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## **Good to produce, good to share: Food, hunger, and social values in a contemporary Mentawaian community, Indonesia**

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# Notes

- 1 I deliberately make frequent use of the term of community, rather than society or settlement, for Muntei and its residents. I am fully aware of the problematic usage and critical debates surrounding the term in anthropological research. However, this term is more appropriate for describing Muntei and its residents than other available terms (village, society, hamlets). As will become clear to the reader of this dissertation, I do not narrate the story of Muntei as a homogenous and harmonious community.
- 2 I do believe that *uma-factions* are a post-multi-clan settlement phenomenon. In the distant past, when unoccupied territory was available, a separated group would move to unoccupied land and declare a new *uma* with a different name. The availability of space is a critical constraint to the establishment of a new *uma* after the separation (Hammons 2010, 12, 78).
- 3 This is the basic justification for using the family (*lalep*) as the basis for the data analysis of food intake data in Chapter 4.
- 4 I understand that this section may attract critiques as I present a kind of 'ethnographic present' (Fabian 1983; Sanjek 2014). Yet, my intention for using this particular narrative technique is not to essentialize a temporal moment of Muntei settlement and employing merely synchronic pretense anthropology (Harstrup 1990; Crapanzano 1986; 51). My main aim is to give an impressionistic account about what people do in their every day lives during a particular time period (the year 2014 when I was doing a fieldwork). In this section the reader would be easily noticing both basic Mentawai activities (gardening, cooking, organizing rituals) but also new development and non-traditional activities (attending church, watching television, going to school, working for government projects, etc.).
- 5 All tables and maps in this chapter detail only general claims. The actual ownership is an empirical question. While a *leleu* as a whole is usually claimed by an *uma*, part of it might have been cultivated by different individuals and groups, and objects on it (individual tree, river, or stream) might have been claimed and owned by another individual. The story of *leleu* is always complicated and often muddled, involving the history of the separation of *uma*, migration, conflict, and complicated ritualised and non-ritualised social relationships (See Tulus 2002; Darmanto 2016). Von Benda-Beckmann and Tale (1996, 11) call this type of tenure arrangement 'horizontal division of resources', a phenomenon where the ownership and rights to land and objects on it are different subjects. In Siberut, this tenurial system is applied to other zones (fruit gardens, sago gardens, home gardens, etc.).
- 6 I follow the *emic* distinction of food. This helps to describe the availability and access to the community's food supply, the way they consume it, as well as the type of *labour* necessary to obtain it. Imported food, either from the market or from state development projects, supplements local food and all types of imported food follow the *kat* and *iba* categories. The list of domesticated and non-domesticated *kat* is presented in Appendix 2.
- 7 \$US 0.13.
- 8 \$US 2.
- 9 Puailiggoubat put this event in a two-paragraph column in its 14-30 September edition stating that cacao growers were angry at the pig owners because they didn't keep their animals securely penned
- 10 The methodological justification for using the household as the unit of analysis is explained in Chapter 1. Detailed methods of data collection among selected households are described in Appendix 1.

- 11 The timing of data collection certainly affects the data as rura season happens only once in three years, the consumption of fruit in this period is likely to be higher than the year before and after. See Appendix 1.
- 12 Laurens Bakker (1999), working with Sagulu and Sakaliou clans around Silakoinan, records the story in detail. His collection was told to him by an elder of Sakaliou clan. In Muntei, there are several stories that have a *sasareu-Mentawaians* theme. The stories I collected share a theme with the Bakker collection but many have a different emphasis or details. To distinguish a clear identification of pig lovers and haters, I rely on Bakker's work and confirmed it with members of the *uma* Sakaliou living in Muntei. The story told to me by Aman Boroioigok, who is also the main interlocutor in Chris Hammond's dissertation, is rather similar to Bakker's collection.
- 13 Schefold (1973; 1991, 92; 2017, 117) and other (Loeb 1928; 1929a; Spina 1982) writes that *sikaoinan* is the spirit that punish the community by attacking or drowning people in the water. However, my informants insist that *sikameinan* is the spirit in the water that punish anti-social behavior. The spirit of the aunty (*sikameinan*) stays in the water is one of *sikaoinan* who specifically punishing community of not sharing food.
- 14 In Mentawaian cultural repertoire, the accusation of witchcraft is almost always levelled against those who excel above others. As has been noted by earlier anthropologists (Loeb 1928; 1929a; Schefold 1991; Hammons 2010), a person who is successful in something, is liable to be suspected of sorcery.
- 15 There is a famous story of a maverick and violent ancestor of a clan namely *panajojo* who once lived around Muntei. He was very brash and malicious. His name literally means the shooter of dogs and indicates that he could kill others and harass any woman as easily as he could kill and harass dogs. He had plenty of land, pigs, and gardens but all of them were gradually given to compensate his victims. His wealth had made him dangerous since, nobody could prevent him from committing malicious acts that could lead to the disintegration of the community. Tulus (2012) has documented this story in his PhD dissertation.
- 16 This act is consistently reported in the accounts of Loeb (1928), Kruyt (1979), Hammons (2010).
- 17 I am fully aware of the problem with the term 'kinship', discussed brilliantly in Janet Carsten (1995; 2000). As I will show in the proceeding paragraph, I believe that kinship is a process, consisting elements of natural actions (having sexual relations), transacting substances (blood, sperm), and transforming social substances (food) and social actions (sharing, feeding, nurturing).
- 18 It is perhaps more correct to say that the term *sinanalep* is derived from the words *kina* (the guardian, "thou who possesses a soul of" ...) and *lalep* (house/family) than *si* (a prefix to refer a person) and *lalep*.
- 19 Cambridge Dictionary (2019).
- 20 Anthropologists have different opinions on these terms. Working in the southern islands, Loeb (1929b) distinguishes *punen* and *pulaiijat*, according to the scale, the reason, and the place of the ritual. *Punen* is held at a community level (*uma* and village), while the *pulaiijat* is organised at the family level. Anthropologists working in Siberut rarely employ *punen* but commonly use *lia* or *pulaiijat* (Schefold 1972; 1985; 1991; Reeves 2001; Hammons 2010). Those anthropologists also have different views on the ultimate purpose of *punen* and *pulaiijat*. It is not my aim to jump into all the discussions and debates of the term.
- 21 Most anthropologist use the term *rimata* to refer the leader of ceremony (Loeb 1928; Schefold 1973; Reeves 2001; Hammons 2010). Reeves (2001) uses the term 'master of the ceremony' when he refers to *rimata*. During my research, I did not hear people mention this term. Instead, they use term '*sikebbukat uma*'. The *sikebbukat uma* is perhaps the *rimata* but he is not always a shaman (*kerei*) and can simply be the most respected person in the clan who has mastered ritual skills.
- 22 The local term to refer a plot of garden is *mata* (growing area). See Chapter 3.
- 23 It refers to the myth of Maliggai, a well-known myth telling the origin of shaman, the longhouse, pigs, and chicken.

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