

spirits responsible for its development and state, with illness reflecting deficiency somewhere among those relationships (Knauf 1999, 26–28).

Gift exchange is a formative aspect of these societies, and it can serve as a means of remedying those deficiencies. The gifts that are exchanged can themselves take on gender, agency, and a biography according to the social relations they produce. They are not commodities that one possesses, but partible aspects of one's personhood they employ in the creation and maintenance of relationships and power structures that constitute identity.¹⁴ In marriage, for example, each partner brings their parents' two bloodlines together for a total of four distinct lines, with no redundancies allowed in the union. In the case of redundancies, the exchange of pigs and other goods facilitates the return of the secondary bloodlines to the clans of their origin, detaching each partner from the bloodline. At death, this process of "deconception" is repeated at a mortuary feast, but now with permanent effect, dissolving the individual identity of the deceased into the clan identity (Mosko 1992, 703–4).¹⁵ Endocannibalism (mortuary cannibalism) takes place in some Melanesian societies, which facilitates the further distribution of the person's partible substances to their kin (Conklin 1995, 77). This postmortem dissolution of the individual into a corporate ancestral identity is a widespread feature of societies where relational personhood, and particularly kinship, is more salient.¹⁶ The person in these societies is much more thoroughly integrated into, and constituted by, the broader material environment.¹⁷

As a result of sociocultural elaborations on intuitions about agency and the continuation of some unseen locus of agency after death (Bering 2002; Pereira, Faisca, and Sá-Saraiva 2012), concepts of disembodied spirits (Richert and Harris 2008), spirit possession (Cohen and Barrett 2008), out-of-body experiences (Craffert 2015), and reincarnation (White 2015, 2016) have long been salient in Eurocentric as well as many other societies around the world.¹⁸ These are

¹⁴ This may sound unusual to an individual from a more Eurocentric society, but when we think about the people we know, their personalities, as far as we conceptualize them, are commonly entangled with the material—their clothing, their hairstyle, their jewelry, their home, their car, their workspace.

¹⁵ In the nineteenth century, when Melanesian men died, their dissolution took with them so much of their wives' partible personhood that the latter were compelled by custom to beg to be strangled so they could follow close behind. Custom did not compel men to do the same (Lindstrom 2013, 263–64).

¹⁶ A period of individual burial followed by a secondary commingled burial is understood by many anthropologists to reflect this concept of dissolution into a generic ancestral group after the memory of the individual as an individual had faded (Cradic 2017; cf. Duncan and Schwarz 2014).

¹⁷ For related findings from other societies, see Busby 1997; Lambek and Strathern 1998; Carsten 2004; Hess 2009; Appuhamilage 2017.

¹⁸ As in Afro-Brazilian cults in South America (Cohen 2013), the Pacific islands (Mageo