

Language and Bodies in Social Space: Samoan Ceremonial Greetings

Samoan ceremonial greetings both assume and reconstitute particular views of a hierarchical social order. At the same time, they also display a relatively fluid system in which negotiation of status and authority is frequent and one's ability to access the desired place in the social order is made perceptually available for public assessment. The codes (language, gestures, gaze) and channels (voice, body, sight) employed during such activities can produce meaning only inside of a cultural space that is never neutral. Eye gaze avoidance during the greetings is discussed vis-à-vis pan-Polynesian taboos surrounding individuals with extraordinary mana.

THIS ARTICLE PRESENTS THE FIRST empirical investigation of the interpenetration of words, body movements, and living space in the constitution of a particular kind of interactional practice in Western Samoa, which will be here called "ceremonial greetings."

By integrating ethnographic information with in-depth analysis of audiovisual recordings of social interactions, I will demonstrate that Samoan ceremonial greetings must be understood as located in and at the same time constitutive of a particular sociocultural organization of space inside a house. Both the performance and the interpretation of the words used in the exchange are contingent upon the participants' occupation of particular positions in the house. More generally, it will be shown that entering a house already occupied by high-status individuals is a highly interactional and negotiated process through which one's social persona is literally *placed* in the local social hierarchy.

The data presented here demonstrate that words used in the greeting are part of a sequence of acts that include bodily movements and cannot be fully understood without reference to such movements. Examining transcribed visual recordings of interactions, readers will come to appreciate the work done by a person's body in the first moments of an encounter, before the verbal greetings are exchanged. "Sighting" will be shown to be an interactional step whereby participants not only gather information about each other and about the setting but also engage in a negotiated process at the end of which they find themselves physically located in the relevant social hierarchies and ready to assume particular institutional roles. Finally, during the exchange of verbal greetings inside the house, Samoans are shown to often withdraw rather than seek mutual gaze. A possible explanation of this phenomenon is here discussed with respect to Polynesian postures toward people of high rank and during situations of potential rivalry. Eye gaze avoidance in contemporary Samoa may still carry some of the symbolic weight of the ancient Polynesian taboo against directly looking at high chiefs or royal personages for fear of the danger emanating from their extraordinary ancestral power, or *mana*.

Other studies of the cultural organization of space (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984; Moore 1986; Pader 1988) have already argued that a space is given meaning by the particular actions performed by an individual inside of it. The study presented in this article supports such arguments while unveiling a rich system of interconnected semiotic re-

sources that, within the same bounded activity, either sequentially or simultaneously define the setting, the situation, and the participants as belonging to more than one symbolic and socioeconomic plane of reference. It is the multiplicity of frames and identities revealed and recognized in and through Samoan ceremonial greetings that makes them ideal for an examination of how the social system is interactionally constituted. Ceremonial greetings both assume and reconstitute particular views of power and authority. At the same time, they also display a relatively fluid system in which negotiation of authority is frequent and one's ability to access the desired place in the social order is made available for public assessment.

Greetings across Disciplines

For several decades, greetings have been a recurrent object of inquiry for linguists and other students of human communication. Thus, in the early 1970s, ethnographers of communication tried to compete with grammarians to provide linguistic descriptions of greetings that could meet criteria for descriptive adequacy (see Grimshaw 1974). A series of studies concentrated on greetings as an example of the ways in which social activities involving speaking and other forms of communication could be the object of rigorous formal descriptions (Irvine 1974; Sacks 1975; Salmond 1974; Schegloff 1968; Youssouf, Grimshaw, and Bird 1976). These articles revealed the inherently sequential nature of greeting exchanges; they showed that greetings were typically assembled out of a set stock of verbal and sometimes kinesic acts, each of which was depicted as a strategic choice out of a set of only partly predetermined moves.

Anthropologists and sociologists interested in everyday interaction have tended to discuss greetings not only in terms of their contexts of use but also in terms of their functions. For Malinowski (1923), greetings are part of *phatic communion*, whereby people create "ties of union" and avoid silence—which is always "alarming and dangerous" (p. 314). In a similar vein, Firth (1972:1) defines greetings as "the recognition of an encounter with another person as socially acceptable." For him, the primary function of greetings is "the establishment of the other person as a social entity, a personal element in a common social situation" (1972:2). Goffman (1967) sees greetings (and farewells) as ways of managing continuity in social relationships.

Greetings provide a way of showing that a relationship is still what it was at the termination of the previous coparticipation, and, typically, that this relationship involves sufficient suppression of hostility for the participants temporarily to drop their guards and talk. Farewells sum up the effect of the encounter upon the relationship and show what the participants may expect of one another when they next meet. [Goffman 1967:41]

Goody (1972) stresses the importance of greetings in starting a social exchange and identifying the participants—their frequent role in defining rank would explain their complexity in stratified societies like the Gonja and their simplicity in egalitarian societies like the LoDagaa. She also focuses on another important dimension, the role that greetings have in the exploitation of status differentiations for personal gain.

Although most studies of greetings have concentrated on verbal rather than nonverbal behavior (ethologically oriented studies like Kendon and Ferber 1973 are an exception in this regard and will be discussed later), most authors seem aware of the actual or potential importance of complementary or ancillary kinesic acts during the exchange of verbal formulae. Firth (1970, 1972), for instance, devotes considerable attention to how the human body is employed in greetings and other forms of communication. He makes us aware of the role played by the sociocultural organization of space in such exchanges. In fact, the very idea of identification as one of the main functions of greetings is closely associated with the ability (and willingness) to recognize and hence "socially see" others who come in the "vicinity" of one's body or territory. This dimension of social encounters is also at the core of Frake's (1975) classic study of how to enter a Yakan house, which provides an emic account of how the temporal and spatial dimensions of social events are

essential to the cognitive processes necessary to solve the problems engendered by social contact, namely, recognition, identification, responsibility, and hospitality.

Despite the wealth of literature on greetings in a variety of languages and cultures around the world,¹ only a few of the available studies are based on audio or audiovisual recordings of actual greeting exchanges. With the exception of some studies of greetings in English done by conversation analysts focused on telephone opening and closing routines (see Schegloff 1979, 1986; Schegloff and Sacks 1973), most, if not all, published studies are based on the researcher's field notes or recollections of actual greetings and his or her discussions with a few informants. Most authors do not make transcripts of actual greetings available to the reader for independent analysis and/or do not discuss how they obtained the data. Thus, despite the analytical insights provided by studies such as the ones mentioned above, it is difficult to assess the reliability of some of the descriptions provided in them, especially with respect to such aspects as order of speakers, overlaps, pauses, and kinesic dimensions of the interaction, each of which would require repeated examination of the same stretch of interaction to ascertain the existence of recurrent patterns. As a quarter of a century of studies of language use in a variety of settings has amply demonstrated, whenever we work on human communication as opposed to abstract grammatical rules, intuitions alone are not sufficient for gaining even a moderately accurate account of the phenomena under study. If we are interested in what people do and say in daily interaction, we need to employ methodologies that allow us to capture the fleeting moment and represent it for further inspection. In the case of face-to-face encounters, audiovisual records of spontaneous interactions are indispensable. Unfortunately, in the case of greetings, those researchers who used film in the past (e.g., Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1968, 1974), either because of their ethological, cross-species interests or because of technological limitations (e.g., the absence or poor quality of the original sound track), often restricted their analysis to expressive or kinesic behavior and ended up either ignoring or downplaying the role of spoken language in the interaction.

Beyond Participant-Observation and Recollection

As we shall see with respect to Samoan ceremonial greetings, the availability of a record of both the language and the actions produced by the actors is crucial for an analysis of greetings. In the course of that brief time during which a person enters a house, goes to sit in a particular spot, and is addressed by the people already present, important decisions are made about the status of the newcomer and his or her social standing vis-à-vis the ongoing (or soon-to-follow) interactional frame (Goffman 1974). Before ceremonial greetings can be exchanged, a series of crucial moves are carried out by the newcomer and the people already in the house that make the performance of the greetings more or less likely. This means that the actual exchange of verbal expressions called here "ceremonial greetings" is contingent upon a number of other activities, including socially guided perception (e.g., seeing or being seen) and the utilization of the human body as a socially effective communicative resource. In the analysis presented here, the role of culture-specific spatial distinctions and allocations during these encounters is shown to be central, rather than complementary, to the understanding of the interpretive frames and social moves adopted by the actors. In our case, it will be the use of audiovisual recordings of spontaneous encounters in which greetings took place that will allow us to simultaneously consider the full range of elements and resources in the social setting that constitute the activity. As I show below, what, from a pre-analytic point of view, appears to be the first pair part of the exchange is in fact a move contingent upon verbal and non-verbal acts that precede it. People's choice of a particular place to sit is an *interactive achievement*. Anyone's entrance into the social space constituted by the house boundaries and by the inhabitants' already taken positions is guided by *socially constituted perception*. Being seen by others while approaching a particular place, being publicly recognized, and in some cases being invited to occupy a high-status position are all highly interactional ac-

tivities through which social identities are negotiated and the forthcoming or ongoing social event (e.g., a political meeting, a Sunday meal, an exchange of speeches and gifts) framed in terms of spatial access while or before linguistic categorizations and social epithets are used. In fact, it is misleading to think of greetings either as linguistic or as nonlinguistic acts. They are, rather, complex cultural practices that exploit a number of semiotic (e.g., speech, gaze, posture) and material (e.g., the physical properties of the locale in which the encounter takes place) resources toward the goal of the constitution of actors vis-à-vis a context for their social existence.

This is particularly apparent in the Samoan greetings I discuss here, but it holds for other cases as well. Samoan ceremonial greetings are here portrayed as complex interactions dealing with the negotiation of a social space whose allocation, in turn, becomes instrumental to the public recognition of a human body as a social persona of a particular type. In this respect, greetings are not that different from other forms of social indexing done through language or other communicative resources (Garfinkel 1967; Hanks 1990; Levinson 1983; Ochs 1992). Greetings are bounded activities that elaborate on and interact with other (prior or ensuing) activities in which the same parties involved in the exchange were or are about to become engaged. *Their sequential properties and their multi-channel architecture make greetings ideal occasions for both producing and keeping alive specific and at the same time multiple versions of the ongoing social scene, as well as multiple identities of the participants.* In other words, multiple channels and modes of interaction (voice, body, body/space) are used not only because they are available, but because they each offer a different solution to the same problem, namely, how to establish and sustain a particular version of the social world—with its assumptions about knowledge and power, access and denial, continuity and change—without denying the possibility of other versions, with their orders and power relations.

The analyst's problem, here as elsewhere in the study of social conduct, is how to provide a description that does justice to all channels and media employed in the interaction, visually accessible behavior included (see Moerman 1990). Inspired by the pioneer work of Birdwhistell (1970), Goffman (1972), and Kendon (1977, 1990), among others, my analysis is based on the following premises:

1. Any study of interactional routines such as greetings should start from actual uses of speech-in-interaction rather than from ideal linguistic structures or linguistic taxonomies.
2. If we want to understand the respective roles played by verbal and nonverbal channels, we should not hold preconceived notions about the primacy of one code over another; we should instead carefully examine the sequential as well as interlocking properties of their interfacing.
3. Communicative acts should always be located in the social space that those acts utilize and help reconstitute along culture-specific distinctions.

Analytical Dimensions of Greetings

Previous work on greetings has revealed five analytical dimensions of their internal structure and organization: (1) their sequential organization; (2) the types and number of adjacency pairs (or speech act sequences) that constitute the greeting; (3) the identity of the initiating party; (4) the role of kinesic aspects of the exchange; and (5) the content of the verbal messages exchanged during greetings.

In this article I focus especially on dimensions 1 and 4 and in particular on the role of the social space and the human body in the sequential organization of the ceremonial greetings. The internal organization of the verbal exchange will be the subject of another article.

Sequential Organization

A recurrent feature of greetings across languages and cultures, regardless of their syntactic complexity or lexical content, is their sequential organization—the fact that they

are typically organized in the form of one or more adjacency pairs (see Schegloff and Sacks 1973), that is, two-part sequences in which the first pair part by one party (A) invites, constrains, and partially defines the meaning of a reply by the other party (B). An example of a greeting comprising one adjacency pair is given in example 1 below, taken from a telephone conversation in Italian recorded by the author:²

1. "Giorgio3"

- G: *pronto*,
hello,
S: *Giorgio?*
Giorgio?
→ G: *ah ciao*. (Greeting: first pair part)³
oh hi.
→ S: *ciao*. (Greeting: second pair part)
hi.
[...]

The uttering of *ciao* by the first speaker elicits (invites, evokes) another *ciao* by the second. This is a common characteristic of greetings. As shown in the next section, what may differ from one language to another or from one situation to another are the types of speech acts constituting each pair and the length or generative power of the sequence. Thus, there are cases, such as example 1, in which the syntactic form and/or lexical content of the first pair part is echoed by the content of the second pair part (e.g., the English *hi/hi*, or *good morning/good morning*), but there are also cases in which the two parts are different.

Types and Numbers of Adjacency Pairs

In addition to greeting-greeting sequences, there are also greeting exchanges in which the two speech acts are of a different type. Thus, the adjacency pair may be constituted by a question-response sequence, as shown in example 2 from Milton (1982), or by a greeting-acknowledgment pair (Crago 1988).

2. (Kasigau, a Bantu language of southern Kenya)

- A: *wawuka?*
have you woken (well)?
B: *nawuka*.
I have woken (well).

Further, in some cultures, the greeting sequence may extend over more than one adjacency pair (e.g., Crago 1988). African greeting exchanges have been shown to significantly exceed the single adjacency-pair format, displaying a long sequence of adjacency pairs, some of which, as in (2) above, display a question-answer format—A: 'did you sleep well?' B: 'only peace' (Maninka, quoted in Bird and Shopen 1979). A typical example of this multi-pair type of greeting exchange is provided by Irvine's (1974) account of the Wolof greeting, here partly reproduced in (3):

3. (Wolof, Irvine 1974)

- I. A: *Salaam alikum*.
B: *Malikum salaam*.
II. A: (gives own name)
B: (gives own name)
III. A: (A gives B's name)
B: (B gives A's name)
[...]
A: ('How do you do?')
B: ('I am here only')
[...]

As can be seen in (3), these long sequences include exchanges that in studies of English greetings are usually thought of as falling "outside" of the greeting exchange (e.g., *where*

are you going?, *how are you?*). African greetings in general seem to include a highly predictable sequence of speech acts and adjacency pairs, which in other languages might be seen as part of "openings" (or "closings") but not necessarily of "greetings," per se.⁴ Whereas a given culture (or a given analytical tradition) may see a particular set of exchanges as forming a single set (e.g., greetings), another culture may see it as a sequence of different adjacency pairs (e.g., greetings + how-are-you + . . .). From an "African" perspective, one could, for instance, analyze English telephone openings as examples of multi-pair greetings by including in the same unit the "hello," the greeting exchange, and the "how are you" parts—and Schegloff's (1986) analysis of the opening routine could be seen as supporting such an argument. What interests us here, however, is simply the fact that what are conceived of as "greetings" may occupy a different amount of interactional space, revealing a variety of individual characteristics and personal or social connections between the parties involved. The content of verbal greetings, that is, may accomplish a number of "jobs," which include but also seem to go beyond the social identification of the parties and the reassurance of continuity in their relationship.

Identity of Initiating Party

Another variable found in the literature regards the initiator of the greeting sequence. Whereas in some cultures it is difficult to make an accurate prediction, in others there seem to be stronger expectations about who should go first. Thus, according to Youssouf, Grimshaw, and Bird (1976:803), among the Tuareg, "[t]he newcomer, or visitor, is required . . . to initiate interaction." If a single person meets a group, the former will be expected to initiate greetings. In hierarchical societies, precedence can have strong status implications. According to Goody (1972), in Gonja, inferiors initiate and superiors reply. In Samoan ceremonial greetings, the people already in the house are always the ones who begin the verbal exchange by welcoming the new arrivals. Once the first pair part of the verbal greeting is uttered, a second pair part always follows. At the same time, when we take into consideration nonverbal social action, we discover that, as discussed by Schegloff (1968) for telephone conversations, the identity of the party who initiates the actions that lead to a greeting may not necessarily be the same as that of the person who speaks first.

Semiotic Dimensions Other than Verbal: Bodies in Social Space

As mentioned earlier, in most studies of greetings, words have the lion's share. There are, however, exceptions, the most important of which are probably Kendon and Ferber's (1973) study of American greetings and Collett's (1983) study of Mossi salutations.

Kendon and Ferber (1973) examine in some detail the kinesic aspects of greetings among English-speaking people in the United States.⁵ They stress the importance of space for understanding the dynamics of human greetings and try to account for the variation in greeting behaviors in terms of relatively small interactional units (e.g., sighting, distant salutation, approach phase, close salutation). Collett (1983) provides a typology of greetings and partings among the Mossi, a Sudanic people living in the region of the White and Red Voltas. He distinguishes between asymmetric salutations aimed at expressing respect toward higher-status people and symmetric ones aimed at conveying solidarity among equals. Starting from a comparison of Mossi salutations with the American ones described by Kendon and Ferber, Collett also offers interesting speculations about the sociohistorical connections between the structure and content of the greetings and the society's social structure.

Other, more recent contributions to the study of language and space have also provided important leads to the study of greetings presented here. In particular, Hanks's (1990) study of Maya deictic particles shows that linguistic forms both encode and are dependent upon a socioculturally organized space and a field of action that are defined by the bodies of the participants in the speech event. Drawing from a variety of intellectual sources, including phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty 1967; Schutz 1970) and practice the-

ory (Bourdieu 1977), Hanks critically reassesses and expands on a structuralist tradition of study for which the linguistic code is primary by showing the importance of an ethnographically informed understanding of the spatiotemporal coordinates that give meaning to linguistic forms. Hanks argues that one cannot properly describe Maya deictic terms without an understanding of units of interaction that are not linguistic (his notion of "corporeal field" is closely related to Merleau-Ponty's [1967] *schema corporel*). In the analysis of Samoan social actors entering a house already occupied by others, I have come to similar conclusions. In these settings, the human body is not only an important semiotic resource for encoding and decoding linguistic expressions, but also a potentially powerful and equally important element in its own terms, especially when acting within a space pregnant with cultural tradition. For participants to stick to linguistic forms may not always be the best heuristic strategy. The body (e.g., body postures, gestures, eye gaze) not only provides the context for the interpretation of linguistic units (words, morphemes, etc.), as argued by linguists working on deixis, but helps fashion alternative, sometimes complementary, sometimes contradictory, messages.⁶

For this reason we need a technology that can allow us to track the movements of the body without losing sight of what is being said, to integrate ethological methods with analytical tools developed in the study of discourse. Just as talk is enriched and illuminated by the space in which it is used, space is also given meaning by talk. As stressed by human geographers and urban-planning theorists (Hägerstrand 1975), in face-to-face interaction, space is not simply the "physical context" in which certain verbal exchanges take place, but the social and cultural map that gives participants clues on how to move around and shape each other's interpretations of what is going on. Greetings are, to a large extent, about human bodies—"living bodies" (*Leib*) and not just "physical bodies" (*Körper*) (Husserl 1960)—entering and occupying a common space that is not just a physical space, or a natural space, but a space that, by shared history or by the very fact of being presently occupied by humans, becomes a culturally organized and organizing structure for any future actions. In such a space, words alternate between being ancillary and central constitutive elements. They are independently important at some moments, while at other times they may just reiterate what is accomplished by other (nonverbal) acts.

The Verbal Content of Greetings

What is actually said during a greeting exchange changes from one language or culture to another and from one situation to another within the same culture. Although in many cultures greetings focus on the physical or spiritual well-being of the interactants (e.g., 'how are you?', 'may peace/God/health be with you'), it is also common to find questions, announcements, or statements about time or space used in the opening and closing utterances that routinely frame social encounters. I suspect that the alternation between time- and space-oriented greeting is an important typological difference among cultures that deserves further study. Whereas most English greetings seem to be time-oriented and express concern with temporal units (e.g., *good morning, good evening, see you later*), in many other languages, when two people approach one another, they exchange information about places and movement. It is possible that (especially under cultural contact) a community may switch from one type to the other or integrate a system predominantly of one type with expressions of the other. Thus, in discussing Tikopia greetings, Firth (1972:13) noted that the traditional focus on space-movement he had found in greetings during his earlier visits—with such expressions as 'where are you going?' 'I am going for a stroll' as the most common ones—had by the mid-1960s been complemented by time-phrases such as 'good is this morning (day, evening, night)', based on the English model. In time-oriented greetings, the units also vary, partly depending on the local system of dividing up and thinking about time and temporal distinctions.

Very much like the other traditional Polynesian greetings discussed by Firth, the Samoan greetings I discuss below also tend to focus on movements in space. Although there

are greetings in Samoa that mirror the English time-oriented ones, they are not as frequently used as the space-oriented ones and are most likely a recent development. This is not the same as saying that time and temporal distinctions do not matter in Samoan greetings. On the contrary, when two parties meet and how recently they had met before are important factors in explaining how they will address each other. Furthermore, sequential considerations are crucial in the exchange. The content of the talk exchanged as or during greetings, however, tends not to be about the time of the day.⁷

Methods

This analysis is based on fieldwork in Western Samoa carried out on several occasions from 1978 to 1988. In 1978–79, I recorded and studied the language of Samoan titled individuals (*matai*) and, in particular, the political and ceremonial contexts in which speechmaking was performed.⁸ In those settings, participants addressed each other by using ceremonial phrases and a special set of lexical terms and expressions called in Samoan *'upu fa'aaloalo* 'respectful words' (Milner 1961; Durante 1992a). One of the phenomena I frequently observed and discussed with Samoan friends and consultants was the exchange of a special set of phrases that characterized the arrival of a new person in any gathering of *matai* as well as in other social situations (e.g., church activities, visits to someone's house). I was particularly interested in the lexical forms and ceremonial addresses used in those exchanges and the ways in which they were related to what was said in other moments in the interaction. I also learned to perform such greetings when receiving a guest in our house or going to visit someone in the village or elsewhere. Although I accumulated a respectable amount of information about them, for a long time I did not venture into a detailed analysis of these phenomena. They seemed to me preliminaries to more important and richer exchanges and it was to the latter that I gave my unconditional attention. It was only after two subsequent visits—in the spring of 1981 and in the summer of 1988⁹—and several hours of visual recordings of different types of social events that I was suddenly struck by the complexity and intricacy of Samoan ceremonial greetings. The recurrent and yet variable features of these activities became more apparent after I edited several instances of ceremonial greetings into one continuous segment. It was precisely the richness of the audiovisual recordings that convinced me to consider the internal organization of this speech activity.¹⁰ The video segments suggested that greetings are not only speech acts in the traditional sense, but complex, coordinated actions that mediate the location of bodies in a culturally constructed space. In addition to being exchanges of fancy epithets, they are also about the negotiation of the occupation of a culturally meaningful space. Such a space, however, precisely through the interaction of verbal, kinesic, and material elements in the setting, comes to have two dimensions: an acoustic one and a visual one.

Among the films and videotapes I had made over the years, I found a total of 13 instances of ceremonial greetings. It is primarily on these data that the analysis presented here was conducted. At the same time, ethnographic and linguistic analyses of closely related sociolinguistic phenomena have been of great help in trying to understand how distinct ceremonial greetings are as speech activities.

Transcription

From child-language researchers and conversation analysts I take seriously the claim that "transcription is a selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions" (Ochs 1979:44). When I start to work on a new topic and select the data that might be relevant to what I want to study, I usually go back to the tapes of the interactions I want to analyze and, in the process, revise earlier transcriptions of those interactions. What seemed an adequate record of those interactions for earlier analyses might not be so for new ones. As my interest shifts, so does my need for accuracy and selectivity. This process usually consists of listening to the tapes again and checking earlier transcriptions and

translations. Once satisfied with the new transcriptions (or when I know that I can't do any better), I usually work from the new transcripts rather than from the original tapes. In this study, however, I continuously returned to the videotapes. I had doubts not so much about what I had written down, but about where the people who had not spoken were and what they were doing. Although the visual record could not always answer these questions (cameras and lenses, like the people who use them, have preferences and make choices; usually one cannot have a 360° view or not even a good wide-angle view, which is about 70°), it could often give clues as to what people were doing and what some of them were looking at.¹¹ To represent this information in print, I have provided several graphic representations (a bird's-eye view) of the floor plan of the houses in which ceremonial greetings took place and the positions of the occupants. A small semicircle indicates the position of a person's pelvis; a straight line connects a semicircle with the name or title of the person represented by the semicircle. Straight or curved lines with an arrow at the end indicate someone's route to a particular position in the setting. (See Figures 1-7.)

The Sociocultural Context

Western Samoa is an independent Polynesian chiefdom that still maintains some of the basic features of stratified social structure described for other Polynesian societies (e.g., Hawaii, Tonga). Despite the ties with such Western countries as New Zealand, Australia, and the United States, where thousands of Samoans either temporarily or permanently migrate and acquire new cultural artifacts and values, in the daily life of Samoan villagers, stratification is still at work in what, in many aspects, is a very traditional type of social organization. Adults are divided into two classes: untitled (*taulele'a*) and titled (*matai*) individuals. Titles, which are not inherited by birth but given out by the extended family to an individual for the rest of his or her life, are divided into two fundamental classes: those of chiefs, strictly speaking (*ali'i*), and those of orators or talking chiefs (*tulāfale*), with the latter usually acting as the vassals and spokespersons for the higher-ranking *ali'i*. There are also orators who have a special, somewhat ambiguous status that places them above all other orators and sometimes at the same level of chiefs. In the village where I conducted fieldwork, there were two special orator titles, Iuli and Moe'ono, and they were both called *Matua*, literally 'mature', which I have translated as 'senior orator'. They were considered the great mediators and organizers of the village polity.

Titles (of various kinds and ranks) usually come with exclusive access to land and its products, control over labor by lower-status members of the extended family, and the right to participate in high-level decision-making arenas, such as the *fono* or village council. Although in principle any adult can hold a title, usually titleholders are men over 30—and the great majority of men over 30 do have a title these days. When they don't have a title of their own, women are granted a status commensurable to either their father's (if unmarried) or their husband's title (such a status is relevant in their participation in various village activities and especially, but not exclusively, in those organized by and for women). People who hold a title deserve special respect (*fa'aaloalo*), but a person may also deserve respect because of his or her job (e.g., a doctor, a nurse, a schoolteacher, a carpenter) or because of the context in which the encounter takes place (an occasion in which his or her services are needed). Respect is expressed by the offer of services of various sorts, by gifts, and by special words (*'upu fa'aaloalo*, see Milner 1961) that recognize or momentarily raise someone's status but at the same time bind him or her to act accordingly (Duranti 1992a). The words exchanged when meeting someone on the road, in a house, or in a public event are one of the most common ways of expressing respect.

The Samoan House

The Samoan ceremonial greetings discussed in this article typically take place inside a house. Te Rangi Hiroa (1930) described in great detail both the various types of dwellings

traditionally built by Samoans and the techniques used in their construction. Although many of the characteristics he outlined have resisted modernization, some have not.

Samoan houses are usually part of family compounds where extended families (composed of two or more related nuclear families) live under the jurisdiction of at least one titled person. Houses (*fale*) can be of different types and sizes (the bigger they are, the higher the status of their occupants). Traditionally, each roof covered one room and different dwellings were used for different functions (e.g., sleeping and ordinary living, cooking, receiving guests). Recently, the concept of separate rooms has started to gain prestige and those who can afford it may add a back room or extension, reserved for storing goods, changing clothes, and engaging in other "backstage" activities (Goffman 1959).¹² The floors (covered with small stones, old coral, or cement) are one of three basic shapes: circular, "oval," and rectangular.¹³ The circular shape is rarer and tends to be reserved for large constructions (*fale tele*) used for hosting important public events.¹⁴ The other two shapes are found throughout the country in any size or style along the "traditional-Western" continuum. Regardless of their style, however, Samoans always like their houses to allow for strong ventilation to help cope with the heat and high humidity. Thus, differently from other Polynesian and neighboring Melanesian cultures (e.g., Fiji), in which houses have walls and are usually quite dark inside (see Oliver 1989:ch. 9), the traditional Samoan house (nowadays called *fale Sāmoa* 'Samoan house') is but a steep roof (either thatched or of corrugated tin) supported by wooden posts placed at a few feet from one another. Blinds (*pola*) can be lowered or raised at will along the posts to protect the inhabitants from direct sunlight, heavy rain, or strong wind. Western-style houses (*fale pālagi*) have wooden walls, but they still tend to have large windows, which are only sometimes covered by louvered glass. There are also various combinations of the two styles, the most common of which is a structure that resembles the traditional Samoan house but is partly built in cement (e.g., with cement floor and cement posts). All of the settings discussed in this article shared the feature of high visibility from and to the outside: two were traditional Samoan-style houses with wooden posts; two had a few Western features, such as a low (wooden or cement) fence that defined entrance points and a back room with walls; and the fifth was a large, rectangular guest house with linoleum floor, wooden posts, a low fence between the posts, and short portions of wooden walls at the four corners.

Like other built environments described by ethnographers around the world (Lawrence and Low 1990), houses in Samoa both imply and help make explicit a set of expectations about the social system and people's relationships with one another. Thus, for instance, like the Kabyle house described by Bourdieu (1971, 1977), the Samoan house is a primary locus of socialization, where children learn about social obligations and rank and where they first observe and then progressively engage in culturally appropriate activities (cf. Ochs 1988).

Sitting inside a house is governed by several rules that can be violated only under special circumstances. The body of a person who sits in a house should not be in direct contact with the floor—this applies to old-fashioned pebble floors, cement floors, and floors covered with linoleum. Handmade seating mats of standard rectangular shape and size are used throughout Samoa for sitting while talking or working inside the house.¹⁵ An unexpected visit is typically made known by a loud cry by the more senior person around to the children or untitled members of the family to hurry and bring more mats for the newcomer(s) to sit on. The floor of a house expected to seat guests or a gathering of any sort is usually already covered by seating mats placed around the periphery.

The proper way of sitting inside a house is cross-legged (*fātai*, with the thighs covered (by the wrapped-around cloth *'ie* used by both men and women). On formal occasions, only chiefs are allowed to sit with one foot resting on the thigh of the other, in a position called *nape-vae*. It is important not to point one's legs toward other people in the house. Under special circumstances or in very informal contexts, one might be permitted to

stretch one's legs (*fa'aloaloa*). If there are visitors around, a mat may be placed on the legs as a sign of respect toward the others present.

The space in the middle of the house is usually left bare and is used for walking to and from the periphery, especially by younger and untitled people, who are expected to serve those sitting by carrying objects to them or for them. A person might also occasionally walk across this central space on the way to a sitting place at the periphery of the room. These circumstances often create the awkward situation in which individuals find themselves standing and hence higher than those sitting, some of whom are probably of higher status. This contradiction between the height of the person's body and the status of his or her social persona vis-à-vis those sitting is amended by moving along in a crouched posture (*totolo*) and in some cases by using the apologetic expression *tulou!*

Samoa Ceremonial Greetings

In this article, "greetings" is used to refer to opening verbal acts that are (1) recognized as predictable and appropriate at the time of a social encounter and (2) co-occurrent with or constitutive of the interactants' public recognition of each other's presence in the same perceptual field. I am not concerned here with closing salutations and other leave-taking routines.

In the speech economy (Rossi-Landi 1973) of a Samoan community, we find different kinds of greetings, including:

1. *tālofa*, a greeting used between parties who are from different areas and do not see each other very often (see example 7 below)—this is also the most common greeting used with foreign visitors when they first arrive (see also Holmes 1987:112);
2. The passing-by greeting, which utilizes question-answer pairs, such as A: 'where are you going?', B: 'to do some shopping' and A: 'then go', B: 'okay, I'll go';¹⁶
3. the *mālō*-greeting, a relatively new type of greeting probably developed from what Duranti and Ochs (1986) call the "*mālō*-exchange";
4. ceremonial greeting, a routinized, albeit co-constructed, context-bound, and context-creating exchange of highly but not fully predictable phrases and epithets between a welcoming party A (usually comprising several individuals) and a newly arrived, responding party B (usually, but not always, comprising one individual).

In this article, I concentrate only on the last type of greetings. From the point of view of the talk that is exchanged, Samoan ceremonial greetings (hereafter, CGs) have an overall sequential structure schematically represented in example 4:

4.
A; {WELCOMING}
B; {RESPONSE}

Although this scheme shows that Samoan CGs are made of two parts and thus fall within the one adjacency-pair model characteristic of other greeting exchanges discussed in the literature, they can be said to be an adjacency pair only in an unusual and loose sense of the term, given that, as shown in example 5 below, each pair part typically takes several turns, sometimes by different speakers whose speech often overlaps (see lines 13–16 in example 11 below) or interlocks—see the presence of a beginning particle (*ia'*) by the responding party (B) in the middle of the first pair part—so as to produce a rather composite type of sequence that resembles a fugue.¹⁷

5. "Monday *Fono*" (The orator Matu'alelua (/Maku'alelua/) has just entered the house and sat down next to the senior orator Moe'ono. He is greeted by Moe'ono and some of the other people already in the house.)

?	<i>maliu mai</i> , (Maku'alelua)
	welcome, (Matu'alelua)
	{
Moe'ono;	<i>ia'</i> ,
	well,
	(<i>maliu mai</i>)
	(welcome)

- ??; *maliu mai!*
 welcome!
- Matu'alelua; *ia'*,
 well,
 [
- ??; *Maku'alelua,*
 Matu'alelua,
- ???: *lau kōfā Maku'alelua,*
 your honorable Matu'alelua,
- Matu'alelua; *(ia') le susuga a le ali'i pulegu'u*
 (well) the honorable sir mayor
 (?) *le kōfā le makua gei*
 (?) this honorable senior orator
 le mamalu o le kagaka o le Kuiakua
 the dignitaries of the King of Atua

As in other cases discussed in the literature on greetings in other societies, in Samoa the phrases that are exchanged during a CG typically index some contextually salient properties of the parties addressed, including their social status(es) or office(s) and, in some cases, their relation to a particular descent group. This suggests that CGs are formally designed to publicly recognize the status of both the newly arrived party and the people who are already sitting in the house as relevant in the forthcoming interaction. Their use thus assumes acquaintance among co-present parties and a title or position to be recognized. When a person of possibly high status in the house is not known to the newly arrived party, the latter will either not greet that person or create a "title" for the occasion.

In contrast to the other types of greetings mentioned above, most of the time CGs are not the first words exchanged by parties in an encounter. Before the newcomer is greeted by those already in the house, it is not unusual to hear him or her exchange information with others about his or her own or someone else's recent activities, inquire about members who are not present, or make observations about new or noticeable features of the setting. This is particularly the case if the new party arrives while the official event has not started yet and thus enters an interactional space governed by conversational norms. In one case, for instance, while he is entering the house, the senior orator Moe'ono makes a comment about the fact that the meeting is being videotaped; the other members of the assembly respond either apologetically or with a joke. Jokes are not uncommon in this part of the encounter (and the foreigner-ethnographer with or without a camera is always a likely target).

The fact that during these pre-CG interactions participants usually do not also exchange other kinds of greetings, such as *mālō*, supports the thesis that the exchanges examined here should be called greetings.¹⁸ At the same time, the informal talk that often goes on before (and sometimes after) the CGs is functionally equivalent to at least part of what greetings seem to do in other contexts—for example, to start a social exchange (Goody 1972) or to recognize the encounter as "socially acceptable" (Firth 1972) and not hostile (Goffman 1972; Malinowski 1923)—as shown by the use of jokes and laughter in the pre-CG interaction.

In this article I concentrate on the ways in which these greetings are part of a larger set of acts and resources utilized by participants in an interaction to gain access to a social space or to legitimate its occupation. It is the appropriation of such a space that gives certain individuals the right and duty to be identified with particular social personae, at least for the course of the ensuing interaction. The words that are said in the exchange are important and have an organization of their own, but can only be made sense of if we integrate them with the use and reception of the bodies that enter the locally relevant perceptual field.

The Language of Bodies in Social Space

Ceremonial greetings are typically exchanged when a high-status person (e.g., a titled individual, either chief or orator, a government official, a pastor, a foreigner) arrives at what is either foreseen or framed as an official visit or public event. Thus, for instance, a high chief arriving at a gathering of other *matai* is usually formally greeted by the assembly (or in fact by some of its members) and responds to the welcoming phrases with other phrases that index some aspects of the social identities of those present. A high chief coming back to his own house at the end of the day, however, would not be received with CGs by members of his immediate family, although he might be formally greeted by high-status visitors awaiting his return.

Although conventional and routinized, CGs are by no means automatic or obligatory. In general, any person entering a house has ways of letting others know whether or not he or she is coming for some official business and does so first of all by choosing a place to sit. For this reason, as shown by an examination of visual records of spontaneous interaction and differently from what was stated in earlier ethnographic accounts,¹⁹ not every titled individual entering a house is greeted, not even when the participants know that there is going to be a meeting or a ceremony. The choice of the place in which one sits is an essential element in the framing of a person's future participation in the ongoing or forthcoming event. For this reason, even the apparently most relaxing atmosphere can be turned into a formal occasion by the arrival of a person who goes to sit in the part of the house reserved for guests or for high chiefs. The appropriation of that space foreshadows talk about official business or potential "trouble" (*fa'alavelave*).²⁰ The exchange of a CG is but a recognition of such a possibility in the forthcoming interaction. However, the placement of one's body in a "back" region is interpreted by those present as a desire to be socially less prominent. Thus, for instance, those sitting in the back will not be expected to speak, express opinions, or rule on any forthcoming issue. This means that before any official or "on record" talk can be exchanged, one's allocation of a particular space in the house is already a claim for a social space of a different type, one in which one's voice must be heard as coming out of a body that encompasses more than the visibly accessible person and includes kinship and other associations giving him or her particular rights and duties. The appropriate existential epithet in these cases is not *cogito, ergo sum*, nor even *loquor, ergo sum* (as suggested by Lyons 1982), but rather something much more mundane and physical, namely, *I sit here, ergo sum*.²¹

Spatial Dimensions

Typically, CGs are exchanged inside a house and start only after the newcomers have seated themselves on the seating mats in their self- or other-allocated place. This means that in order to understand who is greeted and when, one must also take into account the spatial organization of a Samoan house, which is locally conceptualized as divided into three areas: the front (*luma*); the two sides (*tala*); and the back (*tua*).

For the purposes of the following discussion, both the front and the two *tala* will be considered to be part of the front region. It is the physical occupation of this region, as shown below, that warrants the exchange of CGs.

Figure 1 illustrates the division into regions for a house with an oval-shaped ground floor (top) and for a house with a rectangular floor.

The different parts of the floor of the house are defined by establishing first the front, which is the side facing either the road (as in Figure 1) or the *malae* (i.e., the village ceremonial ground).²² The front of the house is associated with light, which, in turn, is a metaphor for knowledge, given that visual perception is considered by Samoans the most common form of knowledge (Shore 1982:168). To be visible to others, especially higher-status people, also means to be more controlled. Thus, the front is associated with a public, dignified context (Shore 1982:51), and those who sit in the front are those who deserve more respect and, at the same time, must conform more strictly to the rules of public

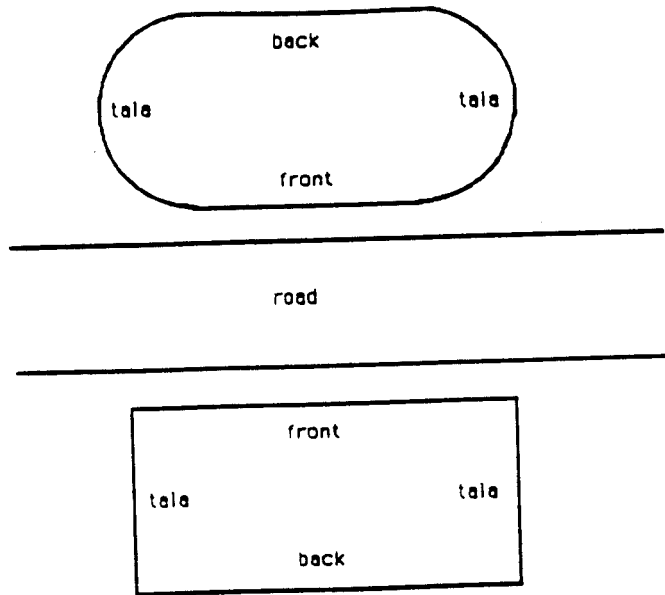


Figure 1
Floor plan of two Samoan houses according to local categorization of space.

etiquette. Important guests are always invited to sit in the front. In a public meeting, the orators of higher rank, who are more likely to do the talking and engage in decision making, sit in the front. The back, on the other hand, is associated with the 'bush' (*vao*), with a place, that is, which is away from public vision and where less-dignified behavior may occur. The back is thus the place for junior members or lower-status people, who may act as servants or assistants to the orators in the front or to the chiefs, who sit in the *tala*.

In a public gathering, all of the *matai* who go to sit either in the *tala* or in the front region are usually ceremonially greeted. Those who go to sit in the back usually are not greeted (but see the discussion of example 11 below). In a village council, or *fono*, those who sit in the front row are the ones who are expected to talk and generally take an active role in the event.²³ It is in this sense that CGs can be considered to be talk that anticipates further talk. The welcoming of someone with a CG recognizes that person as an important and potentially active participant in the forthcoming (or ongoing) event. At the same time, as mentioned above, even before speech is used, the placement of bodies in the social space lays the groundwork for the kind of action that is likely to follow. Although the social identity of the participants is a potentially relevant element for the decision of whether someone should be ceremonially greeted, the place where a person goes to sit is equally important. Thus, an orator who could be sitting in the front but goes to sit in the back region is not greeted. Furthermore, a person is greeted only when he or she first arrives and sits in the front region, not when he or she moves to the front region after having been in the back for a while.²⁴ Once the person has entered the house, changes of space allocation are not recognized through the language of greetings—although this does not mean that they go unnoticed.

These principles are shown to be at work in one exchange, taken from a *fono*, where the orator Talaitau and the senior orator Moe'ono arrive at the same time but only Moe'ono, who goes to sit in the front row right away (see Figure 2), is greeted and responds to the greeting.²⁵

In the same video segment, we also see the orator Malaga, who had been sitting in the back (see Figure 2), move to the front without being greeted; in fact, his change of sitting

position is the target of a joke or complaint by Talaitau, who had lowered the blinds for the higher-ranking Moe'ono and sees Malaga, an orator of more or less his same rank, take advantage of it by going to sit in a more prestigious and now equally comfortable spot. (Figure 3 shows the final seating arrangement after Talaitau has returned to the back region.)

That the spatial positioning inside the house is crucial to this kind of exchange is also shown by the fact that words alone do not trigger a full CG. Thus, for instance, the verb *sosopo mai* uttered in example 6 by chief Salanoa A. to the arriving orator Tāvai is a polite invitation to enter the house when the orator is still standing, but becomes part of the CG once the orator has seated himself inside the house:²⁶

6. "Matai in Saleapaga"

- 1 ((Tāvai is at the door, taking off sandals))
- 2 ((Salanoa turns to look at Tāvai))
- 3 ((Tāvai starts walking into the house))
- Invitation*
- 4 → Salanoa A.; *ia' (e:-) (so)sopo mai ati'i*
well (?) - come in sir
- 5 *makuā lava fa'akali le koeiga le lāuga*
the old man²⁷ has been waiting for the speech for quite some time
- 6 Salanoa A. ((laughing)) *hehehehe*
- and Fua'ava; *hehehehe*
- 7 ((Tāvai puts sandals down next to low wall))
- 8 Fua'ava; *(leva ga maga'o le kamaloa le lāuga)*
the man has been waiting for the speech for a long time

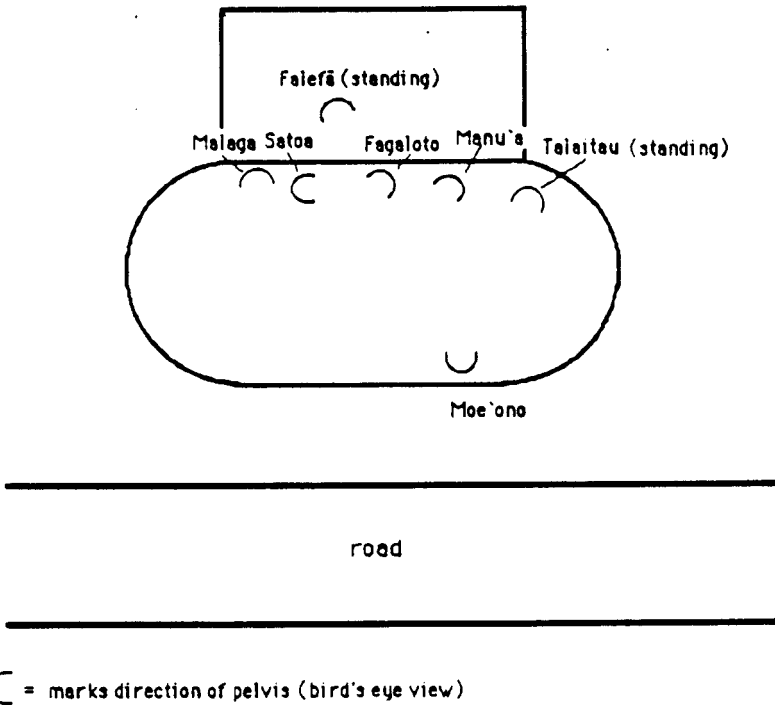


Figure 2

Monday *fono*. Positions of participants at senior orator Moe'ono's and orator Talaitau's arrival, after Moe'ono sits down. Rectangular box next to oval plan of the house represents Western-style extension used for backstage activities and, during *fono* or ceremony, inhabited by lower-ranking participants.

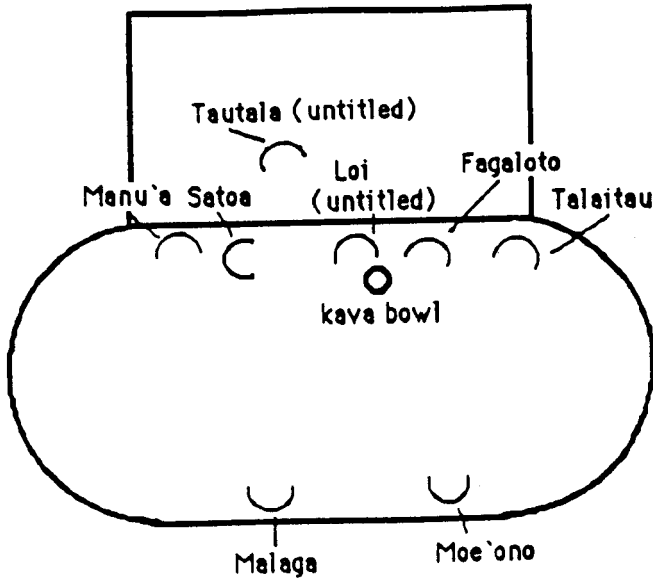


Figure 3

Monday *fono*. Participants' positions after orator Malaga moves to front region and orator Tala'itau goes to sit down.

- 9 ((Tāvai goes to sit down))
 10 ((Tāvai is sitting, crossing legs))
 11 ((Fua'ava starts moving away and repositions legs))
 Greeting
 12 → Salanoa A.; *sosopo mai!* =
 welcome! =
 13 Fua'ava; = *maliu mai!*
 = welcome!
 14 Salanoa M.; *maliu mai!*
 welcome!
 [...]

Words alone also do not trigger a full CG when two parties meet on the road. Even when one of the party's language is very similar to what is said in the first pair part of a CG, the other party does not respond accordingly. In this case as well, the exchange is made relevant to the spatial organization of the interaction and, in particular, to the bodies' orientations. An illustration is provided in example 7, which takes place on the road. Here the chief Salanoa greets a party of chiefs and orators from another village he sees waiting for the bus. Although Salanoa completes his first greeting (/kālofa/) with a set of phrases that would have been appropriate to a CG inside a house, he also enters the realm of conversational exchange by making a statement about the chiefs' whereabouts ('you are going to your dear village'). The conventionally apologetic response by the other chief in lines 5 and 6 (/vage lau afioga Leutele/ 'with the permission of your highness Leutele' or 'excuse me your highness Leutele') can be made sense of only if we assume that this encounter, despite the respectful language that is being used, is seen as being "improper" for parties of such social standing.

7. "Inspection" (A committee of *matai*, including chief Salanoa and orator Tūla'i, is walking through the village inspecting the lawns in front of people's houses; along the road they meet a group of *matai* from village F. who are waiting for the bus. Salanoa initiates the greeting.)

- 1 Salanoa?; *kālofa ali'i (1.0) ((Laughing)) he-he*
greetings sirs (1.0) ((Laughing)) he-he
- 2 ?; *oi!*
oh!
- 3 Salanoa; *'a:- (0.8) kala mai gei 'a'ao ma- (0.3) afo mai (0.5)*
an- (0.8) honorable limbs have come and- (0.3) arrived/welcome (0.5)
- 4 *ō fo'i si oukou moku.*
you also go (to) your dear village.
- 5 F.'s matai; [
fa'apegā vage- (1.5)
that's it with your permission (1.5)
- 6 *lau afofa Leukele-²⁸ (? ?) ma failāuga.*
your highness Leutele (? ?) and speechmakers.
- 7 ?; *he-*
ha-
- 8 F.'s matai; *ia' (igā) fa'auau ia lo 'oukou:-*
well do continue your-
- 9 Salanoa; [
ia' kou ke sāugi lā i Apia
well, you are getting ready (to go) to Apia
- 10 (1.2)
- 11 F.'s matai; *sāugi fo'i i Apia*
(we) are getting ready (to go) to Apia
- 12 (0.7)
- 13 Tūla'i; *ia' he-he*
well he-he
- 14 Salanoa; [
ia' (fa'akali auala)
well (wait for the bus)
- 15 Tūla'i; [
fa'akali auala ia se'i fa'auau ia le asiasiga
do wait for the bus while we go on with the inspection
- [...]

The inappropriate nature of a meeting on the road between high-status individuals is sometimes explicitly recognized by such conventional phrases as *leaga tātou feiloa'i 'i le auala* '(too) bad we met on the road.'

Integrating Bodies and Language

The discussion so far has shown that kinesic acts performed when a party first enters a house have a decisive role in the organization and content of the ensuing verbal interaction. In particular, the welcoming itself is part of a sequence of acts that include non-verbal, especially bodily movements:

8.

- a. New party enters house where others are already sitting
- b. sits in the front region
- c. is ceremonially greeted (Welcoming)
- d. responds to the greeting (Response)

Acts (a) and (b) are necessary conditions for (c) and (d), the CG, to occur.²⁹ This is schematically represented in Figure 4.

This recognition of the role of the body of the newcomer in the interaction shifts the responsibility of the initiation of the greeting to the newcomers, who are in fact much more in control of whether or not they will be greeted than it might appear at first. However, even this interpretation must be in some cases revised in light of other possible or actual moves by the people already seated in the house, who are not necessarily completely passive while the new party enters the common space.³⁰ Whereas there are cases in which no doubts are displayed by either the newcomer or the parties already seated

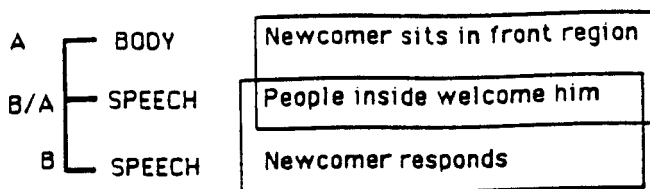


Figure 4

Two interlocking interpretations of sequences of adjacency pairs in ceremonial greetings.

about where the former should sit, there are also times when a certain amount of negotiation goes on. Examining video segments of situations in which newcomers spontaneously come into a house where others are already located, I found that it is not uncommon for the latter to try to lead or invite the arriving party to a particular spot. This means that the sequence provided in (8) must be revised to account for at least the following possibilities:

- 8.
- New party enters (or is about to enter) the house where others are already sitting
 - goes to sit in the back, and
 - is not greeted, or
 - goes to sit in the front region (without being invited)³¹ and
 - is ceremonially greeted (Welcoming)
 - responds to the greeting (Response)
- 9.
- New party enters (or is about to enter) the house where others are already sitting
 - is invited to sit in the front region.
 - turns down invitation and goes to sit in the back row, or
 - accepts invitation and goes to sit somewhere in the front region³²
 - is ceremonially greeted (Welcoming)
 - responds to the greeting (Response)

In the segment reproduced in (10), for instance, the orator Matu'alelua walks to the front part of the house, is invited to sit in two different places by two different people (Malaga and Moe'ono; see Figure 3), and chooses the more prestigious spot (in the center of the front row) offered to him by the higher-ranking Moe'ono. Figure 5 represents the positions and movements of the people in the front row.

10. "Monday Fono"

((The long shadow of a man standing is projected against the bodies of the *matai* sitting in the back row))³³ ((CAMERA pans right to front region of house where Matu'alelua (M. lua) is standing outside of the edge of the house behind Malaga, about to enter))
 ((Malaga points to the mat on the ground on his left))

First invitation

Malaga; 'i'i.
 here.
 ((M. lua walks past Malaga to entrance))

Second invitation

Moe'ono; ((looking down to a place on the mat between him and Malaga)) *lelei 'i le paolo ali 'i.*
 (it's) nice in the shade, sir.
 ((Malaga, who has been looking at Moe'ono, moves over to his left to leave more space for M. lua))
 M. lua; *(e lelei 'i le paolo ali 'i.)*
 (it is nice in the shade, sir)

M. lua accepts

((M. lua looks across the room, then starts to sit down between Moe'ono and Malaga))
 ((M. lua is down and, facing camera on his left, starts turning, still looking at camera))
 Moe'ono; (pau) *ui ā igā mea fa'akaoko a le Mālō,*
 these are the things provided by the government ((referring to the plastic blind behind them))
 ?M. lua; ((smiling)) *hu!*
 ((still smiling, turns to face people across the room))
 CG starts
 ?; *maliu mai, (Maku'alelua)*
 welcome, (Matu'alelua)
 Moe'ono; [*ia'*
 well,
 (*maliu mai*)
 welcome
 [*maliu mai!*
 welcome!
 M. lua; *ia'*
 well
 ?; *Maku'alelua,*
Matu'alelua,
 [. . .] (see example 5)

Figure 6 and example 11 illustrate a different interaction, which involves even more explicit negotiation. This time, however, the newcomer is seen resisting the offer of a high-status position in the *tala* and finally manages to sit at the edge of it, but with the orator Leuta, who is the host and the highest-ranking orator in the subvillage, still on his left. This means that the chief almost sits in the *tala*, given that the place of the first orator in

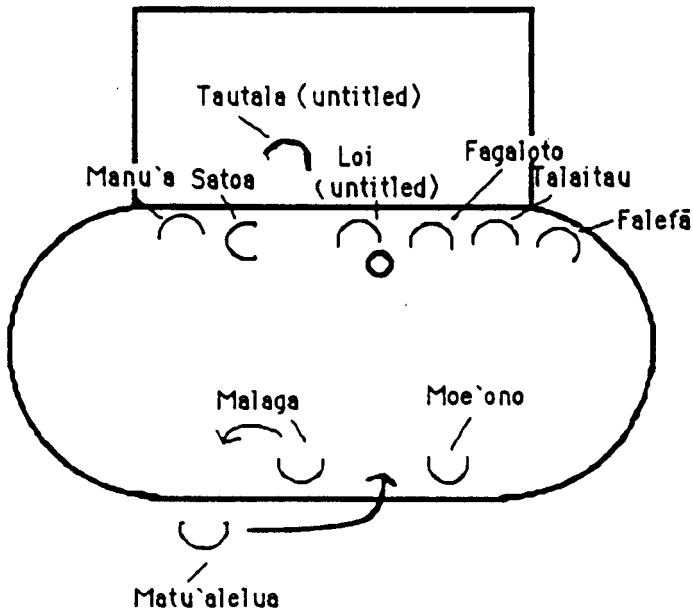


Figure 5
 Monday fono. Orator Matu'alelua's arrival to the fono house.

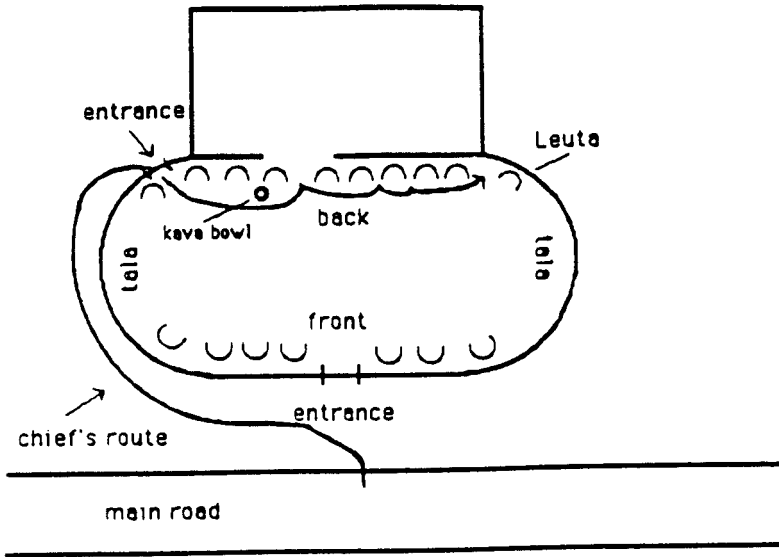


Figure 6

Fono in Sanonu. Route followed by chief Agaiataua when arriving at house full of orators from his subvillage (May 1981).

a row (in this case, Leuta) defines the end of the *tala* and (in this case) the beginning of the “back.”

It is in contexts of this sort that the propositional knowledge systems expressed by rules of the type illustrated in examples 8, 8', and 9 break down. It is impossible to say whether the chief Agaiataua is following rule 9c or 9c'. He does manage, however, to cleverly sit at the edge of the back row, thus simultaneously accepting and rejecting the invitation to act according to the status conferred on him by the orators in the house. The ambiguity of his seating publicly represents the structural ambiguity that his persona has in the community.

11. “Fono in Sanonu” (Chief Agaiataua arrives while the meeting has already started.)
 ((Shot of chief Agaiataua walking by outside, past the front entrance towards back))
 ((Filming is interrupted for a few seconds and resumes with the chief already in the house walking with a kava root in his right hand and trying to get a spot in the back row, among the orators))
- | | | |
|---|------------|---|
| 1 | ? | (<i>afio fo'i 'i o!</i>)
do go over there! |
| 2 | ??; | 'o ikū lā!
that side! |
| 3 | Chief A.; | ia' 'o 'i lā!
okay over there! |
| 4 | Orator O.; | ia' afio ifo 'i o
okay go down over there |
| 5 | Chief A.; | [
'o 'i lā
over there |
| 6 | ? | (<i>uh uh</i>) |
| 7 | ? | <i>uh:::</i> |
| 8 | ??; | ia' ('ua makua ā) ((Chief A. starts sitting down))
well (it's really very) |
| 9 | | ((Chief A. puts down kava root in front of him, to the right)) |

10	?	(? ? ?)
11	??;	hehe hehe
12	Chief A.;	((Sighs)) hahh!
13	?	(ia' afo maia) well welcome [
14	'Auga;	ia' afo maia! well, welcome!
15	Chief A.;	ia', well,
16	?	afo maia welcome [
17	?Leuta;	afo maia- lau afoa Aga(ia)kaua! welcome- your highness Agaiaatau! [...]

As in other cases discussed in the literature (Goody 1972; Irvine 1974), the protracted resistance to accepting a high-status position in this instance is not simply due to politeness (e.g., one party offers a higher position and the other takes a lower one) but to the fact that a higher-status location always carries political and economic implications. Because of the association between the seating position and the status and role implied by it, *matai* who are not fully confident of their place in the local hierarchy and the associated socioeconomic system may try to resist what appears as a generous "offer" but can turn out to be a mixed blessing, from a financial point of view (i.e., those in higher-status places are expected to act accordingly and hence give out more if goods or cash are collected). Chief Agaiaatau's status in the community is rendered structurally ambiguous by a number of factors, including the origin of his title, which comes from another village, his living situation (he lives on the land of his father-in-law, the old and well-respected orator Fulumu'a), and his occupation (schoolmaster), which gives him at least a partial identification with Western values. Such ambiguity of status identity is further sustained by his actions: he has walked into the house carrying a dry kava root, a traditional offer for the assembly, but when he first speaks he does so in the "good language" (*tautala lelei*), which is used in church, school, and other Western-inspired institutional settings (see Note 2).

Differential Access to High-Status Positions

A comparison of the actions of people of different status suggests that there are different standards for different individuals. Thus, whereas people of particularly high status do not usually need hints or invitations to know where to sit, individuals of uncertain standing in the local hierarchy, as contextually defined in the specific setting at hand, may need to be particularly careful in the way in which they claim a particular position. No hesitation is displayed, for instance, in the Monday *fono* (also called the *fono* of the *pulenu'u* or 'mayor') by the two senior orators Moe'ono and Iuli or by the high chief Alai'a-Sā. Moe'ono and Iuli go straight to sit in the front and Alai'a-Sā goes to sit in the middle of the *tala*, the highest position in the house. The situation is much more complicated for the young orator Falefā, who is the host and is expected to conduct the meeting because he is the village's appointed "mayor." The difficulty for him lies in the contradiction between his *matai* title and his public office. He is a young orator whose title is not as high as that of the orators who usually sit in the front (and certainly much lower than the two senior orators who usually conduct the meeting), but because of the nature of the event—a meeting with the mayor—he must open the meeting and sit in the front, *ex officio*. The visual record of the interaction before and during the meeting allows us to track his slow approach to his final position in the front row. Before the meeting starts, Falefā is not sitting with the rest of the *matai* (all orators) who are in the back row. When Moe'ono

arrives (see Figure 2), we find Falefā standing farther back, in the extension part of his house. This area is offstage with respect to the rest of the house; here people are allowed to be standing or engaged in activities inappropriate in the main section of the house (e.g., one may change clothes, or stand while others of higher rank in the house are sitting). Later on, when the orator Matu'alelua arrives, Falefā has moved to the edge of the back row (see Figure 5). By the time the meeting starts, Falefā is sitting in the middle of the front row, between the senior orator Moe'ono and the orator Matu'alelua. It is from this high-status position (for an orator) that he starts the meeting with an introductory formal speech (*lāuga*).

When the nature of the event does not warrant someone's position in a high-status place, people may need explicit indications by the others that they are indeed welcome to sit in the front region. The lack of both an explicit invitation and a formal welcoming may then be a clear sign of an inappropriate choice. One such case is found in the data. An orator of lesser rank arrives at the *fono* house with the senior orator Iuli and after a moment of hesitation goes to sit in the front row. After the assembly greets only Iuli, the more junior orator does not participate in the response and, once the CG is over, leaves the front row to join the orators in the back row.

Seeing as an Interactive Process

These last examples indicate that "sighting"—meant as either the act of seeing someone (i.e., who is in a particular place), seeing something (i.e., an empty spot), or the act of being seen by others—is a highly interactional process whereby participants not only gather information about the setting but also engage in a negotiation process aimed at testing their possibilities and shaping their future moves.³⁴ Participants can be seen making their sighting of others either apparent or not apparent. In other words, they may make their gaze of the other available or unavailable for future assessment. From the point of view of the people already in the house, to see someone arriving may imply taking a stand as to where that person is expected or allowed to sit. If eye contact is made during the sighting of the new arrival, the party in the house may have to offer a particular spot, sometimes even his own. This happens in at least two instances in the video of the Monday *fono*: first, when the orator Malaga moves over to his left after seeing that Matu'alelua is about to sit between him and the senior orator Moe'ono (see Figure 5) and, second, when an orator who was sitting in the front row (Talaitau) sees the higher-ranking orator Usu arriving and moves to the back to leave his place for him.

Eye Gaze Display and Eye Gaze Avoidance

That seeing one another has social significance and must thus be monitored in some fashion is also shown in its most dramatic form by the tendency to avoid mutual gaze during the actual exchange of greetings.

This is the most striking difference from behavioral patterns described for American greetings (see Kendon and Ferber 1973). Eye gaze aversion is also reported by Collett (1983) for Mossi salutations, but its social distribution (asymmetrical) and duration are different from the patterns found in Samoan CGs:

When a Mossi man performs the poussi-poussi or a handshake in the kneeling position he does not look his superior in the face. Instead he keeps his head down, averting his gaze in a modest and submissive fashion. The same occurs in the case of the crouch, where the Mossi woman lowers herself onto the ground and avoids meeting the eyes of the person she is saluting. Greetings of respect acknowledge an asymmetry of rank, which they do by precluding any suggestion of threat. One possible source of threat is the direct look, and that is why it is totally excluded from submissive Mossi salutations. [Collett 1983:220]

In the Samoan CGs, interactants may look at each other while approaching their future seating place and during the informal talk that sometimes precedes the CGs, but once the newly arrived party has taken his or her seat in the social arena and the welcoming

starts, there is what appears to be a concerted effort by the newcomer and at least some members of the welcoming party to avoid looking at each other for the entire duration of the verbal greeting exchange. In some cases, the parties in the setting exert some efforts at clearly showing that they are not looking at the other. The newcomers tend to stare in midair ahead of them without focusing on any particular person, or they might look down; members of the welcoming party also stare ahead or overtly glance at something or someone outside of the house (these acts include sometimes not only a 45° head movement but even a readjustment of the entire body toward a direction away from the newly arrived). An illustration of this type of behavior is given in example 12. Figure 7 and the descriptive notes following example 12 capture the nonverbal interaction in the encounter.

12. "Matai in Saleapaga" (Two chiefs, the high chief Salanoa A. and the chief Salanoa M., and an orator, Fua'ava, are sitting in Salanoa A.'s house, waiting for more *matai* to begin a *jono* of the subvillage of Saleapaga. The orator Tāvai is first spotted on the road and now finally walks into the house.)

1		((Tāvai is at the entrance, taking off sandals))
2		((Salanoa turns to look at Tāvai))
3		((Tāvai starts walking into the house))
4	Salanoa A.;	<i>ia' (e:-) (so)sopo mai ali'i</i> well (?) - come in sir
5		<i>makuā lava fa'akali le koeiga le lāuga</i> the old man ³⁵ has been waiting for the speech for quite some time
6	Salanoa A. and Fua'ava	((Laughing)) <i>hehehehe</i> hehehehe
7		((Tāvai puts sandals down next to low wall))
8	Fua'ava;	<i>(leva ga maga'o le kamaloa le lāuga)</i> the man has been waiting for the speech for a long time
9		((Tāvai goes to sit down))
10		((Tāvai is sitting, crossing legs))
11		((Fua'ava starts moving away and repositions legs))
12	Salanoa A.;	<i>sosopo mai!</i> = welcome! =
13	Fua'ava;	= <i>maliu mai!</i> = welcome!
14	Salanoa M.;	<i>maliu mai!</i> welcome!
15	?Tāvai;	<i>ia'</i> well
16	Fua'ava;	<i>(lau kōfā iā) Kāvai</i> (your highness) Tāvai ((Fua'ava leans forward while looking back to his right))
17		
18	Tāvai;	<i>(pai'a/ali'i) (1.0) maualuga</i> (sacred) (1.0) high (titles) (1.5)
19		<i>le kama malili e fā</i> the boy of the four malili trees ³⁶
20		(2.0)
21		<i>le afioga (sasao) gei</i> the highness chiefly title here ³⁷
22		(2.0) ((moves head slightly towards Fua'ava without looking at him))
23		<i>lau kōfā le lā fa'aua,</i> your honorable the cloudy sun ³⁸
24		(2.0) ((moves head to his left towards Salanoa M., looks at him))
25		<i>'o le pulu f(aga)oki,</i> the bullet that kills
26		
27	?Fua'ava;	((Laughing?)) <i>he-hu</i> he-hu
28		((Tāvai looks again towards Fua'ava who is looking outside))

- 29 (6.0) ((Salanoa A. turns left and then ahead again))
 30 Salanoa A.; ((to boy in the back)) *sau (ea)! sau T!*
 (do) come! come here!
 31 ((Camera pans to show an old woman sitting at the entrance and a girl standing outside))
 [...]

Notes of eye gaze patterns

Lines 1-3. Tāvai (T.) is about to enter the house where the other three *matāi* are already seated. Salanoa Aukusitino (S.A.) turns towards him. T. looks at him for a second while entering.

4-7. S.A. and Salanoa Mago (S.M.) follow T.'s progress with gaze while he walks to his spot, also F. looks up at T. starting from the moment in which T. is right past the column against which F. is resting his back. During this time, T. does not overtly look at anyone in the house or outside.

8-9. While T. puts down his sandals next to the low wall and goes to sit down between F. and S.M., they look at him while S.A. turns to look at researcher and camera for a second (while F. mentions researcher (/kamaloa/, line 8).

10. S.A. turns left to look at T. again just while he is kneeling down to sit on mat.

11-12. While T. adjusts and crosses his legs, F. also readjusts his legs and starts to turn his whole body to his right away from T. while S.A. starts the welcoming (line 12).

13-16. While the welcoming continues, F. looks outside, toward the road, S.M. readjusts his body slightly and looks away ahead of him, and S.A. looks first at camera and then ahead towards the back of the house, where no one is sitting.

18-19. When T. starts the response, the camera zooms in on him. We have time to see that S.A. turns to look down to his left, while F. continues to ostensibly look outside (towards the road) and S.A. looks down at his feet while keeping his arms crossed on his chest.

20-22. During T.'s response, we see T.'s face and upper body and part of S.A.'s head, right arm, and back. We can see that S.A. is not looking at T., who is looking ahead.

23. Before addressing F. by reciting his ceremonial address, T. moves upper body and head slightly but noticeably towards F. without ever looking at him.

24. T. returns to look ahead and then

25-26. moves head and upper body slightly towards S.M. and glances at him for 1.5 seconds while S.M. is still looking ahead.

27. Camera zooms back while T. turns to look ahead showing a smile.

28. T. maintains his smile while turning towards F. who is still looking outside.

29. Wide-angle shot shows no one looking at anyone else in the house (including T. who returns to look ahead).

29-30. S.A. turns left then ahead again to call a boy.

31. Camera pans left to show old woman sitting at the entrance and little girl standing outside.

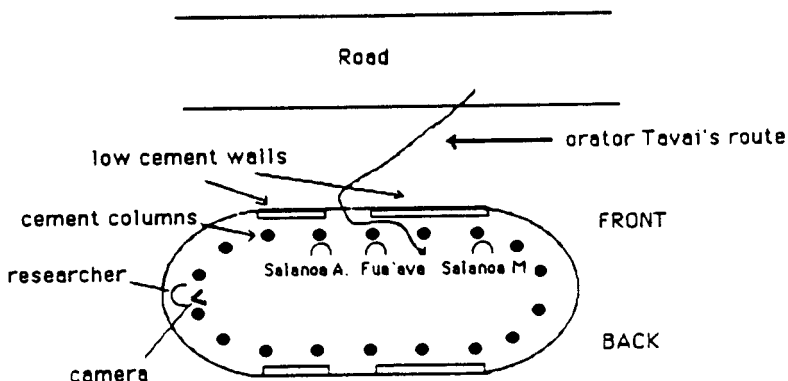


Figure 7

Matāi in Saleapaga. Seating arrangement and route followed by orator Tāvai while reaching his place in the front of the house.

Although the visual record is not always as rich as this to allow us to give reliable accounts of eye gaze patterns and eye gaze aversion during all CGs in the data, there is sufficient information in the data to make a claim about a recurrent, although by no means absolute, pattern of eye gaze avoidance and, in particular, eye contact avoidance during CGs. In fact, some of the evident violations of gaze avoidance seem to reinforce the thesis of its existence. First of all, generally, when eye contact does occur during CGs, it is very brief, that is, noticeably briefer than during conversational interaction.³⁹ In several cases, one can see people ostensibly and rapidly moving their eyes or even their bodies away when they realize that they are looking at the other party or that the latter might return the gaze. Finally, indirect confirmation of the reality of the avoidance pattern is provided by some cases of blatant violation of such a rule. Such violations coincide with moments in the CGs that are in several respects marked as "out of frame" with respect to the ongoing activity. These are all cases (five cases out of thirteen) in which the newcomer, in his or her response, greeted the researcher, who was variously described as "the man with the movie camera," "the guest," or the "professor." Such verbal expressions, or extemporaneously created titles, were always uttered toward the end of the CG, that is, after the other members of the welcoming party had been greeted. These expressions were always accompanied or immediately followed by an overt gaze at the researcher (and, hence, at the camera he sat behind) by both the responding party and several, if not all, members of the welcoming party. By "overt gaze" I mean an extended gaze accompanied by noticeable change of body posture (e.g., people would turn to look at me). These greetings were also always accompanied by a smile, sometimes followed by laughter, a type of behavior not found in other parts of the CGs, which are typically performed in a rather serious key. Since mutual gaze and laughter do instead occur before the CGs, when the newcomer first enters the house, it is appropriate to see their occurrence as conveying or activating a change of "frame" or of "footing" (Goffman 1981).

Once we establish that lack of gaze at the newcomers during the CG and the tendency by the latter to keep their gaze aimed at midair ahead of them, down on the floor in front of them, or outside of the building are recurrent features of CGs, we are left with the question: why? What is the avoidance of mutual gaze doing in these situations? Collette (1983) speculated about the potentially threatening force of direct eye gaze, a point also implied in Kendon and Ferber's (1973) discussion of gaze aversion in American greetings just before what they call "close salutation" (when, instead, eye contact takes place). Differently from the Mossi asymmetrical salutations, Samoan gaze aversion during CGs is by no means asymmetrical; rather, it is mutually achieved by several of the parties involved in the interaction. If there is an attempt at reducing the potential threat implied by direct gaze, such a move must be seen as reciprocal. In this case, then, we would have to postulate that both the newcomer and the people already in the house display a demeanor that implies a mutual recognition of each other's power. Such a recognition has reflexes in other Polynesian societies.

We know from the literature on ancient Polynesia that the holy or sacred bodies of chiefs used to be believed to possess an unusual amount of *mana* ('ancestral power'), which could be dangerous, and they were thus subject to visual taboos. Valeri (1985:147ff.) reviews and discusses, for instance, the "prostration taboo" (*kapu moe*) practiced in ancient Hawaii, whereby gods and the highest-ranking chiefs (*ali'i*) would be made "invisible."

The relative invisibility and inaccessibility of high-ranking *ali'i* are additionally marked by the fact that, like the images of the gods, they are wrapped in cloths, feather cloaks, and such, while lower-ranking people must emphasize their visibility and vulnerability by stripping to the waist in the presence of gods and royal personages. [Valeri 1985:148]

Even nowadays in Samoa, those people who sit in the "back" and prepare or serve kava to the higher-ranking participants in the "front region" typically take off their shirts to perform their duties.

That any meeting of powerful figures in stratified Polynesia can have dangerous consequences is a point stressed by Salmond (1974) in her discussion of the origins of the Maori rituals of encounter, a more complex and elaborate type of greetings than the Samoan CGs:

In traditional times, intertribal and subtribal warfare was endemic, and encounters between groups of this scale were potentially dangerous, as an exchange of insults or some unwitting offense could spark off hostilities on the spot. There was a fierce preoccupation with *mana* or prestige, and even the most peaceful meetings were marked by intergroup rivalry. The rituals of encounter were used on all occasions when different groups met, as a finely balanced mechanism for keeping the peace and allowing competition to proceed without bloodshed. [Salmond 1974:194]

That the eye gaze aversion found in CGs is related to the control of emotionality—a point made also by Kendon (1967:48), among others (see Kleinke 1986)—is supported by the fact that this behavior is also common during political speechmaking, when, as I discussed elsewhere (Duranti 1990a; 1990b), confrontation of opinions is expected and recurrent. Eye gaze aversion during CGs could then be seen as framing these activities as precursors of other, more serious exchanges, or might suggest the perception and recognition of social personae who might be at least potentially in conflict with one another during ensuing decision-making processes.

A restrained affective presence is also implied in the overall demeanor of the *matai* during the CGs. When one looks at the videotapes of Samoans sitting down in a house and exchanging greetings, one gets a sense of individuals who are not completely “there.” The postures of the participants seem to kinesically remind us that the social personae evoked during CGs through the names of sacred titles and their ceremonial addresses are locally conceived of as mythico-historical figures who are only momentarily represented by living human bodies and who inhabit a time and space that transcends the current situation. As orators remind the audience in their formal speeches, the sacred titles of Samoa come from the past and reach eternity. Ceremonial greetings may thus recognize and instantiate a transformation during which those living bodies of common mortals become the representatives of other entities whose power is outside of the here-and-now and thus not only unreachable, but also unquestionable (Duranti 1992b).

Conclusions

Rather than removing events from their temporal and spatial context and grouping them under functional rubrics such as economic, religious, and legal, we have here been experimenting with a sorting of events by the setting they occupy, in this case a house. Unlike our own culture, in which we have special settings for many kinds of events . . . among the Yakan a single structure, the house, provides a setting for a great variety of social occasions. But a house, even a one-roomed Yakan house, is not just a space. It is a structured sequence of settings where social events are differentiated not only by the position in which they occur but also by the positions the actors have moved through to get there and the manner in which they have made those moves. [Frake 1975:37]

In the spirit of Frake's (1975) discussion of a Yakan house, in this discussion of Samoan greetings, I have also followed chiefs, orators, and other important members of Samoan society as they come in and sit in a house (typically a large room) that is already occupied by others. The same house that, on other occasions, may serve as a working, dining, or resting area is in these cases the arena for transactions that imply and define differential access to particular positions. In these settings, one must pay particular attention to the interaction that goes on around and during the exchange of highly routinized but not completely predictable phrases, which I call here “ceremonial greetings,” in which the status of the participants is recognized and partly constituted for the occasion. Rather than removing the verbal greetings exchanged during these encounters from their temporal and spatial contexts, I have tried to show how those greetings are part of those contexts, how they acquire their meaning from the time and place where they are uttered

and at the same time help constitute that time and space in sociocultural, locally acceptable terms. In entering a house already physically and symbolically occupied by others, Samoans must have ways of not only assessing and recognizing each other's presence, but also of negotiating the use of the territory they will share during the rest of the encounter. Such a territory is not so much part of a biologically determined instinctual claim of control over others, but a culturally defined map of social distinctions that are relevant to the ensuing interaction.

In other words, when entering a house (or when receiving someone who is entering a house), participants not only need to recognize one or more of each other's social identities (e.g., their membership in a range of social groups), a job typically done by address terms or other language-specific indexical expressions, but they must also be able to assess and successfully communicate something about the setting and the activity they are (or are not) about to enter. These goals are achieved by utilizing a number of interacting semiotic resources, including specific aspects of material culture (e.g., the shape of the house), bodily movements, and speech, all of which come together in the production of ceremonial greetings.

In traditional anthropological terms, Samoan ceremonial greetings are an example of what van Gennep (1960) called "rituals of incorporation," that is, transactions in which an individual or a group is officially accepted or reintegrated within a community. In the Samoan case, the community may be a particular social body (e.g., the village council, one of the local church congregations, or a group of people expecting a government official for a particular social service). Ceremonial greetings then also function as relatively short but complex activities whereby participants can communicate and bystanders find out information about someone's social status or expected role in a particular setting. They represent and, at the same time, anticipate a type of social interaction that is "formal"—preoccupied with positional identities, focused on a particular agenda, and conducted with a restricted and consistent set of communicative norms (see Irvine 1979).

In terms of their actual or potential functions, Samoan CGs exhibit several of the characteristics previously described by other researchers and fieldworkers interested in similar exchanges in other societies. In particular, Samoan CGs are sufficiently focused on participants' social statuses and family or professional connections to support Firth's (1972:32) and others' view that their function has something to do with providing a language in which status relations and change of status can be expressed. There is no question that, as in the Gonja case discussed by Goody (1972), in the Samoan CGs as well, establishing context-specific hierarchies is an important function of these exchanges. Given the range of social identities that each individual always holds, CGs help clarify the social mask required or expected from someone on a particular occasion. For this reason, we can expect and we do see a certain amount of negotiation around CGs, especially when there might be reasons for a particular party to resist the social identity being given by others (see example 11). There might also be reasons for a person to try to acquire a social identity he or she might not have full right to. In these cases, a person clearly risks losing what Goffman (1967) calls "face" if he or she goes to sit in what is thereupon implicitly declared (by others) "the wrong place." The notion of "face" invoked here is clearly of a socially distributed kind. One's face is not just in someone's opinion or a projected self-image; it is not just in one's body either. It is constructed (and hence ever changing or changeable) in the movements of the body in a social space.⁴⁰ Such a space, in turn, is co-constructed and, in many ways, jealously guarded by others; it stretches across time like the sounds and words produced during the encounter; it is a space that conveys knowledge about the past and at the same time foreshadows new positions and prepares alignments in the future.

Concluding, Samoan ceremonial greetings have been shown here to be complex activities that rely on a variety of channels and media (voice, body, sight, physical space, and physical arrangement of living bodies in that space) and allow participants to assess each other's potential and actual contribution to the forthcoming or ongoing social event. Cer-

emonial greetings have temporal as well as spatial dimensions. Through them, participants not only define the situation, but also differentiate between those whose presence is recognized as socially relevant and those who remain in the background, often talked to but not greeted. From a societal point of view, Samoan ceremonial greetings have all the requisites for being practices through which the social system is both experienced and reproduced (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979, 1984). They show that the combination of particular architectural choices (e.g., the shape of the house), cultural understanding of such choices (e.g., local spatial distinctions and oppositions), and ways of acting in them are indeed essential elements of any account of social life in a given community (Lawrence and Low 1990). Their dependence upon and reconstitution of space relations in the house make these greetings complex, syncretic activities through which the built environment for a moment moves from ground to figure while participants assess one another with respect to the place where they are allowed to sit, given the shape of the house, and those who are already placed in it. In these contexts, gestures and speech are understood as sometimes sequentially, and at other times simultaneously, linked codes, which are given their meaning by the presence of a space that is never neutral.

Notes

Acknowledgments. This article is based on fieldwork conducted in Western Samoa in 1978–79, 1981, and 1988 with the support of the National Science Foundation (Grant BNS-8608210) and the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University. In analyzing films and videotapes and in producing transcripts of the recorded interactions, I also benefited from two Senate Grants from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1989–90 and 1991–92. Earlier drafts of the paper were presented at a colloquium in the Department of Sociology at UCLA (fall 1989), at the 1989 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, and at the workshop on “Body and Speech in Interaction” organized by Jens Allwood and Karin Junefelt in Stockholm, in August 1991. Special thanks go to the participants in those events for their helpful comments and suggestions. I also benefited from specific comments by a number of colleagues and students, including Charles Goodwin, Elizabeth Keating, Michael Moerman, Elinor Ochs, Emanuel Schegloff, Elia Ta’asē, Diana Wilson, and four anonymous reviewers. I would also like to thank the people of Falefā in Western Samoa for their continuous support and help during my visits. I am particularly thankful to Rev. Fa’atau’olua Mauala for his friendship and insights, and to the titled and untitled people in the village who kindly accepted the intrusion of my tape recorders and cameras in their daily affairs.

¹See also Collett (1983), Ferguson (1976), Gregor (1977:177–184), Milton (1982), Schiffrin (1977), and Sherzer (1983:ch. 3).

²In the transcripts presented I adopt the conventions used within conversation analysis, with a few modifications:

- “Inspection” Examples with a name between double quotes are taken from transcripts of spontaneous interactions; examples without source or name were created by the author for expository reasons.
- Iuli; Speakers’ names are separated from their utterances by semicolons, followed by a few blank spaces.
- ?; A question mark instead of a name or initial indicates that no good guess could be made as to the identity of the speaker.
- ??; Multiple question marks followed by semicolon indicate that the speaker’s identity is not clear but there are reasons to believe that it is someone different from the last unidentified speaker.
- ?Iuli; A question mark before the name of the speaker stands for a probable but not safe guess.
- (2.5) Numbers between parentheses indicate length of pauses in seconds and tenths of seconds.
- [A square bracket between turns indicates the point at which overlap by another speaker starts.
- (I can’t do) Talk between parentheses represents the best guess of a stretch of talk that was difficult to hear.

- (? ?) Blank spaces inside parentheses with question marks indicate uncertain or unclear talk of approximately the length of the blank spaces between parentheses.
- (()) Material between double parentheses provides extralinguistic information including eye gaze and other information about bodily movements occurring simultaneously with speech.
- [. . .] Three dots between square brackets indicate that some material of the original transcript or example has been omitted or that the transcript starts or ends in the middle of further talk.

³This example is in fact a bit more complex than I make it appear. The first pair part of the greeting is at the same time the second pair part of the request for identification in the preceding turn. Furthermore, the first greeting is preceded by a particle (*ah*), which, like the English *oh* discussed by Schegloff (1979), shows that recognition of the caller has (just now) been achieved. The co-occurrence of greeting items with other linguistic elements is quite common, as shown in the following two segments taken from Schegloff (1986:115):

- (a)
- | | |
|-----------|---------------------|
| | [. . .] |
| → Bernie; | Hi. <u>Bernie</u> . |
| → Clara; | <u>Hi</u> Bernie. |
| | [. . .] |
- (b)
- | | |
|------|------------------------|
| | [. . .] |
| → R; | Hi, |
| → C; | Hi, how <u>are</u> yuh |
| R; | Fine, how're you. |
| | [. . .] |

⁴For examples of elaborate, extended greetings outside of the African continent, see Salmond (1974) and Sherzer (1983:91-95).

⁵The study was mostly based on a film of an outdoor birthday party in Westchester County, NY, which was attended by 45 people.

⁶This was one of Bateson's (1972) arguments in his theory of metacommunication and schizophrenia.

⁷This is particularly the case in opening greetings. In closing exchanges, at night, the expression *manuia le po* 'good night' (lit. 'healthy or lucky the night') is not uncommon.

⁸The 1978-79 project was directed by Elinor Ochs, who was assisted by Martha Platt in collecting and analyzing child-language data (see Ochs 1988). My role was that of documenting the language of Samoan adults, especially men, in a variety of contexts, including formal and informal speech activities. For a more detailed discussion of my own methods of data collection, see Duranti (1981).

⁹In 1981 I was sponsored by the Department of Anthropology in the Research School of Pacific Studies. In 1988, I was ~~supported~~ by a grant from the National Science Foundation. *supported*

¹⁰In 1981 I shot about five hours of Sound Super 8 Film, about half an hour of which consisted of meetings of *matat*; in 1988, I shot almost twenty hours of Video 8 tapes, which included a two-hour tape of a *fono* and a two-hour tape of a formal meal in honor of a guest preacher.

¹¹I also discovered that more often than with audio material, I would quickly make guesses as to what subtle actions were being performed, to be later shown, upon examining the tapes, that I was wrong. I learned then not to trust my memory of what people did or what the physical surroundings looked like. I know now that without a visual record of these transactions, not only would I have missed some important details of what was being communicated, but I would have also confidently made up some of the features of the physical setting.

¹²As I was reminded by an anonymous JA reviewer, the status associated with adding a back room to a house may be seen as linked with the fact that creating a back room makes the rest of the house a high-status "front room" (see below for a discussion of the status distinctions associated with "front" and "back").

¹³What I call "oval" here is in fact the combination of a middle rectangular portion and two rounded portions (see Figure 1).

¹⁴No such structure was present in the village where I conducted my research.

¹⁵For a detailed description of different types of Samoan mats and their preparation, see Te Rangi Hiroa (1930:209-231).

¹⁶An almost identical greeting is described by Gregor (1977:180) as characteristic of certain kinds of encounters among the Mehinaku Indians of Central Brazil. See also Hanks (1990:237) for a similar greeting in Maya.

¹⁷A few conventions must be kept in mind to make sense of the way in which Samoan language is transcribed in this article. Samoan has two phonological registers, called by Samoans *tautala lelei* 'good speech' and *tautala leaga* 'bad speech.' "Good speech" is strongly associated with Christianity, written language (e.g., the Bible), and Western education. It is thus required of children and adults in the schools and during church services and most church-related activities. "Bad speech" is used in everyday encounters in the homes, at the store, or on the road and is also characteristic of most formal contexts in which traditional speechmaking is used; thus, for instance, all of the speeches in the *fono* I recorded in 1979 were in "bad speech" (see Duranti 1981). In "bad speech" the sounds /t/ and /n/ disappear and in their place /k/ and /ŋ/ (written "g") are used. This means that in "bad speech" a word like *matai* is pronounced /makai/ and a word like *fono* is pronounced /foŋo/ (written here "fogo" to be consistent with the Samoan orthography). In this article, I have used "good speech" when I mention Samoan words out of context, but I have left the "bad speech" pronunciation in the transcripts of actual talk if that is the way in which people spoke. To distinguish between the two phonological registers, when discussing specific linguistic forms, I have used obliques to mark words or phrases taken from transcripts. The same word may thus be found in two different versions: for example, *fono* and /fogo/ 'village council or meeting' and *tōfā* and /kōfā/ 'highness' (as in *lāu tōfā* 'your highness' when talking to an orator).

¹⁸In only one case out of the thirteen video segments utilized for this study is *mālō* used by one of the people already in the house toward the newcomer before the ceremonial greeting. It is relevant, however, that the newcomer does not respond with a second *mālō*. *Mālō* is sometimes exchanged after the CG between the newcomer and someone who is sitting right next to him.

¹⁹For instance, Freeman (1983:122) confidently writes:

Now as in the past, when a chief [in a loose sense, comprising those who are here called "chiefs" and those who are called "orators"] enters a *fono* all activity is suspended until he takes up his appointed place, at which all of the other chiefs present intone his *fa'alupega* [ceremonial address]. The newcomer then recites, in order of precedence, the *fa'alupenga* of all those present. This elaborate procedure follows the arrival of each chief until the whole *fono* is assembled, and is gone through again immediately prior to its dispersal. [Freeman 1983:122]

This passage misses several of the subtle acts and distinctions typically made by participants in such interactions. Thus, for instance, as shown in the rest of this article, it is not true that *all* the chiefs in the house greet the newcomer and that *all* chiefs who enter the house are greeted. Furthermore, in none of the *fono* I observed were either greetings or *fa'alupega* exchanged again at the end.

²⁰The term *fa'alavelave* applies to a wide range of social events that require one's economic or emotional involvement, including weddings, funerals, unexpected visits, or requests for financial contributions.

²¹Several sources have stressed the importance of the recognition of the parties' social existence during greetings (e.g., Goody 1972:50).

²²The *tala* are the two rounded sides in an oval-shaped house or the two shorter sides in a rectangular house, but they have no special shape in a round house, where they must be established only in contrast with the front and the back (see Duranti 1981).

²³There is a rank distinction in the front region between those, typically chiefs, who can talk if they wish to do so but in fact often let others speak for them and those, typically orators, who, in a sense, *must* talk. Being silent or not being verbally too active, in other words, can index different ranking depending on whether it is observed by parties who are located in the front region or in the back.

²⁴The change of place is usually due to the need to have particular titleholders represent particular sections of the village or district. If a higher-ranking titleholder is not present by the time the meeting is about to start, another, lower-ranking, titleholder from the same section or descent group will move from the back to the front row and take the role of representative. Should the higher-ranking titleholder later arrive, he or she might displace the lower-ranking one, who would then return to his "back" seat.

²⁵It could be argued here that Talaitau is not greeted because the senior orator (*Matua*) Moe'ono outranks him and the people already in the house favor Moe'ono over him. A similar case happens later when the high chief Alai'a-Sā and the orator Usu arrive simultaneously. In the latter case, however, although the greeting seems only directed at the high chief, the orator responds as well,

signifying his taking an active position in the social arena. In Talaitau's case, instead, he does not take Moe'ono's greeting as also relevant to his own entrance. His going to sit in the back region is thus both acted out and interpreted as socially less significantly or less worthy of notice. Finally, the crucial evidence in support of the relevance of the allocation of space is provided by the fact that people who clearly sit in the back usually are not greeted (for an ambiguous case resulting from extensive negotiation, see the discussion of example 11).

²⁶A similar case is found in example 11, where the chief Agaiataua is first invited to go (*afio*) to a particular spot (lines 1 and 4) and then, once he has sat down, is welcomed (*afio mai*).

²⁷The expression 'the old man' (/le koeiga/) refers to the researcher, who at the time was 30 years old, and is used to evoke some sympathy from Tāvai.

²⁸This is the title of the highest chief in the village where this encounter is taking place and is used here as a sign of respect for the addressee, chief Salanoa. It is also possible that the chief from Fagaloa does not know Salanoa's title and therefore uses the highest title he can think of as a generic address term that will not lower the status of his interlocutor.

²⁹The only exception to this principle found in the visual data occurred when two people arrived simultaneously and both sat in the front. In these cases, only one of the two, the higher-ranking one, might be greeted.

³⁰There is no question here that by reframing responsibility in the initiation of the sequence we might risk a regression ad infinitum (but isn't that possibility a leading feature of human interpretive practices?). Perhaps for this reason, Schiffrin (1977:681) proposed to consider the different pairs of acts constituting opening encounters (what she calls, following Goffman [1963], "cognitive recognition," "identification display," and "access display") as taking place simultaneously, at least in their formal representation. In the case of Samoan greetings, I find this solution empirically questionable, given the pervasive attention to sequential order displayed by Samoans in almost every public encounter. Who goes first is part of the interactional work that is being accomplished.

³¹In one case, involving the orator Tāvai, the opening invitation by the high chief Salanoa A. to enter with the respectful term *sosopo mai* might be seen as an invitation to sit in the front. See line 4 of example 12.

³²As I discuss below (example 11), one of the cases in my corpus is difficult to assess in these terms because the chief tries to resist the invitation to sit in the *tala* (part of the front region) and eventually sits at the edge of the back. At the same time, the welcoming he receives qualifies him as a major participant in the interaction. This example shows that, in addition to complementing one another, words and nonverbal actions can sometimes contradict each other.

³³Emanuel Schegloff (personal communication, 1992) pointed out to me that Matu'alelua's shadow may be quite relevant in the exchange in that it might be what prompts Malaga to perform the invitation.

³⁴For a telling example of the interactive nature of seeing (in their case, "seeing a plane"), see Goodwin and Goodwin (in press); see also Rutter (1984) for a review of the literature on visual communication. Rutter makes an interesting distinction between "looking" and "seeing," with the former referring to gaze at the eyes and the latter to visual access to the whole person.

³⁵See Note 27.

³⁶This refers to Salanoa Aukusitino; it is part of his *fa'alupega* or ceremonial address.

³⁷This expression is for Salanoa Mago.

³⁸This and the following expression are literal translations of Fua'ava's ceremonial address (*fa'alupega*).

³⁹It is difficult to say at this point whether these violations are due to individual variation (with some individuals simply being more aggressive lookers than others, as suggested in the literature on eye gaze), to situational factors, or a combination of the two. It is interesting to note, for instance, that in my corpus it was chiefs and people who sit in the *tala* who are more likely to overtly look around at others during the CG. Orators who sat in the front, instead, tended to be more consistent in their patterns of gaze avoidance. These observations would suggest that there might in fact be an asymmetry of visual access, perhaps not as definite but similar to the one described by Collett (1983) for certain Mossi greetings.

⁴⁰This view is consistent with Goffman's often forgotten claim that "a person's face clearly is something that is not lodged in or on his body, but rather something that is diffusely located in the flow of events in the encounter" (Goffman 1967:7).

References Cited

- Bateson, Gregory
1972 *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Bird, Charles, and Timothy Shopen
1979 *Maninka*. In *Languages and Their Speakers*. Timothy Shopen, ed. Pp. 59–111. Cambridge, MA: Winthrop.
- Birdwhistell, Ray L.
1970 *Kinesics and Context: Essays on Body Motion Communication*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre
1971 *The Berber House or the World Reversed*. In *Échanges et Communications: Mélanges offerts à Claude Lévi-Strauss à l'occasion de son 60ème anniversaire*. J. Pouillon and P. Maranda, eds. Pp. 151–161, 165–169. The Hague: Mouton.
1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Richard Nice, trans. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Collett, Peter
1983 *Mossi Salutations*. *Semiotica* 45(3/4):191–248.
- Crago, Martha B.
1988 *Cultural Context in Communicative Interaction of Inuit Children*. Doctoral dissertation, McGill University, Montreal.
- Duranti, Alessandro
1981 *The Samoan Fono: A Sociolinguistic Study*. Pacific Linguistics Monographs, Series B, Vol. 80. Canberra: Australian National University.
1990a *Doing Things with Words: Conflict, Understanding and Change in a Samoan Fono*. In *Disentangling: Conflict Discourse in Pacific Societies*. Karen Watson-Gegeo and Geoffrey White, eds. Pp. 459–489. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
1990b *Politics and Grammar: Agency in Samoan Political Discourse*. *American Ethnologist* 17:646–666.
1992a *Language in Context and Language as Context: The Samoan Respect Vocabulary*. In *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*. Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin, eds. Pp. 77–99. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1992b *Heteroglossia in Samoan Oratory*. In *The Arts of Politics: Challenging Communications in the Contemporary Pacific*. Karen Nero, ed. A Special Issue of *Pacific Studies*, 15(4). (In press.)
- Duranti, Alessandro, and Elinor Ochs
1986 *Literacy Instruction in a Samoan Village*. In *Acquisition of Literacy: Ethnographic Perspectives*. Bambi B. Schieffelin and Perry Gilmore, eds. Pp. 213–232. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I.
1968 *Zur Ethologie menschlichen Grussverhaltens I: Beobachtungen an Balinesen, Papuas und Samoanern nebst vergleichenden Bemerkungen*. *Zeitschrift für Tierpsychologie* 25:727–744.
1974 *Similarities and Differences between Cultures in Expressive Movements*. In *Nonverbal Communication*. S. Weitz, ed. Pp. 20–33. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ferguson, Charles A.
1976 *The Structure and Use of Politeness Formulas*. *Language in Society* 5:137–151.
- Firth, Raymond
1970 *Postures and Gestures of Respect*. In *Échanges et Communications: Mélanges offerts à Claude Lévi-Strauss à l'occasion de son 60ème anniversaire*. Pp. 188–209. The Hague: Mouton.
1972 *Verbal and Bodily Rituals of Greeting and Parting*. In *The Interpretation of Ritual: Essays in Honour of A. I. Richards*. J. S. La Fontaine, ed. Pp. 1–38. London: Tavistock.
- Frake, Charles O.
1975 *How to Enter a Yakan House*. In *Sociocultural Dimensions of Language Use*. Mary Sanchez and Ben G. Blount, eds. Pp. 25–40. New York: Academic Press.
- Freeman, Derek
1983 *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Garfinkel, Harold
1967 *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

- Giddens, Anthony
 1979 *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
 1984 *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goffman, Erving
 1959 *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
 1963 *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gathering*. New York: Free Press.
 1967 *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face to Face Behavior*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
 1972 *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
 1974 *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper and Row.
 1981 *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Goodwin, Charles, and Marjorie H. Goodwin
 In press *Formulating Planes: Seeing as a Situated Activity*. In *Distributed Cognition in the Workplace*. David Middleton and Yrjö Engeström, eds. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. (In press.)
- Goody, Esther
 1972 "Greeting," "Begging," and the Presentation of Respect. In *The Interpretation of Ritual*. J. S. La Fontaine, ed. Pp. 39-71. London: Tavistock.
- Gregor, Thomas
 1977 *Mehinaku: The Drama of Daily Life in a Brazilian Village*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Grimshaw, Allen D.
 1974 *Data and Date Use in an Analysis of Communicative Events*. In *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer, eds. Pp. 419-424. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hägerstrand, Torsten
 1975 *Space, Time and Human Conditions*. In *Dynamic Allocation of Urban Space*. A. Karlqvist, ed. Pp. 3-14. Farnborough: Saxon House.
- Hanks, William F.
 1990 *Referential Practice: Language and Lived Space among the Maya*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Holmes, Lowell D.
 1987 *Quest for the Real Samoa: The Mead/Freeman Controversy and Beyond*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.
- Husserl, Edmund
 1960 *Cartesian Meditations: An Introduction to Phenomenology*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Irvine, Judith T.
 1974 *Strategies of Status Manipulation in Wolof Greeting*. In *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer, eds. Pp. 167-191. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 1979 *Formality and Informality in Communicative Events*. *American Anthropologist* 81:773-790.
- Kendon, Adam
 1967 *Some Functions of Gaze-Direction in Social Interaction*. *Acta Psychologica* 26:22-63.
 1977 *Studies in the Behavior of Social Interaction*. Lisse: Peter De Ridder Press.
 1990 *Conducting Interaction: Patterns of Behavior in Focused Encounters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kendon, Adam, and Andrew Ferber
 1973 *A Description of Some Human Greetings*. In *Comparative Ecology and Behaviour of Primates*. R. P. Michael and J. H. Crook, eds. Pp. 591-668. New York: Academic Press.
- Klinke, C. L.
 1986 *Gaze and Eye Contact: A Research Review*. *Psychological Bulletin* 100(1):78-100.
- Lawrence, Denise, and Setha Low
 1990 *The Built Environment and Spatial Form*. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19:453-505.
- Levinson, Stephen C.
 1983 *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lyons, John
1982 Deixis and Subjectivity: Loquor, ergo sum? *In* *Speech, Place, and Action: Studies in Deixis and Other Related Topics*. R. J. Jarvella and W. Klein, eds. Pp. 101-125. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw
1923 The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages. *In* *The Meaning of Meaning*. C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, eds. Pp. 296-336. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice
1967 *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Milner, G. B.
1961 The Samoan Vocabulary of Respect. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 91:296-317.
- Milton, Kay
1982 Meaning and Context: The Interpretation of Greetings in Kasigau. *In* *Semantic Anthropology*. David Parkin, ed. Pp. 261-277. London: Academic Press.
- Moerman, Michael
1990 Studying Gestures in Social Context. *In* *Culture Embodied*. Michael Moerman and Masachi Nomura, eds. Pp. 5-52. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Moore, Henrietta
1986 *Space, Text, and Gender: An Anthropological Study of the Marakwet of Kenya*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs, Elinor
1979 Transcription as Theory. *In* *Developmental Pragmatics*. Elinor Ochs and Bambi B. Schieffelin, eds. Pp. 43-72. New York: Academic Press.
1988 Culture and Language Development: Language Acquisition and Language Socialization in a Samoan Village. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1992 Indexing Gender. *In* *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*. Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin, eds. Pp. 335-358. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oliver, Douglas L.
1989 *Oceania: The Native Cultures of Australia and the Pacific Islands*, Vol. 1. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Pader, Ellen
1988 Inside Spatial Relations. *Architecture and Comportment/Architecture and Behavior* 4:251-267.
- Rossi-Landi, Ferruccio
1973 *Il linguaggio come lavoro e come mercato*. Milano: Bompiani.
- Rutter, D. R.
1984 *Looking and Seeing: The Role of Visual Communication in Social Interaction*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Sacks, Harvey
1975 Everyone Has to Lie. *In* *Sociocultural Dimensions of Language Use*. M. Sanches and B. G. Blount, eds. Pp. 57-80. New York: Academic Press.
- Salmond, Ann
1974 Rituals of Encounter among the Maori: Sociolinguistic Study of a Scene. *In* *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer, eds. Pp. 192-212. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A.
1968 Sequencing in Conversational Openings. *American Anthropologist* 70:1075-1095.
1979 Identification and Recognition in Telephone Openings. *In* *Everyday Language*. George Psathas, ed. Pp. 23-78. New York: Erlbaum.
1986 The Routine as Achievement. *Human Studies* 9:111-151.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A., and Harvey Sacks
1973 Opening Up Closings. *Semiotica* 8:289-327.
- Schiffirin, Deborah
1977 Opening Encounters. *American Sociological Review* 42:679-691.
- Schutz, Alfred
1970 *On Phenomenology of Social Relations*. H. R. Wagner, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Sherzer, Joel
1983 *Kuna Ways of Speaking: An Ethnographic Perspective*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Shore, Bradd
1982 *Sala'ilua: A Samoan Mystery*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Te Rangi Hiroa (P. H. Buck)
1930 *Samoaan Material Culture*. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
- Valeri, Valerio
1985 *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- van Gennep, Arnold
1960 *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Youssouf, I., Ibrahim Ag, Allen D. Grimshaw, and Charles S. Bird
1976 *Greetings in the Desert*. *American Ethnologist* 3(4):797-824.

Oxford

The Sky in Mayan Literature

ANTHONY F. AVENI, *Colgate University*
This collection of essays investigates both ancient and modern Mayan texts and describes concepts of timekeeping and their role in Maya culture. The interdisciplinary approach in this innovative book offers a synthesis of past and present dialogue between people and the world of nature around, and especially above them.
1992 320 pp.; 69 illus. \$35.00

The Realm of the Sacred

Edited by SITAKANTA MAHAPATRA,
*Additional Secretary (Culture),
Government of India*
The Realm of the Unknown has a relationship of immense complexity with the human world and the objective reality surrounding it. Together, the essays in this collection reflect the experience of wide and geographically distinct culture areas: from Thailand to India, Eastern Slavia, and Caucasus.
1992 248 pp.; illus. \$24.95

Religion in India

Edited by T.N. MADAN,
University of Delhi
Focusing on the sociological and anthropological aspects, this study attempts to elucidate the major approaches while offering the reader a clear understanding of the religions' perspectives on time, space, knowledge, sacred persons, and reorientation of the sacred.
1992 464 pp. \$32.00

Mining and Indigenous Peoples in Australasia

Edited by JOHN CONNELL and
RICHARD HOWITT, *both with the
University of Sydney*
This work reviews in detail the relations between mining and indigenous peoples in diverse national, political, and cultural settings. With case studies from five nations, the contributors thoroughly assess what they see as the central issues—dispossession, land rights, and compensation.
1992 216 pp.; illus. paper \$28.00

*Prices are subject to change and apply only in the U.S.
To order, send check or money order to: Social Sciences Marketing, Dept. KLH
To order by phone using major credit cards please call 800-451-7556*

Oxford University Press

200 Madison Avenue • New York, NY 10016