

Why Communism Works for the Yami: A Look into Yami Society, Myth, and
Taboo

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Intro

This paper explains why communism works for the Yami yet has failed for most of the rest of the world by giving an overview of the Yami culture and society. The Yami live in a culture, which is threatened everyday by the ocean. Everyone in the society must depend on one another or else no humans could survive. Beyond survival, taboos govern the island, circumventing the need for government or hierarchy in the tribe. The paper goes further to compare the society of the Yami to the society of the Kibbutz, another communal society. However, unlike the Yami, the ideal Kibbutz society failed. The Yami succeed when the Kibbutz failed because the Yami unquestionably believe their myths that govern the island they live on and allow for such a society to exist. It is the power of their myths that holds their community together.

The Yami exist in a communist society. They do not recognize any authority. No government or hierarchy exists and all people live as equals. Instead of a governing body that enforces laws, taboos regulate all aspects of everyday life. The islanders follow all taboos out of fear. When a person breaks taboo, misfortune undoubtedly befalls him. The culture depends on cooperation for most aspects of life. Without a mutual peaceful coexistence, the Yami simply could not survive on their isolated island. Everyone must work together or risk starvation. Much like the Yami, the Kibbutz exemplifies a collectivistic society. The Kibbutz Vatik before the 1980s serves as a perfect example of the Kibbutz Vatik. A complex democratic bureaucracy runs Vatik. The central planning committee determines all the functions of the society. Everyone must work together like clockwork or else the Kibbutz risks failure. Many similarities and differences exist between the two societies, which allows for the Yami to continue thriving while the Kibbutz ideal failed.

Located forty-five miles from Taiwan, Orchid Island remained isolated from the rest of the world for centuries. The ethnic group that lives on the Island existed as a stone-age society until the end of the twentieth century. Called the Yami, the natives descended from seafaring Austronesians who migrated from the northern Philippines about five hundred years ago. The roughly two thousand Yami live in six villages spread across Orchid Island. Each village has about three hundred inhabitants. The Yami built all six villages by the shore. To meet their food needs, the Yami farm and fish. For agriculture, they grow wet taro, yams, and millet. The sea constantly sprays salt water over the island, limiting the variety of crops the Yami can grow. The Yami fish and farm everyday just to meet their nutritional needs. The people of Orchid Island live under the constant threat of starvation. Every morning the men go to the ocean to dive for protein while the women go to the fields to farm. At the end of the day, the men migrate to the mountains to cut down trees for the firewood for the next meal. The women return home to cook. The Yami eat only one meal a day. The daily catch usually does not provide enough food. They save dried flying fish from the large annual catch. After the annually spawning of flying fish, typhoon season begins. Typhoon after typhoon ravages the island, making life difficult. Without the flying fish spawning every year, the Yami surely could not catch enough fish to survive on Orchid Island. Under

such strenuous living conditions, the Yami remain reliant on one another in every aspect of their lives.

The men fish in units. The men who fish together risk life and death together. Each man has his own role when fishing. Divers drive fish into the nets with fuya-fuya. The divers knock on the floor of the ocean to scare the fish. Another group of divers advances on the school of fish with large nets. The large U-shaped nets form half circles in the water¹. The divers with the fuya-fuyo² herd the school of fish into the nets. The select few men known as the fish spies serve an important purpose. The fish spies tell the other divers which direction the school of fish will move. Without the fish spies, the entire enterprise could not work. A large group³ will usually catch five hundred fish in a day⁴.

Besides group fishing, men dive individually for other sources of food in the ocean. Divers also hunt for octopus⁵, kono, crab, and anything else they can find. Individually divers use tools such as knives, hooks⁶, and spear guns. Even though the men are hunting individually, they never dive alone. As a safety precaution, divers never go out alone.

At the end of the fishing trip, men cut the fish into tiny strips. The men then divide the strips amongst the group. If any single person believes he did not receive a fair share, he will place his food back into the circle and all of the fish it the men once again redistribute the fish. Taboos define fish as real fish or bad fish. Only men eat rahed, bad fish. Men and women eat oyod, real fish. When dividing fish, the men give special

¹ When fishing in small groups, the nets are staked into the ocean floor

² A fuya-fuyo is made with leaves from tied on a long string. The string has weights on the end

³ Large groups are accompanied by boats

⁴ Large groups can catch over one thousand fish in a day

⁵ Man and women can eat octopus.

⁶ Called a sagit, a diver uses the hook to pull an octopus out of its hole. Catching octopus is dangerous and takes great skill

consideration to the size of the family, and the number of males and females belonging to the family.

While the men fish and dive, the women tend to the crops. The crops rely on a complex irrigation system of terraces and pipes to grow. Fields are divided amongst villages and even further amongst families. Pipes that pass water from one field to another water all of the terraces. The owner of each field needs to make sure that water successfully flows downhill to the next field. If a pipe breaks or becomes clogged, all families affected work together to solve the problem.

The Yami grow into their roles in the society. No one receives an assigned position. For example no established hierarchy exists to determine who becomes a fish spy. A person simply becomes one. The ever-important position of the shaman exemplifies another crucial position that a person simply grows into in the Yami society. Though most duties remain segregated amongst gender roles, the role of the Shaman makes no distinction between males and females. The most powerful Shaman in the history of the Yami as presented in the Song of the Ancestors never thought she had the potential to become a shaman. She stole, lied, and cheated. She truly believed she lived a pitiful life unworthy of the role she soon undertook. One day when out in the fields with a group of friends, she saw a large snake and a flock of birds. None of her friends saw her visions. She fainted several times⁷. The visions grew stranger and stronger. On the way back to her village, she began to see giants and more birds. When she returned home, her husband appeared worried. She carried into the house a small doll. He said such do not belong in the house, fearing taboo. However, she ignored her husband's wishes. The doll grew in size and began to converse with her. Her husband could not see what she saw and witnessed his wife conversing with no one⁸. Rumors of her visions spread across the village. One day a woman came to her. The woman's relative

⁷ Feinting produces strong associations with closeness to death with the Yami. A person who is feinting is closer to death and closer to demons, ghosts, and other spirits

⁸ Similar to psychosis as described in modern medical literature. Much of what the shaman sees has proven true or beneficial to the society. It is possible that the psychosis is indeed a gift and not a disorder at all.

contracted a terrible sickness. The woman told her that she is a shaman and everyone knows. So, as a shaman, she followed the woman. The shaman said a few prayers over the sick person. Ever since, people come to her with their problems and they recognize her as the village shaman. Now as a shaman, she helps people with their problems and remains sensitive to broken taboos.

On Orchid Island, taboos cover all aspects of life even beginning with childbirth. Many strict food taboos cover exist for the husband's of pregnant women. Most revolve around superstition that the child will be born with deformities related to the appearance of the tabooed fish: "Ketketan, rabbit fish, (*Siganus spinus*). If this taboo is broken, it is believed that the child will have worms in the stomach, just as this kind of fish does:

"Mavaheng a lagarow, wrasse sp., (*Thalossoma quinquevittata*). If this taboo is violated, after birth the child will surely have very dark skin like the color of this fish.

Paloy, porgy sp., (*Monotaxis grandoculis*). Its teeth resemble human teeth, and the mouth inside is totally red. If the taboo is violated, certain diseases of the mouth may occur, which cause the child's bucal cavity to look like that of this fish.

Rangoyan, unicorn fish, (*Naso unicornis*). If this taboo is disregarded, the child may have a strange nose.

Tagarit, wrasse sp., (*Gomphosus varius*). If this taboo is violated, after birth the child will have a long protruding mouth like this fish.

Tanigi, Spanish mackerel, (*Scomberomorus niphonius*). If this taboo is violated, after birth the child will have a long, protruding mouth like the fish itself."⁹ Serve a few examples of the myriad of fish taboos men of with pregnant wives find themselves obliged to observe.

Many taboos are followed for good reason, while other taboos seem to serve no purpose or have any real explanation. Taboos regulate everything from where people can go on the island, what they can bring into their homes. One prominent taboo exists on the production and consumption of sugar cane alcohol. As recorded in the Song of the Ancestors, the Yami still had large seafaring boats capable of traveling in the Pacific

⁹ From Dr. Benedek's online articles on elc

Ocean about five hundred years ago¹⁰. With these boats, they Yami maintained contact with the people of their home island, Ivatan¹¹. However, one day the amicable contact quickly ended. One day a group of Yami men traveled to Ivatan. In Ivatan, the Yami men drank an exuberant amount of sugar cane alcohol and got into a brawl with the men of the village they were visiting. The Yami men proceeded to go from village to village, slaughtering everyone. By the end of the ordeal, the only three Yami still alive left Ivatan for home. Only one Yami survived the journey. Ever since, the production and consumption of sugar cane alcohol remains taboo.

Other taboos in place apparently serve no purpose. Tabooed parts of the forest¹² in the interior of Orchid Island exist. The Yami kill¹³ twins¹⁴ shortly after they are born as according to taboo¹⁵. The breadfruit, which could help serve the Yami's nutritional needs¹⁶, remains taboo. The Yami avoid¹⁷ even saying tavi, the name of the breadfruit.

Certain taboos, which seem to serve no purpose, actually have been put into place for good reason. Only old men can eat angelfish in soup. One day Dr. Benedek, anthropologist living with the Yami and SiMankap, a native man went fishing. They caught only four fish: two fish taboo for woman and two fish which anyone could eat. SiMankap decided to fry the largest fish, an angelfish and ignore taboo. Tradition taboos the consumption of angelfish to only old men who cook it in a soup. After putting out the fire, Dr. Benedek and SiMankap began to feel an odd sensation under their tongues.

¹⁰ The same vessels used to migrate to Orchid Island

¹¹ In the northern Philippines

¹² Some areas of the forest even require people to face the other direction while walking through

¹³ Twins are not aborted

¹⁴ Husbands do not eat Tapez, butterfly fish when they have a pregnant wife because the species swim in pairs. According to taboo, if consumed, twins may be born.

¹⁵ Dr. Benedek saved a pair of twin girls who now live in Taiwan as Catholic nuns. They never learned their heritage

¹⁶ Bread fruit is a staple food in many tropical areas

¹⁷ Even referring to the plant is considered vulgar

Eventually the odd numbness grew into a severe itching. Quickly, the itching spread to the rest of the mouth and became so unbearable that the two men started scratching the insides of their mouths with their fingernails and rubbing the insides of their mouths with sand. Eventually, the itching began to fade away, however by the time both Dr. Benedek and SiMankap had blood running down their lips. Inside the angelfish lies a toxin which causes severe reactions in humans. The Yami soup that the Yami cook the angelfish in nullifies the toxin. Needless to say both men gained a new found respect for the taboos past on in the Song of the Ancestors.

The Yami live in a constant struggle between life and death. They live at the mercy of their environment. As such, the Yami culture has a large basis in fear. People do not break taboo out of fear. The anito¹⁸ enforce the taboo, which govern Orchid Island. According to Yami mythology, when people die, their main souls fly off to Malavang a Pongso, the White Island. Their other souls, present throughout the joints become anito and antagonize everyone on the island. The source of all bad luck accredited to broken taboos result from the intervention of the anito. The strongest taboos involve death.

The Yami experience severe anxiety when faced with death. As such, many taboos govern death and interaction with the dead. When a Yami dies, a fence has to be constructed around the house of the family of the deceased. The family must not contact any other members of the tribe. Relatives of the dead and willing people who receive special payment¹⁹ carry the body off for burial. Just like the mourning family, the people involved in the burial remain isolated from the rest of the society until the mourning period ends. Beyond the family, the rest of the village observes taboos involving death. The villagers avoid the home of the grieving family and the burial site²⁰. The Yami then board the route the corpse took to the burial ground with bamboo. All

¹⁸ Ghosts, evil spirits

¹⁹ They receive small blue glass beads, ancient Chinese trade wind beads, with healing special healing properties

²⁰ Called the Kanitowan, the person is buried in an unmarked grave.

work ceases, even fishing during fishing season. Yami from other villages even avoid the village where the recently deceased once lived.

Beyond the actual burial, the Yami experience uneasiness with even discussing death. The Yami refrain from mentioning the names of the dead²¹. The word meaning to die, marakat is taboo. Instead, the Yami use several phrases: Amina-porog do karawan²², meaning to disappear from this life, Sicarwan, meaning to go away, and makatarowan also meaning to go away acceptably replace. The Yami also cannot mention the word Kanitowan. They replace the word with kapijan, ironically meaning good place. As Dr. Benedeck found, “All the above taboo’s are ultimately related to the idea of danger, of potential harm that may result from contact with, or from the presence of, the dead.”²³ The Yami constantly live with the threat of death over their shoulders, and they prevent even mentioning the topic to the greatest of their abilities.

The Yami fear more than just the immediate adverse affects of breaking taboo. They fear if their society ceases to follow taboo, the flying fish, which spawn yearly around Orchid Island, will fail to return. As remembered in the Song of the Ancestors, in ancient times, the Yami made a pact with a giant fish to observe the taboos. The fish agreed if the Yami followed the taboos, the flying fish would return every year to Orchid Island. If the Yami ignore taboo, the fish warned the flying fish would cease to return. Without the flying fish, the Yami would not have enough food to survive the typhoon season²⁴.

When taboos do not prevent conflict, massive brawls break out between arguing families. Both sides dawn armor and take up arms against their opponents. When the day ends, the battle ends. The next day, all of the Yami work together as if nothing occurred. After the sunsets, everything is put into the past. The Yami must forgive and

²¹ Unless they become legendary figures in the Song of the Ancestors

²² Literally, to fall of from this life

²³ From Dr. Benedek’s elc notes

²⁴ Typhoons pass through Orchid Island often during the season, destroying any and all ships docked at the time

forget or else they could not survive²⁵. The people completely depend on each other for their own survival.

The Yami live in a truly communist society. However communism has historically failed to exist in such a pure form elsewhere in the world²⁶. A communist society has no politics, no classes, and no state. The Yami have no leadership, no hierarchy, and no governance. Communism as we know it today has existed in states with strict authoritarian regimes controlling most means of production from farms to factories relying heavily on central planning far from the initial communist ideal (Holmes, 2009).

The early Kibbutz movement provides an example of a Western and modern society with the collectivistic culture present in the Yami. The movement developed out of a mix of the socialist and Zionist movements of the early 1900's as Jews strove to develop a utopic society in the Holy Land (Leviatan, Oliver & Quarter, 1998). The Bilu'im²⁷ of the First Aliyah²⁸ established the first Kibbutz in 1909 in Ottoman Palestine. Jews from around the world paid for the land with donations collected in temples. The Jews called the community Kvutzat Degania, Wheat of God. However, most of the early members had no experience farming and communities remained small. With the advent of the Second Aliyah²⁹, the movement quickly grew and spread throughout the region. The Jews immigrating in the Second Aliyah possessed much more farming experience

²⁵ With the exception of murder. When someone is killed, blood feuds occur which have been known to wipeout entire families.

²⁶ For example, the former USSR and China (Holmes, 2009)

²⁷ A movement whose goal was the agricultural settlement of Isreal. They were the predecessors of the Kibbutz (Gavron, 2000).

²⁸ Known as the Farmers' Alityah, it was the first modern Zionist immigration to Isreal at the end of the nineteenth century. Most Jews in this wave were from Yemen and Eastern Europe (Gavron, 2000).

²⁹ Between 1904 C.E. and 1914 C.E. Most Jews taking part were emigrating from Russia, they brought with them the liberal European politics of the era which helped establish the Kibbutz movement (Gavron, 2000).

and Kibbutzim grew vastly in size and popularity. In the early 1920's, the Third Aliyah³⁰ began and the exponential increase in the Jewish population also caused an exponential increase in the members of Kibbutzim (Gavron, 2000). The Kibbutz movement faced a severe crisis in the 1980s (Leviatan, Oliver & Quarter, 1998). Afterwards, the Kibbutz movement became privatized and followed a more capitalistic organization (Gavron, 2000).

Kibbutz Vatik in the 1970s provides a depiction of the average Kibbutz before the reforms of the 1980s. Vatik, located in Isreal is a small town divided by a stream. The village is seventy acres and is surrounded by several thousand acres of farmland. On one side of the crick lie the community centers. The communal chicken coups, food storage facility and grain mill stick out prominently behind the community dining hall. Behind the dining hall, more community centers for entertainment and the arts stand out it in the open fields. The people of Vatik live in buildings located on the other side of the stream. The inhabitants follow strict work schedules. The entire community relies on a complex governing hierarchy to determine daily jobs, routines, and the status of the economy (Blasi 1986).

The Kibbutz Vatik relies heavily on an elaborate administrative social hierarchy. Although the hierarchy is democratically elected, people in power receive privileges above the members who do not belong in a leadership position. Parents do not live with their children. Nannies raise children in communal housing³¹. The Kibbutz allows children to visit their parents for two to three hours a day. The community separates parents from the duty of raising children to create a more efficient society. Jobs in Vatik do not mold to gender norms. Men and woman have equal ability to labor in any field of work they choose³². Even though members of the commune participate in jobs of

³⁰ From 1919 C.E. to 1923 C.E. Many Jews from Eastern Europe arrived in mass, the population grew so quickly, Isreal wanted to limited immigration to the Holy Land (Gavron, 2000).

³¹ Many psychological and sociological studies were performed on the children who grew up under such conditions in the 1960s (Gerson, 1978).

³² The leader of the Kibbutz Vatik is a female

varying importance and skill, everyone receives equal pay regardless of their individual performance or total contribution to the community (Blasi, 1986).

The Kibbutz produces agriculture in the fields and machinery³³ in the factories. The members of the Kibbutz eat much of their produce. They export the rest to Isreal and the rest of the world³⁴. The commune imports modern conveniences such as televisions, telephones, and other electronics. Currency is pinned to the American dollar to prevent the inflation seen throughout the rest of the country (Blasi, 1986).

Everyone eats together in the communal dining hall. In the Kibbutz, there is no true privacy. With only six hundred members, everyone knows each other. Gossip spreads rapidly. Everyone also has the same possessions. Back in the 1950's members left the commune to buy radios and other electronics. The governing body of Vatik decided to buy the radios from everyone who owned them to restore equality of possessions. Only people in administrative positions with special privileges can own such extravagances as cars. However, the administrators with special privileges need the special exceptions to the commune rules to better perform their important roles for the community, so very few people feel resentment for the officers who own objects which they cannot possess themselves (Blasi, 1986).

However, in the 1980s the Kibbutz system reached climatic crises. Children who grew up in the Kibbutz began to leave for better educations outside of the society and with the discovery of individualism and materialism, failed to return (Avnat, Cohen, David, Leciatican & Rosner, 1990). The aging workforce could not produce as much as they could in the past (Leviatan, Oliver, & Quarter, 1998). The central planning boards of many Kibbutzim also poorly handled the centrally planned economy³⁵. They made investments without economic justification; the boards invested heavily on credit into agriculture and industry without properly accounting for risk (Gavron, 2000). The boards

³³ The Kibbutz sells the finished manufactured goods to the rest of the world and reinvests the money into the Kibbutz.

³⁴ Kibbutzim are responsible for much of Isreal's agricultural exports

³⁵ Also a problem for large communist states such as North Korea who faced famine in recent history (Holmes, 2009).

also inefficiently allocated people and money across the means of production they controlled; people refused to work certain shifts and positions³⁶ while other people did not contribute to a fair share of the labor³⁷. Kibbutzim also took out loans and made investments, which failed that they could not pay back (Avnat, Cohen, David, Leciatican, & Rosner).

After the crisis, kibbutzim changed forever. Kibbutzim privatized. Instead of acting like tiny communist governments, Kibbutzim became little businesses. Workers began to receive pay based on how much they contributed and on what jobs they performed. To improve productivity, the communities outsourced certain jobs to outside laborers and professionals. Kibbutzim still exists, but remains a shadow of the dream once held for the revolutionaries whom established the societies in the beginning of the twentieth century (Leviatan, Oliver, and Quarter, 1998).

On the surface several similarities apparent similarities exist between the collectivistic societies of the Yami and the Kibbutz. Both the Yami and the Kibbutz Vatik consist of small villages of about six hundred people. In both villages, everyone knows everyone and everyone knows everything about each other. No privacy truly exists. Without privacy, people become less likely to break laws and taboos because rumor spreads rapidly and they do not wish to experience social isolation. Almost everyone owns the same objects in each society. The Yami call this concept *appropriatan*, something which a person owns that everyone else also owns. The Kibbutz publicly owns all means of production. The Yami recognize the ocean surrounding Orchid Island and the water necessary for agriculture as public property. In both societies, all pay is equally distributed, whether money or food.

However many differences clearly separate the Yami society from the Kibbutz. The Kibbutz has a centrally planned economy. The Yami society does not have a

³⁶ Women preferred to work in traditionally male jobs however men did not seek out traditionally female jobs (Ben-Rafael, 1988).

³⁷ Many members became lazy because they did not expect better or worse pay depending on the quality of their labor (Avnat, Cohen, David, Leciatican & Rosner, 1990).

planned economy. The Kibbutz relies on imports and exports from the outside world to thrive and exist (Blasi, 1986). The Kibbutz also depends on neighboring economies and governments to thrive. The Yami developed on an island completely isolated from the rest of the world and remain completely independent of outside economic systems and fail to recognize any governing authority. The Kibbutz has a clearly planned central economy and bureaucracy, while in the Yami society, not a single person holds authority status or power. Members of the Kibbutz live comfortably and do not have to work to prevent starvation. The members can be lazy and there is no correlation between input of work and output of money (Blasi, 1986). The Yami need to work hard everyday or face the threat of death. The amount of food put on the table each night depends on the amount of work put into fishing and farming. The Yami serve food to the family in order of who put in the most work. If not enough fish is caught or taro harvested, old people and children simply go without eating any food for the day³⁸.

Communism works for the Yami because of the power of their myths. An elaborate system of myths, remembered through the Song of the Ancestors establishes the Yami belief system. The Song of the Ancestors³⁹ recants the entire history of the Yami from the beginning of the universe up to the person presently chanting the song. All of the Yami mythology resides in the Song of the Ancestors. Within all of the mythology lie the taboos that govern the island. The Yami unquestionably believe their myths. They accept all of the stories in the Song of the Ancestors as fact. The Yami respect and follow all of the taboos and rarely consider breaking them. Whenever a person breaks a taboo, the community blames all following misfortune that befalls the person on the breaking of the taboo. Without the strength of the Yami people's belief in the taboos, their society surely would crumble.

Kibbutzim lack the religious taboos of the Yami. The Kibbutz do not have the culture and mythological heritage of the Yami, which appears to be necessary for a communal society to work long term. The Kibbutz Vatik even lacks religion, officially

³⁸ Food is distributed amongst the people who work the most, that way they can restore their energy for the next day and continue to provide

³⁹ Much like the epic traditions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of the ancient Greeks

acting as an atheistic Kibbutz. Even though the members of Kibbutz Vatik celebrate Jewish holidays and festivals, they do not believe in the religion. The members of the Kibbutz observe older traditional Jewish holidays based on nature and seasons (Blasi, 1986). The Kibbutz shines as a symbol of European liberalism (Gavron, 2000). The Yami live in a conservative culture, following ancient traditions. When the Kibbutz tries to revolutionize and question the culture members are born into, the Yami community exists out of conservative tradition and an ancient religion. The Kibbutz attempts to grow beyond capitalism, while the Yami live in a pre-capitalist, Stone Age culture, completely reliant on a barter system for economic transaction.

The Yami continue to thrive as a communal society and as a culture because they have such an unfathomable belief in their mythology. Taboos control every aspect of every Yami's life from child rearing to death. The Yami grow into their roles in their society. People do not choose where to work. What people are good or skilled at is where they find work. For centuries the Yami society has succeeded without a government. Without the myths and taboos, the Yami way of life would not be possible. The Kibbutz Vatik is located in Israel. With about six hundred members it represented the typical pre-1980s Kibbutz. The Kibbutz exists as an experiment in a collectivistic society in the middle of a capitalistic and modern world. By the 1980s the Kibbutz ideal failed and was forced to privatize, though they still exist, they are no longer the same society which enthralled sociologists and psychologists in the middle of the twentieth century. The kibbutz failed because its members are very different from the Yami. The members of the Kibbutz are liberal westerners. People join out of political reasons. The Yami are born into their way of life and fail to see the world any other way. The communal Yami society however is now facing threat from the outside world. Much like the descendants of the second generation of Kibbutzim, the Yami youth face a decision between modern society and the way of life they found themselves born into. As the newest generation of Yami grows up, they have been embracing the modern world. When the youth return, they introduce their parents to the modern world. As a result, a cash economy slowly grows on Orchid Island. As many of the youth move immigrate to Taiwan, the Yami begin to face similar problem faced by the Kibbutz. The only way for the Yami to survive is to maintain independence from the rest of the world and continue

to not rely on the outside for food and materials, if they don't, they may too fail much like the Kibbutz. And what a loss to the world their unique way of life would be.

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All information on the Yami unless otherwise mentioned comes from the notes for the Anth 3190 class. The notes are treated as field notes and thus a first person account

Footnotes

- ¹ When fishing in small groups, the nets are staked into the ocean floor
- ² A fuya-fuyo is made with leaves from tied on a long string. The string has weights on the end
- ³ Large groups are accompanied by boats
- ⁴ Large groups can catch over one thousand fish in a day
- ⁵ Man and women can eat octopus.
- ⁶ Called a sagit, a diver uses the hook to pull an octopus out of its hole. Catching octopus is dangerous and takes great skill
- ⁷ Fainting produces strong associations with closeness to death with the Yami. A person who is fainting is closer to death and closer to demons, ghosts, and other spirits
- ⁸ Similar to psychosis as described in modern medical literature. Much of what the shaman sees has proven true or beneficial to the society. It is possible that the psychosis is indeed a gift and not a disorder at all.
- ⁹ From Dr. Benedek's online articles on elc
- ¹⁰ The same vessels used to migrate to Orchid Island
- ¹¹ In the northern Phillipines
- ¹² Some areas of the forest even require people to face the other direction while walking through
- ¹³ Twins are not aborted
- ¹⁴ Husbands do not eat Tapez, butterflyfish when they have a pregnant wife because the species swim in pairs. According to taboo, if consumed, twins may be born.
- ¹⁵ Dr. Benedek saved a pair of twin girls who now live in Taiwan as Catholic nuns. They never learned their heritage
- ¹⁶ Bread fruit is a staple food in many tropical areas
- ¹⁷ Even referring to the plant is considered vulgar
- ¹⁸ Ghosts, evil spirits
- ¹⁹ They receive small blue glass beads, ancient Chinese trade wind beads, with healing special healing properties
- ²⁰ Called the Kanitowan, the person is buried in an unmarked grave.
- ²¹ Unless they become legendary figures in the Song of the Ancestors

²¹ Literally, to fall of from this life

²² From Dr. Benedek's elc notes

²³ Typhoons pass through Orchid Island often during the season, destroying any and all ships docked at the time

²⁴ With the exception of murder. When someone is killed, blood feuds occur which have been known to wipeout entire families.

²⁵ For example, the former USSR and China (Holmes, 2009)

²⁶ A movement whose goal was the agricultural settlement of Iseal. They were the predecessors of the Kibbutz (Gavron, 2000).

²⁷ Known as the Farmers' Alityah, it was the first modern Zionist immigration to Isreal at the end of the nineteenth century. Most Jews in this wave were from Yemen and Eastern Europe (Gavron, 2000).

²⁸ Between 1904 C.E. and 1914 C.E. Most Jews taking part were emigrating from Russia, they brought with them the liberal European politics of the era which helped establish the Kibbutz movement (Gavron, 2000).

²⁹ From 1919 C.E. to 1923 C.E. Many Jews from Eastern Europe arrived in mass, the population grew so quickly, Isreal wanted to limited immigration to the Holy Land (Gavron, 2000).

³⁰ Many psychological and sociological studies were performed on the children who grew up under such conditions in the 1960s (Gerson, 1978).

³¹ The leader of the Kibbutz Vatik is a female

³² The Kibbutz sells the finished manufactured goods to the rest of the world and reinvests the money into the Kibbutz.

³³ Kibbutzim are responsible for much of Isreal's agricultural exports

³⁴ Also a problem for large communist states such as North Korea who faced famine in recent history (Holmes, 2009).

³⁵ Women preferred to work in traditionally male jobs however men did not seek out traditionally female jobs (Ben-Rafael, 1988).

³⁶ Many members became lazy because they did not expect better or worse pay depending on the quality of their labor (Avnat, Cohen, David, Leciatican & Rosner, 1990).

³⁷ Food is distributed amongst the people who work the most, that way they can restore their energy for the next day and continue to provide

³⁸ Much like the epic traditions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of the ancient Greeks