

1. Description

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: Puluwatese; Oceanic, Austronesian, Eastern Malayo-Polynesian¹

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): 639-3

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): 7° 20' N, 149° 20' E

1.4 Brief history: Puluwat Atoll is a relatively new inclusion into the western world. During WWII, a Japanese garrison was located on the island which was comprised of approximately 2,800 men of the 11th Independent Mixed Regiment. These men were under the command of Colonel Tatsuo Yasui. Due to food shortages 2/3 of the battalions were moved to Truk leaving 335 IJA soldiers and 211 IJN soldiers on the island. There is a Japanese Lighthouse on the island which is listed on the U.S. National Register of Historic places. After this event other foreign forces tried to come to the islands for various reasons with Catholic missionaries succeeding. The new Catholic religion replaced many of the older traditions which the island had used. Catholicism also removed much of the inner island fighting which was present throughout much of their history.

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: Puluwat has been known in the region for being very powerful in the past as well as being a warfaring society. In recent years, however, they have become less prominent as the Micronesian government has taken hold. Christian missionaries have come to the island in recent years when the island was controlled by the United States and approximately 87% of the inhabitants have converted, the other 13% having become protestant. There are, however, two churches on the main island. One is Protestant and one is Catholic. Puluwat is currently controlled by the Federated States of Micronesia.

1.6 Ecology (natural environment): Puluwat is comprised of five, compactly clustered islands which comprise the Puluwat Atoll. According to "East Is A Big Bird: Navigation and Logic on Puluwat Atoll" by Thomas Gladwin, the islands "are arranged in (a) most unusual fashion. Whereas most coral islands in these tropic seas lie along a reef which rings a large lagoon, or else stand alone as islands with no lagoon at all, the Puluwat Atoll is a tight grouping of two relatively large islands, Puluwat proper and Allei, and three small ones." Gladwin also mentions how there is a lagoon which lies between them. The lagoon is small and divided into two parts, one facing the southwest (protected by a reef) and a small inner lagoon almost encircled by Puluwat.

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: Approximately 400 people who almost all live exclusively on the main island of Puluwat. The largest island in the Puluwat Atoll is approximately 2 miles across. Almost every inch of these islands, however is productive and useful in some sense.

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): The main carbohydrate staples for the Puluwat Atoll are breadfruit, coconut, and pandanus. This food comes from trees in the two, big taro swamps on both of the big islands.

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Small fish from the surrounding area. However, most of the food eaten on this island comes from the fruit off of the trees. One of the most favorite meats on the island is Sea Turtle and is considered a delicacy. 9

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: Bow and Arrow, Fists, Small Daggers

2.4 Food storage: There is no need for extensive food storage for several reasons. First, there is already more than enough food to feed the inhabitants of the island. Second, since the island is in a tropical area, the food from the trees grows year round, meaning that there is no reason to stock up supplies. There is some food that is saved, however, using underground pits for the offseason and when sailors are about to go on long trips. This is rare though.

2.5 Sexual division of production: The men in the group are used to hunt, fight, and undergo politics while the women in the society are for child bearing and the preparing of food. The island is primarily known for its sailors and fishermen who do a lot of the fishing.

2.6 Land tenure: Each family lives in a small hut which is located in several villages.

2.7 Ceramics: One of the type of ceramics that is specific to the island is the manufacture of coral pounders. This is a specialized trait and has been known to be very time consuming.

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

2.9 Food taboos: None

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? – The Puluwat are able to traverse large distances of water using very little technology. They do not use the traditional navigational aids that other sailors use. The canoes which they use also have a white, triangle sail on them which aids in paddling. They are a largely seafaring folk who have had a long history/tradition with the water.

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): Approximately 5 ft. 5 for men and 5 ft. 2 for females

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): Approximately 135 lbs. for men and 125 lbs. for women.

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): With the onset of Christianity on the island, the age for marriage has gotten slightly older. In the old days before the missionaries came to the island, the native people usually married in mid teens.

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): As with age for first marriage, there is no discernible age at first birth. Usually it is when the women are young (Teens and early Twenties) and commences as soon as they are married.

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): Natives of the Puluwat Atoll do not have traditional family sizes. Although they have marriages and children, often they will live in huts with up to 11 people who

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): 1 to 2 years.

- 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): There is no discernible preference for age for marriage although women traditionally marry at younger ages than men.
- 4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: Again, since the island is predominantly Christian, there are very few marriages ending in divorce, if any. However, of all the marriages which have ended in divorce, all have never remarried. If there is a separation, the wife keeps any land she received from her husband because it was for her children. If there are no children then those who have the husband the land may reclaim it if they feel the wife has mistreated or neglected them. Wives in this society, however, have several negative annotations. Decades ago, before missionaries came to the island, there were many superstitious beliefs about women with regards to the ocean. Many times women would have to accompany men on boats, which is considered bad luck, and their husbands would have to do certain things to insure their safety. One such example is that when women urinated over the side of the boat, their husband would have to make splashing sounds in the water to cover up the noise as not to disturb the sea.
- 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: There are no polygynous marriages in recent years. 100% monogamy, although there are cases where Husbands cheat on wives and vice versa.
- 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: The bride and groom usually receive taro gardens, land, and breadfruit trees. The land given usually includes both the piece of land and the coconut trees growing on it, but breadfruit trees can be owned by one person while the land is owned by another. "At marriage, men and women receive land from their parents. Adoptive parents may also choose at this time to give land, especially if the bride or groom has lived with them for some time. In other words, the more people act as "children," the more likely they are to be treated as such. Giving land is like giving food – part of taking care of kin. I once asked a woman why she intended to give land to children related in a complicated way to her and she answered simply, "I take care of them."
- 4.9 Inheritance patterns: Through the mother's lineage.
- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: Children are active members of the society and expected to participate in active work. The male children also go on sea trips with their fathers and in the past have gone through rights of navigation. These rituals have decreased in recent years with the rise of Christianity as these acts have now been labeled pagan. The rite usually involved certain prayers which would be spoken and a boy (now a man) would have to navigate on his own.
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: N/A
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? – Most data collected is after missionaries (i.e. outside forces) came to the island and the current belief is that there is one father per child, although many people in the society may be involved with the raising of a child.
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows") – The mother is, as is stated in the question the "receptacle in which the fetus grows". Maternal links are
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? - No
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape – No Data
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin) – Members of the society who are not part of the person's clan.
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? – Yes (It is partially a matriarchal society)
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring - None
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? – The father usually remarries and the woman would then be responsible for the children.
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: 1/2
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades: None
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): N/A
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?: Usually in the society the people who are given the most respect are members of your own clan. If someone is a member of your clan then you are expected to extend them hospitality, not marry them, and other things which show that they are above common people. "Pulapese conceptions of male-female relationships among descent group members as brother-sister relationships shape several affinal relationships. The spouse of senior sibling ideally deserves the same sort of respect as the sibling, as does any senior sibling of one's spouse.
- 4.24 Joking relationships?: The closest relationship that anyone on Puluwat can have is the distinction of "sibling" which transcends even marriage. This relationship is either people who are related to you through the matrilineal line or by acting like a sibling. These people usually are part of the same clan and share food/land/housing/etc...
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: names are only given for clans, i.e. the name of the clan, and are passed on according to the name of a common female descendant. Possible reasons for this would be the fact that maternal links are certain while paternal links can be questioned (in societies without DNA). These clan ties can be passed to people who are not part of the clan if they act like a sibling. In the past, if someone wished to remarry anyone other than a sibling of the deceased within a few years of the death, it was necessary first to make a payment to the family of the deceased spouse.
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules: According to "Diplomas and Thatch Houses", Reasons for circulation at the village or extended family level have in the past included trading, ceremonies, marriage, raids, fear of sorcery, and environmental conditions such as typhoons. People circulated in the past because more than one place held attractions or obligations. Similarly, after contact, people have continued to move to fulfill role obligations, with jobs, or school perhaps drawing them to a new sight." This constant moving prevents incest, although it is in a roundabout way. Marriage is also forbidden between members of the same clan (group of people with similar female ancestor). Again, according to "Diplomas and Thatch houses" Marriage to a fellow descent group member is marriage to a sibling and tantamount to incest. Intraclan marriages are indeed very rare. The only one I recorded on Pulap is an interisland one and thus a very distant tie. Pulapese are also forbidden to marry anyone of the father's descent line. Even marriage with anyone of the father's entire clan on Pulap or with its offspring is discouraged. Marrying a child of one's father's clan is the most reprehensible of the two because the spouses are members of one offspring group and therefore should be siblings to each other.

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? – Yes, since the island is primarily Catholic the inhabitants participate in a traditional catholic mass.

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? – In the Puluwat society, marriage is less important than kinship and less attention is placed on it. In the Puluwat society, being a sibling is the closest you can be related to someone (through the matrilineal line). Descendants through the female line are considered siblings while descendants through the male line are considered children to the descendant group. This sense of “sibling” can also be created with someone unrelated if they act like a sibling.

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) – There is no difference between males and females, marriage to a fellow descent group member is marriage to a sibling and tantamount of incest

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? - No arranged marriages,.

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: The only restriction is that you cannot marry intraclan, marry siblings, or marry anyone of your father’s clan.

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: Not Available, none in recent years.

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: Not Available

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: Not Available

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): There are fairly constant relationships with the neighboring islands. In past times Puluwat was known for its warlike nature, having controlled several of the surrounding islands for a time. With the onset of the provisional government, there is relatively little warfare and thus no statistics exist for Warfare/Homicide. While these actions still probably occur on the island (as they do on any island) they are not recorded.

4.18 Cannibalism? – N/A

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: 200-300 people

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): None.

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): The government on the islands consists of, according to “Diplomas and Thatch Houses” by Juliana Flinn, “The municipal government is organized according to the U.S. model of legislative, executive, and judicial branches with a judge, elected magistrate, and a six-member elected council. Other municipal officials include an assistant magistrate, secretary, treasurer, and two police officers. And every Tuesday morning all able-bodied adults meet in the open-sided community meeting house to discuss municipal affairs. A traditional council, consisting of all clan chiefs, also operates. The senior man in Pulap’s highest ranking clan is the chief for the whole community. Although the chief in 1980 was still granted the privileges of chiefs, his younger brother had taken over his duties since the chief was old and crippled. The chief’s role is to handle traditional matters such as fishing and drinking palm toddy, but he bases his decisions on consensus opinions.

5.4 Post marital residence: The wife and husband usually live on a plot of land given to them by members of both of their clans or any clans that they are affiliated with. Land passes hands very frequently and is passed from the husband to the wife as to insure that the land is passed “like a ball through many hands.”

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): The island is relatively small and the land moves so fluently that there is no need for territorial defenses.

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex): Interaction on the island is relatively open and con

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: Addressed Earlier

5.8 Village and house organization:

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens’ houses): Man and wife live together in a house (built by the man) on land given to them in marriage.

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: Each subset area is broken up into clans which each have a clan chief. It is in these clans that people eat, sleep, and work together.

5.12 Trade: Although the many islands in the area are separated by a relatively large distance, the island communities are still in constant trade. Since many islands in the area cannot create food on their own (or at least enough to sustain their populations) trade is a very important

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? – According to “Diplomas and Thatch Houses” “Each clan on the island is composed of a number of descent lines, the descent groups that are most relevant to daily interaction. Unlike the clan, whose members share only putative ties to a common ancestor, a descent line consists of members who can trace their descent through known female links from a common ancestor no more than a few generations back.” Every time a man leaves, be it on a trip or for a sailing expedition, the wife is expected to sleep with the women of his descent line. School children often move in with other relatives when their parents leave for Moen, and a man may move to avoid living in the same house with a sister who has just returned.

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR: Sunday is completely devoted to prayer according to the Catholic tradition. All of the food which is to be used on this day is prepared the night before so that there is minimal expending of energy.

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): With the modernization of the island, there is one catholic priest and one protestant priest on the island. There are no (shamans and medicine).

6.2 Stimulants:

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

6.4 Other rituals:

6.5 Myths (Creation): Christian Creation (i.e. Genesis)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: Women are expected to wear more clothing for Sunday worship services. This can consist of a dress (most common) or other garments which cover up their body.

6.8 Missionary effect: There has been a huge missionary effect on the island which has affected nearly every aspect of life. In the mid 20th century, Catholic missionaries came to the island. Ever since then most of the island has converted to Christianity and have forgone many lost traditions. Locals now practice monogamy more strictly than in the past and there have been no remarriages after a couple divorces.

6.9 RCR revival: N/A

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: The people of the island believe in the Christian afterlife of heaven.

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? - No

6.12 Is there teknonymy? - No

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) - Christianity

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: Body paint is worn on the face and chest only during ceremonies. It has been worn less in current times due to the effect of missionaries.

7.2 Piercings: There are no piercings, however, men's ears are altered at a young age for jewelry purposes.

7.3 Haircut: Hair is worn short in both men and women.

7.4 Scarification: N/A

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): In the past the male islanders would distend their ears in order to wear jewelry on them.

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: Most ritual adornments have been abandoned since the onset of Christianity.

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Men of the island only wear a cloth wrapped around their abdomen while women do the same. With regards to Sunday service, Women are expected to wear dresses, but they are uncomfortable and thus is not always followed.

7.8 Missionary effect: Catholic missionaries have had a conservative effect on the island. Many of the traditional adornments have been replaced by western habits. Women now wear clothing to cover up their chests and some on the island now wear western clothes. The distension of the earlobes has stopped since the missionaries have come to the island as well as many local customs. Also, missionaries have removed many rituals which signified the transition from childhood into adulthood.

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: **None apparent**

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: Siblings are the most important relationship in the society, above even marriages (as discussed earlier in this questionnaire). A sibling is another person who is either related to you in a Matrilineal fashion or someone who simply acts like a sibling. Wives and husbands of senior siblings are afforded the same respect at the sibling themselves and in many times are considered siblings in their own right.

8.2 Sororate, levirate: Neither

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): N/A

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

Numbered references

1. "Puluwat Atoll." *Traveling Luck*. Web. <http://travelingluck.com/Oceania/Micronesia/Chuuk/_2081522_Puluwat+Atoll.html#local_map>.
2. Flinn, Juliana. *Diplomas and Thatch Houses: Asserting Tradition in a Changing Micronesia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1992. Print.
3. "Puluwat Atoll." *GeoNames*. Web. 16 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.geonames.org/2081522/puluwat-atoll.html>>.