

A SOCIOSEMANTIC FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF MICRONESIAN FOLKLORE

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This paper examines a sample of Micronesian folklore from Kosrae Island, Eastern Caroline Islands and from Kaban Atoll, Ratik Chain, Marshall Islands. Consideration is given to (1) characterizations of thematic manifestations which occur in both languages, (2) referential meaning which is analogous to the culture, (3) the role of folklore in these islands and (4) implications for future studies particularly the impact folklore plays during changes occurring in Micronesia.

Several years ago I introduced and proposed an idea which I defined and labeled sociosemantics. The basic concept involved looking at language as the observable link which transmits information concerning the sociocultural system. Briefly, the emphasis was on the interaction between man and his environment in terms of processes involved rather than on "things" in the culture. The problem formulated in my earlier work considered the relationship between the expression of man's language and the other components of a cultural system. I hoped by examining language in this manner that I could learn more about the interaction of the components in the total sociocultural system.

This type of research led to the present study which is based on my earlier semantics study but which has been enlarged and modified in light of new data, particularly that which has been gleaned from an on-going and in-depth study of folklore. In the present study of texts, the language used is viewed as multi-contextual with the relationship between spoken language and its referents being many-sided and holistic in nature. Thus, there is not a one to one relationship with any single referent. The study of folklore from this perspective yields some of the ways the semantic component maps various aspects of man's environment. In contrast, many other semantic approaches (e.g. Carnap 1952, Katz 1966, Lakoff, G. 1971) express views which indicate that semantic significance is inherent solely in the word or sentence. Sociosemantics, on the other hand, emphasizes language as a vehicle for expressing relationships which exist outside units of word and sentence and which are grounded in the real world of the culture. Thus, we can examine these oral traditions and see that they have foundations grounded in the real world of the culture, primarily, as we shall observe, in the ideological sub-systems of the culture.

My 1976 work on Kosraen (spelled at that time as KUSAIEN, but now spelled differently to adjust to changes in the political system and other factors) in terms of cultural processes and linguistic domains examined two major divisions: (1) Utilization Processes and (2) Physiological and Psychological Processes. Because of new data, it is now evident that what I considered as sub-processes under these two major divisions still exist, in part, but as underlying thematic manifestations, which I am now calling themes. Furthermore, the modification proposed in this paper eliminates the major division labels since it has been determined that they serve little purpose. Because I consider this current research still in the early stages, there will, over the next year or so, be other modifications which will bring us closer to a fuller understanding of the relationship of folklore to cultural reality.

Methodology

First, the investigator asked the informants to look for key words in each sentence or related sentences which seem to characterize a main theme or themes. A wide range of informants was used to select these key words. The rationale for this rests in the belief that the cognitive maps in the heads of informants vary according to the kind and amount of information internalized concerning the culture and its various systems. In this present study, there also seems to be some evidence supporting Gaws' explanatory model (1974), that is, the etics are the tools or metalanguage devices for interpreting the flow of knowledge which passes into the head of the anthropologist from the native's operational and representational models plus from what the anthropologist observes as a participant observer in field work. Kuhn's work on shared paradigm (1970:176) is also applied in this present study because it is apparent that in order to discuss folklore in terms of cultural reality, we need a metalanguage or vocabulary which has some semantic standardization of shared features necessary to discuss the study from a scientific point of view. However, one word of caution is necessary here. We must not rely solely on a microscopic analysis of any given set of key words. We need to keep in mind that the whole is greater than the sum of its individual components, that is, we cannot add up all the key words and arrive at a discrete interpretation of cultural reality. If we use a holistic approach here we, hopefully, will arrive at a relatively accurate inventory of themes which manifest themselves in the real world of the culture.

The second method consisted of the investigator discussing the place and function of key words with the different informants.

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That is, I am concerned about the cultural reality of the ideas and concepts expressed by the key words. What do these words mean to those in the culture? What does the individual think of when he hears a particular word? In theory, the key word seems to act as a cognitive trigger which in turn provides the impetus for a discussion of the data in terms of reaching a descriptive cultural reality.

The results of these two methods were then put into formalisms which were descriptive, but at the same time, categorize the data into some sort of metalanguage without destroying the cultural referents singled out by the native speakers. Keeping in mind the views of Caws and Kuhn, the terminology chosen is the same or based on that proposed by Sith Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk Literature (Dorson 1975). Additional themes may be particular to my own data until such a time other investigations cause further modifications.

Application

To illustrate the application of this framework to actual texts, I have selected passages from Kosraen and Marshallese. First, TABLE 1 provides an explanation of the phonemic symbols and special symbols used in these texts. TABLE 2 and TABLE 3 are from the Kosraen and Marshallese texts, respectively.

TABLE 1 NOTATIONConsonants

Stops and Fricatives—all voiceless tendency but can be voiced

p bilabial, t dental, k velar, s apico dental, \int alveopalatal (generally retroflex), f labiodental

Liquids and Nasals

r slightly retroflex, l palatal, my palatalized bilabial, m bilabial, n alveolar, ν velar, r' flap

Semi-Vowels Palatalized Consonant Glottalized Sound

w, y

ϕ

ʔ

Vowels

Front: i high, I lower high, e higher mid, E lower mid, \int higher low

Central: ϕ mid, a low

Back: ν unrounded high, u high, o higher mid, ϕ lower mid

Special Symbols

// utterance boundary () utterance number

* denotes key word . . . ellipsis

TABLE 2 KOSRAËN TEXT "NIWA"

- . (1) niw¹₁ el²₂ si³ks⁴eyl³ sip⁴E⁴ yan⁵ wi⁶ kom⁷ wot⁸// (2) sip¹E¹
 el² f³ak³ s⁴ep⁴ak⁴ sanol⁵ swarr⁶kk⁶// (3) l¹ys¹ meyt²niw³
 m⁴keynna⁴ lall⁵// (4) el¹ t²ey² ney³ utyak⁴ na⁵ fIn⁶ meys⁷//
 (5) el¹ s²kk²ak² yot³sey⁴ say⁵ tuky⁶ mwey⁷sey⁸ key⁹ m¹⁰ton¹⁰sol¹⁰//
 (6) na¹talIgm²kul²sey³sol⁴ liki⁵m⁶ton⁶sol⁶// . . . (7) niw¹₁ el²
 ora³tol⁴ luwo⁵sia⁶ m⁷nas⁷sia⁸kau⁹// (8) el¹say²ma³kau⁴sey⁵lal⁶
 kaut⁷ma⁸man⁹sey¹⁰l¹¹talIgm¹²kul¹²sey¹²// (9) na¹elt²
 m³tu⁴key⁴for⁵ak⁶kaut⁷el⁸iluy⁹nwey¹⁰us¹¹sey¹²// (10) talIgm¹kul¹sey¹
 iluy²yot³ak⁴sey⁵// (11) kaut¹el²t³oun⁴ey⁵el⁶ora⁷in⁸
 kun⁹l¹⁰kan¹¹lalt¹²// . . .
- . (1) Niw¹₁ she²asked him³Sip⁴E⁴I⁵with you⁶go with⁷you there⁸ //
 (2) Sip¹E¹he²say³overloaded⁴wait for him⁵title of man⁶ //
 (3) all gone¹ people² Niw³₃ left⁴ //
 (4) she¹cried²until³enter⁴to⁵on⁶land⁷ //
 (5) she¹picked up²rock³a, this⁴give⁵hit⁶ripe pimple⁷this⁸
 on⁹her forehead¹⁰ //
 (6) then¹boy²a³jump off⁴from⁵forehead⁶ // . . .
 (7) woman¹she²make³loin cloth⁴two⁵one⁶not strong⁷one⁸strong⁹//
 (8) she¹gave²thing³strong⁴one⁵to⁶Kaut⁷thing⁸weak⁹one¹⁰to¹¹
 child boy this¹²//
 (9) then¹they²sleep³at⁴night⁵and⁶Kaut⁷he⁸put his head on trunk⁹
 of banana tree¹⁰ this¹¹//
 (10) child boy this¹put head² on rock³ rough⁴ this⁵//
 (11) Kaut¹he²to make, to take care of³ fire⁴ and⁵he⁶make⁷in⁸
 extinguish⁹ he to¹⁰ eat¹¹them¹²// . . .

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TABLE 3 MARSHALLESE TEXT "JAKUNNE"

. . (1) Jakunne₁ e₂ [~]ēr₃ p₄ n₅ a₆ r₇ n₈ i₉ t₁₀ [~]ēy₁₁ n₁₂ k₁₃ e₁₄ y₁₅ e₁₆ p₁₇ p₁₈ p₁₉ p₂₀
[~]t₁ [~]m₂ [~]ēk₃ ₁₁ ilo₁₂ k₁₃ r₁₄ i₁₅ s₁₆ m₁₇ i₁₈ s₁₉ // (2) k₁ ē₂ n₃ m₄ e₅ n₆ i₇ n₈ a₉ r₁₀ a₁₁ m₁₂ i₁₃ t₁₄ [~]ēy₁₅ n₁₆ r₁₇ ā₁₈ r₁₉ ā₂₀
ey₁ t₂ l₃ j₄ e₅ n₆ n₇ i₈ n₉ y₁₀ e₁₁ n₁₂ i₁₃ n₁₄ y₁₅ n₁₆ i₁₇ // (3) k₁ e₂ [~]ēr₃ [~]ō₄ t₅ a₆ l₇ a₈ w₉ k₁₀ [~]ēy₁₁ n₁₂ ā₁₃ r₁₄ ā₁₅ r₁₆ ā₁₇ ā₁₈ r₁₉ ā₂₀
e₁ [~]ēr₂ k₃ [~]ēb₄ b₅ o₆ j₇ i₈ p₉ w₁₀ a₁₁ k₁₂ o₁₃ n₁₄ a₁₅ n₁₆ w₁₇ e₁₈ y₁₉ ₁₃ e₁₄ n₁₅ t₁₆ [~]ēn₁₇ [~]ā₁₈ r₁₉ ā₂₀ r₂₁ ā₂₂ r₂₃ ā₂₄ r₂₅ ā₂₆ r₂₇ ā₂₈ r₂₉ ā₃₀ r₃₁ ā₃₂ r₃₃ ā₃₄ r₃₅ ā₃₆ r₃₇ ā₃₈ r₃₉ ā₄₀ r₄₁ ā₄₂ r₄₃ ā₄₄ r₄₅ ā₄₆ r₄₇ ā₄₈ r₄₉ ā₅₀ r₅₁ ā₅₂ r₅₃ ā₅₄ r₅₅ ā₅₆ r₅₇ ā₅₈ r₅₉ ā₆₀ r₆₁ ā₆₂ r₆₃ ā₆₄ r₆₅ ā₆₆ r₆₇ ā₆₈ r₆₉ ā₇₀ r₇₁ ā₇₂ r₇₃ ā₇₄ r₇₅ ā₇₆ r₇₇ ā₇₈ r₇₉ ā₈₀ r₈₁ ā₈₂ r₈₃ ā₈₄ r₈₅ ā₈₆ r₈₇ ā₈₈ r₈₉ ā₉₀ r₉₁ ā₉₂ r₉₃ ā₉₄ r₉₅ ā₉₆ r₉₇ ā₉₈ r₉₉ ā₁₀₀ r₁₀₁ ā₁₀₂ r₁₀₃ ā₁₀₄ r₁₀₅ ā₁₀₆ r₁₀₇ ā₁₀₈ r₁₀₉ ā₁₁₀ r₁₁₁ ā₁₁₂ r₁₁₃ ā₁₁₄ r₁₁₅ ā₁₁₆ r₁₁₇ ā₁₁₈ r₁₁₉ ā₁₂₀ r₁₂₁ ā₁₂₂ r₁₂₃ ā₁₂₄ r₁₂₅ ā₁₂₆ r₁₂₇ ā₁₂₈ r₁₂₉ ā₁₃₀ r₁₃₁ ā₁₃₂ r₁₃₃ ā₁₃₄ r₁₃₅ ā₁₃₆ r₁₃₇ ā₁₃₈ r₁₃₉ ā₁₄₀ r₁₄₁ ā₁₄₂ r₁₄₃ ā₁₄₄ r₁₄₅ ā₁₄₆ r₁₄₇ ā₁₄₈ r₁₄₉ ā₁₅₀ r₁₅₁ ā₁₅₂ r₁₅₃ ā₁₅₄ r₁₅₅ ā₁₅₆ r₁₅₇ ā₁₅₈ r₁₅₉ ā₁₆₀ r₁₆₁ ā₁₆₂ r₁₆₃ ā₁₆₄ r₁₆₅ ā₁₆₆ r₁₆₇ ā₁₆₈ r₁₆₉ ā₁₇₀ r₁₇₁ ā₁₇₂ r₁₇₃ ā₁₇₄ r₁₇₅ ā₁₇₆ r₁₇₇ ā₁₇₈ r₁₇₉ ā₁₈₀ r₁₈₁ ā₁₈₂ r₁₈₃ ā₁₈₄ r₁₈₅ ā₁₈₆ r₁₈₇ ā₁₈₈ r₁₈₉ ā₁₉₀ r₁₉₁ ā₁₉₂ r₁₉₃ ā₁₉₄ r₁₉₅ ā₁₉₆ r₁₉₇ ā₁₉₈ r₁₉₉ ā₂₀₀ r₂₀₁ ā₂₀₂ r₂₀₃ ā₂₀₄ r₂₀₅ ā₂₀₆ r₂₀₇ ā₂₀₈ r₂₀₉ ā₂₁₀ r₂₁₁ ā₂₁₂ r₂₁₃ 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TABLE 4 ENGLISH GLOSSES FOR "JAKUNNE" PASSAGES

- ..(1) Jakunne₁ he₂ was₃ say₄ to₅ people₆ these₇ to₈ his₉ not₁₀ believe₁₁
at₁₂ Christmas₁₃ //
- (2) so then₁ people₂ these₃ were₄ left him₅ to₆ main land, island₇ //
- (3) so₁ it₂ was₃ starting to get dark₄ Jakunne₅ he₆ was₇ preparing₈
fishing line₉ those₁₀ his₁₁ so₁₂ he₁₃ can₁₄ go₁₅ fishing₁₆ //
- (4) so then₁ it₂ was₃ getting darker₄ he₅ was₆ getting ready₇ to go₈ to₉ go₁₀
to₁₁ the₁₂ end₁₃ atoll₁₄ locative₁₅ to, so₁₆ he₁₇ fishing₁₈ //
- (5) so₁ Jakunne₂ he₃ was₄ put₅ fishing line₆ locative₇ his₈ to₉
inside₁₀ lagoon₁₁ he₁₂ feel₁₃ his₁₄ fishing line₁₅ locative₁₆
shakey₁₇ so then₁₈ Jakunne₁₉ he₂₀ was₂₁ pulling₂₂ fishing line₂₃
locative₂₄ and₂₅ put₂₆ to₂₇ behind him₂₈ so then₂₉ he₃₀ was₃₁
trying₃₂ pull₃₃ it₃₄ was₃₅ stuck₃₆ so then₃₇ he₃₈ turn₃₉ look
behind, look back₄₀ he₄₁ was₄₂ saw₄₃ two₄₄ women ghosts₄₅ //
- ..(6) however₁ there₂ was₃ no more₄ people₅ at₆ so then₇ he₈ was₉
walk in shallow water₁₀ from₁₁ atoll₁₂ this₁₃ to the second₁₄₋₁₆
he₁₇ was₁₈ stay₁₉ no more₂₀ people₂₁ these₂₂ so then₂₃ he₂₄ was₂₅
continuing₂₆ his₂₇ walk in shallow water₂₈ in₂₉ running
place to place₃₀₋₃₃ and then₃₄ atoll₃₅ this₃₆ end₃₇ very₃₈ to, so₃₉ 40
he₄₁ mainland₄₂ he₄₃ was₄₄ see (saw)₄₅ two₄₆ more than one
person, two old people₄₇ more than one person two old
people₄₈ these₄₉ really₅₀ old or very weak₅₁ they were₅₂ 53
cooking₅₄ //

TABLE 5 on the next page provides paraphrased translations for the Kosraen and Marshallese text passages, respectively.

TABLE 5 PARAPHRASED TRANSLATIONS FOR TEXT PASSAGES**"NIWA"**

. . .The woman asked Sipe, "Sipe? Will I go with you?" Sipe said he was overloaded. "Wait for Swarrekke." Then there were no more people, only Niwa was left. She cried until she went on the land. That is, she left the rock and went back to the land where the village stood. She picked up a rock and hit a pimple on her forehead. Then a boy jumped off her forehead. . . .She made two loin cloths, one was not strong, one strong. She gave the strong one to Kaut, the weak one she gave to the boy. Then they slept at night and he (Kaut) put his head on the trunk of the banana tree. The boy rested his head on a rough rock. Kaut made the fire and then he extinguished it so it would be dark and then he could eat them.

"JAKUNNE"

. . .Jakunne told these people he doesn't believe in Christmas. So the people left him on the island and went to the mainland to celebrate Christmas without him. When it began to get dark, Jakunne started to prepare his fishing line. When it was completely dark, he went to the end of the island and began to fish. Jakunne put his fishing line inside the lagoon. He felt the fishing line shaking so he pulled the fishing line and put it behind him. When he tried to pull it back, the fishing line was stuck. And when he looked back to see what was the problem (that is, what was holding the line from moving) he saw two women Ghosts. . . . However, there were no people on these islands so he kept continuing walking fast in shallow water from atoll to atoll. Still he could find no one. When he reached the last atoll close to the main island, he saw two real old people at this island. These people were real weak and very old and they were cooking.

TABLE 6 on the next pages are examples of the type of notes taken during the second method used in analyzing folklore. These notes are part of a larger corpus of notes that have to do with the place and function of the key words in the culture.

TABLE 6 NOTES FROM DISCUSSION OF KEY WORDS IN THE CULTUREA. KOSRAEN DISCUSSION NOTES

1. Ghost came and started eating the people of Kosrae but the people began to leave before the Ghost finished. Idea of "eat" here implies "kill" and some were destined to escape so the story could be told. Idea of "Evil" expressed in the "oral cavity or mouth of the Ghost" which is seen engulfing the "Good".
2. Woman needs a ride in someone's canoe and the highest ranking authority, the King, tells her he is full and she must wait for someone else. Lack of compassion and responsibility on his part. No charity for the "weak", i.e. the "woman". Each high titled man (chief) abandons her with the same excuse and she is left on the island alone with the evil. It is felt that the woman represents good and thus, no Kosraen would abandon a "good person" because there is no way for a person to survive alone in the islands.
3. In desperation, she gives "birth" to a boy child who matures quickly because He knows she needs help and he becomes symbolic of the cultural hero. (He-God; he-human child of woman). Here it is felt that the power of good magic can be seen. Also God sends the good woman a child as she won't be so lonely and will have help in surviving life as she grows older because there is a factor of family loyalty in terms of parents aging. Time and space are represented here very strongly.
4. Young boy builds canoe and familiarizes himself with himself with island. You must know your islands if you are going to survive. To build a canoe requires strength and skill, two attributes highly praised.
5. Young boy exposes himself to the Ghost and tricks the Ghost. Competition and conflict are challenges for individual and play a strong role in character development.
6. Chase between Evil and Good. Man's constant state of struggle with these polarized characteristics.
7. Revenge of the woman. Good wins out. People who don't care about woman die, and the King is banished to the depths of the ocean forever to live with the dirtiest of all fish and garbage.

Analysis of Micronesian Folklore

TABLE 6 NOTES FROM DISCUSSION OF KEY WORDS IN THE CULTUREB. MARSHALLESE DISCUSSION NOTES

1. People on Kabon prepare to go to the main island for Christmas, the most important holiday of the year. Being together essential. Individuals compete in singing contests as well as whole islands competing against one another. People work together to make this day a memorable one.
2. One man says he's not going because he doesn't believe in Christmas. This makes him an "outcast" because everyone believes in Christmas.
3. So the people left him on the island. The choice was his. If he doesn't believe in cooperation, then no one wants him. If you want people to do for you, you must do for them.
4. The man apparently doesn't seem to care and prepares to go fishing. He does not know the "Marshallese Way" if he thinks he can survive alone.
5. The lagoon represents a safe place to fish. When his line is stuck magic has begun.
6. Looking back at two Ghosts can be related to story in bible about looking back. Runs in fear. Heads to water because this is considered a place where the Ghosts can not come. Water is a safe place when Evil is present.
7. Treads water island to island, looking for help but everyone has gone to celebrate Christmas like good Christians. He is being punished by God (good) because he has, defying tradition, committed sin.
8. When he reaches the last island in the chain, he finds two old people. They are allowed to stay because they are symbolic of those who would not have been any help (too old, too weak). They have done their part earlier in life so they are excused now.
9. Uttering "Help" and nothing else shows that he has lost everything because of lack of respect for tradition. Old people cannot recognize him. Anyone who defies tradition by denying obligation looks like and is treated like a stranger. He dies. Mind leaves him as Evil enters his body.

Results

Using the two methods described in this paper results in an inventory of themes. These thematic manifestations are given in TABLE 7 below. Keep in mind that the meta-language used in TABLE 7 is based on or is Thompson's suggestions for themes.

TABLE 7 THEMATIC MANIFESTATIONS

1. Spirits dwelling on island.
2. Death from contact with Ghosts.
3. Punishment by wandering.
4. Punishment by banishment.
5. Punishment of the uncharitable.
6. Murder by cutting adversary in pieces.
7. Good spirits in the form of a human(s) that matures in short time span.
8. Sexual dimorphism representing strength of Evil.
9. Male child figure equivalent to Hero.
10. Evil eats Good.
11. Evil chases Good.
12. Evil has strength in size.
13. Evil has strength in Dark.
14. Evil brains absorb strength from tree(s).
15. Good absorbs strength from hard surfaces.
16. Evil lacks strength in water.
17. Good has strength in water.
18. Transformation of physical characteristics.
19. Transformation of Weak to Strong.
20. Transformation of Minds.
21. Birds give warning.
22. Magic food gives warning.
23. Helpful wind spirits.
24. Resistance to Evil.
25. Revenge on Evil.
26. Survival of Good.
27. Death as punishment for greed.
28. Death as punishment for broken promises.
29. Death as punishment for non-believers.
30. Death as punishment for non-cooperation.

Comments

Presently, there are few intensive studies of Micronesian folklore so the potential for research in this area is great. But the element of time seems crucial. My own experience has been somewhat frustrating. Since funds

and time are limited for doing a folklore project in the field, one uses the informants at hand. Consequently, the mainland informants are college-age whereas the field informants ranged in age from 35 to 45 years. Many of the college age informants have not learned the traditional tales at an early age and in some cases do not place much value in learning them. In some instances, I have only parts of a legend from one informant because she can't remember "how the middle part goes." In some instances I feel I should have changed informants immediately because they lacked interest and motivation for the project. In some places the people of the islands realize how little their children know of the culture and particularly the folklore so they are teaching them in school. They write them down in the native languages and the children copy and recite them in class. Unless the teacher demands stringent memorization, the child soon forgets them. They are not presently integrated into their daily lives as they once were in the past.

On some islands the indigenous languages are being formally taught at the elementary and high school levels because it has become increasingly apparent that the young generations are unfamiliar not only with the legends but with the languages themselves. At this time it is too hard to predict whether intensive language training will bring about a renewed interest in folklore. There are attempts of revitalization of cultures and renewed feelings of nationalism all through the islands. However, those who advocate learning the language and the legends are faced with the impact of U.S. culture on the islands with all of its TV and movies and portable cassettes. There is no longer the isolation there once was even on the outer islands of the Marshalls because there is now a government owned and operated air service which services all islands.

Folklore still plays an important role in modern society whether the people on these islands are willing to admit to this or not. One example is the belief in magic. Most of the folklore I am working with involves elements of magic in them. In fact, magic often appears as the central theme and manifests itself in all aspects of the cultures. One informant who has had 3 years of university training told me that she knows her boy friend from another island country practices magic on her and that is why there is no hope of ever breaking off with him because it won't do any good.

The "magic" keeps her with him and is the reason she is carrying his child. If she tries to fight the magic, it will do no good because it will follow her to her death or it will cause the death of anyone in her family or on her island if they try to help her. For this reason she stays with him even though she is often beaten up by him. Her behavior is the best of two worlds rather than to put her family in serious danger from his magic.

Another girl with a similar education tells me she doesn't really believe in magic but, on the other hand, she won't do anything "bad" to make the people mad who make magic. "You still have to be careful", she says. In my own case, when a problem developed in my family, the informants all had the same reaction to a very sensitive situation which was: "Someone is working magic on your family!"

The island concept of magic seems to me to be almost fatalistic in nature. Once magic is "rubbed on" or "said out loud", there seems to be no way the individual can fight it off. However, if one suspects the person to be capable of making magic, the intended victim can go to someone to get counter magic and so the life producing cycle of "magic" continues to be generated in the real world of today's culture and is continuing to be reflected in the folklore of this modern world. What some of the Micronesian Senators will tell you is that their countries are young, modern and developing and they have rid themselves of all the "old ways." In contrast, the young and old continue to embellish new legends involving human conflict with ghosts who perform evil magic on good people who won't do what the society dictates as is illustrated in this paper with the story from Kabon about the man who didn't want to do his share in preparing for the most important holiday on the island. These kinds of stories are being told as modern stories all through the islands and eventually, I predict they will become the modern traditional elements of folklore which will be passed on to new generations and which will become as integral a part of the culture as the old legends once were.

The Future

This present sociosemantic study hardly scratches the surface of Micronesian folklore. My work examines legends from three islands in Micronesia. In a forth-coming paper, I present a more complete analysis of Kosraen and Marshallese folklore which, in addition to an analysis of the themes, examines syntactic and grammatical devices used

in legends. These devices in themselves yield little insight into the sociosemantic meanings of the legends but do give us a better understanding of the scope of the language with the range of linguistic style and with their cognitive switching devices embedded into variable life situation contexts.

It is too early to predict whether or not the socio-semantic analysis used in this study is satisfactory. An incorporation of the sociosemantic framework of thematic manifestations into a systematic study of more island countries' folklore is necessary before any conclusions can be drawn. By doing this, deeper insights will be gleaned into the relationships between man and his environment that, in the end, will enlarge our knowledge of cultural reality. With a concept of cultural reality in hand, we may eventually find answers to many of our questions we face and problems we encounter dealing with people from other countries.

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