



FIGURE 4: RICE GRANARY (LAUNOIS C. 1938)

The rice granaries currently used by the Southern Bemihisatra are identical to this one from the Ambolbozo Peninsula, drawn by LAUNOIS

vegetable gardens (or gardens may be enclosed by thickly planted agaves or other thorny bushes in an effort to discourage predators). A sliding set of rails serves as a gate. Unlike bird pens, goat and cattle pens are located just outside the swept confines of the village, cattle usually to the north.

All the other constructions that may be associated with Sakalava habitations are of French origin, as indicated by their names: *lakozy* (kitchen), *ladouche* (shower/urinal), and *lakoro* (fence/fenced yard). *Lakozy* and *ladouche* also betray their relatively recent origins in the often haphazard and heterogeneous ways in which they are constructed.

Traditionally, Sakalava cooked inside the *traño* at a hearth (*fataña*) located at the midpoint of the south or west end of the house. The French administration worked hard to eradicate the inside kitchen, allegedly as a health (smoke) and safety (fire) hazard (cf. DECARY 1957: 22)¹⁵. "More and more" kitchens were being built in LAUNOIS' time. Every house today has a separate kitchen, even in the royal villages. The kitchen, because of its association with women, is generally, though not always, located west or south of the house, oriented lengthwise along the north-south axis, like the rice granary and the house itself.

¹⁵ Simply relocating the kitchen adjacent to the house did nothing to prevent fires – the *mahabo* was partially destroyed by a kitchen fire in the 1950's. But it did encourage Sakalava to buy kerosene and lamps for light, cloth for warmth, and netting as protection against mosquitos. Perhaps it also changed the focus of the household (see below).