



**Fig. 17:** Champion Bush-cutter with his aides photographed in a Bolequin studio, several years prior to 1985.

There is among these households, and I believe there was prior to the cash economy, a constant expectation of an eventual reward on the part of those rendering services whether these are in the form of field labor or public praise (such as the young people who welcome the *kloaponyno*). Occasionally it is said that young people offer to cultivate for "big women." The willingness to initiate or to undertake these services for a titled woman is stronger because she is likely to have eventual rewards to share. The big women's strategies are identical to those of men who seek through their own industry and generosity to develop a following that expands their fame, to

build symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977) in order to benefit from delayed reciprocity.

Both men and women emphasized that, besides material rewards, titled women gain a "big name which give them command over others," but this command is ritually delimited. In referring to a titled woman, men would say "she is the chief of women, she has command over all other women." This typically exaggerated phrasing apparently led Viard to refer to "women-chiefs." However, the titled woman's formal authority is operative only during her official function, extending over women within the lineage, over certain young men, and willing followers. This delimitation is marked by