilege of performing the last office of respect at the grave; just before the body was covered up, he approached and poured a flask of oil on the face of the dead." (G. Pratt, "Some Folk Songs, etc." *Proc. R.S.N.S.W.*, vol. 24, 1890, p.203). The Rev. G. Pratt was a missionary in Samoa from 1839 to 1879.

³¹ Cf. Krämer, *op.cit.*: pp.170-171.

³² Cf. Krämer, *ibid.*: pp.203-207, for a detailed account of this dispute.

primogeniture they were not prepared to recognize. Toleafoa was defeated, and fled to the island of Tutuila, in eastern Samoa. In this reverse, Toleafoa's wife Fe'onu'u exercised her right of seeking the assistance of her *tama tane* group, the Sa Tunumafono. In answer to her appeal, the members of the Tunumafono lineage – who were evidently a strong fighting force – crossed to Tutuila (in defiance of the main body of the Sa Tui A'ana) and returned with Toleafoa to Upolu to re-assert by force of arms his claims to the principal titles of the Tui A'ana lineage. Many traditions relating to this episode – most of them now predominantly mythological in character – are still told by the living members of the Tunumafono lineage. It is claimed, for instance, that their ancestors swam across the fifty mile wide, 2,000 fathom deep strait that divides Upolu and Tutuila, supported only by unhusked coconuts used as floats. When Toleafoa and his followers arrived in Upolu, Fonoti was lying mortally ill at Lufilufi, on the north coast of the island. He summoned Toleafoa to his side, and before he died a reconciliation was reached. Toleafoa was granted certain of the titles over which Fonoti exercised control, and all of the differences between the Sa Tui A'ana and the Sa Tunumafono were settled. This *mavaega* (last covenant) of Fonoti is still remembered and recognized as binding by the lineages concerned.³³ For the part they had played in Toleafoa's restitution, the members of the Sa Tunumafono were granted the *fa'alupega*, or honorific title of:

Tulouna 'oe le Falefa 'o Alo 'o Tunumafono, 'o le Aiga Malosi 'o Toleafoa.

(Honour to the House of Four,³⁴ the Chiefly Sons of Tunumafono, the Strong Lineage of Toleafoa).

It is noteworthy that this *fa'alupega* applied to the Sa Tunumafono only as a lineage of major span; that is, all of the various lineage segments which have since emerged are grouped together under the one phrase: *le Falefa 'o Alo 'o Tunumafono* (the House of Four, the Chiefly Sons of Tunumafono). This *fa'alupega* is still used to-day on occasions when the members of the Sa Tunumafono participate as a group in relations with other lineages of approximately the same order of segmentation.

The Executive Lineages of the Sa Tunumafono Villages

All of the lineages we have so far discussed as tracing their origin from Tunumafono, are those of titular chiefs, or *ali'i*. However within the five village communities generally referred to as Sa Tunumafono there are a number of other lineages whose lines of descent spring from different and quite separate sources. The most important of these are the lineages of Tuigale'ava, Faleafulugogo, and Saseve, located to-day in

³³ It is termed: "O le tofiga mai Polata'emo," the covenant reached at Polata'emo, which is the *malae* at Lufilufi.

³⁴ I.e. Tunumafono's four sons: Pule, Taea, Afemata, Maugagaao.

the village communities of Sa'anapu, Sataoa, and Lotofagā respectively. These three lineages are those of executive chiefs, or *tulafale*, and they are spoken of collectively as the Fale Tolu, or House of Three.

In Sa'anapu, at least, the genealogies of the Fale Tolu are not so well preserved as those of the lineages of the Sa Tunumafono proper. There is general agreement however that the Fale Tolu owes its origin to a group of brothers hailing from Manu'a, in eastern Samoa, who arrived in Upolu and settled on the stretch of coast now occupied by Lotofagā village, shortly before the arrival of Tunumafono's ancestors in the same area. There is considerable disagreement however as to which is the senior of the three main lineages comprising the Fale Tolu. For example, while the people of Sa'anapu village claim that the daughter of Tuigale'ava married Seiuli, and became the mother of Tunumafono, the people of Sataoa village insist that it was the daughter of Faleafulugogo who became Seiuli's wife. Again while the present members of the Tuigale'ava lineage of Sa'anapu village state that Faleafulugogo was the son of the original Tuigale'ava, the members of the Faleafulugogo lineage (of Sataoa village) assert that the roles were reversed, and that Faleafulugogo was the father of Tuigale'ava. Both lineages have developed myths – genealogical in general pattern – to bolster up these conflicting claims. For example, the Tuigale'ava lineage affirms that when the first Tuigale'ava arrived from Manu'a he brought with him a son who settled at a place called Sieti, close to where the village of Sataoa now stands. One day Tuigale'ava saw that his son was preparing to build a house, and questioned him as to his plans. The son replied: "*Ou te fai lo'u fale i fulu gogo*" ("I am making my house of the feathers of the *gogo*, or tern"). This is judged to provide an explanation of the origin of the name Faleafulugogo, which means literally: "House of Tern Feathers." Tuigale'ava then said to his son: "Let Faleafulugogo be your lineage name," and straight way took him to serve as the *tulafale* of the lineage of the titular chief, Taea, one of the sons of Tunumafono. Similar instances of myths being used to provide the charter for lineage rights and privileges are common in Samoa.

In the case we have quoted, quite important issues are at stake, for whenever the Fale Tolu emerges as a group, one or another of the three men holding the lineage titles of Tuigale'ava, Faleafulugogo, and Saseve must be selected to perform such roles as the making of orations and the supervising of the distribution of food. Where rights are so sharply in opposition as in the case of Tuigale'ava and Faleafulugogo, there are inevitably strong differences of opinion. This not infrequently leads to public debate on the genealogical position of the lineages concerned. Usually some sort of compromise is reached, but occasionally quarrels, some of them quite serious, develop. Many instances are recorded of similar and irreconcilable differences between lineage segments leading to open warfare.

Chapter III

The Formation of Sa'anapu Village

We now turn to a consideration of the lineage composition of Sa'anapu village itself. Genealogical evidence suggests that the existing lineage structure of Sa'anapu village owes its origin in the main to events that occurred some ten generations ago, at about the same time as the formation of the Sa Tunumafono. In attempting to establish the processes involved we are again confronted with conflicting evidence – this time on the part of certain of the lineages now composing the Sa'anapu community. It should be understood therefore that the 'reconstruction' here presented makes no claim to be an account of events all of which actually occurred. What it does represent however is a sociological reality, for the version of the village's formation which we shall present is that accepted as true by the great majority of the lineages of the Sa'anapu community.

We are concerned with five main groupings:

Titular Lineages:

- (i) The 'Anapu lineage;
- (ii) The To'alima, consisting of the five lineage segments:
 - (a) Sa Mati
 - (b) Sa Mulitalo
 - (c) Sa Lea'anā,
 - (d) Sa Tafafuna'i,
 - (e) Sa Seve;
- (iii) The Tuigamala lineage;

Executive Lineages:

- (iv) The Fale Tolu, consisting of the three lineage segments:
 - (a) Sa Tuigale'ava,
 - (b) Sa Le Sā,
 - (c) Sa Lauvī;

- (v) The Sa Ula, consisting of the two lineage segments:
 (a) Sa Alo,
 (b) Sa Volē.

The genealogical ties linking these lineages are shown in the accompanying Table.

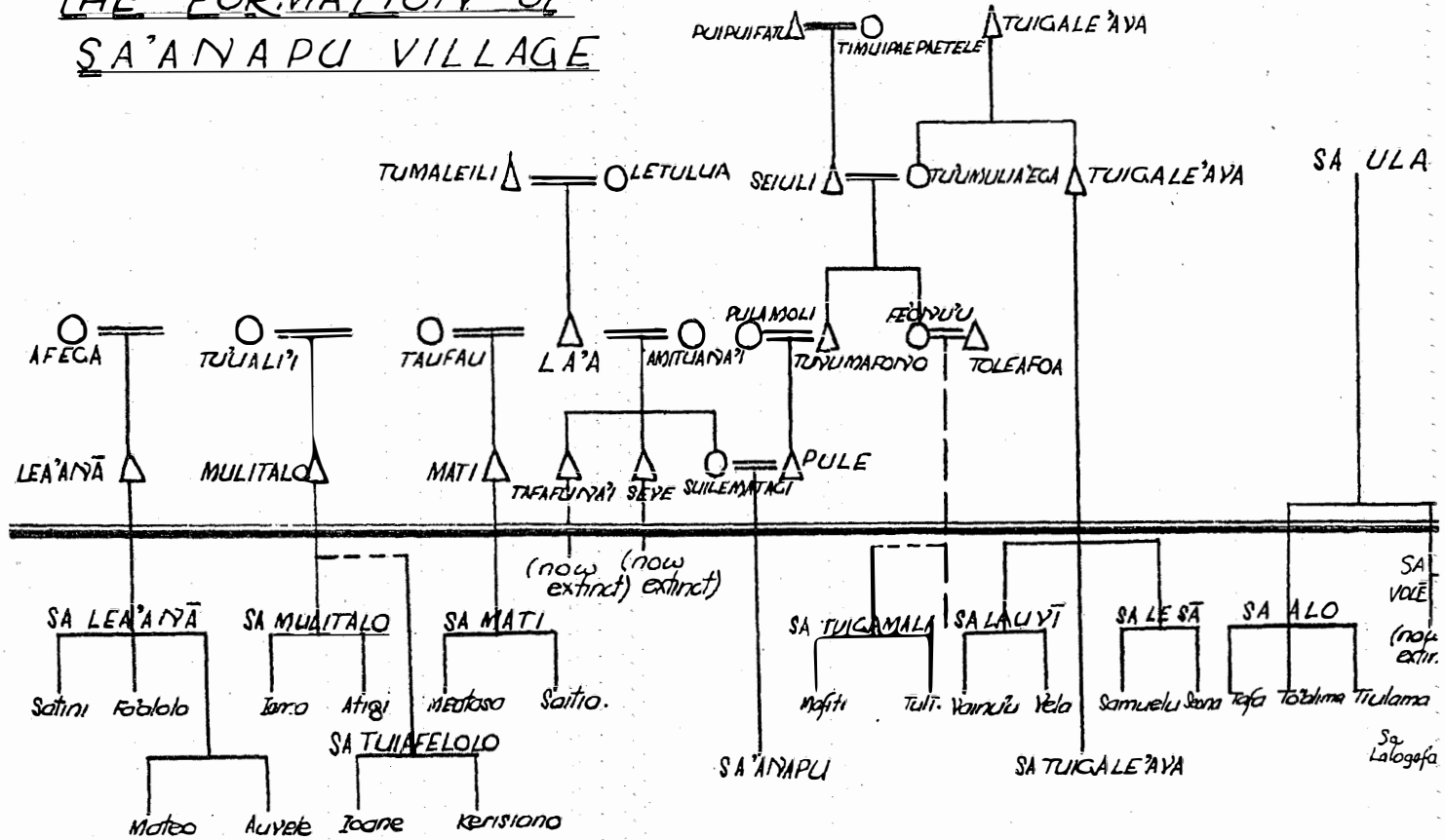
The five lineage segments which make up the To'alima¹ are believed to have been founded about nine generations ago by the five sons of a man named La'a. La'a's own genealogy as it is to-day preserved extends through four further ascending generations to a male progenitor named Tualomoso. La'a's origin beyond this point (i.e. about fourteen generations ago) is not known, and no connections with any other lineages are postulated. We may thus describe this lineage, which commences with Tualomoso, as maximal. In the three generations separating Tualomoso and his great, great grandson La'a, no cases of segmentation are believed to have occurred. However following the death of La'a each of his five sons founded a lineage of his own. La'a – all the surviving members of the To'alima are agreed – had four wives: Amituana'i, Taufau, Tu'uali'i and Afega. The lineage affiliations of these four women have been forgotten, and all that is remembered is that Amituana'i came from the island of Savai'i. By Amituana'i, La'a had three children: Tafafuna'i and Seve, both boys, and Suilematagi, a girl. Tafafuna'i and Seve both founded lineages of their own which survived for some generations, but both of which are now extinct. Suilematagi, we shall discuss presently.

By his other wives Taufau, Tu'uali'i and Afega, La'a had three sons named Mati, Mulitalo and Lea'anā respectively, and the lineages founded by these three paternal half-brothers² still survive in Sa'anapu village to-day. All of the living members of the Mati, Mulitalo and Lea'anā are unanimous in recognizing La'a as their common progenitor. We may thus isolate the group of lineages known as the To'alima as a major lineage of about ten generations depth. It is worthy of note that the wider lineage which commences with La'a's great, great grandfather, Tualemoso, has to-day little if any relevance. Such segmentation as is significant for the living members of the To'alima lineage has all occurred subsequent to La'a's death, and small interest is shown in the lineage members who anteceded La'a, for none of them gave rise to divergent lineage segments which have survived. These remote lineage members do serve one important purpose however. They are regarded by the surviving To'alima lineages as providing unassailable evidence that their lineage ancestors were living in the territory now occupied by Sa'anapu village for several generations prior to the arrival of the other lineages which are now integral parts of the Sa'anapu community.

¹ To'alima means literally: Five Persons. (lima, five; to'alima, a prefix to numerals in counting persons).

² The following terms in the Samoan language are used to refer to this type of relationship: (a) *uso-i-tama*, siblings born of the same father; (b) *uso tau feagai*, siblings born of either the same father, or the same mother; (c) *falealo*, the offspring of a chief by different wives; (d) *ma'ave'ese'ese*, to have one father but different mothers (of siblings).

THE FORMATION OF SA'ANAPU VILLAGE



Before passing on brief mention must be made of the Sa Tuiafelolo – a group of minor importance in the total lineage structure of Sa'anapu – which is recognized as a recent segment of the Sa Mulitalo.

The ancestors of the To'alima are believed to have been occupying the isthmus where Sa'anapu village now stands as early as fourteen generations ago. The next lineage to arrive is generally thought to have been the Sa Tuigale'ava. The founder of this lineage, as has already been explained, is said to have come from Manu'a.³ This first Tuigale'ava did not settle immediately in the territory now occupied by the people of Sa'anapu, but instead lived on the coast a few miles to the eastward. After a period, Tuigale'ava moved with the rest of his lineage and joined the ancestors of the To'alima.

Several generations subsequent to this arrival in Sa'anapu lineage segments emerged from the main Tuigale'ava line. These were the Sa Lauvī and the Sa Le Sā. These two lineages together with the Sa Tuigale'ava are known as the Fale Tolu (the House of Three), and form to-day the principal grouping of executive titles in Sa'anapu village.

We must next consider the origin of the Sa 'Anapu – the lineage of the principal titular chief of Sa'anapu. It is claimed by all of the leading *matai* of Sa'anapu village that the 'Anapu lineage is to be traced to the union of Pule, one of the sons of Tunumafono, and Suilematagi, the daughter of La'a and Amituana'i. As already mentioned it is also asserted that Tunumafono's mother was Tu'umulia'ege, the daughter of Tuigale'ava. This means that in the eyes of the present population of Sa'anapu, the three principal lineage groups of the community, the Sa 'Anapu, the To'alima, and the Sa Tuigale'ava are linked by definite – though remote – cognatic ties. Credence in these remote cognatic relationships is one of the most important factors contributing to the solidarity of the Sa'anapu community.

There is reason to believe however that the relationships postulated are only putative. In the village of Sataoa which is situated about half a mile to the east of Sa'anapu, there are four minor lineages, the Sa Taa, Sa Afemata, Sa Pule and Sa Maugagaoa, the members of which claim to be the direct descendants of Tunumafono's four sons: Taa, Afemata, Pule and Maugagaoa. These lineages are highly critical of the genealogical claims made by the people of Sa'anapu. Evidence from elsewhere in Samoa suggests that the 'Anapu lineage was probably a segment of the Tui A'ana lineage, collateral to the Tunumafono line which became established in Sa'anapu

³ Some years ago the people of Sa'anapu organized a *malaga* (travelling party) to proceed to Manu'a (a difficult journey of about 200 miles) to enquire into the genealogy (*su'e se gafu*) of Tuigale'ava. The plan had to be abandoned however because of a serious influenza epidemic.

following inter-lineage warfare.⁴

It will have been observed already that the name Sa'anapu means literally: 'the Lineage of 'Anapu.' This in itself is a clear indication of the dominant role played by the 'Anapu lineage in the history of Sa'anapu village. While all of the constituent lineages of the village have their own lineage names, and while each maintains its separate identity as a social group, all lineages recognize Sa'anapu as the name of the village community to which they belong. The Rev. George Platt relates in his manuscript journal that on the 13th of January, 1836, in the course of a journey along the south coast of Upolu, he held a service in a village named Sa'anapu which was beautifully situated "beside a creek studded with mangroves."⁵ It is reasonable to conjecture that the name Sa'anapu dates from the time of the formation of the village as postulated in its genealogies, probably at some period in the early eighteenth century.

We have accounted now for the three principal lineage groups of Sa'anapu village: the Sa 'Anapu, the To'alima, and the Fale Tolu. We turn next to the Sa Tuigamala. This lineage traces its origin to the Tui A'ana line of which Toleafoa (the husband of Tunumafono's sister, Fe'onu'u) was a member, and is said to have settled in Sa'anapu village to commemorate the bonds of kinship between Toleafoa and the members of the Sa Tunumafono who had aided him in his adversity. The *fa'alupega* of the Tuigamala lineage – which is still in use to-day – confirm these claims. Tuigamala is addressed on all ceremonial occasions as: "O le Ma'upu' o Tui A'ana." Ma'upu' is a general term used to refer to any chief who is a sister's son. Thus the Tuigamala lineage is still thought of as standing in a *tama fafine* – *tama tane* relationship to the descendants of Toleafoa, who form one of the principal lineage segments of the Sa Tui A'ana. Moreover this relationship is still recognized as binding; and ceremonial exchanges of property are still made when the holder of the title of Tuigamala visits Fasito'otai, the settlement on the north coast of Upolu, where the members of the Toleafoa lineage now live.

We now come to two lineages the Sa Alo and the Sa Volē, neither of which admit to any distant kinship affiliations with the lineages of Sa'anapu already discussed. Both the Sa Alo and the Sa Volē trace their origin to Sāula, a village which in former times

⁴ Tradition tells of prolonged warfare between the Sa Tunumafono and the Ala Taua – a group of lineages to-day represented by the villages of Fusi, Fausaga, Taftoala and Mulivai, which lie immediately to the east of the five village communities of Sa Tunumafono. The Sa Tunumafono, allied to the Tonumaiepe'a lineage of Savai'i (with whom they had cognatic ties), finally succeeded in defeating the Ala Taua; and certain Tunumafono lineage segments took up residence in the Ala Taua villages. Some of these lineages have persisted to the present day, as for example the Sa Alo, Sa Ausegae'ā and Sa Ti'asamoa of Fusi village, and the Sa Leimoa and Sa Leituala of Taftoala village. Following this war, and arising from the alliance of the Tonumaiepe'a and Tunumafono lineages, the Sa Tupa'i, a segment of the Tonumaiepe'a lineage was established in the Sa Tunumafono village of Nu'usuatia – where it has remained to the present day.

⁵ George Platt, Manuscript Journal (1835-36), London Missionary Society, Livingstone House, London.

was situated some three or four miles to the west of Sa'anapu on a tract of land now known as the Gaogao 'o le Utuutu.⁶ The people of Sāula are said to have dispersed following a series of deaths in their village which were believed to have been caused by *aitu*, or malignant spirits. The Sa Alo and Sa Volē both settled in Sa'anapu. This was subsequent to the formation of the village as already described. This separate origin of the Alo and Volē lineages is attested to in their *fa'ahupega*: "*Tulouna a 'oulua Aiga e Lua*" ("Honour to You, the Two Lineages"). It is acknowledged further that the Sa Alo and the Sa Volē were once the *mua'au*, the vanguard in war of Sa'anapu village.⁷ This fact led to the development of a special type of relationship between the Sa Alo and Sa Volē and the other lineages of Sa'anapu; and certain specific rights, arising from this relationship, came in the course of time to be recognized. These rights are known as the *To 'o Sāula*, and apply only to the relationship between the Sa Alo and Sa Volē and the other lineages of Sa'anapu as contrasted groups within the Sa'anapu community. The three main rights acknowledged are:

- (i) The right of the holders of the titles Alo and Volē to wear *tuiga* in *ta'alolo* ceremonies. (The *tuiga* is an elaborate head-dress of bleached human hair, which is normally the prerogative of titular chiefs only. A *ta'alolo* is a type of food presentation in which the whole of a village community participates as a group, in its relations with some other village, or lineage group. The Alo and Volē lineages are those of executive chiefs; and their right to wear *tuiga* in *ta'alolo* ceremonies is thus an unusual privilege. It may be noted that the *tuiga* was a part of the war dress of the Samoan warrior, and the right granted to Alo and Volē probably derives from this situation).
- (ii) The right to the heads of pigs presented to the Sa'anapu community by other villages in *ta'alolo* ceremonies.
- (iii) The right to a special *lafo* when these are being presented in intra-village situations.⁸ (a *lafo* is a presentation of property by a titular to an executive chief in recognition of services performed. To-day it usually takes the form of money).

Since the arrival of the Sa Alo and Sa Volē in Sa'anapu considerable intermarriage with the other lineages of the village has occurred, and the living members are able to trace affinal or cognatic ties with all of the other main lineages within the community.⁹

⁶ Cf. Pratt (*op.cit.*) 1911: *gaogao*, deserted, forsaken, of a house, or village; *utuutu*, the sea close upon the shore (i.e. a stretch of coast with no bordering lagoon).

⁷ Inter-lineage and inter-village war came to an end about 1900 with the establishment of German government.

⁸ Despite the fact that Sa'anapu village had not been involved in any warfare for over forty years, the *To 'o Sāula* was still recognized as binding in 1943. For example, on one occasion in that year when *lafo* were being distributed by the Lea'anā lineage, Alo Tafa (the *matua* of one of the two minimal lineages into which the Sa Alo is now segmented), pressed his claim for the *igaga* (share) of Sāula, and received an extra ten shillings. All the other executive chiefs of the village (ten in all), had only received the lump sum of £2 with which they were highly dissatisfied. It was largely because of this dissatisfaction that Alo Tafa decided to exert his rights.

⁹ In 1943 the title of Volē was no longer in use, the rights over it being held by the Sa Alo and the Sa Lalogafau.

The foregoing brief description of the main lineage groupings and inter-lineage relations in Sa'anapu indicates that the Samoan village community is fundamentally an aggregate of lineages among which agnatic and cognatic ties of varying generation depth are believed, or are known to exist by the lineage members involved.¹⁰

Such genealogical affiliations – putative or real – between the lineages of a village community are the principal sanctions operating in intra-village, inter-lineage relations, and may be regarded as basic to village social structure throughout Samoa.

Lineage affiliations however, also determine the structure of groups of greater scale than the village community. Thus, the five villages, Sa'anapu, Sataoa, Lotofagā, Nu'usuatia, and Vaie'e form a well defined territorial group, acknowledging definite lineage inter-relations and bearing the common name of Sa Tunumafono. Similar lineage aggregates exist in all parts of Samoa, each occupying a specific territory, and each possessing a specific internal structure of its own. Furthermore these aggregates are usually the component parts of a maximal lineage – the group of most inclusive span to be found in Samoan society.¹¹

The Samoan village community must always be considered therefore in relation to the whole of the particular lineage structure of which it is an integral part – for the structural position of any one village vis-à-vis any other village is always primarily determined by extra-village lineage affiliations.

However while each Samoan village community must be primarily thought of as an integral part of a wider and more embracing lineage structure, it must also be considered as a discrete territorial unit possessing in many matters a marked autonomy.

This autonomy is to some extent an extension of principles operating within the Samoan lineage system. Every lineage segment, for example, is recognized as an independent unit in regard to its own internal organization, and within a particular lineage structure, lineages of the same (or nearly the same) order of segmentation, form homologous groups and consequently are autonomous units relative to one another.

Other factors also contribute towards the autonomy of the village community. The most important of these would seem to be residence in a common locality – for almost without exception the villages of Samoa are clearly distinct territorial units. This association in a common locality is a factor of cardinal importance, for it leads to the formation of a whole body of psychological bonds arising from the constant contact of village members in their everyday life. These bonds – first formed in infancy – attain

¹⁰ The Samoan word for village is *nu'u*. It is commonly used however to refer to the people who compose a village, as in the phrase: "O le nu'u lena 'ua malaga" (That village has gone on a journey"). Many similar usages show that the Samoans think of a village community primarily as a social group, and not as a territorial unit.

¹¹ Foreexample the maximal lineage, Sa Malietoa, is composed of major lineage segments (*āga*) situated at: Manono, Multifunua, Afolau, Saluafata, Faleapuna, Fagaloa and Falealili, on the island of Upolu; and Sapapali'i, Safotulafai, Saleleloga, and Sasina, on the island of Savai'i. Each of these major lineage groups is divided into a series of territorially distinct village communities. Safotulafai, for example, consists of the villages of: Tuasivi, Fogāpo'a, Fatausi, Fuifatu, Fusi, ʻEveve, Vaimauga and Acauli. (ref. Krämer, *op.cit.*: p.48).

in the course of time an extraordinary strength, and result in a loyalty to one's village community which is second only to one's immediate lineage. Thus many village communities in Samoa have developed sentiments of group solidarity so potent as to appear inconsistent with the wider lineage obligation of their constituent lineages. The villages of Sa'anapu and Sataoa provide an example of this tendency. Between these neighbouring villages there exists the most intense of rivalries, which in many ways contravenes their lineage relationships on those occasions when the Sa Tunumafono emerges as a corporate group.

The marked autonomy of the village community was a feature which impressed itself forcibly on the early observers of Samoan social life, and there is reliable evidence to show that it is a genuinely ancient and intrinsic part of Samoan social structure. Charles Barff, who accompanied John Williams on the pioneer missionary visit of 1830, observes of the Samoans in his manuscript journal:¹² "Their government is but of a very indifferent kind, every principal chief having almost equal authority in his own place." In 1834, Buzacott¹³ referred to "... the singular government of the islands – every settlement having its own chief;" and two years later, Platt, in a letter to William Ellis,¹⁴ notes that "... every village here has its chief not subject to any other ... The people live a kind of patriarchal life, the governments of every village, each resting in a person who is generally related to most of them, are independent of one another and only guided by some old established usage which is instead of law." Mills, who worked in Samoa from 1836 to 1854, states in a report written in the year of his retirement¹⁵ that unlike the natives of eastern Polynesia, the Samoans had no form of central, or even of district government. Instead they were scattered along the coast in small villages of from 100 to 300 people, each village under its respective chiefs. He adds that all attempts on the part of the missionaries to bring together several villages into a single settlement had ended in complete failure. A few of these first European residents in Samoa caught glimmerings of the lineage system which lay behind the autonomy of the village community, but it was not until the advent of Krämer that any serious attempt was made to delineate any of the intricate structure.

A number of the pioneer missionaries also recorded demographic data which has a bearing on the position of the village community in ancient Samoa. Of particular interest is the information that appears in one of the manuscript journals of the Rev. George Platt. Platt was a servant of the London Missionary Society who, in 1835, was deputed to Samoa from the Society Islands, where he had been stationed – chiefly at Borabora – since 1817. Platt's task in Samoa was to make a careful appraisal of the archipelago so that the endeavour of the six permanent missionaries, who were being

¹² Rev. Charles Barff, Manuscript Journal, Mitchell Library, Sydney, N.S.W. Australia.

¹³ Rev. Aaron Buzacott, Manuscript Journal, London Missionary Society, Livingstone House, London.

¹⁴ Rev. George Platt, Correspondence, London Missionary Society, Livingstone House, London.

¹⁵ Rev. William Mills, Correspondence, 1854, London Missionary Society, Livingstone House, London.

sent out from England, could be properly planned. When Platt stepped ashore at Upolu in September, 1835, little or no social change had occurred. Aside from the early navigators, there had been casual visits from a limited number of trading vessels and whalers, and a little desultory missionary enterprise, but close contact with Europeans was limited to association with a handful of runaway sailors, and escaped Port Jackson convicts – most of them illiterate and propertyless. At the beginning of the year 1836 these vagrants numbered probably about 40 to 60 in a native population of approximately 33,000. In January, 1836, after having spent three months at the settlement of Sapapali'i, on the island of Savai'i, Platt set out on a journey around Upolu, accompanied by Samuel Wilson, a young member of the mission who had travelled with him from Raiatea. In March of the same year a similar journey was made around the island of Savai'i. In his day-to-day account of his journeys Platt noted down the names of the various settlements through which he passed. He did this with care, for one of his main duties was to reckon the number of villages that favoured the London Missionary Society as against the Wesleyan Mission, whose pioneer worker, the Rev. Peter Turner, had arrived in June, 1835. From Platt's notes it is clear that the disposition of villages in contemporary Samoa is essentially the same as it was in pre-European times.¹⁶ Other journals and letters written during the following ten years (i.e. 1836-1846) fully confirm Platt's data. The Rev. Thomas Powell, a conscientious observer, who arrived in Samoa in 1845, has left detailed population figures for a number of the districts in which he served, and this information is in direct support of the conclusion we have drawn from Platt's material. Here, by way of example, is a comparison for the district of Salega on the south-west coast of Savai'i, of Platt's data for 1846, with that contained in the Government Census of September, 1945:

<i>Name of Village</i>	<i>Population, 1846</i> ¹⁷	<i>Population, 1945</i> ¹⁸
Sagone	120	160
Fogasavai'i	100	100
Vaipu'a	100	167
Faia'ai	120	189
Fogatuli	71	105
Samata-i-uta	60	148
Samata-i-tai	210	207
<u>Fagafu</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>76</u>
TOTALS	827	1,152

¹⁶ Some drastic changes have of course occurred, as the resettlement of the Lealatele people on Upolu, following the eruption of the volcano Matavanu, on the island of Savai'i, in 1905; and the evacuation of villages on both Upolu and Tutuila during the recent Pacific war to make way for air-fields. Changes have also occurred at the ports of Apia and Pagopago, etc.

¹⁷ Rev. Thomas Powell, Correspondence, 1846, London Missionary Society, Livingstone House, London.

¹⁸ The first census of the whole of the Samoan group was made by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, aided by native teachers in 1843, when, "as nearly as could be ascertained" the population was 33,900. The 1945 Government Census showed that the native population of Western Samoa was 62,422. The population of American Samoa in 1940 was 12,926. (ref. Murray, *The Bible in the Pacific*, London, 1888, p.39).

Chapter IV

The Lineage Composition of Sa'anapu Village

We now turn to an analysis of the lineage composition of Sa'anapu village as it stood in January, 1943.

If we exclude the family of the village *faiifeau*,¹ or pastor (the members of which were temporary residents from another part of Samoa), the population of Sa'anapu at this time was 391. Of this total 72 (18% approximately) were affinal relatives. The remaining 319 individuals (72%) were members of 24 groupings, the members within each group being related to one another either consanguineously² or by adoption.³ Of these, 302 were members of local minimal lineages. A local minimal lineage may be defined as a group of individuals (of both sexes) of common patrilineal descent, who are living together under the leadership of one of their male members (known as their *matai*) who has been elected to the position of titled head of the lineage.

In Samoa, the local minimal lineage is the narrowest lineage segment recognized in corporate activities.⁴ It is primarily defined by the fact that it possesses a chiefly title (either that of an *ali'i* or *tulafale*) to which one of its male members has been elected. The holder of this title has the right to attend the village *fono* – an assembly with a rigorously defined structure in which all the titled heads of village lineages are represented.

A *matai* stands at the apex of his lineage group; the inheritor of the rank of his chiefly ancestors, he is acknowledged as the leader of his lineage, the supervisor of its internal affairs, and its representative in relations with other lineage groups. He may be either a titular or an executive chief. In his person are centred lines of both succession and descent. Consanguineous relationships within any lineage are always primarily reckoned therefore with regard to its *matai*. Following this principle it is

¹ The position of the *faiifeau* and his family is discussed on p.126 seq.

² Thirteen maternal kin are included, see p.46.

³ Adopted individuals usually become assimilated into the local minimal lineage; see p.39 seq.

⁴ The local minimal lineage as we have defined it corresponds fairly closely with the "effective minimal lineage" as described by Dr. Fortes for the Tallensi. (M. Fortes, *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, Chapter 1). This work, the second part of Fortes's extensive study of the Tallensi, was not published until 1949, a year after Freeman's thesis was submitted. He may well have seen it in draft form.

possible to divide the 319 members of the Sa'anapu community who are related consanguineously and by adoption into three main categories as follows:

- (i) Patrilineal kin⁵ (relative to the *matai* of the groups concerned): 302 (85%)
- (ii) Maternal kin (relative to the *matai* of the groups concerned): 13 (4%)
- (iii) Adopted individuals: 4 (1%)

The high percentage of individuals of common patrilineal descent in this table indicates clearly the patrilineal principle upon which the Samoan lineage system is based. This percentage, we would submit, justifies the defining of the Samoan lineage in predominantly patrilineal terms. The thirteen individuals of maternal relationship, who were confined to five of the twenty-four local minimal lineages of Sa'anapu, stand outside the patri-lineages of the village, and may be regarded as household members of a specific type. The position of these thirteen individuals of maternal relationship will be discussed in due course.

In January, 1943, there were in Sa'anapu twenty-four⁶ local minimal lineages of varying order of segmentation,⁷ as shown in the following Table.

The 302 individuals of common patrilineal descent composing the twenty-four local minimal lineages listed above, fell into three main kinship groupings as follows:

Matai; *matai*'s sons and daughters and their offspring: 134

Matai's siblings and their offspring: 139

Matai's father's siblings' offspring: 27⁸

⁵ The *matai* themselves are included.

⁶ Included in this total is one minimal lineage the head of which does not yet possess a title. 'Ailepata, the individual concerned, is the son of an executive chief named 'Ola-ma-le-vai (now deceased); and in 1943 (aged 35 years) was living with his wife and children in the household of 'Anapu, the principal titular chief of Sa'anapu village. 'Ailepata will, in due course, succeed to his father's title, and for the purpose of the analysis that follows his lineage is included with the twenty-three other local minimal lineages of Sa'anapu (each of which has its own elected *matai*). The relationship existing between the 'Anapu lineage and the 'Ailepata lineage is discussed on p.67 seq.

⁷ Where necessary, the personal name (*igoa vala'au*) of the *matai* of minimal lineages is shown affixed to the lineage name. This is the method of describing the segments of minor lineages followed by the Samoans themselves.

⁸ Two individuals are omitted: (a) Kilisome, the father of the *matai* of the Tuiafelolo Kerisiano minimal lineage. Kilisome's position seems at first sight a contradiction of lineage principles; but the explanation is a simple one. Kilisome is a *fai'eseau*, an ordained Christian pastor, and as such is barred, by Samoan custom, from holding a *matai*-ship. For many years he was in charge of the London Missionary Society's Press at Malua, but in 1943 was living in Sa'anapu in retirement. He was the *tama su* (sister's son) of a former *matai* (now deceased) of the main Tuiafelolo line. Following Kilisome's return to Sa'anapu, and largely in recognition of the pre-eminent position he had gained in the service of the London Missionary Society, a new segment of the Tuiafelolo lineage was created, and the *matai*-ship conferred on Kilisome's eldest son Kerisiano. See also p.65 seq. (b) Upu, of the Lea'ana Fa'alolo minimal lineage; see p.47 seq.

	Minor Lineages	Minimal Lineages	No of Individuals in Lineage
	T I T U L A R C H I E F S	SA MATI	Sa 'Anapu
		Sa Mati Meatasa	11
		Sa Mati Saitia	13

SA MULITALO		Sa Mulitalo Atigi	3
		Sa Ali'i Muamua	33
		Sa Mulitalo Iuma	2

SA LEA'ANA		Sa Lea'anā Satini	18
		Sa Lea'anā Fa'alolo	25
		Sa Lea'anā Mateo	19

SA TUIGAMALA	Sa Tuigamala Mafiti	14	

	Sa Tuigamala Tulī	24	

SA TUIAFELOLO	Sa Tuiafelolo Ioane	18	
	Sa Tuiafelolo Kerisiano	9	

	Sa Tuigale'ava	4	

SA LE SA	Sa Le Sā Samuelu	15	
	Sa Le Sā Seona	5	

SA LAUVI	Sa Lauvī Vainu'u	15	
	Sa Lauvī Vela	13	

SA ALO	Sa Alo Tafa	10	
	Sa Alo To'alima	12	

	Sa Auvele	6	
	Sa Lalogafau	6	
	Sa Tuilama	9	

	Sa 'Ailepata	9	
E X E C U T I V E C H I E F S			

Before the significance of these three groupings can be discussed some brief reference must be made to the principles governing succession to *matai*-ship. Succession is normally confined to the *tama tane* group, and in the senior line, passing from father to son. There is however an important modification to this direct succession based on a principle known as: "O le toe 'o le uso," or "the residual right of the brother." Thus on the death of a *matai* it is the most senior of his brothers, if his age and abilities fit him for the position, who succeeds to the lineage title. On this man's death however the title does not pass to his son, but reverts to the main line. The Samoan term for this process is *felafoa'i*, which means literally: "to throw to and fro."⁹

It is from this situation that cases of segmentation often arise. Thus when a brother dies and the lineage title reverts to the direct agnatic line, a new segment with the deceased brother's son as its *matai* is sometimes created. In these circumstances the primary rights (*pule*) over the lineage title are held by the direct successor, and the brother's son has rights over only the dependent lineage of which he is the founder. In the large sibling grouping shown above there were 16 brothers, and 29 brother's sons. It is from among these that new cases of segmentation in Sa'anapu will arise.

The 27 individuals shown under the heading of *matai's* father's siblings' offspring were distributed among four lineages only. The majority of them were *tama fafine* (i.e. the descendants of a *matai's* father's sister), and there was only one instance of a *matai's* father's brother's son.

Finally there is a special category of patrilineal kin which deserves particular mention. In 1943 there were in Sa'anapu thirteen women (the daughters of lineage *matai*) who were married to men (practising matrilocal marriage) from other village communities. The children of these marriages (who were living with their parents in Sa'anapu) numbered 38. These 38 children we have included as (temporary) members of Sa'anapu local minimal lineages. It is important to note however that in due course each of the thirteen women we have mentioned will return with her husband and children to her husband's lineage, and the children will then become members of their father's lineage household.

Adoption

In 1943 adopted individuals comprised about 1% of the population of Sa'anapu. There was one male (aged 18 years), and three were females (aged 18, 13 and 7 years respectively).

An adopted individual (*tama fai*) usually bears some remote blood relationship to the members of his adoptive lineage; in some cases however this relationship cannot

⁹ Dr E.Schultz, "The Most Important Principles of Samoan Family Law, and the Laws of Inheritance", J.P.S., vol. XX, p.51.

be traced genealogically. In the course of time an adopted child becomes assimilated into his adoptive lineage. Although he can never take precedence over a true lineage member, an adopted individual is recognised as possessing the right to inherit the property, and in certain rare cases (usually when no male descendant is available) even the title of his adoptive lineage. There is a case of this sort in Sa'anapu village itself. Mati Saitia, now the *matai* of the minimal lineage of Sa Mati Saitia, was the adopted son of the barren sister of Mati Tulutulumiti, the immediately previous *matai* of the Mati minor lineage. Saitia (as he then was) thus became the adoptive *tama sa* (sister's son) of Mati Tulutulumiti. On Mati Tulutulumiti's death, his eldest son Meatasa succeeded to the main title of the Mati lineage, but in the same year (c. 1915), segmentation occurred and Saitia became the *matai* of a separate minimal lineage, and was granted the right to use the title of Mati.

Mati Saitia occupies however a markedly subservient position to Mati Meatasa, the true successor to the *matai*-ship of the Mati lineage. Thus in all matters concerning the Mati lineage as a whole, it is Mati Meatasa who makes the decisions; and in the village *fono* it is Mati Meatasa who occupies the seating-place of the Mati lineage and speaks on its behalf. Native dogma asserts that an adopted son who has succeeded to the title of his adoptive lineage cannot hand on this title to one of his own sons, and that the title must revert to a true patrilineal descendant. In 1943 the local minimal lineage of which Mati Saitia was the *matai* consisted of thirteen individuals. Despite his inferior ascribed status Mati Saitia had, in the course of his twenty-eight years' *matai*-ship achieved considerable standing in Sa'anapu village, and the general opinion of the village chiefs was that the eldest of Mati Saitia's sons (a man of distinct ability) would be permitted to succeed to his father's title. If this does not occur, the members of the Sa Mati Saitia will be absorbed into the main Mati lineage with Mati Meatasa's eldest son as their *matai*.

Two of the four instances of adoption occurring within the minimal lineages of Sa'anapu were to be ascribed to sterile marriages. Two motives were discernable, the desire to increase the numerical strength of the lineage, and the desire to secure a jural son and successor.

While the type of adoption we have described is the most important occurring in Samoa, there is also another kind in which a child is taken into the household of a neighbouring lineage, but never really severs her connection with her own patrilineage. One such case was found in Sa'anapu. Taotasi, the daughter of Lalogafau (a *matai* in his own right), was growing up as a member of the household of the Lauvī Vainu'u lineage. While Lauvī Vainu'u was considered by all concerned as Taotasi's jural father, and was responsible for her welfare, her physiological father, Lalogafau was living in his own homestead only about thirty yards away. In these circumstances Taotasi's ties with her own father and mother remained exceedingly strong, and to all intents and purposes, Taotasi had two 'fathers.' The main function of this kind of

adoption between neighbouring lineages is to strengthen the solidarity already existing between them by reason of previous affinal ties.

The Genealogical Structure of the Local Minimal Lineage

It is difficult to summarize adequately the various types of genealogical structure which were present among the twenty-four local minimal lineages of Sa'anapu village.

One method is to state the generation range of the lineages involved. By generation range we mean the number of generations which must be taken into account if the consanguineous relationships of all the members of a lineage relative to (and including) their *matai* are to be reckoned.¹⁰

Thus a local minimal lineage consisting of a *matai* and his children (none of whom have offspring of their own) may be described as a lineage of two-generation range. If however a *matai's* son is married, and has children, the lineage then becomes one of three generation range. Further, if such a lineage includes the *matai's* brother (and his offspring), it then becomes of four-generation range, for the brother's relationship to his *matai* must be traced through their common father.

In the following schematic diagram, lineages of two, three and four-generation range are outlined in red, blue and green respectively.*

Using the criterion of generation range, the twenty-four local minimal lineages of Sa'anapu village may be classified as follows:

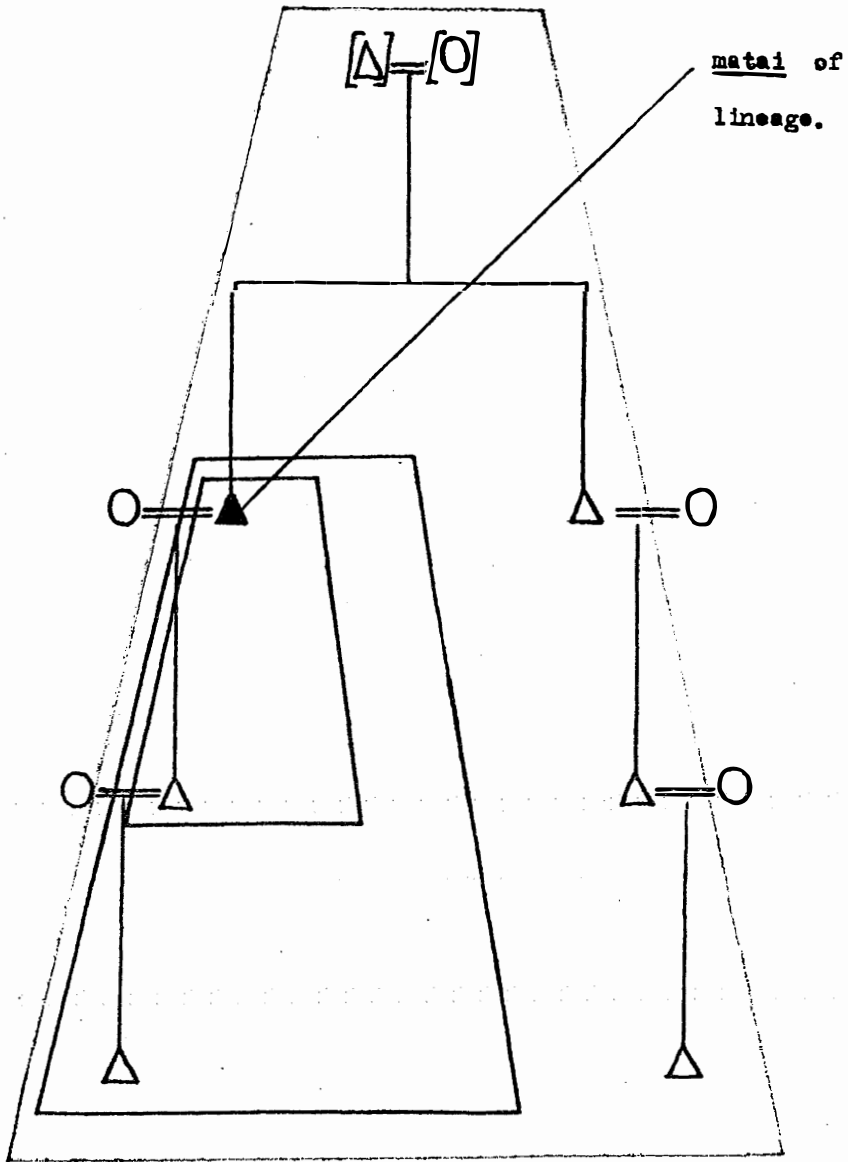
TABLE VI

<i>Type of Lineage</i>	<i>No. of Instances</i>
Two-generation range	4
Three-generation range	7
Four-generation range	11
Five-generation range	2

¹⁰ Generation range as we have defined it is similar to, but not identical with Professor Radcliffe-Brown's "order of relationship." (A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Study of Kinship Systems," [sic] *J.R.A.I.*, vol. LXXI, 1941, p.2). Professor Radcliffe-Brown's first, second, third, etc. orders of relationship extend outward from the elementary family through ascending generations. This system cannot be applied to the Samoan minimal lineage, for the *matai*, to whom all relationships are traced, stands at the head of a lineage group most of the members of which are in descending generations.

*The original colour code has not been reproduced here.

SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM



Lineage of two-generation range : _____

Lineage of three-generation range : _____

Lineage of four-generation range : _____

Seventeen of the twenty-four local minimal lineages of the village contained collateral kin.¹¹ In most instances these were the brothers of *matai*, and their offspring. In all of these lineages, the person through whom relationship was traced (i.e. the former *matai*) was dead. Thus the living members of most of the local minimal lineages of Sa'anapu extended through either two generation levels (11 instances), or three generation levels (11 instances). There were only two lineages the living members of which were situated in four different generation levels.

For Sa'anapu village the model local minimal lineage consisted therefore of a *matai* and his brothers, and their children and grandchildren.

The Total Minimal Lineage

We have described the local minimal lineage as consisting of a group of patrilineal kin living in the same household under the leadership of their *matai*.

It now becomes necessary to define a wider lineage group which includes not only the members of the local minimal lineage, but also all those lineage members who, for various reasons, are temporarily living elsewhere as affinal members in other lineage households. This wider group we propose to call the total minimal lineage.

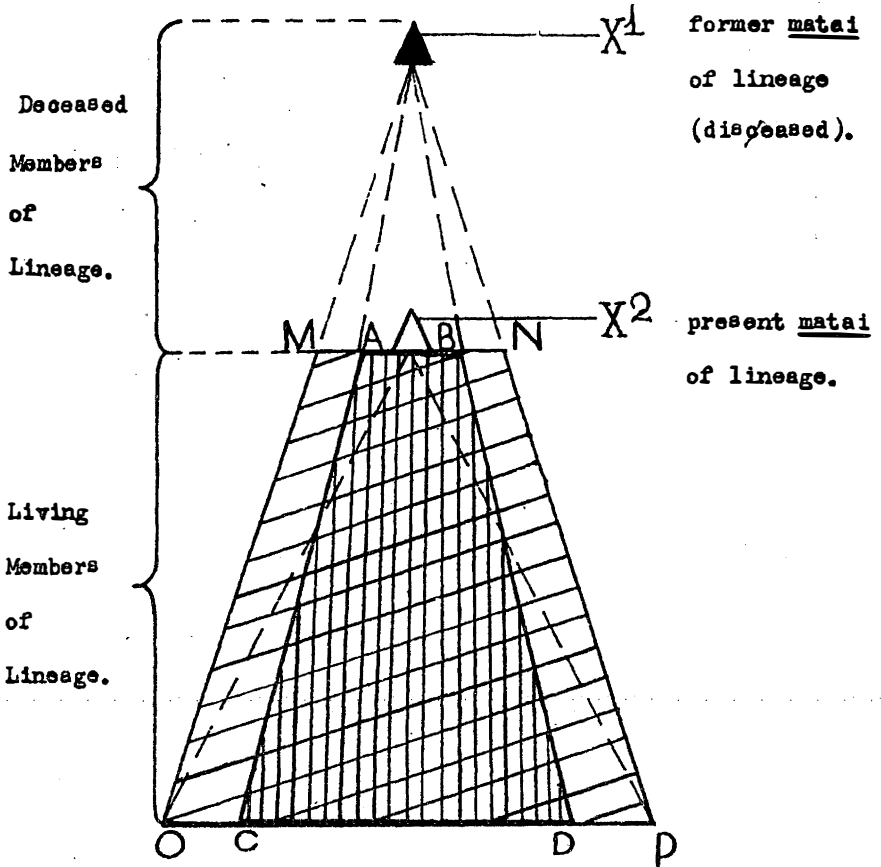
A total minimal lineage may be defined then as a group of individuals (of both sexes) of common patrilineal descent who recognize one of their number (invariably a male) who has been elected to the position of *matai*, or titled head of the lineage.

The relation between the local and the total minimal lineage may be expressed diagrammatically as follows [see below]:

In this diagram the total lineage is represented by the truncated triangle, M.N.O.P. It includes all of the living descendants of X^1 , the former *matai* of the lineage, now deceased. All these individuals own allegiance to X^2 , their present *matai*, or elected head. They do not however constitute a single residential group. Within the total lineage is the local lineage represented in the diagram by the truncated triangle, A.B.C.D. The members of the local lineage all live in the same lineage homestead under the immediate leadership of their *matai* X^2 . The local lineage normally includes not only the offspring of X^2 , but also certain of the descendants of X^1 – for example, one or more of the brothers of X^2 . Not all of the offspring of X^2 , it will be noted, are members of the local lineage. Those not included are, for the most part, his out-marrying daughters. These women normally return to their local lineage however on the death of their husbands.

¹¹ Of these seventeen lineages, 3 were of three-generation range, 11 of four-generation range, and 2 of five-generation range.

SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM



Local Minimal Lineage :



Total Minimal Lineage :



While at any given time a proportion of the adult members of a total minimal lineage live away from their lineage homestead, these individuals grew up as members of their local lineage, and never cease to think of it as their true home. The local lineage forms then the core of the total lineage – its *matai* holding the lineage title, its members occupying the lineage lands, and exercising lineage rights and privileges in intra-village relations. Though certain members of this local group leave on marriage, they remain members (by virtue of common descent) of what we have termed the total lineage. Native theory holds that lineage ties never lapse. Within the minimal lineage, at least, they are rigorously maintained. Thus out-marrying members continue to maintain contact with their local lineage, visiting it regularly, contributing property to its welfare, and on the death of their respective spouses returning to it to resume permanent residence.

While the total minimal lineage is not a residential unit, it does emerge as a group on certain occasions. For example, on the death of a lineage's *matai*, those of its members living in other parts of Samoa travel back to their village and join the members of the local lineage in the performance of funeral rites. After a period the total lineage again congregates to select one of its male members to succeed to the lineage title. On such occasions many other matters connected with the welfare of the lineage as a whole are discussed. The ownership of land, for instance, is vested in the total lineage and all of its adult members must be consulted before alienation or any other important course of action can be embarked upon. Inasmuch as patrilocal marriage is the norm in Samoa, those members living away from their local lineage are predominantly out-marrying women, and at any given time it is usual to find that a proportion at least of these are the sisters of the *matai*, or elected head of the lineage, and stand to him in a *tama fafine - tama tane* relationship. On the other hand the brothers and sons of a *matai* commonly live with their wives and children as members of the local lineage household. This means that throughout Samoa the *tama fafine* group (composed of female siblings and their offspring relative to the lineage *matai*) is a widely dispersed group with its members scattered through a number of villages, while the *tama tane* (the lineage *matai*, and his brothers, and their offspring) are a compact residential group forming the nucleus of the local lineage. Thus in Sa'anapu village, of the total patrilineal kin, 245 individuals (83% approximately) were *tama tane* (relative to their *natai*), while only 57 individuals (17%) were *tama fafine*.¹²

¹² The 57 individuals classed as *tama fafine* (of whom 31 were females and 26 males) fell into the three following kinship categories:

- | | |
|--|----|
| (i) <i>Matai</i> 's father's sister's offspring: | 13 |
| (ii) <i>Matai</i> 's sister: | 5 |
| (iii) <i>Matai</i> 's sister's offspring: | 39 |

Maternal Kin

The thirteen members of Sa'anapu village classed as maternal kin (relative to their *matai*) were confined to five of the village's twenty-four lineage households. Moreover four of the thirteen maternal relatives were the mothers of *matai*, that is, widows who had not returned to their own patri-lineages following the deaths of their husbands, the former *matai* of the four lineages concerned. The patri-lineages of all four of these widows were in Sa'anapu itself however; that is, all four women had contracted intra-village marriages. This meant that they were able to sustain close relationships with their own patri-lineages (all of which could be readily visited) while continuing to reside with the local lineages of their sons – the lineages with which they had lived as affines for most of their lives. This was an arrangement favourable to all concerned. During the course of prolonged residence a woman develops exceedingly strong emotional ties with her husband's lineage (the principal members of which are her own sons and daughters), and the severing of these ties when she returns to her own patri-lineage on her husband's death is a painful ordeal. If a widow can contrive to remain with her husband's lineage she will usually do so. The fact of intra-village marriage permits of such a course being followed.

Only two of the lineage households of Sa'anapu contained maternal kin other than the *matai*'s mother.¹³ One of these, The Sa Mulitalo Atigi, we may take as an example. In 1943, Mulitalo Atigi, the *matai* of the lineage, was a man of about 40 years of age. Prior to succeeding to his *matai*-ship, Mulitalo Atigi had been a government school-teacher, having taught for many years in Apia (the seat of administration in Western Samoa), and made a brief visit to New Zealand. He had two children, a daughter of nine, and a son aged six, both by a wife who had died several years previously. In 1942 he had married again. He had no brothers or sisters living with him, and the minimal lineage of which he was the *matai* thus consisted of only three members. When a lineage becomes as small as this in size resort may be had to two principal solutions: either maternal kin, or affinal relatives (or both) may be recruited in to the household. In the case of the Sa Mulitalo Atigi, the *matai*'s mother, a woman of commanding personality had introduced six of her own kin. One of these, her sister's son, a man of about thirty years of age, formed with his wife, the economic backbone of the household.

¹³ The distribution of the thirteen maternal kin of the village was as follows:

Number of maternal kin in Household:	1	3	7
Incidence:	3	1	1

Chapter V

Affinal Relatives

We now pass to a consideration of the position of the 72 affinal relatives who were living in Sa'anapu village in January, 1943. All of these individuals were living away from their own homesteads. The great majority of them came from beyond Sa'anapu.¹

The 72 affinal relatives of the village may be classed under four main headings as follows:

Spouses (Female):	44
Spouses (Male):	15
Wife's Child by a Former Husband:	3
Child of Wife's Child by a Former Husband:	6

In this table, the relative incidence of patrilocal and matrilocal marriage is indicated, but closer examination is necessary if the situation is to be properly understood. In Samoa patrilocal marriage is the norm both preferred and actual, but matrilocal marriage is practised to a limited extent. Matrilocal marriage only occurs however in special circumstances. These circumstances may best be demonstrated by comparing the incidence of matrilocal marriage among the *matai* of Sa'anapu as against the *taule'a*, or untitled men.

Among the *matai*,² the incidence was as follows:

TABLE VII

<i>Married</i>	Patrilocal	19
	Matrilocal	1
<i>Widowers</i>	Patrilocal	2
	Matrilocal	0

¹ Only 17 of the 72 affinal relatives of the village were members of Sa'anapu lineages. Intra-village marriage is discussed on p.53.

² One unmarried *matai*; and 'Ailepata (see p.37) are omitted.

In brief, 96% of the *matai* practised patrilocal marriage. The one exception was a rare and anomalous instance: the succession of a husband to the title of his wife's lineage. This action was resorted to following the great influenza epidemic of 1918 to avert the extinction of the lineage concerned,³ of which no adult male lineage member had survived. The *matai* concerned, Lea'anā Fa'alolo, had, in 1943, held the title of his wife's lineage for about twenty-one years. On his death the title will revert to his wife's brother, who in 1943, was a man of 30 years of age. Such instances of a husband succeeding to the title of his wife's lineage are exceedingly uncommon in Samoa, and only occur as a last resort (and then only temporarily) when there is no adult male member to succeed to the lineage title. No male affine can hope therefore to succeed to the title of his wife's lineage in the normal course of events, for with but extremely rare exceptions there is always a male member of the lineage (of some degree of agnatic or cognatic descent) available.

The following table records the incidence of matrilocal marriage among the *taulele'a*, or untitled men of Sa'anapu:

TABLE VIII

<i>Married</i>	Patrilocal	26
	Matrilocal	13
<i>Widowers</i>	Patrilocal	2
	Matrilocal	1

Here, it will be noted, matrilocal marriage reaches the considerable proportion of one case in three. This high incidence is evidence of a practice of some importance.

The form of marriage followed in Samoa in the great majority of cases is termed *avaga* – a type of 'marriage by capture' similar to that existing in Tikopia.⁴ *Avaga* rarely,

³ If the action described had not been taken the lineage would have been compelled to amalgamate with one of the other minimal lineages of the minor lineage of which it was a segment.

⁴ Ref. Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia*, London, 1936, pp.531-574. (There is also in Samoa a highly institutionalized form of marriage as between *taupou* and *munatia*, but this type of marriage, now relatively rare, does not here concern us). The following table was a separate, earlier footnote in the original text, with no referent. It is placed here to make better sense of the text.

The 64 cases of marriage in Sa'anapu fell into the following three categories:

if ever, occur with the overt approval or knowledge of the *matai* and senior members of the lineage of the woman involved. In some cases with her own consent, in other cases following her defloration (often surreptitiously or forcibly achieved), a woman is abducted from her lineage, and taken to the lineage of her 'husband.' Here a ceremony is held (a feast followed by singing and dancing), and the union becomes 'socially recognised.' At some later period, if the marriage becomes a permanent one, there is a formal exchange of property between the two lineages involved; the lineage of the woman presenting *toga* (mats and bark cloth), and that of the man *oloa* (which to-day usually takes the form of money).

For some time following her *avaga*, a woman remains in her husband's lineage household, but in due course she returns to her own lineage – at least for a period, and almost invariably, dwells there during the months immediately preceding and following the birth of her first child. She then usually takes up permanent residence in her husband's lineage household. Sometimes however a woman is joined by her husband, and remains for a protracted period with her own lineage.

Such cases of matrilocal residence are usually the result of special arrangement between the lineages of husband and wife. They almost always occur when the wife's minimal lineage has insufficient adult males to attend properly to its economic welfare. In these circumstances a man will become a member of the household of his wife's lineage, and assist in the performance of the various tasks which Samoan economic organization demands of males. He becomes a member of the *aumaga*, and participates fully in the social life of his wife's village.

This arrangement usually persists for only a limited number of years – until the young males of the wife's lineage have reached maturity. Husband and wife will then move back to the husband's village and reside permanently in the household of the husband's lineage.

In Sa'anapu, in January, 1943, there were fourteen untitled men (*taulele'a*) practising matrilocal marriage. They were distributed in ten of the twenty households of the village. The average age of these fourteen men was about 32 years,⁵ and the average period of their residence in Sa'anapu village was about 7 years. All but one

TABLE IX

<i>Avaga</i> (NOT followed by Christian marriage ceremony)	<i>Avaga</i> (followed by Christian marriage ceremony)	Christian marriage ceremony
<i>Natai</i> 4	15	3
<i>Taulele'a</i> 29	12	1
TOTALS 33	27	4

⁵ Only two were over 40 years of age, and none was over 45 years.

came from lineages beyond Sa'anapu.⁶ Eleven had families of their own. In all but one or two cases, the husband's services were judged to be vital to the economic welfare of the lineage concerned.

We have stressed the importance of the contribution which a woman's husband makes towards the prosperity of his wife's patri-lineage, but other factors also operate to produce the high rate of matrilocal residence which we have noted among the untitled men of Sa'anapu. For example, a man may occupy an inferior position (in terms of descent) in his own lineage, and feel that he has small prospect of succeeding to the lineage title, or of establishing a divergent lineage segment of his own. In these circumstances he will often choose to live and work as a member of his wife's patri-lineage, where his immediate rewards will be greater. Again, there is no strong desire on the part of a newly married woman to be with her own mother and sisters during the time of her early pregnancies and the infancy of her children.

Temporary* matrilocal residence is almost always a sign of stable marriage, for it arises from the establishment of a special type of relationship between the lineages of husband and wife. A husband's services with his wife's lineage result in the formation of obligations relations which persist long after his return to his own lineage. From the time of marriage onwards there is a regular exchange of property between the two groups – the wife's lineage presenting *toga* and the husband's *oloa*. Should the need arise either lineage may call upon the other for assistance. Often when a couple move to the husband's village they leave one or more of their children with the wife's lineage. This action is largely an expression of the special bonds which have been created between the two lineage groups. In due course, when the wife's father dies, and her brother succeeds to the lineage title, the wife becomes her brother's *tama fafine* ((i.e. the *tama fafine* of the *matai* of her lineage). The importance of this relationship between siblings of the opposite sex in Samoan society has already been stressed. The position of the sister's child left with his mother's patri-lineage following matrilocal residence is a significant one. Not only is he a *tama sa*⁷ relative to the *matai* of his mother's lineage, but also his father's services have contributed markedly to its prosperity. If such a *tama sa* be a man of especial ability, he may, when he reaches middle-age, found a minimal lineage to his own, and be granted the right to use the chiefly title of his mother's lineage. In this case a *tama sa* renounces all rights of succession to the *matai*-ship of his father's lineage. The lineage of which he is the founder is regarded as a segment attached to his mother's patri-lineage.⁸

⁶ Five came from Atua, four from Savai'i, and one from A'ana, Tuamasaga, Apolima, and Manu'a respectively.

* This word has been introduced by Freeman in a later amendment.

⁷ *Tama sa* is the term used for sister's son; it refers to position relative to the *matai* of a lineage. *tama sa* has the literal meaning of "sacred son" (*tama*: son; *sa*: sacred).

⁸ For a full discussion of this type of succession see p. 81 seq.

Female Affines

Of the 44 women living patrilocally in Sa'anapu village, 19 were the wives of *matai*, and 25 the wives of *taulele'a*, or untitled men. The average age of the 19 wives of *matai* was about 48 years. Ten were *faletua* – the wives of titular chiefs; and nine were *tausi* – the wives of executive chiefs. Thirteen came from lineages beyond Sa'anapu.⁹ With four or five exceptions all had been married for lengthy periods (20 to 40 years) and had long resided as members of their husbands' lineage households. The *avā taulele'a*, or wives of untitled men constituted a much younger group with an average age of about 28 years. Nineteen came from lineages beyond Sa'anapu.¹⁰

We have already noted that in Samoa a woman always remains a member of her own patri-lineage. Thus, while practising patrilocal marriage, a woman maintains an active interest in her own lineage and periodically visits her lineage homestead. On such occasions she is often accompanied by her husband and children. She takes with her property (*oloa*) from her husband's lineage which is presented to her paternal kin. When she returns to her husband's household she bears with her property (*toga*) collected during her visit. This affinal exchange is an important feature of all marriages in Samoa that endure for any length of time. A woman, in addition to making these periodic visits, always returns to her lineage on all occasions of crisis – as, for example, on the death of its *matai*, and (later) for the election to office of his successor.

When a marriage is first contracted the husband is almost always an untitled man (*taule'ale'a*).¹¹ With his wife he lives in the homestead of his lineage – usually in a separate dwelling house (*fale o'o*). A woman, living patrilocally, participates fully in the economic life of her husband's lineage, working in its taro gardens, preparing thatch and wall-blinds for its houses, weaving mats and manufacturing bark cloth, joining in fishing expeditions, and assisting in the cooking of its food in earth-ovens. As the wife of an untitled man she becomes a member of the *potopotogā 'o avā taulele'a* – a corporate group which recruits its personnel exclusively from women living patrilocally. Within this group, and within the community as a whole, her status is primarily determined by the position of her husband's lineage in the total social structure of the village.

If in the course of time a *taule'ale'a* succeeds to the title of his lineage and becomes a *matai*, his wife's status undergoes a parallel change, and she becomes a *faletua*, if her husband be a titular chief (*ali'i*); or a *tausi*, if he be an executive chief (*tulafale*). When a husband leaves the *aumaga* (a corporate group consisting of the untitled men of a village), and joins the *fono* of *matai*, so his wife leaves the *potopotoga 'o avā taulele'a* and

⁹ Five came from Tuamasaga, three from Atua, two from A'ana, two from Savai'i, and one from Apolima.

¹⁰ Six came from Tuamasaga, six from Atua, six from A'ana, and one from Savai'i.

¹¹ *Taule'ale'a* – singular; *taulele'a* – plural

becomes a member of the *potopotoga 'o faletua ma tausī* – a group recruiting its personnel exclusively from the wives of *matai*. The wife of a *matai* remains a member of this group until the death of her husband, when she must leave and return to her own lineage. The same rule applies to the wife of an untitled man (who is practising patrilocal marriage).

About a month after the husband's death, a party made up of members of the widow's lineage arrives to escort her back to her own village. Such a party is termed an '*amiga*, and usually consists of the *matai* of the widow's lineage, her father,¹² and possibly mother, and certain of her paternal kin. Often one or more executive chiefs from the village of the lineage concerned will accompany the '*amiga*. When the *malaga* (travelling party) arrives at the village of the widow's late husband, they are formally welcomed at a kava ceremony, and presented with specially prepared food (pigs, taro, *luao*, etc). Speeches are made by the representatives of both lineages. The leader of the '*amiga* then presents *toga* (mats and bark cloth) to the lineage of the deceased husband. The principal item in this presentation is a fine mat (*'ie toga*) which is known as "*'o le 'ie 'o le mavaega*," ("the mat of parting").

The lineage of the husband reply (*tali*) by presenting *oloa* (nowadays usually in the form of money). Before leaving a widow may request to take with her certain moveable property which belonged to her late husband and herself, as for example:

- (i) mats and bark cloth;
- (ii) pigs and fowls;
- (iii) taro grown in her husband's own taro garden;
- (v) kettles, cups, plates and other domestic articles.

She has no presumptive rights however and any display of avarice is disapproved. The exact nature of a widow's requests is determined by such factors as the duration of her marriage, her industry while a member of her husband's lineage household, and the general relations existing between her own lineage and that of her husband.

Mention has already been made of a woman not returning to her own patri-lineage on the death of her husband, but continuing to reside in the household of her deceased husband's lineage. Such cases are rare however, and tend to occur only in cases of intra-village marriage, when a woman is able to maintain close contact with her own patri-lineage though not actually living with it; and then, only when a woman loses her husband in old age and has grandchildren. Thus all four cases in Sa'anapu were of women who had become widows between 55 and 65 years of age.

¹² In most cases the woman's father is also the *matai* of her lineage.

Other Affinal Relatives

In the table of affinal relatives (p.47) there also appear a number of individuals listed as the children or grandchildren of female spouses. Some of these cases have arisen from a widow re-marrying and retaining (for personal reasons), a child by her first husband. Others are cases of illegitimacy in which a child's father is either not known, or the child not recognized by the father's lineage.¹³ Such an illegitimate child becomes a member of his mother's lineage household;¹⁴ his status is a dubious one however, and if the mother later marries she will sometimes take such an illegitimate child to live with her in the household of her husband's lineage.¹⁵

The affinal relatives – other than spouses – who were living in Sa'anapu village in 1943 were either children, or individuals who had spent their childhood in Sa'anapu. The position of these individuals is an anomalous one, for they are growing up (or have grown up) as the 'members' of a lineage household with which they have no consanguineous ties. By so doing, their own lineage ties (i.e. with their mother's patri-lineage) are being allowed to atrophy, and it is probable that a proportion of them, at least, will become assimilated into the Sa'anapu lineages with which they are living.

Intra-village Marriage

We now return briefly to the question of lineage exogamy. In Sa'anapu village, in 1943, there were twelve instances of intra-village marriage – five among *matai*, and seven among untitled men. This means intra-village marriage was practised in about 18% of all cases.

An analysis of the twelve cases shows that intra-village marriages were contracted, in the main, between the five principal lineage groups of the village. Thus there were five cases of marriage between members of the To'alima and the Fale Tolu; three between the To'alima and the Sa Alo; and two between the Sa Alo and the Fale Tolu. The two remaining instances were within the To'alima – between members of the Sa Lea'anā and the Sa Tuiafelolo.

It is probable that intra-lineage marriage has a higher incidence in Sa'anapu than in most Samoan villages. The tendency of Sa'anapu women to marry within their own village is well known on the south coast of Upolu, and the contracting of intra-village unions – even in other village communities – is frequently referred to by the phrase:

¹³ Illegitimacy in which the child's father is known is termed: "*to i fale*," which has the meaning: "to become pregnant in one's own (lineage) homestead." An illegitimate child whose father is not known (i.e. the child of a promiscuous mother) is termed a "*tama 'o le po*" – "a child of the night."

¹⁴ Cf. the cases of Falamoe and Apelegise of the Mati Meatasa lineage household; see p. 64 seq.

¹⁵ There was one instance in Sa'anapu of such an individual reaching maturity, and himself marrying and living with his wife in the household of his mother's (second) husband's lineage.

"*fai le fa'a Sa'anapu*" ("to behave in the Sa'anapu manner"). Most of the Sa'anapu women who had married men of their own village claimed that they had done so to avoid having to leave Sa'anapu which they believed to be one of the best villages in Samoa. There is good reason for this opinion, for Sa'anapu, with an abundance of fertile land, extensive fishing grounds, and an excellent supply of fresh water is one of the most favourably situated of villages. In addition, its people, undivided by religious sects, form a remarkably cohesive community – a rare state of affairs in contemporary Samoa. Intra-village marriage is condemned however by the *matai* of Sa'anapu. For example, following a *fono* held in February, 1943, Lauvī Vainu'u, one of the leading executive chiefs of Sa'anapu, speaking on behalf of the *fono* of *matai*, addressed all of the young men of the village (who had been especially assembled) on this point. He stressed that intra-village marriage was a bad thing for it resulted in a limitation of the number of affinal ties between Sa'anapu and other village communities. This meant that there was less opportunity for the exchange of property, etc. on an inter-village level. A forcible appeal was made to the young men of Sa'anapu to select their wives in future from the lineages of other village communities.

In all twelve cases of intra-village marriage recorded for Sa'anapu village, the husband and wife came either from lineages of quite separate origin, or from lineages joined by remote ties. There were no cases of marriage between members of the same minimal or minor lineage. Investigation showed moreover that any such marriage would be regarded as incestuous. From Sa'anapu evidence it would seem that most Samoan lineages are exogamous groups up to at least five or six generations depth.

Chapter VI

The Household

The basic economic unit of Samoan society is the household – a group composed, in the majority of cases, of the members of a local minimal lineage and their affinal relatives. In some instances, as has been pointed out, maternal kin are included in the household. Again, two minimal lineages – segments of the same minor lineage – sometimes combine to maintain a common household.

A Samoan household may be defined then as a group of individuals related by consanguinity and affinity who live together in the same homestead under the authority of one (or more) *matai*, forming a corporate economic group, and using the same earth oven in the preparation of their food.

By a homestead we mean all the houses which at any particular time make up the permanent domicile of a local lineage group. The Samoan lineage homestead shows many minor variations within a uniform general pattern. There are four types of house in general use:

- (i) the *fale tele*; (round house)
- (ii) the *fale afolau*; (long house)
- (iii) the *fale o'o*; (ordinary dwelling house)
- (iv) the *tunoa*. (cooking house).

The *fale tele* built on a raised stone foundation two to four feet in height, is roughly circular in ground plan. An average-sized *fale tele* has a ground plan about 25 to 30 feet in diameter. In the centre of the pebbled floor stand three massive posts about 25 feet in height, which support the main ridgepole. From the ridgepole, curved rafters radiate to form the domed roof, supported by collar beans lashed to the central posts, and strengthened by arched purlins. The framework of the domed roof ends in wall and curb plates, and is supported around its outer circumference by stout wall posts about 5 to 6 feet in height, and spaced at regular intervals of about 3 feet. Between these posts are suspended sets of 'Venetian blinds' woven from coconut palm fronds, which may be lowered and lifted at will with changes in the weather. The roof is heavily

thatched with the dried leaves of the sugar-cane – a plant widely cultivated for this purpose. From a distance a *fale tele* has the appearance of a giant beehive supported at its perimeter by a ring of regularly spaced posts.

In Samoan social life, the *fale tele* is of great ceremonial importance. The *fale tele*, with its circular ground plan, its unobstructed interior, and its regularly spaced perimeter of wall posts, is the preferred location¹ for the village *fono*, for the formal reception of chiefs from another village when on *malaga*, and for all other meetings of any social moment. Inseparably connected with these occasions is the ceremonial distribution of kava. Most important of all, the village and lineage seating plans which form such a clear index of Samoan social structure are all based on the ground plan of the *fale tele*.

The *fale afolau* is similar to the *fale tele* in general architecture, but the portion (*itu*) between the rounded ends (*tala*), is lengthened and instead of the three central posts, there are two rows of lateral supporting posts, usually about four or five at each side. This detracts from the suitability of the *fale afolau* as a place for important meetings, for a formal seating-plan can only be adapted to the ground plan of a *fale afolau* with some difficulty, and a *fale tele* is always preferred if one is available. A *fale afolau* is thus generally viewed as a superior type of dwelling house, which can be used as a guest or meeting house, should the occasion demand it. Both the *fale tele* and the *fale afolau* must be built by a recognized *tufuga* – a carpenter who is a qualified member of a carpenter's guild.²

The *fale o'o* is an ordinary dwelling house, resembling the *fale afolau* in design; but it is never the work of a contracted *tufuga*, has no elaborate stone platform, is smaller in size, and is usually of rough workmanship – the wood used being commonly left in its natural state.

The *tunoa* is a smaller structure than the *fale o'o*, is of much simplified pattern and thatched only with coconut palm fronds. It is used to shelter an earth-over (*oga umu*), and to provide a place for the preparation of food.

The homesteads of the twenty households of Sa'anapu village were a combination of two or more of these four types of house. Each of the twenty homesteads was restricted to a clearly defined area. There are no artificial marks, but trees and other natural objects are used to indicate the boundaries between homesteads. These boundaries are most rigorously observed (i.e. to within a few inches) when the occasion demands it – as for example, when each household is made responsible by the village *fono* for the weeding and cleaning of its own section of the village prior to inspection

¹ Of the *fale tele*, one frequently heard the phrase: "*'ua onomea sa'ofa?*" ("... it is beautiful and fitting place for the formal gathering of chiefs?"); and one was compelled to agree, for the Samoan *fale tele*, both functionally and aesthetically, reaches the highest standards. It provides a superb setting for the elaborate ceremonial of Samoan social life. It is also known as a *fale tali malō* (house for the reception of guests).

² Cf. P.H. Buck, *Samoan Material Culture*, Bulletin 75, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Hawaii, 1930, pp.84-97.

by a specially appointed group of *matai*.³

The houses of each Sa'anapu homestead form a cluster of recognizable pattern. At the front of each cluster, and facing the sea, is the main house of the homestead – usually a *fale tele*, although sometimes a *fale afolau* is made to serve. When the homestead is that of a lineage of some rank, its *fale tele* is not regularly occupied by its members, but is kept as a guest house, and for other ceremonial purposes. Members of the household may occasionally sleep there, but they remove their bedding and mosquito nets at dawn, and during the day the *fale tele* is left unoccupied, with its pebble floor swept clear of debris and great rolls of pandanus mats stacked in its rafters ready to be laid on the arrival of visitors. A kava bowl hangs from one of the central posts, and outside, at the edge of the terraced stone foundation of the house lies the hollow and pitted stone in which kava root is pounded to prepare it for mixing. In 1943, seven of the twenty households of Sa'anapu village maintained guest houses. None of these seven houses – they were all *fale tele* – was occupied by the members of the household whose property it was, and each was available for the immediate reception of guests. Of these seven houses, five belonged to titular lineages, and two to executive lineages.

Behind the *fale tele*, and at some distance removed from it, stand the houses in which the members of a household habitually live. These houses are commonly *fale o'o*, but if a household is strong in numbers and wealthy, its members will often build another *fale tele* or a *fale afolau* for permanent use as a dwelling house. The best house of a homestead (this does not include the guest house, where one is maintained) is usually reserved for the *matai* of the lineage, and his family. Of the 23 *matai* of Sa'anapu village, six lived in *fale tele*, ten in *fale afolau*, and seven in *fale o'o*. The other houses of a homestead are occupied by the untitled men of the household and their families. It is usual for each married *taule'ale'a* with children to have a *fale o'o* of his own.

Each household possesses at least one *tunoa*, or cooking house, situated at some yards distant from the dwelling houses in a small clearing among the coconut palms. Narrow, well-trodden paths connect these *tunoa* with the houses of the village, and from them tracks lead off inland to the village springs, pig enclosure and gardens.

The following table shows in detail the composition of the homesteads of the twenty lineage households of Sa'anapu village:

³ In Sa'anapu village it was usual for such an inspection (*asiasiga*) to be made once a week late on Saturday afternoon. In 1943 the group of *matai* responsible for carrying out the weekly inspection was: Tuigamala Mafiti, Lauvī, and Alo To'alima. Lineages not reaching the required standard were fined. The object of the *asiasiga* is to have the village looking its best for the Sabbath.

TABLE X

<i>Local Minimal Lineage, or Lineages Composing Household</i>	<i>Number of Persons in Household</i>	<i>Number of fale tele</i>	<i>Number of fale afolau</i>	<i>Number of fale o'o</i>	<i>Number of tumoa</i>
Sa Mati Meatasa	15	1	1	1	11
Sa Mulitalo Atigi	13	-	1	1	1
Sa Mulitalo Iuma	40	1	1	4	1
Sa Ali'i Muamua					
Sa Tulgale'ava	9	1	-	2	1
Sa Alo To'alima	18	-	-	3	1
Sa Alo Tafa	22	-	1	4	1
Sa Le Sā Seona					
Sa Tuilama	10	-	-	1	1
Sa Le Sā Samuelu	17	-	-	2	1
Sa Tuigamala Mafiti	18	1	-	2	1
Sa Tuiafelolo Ioane	37	-	1	5	1
Sa Tuiafelolo Kerisiano					
Sa Mati Saitia	17	-	1	1	1
Sa Lea'anā Fa'alolo	29	1	1	1	1
Sa Auvele	11	-	1	1	1
Sa Lea'anā Satini	22	1	1	2	1
Sa Lea'anā Mateo	22	2	-	1	1
Sa 'Anapu	21	2	-	3	1
Sa 'Ailepata					
Sa Tuigamala Tuli	28	2	1	-	1
Sa Lauvī Vela	15	-	1	1	1
Sa Lauvī Vainu'u	20	2	-	4	1
Sa Lalogafau	7	1	-	-	1
TOTALS:	391	15	11	39	20

It will be noted⁴ that only three of the twenty homesteads are without either a *fale tele*, or a *fale afolau*. The most common type of arrangement is that of a household possessing either a *fale tele* or a *fale afolau*, in addition to one or more *fale o'o*; eight cases of this occur. There are five cases of households possessing both a *fale tele* and a *fale afolau*; and four cases of households having two *fale tele*.

Lineage Land

In Sa'anapu each of the main lineage groups of the village occupies a piece of land recognized as its own, and bearing a special name.⁵ The residential land of a lineage is

⁴ In Table X the lineage households of the village are listed in order from east to west; see map.

⁵ All of these residential areas are shown in the general map of the village.

referred to as either a *maota* (in the case of titular lineages) or a *laoa* (in the case of executive lineages). The principal *maota* and *laoa* of Sa'anapu were as follows:

TABLE XI

	Name of Residence	Name of Lineage
<i>Maota</i> (Lineages of titular chiefs)	Pousigano	Sa 'Anapu
	Logopese	Sa Mati
	Tu'ugamau	Sa Mulitalo
	Falefue	Sa Lea'anā
	Lotomua	Sa Tuigamala
	Poutalie	Sa Tuiafelolo
<i>Laoa</i> (Lineages of executive chiefs)	Si'ua'i	Sa Tuigale'ava
	Amamea	Sa Lauvī
	Malaesaili	Sa Le Sā; and Sa Alo

It will be observed that the named residential areas we have listed refer in the main to minor lineages. In cases where segmentation into minimal lineages has occurred, and the component minimal lineages have set up households of their own, the residential land of the minor lineage is divided into separate sections. Each local minimal lineage that maintains its own household (i.e. functions as a separate economic unit) becomes therefore a land owning group in its own right. However the areas occupied by the segments of a minor lineage are never (in Sa'anapu at least) specifically named, instead the name used to apply to the residential land of the minor lineage as a whole is used by all of its component minimal lineages. In Sa'anapu village for example, the four minimal lineages: Sa Lea'anā Satini, Sa Lea'anā Fa'alolo, Sa Lea'anā Mateo and Sa Auvele⁶ each occupy and possess rights over sections of land within the area known as Falefuē, belonging to the Lea'anā lineage as a whole.

The rights (*pule*) over a homestead site are held in common by the lineage members, and at any particular time are vested in the lineage *matai*. The same rule applies to land used for agricultural purposes which is also managed by the *matai*.^{*} Thus each lineage possesses rights over various tracts of land which are used for the cultivation of taro, bananas, coconuts, and the many other plants upon which Samoans depend. These tracts of land are usually named, and the areas owned by the different

⁶ The Sa Auvele is an executive lineage possessing a title recently created (c.1923) by the Lea'anā titular lineage. In 1943 the holder of the Auvele title was the brother of the *matai* of the Lea'anā Mateo lineage.

* 'which....matai' was inserted at a later date by Freeman.

lineages of Sa'anapu are well known by all the adult members of the village.⁷ All unused land is held by Sa'anapu village as a whole, and any lineage of the village may establish rights over any portion of it by the act of usufruct.⁸ Thus any village lineage may fell any portion of the forest to provide the site for new gardens. A *matai* will always announce his lineage's plan in such a matter to the village *fono*; this announcement, and the fact of usufruct establishes effective ownership. This common ownership of virgin land by the village community as such,⁹ is evidence of the solidarity of the lineages of Sa'anapu, and demonstrates the strength of the now remote agnatic and cognatic ties which link them together.

The Household as an Economic Unit

Each household is also an economic unit, growing its own crops, maintaining its own herd of pigs, and cooking its own food. The possession of a separate *tunoa*, or cooking house, is one of the principal criteria by which a Samoan household is defined, for a *tunoa* is an essential pre-requisite to independent housekeeping. At one end of every *tunoa* is a shallow depression – the site of the earth-oven. The method of cooking is a simple one. The food is placed on stones which have been fired to a high temperature, is covered with leaves and matting, and is left for about an hour. Nevertheless, the process of preparing food is a lengthy and laborious one, calling for the concerted effort of four or five people. Taro and green bananas must be carried from gardens lying a mile or two inland; firewood and fresh leaves (*lau fao*) must be gathered from the forest. Coconuts must be collected from fore-shore plantations (often a mile or more distant), husked, split open, grated, and their 'cream' (*pe'epe'e*) expressed. Bananas must be skinned, taro scraped, and fish wrapped in breadfruit leaf containers. Fresh coconut frond baskets (for carrying away the cooked food) must be plaited. All this takes several hours, and the preparation and cooking of food is thus one of the major occupations of every Samoan household. Moreover the process is the same for a household of ten members as it is for one of thirty. This situation provides clear incentives for the segments of the same minor lineage to follow a system of joint-housekeeping – the members of each segment co-operating equally in the performance of all economic tasks. Four instances of this general type of organization were found in Sa'anapu. Furthermore lineage segments, each of which possesses its own *tunoa*, will quite often combine to cook their food in the same earth-oven. We may take as an

⁷ Investigation showed that many quite young children (7-10 years) were well acquainted with the whereabouts of the principal lineage lands of the village.

⁸ The unused land of Sa'anapu village comprises a considerable area, probably about 15 square miles in extent. In 1943 only the most fertile land within easy access of the village (i.e. within two to three miles) was in use.

⁹ This system of land being held in common by the village community does not apply to all Samoan villages. Existing evidence (which is far from complete) suggests that it is the exception rather than the rule.

example, the Sa Lauvī – a minor lineage, which, in 1943 was divided into two minimal lineages: the Sa Lauvī Vainu'u, with a household of 20 members, and the Sa Lauvī Vela, with a household of 15 members. Although these two lineage households were independent units, as segments of the same minor lineage, they co-operated in a wide range of economic tasks. Each household maintained its own gardens, and usually prepared its own food, but a combined oven was by no means a rare occurrence.¹⁰ In other economic spheres there was constant co-operation. The members of each household commonly fished together, assisted one another in the building of houses and canoes, and worked together on the construction of pig walls, the weaving of mats, and the manufacture of such things as bark cloth, coconut oil, wooden food bowls, and fishing tackle.

The economic affairs of each household are supervised by its *matai*. The *matai* it is who decides what crops are to be grown, and in what quantities; but he only reaches his decision after consultation with other members of the household. Furthermore the economic welfare of the village as a whole is constantly discussed and planned by the *fono* of *matai*. Each lineage household is obliged to make fixed contributions (*monotaga*) towards the support of the village *fai'feau*, and towards the entertainment of travelling parties (*malaga*) from other village communities. For instance, the *fono* of *matai* may decide on an important occasion that each lineage is to contribute one pig, fifty taro corms, and twenty packages of fish. Each lineage's contribution is carefully inspected, and if the specified amounts have not been provided, the lineage responsible is fined. Again, to ensure that the economic resources of the village are maintained at a sufficiently high level, the *fono* periodically stipulates that each household shall plant fixed quantities of staple crops. In 1942, for example, the *fono* of Sa'anapu laid it down that each household in the village was to plant the following crops:

- (i) 400 *tiapula*, or young taro plants
(These plants were to be kept exclusively for village use);
- (ii) 50 new banana plants;
- (iii) 50 new cocoa plants;
- (iv) 10 new kava plants;
- (v) 50 ta'amū.¹¹

Four *matai*, Lea'anā Fa'alolo and Tuiafelolo Ioane (both titular chiefs), and Lauvī Vela and Alo To'alima (both executive chiefs), were appointed as a committee to carry

¹⁰ For example a combined oven prepared on January 15th, 1943 was the work of Meititi (male, 45 years), Taufau (female, 18 years), Aialaisa (female, 15 years) and Salu (male, 11 years) of the Sa Lauvī Vainu'u, and Vāitā'a (male, 30 years), Aiou (male, 13 years) and Sa (male, 11 years) of the Sa Lauvī Vela.

¹¹ Ta'amū is a coarse kind of giant taro.

out periodic inspections of each household's gardens. A fine of one shilling was imposed for each section (of the five listed above) that was not up to the stipulated standard.¹²

Similar provisions, binding to all households, are laid down by the *aumaga*, the *aualuma*, the assembly of *faletua* and *tausi*, and the assembly of *avā taulele'a*. Thus while all households are independent units their economic organization is co-ordinated on a village basis. Great emphasis was placed on this point by the *matai* of Sa'anapu, who, in their speeches, constantly reiterated that economic planning was fundamental to village prosperity and solidarity.¹³

The Composition of the Household

In January, 1943, there were in Sa'anapu village twenty separate households. The total membership of these twenty households was 391. Of those 79% (approximately) were lineage members, 18% affinal relatives, and 3% maternal kin. The mean number of persons per household was 19.5.¹⁴ The full range in size was as set out in the following table:

TABLE XII

Number of Individuals in Household	7	9	10	11	13	15	17	18	20	21	22	28	29	37	40
Incidence	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	1

¹² During the year about £2 in fines was collected. This money was used to purchase tinned meat to be consumed by the village *funo*.

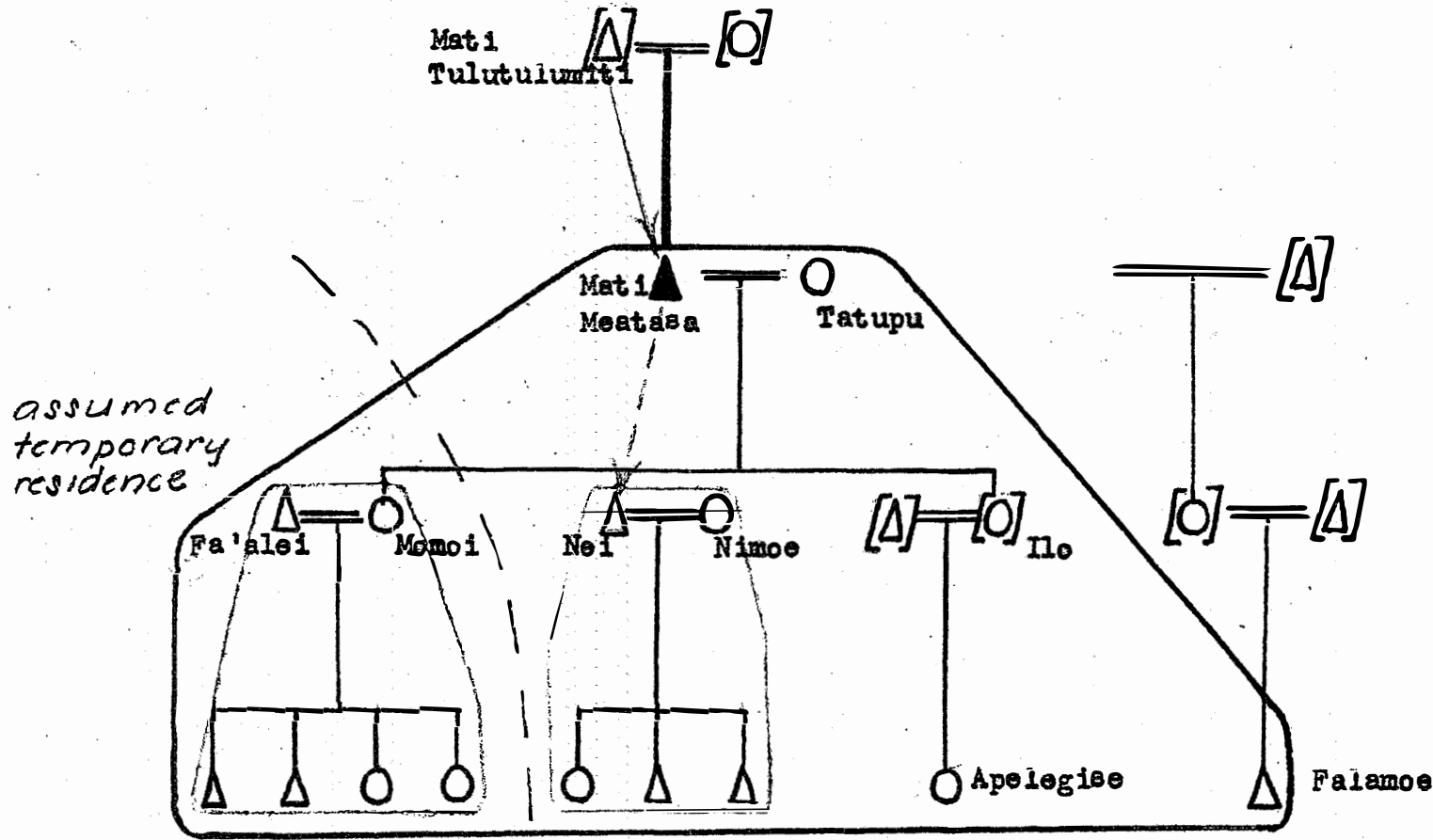
¹³ It is interesting to note that the Samoans in describing village unity make constant use of the word *māōpoopo*. *Māōpoopo* means literally, "to be of close texture, or to hold together." As applied to social groups it corresponds almost exactly with the connotation of the term 'solidarity.'

¹⁴ It is of interest to compare the size of the Samoan household with that of households for certain other parts of Polynesia. Dr. E. Beaglehole (*Pangai: Village in Tonga*, Wellington, N.Z., 1941, p.69), defining a household as consisting of "that group of individuals living together which uses the same cook-house for the preparation of common means," gives average household memberships for Tonga, Uvea, Futuna, Pukapuka, and Hawai'i. In the following table they are compared with the average calculated for Sa'anapu:

TABLE XIII

Area	Average Membership of Household
Tonga	6.5 individuals
Pukapuka	6.5 "
Hawai'i	6.9 "
Futuna	8.0 "
Uvea	8.77 "
Sa'anapu, Samoa	19.5 "

The Household of the Mati Meatasa Lineage.



Sixteen of the twenty households of Sa'anapu consisted of single minimal lineages and their affinal relatives. The household with a single minimal lineage as its basis emerges therefore as the dominant type of familial organization – accounting for 80% of the households of our Sa'anapu sample. As an example of this type of household we may take the Sa Mati Meatasa, the composition of which was as shown in the accompanying diagram.

Mati Meatasa, one of the leading titular chiefs of Sa'anapu, succeeded to the title of his father Mati Tulutulumiti, by right of primogeniture in about 1915. In 1943 he was a man of 70 years of age with no surviving brothers or sisters. His wife Tatupu, aged about 65, came (on her mother's side) from the Sa Lauvī. Prior to her marriage to Meatasa (*avaga*, followed by Christian marriage), she had a daughter by a *tulafale* of Malie, a village on the north coast of Upolu. This daughter's illegitimate son (by a member of the Tuigamala lineage of Sa'anapu village), who was 14 years of age in 1943, was being cared for by Tatupu, and living as a member of the Mati Meatasa household. The position of this boy, Falamoe, was a markedly subordinate one, for as the illegitimate child, he was without any jurally recognized lineage rights. Within the Mati Meatasa household, his rank was inferior to that of all the other members, for he possessed no rights based on consanguinity, and his claims as an affinal relative were of a remote order. His chances of succeeding to a share in the *matai*-ship of the Mati lineage (well equipped with male agnates) were non-existent. In Samoan society, the only resource of an individual of such meagre ascribed status is his natural ability, which may, in the course of time, gain him some sort of achieved status within the village community; but the odds are heavily weighted against him.

In the first descending generation of the Sa Mati Meatasa were Momoi (aged 35), and Nei (aged 30), the daughter and son respectively of Mati Meatasa and Tatupu. Momoi was married to Fa'alei, a *taule'ale'a* from the island of Savai'i, who for some years had been living matrilocally in Sa'anapu and assisting in the economic organization of his wife's lineage. The only other adult male in the household was Nei. Momoi and Fa'alei had four children: two boys (aged 12 and 9), and two girls (aged 6 and 3). In the course of time Fa'alei, his wife and family will return to Fa'alei's lineage home in Savai'i; however their residence in Sa'anapu has been an extended one, and it is probable that one of Momoi's sons will be left in Sa'anapu with his mother's lineage. When Momoi's brother Nei succeeds to the title of the Mati lineage, her son will become Nei's *tama sa*.

Nei was married to Nimoe, a woman of Chinese-Samoan parentage from Faleasiu, a village community on the north coast of Upolu. He had three children, a daughter (aged 4), and two sons (2 years of age, and 6 months of age). The remaining member of the household was Apelegise, the 10 year old illegitimate daughter of Mati Meatasa's daughter Ilo. Apelegise's father was a half-caste of European-Samoan descent. Apelegise was not recognized by her father's family and was living therefore in her

mother's father's household.

The homestead of the Mati Meatasa household was made up as follows:

- (i) a *fale afolau*: occupied by Mati Meatasa, Tatupu, Falamoe and Apelegise;
- (ii) a *fale tele*: occupied by Nei, Nimoe, and their three children;
- (iii) a *fale o'o*: occupied by Fa'alei, Momoi, and their four children;
- (iv) a *tunoa*: used by all the members of the household as a domestic group.

Mati Meatasa, as the elected head of his lineage was a member of the *fono* of *matai*; Tatupu, his wife, as a *faletua*, was a member of the assembly of *faletua* and *tausi*; Nei and Fa'alei, as *taulele'a*, were members of the *aumaga*; Momoi (as a woman living in her own lineage household), was a member of the *auauma*; and Nimoe, as the wife of an untitled lineage member, belonged to the assembly of *avā taulele'a*.

Joint-Households

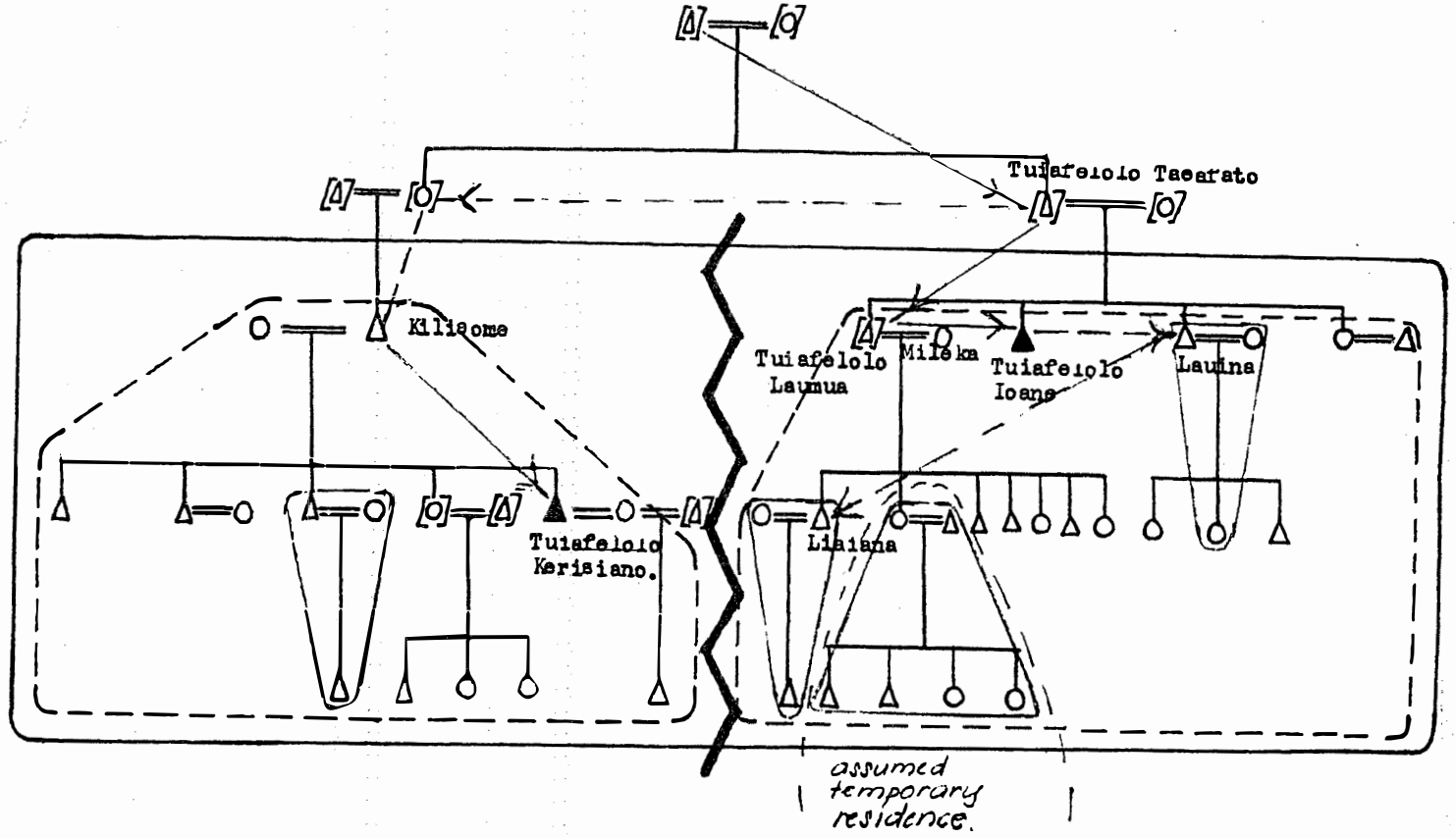
There were four cases in Sa'anapu of joint-households, that is, households consisting of two discrete lineage segments and their affines. Three of these joint-households were composed of the segments of a minor lineage; in the remaining case – the joint-household of 'Anapu, the principal titular chief of Sa'anapu village – the relationship between the two component lineages was not based on common descent, but on the culturally standardized symbiotic relationship that exists between the lineages of titular and executive chiefs.

As an example of the first type of organization we may take the joint-household of the Tuiafelolo Ioane and Tuiafelolo Kerisiano lineages. These two minimal lineages were the segments of a minor lineage. The senior lineage (representing the main agnatic line) was that of Tuiafelolo Ioane, with eighteen members. These eighteen individuals, with five affinal relatives made up one 'potential household.'¹ The Tuiafelolo Kerisiano lineage composed of nine members with four affinal relatives and one maternal kinswoman constituted another 'potential household.' The relationship between Tuiafelolo Ioane and Tuiafelolo Kerisiano was an unusual and interesting one. The segmentation which gave rise to the Sa Tuiafelolo Kerisiano occurred in 1942. Tuiafelolo.

Kerisiano's father, Kilisome, was the son of Tuiafelolo Ioane's father's sister. Tuiafelolo Ioane's father (who before his death had held the *matai*-ship of the Tuiafelolo lineage) was named Tuiafelolo Taeafato. Tuiafelolo Kerisiano's father Kilisome thus stood in a *tama sa* (sister's son) relationship to Tuiafelolo Taeafato. As already explained this relationship is a crucial one in Samoan society. In certain circumstances it is possible for segmentation to occur, and for a *tama sa* to succeed to

¹ Freenan later wrote 'requires adjustment' beside the passage beginning 'The senior lineage...'

THE JOINT - HOUSEHOLD OF THE TUIAFELOLO MINOR LINEAGE.



a share in the lineage title.¹⁵ Kilisome however was an ordained Christian pastor (*fai'feau*), and by Samoan custom was barred from holding a *matai*-ship.¹⁶ For many years he had been in charge of the London Missionary Society's Press at Malua, and had acquired high prestige throughout the whole of the Samoan islands. Kilisome's achieved status made him by far the most distinguished member of the Sa Tuiafelolo, and his claim to a share in the lineage title was an exceedingly strong one. His position as a *fai'feau* precluded however all possibility of succession. The dilemma was solved by granting a share in the lineage title to Kilisome's eldest son, Kerisiano. Kerisiano, who was about 40 years of age when he succeeded, was himself a man of considerable achieved status, having been highly educated in Apia, and having occupied for some years the position of manager of a European-owned trading-store. This trading-store was situated in Lotofagā, about two miles to the east of Sa'anapu, and in 1943, one year after his election to *matai*-ship Tuiafelolo Kerisiano was still living in Lotofagā as the store's manager. As circumstances permitted he made visits to Sa'anapu to participate in meetings of the *fono* of *matai*. In Tuiafelolo Kerisiano's absence from the village, both segments of the Tuiafelolo lineage came under the leadership of Tuiafelolo Ioane, and formed a joint-household. The composition of this joint-household is shown in the accompanying diagram.

The Household of 'Anapu

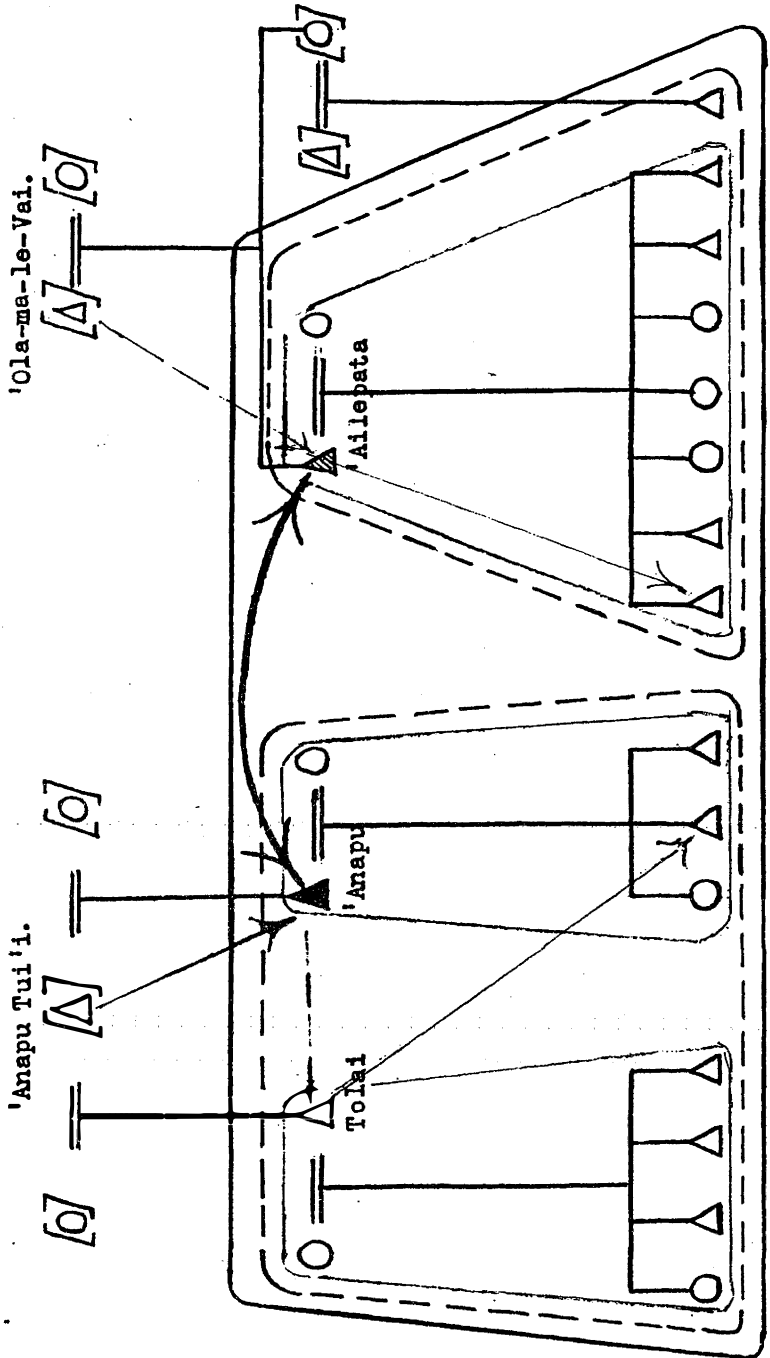
The household of 'Anapu, the principal titular chief of Sa'anapu village, was composed of two lineage groups which were in no way related to one another by consanguineous ties. These two groups are shown in the diagram on the following page.

The 'Anapu lineage consisted in 1943 of 'Anapu himself (a man of about 45 years), and his three children (aged 16, 14 and 10 years), and Tolai, 'Anapu's paternal half-brother, and his four children (aged 14, 12, 8 and 6 years). 'Anapu, a man of considerable attainments, spent most of his time in Apia (the centre of administration in Western Samoa), where he held the position of Judge in the Native Land and Titles Court. He maintained a house there, and he and his family only visited Sa'anapu at irregular intervals. This meant that of the 'Anapu lineage, only Tolai (aged 35 years) and his family remained permanently in Sa'anapu – a group of insufficient strength to safeguard adequately the economic welfare of the household. This difficulty was overcome however by the presence of 'Ailepata, his wife and family. 'Ailepata, a man of about 34 years of age, was the son of an executive chief (deceased) named 'Ola-ma-le-Vai. Although 'Ailepata had not, in 1943, succeeded to the 'Ola-ma-le-Vai title, he was recognized (with the members of his lineage) as standing in a *tulafale-ali'i*

¹⁵ For a discussion of this type of succession see p.82.

¹⁶ See p.127.

THE 'ANAPU HOUSEHOLD.



relationship to the 'Anapu lineage. This symbiotic type of relationship between titular and executive chief is discussed in detail in the next Chapter. Briefly, an executive chief is obliged to perform services for a titular chief for which he is rewarded periodically by property presentations of various kinds. Such relationships are to the mutual benefit of both the parties involved, and depend on long-established custom, and the general value system of Samoan culture, rather than on any type of legal sanction. While the *ali'i-tulafale* relationship is a pervasive one applying to all social situations, there are also specific relationships between the lineages of a particular pair of titular and executive chiefs. These special relationships are highly institutionalized, and persist from one generation to another. The term used to describe them is "*tuāmonotaga*"; and the executive chief concerned is known as the "*pitovao*" of the titular chief. Such a relationship existed between the 'Anapu and the Ola-ma-le-Vai lineages. The two lineages in such a relationship usually maintain separate households, but the special circumstances of the 'Anapu lineage had resulted in the members of the Sa Ola-ma-le-Vai joining with it to form a joint-household. Thus 'Aleipata, his wife and children were living in a *fale o'o* of the 'Anapua homestead, and cooperating fully in the economic organization of the household. In due course 'Aleipata will have the title of Ola-ma-le-Vai conferred upon him by the village *fono*. He may then decide to set up a household of his own, but even should he do so, his *pitovao* relationship with the 'Anapau lineage will continue.

The Elementary Family

While every Samoan household of whatever size is a corporate group owing allegiance to its *matai*, there is, in the case of all households a certain amount of internal differentiation. Thus each of the households of Sa'anapu village included within its boundary one or more elementary families. By an elementary family we mean a group consisting of a man and woman and their child, or children. In the analysis that follows we shall be discussing only those elementary families which form a residential group, that is elementary families the members of which are permanently living together within the confines of a single household. In 1943, there were in Sa'anapu 40 such elementary families, with a total membership of 211 individuals. The composition of these 40 families was as follows:

TABLE XIV

<i>Type of Elementary Family</i>	<i>Incidence</i>
Father and mother and 1 child	11
Father and mother and 2 children	6
Father and mother and 3 children	8
Father and mother and 4 children	8
Father and mother and 6 children	2
Father and mother and 7 children	2
Father and mother and 8 children	2
Father and mother and 10 children	1

In addition there were 22 further family groups, including 86 individuals in all, constituted as follows:

TABLE XV

<i>Type of Family</i>	<i>Incidence</i>
Father and mother and children, plus mother's children by former husband	3
Father and mother and children, plus father's children by former wife	2
Father and children, and step-mother	2
Mother and children, and step-father	2
Mother and children, (Father dead or divorced)	10
Widower and children	3

Each of these family groups included, it will be observed, at least one parent. By examining the sixty-two family groups listed in Tables XIV and XV, it is possible to form an estimate of the importance of the parent-child relationship within the Samoan household. In January, 1943, there were in Sa'anapu village 229 individuals 20 years of age and under.¹⁷ These 299 individuals may be divided into the following four categories:

- (i) Living with own father and mother: 137 individuals (60%);
- (ii) Living in same household as own mother: 29 individuals (12%);
- (iii) Living in same household as own father: 22 individuals (10%);
- (iv) Living in a household of which neither
father or mother is a member: 41 individuals (18%).

These percentages indicate that the parent-child relationship is far from obscured in the Samoan household. This conclusion was borne out by the observation of

¹⁷ The members of the *fai'feau's* family are not included.

behaviour within the various households of Sa'anapu. Most of the elementary families we have listed were distinct residential groups living in a dwelling of their own. Sometimes there were one or two other household members occupying the same house, but this did not interfere with the parent-child relationships within the elementary families concerned, for such intrusive individuals were primarily the responsibility of the household *matai*.

Most elementary families, besides being separate residential groups within the wider household, also possessed some degree of economic independence. For example, while the food of the whole household was always cooked in the same earth-oven, the members of each elementary family tended to eat together in their own house. While much property (canoes, cooking utensils, etc) was owned in common by the household, each elementary family possessed certain articles recognized as belonging exclusively to its own members. These articles (clothing, hats, toilet requisites, playing cards, musical instruments, Bibles, etc) were usually kept in a large wooden box (*pusa*), and often under lock and key. Each elementary family received from the household *matai* its separate share of any money earned from the sale of the cash crops (copra, bananas, cocoa, etc) grown by the household as a whole. This money could be spent as each family pleased. Again, there was usually division of labour in terms of elementary families. A husband and wife, for example, commonly maintained their own taro garden. The taro produced was for the sustenance of the household as a whole, but presentations to the affinal relatives of an elementary family were usually taken from its own gardens.

Within an elementary family, the tie between mother and child is of primary and most enduring importance. During infancy a child's ties with its father also loom large, but as he grows up a child's relationship with his *matai* gradually comes to assume significance. The *matai* is regarded as the classificatory father of all the children in his household, and is normally addressed as such. Frequently, especially in his old age, a *matai* will take one of his grandchildren under his personal care, eating and sleeping (i.e. in the same mosquito net) with the child, and maintaining towards him a relationship markedly less authoritarian than that existing between a father and son.

The household *matai* assumes special importance for those children who are living away from their own fathers and mothers. There were in Sa'anapu village, fifty such individuals.¹⁸ It is significant to note that only four of them were six years of age or under. This fact is evidence that, with very few exceptions, Samoan children remain with their mothers for the first five or six years of their lives. Thus of the seventy-seven children six years of age and under in Sa'anapu, only four (5% approximately) were living away from both mother and father. From seven years of age onwards, the percentage is markedly higher. Of the seventy-five children in the village of the age

¹⁸ Of these fifty individuals, forty-one were twenty years of age or under.

group seven to ten years (inclusive), nineteen (25%) were living away from both mother and father.¹⁹ This sharp rise – from 5% to 25% – is significant, for it marks the point for Samoan society at which a child reaches maturity as a social being. From about seven years of age onwards, a child is able to forage for himself, and may be moved about among the various lineage households of his kindred, as circumstances dictate.

¹⁹ From eleven years of age onwards the proportion remained about the same; i.e. of the age group 11-15 years (inclusive) 23% were not living in elementary families, and of the age group 16-20 years (inclusive), 21%.

Chapter VII

Chieftainship

Chieftainship as it exists in Samoa arises directly from the lineage system. As an institution it extends over the whole of the lineage structure – from the elected head of a maximal lineage of many generations depth, to the elected head of a small and newly-created minimal lineage. As already explained, a lineage (of whatever order of segmentation) is primarily thought of by the Samoans as a patrilineal group possessing a chiefly title. A chiefly title is first and foremost the name of a lineage group, and although at any given time a lineage title is held by a single individual, certain rights over the title are held in common by all the members of the lineage concerned. In inter-group relations, a particular lineage title is used to apply to a lineage group as a whole. Thus in Samoan society a man's social position depends mainly on his ascribed status as the member of a patrilineal descent group. Within his lineage a man's standing is determined by kinship, by his proximity to the line of succession; but in external relations it is governed by the structural position of his lineage in the total lineage hierarchy of which it is a component part.

A man becomes a *matai* by a process of election. We may take as an example a minimal lineage. On the death of a lineage's *matai* it becomes necessary to appoint a successor, for a lineage cannot function without a titled head to represent it in the *fono* of the village community to which it belongs. This appointment is a matter of crucial importance to all lineage members, and on the chosen day they assemble together at their lineage homestead. Such a meeting is usually attended by all the adult members of the total lineage – those living temporarily in other villages journeying back to their lineage home for the occasion.

Following consultation, often prolonged, a successor is elected. His selection is determined by factors which vary widely from case to case, but there are certain clearly defined dogma of succession which receive universal recognition. It is recognized that as far as possible a title should always remain in the main agnatic line.* In this line the primary right rests with the previous holder's surviving brothers, whose seniority is

* Freeman at a later date inserted the following note between pages. It has been included as a footnote at the most likely point of reference: 'Cf. Dr. E. Schultz, J.P.S. Vol.XX, p.51. The Samoan law of inheritance rests upon the basis of relationship in the sense of the German legal term *agnation*.'

determined by their order of birth. This right is known as: "o le toe 'o le uso" ("The residual right of the brother"). Should a brother succeed to a lineage title he holds it until his death, whereupon it reverts to the main line in the person of the previous holder's eldest son. If there should be no fraternal contender for the title, it passes directly to one of the previous holder's legitimate sons, whose seniority is again determined by order of birth. A *matai's* eldest son, who stands in direct line of succession, is known as a *suli*.

Before his death, it is usual for a *matai* to make a *mavaega*, or testament, in which he names his heir. Before announcing this *mavaega*, a *matai* will generally consult the more influential members of his lineage, and endeavour to reach a decision which will meet with common assent.

While the dogma we have outlined are universally recognized in Samoa, and operate in the majority of cases, the final decision in the selection of a lineage *matai* lies in the hands of the lineage members themselves. The decision they reach is often influenced by factors extraneous to the dogma of succession we have described. If a lineage's position as an autonomous group is to be adequately safe-guarded, it is imperative that it should have at its head a man of ability. The personal qualifications of their *matai* become therefore a matter of cardinal importance to all lineage members, and the prior genealogical claim of an inefficient and unintelligent *suli* is usually abrogated in favour of some lesser lineage member possessing superior personal qualifications. This situation is well understood by all the potential successors to a lineage title and is a constant incentive to good works on their part. Occasionally there are rival claimants to a lineage title, each supported by a faction of lineage members. The interests of such factions sometimes prove irreconcilable. The interests of such factions sometimes prove irreconcilable. In former times – before the imposition of German, and later, British law – intra-lineage warfare often resulted. The contending parties frequently sought the armed assistance of other lineage groups, and in this war – especially in the case of major and maximal lineages – one lineage group (the ally of the successful faction) came to exercise rights over the title of another lineage by reason of military aid given. To-day such irreconcilable cases are taken for settlement to the Native Land and Titles Court, which is presided over by a New Zealand judge.

Another solution, when there are rival claimants to a title, is for the lineage to split into separate segments, each with its own *matai*. In such cases the lineage title is shared. One lineage is recognized however as the senior segment, possessing primary rights in all matters affecting the two segments as a lineage of minor span.

The fact that a *matai* is elected to office by the members of his lineage affords us evidence of the ultimate sanction of his authority. His appointment is made in terms of a dogma of succession which is reinforced by a whole gamut of cultural values, but it also depends on the recognition by all lineage members of reciprocal duties and privileges, obligations and rights. In inter-group relations a *matai* usually receives the

unanimous support of his lineage, but in its internal affairs his actions are subjected to constant surveillance, and, if his conduct warrants it, severely adverse criticism.

A *matai*'s right to take action against a recalcitrant lineage member – that is, a member who is failing to observe his recognized obligations – is tacitly, or if the occasion demands it, overtly supported by the other members of the lineage. Should this sanction prove insufficient, a *matai* may take the case before the village *fono*, and the whole weight of village disapproval (with expulsion as its most powerful threat) be made to bear on the unruly individual. On the other hand, should a *matai* consistently or glaringly fail in the performance of his recognized obligations toward the members of his lineage, they can, by the formal withdrawal of their support, compel his disposition.

The Ratification of Matai-ship by the Village Fono

Although a chief is elected to office by the members of his lineage, he does not actually become a *matai* until his appointment has been formally ratified by the village *fono*. This ratification takes place at an important ceremony known as a *saofa'iga*. All of the *matai* of the village assemble at the homestead of the lineage concerned. *Fa'alupega* are recited and orations made. The title is conferred on the lineage's elected candidate in a special kava ceremony in which he receives the first cup – an honour normally reserved for the principal titular chief of the village. The other *matai* present then receive their kava. This ceremony is followed by a feast, the food for which is provided by the new *matai*'s lineage. This feast is a significant event, for it is looked upon as an opportunity for the lineage concerned to publicly demonstrate its solidarity and strength vis-à-vis the other lineage groups of the village. At a *saofa'iga* therefore a lineage's resources are most lavishly expended. As at all Samoan feasts, the quantity of food provided is carefully assessed by the officiating executive chiefs, and announced for all to hear. The number of pigs, sharks, yams, taro corms, etc served on such an occasion are remembered and quoted for many years afterwards.

His *saofa'iga* completed a *matai* becomes his lineage's accredited representative in the village *fono*, entitled to occupy its official seating place whenever the *fono* assembles, and to speak on his lineage's behalf in matters affecting its welfare.

The formal recognition of *matai*-ship is an act of vital importance, for if it so wishes, a *fono* may withhold ratification of a lineage's selected candidate, and so compel another choice to be made. Similarly a village *fono* has the power to expel any one of its members whose conduct it considers sufficiently reprehensible. A case of this kind occurred in Sa'anapu in 1946.

It has for many years been laid down by the *fono* of Sa'anapu that no lineage of the village may either sell or lease any of its land to a European. Early in 1946, Mulitalo Atigi, one of the *matai* of the village, in defiance of this ruling, came to an agreement

with one of the principal European merchants of Apia, to lease a portion of his lineage's land within the village for the erection of a trading-store. The site was surveyed, and work on the foundations of the building commenced. A section of these foundations were found to encroach on the land of another of the leading titular chiefs of the village – land moreover in which some of this chief's lineage ancestors were buried. Other acts of Mulitalo Atigi aggravated this offence. He had, for example, sanctioned the private division of a turtle, instead of taking it before the village *fono* for formal distribution; this was a serious breach of village custom. In June, 1946, a special *fono* was held and the decision reached to expel Mulitalo Atigi from membership. Immediately following the *fono*, four specially appointed executive chiefs assembled outside the Mulitalo homestead and announced the *fono*'s decision.¹ The waiting members of the Mulitalo lineage were told that Mulitalo Atigi had been expelled from the village *fono*; the expulsion affected only Mulitalo Atigi, as an individual, and the *fono* was prepared to recognize the *matai*-ship of any other of its members whom the Mulitalo lineage might choose to elect. In other words the *fono*'s action was directed solely against Mulitalo Atigi as an individual, and the position of the Mulitalo lineage title in the social structure of Sa'anapu village was in no way affected.

Titular and Executive Chiefs

A Samoan chief may be either an *ali'i*, or titular chief, or a *tulafale*, or executive chief.² Each of these types of chieftainship is sharply contrasted in native ideology, and results in a dichotomy that pervades the whole of Samoan social life. It is difficult to sum up the distinction between titular and executive chiefs in a single phrase, but something

¹ The *fono*'s decision was announced by Lauvi Vainu'u in the following words: "O le afioga lenci 'o lo tatou nu'u: fa'auma Atigi ma le faiganu'u, fa'apea fo'i ma le lotu, e o'o i le fa'avavau; e le fa'aaogaina se'i vaganā se'i tasi 'o le fanau fesu'ia'i ma Atigi. E filifili a nofo Sa'anapu, nofo ai, pe alu fo'i sona āiga, se mea malie ai o ia. E le lavea le aiga, taulele'a, fafine, tamaiti, e nonofo ai pea."

Translation: "This is the chiefly decision of our village: Atigi is excluded from village affairs, as also from the Church, until the end of time; (his title) will not again be used except by another lineage member who will follow Atigi. (He may) choose as he pleases to remain in the village, or to go and live with other of his kindred. The rest of the lineage, its untitled male members, its married women, its girls and its children are not affected; they remain without change."

² It is impossible to find exact English equivalents for the terms *ali'i* and *tulafale*. In the past a *tulafale* has been usually described as a "talking-chief," or an "orator." (cf. Mead, Keesing, Buck, etc.). These terms convey however a quite inadequate impression of the varied duties performed by a *tulafale*, and lead to frequent misunderstanding. We propose therefore to refer to the *tulafale* as an *executive chief* – a term which provides a better indication of his role in Samoan society.

Ali'i has been commonly translated as "chief." This usage is also, we believe, an unhappy one. Both *ali'i* and *tulafale* are chiefs, and we propose that the word "chief," should be used as a neutral term applying equally to both *ali'i* and *tulafale*. This plan has definite advantages. For example, it is often necessary to refer to the elected head of a lineage, or to all the chiefs of a village in contexts where status as *ali'i* or *tulafale* is not of any relevance. The *ali'i*, as such, we propose to call a titular chief. This term has the merit that it suggests something of the exalted rank which an *ali'i* is held to possess.

of its nature is suggested if we describe the *ali'i* as 'sacred,' and the *tulafale* as 'profane.' While the *ali'i* possesses an exalted rank with many attendant privileges, and is always addressed in honorific terms, the *tulafale* has none of these elevated rights. Instead he is required to perform a wide range of duties – many of them onerous – which are judged to be 'below the dignity' of a titular chief.

Chiefly titles of both types vary considerably in rank. The sanctions which determine rank are principally genealogical, and the rank of any particular chief depends primarily on the position of the lineage of which he is the elected head, in the total lineage structure of which it is an integral part. Thus the chiefs of highest rank in Samoa are those holding the titles of maximal lineages; and in general, the rank of lesser chiefs varies in proportion to the genealogical distance of their respective lineages from the apex of the maximal lineage of which they are segments.

Titular chiefs, as a class, possess a different kind of rank from that held by executive chiefs. The degree of rank within each class is determined genealogically – as explained above. As between titular and executive chiefs precedence depends on the rank of each title within its own order. For example, in Sa'anapu, the two titles of highest rank are those of 'Anapu, the principal titular chief of the village, and (secondarily) Tuigale'ava, the leading executive chief.

While rank is mainly centred in the person of a chief, it also applies, though to a lesser extent, to all the other members of his lineage. Thus when the untitled men of a village community (the *aumaga*) assemble together, the son or brother of a chief is treated as if he were actually holding the title of his lineage, and on formal occasions is ceremonially addressed exactly as though he were the chief himself.³

The distinction between titular and executive chiefs refers principally to the external order of groups. We have already explained that one of the essential criteria by which the Samoan lineage is defined is the possession of a chiefly title. This means that all the local lineages of every Samoan village community fall into one of two categories:

- (i) lineages having titular chiefs as their *matai*;
- (ii) lineages having executive chiefs as their *matai*.

Within a lineage the chiefly status of its *matai* – be he *ali'i* or *tulafale* – is of lesser importance, and the internal order of both types of lineage show no significant differences. In inter-group relations however, the ascribed status of a lineage's chief is a factor of the greatest consequence prescribing the behaviour of every lineage member.

In inter-group relations titular and executive chiefs are interdependent, and neither

³ See p.111.

type of chief can fulfil his culturally defined role in isolation from the other.⁴ For example, Samoan custom enjoins that in inter-village relations a titular chief may not make public orations, but that this task must be performed by an executive chief acting on the titular chief's behalf. Again, an executive chief must always preside over the distribution of *kava*, and the division of food.

This differentiation of role pervades the whole of inter-group behaviour, and results in a highly standardized relationship between titular and executive chiefs which is best described as symbiotic in character. Listed below in tabular form are some of the principal differences in the status and role of titular and executive chiefs as they were observed to exist in 1943:

ALI'I, or TITULAR CHIEFS	TULAFALE, or EXECUTIVE CHIEFS
1. The right to demand material services of a <i>tulafale</i> . ⁵	The obligation to perform material services for an <i>ali'i</i> .
2. The right to demand the services of a <i>tulafale</i> in making orations.	The obligation to make orations on behalf of <i>ali'i</i> .
3. No such right.	The right to make 'public orations'. ⁶
4. No such right	The right to preside over the division of food and property.
5. The right to demand the services of a <i>tulafale</i> to of food and property.	The obligation to act on behalf of titular chiefs in the division of food and property.
6. The obligation to make <i>lafo</i> (formal presentations of property to <i>tulafale</i> following the performance of special services.	The right to receive <i>lafo</i> ⁷ from <i>ali'i</i> .

⁴ Cf. Schultz, "The Most Important Principles of Samoan Family Law, etc.," J.P.S., vol. XX, p.46: "The relationship in which the 'speakers' (*tulafale*) stand to 'chiefs' (*ali'i*) is called *feagaiga*. (Derived from *feagai*, 'to be opposite one another'). The organic-interdependence of both is indicated by the word *tūa*, a term of respect especially used for high 'speakers' (*tulafale*). *Tūa* is a stock bent at a slight angle, on which pigeons are carried, and denotes in picturesque fashion the prop or support of the chieftainship (*ali'i*)."

⁵ An *ali'i*, for example, can ask a *tulafale* to provide him with property (mats, bark cloth, etc), or food (fish, pigs, etc).

⁶ Samoan custom prescribes that in formal inter-group relations only executive chiefs should make orations. In these relations a titular chief is represented by an executive chief who speaks on his behalf, and under his instructions. For this service the executive chief is duly rewarded. There are occasions however – as in the village *fono* – when titular chiefs are 'permitted' to speak, and do so freely.

⁷ *Lafo* (which take the form of bark cloth, money, etc) are usually given in direct return for special services on the part of *tulafale*. The right to receive *lafo* is also a general contingent right. Thus whenever it is known that a titular has acquired a large amount of property – a marriage dowry, for example – all the *tulafale* of his village community assemble to receive *lafo*.

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| 7. The right to receive 'ailao from <i>tulafale</i> . | The obligation to make 'ailao ⁸ following the presentation of a <i>lafo</i> . |
| 8. The right to certain complimentary forms of address. | No such right. |
| 9. The right to be addressed in honorific language. ⁹ | No such right – in the presence of titular chiefs. |
| 10. No such obligation. | Obligation to supervise the preparation of kava, and its distribution. |
| 11. Right to possess a kava-cup title (<i>igoā ipu</i>). ¹⁰ | No such right. |
| 12. Right to have kava presented in a complimentary manner (<i>Fa'afao le lima</i>). | Kava presented in a less complimentary manner (<i>Fa'ataliaga le lima</i>). |
| 13. Right to hold kava cup in a special manner. | Must not hold kava cup in manner reserved for <i>ali'i</i> . |
| 14. Right to make daughter <i>taupou</i> . ¹¹ | No such right. |
| 15. Right to make son a <i>manaia</i> . ¹² | No such right. |
| 16. Right to wear a <i>tuiga</i> . ¹³ | No such right. |
| 17. Right to a house-site (<i>maota</i>) with a ceremonial name. ¹⁴ | No such right |
| 18. Right to a higher house platform (<i>paepae</i>) than a <i>tulafale</i> . | Must have a house platform lower than neighbouring <i>ali'i</i> . |

⁸ To 'ailao is to acknowledge thanks by standing on a house platform and shouting three times in a loud voice (so that all may hear) the chiefly title and the *taupou* name of an *ali'i*. The *ali'i* – *tulafale* relationship frequently operates beyond the bounds of the village community. For example, early one morning in January, 1943, Ama, the principal titular chief of the village of Lotofagā (one of the villages of the Sa Tunumafono), called at the homestead of Lalogafau, one of the executive chiefs of Sa'anapu, and asked for a mat to take to a marriage ceremony to which he was going in a neighbouring district. The mat was given to him. Three days later when he was returning to his own village, he called at Sa'anapu and presented Fa'asami, the wife of Lalogafau, with a *lafo* of 2/-. As he was leaving Fa'asami stood on the platform of her house and intoned the words: "Ama e, Ama e, Ama e; Poto e, Poto e, Poto e; Fa'afetai fa'aea faleupolu." This followed the usual form of an 'ailao. The *ali'i*'s title is shouted three times; and then similarly his *taupou* name (i.e. Poto). This is followed by the phrase: "Fa'afetai fa'aea faleupolu;" which has the literal meaning: "Thanks for raising up the executive chiefs (i.e. as a group)."

⁹ The Samoan language contains a series of specific nouns and verbs which are reserved for use in the presence of, and for referring to titular chiefs. These terms are also used to refer to a titular chief's wife, and to the members of his lineage. For example the term used to describe a titular chief's head is *ao*, while the ordinary term, *ulu* is used for describing an executive chief's head. Similarly, to weep, of a titular chief is *tutulu*; while the word used for an executive chief is *uagi*.

¹⁰ See p.96 seq.

¹¹ See p.119 seq.

¹² See p.116.

¹³ A *tuiga* is a head-dress of bleached human hair worn on ceremonial occasions by titular chiefs and members of their lineages. With but rare exceptions (see p.32) its use is forbidden to executive chiefs.

¹⁴ The house-site (*maota*) of a titular chief is constantly referred to on ceremonial occasions by its traditional name, which is regarded as forming a part of a titular chief's *fa'alupega*, or honorific titles. While some *tulafale* possess house-sites (*laoa*) with special names, these do not assume ceremonial importance.

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| 19. Right to most favoured portions of pig, fowl, turtle, shark, bonito, mullet, etc. ¹⁵ | Receives less favoured portions. |
| 20. Right to have food served in a special manner. ¹⁶ | No such right. |
| 21. Right to special funeral rites. | No such right. |
| 22. Right to sit in a special manner (<i>nape vae</i>). | Must not sit (when in their company) in the manner reserved for <i>ali'i</i> . |

The Matai of Sa'anapu Village

We now pass to an examination of *matai*-ship in Sa'anapu village. In 1943 there were in Sa'anapu twenty-three *matai* of varying rank. Thirteen were titular chiefs, and ten, executive chiefs. The mean average age of these twenty-three *matai* was 53 years with a range as follows:

Age (in years)	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70
No. of <i>matai</i> :	5	4	4	1	3	3	3

The proportion of *matai* to adult males was high. In January, 1943, the total male population of Sa'anapu (15 years of age and over) was 110,¹⁷ which means that there was one *matai* to 3.7 untitled adult males.¹⁸ There were only ten men 40 years of age and over who were not *matai*.

The mean average age at succession to chieftainship was 37 years,¹⁹ and taking all twenty-three cases the variation in type of succession was as shown in the following table:

¹⁵ See p.134 seq.

¹⁶ For example, a titular chief has his *fa'ausi* (a taro dish) served on a specially plaited coconut frond platter (*mailo*), while an executive chief receives his on a piece of wild banana leaf. The diffusion of European material culture has resulted in a number of innovations. In Samoa to-day, a titular chief is served his cocoa (which is widely cultivated as a cash crop) in a china cup and saucer, while an executive chief receives his in an enamel or tin mug. Again, in some villages only titular chiefs are permitted to own European type beds.

¹⁷ All three categories, lineage members, maternal kin, and affines are included.

¹⁸ The Government census of September 25th., 1945 shows that in the whole of Western Samoa there were 3,497 *matai*, and 12,989 untitled men (*taulele'a*) 15 years of age and over. For Western Samoa as a whole the proportion of *matai* to untitled adult males is thus the same as for Sa'anapu: 1 to 3.7.

¹⁹ The range in age at succession was as follows:

Age at Succession. (in years)	27-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50
Incidence	3	5	9	5	1

TABLE XVI

Type of Succession	Titular Chiefs	Executive Chiefs	Total
Filial	7	5	12
Agnatic			
Fraternal	1	3	4
Sororal (i.e. through female sibling of the agnatic line.)	3	2	5
Adoption	1	-	1
Through affinal relationship	1	-	1

Agnatic succession (amounting to 70% of all cases) we have divided into two sub-types:

- (i) filial;
- (ii) fraternal.

By filial succession we mean succession in the agnatic line from father to son; and by fraternal succession the transmission of a lineage title from one male sibling to another.

Ten of the twelve instances of filial succession were cases of primogeniture (*suli moni*). It is interesting to note moreover that all of the principal titles of Sa'anapu had been acquired by right of primogeniture. These were the titles:

<i>Titular Chiefs</i>	'Anapu, Mati, Mulitalo, Lea'anā, Tuigamala, Tuiafelolo.
<i>Executive Chiefs:</i>	Tuigale'ava, Lauvī, Le Sā, Alo.

A number of the lineages possessing these titles were divided into two or more segments, but in each case a senior segment having primary rights over the lineage title was recognized. It was in these senior lineages (the main agnatic line) that primogeniture was the type of succession in force. The other types of succession listed in the Table have been followed, in the main, to permit segmentation.

A type of succession which deserves special discussion is that which passes through a female sibling of the agnatic line, and which we propose to term sororal succession. This kind of succession arises from the special relationship existing in Samoan society

between siblings of the opposite sex. As already explained, the male sibling group of a lineage are known as *tama tane*, and the female sibling group as *tama fafine*. The senior woman of the *tama fafine* group is recognized as its 'leader' and is given the special name of *feagaiga*, or *ilamutu*. This woman's son is known as a *tama sa*. The relationship between male and female siblings is based on the concept of their equivalence in terms of descent. While primary rights in succession and inheritance rest with the *tama tane* group, the *tama fafine* possess the important subsidiary right of being able to veto the plans and actions of their *tama tane*. Within any given lineage this right is orientated principally with regard to its *matai*. While it is impossible for a sister herself to succeed to her lineage's title, it is possible in certain circumstances, for her son to do so.

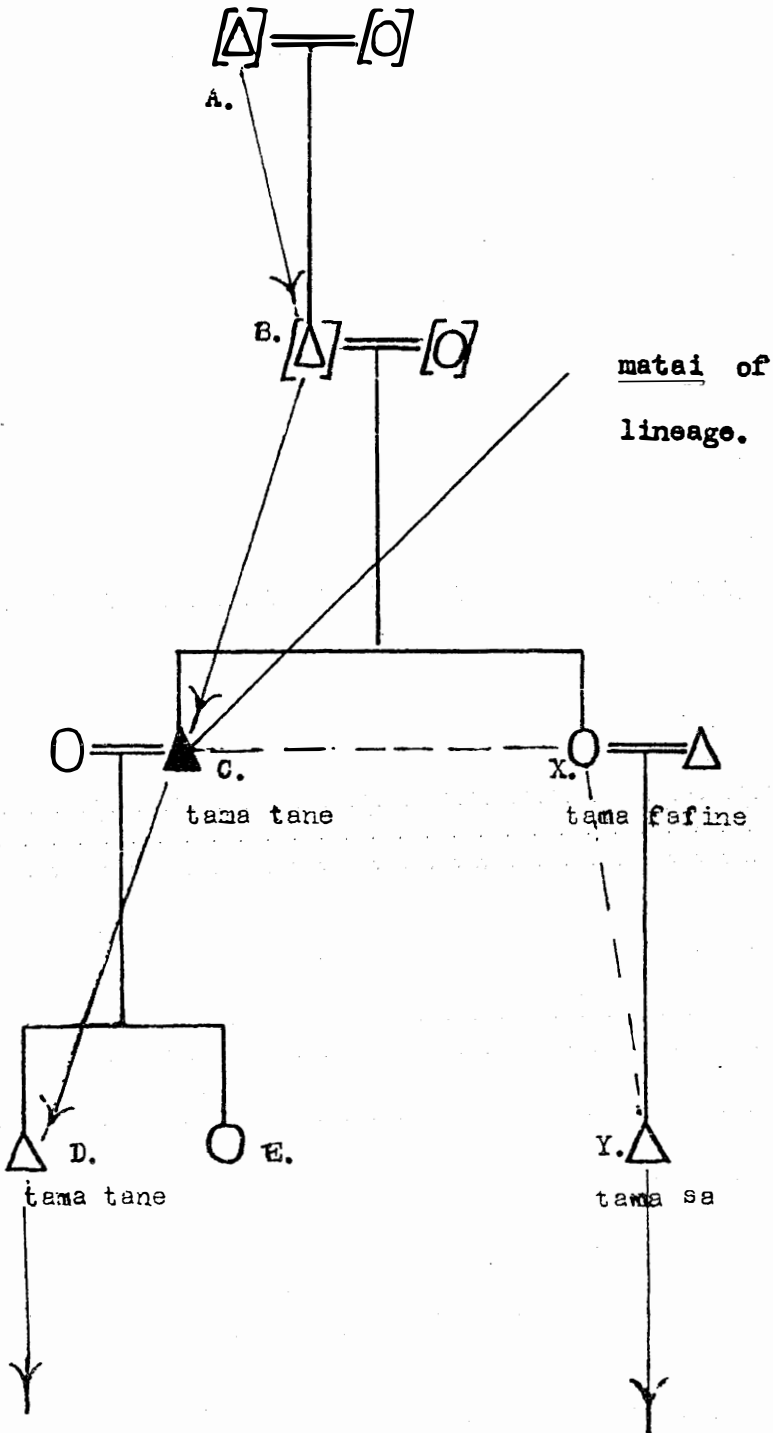
This situation is illustrated in the diagram that follows [see below].

In this diagram, the main line of agnatic succession is shown as passing from A to B, to C, to D. Either during C's lifetime (i.e. before his son D has succeeded to the lineage title), or at some time following his death, it is possible for segmentation to occur. In this case the right to use the lineage title (though in a subsidiary capacity) passes from C, through his sister X to her son Y. It is this event which we are terming sororal succession. It is important to note that this type of succession arises directly from the *tama tane* – *tama fafine* relationship existing between C and X, and further that segmentation can only occur either during the lifetimes of C and X, or shortly following their deaths, when the rights based on their equivalence as siblings are at their strongest. In the course of time, as one *matai* succeeds another, old *tama tane* - *tama fafine* relationships atrophy and pass into abeyance, while new relationships arise to take their place. For example if segmentation does not occur at the generations level of C and X, it would be impossible in later years for Y's son to lay claim to the lineage title, for a new and more potent *tama tane* – *tama fafine* relationship would have then arisen between D (the *matai* of the lineage) and his sister E, and their offspring.

This type of succession, which we have termed sororal, cannot, we would submit, be legitimately construed as affording evidence of a 'matrilineal principle' in Samoan society. While it is true that a *tama sa* receives his title through his mother, this woman is regarded by all concerned as a member of the agnatic line of the lineage concerned. From the point of view of the lineage as a whole, sororal succession, at the time when it occurs, is entirely consistent with the agnatic principles upon which the Samoan lineage system is founded.

There were in Sa'anapu village five cases of sororal succession. In four of these five instances the *tama sa* concerned was a man of outstanding ability. This fact leads to the further point that segmentation through sororal succession rarely occurs unless the sister's son, by reason of his achieved status, is especially fitted for *matai*-ship. This is well illustrated in the case of the principal segment of the Mulitalo lineage of Sa'anapu

SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM



village. Mulitalo Ueese succeeded (by right of primogeniture) to the *matai*-ship of this lineage in 1913 as a man of about 40 years. In 1942, after having directed the lineage's affairs for twenty-nine years, he decided to retire from active leadership, and the title of Mulitalo was given to his sister's son (*tama sa*), a man named Iuma. Iuma, then aged 30 years, was a carpenter (*tufuga*) of outstanding skill, renowned throughout Samoa for his ability as a house-builder.²⁰

At this time Ueese had no surviving brothers, and his eldest son was only twenty-four years of age. The only other possible successor was Iuta (aged 40 years), the son of Ueese's brother, but Iuma, whose claims as *tama sa* were greatly enhanced by his achieved status was finally selected.²¹ So that Ueese might remain a *matai*, and still participate in the village *fono*, a new title, Ali'i Muamua, was especially created for him by the Mulitalo lineage, and formally ratified by the other *matai* of the village. A kava-cup title – "*Aiga fealofani*," was also devised, to be used by Ali'i Muamua. "*Aiga fealofani*," which has the meaning of "congenial lineage," was intended to symbolize the harmonious relations existing within the Mulitalo lineage. The two lineage segments (headed by Mulitalo Iuma, and Ali'i Muamua) remained as one household, with Mulitalo Iuma responsible for planning its affairs.

While Ali'i Muamua had retired²² from the active leadership of his lineage household, he still participated fully in all the activities of the Sa'anapu village *fono*. It is noteworthy however that he did so as a quite new social person. For some twenty-nine years he had taken part in the *fono*'s deliberations as Mulitalo Ueese, and had acted as the principal representative and spokesman of the Mulitalo minor lineage; following his retirement, this role was taken over by Mulitalo Iuma. Mulitalo Ueese as a jural personality had ceased to exist, and in his stead stood a new person with distinctly different rights and obligations. This example is one of many which could be quoted to demonstrate the manner in which Samoans discriminate between an individual and his status. This distinction pervades the whole of Samoan thinking, and almost all their social theorizing is in terms of jural personalities structurally defined.

The two remaining types of succession observed in Sa'anapu (i.e. through adoption and through affinity) have already been discussed.

²⁰ In Samoa, house-building is looked upon as the principal male skill, and a *tufuga* or qualified carpenter is paid the greatest deference, even when he is an untitled man. Iuma was a *tufuga* of the first order, having built some of the best houses in all Samoa.

²¹ On Ali'i Muamua's death it is probable that one of his sons will succeed to the Mulitalo title, thus preserving intact the main agnatic line of succession. Mulitalo Iuma will probably then set up a household of his own.

²² cf. Schultz, "The Most Important Principles of Samoan Family Law," J.P.S., vol XX, p.44: "It not infrequently occurs that an aged *matai* hands over both the name and power (*pule*) to his successor and retires from active life.... He receives the honourable title of "*o le fa'atonu tonu folau*" (i.e. "an old 'sea-expert,' who, owing to physical weakness, can no longer take charge of the rudder, but who, sitting next to the steers-man, watches wind and weather, and now and then gives commands.") This poetical expression means that the family listens still to the orders and advice of the old man."

PART II

Chapter VIII

The Seating – Plan of the Village Fono

In Chapter III we discussed the principal genealogical linkages that are imputed to exist among the lineages of Sa'anapu village. These lineage relationships find expression in a number of institutions, the foremost of which is the *fono*. The personnel of this important institution is recruited exclusively from village *matai*. We may define the *fono* then as a formal assembly of the elected heads of the local minimal lineages of a village community. Every village *fono* has a specific charter, dependent in the main on genealogical sanctions. Thus the status of any given lineage *matai* in the Sa'anapu *fono* is determined by the genealogical position of his lineage in the total lineage structure of the Sa'anapu community. This position is concretely defined in a manner which strikingly illustrates native concepts of village social structure.

Every Samoan *fono*¹ has a specific seating-order based on the ground plan of the *fale tele*, or round house. As already explained, a *fale tele* is built on an almost circular base. Three massive central posts bear the main weight of the domed roof which at its perimeter has the additional support of stout wall posts regularly spaced at intervals of about three feet.

As far as possible a *fono* is always held in a *fale tele*. The *matai* present sit cross-legged on pandanus mats at the wall posts which mark the perimeter of the house. The position that each *matai* takes up is prescribed by a rigidly conceived seating-order.

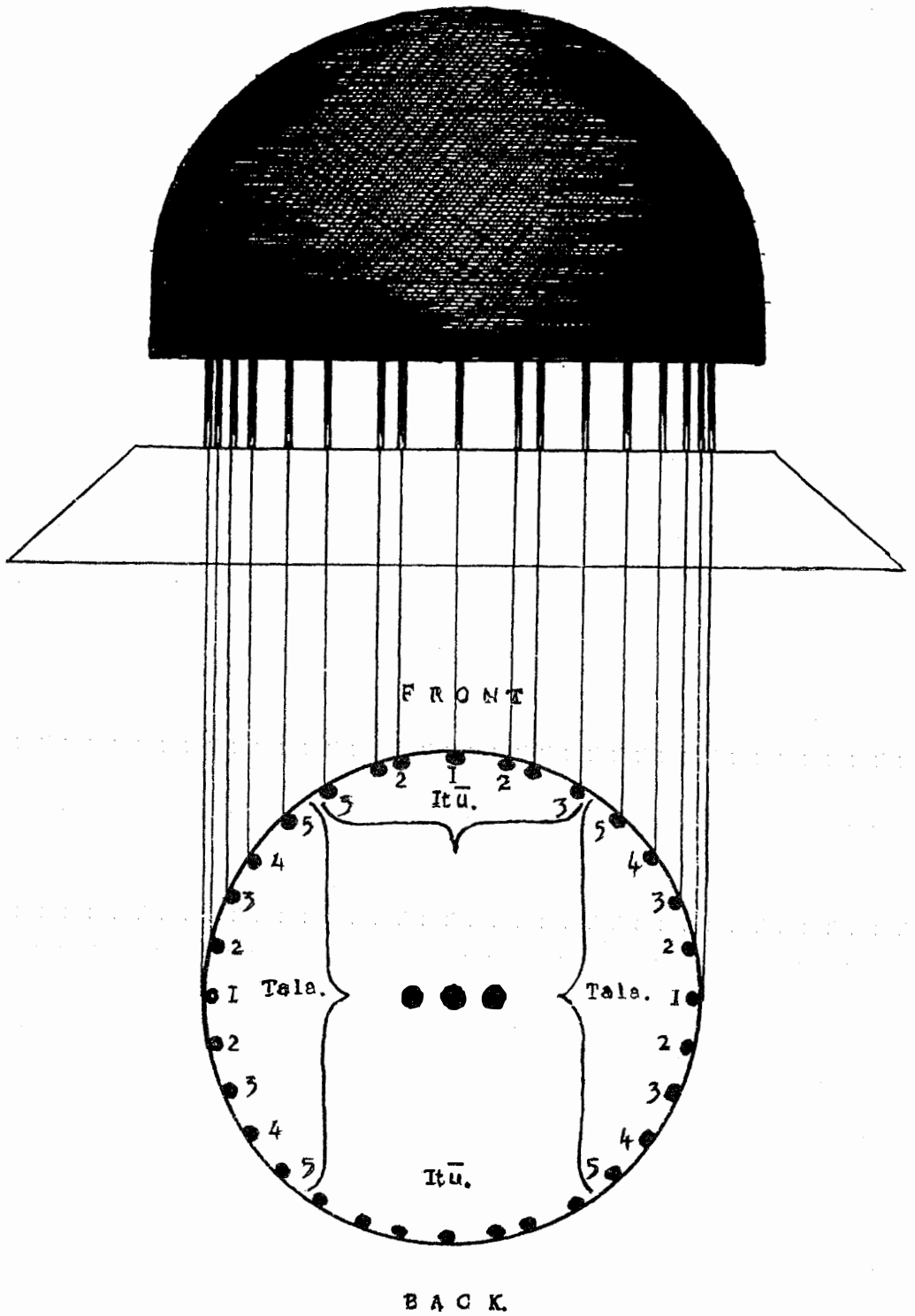
Every *fale tele* is divided into clearly defined sections as shown in the following diagram [see below].

The wall posts of the central section of a *fale tele* (known as the *itu*), are reserved for *tulafale*, or executive chiefs; while the posts of the two lateral sections (known as *tala*), are kept for *ali'i*, or titular chiefs. Within each section the central wall post is of principal importance,² and the posts on either side of this central position decrease in importance in proportion to their distance from it. This has been shown in the diagram

¹ In the chapter that follows we shall be discussing only the *fono* of the village community. *Fono* also occur however at higher levels in the Samoan lineage structure. There is, for example, a recognized seating-order and *fa'alupega* for the *fono* of the major lineage of Sa Tunumafono, of which Sa'anapu forms a part.

² The central wall post of the *itu* is known as "o le pou tu fia tolu"; and that of the *tala* is "o le pou 'o le matua tala."

DRAWING OF FALE



by numbering the posts in each section.³ Within each *tala* the posts extending towards the front of the house take precedence over the equivalent posts in the rear section. Within the *itu*, the front is all-important, the back portion of the house being used for the preparation of kava, the division of food, and the other duties that fall to the lot of executive chiefs.

The seating-order of every *fono* is adapted to this general plan, within the boundaries of which there is ample scope for expressing the variations in village social structure that exist throughout Samoa. Furthermore, the fact that all *fale tele* are of the same architecture means that the seating-order of a *fono* may be followed in any *fale tele* of the village.

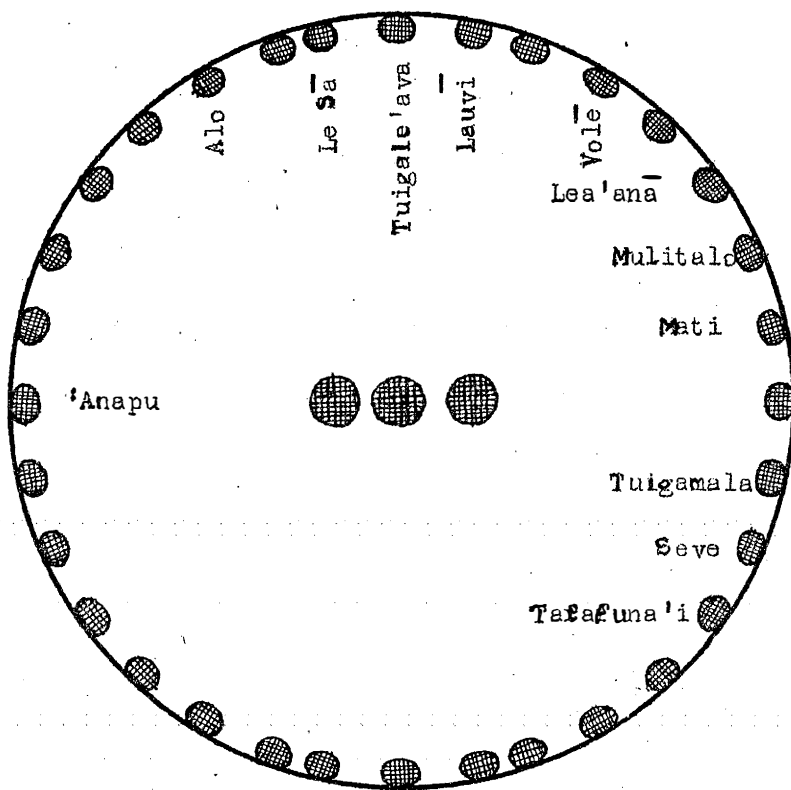
We may now consider the seating-plan (*saofa'iga*) of Sa'anapu village itself. The version given in the accompanying diagram was drawn up from information collected from three of the leading executive chiefs of Sa'anapu, and was later formally approved by the village *fono* as a whole.

In the Sa'anapu seating-plan the premiership of the 'Anapu title is expressed by allotting to its holder the central post of one of the *tala*.⁴ All the other titular chiefs of the village sit at posts on the opposite side of the house, none of them being accorded the honour of being in the same *tala* as 'Anapu himself. Moreover the post directly facing that of 'Anapu is left unoccupied in added recognition of the 'Anapu lineage's ascendancy. On either side of this vacant position the other titular chiefs of the village are arranged, pride of place falling to the lineages composing the To'alima. The To'alima (Mati, Mulitalo, Lea'anā, Seve and Tafafuna'i), as already explained, are descended from the five sons of La'a. Within the To'alima there is lack of agreement as to the relative seniority of its component lineages (based on the order of birth of their founding ancestors), and they form therefore a group with virtually equivalent rights and privileges. This means that within the To'alima there is no strict rule as to seating order. Thus the positions allotted to the Lea'anā and Mulitalo lineages for example, are interchangeable. In 1943 however, Mati Meatasa, the senior *matai* of the Mati lineage, was recognized as the leader of the To'alima, and he is shown as occupying (as he always did), the principal of the five To'alima posts. Mati Meatasa's leadership was a personal and temporary one arising from his marked seniority in age (he was a man of 70 years), and his achieved status. This leadership was not regarded as permanently affecting the relationships of the To'alima lineages. On Mati Meatasa's death, for example, leadership will be assumed by another of the To'alima *matai* whose age, ability and experience is generally recognized as fitting him for the task.

³ The number of wall posts shown in the diagram is slightly fewer than in most *fale tele*. We should make it clear that the Samoans themselves do not actually number the posts of their *fale tele*. The order of importance ascribed to the various posts is however most conveniently explained by recourse to this method.

⁴ Both *tala* are of equal status, and 'Anapu may occupy either as he pleases.

DIAGRAM OF CIRCULAR SEATING PLAN



Next in order of precedence to the To'alima is the Tuigamala lineage, whose post, it will be observed, is in a position slightly inferior to that of the principal post of the To'alima lineages. Least important of all is the post allotted to the lowest ranking of the Sa'anapu titular chiefs – Tuiafelolo.

The executive chiefs of Sa'anapu are confined to the *itu*. They are thus contrasted as a group with the titular chiefs of the village who occupy the *tala*. This spatial arrangement expresses clearly the polarity that characterizes the relationship of the executive chiefs of Sa'anapu as a group, with the titular chiefs as a group. Within the *itu* the structural positions of the executive chiefs of the village are differentiated. Tuigale'ava, the highest ranking executive chief of Sa'anapu, occupies the central post, and on either side of him sit Lauvī and Le Sā. These three titles form the Fale Tolu, which is the most powerful *tulafale* grouping in the village. Less important posts are allotted to Alo and Volē; while these titles are excluded from the Fale Tolu, they possess considerable status in their own right.

The *fono* seating-plan of Sa'anapu gives expression to only the principal inter-lineage relationships of the village. No allowance is made, it will be noted, for the separate representation of the minimal segments of minor lineages. In all cases where such segmentation has occurred, it is the *matai* of the senior segment (i.e. the main agnatic line) who occupies his lineage's allotted *fono* position. Thus, for example, it is Mati Meatasa who represents the Mati lineage as a whole, Mati Saitia (who succeeded to his title as the adopted son of Mati Meatasa's father's sister) sits at any *tala* wall post that happens to be vacant, or if all the wall posts be occupied, in a space between two of them.

The Sa'anapu *fono* seating-plan, as we have recorded it, represents a formulation in spatial terms of the relationships existing among the various lineages of the village. Furthermore, it is a formulation which, in the course of time, has been evolved by the people of Sa'anapu themselves. This fact demonstrates that the people of Sa'anapu (as of all Samoan villages) have a clear conception of the social structure of their community. To this important point we shall return later.

As we have seen, a Samoan *fono* consists of a formal arrangement of lineage titles. At any given time most of these titles are held by individuals,⁵ but sociologically viewed a *fono* is made up not of individuals but of social persons; that is, of specifically defined positions within the total social structure of the village community concerned. Thus while the individuals composing a *fono* die and are replaced by other individuals, the relationships between lineage titles persist relatively unchanged from one generation to another.

The distinction between an individual as such, and his position as a social person

⁵ It will be noted that three titles included in the Sa'anapu seating-plan – Tafafuna'i, Seve, and Volē – were not actually held by an individual in 1943. Despite this they were included in the seating-plan by the *matai* of the village.

is understood by all Samoans. As an example, we may take the case of one of the lesser executive chiefs of Sa'anapu who in 1943 was holding the title of Tiulama. Tiulama was a *tama sa* of the Alo lineage of Sa'anapu. In about the year 1918, as an untitled man, he married a woman named Foliga, of Mutiatele village situated at the eastern end of Upolu, and took up matrilineal residence. After some years he succeeded to the minor *ali'i* title of Seiuli, the rights over which were held by his wife's patri-lineage. In about 1939, as a man of some 46 years of age, he returned to Sa'anapu village with his wife and family and built a homestead of his own on a part of the land owned by the Alo lineage. His status as a titular chief (bearing the title of Seiuli, of Mutiatele village) was recognized in Sa'anapu village, and in all his relations with the *matai* of Sa'anapu he was treated as an *ali'i*, addressed as "*Lau Susuga Seiuli*," and accorded all the rights and privileges due to a titular chief. This status applied also to his wife and family. Seiuli (as Tiulama then was) was permitted the courtesy of attending the Sa'anapu *fono*. He joined in kava ceremonies, and had his kava announced and presented in the manner reserved for titular chiefs, but he was not able to enter into any of the *fono's* formal deliberations. In 1943, the Alo lineage decided to rectify this position and Seiuli was offered the title of Tiulama.⁶ This he accepted, renouncing all rights to the Seiuli title. At a *saofa'iga* held in March, 1943, this appointment was ratified by the Sa'anapu *matai*, and Tiulama became a full member of the Sa'anapu *fono*. The title of Tiulama however was that of an executive chief. This meant a complete reversal in status and role. The individual who for many years had been treated in all contexts as a titular chief became over-night a totally different social person, with an entirely new set of rights and obligations. A similar change was involved for Tiulama's wife and children. To the people of Sa'anapu this transformation was readily understandable, and aroused no special comment, for it was wholly consistent with the concepts upon which all Samoan social behaviour is based.

⁶ The name Tiulama is an *igoa tautai* (master fisherman's title) belonging to the Alo lineage. Its use as a *matai* name is tantamount to the creation of a new title. Although the Tiulama title is now included in the Sa'anapu *fono*, its holder is allotted no special post, but sits at the rear of the *itu* with the other lesser *tulafale* of the village.

Chapter IX

The Fa'alupega of Sa'anapu Village

The lineage structure of a Samoan village community is also expressed in its *fa'alupega*. A *fa'alupega* is a set of honorific phrases which are recited at all village *fono*, and on all other formal social occasions. Each lineage group of importance in a village community possesses its own *fa'alupega*. Moreover the possession of a *fa'alupega* that is recognized by the village *fono* is one of the principal sanctions of a lineage's structural position. All of the *fa'alupega* of a village community are arranged in a strict order of precedence corresponding exactly with the seating order of its *fono*. Indeed the *fono* seating-plan and the *fa'alupega* of a village community are both formulations of the same basic structural relationships. However while the seating-plan can only be followed at *fono* meetings, *fa'alupega* may be used in all social situations. Despite this wider applicability, *fa'alupega* achieve their greatest prominence within the boundaries of the *fono*. For example, when a lineage *matai* enters the village *fono* all conversation is broken off until he takes up his appointed place. As soon as he is seated, all the other *matai* present chant his *fa'alupega* in unison. It then falls to the newcomer to reciprocate this courtesy by reciting, in strict order of precedence, the *fa'alupega* of all the lineages (other than his own) represented at the *fono*. This elaborate procedure follows the arrival of each *matai* until the whole *fono* is assembled, and is gone through again immediately prior to its dispersal. All speeches made at the *fono*, begin and end (and are frequently punctuated with) the conventional declamation of *fa'alupega*.

Beyond the *fono*, Samoan etiquette demands the recitation of *fa'alupega* on all occasions other than the most informal. The rigour of Samoan custom in this matter is astonishing. Thus when a *matai* visits the house of a neighbouring lineage, with whose members he has been on terms of close personal intimacy for many years, there is still a formal recitation of *fa'alupega*.

The possession of a *fa'alupega* of its own is the chief criterion of a village community's autonomy, and the measure of its position in the wider social structure of which it is a part. *Fa'alupega* extend over the whole range of the Samoan lineage system, and operate at all levels of segmentation. Furthermore, almost all *fa'alupega* are couched in genealogical terms, and they thus become the mnemonics of the lineage

structure, defining in precise and convenient terms lineage inter-relationships. For example there is one *fa'alupega* applying to the major lineage of Sa Tunumafono as a whole, and five separate *fa'alupega* applying to each of the five village communities (Vaie'e, Nu'usuatia, Lotofagā, Sataoa and Sa'anapu) into which the Sa Tunumafono is today divided. A party of Sa'anapu chiefs travelling in another part of Samoa are often addressed with the *fa'alupega* of the Sa Tunumafono as a whole, for in this way their position in the wider lineage structure of western Samoa is fixed. In their own district however, the *fa'alupega* of their own minor or minimal lineages are used, for in this context it becomes necessary to define their position within the Sa Tunumafono itself. This example is also an illustration of the manner in which order of segmentation determines the emergence of groups.

It is difficult to convey in words the extraordinary pre-occupation with *fa'alupega* that pervades the whole of Samoan society. A knowledge of the *fa'alupega* of his village, his district, his island, and indeed of the whole Samoan archipelago, is indispensable to any *matai* who is to move with assurance and success through the varying social situations that confront him from day to day and year to year. The intricate ramifications of the total lineage structure of Samoa provide moreover a field of inexhaustible interest for native savants. It is only through long years of patient enquiry that a man can hope to master its more detailed complexities, but no subject is more dear to a Samoan's heart, and no knowledge is more highly esteemed.

The *fa'alupega* in general use in Sa'anapu village in 1943 was as follows:

Titular Chiefs:

Afio mai lau Afioa le Sa'o – 'o le Tama a le Malō.

Afio mai le To'alima 'o 'ou Alo.

Afio mai le Ma'upū 'o Tui A'ana.

Susu mai Tuiafelolo.

Executive Chiefs:

Tulouna a le Fale Tolu.

Tulouna a lau Fetalaiga Tuigale'ava – le Igoa Matua.

Tulouna a le Nofu i Ituāiga i le Fale Tolu.

Tulouna a 'oulua Aiga e Lua.

It is difficult to express in another language the nuances in meaning and feeling of these honorific phrases. In the translation that follows, we have tried – without distorting the sense – to preserve something of the original's atmosphere.

Titular Chiefs:

Honour to the Exalted and Noble Name of 'Anapu – Born of Conquerors.

Honour to His Five Chiefly Sons (i.e. Mati, Mulitalo, Lea'anā, Tafafuna'i and Seve).

Honour to Tuigamala – the Sister's Son, the Appointed One of Tui A'ana.
Homage to Tuiafelolo.

Executive Chiefs:

Respect to the House of Three.

Respect to His Utterance Tuigale'ava – of Senior Name.

Respect to the Segments of the House of Three (i.e. Le Sā and Lauvī).

Respect to the Lineage of Two (i.e. Alo and Volē)

It will be noted that the order of precedence of the Sa'anapu *fa'alupega* is identical with that of the seating-plan discussed. As with the seating-plan there is a clear distinction made between titular and executive chiefs. The *fa'alupega* of the titular chiefs is always recited before that of the executive chiefs – and in the order shown. No attempt is made to give separate recognition to the minimal segments of minor lineages. For example both the Sa Tuigamala Mafiti and the Sa Tuigamala Tulū are included under the one honorific phrase: "*Afio mai le Ma'upu'o Tui A'ana.*"

Like the seating-plan we have already discussed, the *fa'alupega* of Sa'anapu is an expression in concrete terms of the fundamental lineage relationships of the village, and represents the villagers' own formulation of the basic social structure of their community. This institutionalized expression of structural relationships in *fa'alupega* and seating-plans is largely responsible, we would submit, for the marked stability that characterizes Samoan society even after prolonged contact with Europeans. The *fa'alupega* of a village is readily transmitted from one generation to another. Its continual use in all manner of social situations means that all the adult members of a village are fully conversant with the principal structural relationships of their community. Indeed, by reason of attending *fono* with their *matai*, quite young children (i.e. from seven years of age onwards) often come to develop a good understanding of their village *fa'alupega*. As a young man reaches maturity this knowledge, imperceptibly acquired in childhood and youth, becomes of vital importance, for as a member of the village *aumaga* he is frequently called upon to act as a cup-bearer to kava ceremonies, to announce food presentations at village feasts, and to perform the division of pigs, sharks, turtles, etc. The execution of all these tasks depends on a thorough knowledge of the *fa'alupega* of his village.

In multifarious ways the fundamental structural relationships in a village become embedded in the minds of its members. As the senior members of a community grow old and die, young men and women reach maturity and become the carriers of its social traditions. Because village social structure is so explicitly and precisely formulated (in *fa'alupega*, seating-plans, etc) any changes in its fundamental nature are severely inhibited. For example, a change in seating-order, and *fa'alupega* precedence can only be effected by the formal and overt approval of the village *fono* as a whole. At all times however each lineage group vigilantly guards its own rights and privileges.

Chapter X

The Kava Ceremony in Sa'anapu

We have now described briefly the seating-plan and the *fa'alupega* of the Sa'anapu village community. Both these formulations of the principal structural relationships of Sa'anapu village receive their most punctilious expression in the formal *kava* ceremony with which all meetings of the village *fono* commence.

Kava is made from the dried root of the *Piper methysticum*. The root is pounded between two stones, and then infused in water in a large four-legged wooden bowl.¹ This process is commonly performed by members of the *aumaga*, but on important occasions a girl (preferably a *taupou*, or the daughter of a titular chief) is called in to do the actual mixing. The whole preparation is under the direct supervision of a specially deputed group of executive chiefs. The kava bowl is set up at the back of the house in which the *fono* is being held – in the centre of the *itu*. While the preparation is going on, *fa'alupega* are being recited and speeches made by the assembled *matai*. When the root has been thoroughly pulverized it is carried into the house in a fresh leaf and placed in the kava bowl (*tanoa*) behind which the *taupou* is sitting with crossed legs and freshly-washed hands. On her immediate right sits a young man (*'o le tama sui vai*) with a large container full of water. As required he ladles the water into the kava bowl with a coconut shell cup. The mixing is done with a mass of shredded bast (*fau*) which is used to strain away the pulverized root as the kava is gradually infused. The movements followed by the *taupou* are standardized, but they are invariably performed with great gracefulness and aplomb. After kneading the pounded root lying immersed in the bowl, the *taupou* raises the bast strainer in both hands to breast height, folds it carefully, wrings it out, wipes away the particles which have gathered on the edges of the bowl, and then swiftly and nonchalantly tosses it over her shoulder to another young man (*'o le tama ta fau*) who is standing on the house platform waiting to catch it. With vigorous flicking movements he shakes the debris from the strainer and hands it back to the *taupou*. This process is repeated until every particle of pulverized root has disappeared. Her task done, the *taupou* sits erect but motionless with her hands resting

¹ In former times the kava root was chewed by members of the *aumaga* or *aualuma*. This custom has disappeared mainly owing to missionary influence. Many kava bowls now have more than four legs.

lightly on the edges of the bowl.

The kava ceremony proper is now ready to begin. In a high-pitched and sonorous voice the officiating executive chief announces that the kava is ready for distribution: "O le agatonu 'ua usi 'o le fa'asoaso'a ... tula'i se soli alofi..." ("The kava is strained ... it will now be distributed ... let the ceremony begin ..."). Sitting cross-legged at their respective wall posts all of the *matai* slowly and sedately clap their hands in unison for a few seconds. The appointed cup-bearer ('o le tama fa'asoa 'ava), stoops to the kava bowl, fills the coconut cup held in his right hand and stands with it poised about a foot in front of him, and at about head level. With style born of long experience the officiating executive chief proclaims the title of the *matai* who is to receive this, the first cup of the ceremony. The cup-bearer steps briskly but gracefully forward and with a flourish of his arm presents the cup to the *matai* whose name has been announced. The *matai* accepts the cup in silence. Pausing a moment he pours a libation on the pebbled floor before him. If the occasion is an important one he will quite often recite the *fa'alupega* of all the other chiefs assembled; then with a final blessing on all present he drinks the kava, and hands the cup back to the bearer who has been waiting at a respectful distance. The cup-bearer returns to the bowl, refills the cup, and stands ready for the next recipient's title to be proclaimed.

After all the *matai* have received their kava, the ceremony is brought swiftly to a close. Once more the officiating *tulafale* intones the necessary ritual phrases: "'o le agatonu 'ua motu ... 'ua mativa le fau ... 'ua papa'u le laulau a Tumua 'ua ma fa'alaulauina ma le tautu ona toe ..." ("The ceremony is broken of ... the bast strainer is impoverished ... exhausted is the kava of Tumua which we have distributed ..."). The *taupou* and young men who have assisted in the ceremony quickly retire and the business of the *fono* begins.

A kava ceremony provides several ways for the formal recognition of structural position. The principal of these is order of distribution. Thus the first cup to be announced is of prime distinction. Next to this – in Sa'anapu at least – comes the last cup. The remaining cups progressively decrease in importance from the second down to the penultimate. The exact juncture at which any given *matai* receives his kava is determined by the position occupied by his lineage in the total lineage structure of his village. The order of precedence for Sa'anapu village, as expressed in its *fa'alupega* has already been recorded. Although this order is rigorously conceived in theory, minor variations continually occur in practice. Thus the officiating executive chief at a kava ceremony will often pay special tribute to a low ranking *matai* who has just returned to the village after a long absence by announcing his kava (for the particular occasion) at a highly privileged point in the order of precedence. Or conversely a *matai* whose behaviour has been publically condemned by the *fono*, may find himself temporarily relegated to a position of less importance than that to which his lineage's structural position normally entitles him. In the kava ceremony, as in all aspects of their social

life, Samoans delight in subtle and apt variations in the rigid pattern which underlies all their group relations.

In the kava ceremony a sharp distinction is also made between titular and executive chiefs as opposed social classes. Thus each titular chief possesses in his own right a special kava-cup title (*igoā ipu*) which is used whenever his kava is announced. Executive chiefs possess no such right. Again a titular chief's kava-cup title is prefaced by the honorific phrase: "*Lau ipu...*" ("Your cup ..."); while an executive chief's name is preceded by the commonplace words: "*Lau 'ava...*" ("Your kava ..."). Distinctions are also made in the mode of presentation. In the case of titular chiefs the kava-cup is presented with an ostentatious sweep of the hand which ends with the inner surface of the forearm facing towards the recipient (*fa'ataliaga le lima*); while in the case of executive chiefs the cup is offered with no sign of display and with the back of the hand uppermost (*fa'afao le lima*).

The kava-cup titles of titular chiefs are almost all esoteric in nature. Some allude to the memorable feats of arms of former title-holders; others to more general aspects of lineage history. Many are of such antiquity that the exact meaning of the title is not properly understood by the lineages who own them. In this respect some kava-cup titles are predominantly mythological in character. All of them are regarded as important sanctions of a chief's rank.

Listed below are the kava-cup titles of the titular chiefs of Sa'anapu. Each title is followed by a brief note indicating something of its meaning and origin.

<i>Name of Titular Chief</i>	<i>Kava-Cup Title</i>
(i) 'Anapu	" <i>Sā'o Malie ma Vaito'elau, 'au mai 'anava vave ola.</i> "

Note: This title was conferred on the 'Anapu lineage by the important villages of Malie and Afega in recognition of the feats of arms of one of its former *matai* in a war fought in the Atua district of Upolu. With both these villages the Sa Tunumafono (of which the 'Anapu lineage is a segment) has long-standing lineage affiliations. The name of Malie village and of Vaito'elau, the *malae* of Afega, are mentioned in the title.

Translation: "The honour conferred by Malie and Vaito'elau – fetch the war club that springs quickly to action."

(ii) Mati	" <i>Mata-uhu-lā</i> "
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Note: This title refers to a noted event in the traditional history of Sa'anapu village involving Logona-i-tagā, the *manaia* of Sa'anapu, and Vaovase, the *manaia* of Sala'ilua village of Savai'i.

(iii) Mulitalo	" <i>Malō le foua.</i> "
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Translation: "Victors that cannot be overthrown."

(iv) *Lea'anā*: "Tautai logologo lelei."

Note: This title, like that of the 'Anapu lineage was conferred by the Tumua (Malie and Afega) in recognition of prowess in war. The war concerned was fought partly at sea.

Translation: "Sea-expert of good report."

(v) *Tuigamala*: "Fa'anū'u e le eā."

Note: Commemorates the relationship of the Tuigamala lineage with the Sa Tui A'ana.

(vi) *Tuiafelolo* "To'ese i lupe pale."

Note: Refers to the now vanished pastime of pigeon-netting.

A Sa'anapu Kava Ceremony Described

Finally we may take as an example a kava ceremony held in Sa'anapu in January, 1943. The occasion was an important one for it was the first meeting of the new year at which the village *pulenu'u* (Government headman) for the ensuing three years was to be elected. The *fono* was held in the *fale tele* of the Lauvī Vainu'u lineage homestead. Proceedings commenced with the recitation of *fa'alupega*, and a speech by Lauvī Vainu'u, who had held the position of *pulenu'u* during the period 1940-1942. Lauvī was followed by 'Anapu, the principal titular chief of the village. 'Anapu began his speech with a full recitation of the village *fa'alupega*. He spoke of the accomplishments of Mati Meatasa, who had acted as leading titular chief of the village during his ('Anapu's) absence in Apia, and praised at length the work of Lauvī Vainu'u as *pulenu'u*. After a detailed survey of the prospects for the coming year, 'Anapu concluded with a repetition of the Sa'anapu *fa'alupega*.

While these speeches were in progress kava was being mixed by Taufau, a girl of eighteen years of age of the Lauvī Vainu'u lineage. She was assisted by Le Sā Seona, Lalogafau and Auvele, three of the lesser *tulafale* of the village. The officiating executive chief was Lauvī Vela. As soon as 'Anapu had completed his speech the kava ceremony began. The order of distribution was as follows:

- i. 'Anapu
- ii. (a) Mati Meatasa
(b) Mati Saitia
- iii. Lauvī Vainu'u
- iv. (a) Lea'anā Mateo
(b) Lea'anā Fa'alolo
- v. Tuigale'ava

- vi. Le Sā Samuelu
- vii. (a) Mulitalo Atigi
- (b) Mulitalo Iuma.

At the time of the ceremony no *matai* of the Tuigamala or Alo lineages were present. Otherwise all of the principal lineages of the village were represented. One variation in the order of precedence as laid down in the Sa'anapu *fa'alupega* calls for comment. It will be observed that Lauvī Vainu'u was accorded the privilege of receiving his kava before Tuigale'ava, the senior member of the Fale Tolu to which the Lauvī lineage belongs. This courtesy was in recognition of Lauvī Vainu'u's services as *pulenu'u*. During the deliberations that followed the kava ceremony, Lauvī Vainu'u was elected to this position for a further term.²

Another point of interest is the manner in which the *matai* of the segments of a minor lineage receive their kava in immediate succession. In cases where segmentation has occurred the kava-cup title of a lineage is announced once only. The first cup is presented to the *matai* of the senior segment. The cup-bearer then returns to the kava bowl, refills the cup and presents it to the *matai* of the lesser segment. Thus in the case of the Mati lineage, when the officiating *tulafale* Lauvī Vela had made the announcement: "*Lau ipu lenei Mata-ulu lā*." – the first cup was presented to Mati Meatasa (representing the main agnatic line of the Mati lineage), and the second cup (without further announcement) was given to Mati Saitia.

This procedure is a further illustration of the manner in which the structural position of lineage groups dominates Samoan social relations. From the point of view of the other lineages of Sa'anapu village the two segments of the Mati minor lineage form a single structural unit. It is only within the Mati lineage that its component segments emerge as structurally significant groups. We shall encounter further examples of this when we come to discuss the ceremonial division of the pig.

² A *pulenu'u* is the representative of the New Zealand Administration of his village. Appointment to this position does not affect a *matai's* structural position (in lineage terms, Keesing's comment of 1934 still applied in 1943: "... the highest *matai* carefully avoid the honour (of *pulenu'u*) not wishing to risk their popularity and prestige. Instead they customarily elect a *matai* of lower rank who can be depended upon not to 'push' the community too hard and upon whom they can if necessary bring pressure to bear." (Keesing, *Modern Samoa*, 1934, p.161).

Chapter XI

The Fono Fanua and the Fono Manu

The *fono* in which all minimal lineages are represented by their *matai* superintends every aspect of village life. In Sa'anapu two quite distinct types of *fono* were recognized:

- (i) the *fono fanua*, which was concerned with the general social and economic organization of the village.
- (ii) the *fono manu*, a juridical institution.

The *fono fanua*¹ of Sa'anapu village assembled (with but few exceptions) on every Monday morning throughout the year. All meetings commenced with the recitation of *fa'alupega* and a kava ceremony as described. The *matai* of Sa'anapu themselves thought of the topics covered by the *fono* as falling into three main sections:

- (a) *mata'upu fa'alenu'u*: all matters falling under the head of inter-lineage relations within the village. Included in this section were such things as the repair and maintenance of the village church and school house; the building of a new concrete cricket pitch; the entertainment on a village basis of a *malaga* (travelling party from another part of Samoa); and the organization of a communal fishing drive.
- (b) *mata'upu fa'a-le-lau'ele'ele*: matters concerned with the land. As already noted, the *fono* takes an active part in planning the economic life of the village, stipulating what crops are to be grown, etc.
- (c) *mata'upu fa'a-le-Mao*: matters concerning the village in its relations with the New Zealand Administration.

This threefold division was not followed however in the actual deliberations of the *fono*. Rather all topics were discussed in the order of their importance or urgency. Within the *fono fanua* all lineage *matai* are entitled to voice their opinions. In practice only the senior *matai* of the more important lineage groups in the village constantly exercise their deliberative rights. This is consistent with the principles of Samoan village organization as already enunciated. Decisions are not carried by a majority vote.

¹ Lit.: the *fono* of the land.

Indeed 'majority' and 'minority' as voting terms are unknown. Instead the representatives of the principal lineage groupings in the village express their opinions, and discussion is continued until agreement is reached. The weight of any *matai's* opinion in deciding an issue depends on the structural position of his lineage. Thus, in Sa'anapu village it is the opinion of 'Anapu and the To'alima (the principal grouping of titular chiefs), and the Fale Tolu (the principal grouping of executive chiefs) that matters most. If the To'alima and the Fale Tolu, as groups, agree on a point, it is virtually settled, for no other lineage grouping of the village can challenge their joint authority. All that the *matai* of structurally less important lineages can hope to achieve by protestation and temporary non-compliance is some degree of modification in the decision reached.

Before a *fono* takes place (and especially if important issues are at stake) *taupulega* (private consultations) are held by the main lineage groupings concerned and preliminary decisions reached. There is also considerable discussion between groupings. Thus everyone knows beforehand more or less what will be said. At the *fono* the appointed representative of each lineage grouping makes a speech (*lauga*) presenting its point of view and announcing its decision. Unanimity is usually reached with surprising rapidity.

In addition to the contending interests of lineages and lineage blocs, there is also the contraposition of the titular and executive chiefs of a village. In Sa'anapu village each group had its acknowledged spokesman. The collective opinion of the titular chiefs was termed the *tofā 'o le nu'u*, and that of the executive chiefs, the *utaga 'o le nu'u*.² In 1943 the *tofā* of Sa'anapu village rested with Mati Meatasa (the senior *matai* of the To'alima lineages), and the *utaga* with Lauvī Vainu'u (of the Fale Tolu). In the absence of 'Anapu (who was living in Apia) the acknowledgement of Mati Meatasa as the leading titular chief of Sa'anapu was entirely consistent with the lineage structure as we have described it. The recognition of Lauvī Vainu'u as leading executive chief requires a word of explanation. Strictly the *utaga* of the village should have rested with Tuigale'ava, the senior *tulafale* of the Fale Tolu. In 1943 however the holder of the Tuigale'ava title was a blind and enfeebled old man of over 70 years of age. Such was his decrepitude that it forbade all possibility of his filling the important and responsible role of leader of the executive chiefs of the village. Next in order of rank within the Fale Tolu was Lauvī Vainu'u, who, despite his 65 years was hale and active, and a skilled orator of great experience. The mantle not unnaturally fell on his shoulders. In all intra-village affairs, as in relations with other communities, Lauvī Vainu'u acted as Sa'anapu's leading executive chief. Tuigale'ava managed to attend most ceremonies

² The expression: "Ua afa fa'atasi le tofā ma le utaga" ("The *tofā* and the *utaga* are as strands on the same mesh gage"), describes unanimity of opinion as between the titular and executive chiefs in a *fono*. An *afa* is a mesh gage used in making fishing nets.

— he was greatly addicted to kava drinking — and usually sat at his appointed wall post, but he took little or no part in the conducting of village affairs.

It is interesting to note however that despite Tuigale'ava's functional unimportance, his structural position in the Sa'anapu community was affected scarcely at all. He retained his allotted wall post in the *saofa'iga*; his *fa'alupega* and his proper place in the order of precedence at kava ceremonies. Again, as the highest ranking *tulafale* of the village he continued to receive greater *lafo* than any other executive chief in Sa'anapu. As an example we may take a marriage ceremony which occurred in September, 1942. The members of the bridegroom's lineage (of Falefā, a village on the north coast of Upolu) crossed to Sa'anapu with money and property (*oloa*) to present to the bride's lineage. On the arrival of the *malaga* from Falefā its members were met by all the *matai* of Sa'anapu, and a kava ceremony was held. Lauvī Vainu'u made a lengthy and masterly oration on behalf of Sa'anapu, while old Tuigale'ava, who had arrived late, sat without so much as a word at the back of the house. However when the Falefā chiefs came to distribute *lafo* to the executive chiefs of Sa'anapu, Tuigale'ava received (as his structural position entitled him) more than anyone else. In other words he received his *lafo* not as an individual but as a social person. The exact amounts of the *lafo* presented were as follows:

Tuigale'ava:	10/-
Lauvī Vainu'u:	8/-
Le Sā Samuelu:	6/-
Alo To'alima: ³	6/-
Lauvī Vela:	4/-
Le Sā Seona:	4/-
Alo Tafa:	4/-
Lalogafau:	4/-
Auvele:	4/-

The Fono Manu

The *fono manu*⁴ is a juridical institution with a specific constitution and procedure of its own. It is only convened to deal with delicts of a grave nature, as for example:

- (i) a dispute between two lineages of the village which has led to violence;
- (ii) intra-village adultery;
- (iii) intra-village rape;
- (iv) serious inter-lineage theft within the village.

³ Alo To'alima also made an oration.

⁴ *Manu* has the meaning of 'luck' or 'good fortune' which has a supernatural sanction. Cf. Raymond Firth, "The Analysis of Mama," J.P.S., vol. 49, pp.483-512.

The *fono manu* is convoked by a member of the Fale Tolu, who in the early dawn proceeds from one end of Sa'anapu village to the other rather in the manner of a town-crier of medieval times. He announces: "O le a usutau le fono manu ... o le a fonoā Latatuli i le maota 'o Tuiafelolo Kerisiano..." ("The *fono manu* will foregather ... the *fono* of Latatuli⁵ will be held at the chiefly homestead of Tuiafelolo Kerisiano").⁶ The *matai* of the village gather at the announced location as soon as dawn has broken and take their allotted places. After the recitation of *fa'alupega*, the *fono manu* begins with a special kava ceremony. This kava ceremony is an expression of the rigorous charter of the *fono*. Only five kava cups are announced in the following order of precedence:

- (i) Tuigale'ava (or Lauvī);
- (ii) Le Sā;
- (iii) 'Anapu (or a member of the To'alima);
- (iv) Tuigamala;
- (v) Alo.

One *matai* (and one *matai* only) of each of these lineages (or lineage groupings) is permitted, by the charter of the *fono manu*, to speak. The order of speaking follows exactly the order of distribution in the kava ceremony above. Tuigale'ava is termed 'o le *fa'amaga fono* (the opener of the *fono*) and possesses the right to speak first. Tuigale'ava expresses the opinion of the Fale Tolu (the members of which have previously conferred together) as to the nature and magnitude of the penalty (*sala*) which is to be imposed upon the offending lineage. The penalties imposed by the *fono manu* take the form of fines. These fines are usually of food⁷ (pigs, taro, etc). It is interesting to note that it is not the offending individual himself who is fined, but his lineage group as a whole in the person of its *matai*, or titled head. The food exacted in fines is formally divided among all the other lineages of the village.

After Tuigale'ava (or Lauvī) has announced the general nature of the fine to be imposed, a *matai* of the Le Sā lineage – as a member of the Fale Tolu – has the right to speak. Le Sā is followed by 'Anapu or a *matai* of the To'alima. The spokesman of this lineage grouping is entitled to modify as he thinks fit the decision of the Fale Tolu. Any amendment proposed must be accepted as final by the Fale Tolu. Next, the Sa Tuigamala is entitled to enlarge upon and endorse the opinion of the 'Anapu – To'alima lineages, but may not suggest any more than slight modifications. The final speaker comes from the Alo – Volē lineages. These lineages have the right to lessen the amount of the fine which has been imposed by the preceding lineage representatives.

⁵ Latatuli is the name of the *malae* of Sa'anapu. It is here used metaphorically to signify all of the lineages composing the village.

⁶ Tuiafelolo Kerisiano's name is used by way of example. The location of the *fono manu* varies from case to case. It is always held at the homestead of one of the lineages involved in the delict.

⁷ Exilement from the village community is sometimes imposed in the case of especially serious delicts.

It will be observed that the charter of the *fono manu* is a further manifestation of the principal lineage relationships that form the social structure of Sa'anapu village. The charter is so framed that the Fale Tolu and the 'Anapu – To'alima – the two most important lineage aggregates in the village – express their separate opinions first. The joint decision of these two groups is then handed on to the less important lineage groups of the village – the Sa Tuigamala and the Sa Alo – for their comment. Although the representatives of the Fale Tolu speak first, it will be noted that the 'Anapu – To'alima lineages occupy a more strategic position in which their opinion carries greater deliberative power. The extent to which any one lineage grouping will deviate from the opinion expressed by other groupings is sanctioned by its structural position. For example, the Sa Tuigamala while it might succeed in effecting minor modifications in the joint opinion of the Fale Tolu and the To'alima, could never hope wholly to contravene this opinion. The common knowledge that exists in Sa'anapu village of each lineage's rights and obligations results in a constant counter-balancing of claims. Thus while each lineage always endeavours to preserve its own position, all lineages are incessantly on the alert to quash any attempt at alteration of the status quo. In Sa'anapu at least the lineage hierarchy showed every sign of stability. Although there were several points of incipient rivalry and potential cleavage between certain lineages, these were never permitted – by the *matai* as a whole – to jeopardize in any serious manner the solidarity of the village.

A Meeting of the Sa'anapu Fono Manu

We may now examine briefly an actual meeting of the *fono manu* of Sa'anapu held in January, 1943. The delict was *moetotolo*⁸ – or surreptitious rape. It is customary in all Samoan villages for the unmarried adolescent girls to sleep together in the homestead of the village *fai'feau*, or pastor. One of the main purposes of this custom is to minimize the possibility of *moetotolo* being committed; and any attempt to abduct a girl while she is a member of the *fai'feau*'s household is looked upon as a very grave offence. In the second week of January, 1943, Measepa, a girl of 18 years of the Lea'anā eloped (*avaga*) with Galu, aged 23, of the Tuiafelolo Kerisiano lineage, following *moetotolo*. As soon as the facts of the case were known a *fono manu* was convoked by the Fale Tolu. The *fono* took place in a *fale afolau* of the Sa Tuiafelolo Kerisiano – the *matai* foregathering about an hour after daylight. The occasion was an exceedingly solemn and ceremonious one, and entirely different in atmosphere from the convivial *fono fanua*. The kava ceremony followed immediately the formal recitation of *fa'alupega*. The order

⁸ *Moetotolo* (lit. sleep-crawling) is a form of surreptitious rape widely prevalent in contemporary Samoa. The male enters the house where a girl is sleeping and endeavours to deflower her. If he succeeds he is able to insist that the girl should elope (*avaga*) with him. The majority of marriages in Samoa commence with an *avaga*, and most *avaga* with a *moetotolo*. In many instances a *moetotolo* is achieved with the connivance of the girl concerned.

of distribution was as follows:

- (i) Tuigale'ava;
- (ii) Le Sā Samuelu;
- (iii) Mati Meatasa;⁹
- (iv) Tuigamala Mafiti;
- (v) Alo To'alima.

Tuigale'ava himself spoke first. Beginning with a full repetition of the Sa'anapu *fa'alupega*, he proceeded to criticize most drastically Tuiafelolo Kerisiano – the *matai* of Galu, the young man who had committed the *moetotolo*. At this time Tuiafelolo Kerisiano was living in a trading-store about two miles to the east of Sa'anapu. He had returned to his lineage homestead however for the *fono manu*. Galu (who was one of Tuiafelolo Kerisiano's younger brothers) had fled with Measepa to kindred living in a village about ten miles distant from Sa'anapu. Tuigale'ava censured Tuiafelolo Kerisiano for not residing in Sa'anapu at the head of his lineage household, and complained that his neglect was a factor leading up to the *moetotolo*. After a violent condemnation of Galu's action, Tuigale'ava – on behalf of the Fale Tolu – fixed the fine at two full-grown pigs (*manu fata*). Le Sā Samuelu, in a speech abounding with homilies, fully endorsed (as a secondary member of the Fale Tolu) the fine announced by Tuigale'ava.

Mati Meatasa, representing the To'alima lineages, was the third to speak. He agreed with the decision of the Fale Tolu, but added the rider that the two pigs should be provided by the Tuiafololo lineage immediately following the *fono*. Tuigamala Mafiti and Alo To'alima (the fourth and fifth speakers respectively) both concurred with the decision of the Fale Tolu and the To'alima.

As soon as Alo To'alima had finished his speech, Tuiafelolo Kerisiano and Tuiafelolo Ioane (the *matai* of the minimal segments of the Tuiafelolo minor lineage) and Ali'i Muamua (of the Mulitalo lineage with which the Sa Tuiafelolo has important genealogical ties) retired to consider the *fono manu's* verdict. After about twenty minutes they returned with : two small pigs, and 60 lbs of tinned meat.

This food was placed in the centre of the house. Discussion immediately broke out afresh. Tuigale'ava angrily insisted that two full-grown pigs should be provided, even if the *fono* had to wait all day while they were being cooked. Lauvī Vainu'u pointed out that the two small pigs and 60 lbs of tinned meat were equivalent to at least one large pig, and gave it as his opinion that one *manu fata* (a pig so large that it must be carried on a specially built staging) should be added. Tuigamala Mafiti, a titular chief, was quick to pounce upon this lack of agreement within the Fale Tolu. He appealed to the To'alima for a decision. Mati Meatasa, speaking again on behalf of the To'alima,

⁹ At the time 'Anapu was absent in Apia.

pointed out that the *fono* had not met until about one hour after dawn, whereas its charter laid down that it should begin at daybreak. This late commencement, he pointed out, was primarily the fault of the Fale Tolu, whose duty it was as the main grouping of executive chiefs in the village to convoke the *fono*. Mati Meatasa then gave his decision that the Tuiafelolo lineage should add £1 to the food already provided, and that this money should be given to the Fale Tolu. This course was followed. The pigs and tinned meat were then formally divided among all the lineages of the village – with the exception, of course, of the Sa Tuiafelolo.

This example illustrates the manner in which the *ali'i-tulafale* dichotomy constantly interacts with lineage claims and loyalties. Tuiafelolo Kerisiano is a titular chief whose minor lineage the Sa Tuiafelolo is a branch of the To'alima. Although Mati Meatasa, as the representative of the To'alima lineages, initially agreed with the heavy fine inflicted by the Fale Tolu, prompted by Tuigamala Mafiti (another titular chief), he subsequently took advantage of a flaw in the Fale Tolu's case to come to the succour of the Sa Tuiafelolo – a section of his own lineage grouping. Tuigamala Mafiti's second speech which was instrumental in permitting this action and 'turning the tables' on the Fale Tolu was motivated not by any lineage affiliation with the Sa Tuiafelolo, but rather by the group solidarity of the titular chiefs of Sa'anapu village.

While each lineage grouping in Sa'anapu village has clearly defined rights in inter-lineage relations there is in practice a constant endeavour on the part of each grouping to outwit and outmanoeuvre its rivals. Thus in the *fono manu* we have just described, Tuiafelolo Kerisiano had killed and baked the two small pigs and obtained the 60lbs of tinned meat from his trading-store in anticipation of the imposition of a heavier fine. He knew in advance that he could rely, if the opportunity presented itself, on the support of the To'alima and the other titular chiefs of the village. The opportunity presented itself in the negligence and lack of unanimity of the Fale Tolu, and Tuiafelolo Kerisiano achieved, in the opinion of the village as a whole (who follow such manoeuvrings with intense interest), a clear tactical victory.

As already noted it is the lineage group, and not the individual that is the unit in inter-lineage jural relationships. Thus in the case under discussion, action was taken not against Galu, the individual who had committed the delict, but against the minimal lineage of Tuiafelolo Kerisiano (to which Galu belonged) as a whole. It was the Sa Tuiafelolo Kerisiano as a group that had to meet the fine imposed. This method of procedure is followed in all jural matters affecting the external order of lineage groups. The *matai* of a lineage, as its elected head, is held responsible for the conduct of all his lineage members. Within a lineage (i.e. in its internal order) action may be taken against an offending individual, but in inter-lineage relations the individual has no jural significance.

This situation is illustrated in three further fines which were imposed at the *fono manu* under discussion.

- (i) The 'Anapu lineage was fined £4 for the action of Tui'i (a *taule'ale'a*, and 'Anapu's paternal half-brother) who had quarrelled with, and assaulted the wife of the Sa'anapu *fai'feau*. Tui'i, a member of the total 'Anapu lineage did not normally reside in Sa'anapu, but the offence was committed during a brief visit to his lineage homestead. Tui'i returned to Apia, where he was employed as a Government school-teacher, without any action being taken against him as an individual. It was the local 'Anapu lineage, none of the members of which actually participated in the dispute, which was subsequently obliged to pay the fine of £4 imposed by the other lineage groups of the village.
- (ii) The Lauvī Vainu'u minimal lineage was fined £3 for the action of Paulo (the son of Lauvī Vainu'u's sister) in committing *moetotolo* against 'Oso'Oso, a girl of the Lea'anā Mateo minimal lineage. Again, Paulo was not a member of the Lauvī Vainu'u local lineage, but normally resided in the Falealili district about ten miles to the east of Sa'anapu. The offence was committed during a temporary visit to Sa'anapu. The Lauvī Vainu'u local lineage was held responsible for the delict however, and was obliged to meet the £3 fine imposed by the *fono manu*.
- (iii) The Ali'i Muamua minimal lineage was fined £3 for a *moetotolo* committed by Sa (a *taule'ale'a*) against Siene, of the Auvele minimal lineage. Sa, aged 30, was the son of Ali'i Muamua's sister, and lived as a member of the Ali'i Muamua – Mulitalo Iuma lineage household.

These three cases demonstrate clearly that it is the lineage group as such which is the jural unit in Samoan society.

The fines imposed by the *fono manu* are divided among all the lineages of the village.¹⁰ Fines paid in money are usually used to purchase food (tinned meat, tinned fish, flour, sugar, etc) from the local trading-store. This food is used to provide meals at the regular meetings of the village *fono fanua*, each lineage *matai* receiving his share (*tu'uga*). Only a portion of each *tu'uga* is consumed by the *matai* himself, the residue being carried off to his lineage homestead to be partaken of by all the members of the household. Occasionally money fines are paid into a common fund to be used for some village project. Thus in 1943 the people of Sa'anapu were saving money to pay for the laying of a pipe-line to bring water to the village from a spring situated some two miles inland from the village. The majority of the money fines exacted by the *fono manu* were set aside for this purpose.

¹⁰ The lineage paying a particular fine does not, of course, participate in this division.

Chapter XII

The Aumaga

The structure of the *fono*, which we have defined as an institution recruiting its personnel from the elected heads of the minimal lineages of a village community, is repeated in four other institutionalized groups organized on a village basis.

These are:

- (i) the *aumaga*;
- (ii) the *auahuma*;
- (iii) the *potopotoga 'o faletua ma tausi*;
- (iv) the *potopotoga 'o avā taulele'a*.

Each of these important groups must be examined in some detail. We may commence with the *aumaga*.

The *aumaga* is a group consisting solely of untitled adult males (*taulele'a*). Next to the *fono* of *matai* it is the most important unit in the village. In economic affairs it holds a position of clear pre-eminence for it is the village community's principal labour force. Socially it is of consequence because it includes among its members the probable successors to almost all of the village's lineage titles.

In 1943 the Sa'anapu *aumaga* had 48 members. Two main categories of membership could be distinguished:

- (i) untitled adult males who were members of local minimal lineages (36 individuals);
- (ii) untitled adult males who were married to female members of local minimal lineages, and were living matrilocally (10 individuals).

In addition there was one maternal kinsman and one affinal relative of the first descending generation (i.e. a *matai's* wife's son by a former husband).

Recruitment to the *aumaga* was therefore principally from the local minimal lineages of the village; 75% in all, being drawn from this source. These lineage members were, moreover, the main permanent strength of the *aumaga*, for the ten affinal members (listed in section (ii) above), were only temporary residents in

Sa'anapu. Again, these ten affinal members while they participated fully in the economic tasks performed by the *aumaga*, did not play an important role in its social organization, for (with one possible exception) none of them was a likely successor to a Sa'anapu lineage title.¹

All the untitled adult males of a village community who are not *faiifeau* (pastors), prospective *faiifeau* (divinity students), or the sons of *faiifeau*, are eligible for membership of the *aumaga*. Entrance is gained by making application to the appointed leader of the *aumaga*. Once a young man has become a member he must conform to all decisions (*taupulega*) reached by the *aumaga* as a whole, and must contribute his *monotaga*. Entrance to the *aumaga* (in the case of lineage members) is usually between the ages of 20 and 25 years. The mean average age of the 48 members of the Sa'anapu *aumaga* was 32 years, with a range as follows:²

Age in Years:	20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55
Incidence:	1	9	21	10	3	2	-	2

The total number of untitled males 20 years of age and over in Sa'anapu village in January, 1943, was 68. There were thus twenty untitled adult males who were not members of the *aumaga*. Of these, seven were still attending Government residential schools (4) or training as school-teachers in Apia (3); six were either *faiifeau* (2), prospective *faiifeau* (1), or the sons of *faiifeau* (3); three were recently arrived spouses from other villages. There were thus only four eligible adult males who were not members of the *aumaga*. Furthermore, three of these were only 20 years of age. The remaining individual, aged 25 years, was a relatively recent arrival in Sa'anapu from Savai'i, and was living in the household of his mother's brother.

This analysis shows that virtually all the eligible adult males of Sa'anapu were members of the *aumaga*. This is what one would expect on general grounds, for all *taulele'a* are actively encouraged to join the *aumaga* by their *matai*. Indeed, if a *taule'ale'a* becomes a permanent member of a household it is incumbent upon him to become a member of the village *aumaga*. A *taule'ale'a* has everything to gain by *aumaga* membership, for if he is not in the *aumaga* he is excluded from much of the corporate life of the village.

¹ Although conclusive evidence is lacking, it would seem probable that the admission of affinal relatives into the *aumaga* is a feature of relatively recent origin. This opinion was expressed by a number of Sa'anapu informants. It was claimed that in former times matrilocal residence was far less prevalent than it is at present. The rise in the incidence of matrilocal residence (in Sa'anapu village at least) is probably to be correlated with the increased prospect of economic gain which has attended the introduction of European cash crops. Sa'anapu, for example, was one of a limited number of villages on the south coast of Upolu, which regularly exported bananas under the supervision of the New Zealand Government. 'Anapu (who had had considerable experience as an Agricultural Inspector) estimated the average annual income from this source of the large lineage households of Sa'anapu village at about £200. The *taulele'a* of a household benefit from this income. It is significant to note that over 70% of the untitled men living matrilocally in Sa'anapu came from inaccessible villages where the Banana Scheme did not operate.

² The mean average age of the ten affines listed in Section (ii) was 34 years (approximately). Nine of these men fell in the age group 30-40 years (inclusive). The exception was a man of 45 years.

The composition of the Sa'anapu *aumaga* in lineage terms was as follows:

TABLE XVII

Name of Lineage Household	Lineage Members of <i>aumaga</i>	Affinal Members of <i>aumaga</i>	Total
T Sa 'Anapu	2	-	2
I			
T Sa Mati Meatasa	1	1	2
U Sa Mati Saitia	2	-	2
L			
A Sa Mulitalo Atigi	1	-	1
R Sa Mulitalo Iuma	3	2	5
Sa Lea'anā Satini	2	1	3
C Sa Lea'anā Mateo	4	1	5
H Sa Lea'anā Fa'alolo	1	1	2
I			
E Sa Tuigamala Mafiti	3	-	3
F Sa Tuigamala Tulī	4	-	4
S			
Sa Tuiafekolo Ioane	4	2	6

E Sa Tuigale'ava	-	1	1
X			
E Sa Lauvī Vainu'u	2	-	2
C Sa Lauvī Vela	1	-	1
U			
T Sa Le Sā Samuelu	2	1	3
I			
V Sa Alo Tafa	2	-	2
E Sa Alo To'alima	2	-	2
C Sa Auvele	-	1	1
H			
I Sa Tiulana	1	-	1
E			
F Sa Lalogafau	-	-	-
S			
	37	11	48

Only one of the twenty households of Sa'anapu village was unrepresented in the *aumaga*. This was the Lalogafau household numbering only seven members, and the smallest in the village. The 'Anapu-To'alima lineage households – the principal bloc of titular chiefs in the village – had 22 members in the *aumaga* (46% approximately, of the total), while the Fale Tolu with seven members (15% of the total) had the

strongest representation among the executive chiefs.

The kinship affiliations of those members of the Sa'anapu *aumaga* who belonged to local minimal lineages are shown in the following table:³

TABLE XVIII

Type of Relationship	Incidence
<i>Matai's</i> son	8
<i>Matai's</i> brother	13
<i>Matai's</i> brother's son	9
<i>Matai's</i> father's brother's son	1
<i>Matai's</i> sister's son	2
<i>Matai's</i> sister's son	2
<i>Matai's</i> father's sister's son	1
<i>Matai's</i> father's sister's son's son	1

This relationship table demonstrates several important points. First, thirty-two⁴ (89%) of the thirty-six lineage members of the *aumaga* are seen to be *tama tane*, while only four (11%) are *tama fafine*, or male descendants of the sisters of *matai*.

We have already noted that 70% of the *matai* of Sa'anapu were *tama tane*. This fact considered in conjunction with the preponderance (9%) of *tama tane* among the lineage members of the *aumaga* is evidence of the importance of the agnatic principle in Samoan social organization. The *fono* of *matai* and the *aumaga* together control and direct every aspect of a village community's social and economic life, and within both the *fono* and the *aumaga* it is the *tama tane* who dominate the activities of each group.

The structure of the *aumaga* is a direct reflection of the structure of the *fono* of *matai*. The members of the *aumaga* are looked upon as belonging to specific lineage households, and each lineage has its recognized representative. Each lineage member holds in the *aumaga* an ascribed status which corresponds with that held by his lineage *matai* in the village *fono*. In cases where there is more than one member of a lineage represented in the *aumaga*, precedence (among these lineage members) is determined by seniority and likelihood of succession to the lineage title. Thus a *matai's* brother, by reason of the dogma of succession known as the *toe 'o le uso* will take precedence over a *matai's* son. Again, a *matai's* son occupies a position of greater importance than either a *matai's* brother's son, or a *matai's* sister's son. When a lineage has no blood representative, an affine will sometimes be granted (within the *aumaga*) the status of his *matai*.⁵

³ Ailepata (see p.37) is not included.

⁴ Ailepata is included.

⁵ As an illustration of this we may cite the Sa Tuigale'ava. Tuigale'ava, the principal executive chief of Sa'anapu, aged about 70 years in 1943, had produced no children of his own. Furthermore he had no surviving brothers. The most closely related member of the Tuigale'ava local lineage was Tuigale'ava's sister's daughter, Talimai, a woman of about 30 years of age. The Tuigale'ava lineage household was represented in the *aumaga* by Talimai's husband, Fa'atiuga.

Whenever the *aumaga* formally assembles its members follow the seating-plan of the *fono* of *matai*. Within the *aumaga* as in the *fono*, the relative structural position of each lineage group is recognized, as also is the division into executive and titular lineages. No member of the *aumaga* possesses a title, but nevertheless the honorific terms of address which strictly apply to chiefs only are used. Those terms are "*Lau Afioga ...*", for a titular chief (*ali'i*); and "*Lau Tofā ...*", for an executive chief (*tulafale*). Thus, for example, at a formal meeting of the *aumaga*, Nei, the son of Mati Meatasa (the senior *matai* of the Mati minor lineage) is addressed as "*Lau Afioga Nei*"; while Meititi, the paternal half-brother of Lauvī Vainu'u (the senior *matai* of the Lauvī minor lineage) is addressed as "*Lau Tofā Meititi*." This identification of the *taule'ale'a* with his lineage title is carried even further when food is being divided, or *lafo* distributed within the *aumaga*. He is then addressed as if he were in fact the *matai* of his lineage. For example, a share of pork presented to Nei (the untitled son of Mati Meatasa) is announced as: "*Lou tufa'aga lenei Mati*" ("This, Mati, is your share"). Similarly a *lafo* given to Meititi (the half-brother of Lauvī Vainu'u) is announced as: "'O le *lafo* Lenei... Lauvī" ("This is the *lafo* of Lauvī").

At important meetings of the *aumaga*, *fa'alupega* are recited and kava ceremonies conducted. These follow the form laid down in the charter of the *fono* of *matai*. The same applies to the making of speeches and the method of reaching decisions. In its internal structure then the *aumaga* is an almost exact replica of the *fono* of *matai*. In their social roles however the two institutions serve quite different purposes. The *fono* of *matai* directs and supervises the affairs of the village; it is the *aumaga's* duty to implement the *fono's* plans. The *aumaga* is thus under direct tutelage of the *fono* of *matai*. In Sa'anapu village a leader of the *aumaga*⁶ is specially appointed by the *matai*, and through this leader the decisions of the *fono* are usually communicated to the *aumaga*. Quite often however the whole *aumaga* is summoned by the *fono* and its members addressed as a group by various of the village *matai*.

The services performed by the *aumaga* are many. Every *taule'ale'a* in the *aumaga* maintains (as the member of a household) his own gardens in which taro, bananas, yams and other crops are grown. The produce of these gardens is primarily for the subsistence of the household, but a percentage of every household's output is used for general village purposes. For example, groups of lineage households take it in turn to provide food for the village *fono* whenever it assembles. This food is gathered, cooked and served by the members of the *aumaga*. Similarly when the village is acting as host to a *malaga*, it is the duty of the *aumaga* to provide the commissariat.

Within the household a *taule'ale'a* is directly responsible to his own *matai*, from

Within the *aumaga* Fa'tiuga was given a status equivalent to that of his wife's local lineage, and on formal occasions was addressed by the name of Tuigale'ava.

⁶ In 1943 the leader of the Sa'anapu *aumaga* was Meititi (aged 45 years), the paternal half-brother of Lauvī Vainu'u, and the first in line of succession to the Lauvī lineage title.

whom he receives working instructions day by day. The relationships between a *taule'ale'a* and his *matai* is a formal one, for as the chiefly head of the lineage a *matai* is treated with considerable deference and respect. This intra-lineage relationship is extended to the *aumaga* and the *fono* as groups. Thus the *aumaga* as a whole are held responsible by the *fono* of *matai* for the proper maintenance of all the village's gardens. Periodically inspections are made, and if the *fono* is not satisfied with the standard attained, the *aumaga* is severely criticised.

Again, the members of the *aumaga* regularly fish together under the leadership of a *tautai*, or master-fisherman. Normally each *taule'ale'a* returns with his own catch to his household, where the best fish are presented to his lineage *matai*. On certain occasions however, as when the village is entertaining a large *Malaga* from another district, the catch of the *aumaga* is presented in toto to the *fono* of *matai* to be used as the *fono* thinks fit.

The *aumaga* as a whole is also responsible for carrying out such tasks as the construction and maintenance of tracks, bridges and pig-walls, and the building and repair of houses held in common village ownership such as the homestead of the *faifeau*, the village school-houses, boat-house and hospital ward.

In some of these tasks, more especially house-building, younger *matai* who are qualified carpenters,⁷ actively assist the members of the *aumaga*, while older and less agile *matai* spend their time plaiting sinnet braid (*'afa*) – an article of vital importance in almost every sphere of Samoan material culture. Just as within the household there is co-operation between the *matai* and the *taulele'a* serving under him, so there is a certain amount of co-operation in economic tasks between the *fono* of *matai* and the *aumaga*.

Like the *fono* of *matai*, the *aumaga* meets at regular intervals. Meetings are commonly held on Monday mornings to organize the activities of the coming week. At these meetings it is also usual to announce decisions affecting the *aumaga* which have been reached by the *fono* of *matai*. Occasionally the entire *aumaga* assembles at the *fono*'s bidding. The members group themselves under the shade of a tree outside the *fale tele* in which the *fono* is foregathered. They are then addressed by a specially appointed executive chief who speaks on behalf of the *fono* as a whole. As an example we may take the remarks addressed to three *aumaga* by Lauvī Vainu'u on the morning of Monday, January 3rd, 1943. Lauvī Vainu'u began his speech by offering the thanks of the *fono* for the services performed by the *aumaga* during 1942, and expressing the hope that the cordial relationship which had existed between the *matai* and the *aumaga*

⁷ In 1943 there were nine qualified carpenters (*ufuga*) in Sa'anapu village as follows: Mulitalo Iuma, Lea'ana Satini, and Tuigamala Mafiti (titular chiefs); Lauvī Vela and Alo Tafa (executive chiefs); and 'Ailepata, Utuasege, Filipine and Tafaina (*taulele'a*). The *ufuga* of Sa'anapu belong to a carpenters' guild known as the Sa Segisegi (the Lineage of Segisegi – who is recognized as its founder). Each carpenters' guild (of which there are many in Samoa) is organized on lineage principles, and has a specific charter of its own.

would be continued during the year that lay ahead. There were however several matters which the *fono* felt it was necessary to mention. Lauvī Vainu'u then made the following seven points in the order given:

- (i) The *fono* had noticed a tardiness in the delivery of meals (on the part of the *aumaga*). It was hoped that this fault would be remedied in the future.
- (ii) A member of the *aumaga* was required to carry a message to Apia, on the north coast of Upolu.⁸
- (iii) Several *matai* had noticed that a number of banana plants belonging to various lineage household had not been properly sprayed with sulphur. The members of the *aumaga* concerned should make good this omission at once.
- (iv) Most of the taro gardens of the village urgently needed weeding.
- (iv) Each of the senior members⁹ of the *aumaga* was to provide 50 fathoms of sinnet to be used in building the Sa'anapu village ward at the Government Hospital.
- (vi) The members of the *aumaga* were admonished not to marry within Sa'anapu village, but to seek wives from other village communities. Intra-village marriage forbade the possibility of large scale property exchanges, and in every way lessened the prosperity of a village community.
- (vii) Members of the *aumaga* whose gardens were in especially good condition were thanked personally for their industry.

Lauvī Vainu'u then completed his speech with a full recitation of the village *fa'alupega*.

Next to speak was the titular chief Lea'anā Fa'alolo. He also criticised the state of many of the village gardens. He notified the *aumaga* that a group of *matai* would be carrying out an inspection of all the village gardens in about two weeks time, and expressed the hope that they would find things much improved. Lea'anā Fa'alolo ended his speech with the exhortation: "Ia, outou malolosi mo le nu'u!" ("Let all of you exert your strength for the village!").

The *aumaga* occasionally makes its services available to single lineage households. This arrangement has the sanction of the *fono* of *matai* as a whole. We may quote two examples:

- (i) The *umusaga* of the Ali'i Muamua lineage, which was held in February, 1943. An *umusaga* is a feast held to celebrate the completion of a *fale tele* or *fale afolau*, at which final payment (in mats, mark cloth, and money) is made to the contracting *tufuga*. At the request of Ali'i Muamua the *aumaga* organized a special fishing expedition and the whole of their catch was presented to the Ali'i

⁸ The journey from Sa'anapu to Apia occupied about one day in 1943. A road was subsequently built by the U.S. Army, and it is now possible to reach Apia by bus.

⁹ The plaiting of sinnet (*'afa*) is recognized as the occupation of middle-aged and old men.

Muamua household. In return the *aumaga* was formally thanked by Ali'i Muamua himself, and presented with the sum of £1 (N.Z. currency). This presentation is not looked upon as direct payment for services rendered, but rather as the formal discharge of a group obligation.¹⁰ Usually no sum is mentioned beforehand, and the household concerned makes its own decision as to the amount of money, food or other property which it gives to the *aumaga*. The money received by the *aumaga* on such occasions is paid into a fund which is used to purchase food that is consumed by the members of the *aumaga* at their more important meetings.

- (ii) In January, 1943, the *aumaga* at the request of 'Anapu, spent all of one day in the forest hewing timber for a whale-boat (*tulula*) which the 'Anapu lineage was having built by a *tufuga* from the island of Savai'i. On the completion of their work the members of the *aumaga* were formally thanked and presented with the sum of £1. In this case however the amount was agreed on beforehand.¹¹

The Relationship between the Fono and the Aumaga

The sanctions which cause the members of the *aumaga* to submit to the rigorous surveillance of the *fono* are various. While much of the supernatural aura surrounding chieftainship has disappeared with the acceptance of Christianity, there is still widespread recognition of a special sanctity that attaches to chiefs. This cultural attitude is expressed in elaborate codes of behaviour, which in general are meticulously observed.¹²

This notion of chiefly sanctity underlies all relationships between the *fono* and the *aumaga*. Of more immediate pragmatic consequence is the fact that all of the more influential members of the *aumaga* know that they themselves will, in due course, succeed to the *matai*-ship of their respective lineages. These men know that in their turn they too, as members of the *fono*, will be dependent on the services of the *aumaga*. They have therefore everything to gain – in the long run – by fostering the solidarity and loyalty of the *aumaga* as an institution upon which general village welfare rests.

¹⁰ In 1943 there were no monetary transactions between individuals (for the performance of services) within Sa'anapu village. Money was freely used however in the discharge of group obligations of various kinds. In this context money is regarded as belonging to the category of property termed *olou*. Money is never used to take the place of *toga* (mats, bark cloth, etc.).

¹¹ For example it is generally believed by the people of Sa'anapu that whenever their high chief 'Anapu visits the village he is accompanied by a female *aitu* (ancestral spirit) named Saumaiafe, who often sleeps in the 'Anapu lineage homestead. Other informants claimed that when a holder of the 'Anapu title wears a *tuiga* (ceremonial head-dress) and takes part in a *ta'alolo* (a type of food presentation in which a whole village participates), his body is suffused with a peculiar red hue. This is attributed to his being possessed by Saumaiafe. Many similar examples could be given.

¹² For example, an untitled person when approaching an assembly of *matai* always adopts a submissive posture, leaning forward from the waist, with bent knees, and hands held low. Again, when passing an assembly of chief a *taule'ale'a* always removes his *amoga* (burden suspended in two baskets from a carrying pole) from his shoulder and carries it at waist height. Similarly umbrellas must be lowered in the presence of an assembly of chiefs.

Furthermore the time which most lineage members spend in the *aumaga* is not so protracted as to be excessively burdensome. In Sa'anapu, the average age of entry to the *aumaga* was about 22 or 23 years; and the mean average age of succession to *matai*-ship, about 37 years. From Sa'anapu data it would seem that few men serve in the *aumaga* for more than 20 years. Thus in 1943, there were only two members of the *aumaga* (in a total of 48) who were over 45 years of age. Again, as *matai* die and are replaced, there is a continual movement of individuals from the *aumaga* to the *fono*. This means that there is constant co-ordination through time of the activities of the two institutions.

In Sa'anapu at least, the relationship between the *aumaga* and the *fono* was a cordial one, and no serious rift was remembered as having occurred between the two groups.¹³ The *fono* however occasionally takes disciplinary action against individual members of the *aumaga*. Usually this is in the case of a *taule'ale'a* of one lineage household giving offence to the *matai* of another; but instances also occur of a *matai* requesting the *fono* to take action against a *taule'ale'a* of his own household.

In their dealing with a recalcitrant *taule'ale'a* the *fono* of *matai* exhibit the greatest solidarity and not inconsiderable severity, for it is realized by all concerned that such an individual seriously threatens the whole social fabric of the village community. We may take as an example a case which occurred in Sa'anapu village in June, 1946. Pomate, the *taule'ale'a* involved was a member of the Lea'anā Mateo local lineage. Following a dispute of the ownership of land, he threatened the executive chief Lalogafau with a bush knife. Lalogafau reported the incident to the *fono*, and it was decided to banish Pomate from the village. On learning of this decision, Pomate begged that his case might be re-considered. The *matai* accepted his plea and Pomate appeared before a full meeting of the *fono fanua* which was held during the last week of July. He was made to enter the *fale tele* where the *fono* was held on his hands and knees, and to remain in this abject posture while his behaviour was condemned in the severest terms by Lauvī Vainu'u, who spoke on behalf of all the *matai* of the village. Pomate was married to a woman of Mulivai village (distant about 4 miles from Sa'anapu) who was a Roman Catholic, and was in the habit of attending the Roman Catholic church at Mulivai every Sunday with his wife, leaving Sa'anapu village on Saturday afternoon and returning on Monday morning. Sa'anapu is a Protestant village, and it is a long-standing rule of the *fono* that no member of a Sa'anapu lineage may remain in the village after having accepted the Roman Catholic faith. Pomate was told that he might remain in the village only if he discontinued attending the Roman Catholic church at Mulivai; and in addition he was fined one large tin of biscuits (valued at about £2.10.0).

¹³ Cases have occurred in recent years in Western Samoa of an *aumaga* mutinying against the authority of the *fono* of *matai*.

The *aumaga* itself also exercises a strong discipline over its own recalcitrant members. The methods employed are illustrated in the following example. Early in 1942 the Sa'anapu *aumaga* decided to go to Luatuanu'u (a village on the north coast of Upolu) to assist, for a period, in the construction of a house which was being undertaken by Mulitalo Iuma and a number of other Sa'anapu *tufuga*. One member of the *aumaga*, Filipino, aged 40 years, of the Alo To'alima minimal lineage refused to comply with this decision. At the next meeting of the *aumaga* he was fined £2. Filipino refused to pay his fine. He was thereupon expelled from the *aumaga* and 'sent into Coventry' – all the other members agreeing, on pain of a heavy fine, not to speak to him or associate with him in any way. After a period Poliko, aged 55 years, of the Lea'anā Mateo minimal lineage broke this ruling and visited Filipino in his house. The *aumaga* held a special meeting and imposed on Poliko a fine of one *manu fata* (a full-grown pig) and 50 taro corms. Poliko also refused to pay, and he too was 'sent into Coventry.' For several months the two men resisted the attitude of the *aumaga*, but in the end both capitulated to the sanctions which had been invoked against them. At special ceremonies, Poliko re-entered the *aumaga* on Christmas Day, 1942, and Filipino, on New Year's Day, 1943. Each man paid a fine of one *manu fata* and 100 taro corms.

Traditionally the leader of the *aumaga* is the village *manaia*. The *manaia* is the social counterpart of the *tapouu*, and like the *taupou* must be a member of a titular lineage. In Sa'anapu village the right to appoint a *manaia* is restricted to the 'Anapu lineage. The *manaia* possesses a chiefly title of his own, which like a *matai* name must be formally conferred at a special inauguration ceremony (*saofa'iga*). The *manaia* title of Sa'anapu village is Logona-i-taga. Around this name are clustered a number of myths and traditions which tell of the prowess and feats of arms of past holders of the title. In 1943 the title was not occupied.

Chapter XIII

The Aualuma

The *aualuma* is a group comprised solely of the adult female members of the local lineages of a village community. Although significant differences do exist, the *aualuma* may be generally regarded as the social counterpart of the *aumaga*. Like the *aualuma* its structure is based on that of the *fono of matai*.

The personnel of the *aualuma* of Sa'anapu as it stood in January, 1943 was made up as follows:

- (i) Unmarried women and girls who were members of local minimal lineages.
(13 individuals)¹
- (ii) Widows who had returned to Sa'anapu village on the deaths of their husbands, and were living as members of their own local patri-lineages.
(6 individuals)
- (iii) Married women who were living as members of their own local patri-lineages (i.e. women whose husbands – from other villages – were practising matrilocal marriage).
(10 individuals)

It will be noted that all of the twenty-nine women and girls who belonged to the Sa'anapu *aualuma* were living as members of one of the local minimal lineages of the village. Lineage membership plus residence in the lineage household are indeed the criteria upon which recruitment to the *aualuma* depends. In this respect the charter of the *aualuma* is more rigorous than that of the *aumaga*, for as already described, affinal relatives are permitted to become members of the *aumaga*. This does not apply to the *aualuma*. For example, the women of Sa'anapu village who had contracted intra-village marriages and were living patrilocally (12 cases in all) were either members of the *potopotoga'o faletua ma tausi* (6 cases), or of the *potopotoga 'o avā taulele'a* (7 cases). These women were not permitted entry to the *aualuma*.

The twenty-nine members we have listed were permanent members of the Sa'anapu *aualuma*. Temporary membership was accorded to any female lineage member, married

¹ One case of adoption is included.

and living in another village, who for any reason returned and took up residence for a period in her lineage homestead.

Within the *auahuma* there were three distinct age groupings corresponding with the three membership categories already defined. Thus only four of the thirteen unmarried women and girls were over 25 years of age, while the mean average age of the six widows was 60 years, and that of the ten married members, 35 years.² The full range in age for the whole *auahuma* is shown in the following table:

Age in Years	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	61-54	65-70
Incidence	6	3	6	5	1	3	3	2

Membership of the *auahuma* is in no sense compulsory but it is nevertheless strongly encouraged. Entry is attended by a certain amount of ceremony and it is usual for a group of girls to join together. As an example we may take the entry of a group of five girls in June, 1943. They were:

- Fualilia, aged 25 years, of the Lauvī Vainu'u lineage;
- 'Oso'Oso, aged 18 years, of the Lea'anā Mateo lineage;
- Siene, aged 18 years, of the Auvele lineage;
- Fa'alanu, aged 18 years, of the Mulitalo Atigi lineage;
- Fa'amanatu, aged 16 years, of the Lea'anā Satini lineage.

The five girls presented themselves at a meeting of the *auahuma* held in the *file tele* of the Lauvī Vainu'u lineage homestead. The lineage *matai* of each of the five girls had contributed to a common fund to purchase food which was presented to the *auahuma*. This food is termed the *momoli* of the entrants, and must be presented by all girls and women joining the *auahuma*.³ In the case under discussion it took the form of *lopai* – a dish prepared from wheat flour (purchased at the trading-store) and the juice of green coconuts (*sua niu*).

After a formal exchange of courtesy phrases, Fualilia, on behalf of the five entrants, made a short speech requesting admission to the *auahuma*. In reply a lengthy speech, granting the candidates' request and welcoming them as new members was made by the leader (*ta'itā'i*) of the *auahuma*. A communal meal, which included the *momoli*, was then partaken of, and this was followed by a short *fiafia* (singing and dancing). The age of entry to the *auahuma*, it will be noted, is several years lower than in the case of the *aumaga*.

In Sa'anapu, the membership of the *auahuma* was not as complete as it was for the *aumaga*. In January, 1943, there were some eleven girls and women eligible for membership who had not actually joined the *auahuma*. Of these two (aged 65 and 70

² The range in age of the six widows was 45-70 years, and that of the ten married women, 28-45 years.

³ No strict rule is laid down as to the type of food to be presented, but the *momoli* must be large enough to provide a meal for all of the *auahuma*. This is an added reason for group entry.

years) gave the reason that they were too old and infirm to take part in the *auahuma*'s activities. Three women had but recently arrived in Sa'anapu with their husbands to take up matrilocal residence. Two others (aged 18 and 20 years) were mothers with young babies, and there was one case of a widow (aged 55 years) whose husband had died only two months previously. Three women (aged 18, 25 and 30 years) could offer no other reason for non-membership than a temperamental one.

The leader of the Sa'anapu *auahuma* in 1943 was Ta'auta, the paternal half-sister of Lauvī Vainu'u. As the half-sister of an executive chief she was given the status within the *auahuma* of a *tulafale*. The same system was followed with regard to the other members, each woman being accorded a status equivalent to that held by her lineage *matai* in the total social structure of Sa'anapu village.

In former days the most important members of an *auahuma* were its *taupou*. In every Samoan village there are certain titular lineages (i.e. lineages with *ali'i* titles) possessing rights over *taupou* names. Such rights are never held by executive lineages. A lineage possessing a *taupou* name is entitled to appoint as its holder one of its adolescent female members. Ideally this girl is the daughter of the titular chief of the lineage concerned; it is imperative that she be a virgin. In former days a *taupou* lived and slept with the *auahuma*, under the chaperonage of its more senior members. Her position in the community was an exceedingly important one, and her marriage an occasion in which the village as a whole participated. A *taupou*'s marriage was always deliberately contracted with either the chief or the *manaia* of a titular lineage of another village community, and concluded with public and ceremonial defloration (*fa'amasei'au*). The marriage was accompanied by the exchange of property on a large scale between the lineages and the villages of the bride and bridegroom.⁴

The *taupou* system has now become virtually defunct in Western Samoa.⁵ Principal among the reasons for this change has been the rigorous suppression of customs associated with it by the Christian missions. Economic factors have also operated. Like a *matai*, a *taupou* is obliged to have her title ratified by the other lineages of her village community. This is accomplished at a feast (*saofa'iga*) provided by the *taupou*'s lineage. Such a feast is a serious drain on a lineage's resources. Again, following the introduction of money into the Samoan economy, marked discrepancies have developed in the value of the property (*oloa* and *toga*) exchanged at marriage ceremonies. This has resulted in a situation in which a *taupou*'s lineage and village gain nothing economically from her marriage or formal election.

In Sa'anapu there are five lineages possessing *taupou* titles:

⁴ The *tulafale* of Sa'anapu claim that on the occasion of the marriage of 'Anapu Tui'i (the father of the present holder of the 'Anapu title) to Telesā, the *taupou* of the Faumuina lineage, in about the year 1915, some 800 fine mats (*'ie toga*) were received from the bride's lineage and village.

⁵ Cf. Keesing, "The Taupou System of Samoa - A Study of Institutional Change," *Oceania*, vol.8, 1937, pp.1-14.

Lineages	Taupou Title (Sa'otama'ita'i)
Sa'Anapu	Tae'afa
Sa Mati	Taufau
Sa Mulitalo	Tu'uali'i
Sa Lea'anā	Afega
Tuigamala	Poto

In 1943 none of these five *taupou* titles was occupied. On ceremonial occasions however when custom demanded the presence of a *taupou*, one of the girls of the five lineages listed above was temporarily elevated to the position. Within the Sa'anapu *auahuma* the *taupou* titles of the village are still regularly used in certain contexts. For example, the food presented to the *auahuma* by those of its members who belong to titular lineages is always acknowledged by the use of their *taupou* names. Thus a basket of food presented by a girl or a woman of the Mati lineage is announced as: "O le umu lenei 'o Taufau" ("This is the food of Taufau"). *Taupou* names are also sometimes used as terms of address.

The *auahuma* of Sa'anapu assembled regularly. It was customary, for example, for the members to meet and eat together (*to'ona'i*) every Sunday after the morning church service. Meetings were also frequently held on Monday mornings.

Under the general surveillance of the *fono* of *matai*, the *auahuma* forms an important economic unit. To a large extent it co-operates with the two other women's groups (the *faletua* and *tausi*, and the *avā taulele'a*), but in many matters it functions as a distinct entity. Thus for several months in 1943 the Sa'anapu *auahuma* met regularly every Tuesday and Thursday to weave mats, the members assembling in the early morning and remaining together all day. Food was supplied by the lineage households of the various members, served by the girls and younger members, and partaken of in company.

In the performance of economic tasks it is usual for the *auahuma* to agree upon some goal which all of its members undertake to reach in a stipulated period. At the end of this period the *auahuma* carries out an inspection of the work of all its members. This inspection, which is known as an *asiasiga* (lit. a visiting), is performed with considerable ceremony. The *auahuma* assembles at an appointed place clad in dresses of uniform colour and design,⁶ and proceeds from one lineage homestead to another⁷ until the work of all its members has been seen. The handiwork of each member is commented upon by the leader and older women who express the thanks of the *auahuma* as a whole

⁶ It is usual for a village *auahuma* to have a distinctive form of dress which is worn on all occasions of any consequence. This uniform is changed at intervals, when it is commonly made the subject of a special *asiasiga*. Most *auahuma* also have names of their own. The Sa'anapu *auahuma* for instance was known as "O le Lau Leva" ("The Withered Leaf") - a jocular appellation referring to its aged and husbandless members.

⁷ Where necessary *fa'atoaga* (gardens) are also visited.

in the courtesy phrases with which the Samoan language abounds. When the *asisiga* is completed a feast is held to which each member contributes food. This speech is followed by further speeches, and singing and dancing.

Four *asisiga* were held by the Sa'anapu *aualuma* during the year 1943. The goals set for each *aualuma* member were:

- (i) A taro garden with 250 plants;
- (ii) A pineapple garden with 50 plants;
- (iii) Twenty rools of pandanus (*laufala*), prepared for mat-weaving;
- (iv) A mosquito-net and two sleeping mats.

The goods produced by a member of the *aualuma* remain her own property, or the property of her lineage household (i.e. in the case of taro, pineapples, etc).

The *aualuma*, like the *aumaga*, makes its services available to single lineage households. The work performed is usually either the weaving of mats, or the preparation of thatch. We may take as an example the work which was performed by the *aualuma* for the household of Lauvī Vela in February, 1943. After the necessary material had been prepared (i.e. rools of a coarse type of pandanus called *lau paogo*) by the Lauvī Vela household, the *aualuma* was requested to spend a day at the Lauvī Vela homestead weaving *papa* or floor mats. Twelve members of the *aualuma* met early on the morning of the appointed day and worked without intermission until dusk. Women of both the Lauvī lineages also joined in the task. Forty mats in all were completed. No payment of any kind was made to the *aualuma*, but food of a superior quality was generously supplied.

All lineages represented in the *aualuma* are entitled to call upon the services of its members, and thus over a period of time all households benefit about equally. This system of employing the institutionalized groups of the village as labour teams pervades the whole of the economic life of the Sa'anapu community. In the eyes of the villagers it is indubitably the best way of getting things done, for it provides common incentives and that congenial atmosphere in which onerous tasks become tolerable.

Chapter XIV

Affinal Groups: Faletua and Tausi; and Avā Taulele'a

Membership of the *potopotoga* 'o *faletua ma tausi* is restricted to the wives of the elected heads of the minimal lineages of a village community. It is thus a group consisting exclusively of female affines. The members are divided into two main categories:

- (i) *faletua*, or the wives of titular chiefs;
(11 individuals)
- (ii) *tausī*, or the wives of executive chiefs.
(9 individuals)

Within the *potopotoga* (as in all other social situations) a *faletua* is accorded a status equivalent to that of her husband. The same applies to a *tausī*. Thus a *faletua* is always addressed with the honorific terms reserved for titular chiefs and their lineages; while a *tausī* is accorded the courtesy terms reserved for executive chiefs and their lineages. Neither a *faletua* nor a *tausī* is permitted however to use, or be addressed by, her husband's lineage title. Similarly *fa'alupega* are not used in the *potopotoga* 'o *faletua ma tausi*. For example, while 'Anapu is greeted on his entry to the *fono* of *matai* with the *fa'alupega* of: "Ua e afio mai lau afioga le Sa'o - 'o le Tama a le Malō," his wife on entry to the *potopotoga* is welcomed with the words: "Ua e afio mai lau afioga le faletua." Again, a *faletua* is not permitted to use her husband's kava-cup title.

These restrictions are all expressions of the fact that an affine has no jural rights in the lineage of whose household she is a temporary member. Every *faletua* and *tausī* retains rights however in her own patri-lineage, with which she maintains regular contact, and to which she returns on the death of her husband.

Despite these restrictions both *faletua* and *tausī* occupy positions within the *potopotoga* (i.e. vis-à-vis the other affines of the village) which are equivalent to the positions occupied by their husbands in the *fono* of *matai*. Thus in all matters affecting the welfare of Sa'anapu village, Tatupu, the *faletua* of Mati Meatasa, is recognized as the representative of the Mati household. In general however, structural position plays a less important part in the *potopotoga* 'o *faletua ma tausi* than it does in the *fono* of *matai*. Another principle, that of seniority, comes into play. The seniority of an affine

is closely correlated with her length of residence in her husband's village. At any given time there is a hierarchy of authority in the *potopotoga 'o faletua ma tausi*, which owes its origin largely to the personality and temperament of its long-standing members. The young wife of an important titular chief who is a complete stranger to her husband's village cannot hope to make much headway against this authority grouping merely on the grounds of her husband's high rank. In the *fono* of *matai* on the other hand, seniority is of less importance, for a newly elected *matai* has been a member of his village all his life, and is in a far better position to assert his lineage rights and privileges. The same applies to the *aumaga*.

In 1943 there were twenty women in the Sa'anapu *potopotoga 'o faletua ma tausi*. Eleven were *faletua* and nine were *tausi*. The mean average age of these twenty women was 48 years, with a range as follows:

Age in Years:	21-25	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65
Incidence:	1	5	1	1	5	3	2	2

Three *faletua* and four *tausi* came from Sa'anapu lineages.¹ Five of these seven women had contracted intra-village unions and were living patrilocally. One was married to a *matai* who had succeeded to the title of his adoptive lineage,² and there was one case of a woman of a Sa'anapu lineage whose husband from another village had succeeded to her lineage's title.³

These seven women held a special place in the *potopotoga 'o faletua ma tausi*, for although they were residing away from their own lineage households, they were nevertheless permanent members of the Sa'anapu community. This meant a closer identification on their part with the affairs of the village than was the case with the other *faletua* and *tausi*, and their counsel tended to carry added weight in the deliberations of the *potopotoga*. All of these seven women, on the deaths of their husbands, and their return to their own lineages will become members of the Sa'anapu *aualuma*.

In Sa'anapu the *potopotoga 'o faletua ma tausi* assembled every Monday morning. The place of assembly was usually a house adjacent to that occupied by the *fono* of *matai*. In all matters of policy the *potopotoga* was subservient to the *fono*. There was however a segregation of certain subjects to both the *potopotoga* and the *aualuma*. For example, the *fono* of *matai* having decided that the guest houses of the village needed re-thatching will delegate the task of organizing the preparation of the thatch to the members of the *potopotoga* and the *aualuma*. All intercourse between the *fono* and the

¹ The other thirteen *faletua* and *tausi* came from the following districts: five from Tuamasaga, three from Atua, two from A'ana, two from Savai'i, and one from Apolima.

² This was the wife of Mati Saitia; see p.39 seq.

³ This was the wife of Lea'anā Fa'alolo; see p.47 seq.

potopotoga was through specially appointed representatives. The *fono*'s spokesman was always an executive chief. The executive chief appointed would take up a position outside and at some little distance from the house in which the *faletua* and *tausi* were meeting. In a loud voice he would then communicate to the *potopotoga* the *fono*'s plans and decisions. As necessary, reply was made by a *tausi* (i.e. the wife of an executive chief) who also stood out in the open facing the *fono*'s representative.

The tasks allotted to the *potopotoga 'o faletua ma tauisi* were principally economic in nature. The majority of them were carried out in conjunction with the *auahuma*, and to a certain extent with the *avā taulele'a* (the wives of untitled men). These three groups formed an organization known in Sa'anapu village as the *kalapu 'o tama'ita'i* (women's club). The *potopotoga 'o faletua ma tauisi*, while it joined with the *auahuma* in the general planning of economic affairs, preserved its identity as a group in many other ways. The *faletua* and *tausi* of Sa'anapu village maintained their own mat weaving circle (*fale lalaga*) which met quite separately from the *auahuma* every Tuesday and Thursday morning. Again, it was customary for them to gather together every Sunday to eat their mid-day meal together.

The Wives of Untitled Men

The *potopotoga 'o avā taulele'a* is a group consisting of the wives of the untitled male members of the local minimal lineages of a village. Like the *faletua* and *tausi*, the *avā taulele'a* are all living as affinal members in their husbands' lineage households.

Within the *potopotoga 'o avā taulele'a* each woman reflects the position held by her husband's lineage in the total social structure of the village. Thus the wife of a *taule'ale'a* who is the member of a titular lineage is given the status of a potential *faletua*; while the wife of a *taule'ale'a* who belongs to an executive lineage is given the status of a potential *tausi*. The husbands of all the members of the Sa'anapu *potopotoga 'o avā taulele'a* were members of the *aumaga*. All of these men were prospective, and many of them certain successors to lineage titles. As these men become *matai* and join the *fono*, so their wives will become either *faletua* or *tausi*.

In January, 1943, the *potopotoga 'o avā taulele'a* of Sa'anapu village had a total membership of 24. The mean average age of these twenty-four women was 29 years. The range in age was as follows:

Age in Years:	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50
Incidence:	2	5	12	3	1	-	1

Included among the *avā taulele'a* were five women who came from Sa'anapu lineages. All five had contracted intra-lineage unions. It is important to note that at any given time a woman's social position in a Samoan village community is primarily defined by her status in the lineage household in which she resides. Thus all women residing in

the households of their own patri-lineages become members of the *auahuma* of their village community; while all women residing away from their own lineage households, even although they remain within their own village community join either the assembly of *faletua* and *tausi*, or the assembly of *avā taulele'a*.

As an example we may take the case of Fa'afaoa – who in 1943 was the recognized leader of the assembly of *avā taulele'a*. Fa'afaoa (aged about 40 years) was the eldest daughter of the titular chief Mati Saitia. For many years, while living as a member of the Mati Saitia lineage household she was a member of the Sa'anapu *auahuma*. During this period she had four illegitimate children (aged 18 years, 12 years, 9 years, and 7 years respectively, in 1943) each by a different father. In about the year 1937 she married (*avaga*) Filipine, a *taule'ale'a* of the Alo To'alima lineage of Sa'anapu village, and took up residence in her husband's lineage household. The Alo To'alima homestead was only about two hundred yards from that of the Sa Mati Saitia, and Fa'afaoa was able to maintain daily contact with the members of her own minimal lineage. This she did, for she had left her four illegitimate children under the care of her father Mati Saitia. However the fact of Fa'afaoa's residence in the Alo To'alima household meant that she was regarded in the eyes of the village as an affine, and she left the *auahuma* and became a member of the *potopotoga 'o avā taulele'a*. While she was a member of the *auahuma*, Fa'afaoa's status was derived from that of her father and *matai*, the titular chief, Mati Saitia. In her younger days therefore she had been eligible for the Mati lineage's *taupou* title, Taufau; and within the *auahuma* had acted in the capacity of *taupou* on many occasions. On her marriage to Filipine however this situation changed completely. Filipine was a member of an executive lineage, the Sa Alo, and in 1943 stood in direct line of succession to the Alo title.⁴ Filipine, as a member of the *aumaga* was thus regarded as a potential executive chief and holder of the Alo title. Similarly, as a member of the *potopotoga 'o avā taulele'a*, his wife, Fa'afaoa, was regarded as a potential *tausi* – a status derived directly from her husband's position in the Alo To'alima minimal lineage. Further, in the event of the death of Filipine, his wife Fa'afaoa, would return to her own patri-lineage, the Sa Mati Saitia, and in due course re-join the *auahuma*. She would then once again be given the status of a member of a titular lineage.

The *potopotoga 'o avā taulele'a*, like the *auahuma* and the assembly of *faletua* and *tausi*, meets regularly on Monday mornings. The *avā taulele'a* also assemble on Sundays to eat their mid-day meal in company. Again, *asiasiga* are held and a wide range of economic tasks performed on a group basis.

⁴ Alo To'alima (aged about 50 years, in 1943) the *matai* of the Alo To'alima minimal lineage had produced no family of his own, his wife, Sefulu, being barren. Filipine, Alo To'alima father's brother's son stood in line of succession to the Alo title.

Chapter XV

The Church Community

All of the members of Sa'anapu village were adherents of the London Missionary Society, and religion played an extremely important part in their lives. We are not here concerned however with the system of religious beliefs – a curious intermingling of pagan and Christian concepts – held by the people of Sa'anapu, but rather with the religious life of Sa'anapu as one aspect of the social organization of the village.

We may commence with an examination of the position of the village *faiifeau*, or pastor. A *faiifeau* is a native minister, who after having passed through a prescribed course of theological training has been formally ordained, and is thus qualified for appointment as a village pastor. In most Samoan villages two or more Christian sects are represented.¹ In Sa'anapu however all lineages belong to the same church. The *faiifeau* of Sa'anapu is appointed by the village *matai*. His social position is an interesting one for he is considered as standing completely separate from, and in social 'opposition' to, the rest of the Sa'anapu community. This relationship is described in the phrase: "Ua va feagai le faiifeau ma le nu'u atoa" ("Across a space opposed are the *faiifeau* and the whole village"); and received formal expression in the term *feagaiga* (lit. the socially opposed one) by which the *faiifeau* is ordinarily addressed. In explanation of this relationship the *matai* of Sa'anapu stated that the *feagaiga*² of a village community was looked upon as: "o le sui 'o le Atua" ("The personal representative of God").³

¹ In Western Samoa native allegiance is split into four main factions. The following membership percentages are based on the Government Census of September 25th., 1945:

London Missionary Society	-	58.7%
Roman Catholic Mission	-	18.9%
Methodist Mission	-	16.9%
Mormon Mission	-	3.7%

The remaining 1.8% of the population belonged to sects of minor importance. It is interesting to note that religious schisms in Samoa have in general expressed themselves in terms of the segmentary structure of Samoan society. Thus a lineage segment belongs to a particular Christian sect as group, and if its members change their adherence they change as a group. Such changes often occur following a purely secular intra-lineage dispute.

² A *faiifeau* is formally addressed as "*Lau Susuga le Feagaiga*." *Susuga* is a courtesy term applied to titular chiefs of secondary rank. It is now commonly used throughout Samoa to apply to native doctors (N.M.P.), school-masters, and any other male persons whose achieved status entitles them to special recognition.

³ Lit. "The substitute of God."

The *faiifeau*'s role in village life is rigidly restricted to religious affairs. He is strictly barred, for example, from attending the *fono* of *matai*, and participates in no social occasion which is purely secular in nature. The same restriction applies to the other members of his family. Thus his wife is denied entry to the *potopotoga 'o faletua ma tausi*, his son to the *aumaga*, and his daughter to the *aualuma*. Despite these limitations the *feagaiga* of a large village community like Sa'anapu is an extremely important person.

Evagelia, the *feagaiga* of Sa'anapu village in 1943, came from the district of Lepā at the eastern end of the island of Upolu. With his wife and family⁴ he lived in a large *fale afolau* situated in the centre of the village, and slightly to the east of the church. This house had been built by the *matai* and *taulele'a* of Sa'anapu, and was set aside as the residence of whoever might be holding the position of *feagaiga* to the village. Close at hand (directly in front of the village church) was a large and beautifully constructed house in native style known as the *fale a'oga 'o le faiifeau*. This building also was the result of the combined work of all the lineages of the village. One of the principal duties of a *faiifeau* is the religious and general educational instruction of the village children. Thus all the children of Sa'anapu congregated regularly in this centrally situated house and were taught by Evagelia, and his wife Suitupe.⁵

A number of unmarried adolescent girls regularly slept in this house under the direct charge of the *faiifeau*. This is regarded as a method of safeguarding the virginity of these girls, and any attempts at abduction by the young men of the village are met with severe reprisals by the *fono* of *matai*.⁶ In 1943 there were five girls from five different lineage households sleeping in the *faiifeau*'s house.⁷ Although these girls maintained daily contact with their own lineage households, most of their time was spent in the household of the *faiifeau* performing various tasks (cooking, drawing water, washing and ironing clothes, etc) under the supervision of the *faiifeau*'s wife.

The economic position of the *feagaiga* of a village community is a highly privileged one. For example, on the arrival of Evagelia in Sa'anapu village in 1941 he was presented with a live pig by each lineage *matai*, and with a fowl by each *faletua* and *tausī*. A *ma'umaga* (taro garden) was specially prepared and planted by the *matai* and

⁴ In 1943 Evagelia and his wife were both 45 years of age. Their family consisted of four boys (aged 18, 16, 15, and 14 years), and three girls (aged 12, 9, and 7 years).

⁵ In recent years Government schools staffed with trained native teachers have been usurping the position of the *faiifeau*'s school. In 1943 there was a Government school in Sa'anapu with two trained teachers. It met on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday mornings from 8 a.m. to 12 noon, during three terms of three months each, and was attended by all the children of the village. The *faiifeau*'s school met separately usually in the late afternoon, or in the evening.

⁶ It will be noted that the *faiifeau*'s household has here taken over a function formerly belonging to the *aualuma*.

⁷ The five girls were:

Faufili,	aged 16 years, of the Lea'anā Mateo lineage;
Alai,	aged 16 years, of the Auvele lineage;
'Aialaisa,	aged 15 years, of the Lauvī Vainu'u lineage;
Ipu,	aged 15 years, of the Ali'i Muamua lineage;
Fou,	aged 13 years, of the Tuiafaclolo Kerisiano lineage.

aumaga. This and other gardens owned by the *faiifeau* were weeded and kept in order by the children of the village, who devoted about two hours to the task every Wednesday morning under the *faiifeau*'s personal supervision. Each day the *faiifeau* was presented with a share of every oven of food prepared in the village. In 1943 there were twenty lineage households in Sa'anapu village so that every day the *faiifeau* received some twenty baskets of food.⁸ Each basket was conveyed to the *faiifeau*'s homestead by a member of the household from whose oven it came, and formally announced as the offering of the lineage concerned. The *faiifeau* also received a share of all other food and property exchanged and presented in the village – in whatever social context. Again, each year a monetary gift is made to the *faiifeau*. This money is collected at regular intervals (usually monthly) following church services. One of the church deacons (who is always also a *matai*) stands at the head of the congregation and calls out in turn the names of all the lineage households of the village. As a lineage's name is announced one of its members moves forward and presents its contribution to the officiating *matai*. The amount contributed is formally acknowledged and greeted with expressions of thanks by the rest of the congregation.

Similar public collections on a lineage basis are made for the Church (L.M.S.) in Samoa, and for Foreign Missions. On these occasions inter-lineage rivalry is considerable, so each lineage strives for the honour of making the greatest contribution. Even more intense rivalry occurs at the district meeting at which the sums raised by each village community are announced. The principal rivalry in the Safata church district (*matagaluega*) is that between Sa'anapu, and the neighbouring Sa Tunumafono village of Sataoa. In 1942 the *matai* of Sa'anapu arrived at the district meeting with £170 for the Church in Samoa, £5 for Foreign Missions, and £110 for their village *faiifeau*. To their dismay they discovered that Sataoa had equalled their first two contributions of £170 and £5, and excelled their contribution to the *faiifeau* by £26, 5, 9. A hurried consultation was held. No ready cash was available but the Sa'anapu *matai* decided to add a credit note for £26. 6. 9. to the £110 which they had in hand and so raise their donation to a sum equal to that which had been achieved by Sataoa village. So was the reputation of Sa'anapu village saved. The £26. 5. 9. was paid off during the early months of 1943 by a fortnightly levy of 5/- per lineage.

A *faiifeau* holds the position of *feagaiga* to a village community at the pleasure of its *fono* of *matai*. If his conduct (or that of any member of his family) is such as to give grave offence to the village community, he may be instructed to leave, the decision of

⁸ A typical basket (that presented by the Lauvī Vainu'u lineage on January 15th, 1943) included: 5 taro corms, 3 *luao* (a dish prepared from young taro shoots and coconut 'cream'), 24 bananas, and a packet of fish. The best food is always selected for a lineage loses prestige if it becomes known that it has presented inferior food. The food received by a *faiifeau* in a large village like Sa'anapu, is, of course, far in excess of his requirements. This is realized by all concerned, but from the point of view of any particular lineage its presentation is not primarily utilitarian in character, but rather the formal expression of the relationship which is acknowledged to exist between the members of each lineage group and the village *feagaiga*.

the *fono* being transmitted by one of its senior executive chiefs. Within living memory four *feagaiga* have been so dismissed by the *fono* of Sa'anapu. Although the position of *feagaiga* in a village community is held successively by a number of different *faiifeau*, the *feagaiga* – village relationship persists relatively unchanged. This relationship forms therefore a part of the wider social structure of a Samoan village community. This point is discussed further in a later chapter.

The Church and Its Congregation

The Sa'anapu church stands in the centre of the village. It is a massive concrete structure of heterogeneous design, and was constructed entirely by native builders. Its walls are plastered with coral lime, its iron roof painted a bright red, and its two towers surmounted with yellow-coloured wooden domes. The interior is even more garish. The two rows of lateral pillars are faced with grey, red, white and yellow; and the frames of the Normanesque doors and window painted pale green and scarlet. The pulpit is an elaborate concrete structure ornately decorated. On the walls about it hang colourful silken banners with inscriptions celebrating noteworthy events in recent village history. The pews are made from imported oregon pine. In the centre of the nave stands a small American organ, and behind the pulpit, a chiming clock.

Of their church the people of Sa'anapu are tremendously proud, for it excels in size and splendour all the other village churches of the district. Its existence is proof of the extraordinary solidarity of the lineages that make up the Sa'anapu community. Plans for its construction began in about 1910. Money was raised in many different ways. In about 1913 a baker's oven was set up in Sa'anapu and the bread produced sold in large quantities to neighbouring village communities for use at feasts. Six years later a kerosene-burning launch was purchased and passengers and cargo from the surrounding districts carried to and fro from Apia. Regular monetary contributions were made by all the lineage households of Sa'anapu, and donations collected from their kindred in other parts of Samoa. On November 30th, 1925, the foundation stone of the new church was laid and almost twelve years later on April 22nd, 1937, the church was officially opened. For the people of Sa'anapu it was an occasion of unparalleled importance. Thousands of guests from all over Samoa were invited. They included members of the New Zealand Administration, European missionaries of the London Missionary Society, *faiifeau*, and representatives of all the most important lineages in western Samoa. Two brass bands were in attendance, and the celebrations continued for several days. At the great feast which followed the opening ceremony, 600 pigs, 80 bullocks, 1,000 large fish, 4,000 loaves of bread, and vast quantities of

taro, breadfruit and other dishes were consumed.⁹ *Ta'alolo* (presentations of food, property, etc. in which a whole village community participates) were made by Sataoa, Lotofagā, Nu'usuatia, and Vaie'e (all villages of Sa Tunumafono); and also by several other villages of the surrounding districts. The occasion is still discussed with pride by the people of Sa'anapu, and is commemorated each year on the 22nd of April by a special service at which each lineage of the village makes a special contribution through its *matai* to the maintenance of the church building.

We may now consider briefly the internal organization of the Sa'anapu church community – to which the whole of the village population belongs. In previous chapters we have described the lineage structure of the Sa'anapu community, and the five categories into which the adult population of the village is divided – the *matai*, the *taulele'a*, the *auahuma*, the *faletua* and *tausi*, and the *avā taulele'a*. Both these features of village social structure attain prominence in the organization of the Sa'anapu church community.

Under the village *feagaiga* who was recognized as the supreme head of the church were a number of deacons (*tiakona*). These deacons who were elected by the communicant body (*ekalesia*) were all *matai*. In 1943 they were nine in number:

'Anapu,
Mati Meatasā,
Mati Saitia,
Lea'ana Fa'alolo,
Ali'i Muamua,
Tuigamala Tulī,
Lauvī Vainu'u,
Lauvī Vela,
Le Sa Seona.

The church choir, on the other hand, drew its membership mainly from the *aumaga*, the *auahuma* and the *avā taulele'a*. A few of the senior boys and girls of the *faifeau's* school were also members. The leadership of the choir was in the hands of a senior member of the *aumaga*. The system followed was for the *taulele'a* of the principal lineage households of the village to hold the leadership in turn – each for a period of one month. The choir had very strict rules and a long (written) list of misdemeanours for which fines were imposed. The heaviest fine (£1) was that inflicted in the event of any member of the choir disclosing to another village the arrangement of a hymn

⁹ Such feasts on the opening of a new church are common throughout Samoa, and have been so since the first introduction of Christianity. The pioneer missionary, the Rev. A.W. Murray in a letter dated June 10th, 1839 (MS., Livingstone House, London) describes the feasting that attended the opening of a newly-erected chapel in Leone, Tutuila on March 6th, 1839: "A very large number of people assembled on the occasion, certainly not less than 4,000... The natives in the abundance of their liberality killed 2,300 pigs for the occasion besides providing other articles of food in proportion. Let it not be thought we approve of such profusion. It was entirely their own act to which they were prompted perhaps principally by a spirit of rivalry..."

which had been specially prepared by the Sa'anapu choir for singing at a district church meeting.

The people of Sa'anapu held each evening a religious service at the Government District Hospital which lay immediately to the west of the village. This also was organized on a group basis. Thus the *matai*, the *faletua* and *tausi*, the *aumaga*, the *aualuma*, the *avā taulele'a*, and the *faiifeau's* school performed the service in turn, each group taking charge for a period of one week.

Every Sunday morning following the church service, a special meal known as a *w'ona'i* was held. The food for this meal was gathered on Saturday, and early on Sunday morning each household prepared its own oven. The food was left to cook while the church service was being held. Following the service the whole village divided into six groups composed as follows:

- (i) the *feagaiga* and his wife, and the church deacons and their wives;
- (ii) the *matai*;¹⁰
- (iii) the *aumaga*; (see footnote 10)
- (iv) the *aualuma*;
- (v) the *faletua* and *tausi*; (see footnote 10)
- (vi) the *avā taulele'a*.

Each of these groups assembled in a separate house,¹¹ each member contributing his or her own basket of food. Each basket was formally acknowledged as the gift of the household from whose oven it came, and its contents announced in detail – as at all Samoan feasts. For example, the person officiating (who is always either an executive chief, or the member of an executive lineage) would announce: "This is the basket of the Mati Meatasa lineage It contains three taro corms, a breadfruit, two packets of fish and an octopus." Thanks are then expressed. When all the food contributed by the members of the group concerned has been amassed in the centre of the house, it is then distributed among all those present – each of whom has his own food mat. The group as a whole then eats its meal in company.¹² The repast is followed by a period of

¹⁰ Usually the *matai*, the *aumaga*, and the *faletua* and *tausi* divided into two sections, those members of each group who lived in the eastern part of the village known as Lumā meeting separately from those who lived in the western part, Tuā.

¹¹ The *feagaiga* and deacons always met in the *fale a'oga'o le faiifeau* (the school-house of the *faiifeau*).

¹² The custom of holding *w'ona'i* following Sunday church services is a long-standing one in Samoa. It is probably a survival from the primitive religion of the Samoans. The Rev. George Platt in his *Journal* (MS., Livingstone House, London) describes a Sunday service which took place at a village in Savai'i on November 8th., 1835 – almost a year before the arrival of the first permanent missionaries: "The people all brought their food into the large house where we stayed between the services. When collected the people sat entirely around the house. Two persons then stood up, took every man's basket of food, told his name and what it contained, and then threw them into a general heap and sat down. A division was then made by the order of the chief and the first portion was divided to us. The remainder was distributed to every person present, man, woman and child, a proportion of each kind of food collected. This made a considerable variety and a fine feast for all. The feast concluded, they prepared for worship ... Such is the custom I make no comments upon it, I shall not interfere for the present."

general conversation before the members return to their own homesteads for the customary Sunday siesta that precedes the afternoon church service. This weekly meeting on a group basis for food and social intercourse is a further illustration of the manner in which structural principles dominate Samoan social life.

The lineage structure of Sa'anapu also finds constant expression in the organization of the church community. We may quote two examples of this. At the commencement of each year a special week-day service ('O le Lotu 'o le Tausaga) is held at which all the *matai* of the village speak. It is an important occasion attended by the whole village community who dress specially for the event in their best Sunday clothes. Each *matai* ascends in turn to the church pulpit and speaks for about ten minutes. The happenings of the year just passed are surveyed, and hopes for the year that lies ahead voiced. Although the ceremony is predominantly religious in character, *fa'alupega* and honorific terms are freely used, and there is much discussion of secular affairs. The order of speaking is not as in the *fono* however. Instead the *matai* ascend to the pulpit in the order in which their lineage homesteads are situated, beginning at the eastern end of the village and proceeding to the west.

A similar plan is followed in October of each year when a children's service is held. For many weeks prior to this service the children of each lineage household are trained under the direction of their *matai*, their parents and elder brothers and sisters, to recite a passage from the scriptures and to sing a selected hymn. There is great rivalry between the various lineages and each endeavours to train its children to the highest possible standard of excellence. When the appointed Sunday arrives the church is profusely decorated with wreaths of flowers, and the whole village assembles decked out for the occasion. Commencing from the eastern end of the village, the children of each lineage perform in turn as a group. Even the youngest children, of from three to four years of age, are included. Dressed in spotless white clothes, each group, when its turn arrives, stands at the head of the church and recites in unison its verses from the Bible and sings its hymn. From the body of the congregation the children are prompted and encouraged by the other members of their lineage. A successful performance is greeted with exclamation of delight, failure by weeping and shame. Throughout the entire service lineage loyalties run high, and during the days that follow there is detailed and animated discussion of the merits of each lineage's item. The occasion ends with a feast provided by each lineage for its own children in its own homestead.

In normal Sunday services the lineage structure of Sa'anapu village does not obtrude itself to as marked a degree as in the two services we have just described. Nevertheless it is always to some extent present. As already mentioned all monetary contributions are made on a group basis, each making its donation through its elected head. Again, recruitment to the *ekalesia* (the communicant body) while it rests on an individual's own decision, is largely in lineage terms. We may quote as an example a service held in January, 1943, at which the *feagaiga* of the village was making an

impassioned appeal for new members of the *ekalesia*. His entreaties were meeting with no response when old Lauvī Vainu'u – the senior *matai* of the Lauvī lineage – cried out from the front of the church where he was sitting: “*Fai se fu'a 'o le āiga*” (“Show a flag for the lineage”). This met with success where the *fai'feau's* more general supplication had failed, and Safua (Lauvī Vainu'u's father's sister's daughter) and Taotasi (his adopted daughter) both came forward under considerable emotion and joined the *ekalesia*.

Although church services are attended by the village as a whole, each lineage conducts regular religious services of its own.¹³ These are held daily at about dawn and dusk. The most important of the two is the service held in the evening. Just after dusk a conch-shell trumpet is sounded, and all the villagers assemble in their own lineage homesteads. This time of day is described as *vavao* (prohibited or forbidden), and while it lasts no one is allowed to move about the village. Appointed representatives of the *fono* of *matai* patrol the village environs, and any one discovered at large without good reason is reported to the *fono* and fined. As the notes of the conch-shell cease, the members of each household assemble in the principal house of their homestead. The service is conducted by the lineage *matai*. It commences with a hymn sung by all the members of the household, and is followed by a reading from the Bible and a prayer which is delivered by the *matai*. It is interesting to note that within each lineage its *matai* is regarded as its chief channel of communication with the Diety. There is among Samoan Christians little or no private worship or prayer. Instead the *matai* acts on behalf of the lineage as a whole. This conforms to the pattern of Samoan religious practice in pre-Christian days when the elected head of a lineage was looked upon as the chief communicant with its ancestral spirits.¹⁴

¹³ In ancient Samoa each lineage had its own ancestral spirits. Many lineages possessed *tupua* which spirits were believed to inhabit during religious ceremonies (cf. Raymond Firth, *The Work of the Gods in Tikopia*, London, 1930, vol.2, p.209 seq.). The *tupua* of several of the lineages of Sa'anapu, although they have been long abandoned, still exist. For example, the *tupua* of the 'Anapu lineage is situated at Fia-atua, on the margin of the inlet that flows to the north of the village. It is a large stone which bears a resemblance to a turtle. The *tupua* of the Mulitalo lineage is an upright black stone called Sina-a-Vāi'a, which stands a short distance inland from the village at a place known as Vāi'a.

¹⁴ Belief in these spirits is still very widespread in Samoa despite over a hundred years of Christianity. Many kinds of sickness, for example, are believed to result from possession by *aitu* (ancestral spirits). In such cases the whole lineage assembles at the bedside of the sick person, and following the administration of a specially prepared potion (*vai aitu*), an attempt is made to discover the identity of, and placate the *aitu* responsible.

Chapter XVI

The Division of the Pig and Turtle

We have now discussed four main facets of the social structure of Sa'anapu village: the lineage system, the institutionalized village groups, the relationship between titular and executive chiefs and their lineages, and the relationship of the village as a whole with its *feagaiga*, or Christian pastor. Some indication of the diverse manner in which these four elements are inter-connected has already been given. Of the many additional examples which might be cited, the formal distribution of food is probably the most illuminating, and, in particular, the ceremonial division of the pig.

Every lineage household in Sa'anapu village maintained its own herd of pigs. All of these herds were kept in two extensive enclosures on the inland side of the inlet that flowed to the north of the village. Here the animals were allowed to roam at large, but each lineage had its own feeding place (*fagaga pua'a*) to which the pigs were called twice a day for feeding. In Sa'anapu as elsewhere in Samoa pork does not constitute a normal article of diet. Instead the pig is regarded as a form of wealth (*oloa*), only to be expended on special occasions. In many social situations, such for example as a marriage or death ceremony, or the inauguration of a *matasi*, the provision of pigs is judged to be absolutely essential. Certain culturally standardized presentations such as the *suata'i*, which is made to visiting kindred, must always include a pig. Indeed throughout Samoa the importance of any social occasion may be gauged by the number of pigs provided.

A pig is always baked whole, no matter how large it may be. It is killed immediately before cooking by strangling – the animal being laid on its back and a pole pressed down on its throat. After the body has been singed on hot stones, the belly is slit open and the intestines and other internal organs removed. The heart, liver, kidneys, etc. and the blood and fat from the abdominal cavity are wrapped in separate leaf packages ready for the oven. The removal of the gullet and rectum completes the cleaning. By this time the oven is ready. With tongs made from the mid-rib of a coconut frond, hot stones are lifted and plunged into the pig's thorax and abdominal cavity, and into the apertures left by the removal of the gullet and rectum. These stones are followed by freshly plucked bundles of fragrant leaves. More leaves are spread on the stones of the

oven, and the pig hoisted carefully on to the centre of them. Around about are stacked taro, breadfruit, *luao*, and other foods. The whole oven is covered with further leaves, and having been sealed with old mats and baskets is left to cook.

A large pig such as is provided for an important ceremony is termed a *manu fata*. This phrase refers to the fact that such a pig is too heavy to be carried by two men, and must be borne on the shoulders of four or more *taulele'a*, on a specially constructed staging. A *manu fata* is always brought from the oven into the village settlement with shouts of triumph, and decked with greenery and flowers. It is then set down before the assembled chiefs and formally announced by the executive chief representing the lineage that has provided it. When all the pigs and other food have arrived the total amount is proclaimed in a loud voice from the platform of the house where the ceremony is being held.¹ The distribution of all the food that has been amassed now begins. The most important feature of this distribution is the division of the pigs. This division is performed by a group of *taulele'a* under the supervision of the officiating executive chief. Each pig is severed into a number of named and culturally standardized portions. The division must be meticulously performed for the size of each of the portions is rigorously defined by custom.² Within any village various sections of the community have recognized rights to specific portions. Similar rights exist within large lineage aggregates, for example, within the Tunumafono major lineage. From village to village and major lineage to major lineage there are slight variations, but the general system of division exhibits a uniformity throughout the whole of the Samoan archipelago.³

The main portions into which a pig is divided are as follows:

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| (i) the <i>ulu</i> | (head) |
| (ii) the <i>'o'o</i> | (fore-part of the back) |
| (iii) the <i>tualā</i> | (the loins) |
| (iv) the <i>muli</i> | (rump) |
| (v) the <i>alaga</i> | (the four legs) |
| (vi) the <i>alo</i> | (the abdominal wall) |
| (vii) the <i>fatafata</i> | (breast) |

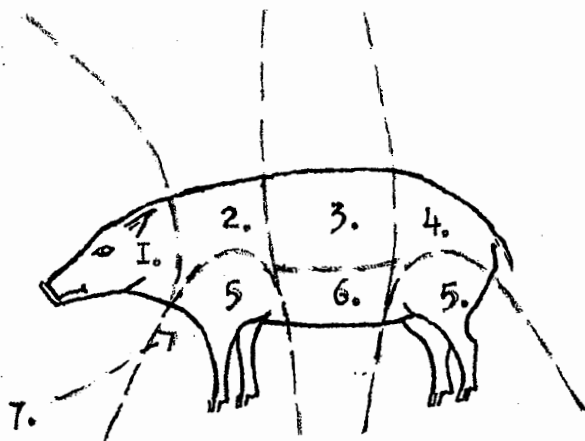
These divisions are shown in the accompanying diagram.

¹ This proclamation (*fokafolaga*) is looked upon as being made to "the world at large." Samoans evince intense interest in the quantity of food presented on important occasions, and the number of pigs, etc. provided for a noteworthy ceremony is remembered for years afterwards.

² A pig that is too well cooked cannot be accurately divided. It is usual therefore to undercook a *manu fata* intended for ceremonial distribution. Each recipient group takes away its allotted portion which is re-cooked – at leisure – before being eaten. One or two thoroughly cooked smaller pigs are provided for consumption on the spot.

³ The same applies to the ceremonial division of the turtle, shark, bonito, *malauli*, fowl, etc.

DIAGRAM OF PIG



1. the ulu;
2. the lo'lo;
3. the tualā;
4. the ivi muli;
5. the alaga;
6. the alo;
7. the fatafeta.

There are further fine divisions which need not concern us here in detail. These apply chiefly to the 'o'ō, the *tualā*, and the *muli*. Again, the liver (*au*), is divided into the *maga-a-ali'i* (the portion of titular chiefs), and the *maga-a-tulafale* (the portion of executive chiefs). The values ascribed to the portions we have described vary considerably. The part by which greatest store is set is the *tualā* (loins); and next to this the 'o'ō and the *fatafata*. These portions are always allotted to either titular chiefs or the village *feagaiga*. Less esteemed parts are given to executive chiefs.

The apportionment recognized by the Sa'anapu village community was as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| (i) <i>ulu</i> | the village <i>aumaga</i> ; |
| (ii) 'o'ō | 'Anapu, the To'alima, and Tuigamala; |
| (iii) <i>tualā</i> | the village <i>feagaiga</i> ; |
| (iv) <i>muli</i> | the village <i>aumaga</i> ; |
| (v) <i>alaga</i> | the Fale Tolu, the Sa Alo, and other executive chiefs; |
| (vii) <i>fatafata</i> | 'Anapu, the To'alima, and other titular chiefs. |

In this division each of the four facets of the social structure of Sa'anapu village (as we have enumerated them) is represented. First, we may note that the *tualā*— the most highly esteemed part of the pig — is set aside for the village *feagaiga*. The *feagaiga* receives the *tualā* however not as an individual but as a social person who stands in a highly institutionalized and permanent relationship with the Sa'anapu village community as a whole. This situation is demonstrated in the fact that the *tualā* presented to the *feagaiga* is described as: "o le inati 'o le Atua" (The share of God"). Here it is the Christian Deity to whom reference is made. Thus in Sa'anapu village the *tualā* is looked upon as a formal presentation on the part of the whole community to the 'personal representative' of God. This system inasmuch as it applies to the Christian pastor cannot be much more than about one hundred years old,⁴ but according to the oldest members of the Sa'anapu community it has been firmly established during the years covered by their memories.

The second principle governing the ceremonial division of the pig in Sa'anapu is the recognition of the rights of lineage groups. Inextricably connected with this

⁴ There is evidence to suggest however that on the conversion of a village community to Christianity, the *fai'feau* came to occupy approximately the same position as that previously held by the *taulā'au*, or spirit-medium. Pritchard (*Polynesian Reminiscences*, London, 1866, p. 110) who lived in western Samoa from 1848 to 1858 noted of the primitive religious practices of the Samoans that "over every town (i.e. village community) presided a god to whom in fact the town and the inhabitants belonged...." and that "there was in every town a man who was the especial priest of the god, and through whom the people were favoured with expressions of his will. It was his privilege to appoint feast-days in honour of the god... the food was formally accepted by the priest in the name of the god, and served out to the families as they sat in groups around the temples..."

Food presentations associated with the practice of Christianity were reported (Rev. George Platt, Journal, MS., Livingstone House, London) as early as the year 1835, only five years after the first visit to Samoa of European missionaries.

recognition is the acknowledgement of the separate rights of titular and executive chiefs. This dichotomy, as we have seen, pervades the whole of Samoan social relations, and divides all lineages into two clearly contrasted classes. Thus in the apportionment of the pig the hallowed rank of the titular chiefs of Sa'anapu is acknowledged by allotting to them the 'o'ō and the *fatafata*. Within the category of titular chiefs precedence is determined by structural position. The 'Anapu lineage receives as its share the best part of the 'o'ō – the *itu mea malosi*. The same method of distribution applies to the executive lineages of the village as a class. As a group they are assigned the *alaga* – the four legs of the pig; but distribution of the *alaga* is sanctioned by the relative rank of the various executive chiefs involved. Within the Fale Tolu, for example, the senior lineage, the Sa Tuigale'ava, holds prior rights.

Finally there is the acknowledgement of the claims of institutionalized village groups. Three groups are recognized:

- (i) the *matai*;
- (ii) the *aumaga*;
- (iii) the *aualuma*.

Each of these groups, as has been explained in previous chapters, is recruited either exclusively or predominantly from the local lineages of the village community.

This fact demonstrates the important point that with the exception of the *feagaiga*, who is regarded as standing outside of the village community, the ceremonial division of the pig is based on the rights of lineage members only. Affinal members of the village community (represented mainly in the *faletua* and *tausī*, and the *avā taulele'a*) are granted no formal recognition. The separate recognition of the *matai*, the *aumaga*, and the *aualuma* means that with but few exceptions⁵ each minimal lineage of Sa'anapu village is represented three times; by its titled head, by its member (or members) of the *aumaga*, and by its member (or members) of the *aualuma*. A lineage's principal representative is its elected head, or *matai*. The portion of a pig allotted to any *matai*, as already indicated, is governed by his status as a titular or executive chief, and by the structural position of his lineage within one of these categories. The same rules apply to the distribution that occurs within the *aumaga* and the *aualuma*. Thus the share of a pig allotted to the *aumaga* is further sub-divided in accord with lineage principles among its various members.

On occasions when a large number of pigs are provided it is usual for only the *manu fata* to be divided in the manner we have described. Smaller pigs are commonly distributed whole. Such distribution follows however the general principles described for the division of a single pig.

⁵ In 1943 all lineages were represented in the *fono* of *matai*; all but one minimal lineage was represented in the *aumaga*; and all but two lesser lineage groups in the *aualuma*.

So far we have been discussing the apportionment of the pig in contexts which include only the members of the Sa'anapu community. In practice it is usual for at least a few visitors from other village communities to be present. The presence of these visitors is always suitably acknowledged. For example, a high ranking titular chief from another village will be honoured by the presentation of a major part of the 'o'ō, or, on occasions, of the *tualā*. Alternatively he may be granted a whole pig, smaller in size. While the general principles we have described underlie all social situations, particular circumstances give rise to variations in their application.

As an example we may take the *lau 'ava* (death feast) of Fualosa, of the Lea'anā Satini minimal lineage, held in January, 1943, at which seven pigs were provided. The distribution (*pule*) was as follows:

The <i>feagaiga</i>	1 pig;
The village <i>matai</i>	2 pigs;
The <i>aumaga</i>	1 pig;
The <i>aualuma</i>	1 pig;
A visiting <i>tufuga</i> (from Savai'i)	1 pig;
The Government native doctor	1 pig.

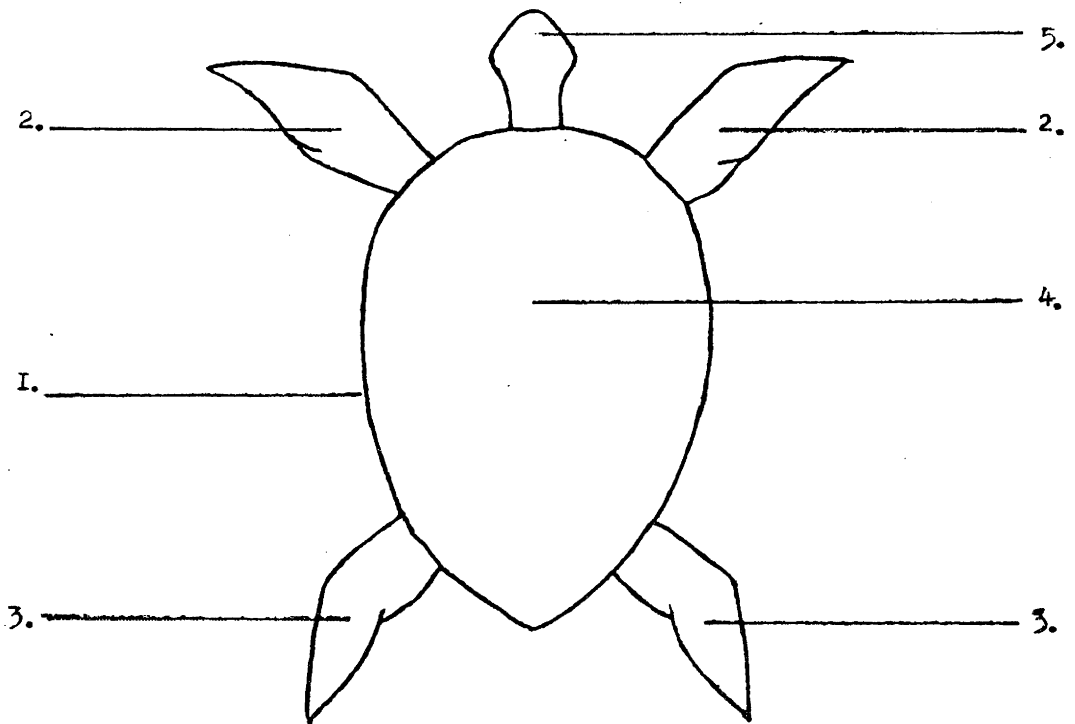
The *tufuga* (qualified carpenter) here honoured came from the island of Savai'i. At the time of the *lau 'ava* he had been living in Sa'anapu village for about two months, where he was building a whale-boat (*tulula*) for the 'Anapu lineage. The doctor was the Native Medical Practitioner in charge of the Government Hospital situated immediately to the west of Sa'anapu village, to whom a pig (and other food) was presented in recognition of his efforts to prevent the death of Fualosa (from pneumonia).

The Division of the Turtle

Ceremonial divisions similar to that which we have described for the pig also exist for the shark, the turtle, the bonito, the *malauli*, and the fowl.

Especial importance in Sa'anapu is attached to the division of the turtle (*laumei*), which we may take as a further example. The turtle is regarded as the *i'a sa* (lit. "sacred fish") of the Sa Tunumafono. In Sa'anapu, as in all the other villages of the Sa Tunumafono, any turtle that is caught must be brought before the village *fono* for ceremonial distribution. The breaking of this rule is a serious offence. As already mentioned, Mulitalo Atigi's bravado in himself supervising the division of a turtle was one of the factors leading to his expulsion from the Sa'anapu *fono* of *matai*. A similar case occurred in the neighbouring village of Sataoa in 1941, when a titular chief named Seve, not only omitted to take a turtle he had caught before the Sataoa *fono*,

DIAGRAM OF TURTLE



1. the suapeau;

2. the saga mua;

3. the saga muli;

4. the tua;

5. the ulu.

but kept it to be eaten by the members of his own lineage household. When his actions became known he was immediately banished from the Sataoa community. During 1942 he lived in Sa'anapu village, which as Sataoa's chief rival came to his aid. Eventually a reconciliation was arranged, and after about a year Seve returned to his own homestead.

The division of the turtle is in general more rigidly followed than in the case of the pig, for turtles are only rarely caught, and then never in large numbers. Like the pig, the turtle is baked whole.

In the oven it is laid on its back to prevent the escape of the highly favoured internal juices. When cooked it is carried before the assembled *matai*, and its division is supervised by one of the senior executive chiefs present. The principal parts of the turtle are shown in the accompanying sketch. The *suapeau* consists of the internal juices which are looked upon as a special delicacy.

The apportionment of the turtle in Sa'anapu village was as follows:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| (i) the <i>suapeau</i> | 'Anapu, the To'alima, Tuigale'ava; |
| (ii) the <i>saga mua</i> | the <i>feagaiga</i> , 'Anapu, the To'alima, Tuigamala; |
| (iii) the <i>saga muli</i> | the Fale Tolu and other executive chiefs; |
| (iv) the <i>tua</i> | the <i>aumaga</i> ; |
| (v) the <i>ulu</i> | the <i>aualuma</i> . |

The principles governing the division of the turtle, it will be observed, are approximately the same as those described for the pig. The one significant division is that Tuigale'ava – the leading executive chief of Sa'anapu – is recognized as having the right to receive a share of the *suapeau*. This is further evidence of the important position which the Tuigale'ava lineage holds in the Sa'anapu community, and the part which it played in the formation of the village. In about the year 1930 a serious disagreement arose in Sa'anapu when Tuigale'ava's rights were challenged by a group of titular chiefs. After a lengthy dispute in which the genealogical position of the Tuigale'ava lineage was fully debated, its claims were finally vindicated.

Chapter XVII

The Social Structure of Sa'anapu Village: Summary and Conclusions

Our subject of study in the foregoing chapters has been the village community of Sa'anapu; our problem the examination and analysis of group and personal behaviour; and our aim the isolation and definition of those pervasive and persisting relationships which in aggregate form the nucleus of village social structure in Samoa.

This limitation of field has meant a deliberate selection of data. We have not for example been concerned with the economic life or the religious beliefs of the people of Sa'anapu per se, and have only touched on these important spheres to provide illustrations of specific relationships. Moreover even within the field to which we have restricted our attention it has not been possible to describe and analyse all the inter-group and inter-personal relationships which were observed to exist in Sa'anapu village. Further selection has been inescapable. Our endeavour has been to select for consideration those relationships which our general observations have shown to be of cardinal and fundamental importance. These relationships, we would submit, form the quintessence of village social structure, and a knowledge of their nature is basic to the understanding of Samoan social behaviour.

Before turning to a general examination of the concept of social structure, we may briefly recapitulate the principal features of the social structure of the Sa'anapu village community.

Our analysis has isolated as an element of primary importance the lineage structure of Sa'anapu. There are in Sa'anapu village five main lineage groupings:

<i>Titular</i>	The 'Anapu lineage
	The To'alima lineages
	The Tuigamala lineage
<i>Executive</i>	The Fale Tolu lineages
	The Alo lineage

All of these lineages are patrilineal in form, and with the exception of the Sa Alo, all are linked by agnatic and cognatic ties – imputed or real – of about ten generations depth. These ties are still the primary sanction governing inter-lineage relations. The position of each of the five main lineage groups of the Sa'anapu community is expressed in the village *fa'alupega*, in the seat-plan of its *fono*, in the order of precedence at kava ceremonies, in the right to speak at the *fono manu*, in the privilege of receiving specified shares of all pigs, turtles, sharks, etc. distributed within the village, and in many other culturally standardized modes of behaviour. While the position of any lineage group in the total lineage structure is manifested principally in the person of its elected and titled head, or *matai*, this position also refers to all its other lineage groups. In the course of time all of the lineages of Sa'anapu – with the exception of the Sa 'Anapu – have ramified into segments each with its own *matai*. Within a minor lineage each of its component segments is recognized as possessing separate rights and obligations. These rights and obligations are arranged hierarchically in accordance with the criterion of proximity to the main line of agnatic descent and succession. While minimal lineages are relatively autonomous units within the minor lineages of which they are integral parts, they do not receive jural recognition in the wider lineage structure of the village community. This is demonstrated by the fact that they do not possess *fa'alupega* of their own, are not allotted special places in the seating-plan of the village *fono*, and are not granted the right of having their kava separately announced. In Sa'anapu only those lineages possessing *fa'alupega* of their own are jurally recognized entities in the total lineage structure of the village. Whenever one of these lineages emerges in social action in which other lineages are involved, it does so as a whole; for in such contexts its separate segments have no structural relevance. Thus when the senior *matai* of the Tuigamala minor lineage speaks at the *fono manu* of Sa'anapu village, he does so on behalf of the Tuigamala lineage as a whole, for in the charter of the *fono manu* the segments of the Tuigamala lineage are granted no separate recognition.

The various minimal lineages of Sa'anapu village are organized into households which include in addition to lineage members, maternal kin and affinal relatives. The lineage structure of a village community pervades therefore the whole of its social life. With the exception of the *faiifeau* and his family who fall in a special category, the status of all the various individual members of a village is primarily defined by the structural position of the lineage or lineage household to which they belong.

To what extent do these pervasive relationships arising from the lineage structure of a village community persist through time from one generation to another? The present members of the Sa'anapu community insist that their village has had the same basic lineage structure since its inception some ten generations ago. Such a claim is impossible to empirically substantiate, but there is documentary evidence that suggests that the lineage structure of the Sa'anapu community has persisted unchanged for at

least forty or fifty years. We have already cited the Rev. George Platt's account of Sa'anapu in 1836. During the remainder of the nineteenth century there is occasional mention of Sa'anapu in missionary reports and journals. In a letter written on December 15th., 1890, Henry Adams gives a vivid description of the man who at that time was holding the title of 'Anapu.¹ The first detailed account however of the lineage structure of Sa'Anapu is that contained in Krämer's *Die Samoa-Inseln*, published in Stuttgart in 1902. Krämer, in a very much abridged account of the *fa'alupuēga* of the Sa Tunumafono villages,² gives the principal titles of Sa'anapu as:

'Anapu;
The To'alima (Mati, Lea'anā, Mulitalo
Tafafuna'i and Seve);
The Fale Tolu.

These as we have pointed out are still the basic lineage groupings of Sa'anapu village. Krämer probably collected this information in the course of a journey along the south coast of Upolu in the latter half of the year 1898. Still more detailed information is contained in a small book including the *fa'alupuēga* of all the villages of Western Samoa which was compiled from data collected in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and published by the London Missionary Society in 1915.³ The version given in this book of the *fa'alupuēga* of Sa'Anapu corresponds almost exactly with that recorded in 1943, which we have given on p.121. All the principal lineage titles are given: 'Anapu, the To'alima, Tuigamala, Tuiafelolo, the Fale Tolu, Alo and Volē.

This evidence indicates that the lineage structure of the Sa'anapu community has remained in a state of equilibrium for about the last fifty years. Moreover the traditions of the Sa'anapu people themselves give us no reason to suppose that their lineage structure has undergone any really fundamental changes during the entire period of about ten generations postulated in the village genealogies. Some changes have undoubtedly occurred during this period – for instance, several lineages have become extinct – but the general picture is one of remarkable stability.

A major factor making for this marked stability of village lineage structure is, we would submit, the manner in which the Samoan people themselves have given institutional expression to inter-lineage relationships. The principal formulation of the

¹ Adams writes: "'Anapu is a dignified, middle-aged man, and speaks English with the same high-bred beauty of tone and accent that struck us so much in old John Adams at Apia. He has been a great traveller as a common Kanaka seaman, and has been to San Francisco, New Orleans, New York, Liverpool, Glasgow, Hamburg, as well as to Australia, China, Japan, and all over the Pacific ... His village was one of the largest and richest we saw. With all this he was unhappy because he could not go off as a common sailor before the mast to knock about the ocean in cold climates which were his horror..." (Letters of Henry Adams). It is unclear whether Freeman was using the two volumes edited by Ford and published in 1930 and 1938 (see bibliography).

² Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, Stuttgart, 1902, p.237.

³ *O le Tusi Fa'alupuēga 'o Samoa*, London Missionary Society Press, Malua, Western Samoa, 1915, pp.56-57.

structural relationships existing among the lineages of a village community is to be found in its *fa'alupega*. *Fa'alupega* are recited on all occasions when the titled heads of lineages join in any sort of formal co-activity. This means that their positions relative to one another are receiving constant and explicit confirmation in organized behaviour. The same applies to the rigidly formulated *fono* seating-plan, the order of precedence at kava ceremonies, and the division of the pig, shark, turtle and other animals. All of these institutionalized formulations combine to produce a uniformity in belief and values, and to permit the transmission of this uniformity from one generation to another. By constantly hearing the recitation of *fa'alupega* and witnessing the ceremonial distribution of kava, lineage members are made aware of the lineage structure of their community from childhood onwards. It is no uncommon sight, for instance, to see little boys of about seven or eight years conducting a mock kava ceremony in the sand, and struggling to mouth the complicated *fa'alupega* which they have heard being used in the *fono* of *matai*.

When a young man joins the *aumaga* a knowledge of the lineage structure of his village is imperative for the performance of many of his duties, for he is often required to attend on village *matai* at their formal gatherings. Again, he knows that one day he will probably succeed to the chiefly title of his lineage, and strives to master not only all the intricacies of the structure of his own village, but to extend his knowledge of *fa'alupega*, kava-cup titles and the like, to cover all the neighbouring village communities with whose members he is likely to come into contact. Thus every new recruit to the *fono* of *matai* is fully equipped from his apprenticeship in the *aumaga*, with a detailed knowledge of the rights and obligations of all the lineages of his village. The wide yet uniform range in age of the *matai* of Sa'anapu demonstrates that the personnel of the village *fono* is regularly replenished as its older members grow old and die. In 1943 the number of *matai* falling in the age-group 51 years-70 years was approximately balanced by the number falling in the age group 36 years-50 years. This regular spacing of personnel means that the *fono* as an institution attains a continuity in time which ensures that its charter is consistently and faithfully observed.

The rigid and explicit manner in which inter-lineage relationships are formulated tends strongly to inhibit any changes in their character. A lineage can only permanently improve its position in the hierarchy of which it is a part by effecting alterations in *fa'alupega*, *fono* seating-plans, kava ceremony precedence and so on, and these alterations can only be achieved with the full cognizance and approval of the rest of the village lineages each of which is concerned to preserve its own position.

It is possible however for new and unrelated lineage groups to be admitted into a village community. As an example of this we may cite the assimilation of the Alo and Volē lineages into Sa'anapu village. The Alo and Volē lineages, as we have explained, stand in a well defined relationship to the rest of the Sa'anapu lineages and possess certain specific rights of their own. It should be noted however that the assimilation

of the Alo and Volē lineages into the Sa'anapu community has not affected the structural relationships based on genealogical ties that exist among the rest of the Sa'anapu lineages.

Titular and Executive Chiefs

The second element of importance in village social structure is the relationship that exists between titular and executive lineages. All of the lineages of Sa'anapu fall into one or the other of these mutually exclusive classes. The resultant dichotomy extends therefore over the whole of village social structure – the titular lineages as a class being opposed to the executive lineages as a class. The distinction between titular and executive chiefs is expressed in a wide range of culturally standardized behaviour patterns. These behaviour patterns pervade the whole of Samoan society and are rigorously observed in all social situations.

While the executive or titular status of a lineage pertains primarily to its titled head as either an *ali'i* or a *tulafale*, it also applies to all the other members of the lineage and its household. As an example we may take an incident that occurred in Sa'anapu village in 1943. One Saturday afternoon in January of that year, 'Aimiti, a girl of 18 years and a member of the titular lineage of Lea'anā Satini,⁴ was walking in the eastern section of Sa'anapu known as Lumā. She was wearing for the first time a new dress which she had bought only a few days previously. As she was passing the homestead of the executive lineage of Alo To'alima, Sefulu (aged 50 years), the wife of Alo To'alima, the *matai* of the lineage, stepped out of the house in which she had been sitting and commenced to 'ailao. Samoan custom allows an executive chief, or the member of an executive lineage to 'ailao in order to obtain property from a titular chief or one of his lineage.⁵ To 'ailao a person must intone three times in a loud voice first the title of the lineage concerned, and then its *taupou* name. This Sefulu did, crying:

Lea'anā e!

Lea'anā e!

Lea'anā e!

Afega e!

Afega e!

*Afega e!*⁶

Fa'afetai fa'aea faleupolu!

'Aimiti thereupon took off her new dress, and handing it over to Sefulu returned

⁴ 'Aimiti's relationship to Lea'anā Satini, her *matai*, was as follows: she was the eldest daughter of his father's sister.

⁵ See p.79.

⁶ *Afega* is the *taupou* name (*sa'otama'ita'i*) of the Lea'anā lineage. The terminal 'e' in an 'ailao is linked to the final vowel of the titles to produce a diphthong.

to her own lineage homestead, in her petticoat. Although she did not show it in Sefulu's presence, 'Aimiti was enraged, and when she reached her home she wept bitterly. Subsequently it would be possible for the Lea'anā Satini lineage to make some reciprocal claim on the Alo To'alima lineage, but 'Aimiti had no way of retrieving her dress. The next day Sefulu wore the garment to the morning church service. Between the Lea'anā Satini and Alo To'alima lineages there were no genealogical ties of any consequence, and Sefulu's action was sanctioned solely by the binding relationship that exists between titular and executive lineages.

Within the village community the *ali'i* – *tulafale* dichotomy is a fundamental feature in the constitution of all its institutionalized groups, applying equally to the *fono* of *matai*, the *aumaga*, the *auahuma*, the assembly of *faletua* and *tausi*, and the assembly of *avā taulele'a*. For example, the brother or son of an executive chief is granted in the *aumaga* the status of a potential *tulafale*. Similarly, the sister or daughter of an executive chief is given executive status within the *auahuma*. Affinal relatives are also affected. A woman belonging to a titular patri-lineage alters her entire status and becomes a *tausi* on marrying an executive chief. As a *tausi* she is obliged to fill that role in village life which Samoan culture ascribes to the wife of an executive chief. If however her husband dies and she return to the household of her own lineage, her status as a *tausi* lapses and she takes up once again the status and role ascribed to the member of a titular lineage.

Like the lineage structure the relationship between titular and executive chiefs persists relatively un-changed from one generation to another. John Williams in his manuscript journal kept during his second visit to Samoa in 1832, describes in some detail the relations existing between *ali'i* and *tulafale*. For instance, in his account of *malaga* ceremonial, Williams writes:

"A chief proposing to go on a *malaga* will obtain some valuable article of European property, blue beads, an axe, or a musket. He will then desire all his *tulafale* and servants to go fishing and prepare a considerable quantity of food. Every thing in readiness they depart in three, six, or ten canoes, as the number of persons forming the *malaga* may require. On arriving at the settlement of his friend or relative the chief makes him a present of the food with the European property he has obtained for the purpose. His relative in return makes him a present of mats and cloth which he has prepared for the purpose of giving to his relative ... with the property the chief thus obtains he pays his *tulafale* ..." ⁷

Precisely the same type of relationship holds between *ali'i* and *tulafale* in contemporary Samoa.

The diffusion of European material culture has resulted in a number of innovations in the patterns of behaviour laid down for executive and titular chiefs. For example a titular chief is served his cocoa (produced from native grown trees) in a china cup and saucer while an executive chief receives his in an enamel mug. But all these innovations are only modified expressions of a relationship the intrinsic nature of

⁷ John Williams' unpublished manuscript journal of his visit to Samoa in the schooner "Olive Branch," in October and November, 1832 is preserved in the library of the London Missionary Society. The servants mentioned by Williams would be the *taulele'a* of the chief's lineage household or village.

which has not suffered any basic changes. Indeed by so freely bringing the paraphernalia of Western culture into conformity with their own social values, the Samoans have done much to reinforce the strength of their social structure.

The Institutionalized Village Groups

A third aspect of village social structure which merits emphasis are its institutionalized groups. With but few exceptions all of the adult members of the Sa'anapu community belong to one or another of five groups, all of which are organized on a village basis. The personnel of these five groups is as follows:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (i) <i>fono of matai</i> | the titled heads of minimal lineages; |
| (ii) <i>aumaga</i> | (a) the untitled male members of local minimal lineages; (b) male affines of local lineage households; |
| (iii) <i>aualuma</i> | female members of local minimal lineages, each of whom is living in her own lineage household; |
| (iv) <i>potopotoga 'o faletua ma tausi</i> | the wives of <i>matai</i> |
| (v) <i>potopotoga 'o avā taulele'a</i> | the wives of the untitled members of local minimal lineages |

No individual, it will be noted, can belong to more than one of these groups at the same time. The majority of the male lineage members of a village community belong first to the *aumaga*, and then later, when they succeed to lineage titles, to the *fono* of *matai*. Similarly, the wives of lineage members have first the status of *avā taulele'a* (when their husbands are untitled), and later (when their husbands become *matai*), the status of *faletua* (wives of titular chiefs) or *tausī* (wives of executive chiefs). A female lineage member normally belongs first to the *aualuma* of her own village; she then becomes an *avā taulele'a*, and subsequently a *faletua* or *tausī* in her husband's village; and finally (should she become a widow) returns to her own lineage homestead, and re-joins the *aualuma* of her own village.

The charters of all five groups are fundamentally the same and are based on the lineage structure of the village community, and on the general relationship that exists between titular and executive lineages. The *fono* of *matai*, recruiting its personnel from the elected heads of minimal lineages is by far the most important group, and superintends every aspect of village life. The charter of the *fono* is expressed primarily in its *fa'alupega* and seating-plan.

The charter of the *fono* of *matai* represents therefore a general summation of the structural relationships existing among all the lineages of a village community. Moreover the charter of the *fono* is repeated in each of the other four groups we have enumerated. This means that the lineage structure and the *ali'i-tulafale* dichotomy of a village community is given institutional expression at five different and exclusive

social levels. Each institutionalized group is, as it were, a microcosm of the macrocosm of which it is itself a part.

The group structure of a village community, like its lineage structure, has both consistency and constancy. John Williams in his *Journal of 1832*, described the Samoan *fono* and the manner in which its affairs were conducted. Williams writes:

“...*fono* are held either in the large government house, or on a green lawn under the shade of spreading trees with each of which every settlement is provided. On these occasions the most perfect order is preserved. All are seated except the person delivering his speech; he stands up,⁸ his long hair let loose hanging over his shoulders in token of respect to the audience.... In these *fono* the chiefs⁹ themselves speak, but in meetings where subjects of minor importance, collecting of property, etc. are discussed, they have a speaker,¹⁰ it being considered below the dignity of a chief to give speeches on these occasions...”

The *aumaga* and the *aualuma* are also described at an early period, though with less exactness than in the case of the *fono*.¹¹ The evidence is sufficient however to demonstrate that the *fono*, the *aumaga*, and the *aualuma*, were all firmly established institutions on first European contact, and that they have so remained up to the present day.

Concerning the assembly of *faletua* and *tausi*, and the assembly of *avā taulele'a*, detailed data is scanty,¹² but this is understandable for they are institutions of minor importance when compared with the *fono*, the *aumaga*, and the *aualuma*, and the early observers of Samoan social life were by no means systematic. Although there is fairly strong presumptive evidence that both institutions are genuinely ancient features of village social structure, the lack of conclusive data from an early period does leave open the possibility that they have risen to prominence only in recent years.

The Concept of Social Structure

Having now summarized the cardinal features of the structure of the Sa'anapu village community we may consider briefly the bearing of the material we have presented on the general theory of social structure – particularly as it has been developed in recent years.

The first question we must face is an epistemological one. To what extent is the concept of social structure an abstraction? Professor Radcliffe-Brown has spoken of

⁸ Speeches are delivered standing up out-of-doors only.

⁹ I.e. titular chiefs or *ali'i*.

¹⁰ I.e. a *tulafale*, or executive chief.

¹¹ Refs. Rev. John Williams, *MS. Journal, 1832*; Rev. George Platt, *MS. Journal, 1835*; Rev. J.B. Stair, *Old Samoa*, London, 1897, p.109 seq. Also Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, Stuttgart, 1902, Erster Band, p.476.

¹² Ref. Rev. George Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language*, 1862; Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, 1902, Erster Band, p.476 seq.

social structure as an "actually existing concrete reality to be directly observed."¹³ Is this, we may ask, a methodologically sound proposition? We would submit that it is not. The raw material of anthropological enquiry is human behaviour – verbal and otherwise – and the material results of past human action. The field-worker begins then with the systematic observation of facts. He observes, for example, an individual whom he knows to be a titular chief making a presentation of bark cloth to an executive chief. From this social fact he infers a relationship the nature of which he further establishes by interrogation of one or both of the individuals concerned. By further observations of actual behaviour, and enquiry into the system of values that stands behind it, the anthropologist is gradually able to delineate, and ultimately to define the true character of the relationship he is studying. By examining a number of such relationships it is evinced that they have an ordered arrangement that is both pervasive and persisting. This ordered arrangement constitutes one facet of the social structure of the society being studied.

The social structure of a community or a society is real, we would claim, only inasmuch as we have reasonable grounds for believing that such an order does in fact exist; but it is nevertheless an abstraction based on a discrete series of observations – observations, that is, which have been made separately both in time and space. A social structure cannot be directly observed as can the steel scaffolding of a building; instead, it is always an inferred order derived from empirical observations which have been more or less adequately made.

The degree of abstraction involved however is often low, and the structure of a simple and homogeneous society can be defined with considerable precision. Furthermore the members of some societies have a clear conception of the nature of their own social structure and express it institutionally in various ways. As one example of this we have cited the seating-plan of the *fono* of *matai* of Sa'anapu village. This seating-plan gives explicit expression in spatial terms to the abiding relationships which exist among the titular and executive lineages of the Sa'anapu community. It represents a formulation in concrete terms of the conception held by the people of Sa'anapu of their own social structure. The version we have recorded was dictated by the members of the Fale Tolu, and subsequently approved by all the *matai* of the village as being the correct seating-plan of the Sa'anapu *fono*. However during the whole of our stay in Sa'anapu we did not once observe a meeting of the *fono* which followed exactly the seating-plan as postulated by the *matai* of the village. Always there was some slight variation. The reasons for these variations were invariable quotidian. Usually one or two *matai* were absent because of other commitments, or through sickness, and their places were occupied by others of approximately equal rank; again, there was often a re-arrangement of positions to avoid the fierce rays of the mid-

¹³ A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On Social Structure," *J.R.A.I.*, vol. LXX, 1940, p. 4.

morning sun that were streaming into one part of the house; sometimes an executive chief would leave his accustomed place in order to discuss some matter of urgency with one of the titular chiefs of the village ... Thus while a seating-plan is rigidly conceived in theory, it is often followed with considerable laxity in practice. On any particular occasion the circumstances that prompt variations in the theoretical pattern are readily discernible to all concerned and arouse no comment, for such variations in no way threaten the social structure of the community. This means that it is only by attending a series of *fono*, and observing the regularities which underlie minor deviations, that a field-worker is able to discern the manner in which the postulated seating-plan of a village determines the behaviour of its *matai*. We would submit therefore that the social structure of any group is an abstraction which can only be arrived at by prolonged and systematic study of behaviour, and that methodologically there can be no justification for regarding it as a 'concrete reality' which is either immediately or directly observable.

Despite the fact that the term 'social structure' is constantly and widely used by social anthropologists few exact definitions have been offered. Bateson has distinguished between 'cultural structure' and 'social structure.'¹⁴ Cultural structure he defines as "a collective term for the coherent 'logical' scheme which may be constructed by the scientist, fitting together the various premises¹⁵ of the culture." In the study of social structure on the other hand "we take human beings as our units and see them linked together into groups – e.g. as clan members or as members of a community." For Bateson, cultural structure and social structure are different aspects of the same phenomena. "In the study of cultural structure," he writes, "we shall see clans and kinship terminology as shorthand references to details of behaviour, while in the study of social structure we shall see these groupings as segments in the anatomy of the community, as part of the mechanism by which the community is integrated and organized."

With this distinction of Bateson's there can be no serious disagreement. In practice it is never possible to observe a social relationship in complete isolation from cultural factors. For example the form of the ceremonial presentations (*lajo*) made by a titular chief to each of a group of executive chiefs is culturally determined, as is the manner in which the presentations are dispensed and acknowledged. The amount of property given to any particular executive chief depends however on his structural position and cannot be explained in cultural terms. The cultural and social structures of a community are, we would aver, inextricably interwoven and largely interdependent. In Samoa, the *manaia* and *taupou* of certain titular lineages wear *tuiga* (head-dresses of human hair) on ceremonial occasions. The manufacture of these elaborate head-dresses, the terms used to describe them, etc. are part of Samoan culture, but the

¹⁴ G. Bateson, *Naven*, Cambridge, 1936, p.25.

¹⁵ Bateson, *ibid*, p.24. A premise, Bateson defines as "a generalized statement of a particular assumption or implication in a number of details of cultural behaviour."

wearing of them by particular individuals at a given ceremony can only be explained by structural analysis of the social relationships involved. While it is possible therefore to accentuate different aspects of the total social and cultural life of the Samoan people, any attempt to isolate completely either of these aspects from the complex unity of which it is a part is methodologically unwarranted.

Professor Evans-Pritchard¹⁶ has described social structure as consisting of "relations between groups which have a high degree of consistency and constancy." He points out that such groups "remain the same irrespective of their specific content of individuals at any particular moment, so that generation after generation of people pass through them. Men are born into them, or enter them later in life, and move out of them at death; the structure endures." "Structural relations," according to Professor Evans-Pritchard, "are relations between groups which form a system."

In the analysis we have presented of the social structure of Sa'anapu, stress has been laid on the importance of the criteria of consistency and constancy; our material has suggested however that the concept of social structure should not be limited to group relations only, but extended to embrace all person to person relationships of a pervasive and persisting character. Thus while the lineage structure of Sa'anapu village primarily defines the position of the various lineages of the village as groups, it also sanctions the personal behaviour of individual lineage members. For example the relations of the chief 'Anapu with the other *matai* of his village are determined by the fact that he is the elected head of the 'Anapu lineage. By virtue of his title he possesses a number of specific personal rights. For instance, no member of the 'Anapu lineage other than its elected chief can enter the *fono* and sit at the wall post allotted to the holder of the 'Anapu title. No one other than 'Anapu himself is entitled to have his kava announced with the honorific words: "*Lau ipu lenei, Sa 'o Malie ma Vaito'elau 'aumai 'anava vave ola!*" Every chiefly title in Samoa – executive as well as titular – represents a well defined structural position. Any individual chief exercises his rights and attains his authority not by reason of his individual capabilities but by virtue of the fact that he temporarily holds a title which has a specific structural significance. Thus if an individual is deposed from chieftainship he loses all his special privileges and all of his exalted rank, and becomes merely an untitled man compelled to obey the edicts of the other chiefs of his community. We have illustrated this point by recounting the instance of Mulitalo Atigi, one of the titular chief of Sa'anapu village. Although Atigi as an individual was expelled from the Sa'anapu *fono*, and was denied the right of the Mulitalo *fa'alupega* and kava-cup title, etc., the position of the Mulitalo title in the social structure of Sa'anapu village was not affected. Any other individual elected to the *matai*-ship of the Mulitalo lineage would be entitled to participate in the Sa'anapu *fono*, and to exercise all the jurally recognized rights attached to the title of Mulitalo.

¹⁶ E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, p.262 seq.

As we have recounted, this fact was made clear to the members of the Mulitalo lineage by the executive chiefs whose duty it was to formally announce the *fono's* decision to expel Mulitalo Atigi from its membership.

Similarly, rank in Samoa applies not to individuals as such, but to titles. As an example of this important sociological fact we have cited the case of Tuigale'ava Gatupu. Tuigale'ava, it will be remembered, as the leader of the Fale Tolu, is the principal executive chief of the Sa'anapu community. Gatupu, the man who was holding the Tuigale'ava title in 1943 was half-blind and in an advanced state of senility. So much was this the case that he was unable to perform many of the duties which fell to him as the leading *tulafale* of the village. In other than the most formal situations his idiosyncrasies and shortcomings were constantly ridiculed and derided by the people of Sa'anapu. His ineptitude did not however lessen the rank of the Tuigale'ava title, or interfere with its position in the social structure of the Sa'anapu community. Despite the fact that Gatupu was unable to fulfil his prescribed role, his status as holder of the Tuigale'ava title was granted full recognition in the kava ceremonies, in the recitation of *fa'alupega*, and in the distribution of food and property. This situation, we would submit, can only be correctly interpreted by structural analysis. Any explanation of the allotments of food and property made to Tuigale'ava Gatupu in purely functional terms is manifestly inadequate.

The institution of chieftainship pervades the whole of Samoan society, extending from the titled heads of maximal lineages of many generations depth, to the titled heads of minimal lineages consisting of a man and his children. The proportion of chiefs to untitled adult males is high. The Government Census for Western Samoa of September 25th., 1945, showed that there were 3,497 chiefs as against 12,989 untitled males of 15 years of age and over. Each of these 3,497 chiefs held a title which represented a precisely defined position in the structure of both the lineage and the village community of which it was a component part. This affords clear evidence of the manner in which the Samoan system of chieftainship dominates Samoan social life. We are justified therefore in isolating the various person to person relationships between chiefs as one of the most important features of Samoan social structure.

As a further example of the way in which dyadic relationships assume structural significance in Samoan society, we may take the *tama tane-tama fafine* relationship that exists between siblings of the opposite sex and their descendants. Within any given lineage the head of the *tama tane* group is the lineage *matai*. The head of the *tama fafine* group is the *matai's* eldest sister, or (should she be still alive) his father's sister. This woman – the senior female member of the agnatic line – is given the special name of

feagaiga,¹⁷ or *ilamutu*. Both of these terms describe a structural position. The *feagaiga* of a lineage as its senior female member holds a position of social equivalence with its titled male head; within the lineage she is a sort of female *matai*.

Between the *matai* and the *feagaiga* of a lineage there exists a standardized relationship which maintains its form relatively unchanged from generation to generation. For example on the death of a *matai* it is the *feagaiga*'s duty to keep watch over, and fan his corpse. While fulfilling this role she is given the special name of *fai-fa'a-ili*. Immediately before the corpse is interred the *fai-fa'a-ili* calls on the members of the lineage to bid it farewell. Each member advances in and touches noses (*sogi*) with the dead *matai*. The *fai-fa'a-ili* then pours perfumed coconut oil into both of the eyes of the corpse,¹⁸ after which act it is considered to be sacred (*sa*) and must not again be touched. At the funeral feast (*lau 'ava*) that follows the burial, the *feagaiga* (who retains the fan she has used and the residue of the oil) is presented by the *tama tane* group with a major share of the fine mats (*'ie toga*) and other property and food which has been amassed for the occasion.¹⁹

Although in the course of the history of a lineage a succession of different individuals hold for varying periods the positions of *matai* and *feagaiga*, the form of the relationship existing between them remains constant. A similar type of relationship (which we need not here describe) exists between a *matai* and his sister's eldest son, or *tama sa*.

The evidence we have presented justifies, we would claim, the extending of the definition of social structure to include the pervasive and persisting person to person relationships existing in a given society.

We have now argued that both inter-group and inter-personal relationships should be comprehended by the concept of social structure. There is one further aspect of social relations, which we believe it necessary – in the light of our Samoan material – to take into account. We refer to the differentiation of individuals and of classes by their social role, for it is under this heading that we must consider the dichotomy that pervades all of Samoan social life: the division of Samoan society into titular and executive lineages. It is not possible to define this dual organization in group terms. A titular or an executive chief maintains his status in all social contexts and in all parts

¹⁷ The term *feagaiga* is generally employed to refer to any two objects standing in contraposition. It is used for instance to describe the relative position of the central posts of the two *tala* of a *fale tele* which stand directly opposite one another. It is also applied metaphorically to person to person relationships. This is a further example of the way in which Samoans conceptualize in spatial terms the principal relationships of their society. Thus the term *feagaiga* is applied to the relationship between (i) the *matai* and the senior female member of a lineage; (ii) a titular and executive chief; (iii) the appointed *faisi'au* of a village and the community which he serves.

¹⁸ This act may also be performed by the sister's son, or *tama sa*.

¹⁹ Both Pratt (*Proc. R.S.N.S.W.*, vol 24, 1890, p.203) who served as a missionary in Samoa from 1839 to 1879, and Brown (*Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, p.41) who was in western Samoa from 1860 to 1870, have recorded the role of members of the *tama fafine* group at the funeral of a *matai*, as they observed it in ancient Samoa. The account they give of the *tama tane* – *tama fafine* relationship still applies in Samoa to-day.

of Samoa. For example, an executive chief from a remote village on the island of Savai'i who happens to be visiting Sa'anapu, will be classed with the executive chiefs of the Sa'anapu community in all relationships with the titular chiefs of the village. He is so classed however not by reason of any lineage ties with the Sa'anaputulafale, but merely by virtue of his ascribed status as an executive chief. All of the executive chiefs of Samoa form therefore a social class. The same may be said of all the titular chiefs of the archipelago. Within a village community it is usual to find groups of titular chiefs and groups of executive chiefs recruited on lineage principles. (e.g. the To'alima group of titular chiefs, and the Fale Tolu group of executive chiefs in Sa'anapu village), however the titular or executive chiefs of Samoa as a whole do not in any sense form a corporate group: but only separate classes. To each class there is ascribed a socially and culturally defined role. The nature of these roles we have discussed in some detail in previous chapters.

With but few exceptions²⁰ the two classes are mutually exclusive. As shown by the case of Tiulama,²¹ it is possible for a *mat'ai* and his lineage to move from one class to the other, but such changes in status are rare and never occur in the case of lineages of high rank. The great majority of Samoans are born into either a titular or an executive lineage and retain the status thus conferred as long as they remain members of their own lineage household. An affinal member of a household temporarily assumes the class status of the lineage of his or her spouse.

Of this formulation we have two main criticisms. Social structure, as we have argued, is not a 'concrete reality' but an abstraction. Secondly, we can discover little justification for the inclusion of the qualifying phrase, "at a given moment in time." In our analysis of the Samoan village *fono*, we have indicated that its structure is not a surface feature than can be immediately deduced. The social structure of any corporate group is rather a set of underlying principles which can only be defined by systematic study over a protracted period. The behaviour of the members of any group at a given moment in time always diverges for incidental reasons and to a greater or lesser extent from the structural relationships which, in general, determine social actions.

In studying social structure then we are not interested in "actually existing relations at a given moment in time," but rather in those social relationships which exhibit a high degree of pervasiveness, consistency and constancy.

By a pervasive relationship we mean one which applies to the whole, or to a major

²⁰ In some parts of Samoa (Leulumoega, in A'ana for example) there exist lineages whose *mat'ai* possess a combined titular and executive status. Such *mat'ai* are known as *tulafale - ali'i*. Krämer, *op.cit.*, p.482, describes *tulafale - ali'i* as independent and not under the jurisdiction of titular chiefs. He writes: "They are to be looked upon as chiefs who have the privilege of assuming a *tulafale* name, and are thus able to speak at the *fono*, and also to receive a mat of state 'ie 'o le malo) at the distribution of the mats of the titled chiefs. They can confer the titles but can hold none themselves. Their origin is probably due to a titular chief marrying the daughter of a *tulafale*, and both names then passing to their son. But the power usually comes through *tofiga*. At the kava ceremony they often rank before the titular chiefs."

²¹ See p.90 seq.

proportion of the members of a society; by a consistent relationship, one which is uniform and homogeneous in its various manifestations; and by a constant relationship, one which persists through time relatively unchanged.

As we would define it then, social structure refers to the ordered arrangement of the sum total of the pervasive, consistent and persisting relationships in a given group, community or society.

Within the boundary of a given society structural relationships of many different kinds operate. These relationships permeate a society to varying degrees. For example, class differentiation in terms of titular and executive status extends over the whole range of Samoan social relations. Such groups as the *aumaga* and the *auahama* on the other hand, are always confined to a single village community. They exist in all the village communities of the Samoan archipelago, but never at a higher plane in the total social structure. We may say therefore that the social structure of an entire society is a complex aggregation of separate but interrelated structures. These component structures are based on varying principles.

In our analysis of the social structure of the Sa'anapu village community we have noted the following important elements:

- (i) the lineage structure;
- (ii) the relationships existing between chiefs as persons;
- (iii) the institutionalized village groups (the *fono*, the *aumaga*, the *auahama*, the *faletua* and *tausī*, and the *avā taulele'a*);
- (iv) the *ali'i* – *tulafale* class dichotomy;
- (v) the *tama tane* – *tama fafine* relationship;
- (vi) the relationship existing between a village community and its *faiifeau*, or Christian pastor.

The ordered arrangement of all these elements forms the nucleus of the total social structure of the village community we have selected for study. Observations in other parts of Samoa suggest that these cardinal structural elements probably underlie the social structure of all Samoan village communities.

The testing in the field of the wider applicability of the principles we have postulated is a task to which we may be fortunate enough to return in future years.

'*Ua fili i tai se agāva'a*: The qualities of a canoe are tested in deep waters.

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APPENDIX



Derek Freeman in naval uniform, early 1940s.

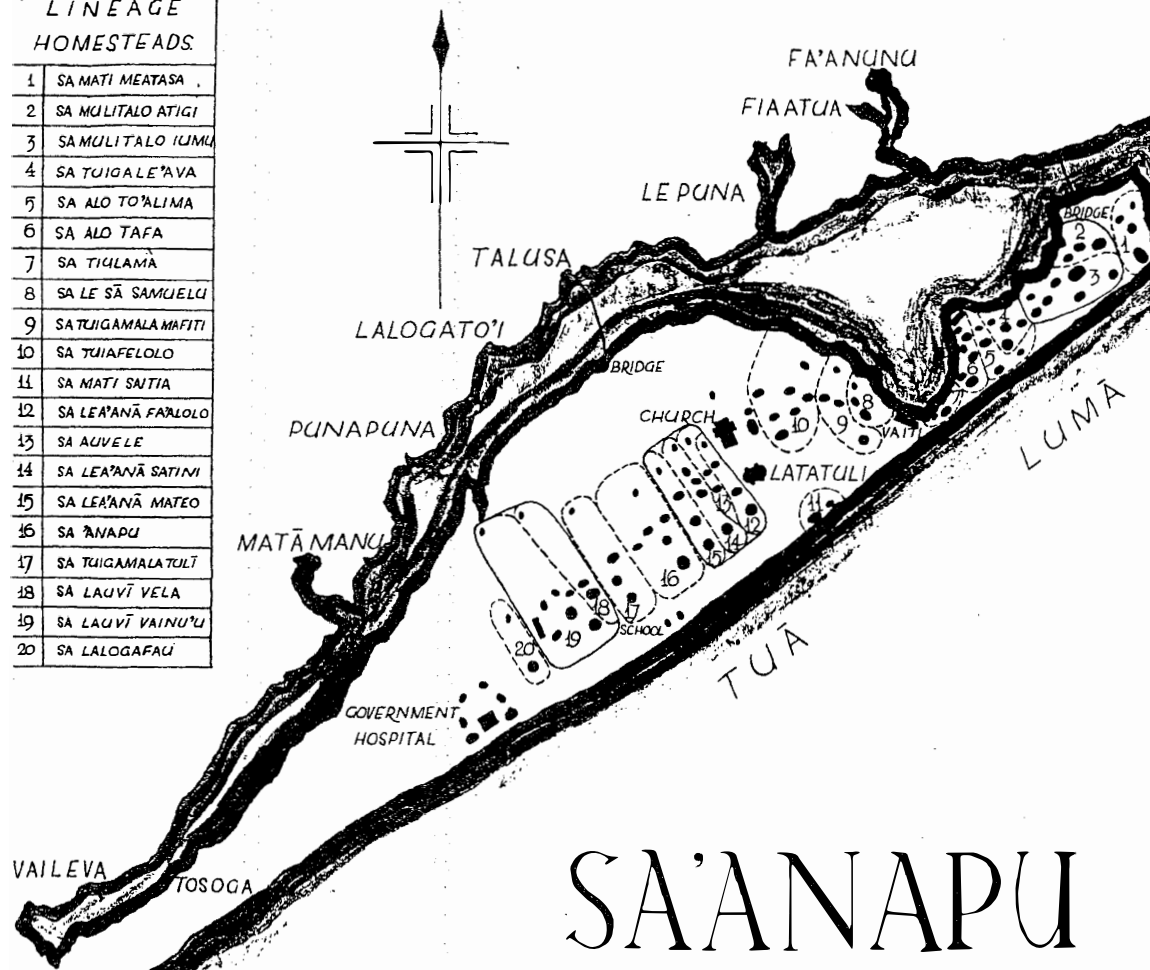
A Samoan Village Community



Derek Freeman in naval uniform, early 1940s.

LINEAGE
HOMESTEADS

1	SA MATI MEATASA
2	SA MULITALO ATIGI
3	SA MULITALO IUMU
4	SA TUIGA LE'A VA
5	SA ALO TO'ALIMA
6	SA ALO TAFI
7	SA TIULAMA
8	SA LE SĀ SAMUELI
9	SATUIGAMALA MAFITI
10	SA TUIAFELOLO
11	SA MATI SAITIA
12	SA LEA'ANĀ FAPULOLO
13	SA AUVELE
14	SA LEA'ANĀ SATINI
15	SA LEA'ANĀ MATEO
16	SA 'ANAPU
17	SA TUIGAMALATULI
18	SA LAUVĪ VELA
19	SA LAUVĪ VAINU'U
20	SA LALOGAFU



SA'ANAPU

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ABBREVIATIONS

J.P.S.	<i>Journal of the Polynesian Society</i>
J.R.A.I.	<i>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute</i>
Proc. R.S. N.S.W.	<i>Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales</i>
Univ. Cal. Publ. Amer.	<i>University of California Publications in American</i>
Arch. Ethn.	<i>Archaeology and Ethnology</i>

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