expressed may range from a man's responsibility to ensure his sister is taken care of in a matrilineal society
p. 247 to a wish for a political ↳ favour. Food exchanges are the cement of social relationships, whether sharing a family meal or entertaining guests with a banquet in a smart hotel.

To understand the diversity of food concepts, both those expressed and those shared unconsciously, we must go beyond our own biases. What is 'good' food for one community may not be high priority for another. Belasco (2006) has led his students through a process of awakening their minds to five factors they should consider when studying the diversity of American cuisine: 'basic foods, preparation techniques, flavor principles, manners and the food chain' (pp. 16–20). He places beef at the centre of the plate, as he considers protein essential, with starch as a side dish, and vegetables as 'embroidery'. However, when we consider the 'cuisines' or gastronomies of non-American peoples, those categories are highly debatable. For Fijians, taro is their basic, i.e. essential food (*kakana dina* 'food real'), a root starch that satisfies as well as fills, but only when well cooked and eaten with an accompaniment of fish or a piece of coconut and eaten in the company of others. For the Gurage of Ethiopia, *ensete* is their main food (Shack 1997: 127). To identify 'staple' or 'basic' foods we must distinguish outsiders' perspectives from those of insiders. Linguistic clues may help. In the Marshall Islands in the central Pacific, as we learn the language we learn to use a unique possessive adjective for food (*kij-*) and another possessive for drink (*lim-*). Those possessives guide us to what is included in the category 'food'. I learned that Marshallese include cigarettes in their concept of food, using the food possessive *kijo jikka* when talking about cigarettes they are smoking.

The range of food preparation techniques around the world is vast. As Belasco (2006) argues 'humans are creative in devising numerous ways of turning raw foods into cooked foods' (p. 18). From the distinction that Lévi-Strauss drew between the 'raw' and the 'cooked' to separate uncivilized eating from civilized eating, we have come to recognize that the application of heat is only one way to render foods edible; application of lime juice to raw fish (*ceviche* in Mexico) is widely regarded as a form of cooking. And to preparation techniques we must add preservation techniques including salting, or fermenting, or more localized forms such as long cooking (see Pollock 1984 on breadfruit fermentation). Cooking with added spices, or mixing foods, or making bread, all require certain techniques which must meet local flavor principles. Understanding how communities satisfy their particular gastronomic preferences for certain flavors, and reject others, is integral to understanding food concepts, and how food meets social criteria.

Good manners are an integral part of social food rites. Mennell's (1985) historical account of how English and French table manners have changed over time draws our attention to the evolution of criteria of what are considered civilized manners. The gastronomic protocols that govern the use of chopsticks or serving food on a palm leaf, or serving food in the correct hierarchical sequence, are all notable features that send messages about the wider society.

p. 248 To Belasco's five factors of food concepts we must add the link between food and health that has become so important in recent times. As the Millennium Goals (mentioned earlier) remind us, the ideal of $1.00 a day for accessing food will improve the health status of those in poverty. The hunger concept as addressed by Lappe and Collins's (1986) 'Twelve myths of hunger' reminds us how some deeply entrenched—often ethnocentric—concepts prevent us from understanding how the devastation of world hunger can be addressed. Negative concepts that ban excessive food consumption because of its links with obesity and other non-communicable diseases have been widely addressed from many viewpoints (e.g. Sobal 1999). The links between obesity and desired images of body shape as promoted in Western media suggest that bulimia could now be included as a food concept.

Food metaphors as used by particular language communities underlie the variety of perspectives on the place food plays in society. Appreciating the many levels of those metaphoric uses takes us way beyond food as a material item. Chinese metaphors, widespread for several thousand years, have been written down as aphorisms to guide 'the right way of living' (Chang 1977). In the English-speaking world, bread as the staff