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Marriage, Alliance and Warfare:
the Tauna Awa of New Guinea

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Anthropology

by

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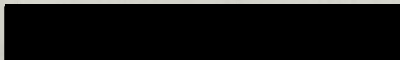
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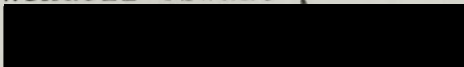
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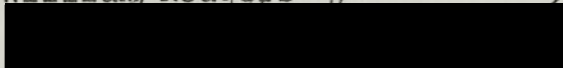
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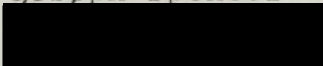
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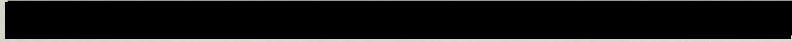
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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Marriage, Alliance and Warfare:

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by

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The problem of how small social groups interact with others in order to survive has had a long history in anthropological studies. This study, based on 19 months fieldwork, is an examination of the relationship between political alliances formed by marriage between social groups and the occurrence of warfare in the New Guinea Highlands. It is assumed that the exchange of women between groups is one way by which political alliances are formed. How does the formation of political alliances affect the rates of warfare and killing between groups?

First, the exact criteria by which native members define social groups and the obligations and interests they have in them are made explicit. Genealogical and territorial principles in group inclusion are only one

part of membership which also entails economic, political, and legal obligations. Second, Tauna tends to interact more frequently and more intensely with the three adjacent villages surrounding it. Generally, as distance increases, rates of marriage and warfare also decrease.

Within the male status hierarchy of the Tauna Awa, it is argued that status is achieved more permanently and more quickly through success in warfare than through any other means. The prediction is then made that a man's drive for attaining status within his own political unit will take precedence over outside affinal-political obligations, especially in conflict-of-interests situations. It was found that outside alliances, or the presence of opposing affines in combat, did not lower the rates of warfare and killing over time.

Among the Tauna Awa and outside political units, marriage alliances do not deter the occurrence of inter-personal offenses. When offenses begin and the level of conflict rises, an immediate solution through peace is not usually based on the presence of affines. When fighting is at a maximum level, it is suggested that reciprocal marriage exchanges take place more frequently. One-way marriages between groups appear to take place only at lower levels of hostility. No inter-group marriages occur at initial increasing levels of violence.

The prediction of the occurrence of violence between political groups depends upon a knowledge of marriage alliance patterns as well as other important factors, which are discussed, such as village demography, the number and location of outside groups with which social interaction is preferred, the emphasis on warfare skills in the status system, and the previous history of group spatial and social relationships.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Historical Background

In sociocultural anthropology, observations on the relationship between groups related by marriage and the occurrence of warfare date back almost 100 years. Sir E. B. Tylor (1889: 267-8) stressed that exogamy was a means of "political self-preservation." The alternatives he set forth for groups were between "marrying out" and "being killed out":

Exogamy. . .enabling a growing tribe to keep itself compact by constant union between its spreading clans, enables it to overmatch any number of small, intermarrying groups, isolated and helpless. Again and again in the world's history, savage tribes must have had plainly before their minds the simple practical alternative between marrying-out and being killed out (Tylor 1889: 267).

Early anthropologists, such as Tylor, were interested in the manner in which primitive societies developed rules about exogamy and incest, and how they evolved. From these discussions, more general questions were raised about how societies were organized and how sources of conflict within and between them were controlled.

Assumptions about the origin of exogamy and incest taboos commonly begin with the nuclear family as a primordial given and a stress on the disruptive effect of endogamous marriages. This line of thinking has persisted to the present in the incest theories of Malinowski (1927)

and Murdock (1949). Other anthropologists have suggested psychological theories from a "universal dread of incest based upon an instinctual human disgust for sexual relations with individuals who have been reared together at close quarters" (Harris 1968: 198). These latter psychological interests in the "origin of exogamy" largely directed attention away from Tylor's political conclusions on the "survival value" of the exchange of women between groups. It should be noted that at the time his conclusions were based on a limited number of actual field studies.

With the growth and increase of fieldwork in anthropology, the implications of political alliances formed by the exchange of women between groups was put to further examination. A. R. Radcliff-Brown and Philip Mayer were among those British social anthropologists who, in analyzing data from tribal Africa, isolated and described the clan group as the major exogamous and political unit. Relationships between clans were often hostile. Contrary to Tylor, the Gusii would say, "Those whom we marry are those whom we fight" (Brown 1964:335). In some tribes fighting and conflict was partly controlled, it was discovered, by kinship groups which were opposed to like groups by the principle of descent resulting in a segmentary structure (Evans-Pritchard 1940).

More recent studies in what has been termed "alliance theory" (see Schneider 1965) have dealt with the structural

effects of marriage in society. Historically these ideas have a different heritage stemming from French sociology to present-day "structural anthropology" of which Levi-Strauss is the acknowledged leader (Leach 1970). Demonstrations of alliance theory often include long and complex arguments about ideal marriage rules and how societies are organized by these principles as opposed to "descent principles." For some anthropologists a return to more "classical" Tylorian problems has been urged. Chagnon (1968: 158) has remarked that little recent attention has been paid "to the implications alliance has for survival." In this thesis, some of these implications are explored using data collected from a New Guinea Highlands society.

New Guinea Research: Marriage and Warfare

Only within the last 20 years have the New Guinea Highlands been opened for anthropological field research. The discovery of many diverse linguistic and social groups apparently organized differently from African tribal societies has encouraged researchers to re-examine traditional theories and concepts of social organization, marriage, and conflict (e.g. Barnes 1962; Langness 1964b). Some of these studies are discussed below as they apply directly to terms and concepts used in this study.

In a discussion of marriage in the New Guinea Highlands, Barnes (1962: 8) writes:

Either marriages are restricted to a certain

group, so that enduring connubial alliances, either symmetrical or one-way, are maintained and renewed down the generations, or else every marriage between two groups is an impediment to further marriages between them. In other words, matrimonial alliances are either concentrated or deliberately dispersed.

Barnes does not attempt to pursue these observations and attempt an explanation of why marriages may be divided into two types. Nor is the role of warfare or other variables as they may affect marriage patterns discussed.

Langness (1969) takes issue with Barnes' typology of marriage and says that he is confusing "motive" (social interests) with "function" (political alliance). Langness concedes that the motive and function of marriage may be the same in other societies, but for the group he did field-work with, the Bena Bena, they are not the same. In Bena Bena, marriages are "empirically dispersed," but one cannot necessarily imply deliberateness to this. Elsewhere, Langness (1968: 194; 1969: 50) argues that marriage in Bena Bena is a public affair and by definition "political," but, on the other hand, marriage is said to have "few political functions." This is confusing. The problem of the pattern of New Guinea Highlands' marriages and how it is affected is inconclusive. In none of Langness' own main writings (1964a; 1964b; 1968; 1969) is there sufficient data to explain Bena Bena inter-marriage patterns and relevant military alliances between groups (see also criticisms by Strathern 1968: 44).

Both Meggitt (1964) and Allen (1967) have discussed the status of females, marriage with outside groups, and purificatory rituals of the male in New Guinea. Briefly, Meggitt argues that in the "Enga type" society (1) marriage with enemy groups, (2) fear of female pollution, (3) the presence of purificatory cults, and (4) the low status of women are related. The contrasting "Kuma type" relates marriage with friendly groups, sex antagonism, lack of purificatory cults, and the relatively high status of women. Allen (1967), on the other hand, proposed variables in a causal chain: (1) monocarpellary local groups,¹ (2) patrilineal descent, (3) marriage with enemy groups, and (4) the relative status equality of men lead to an acute sex division and a particular type of initiation ritual.

Strathern (1968) has weighed the theoretical and empirical content of these generalizations at length and has found fault with each. He raised the issue of measuring variables such as the "status of women" and "degrees of patrilineal descent," and also has presented contrary ethnographic evidence from the available sources. Strathern's (1968: 42) additional point is well taken: "A factor which

¹This terminology originates from a paper by Hogbin and Wedgwood (1953). Allen (1967: 12, fnt. 20) follows this terminology and writes that these "authors define a parish as 'the largest local group which can be regarded as having any political unity' (p. 253), and a carpel as 'an exogamous unilinear group which has its social centre within a parish-territory' (p. 243). Monocarpellary thus denotes 'a parish composed for a single carpel' (p. 243)."

both Meggitt and Allen mention but do not probe extensively is the pattern of inter-marriage between groups, or, more widely, inter-group alliance relations."

The thesis by Robbins (1970) has dealt with gift exchange, marriage, and warfare among the Auyana of the Eastern Highlands. Briefly he asserts that the intensity of warfare created or could create physical and social instability. Individuals perceived that they and their families could be killed or forced to move into other areas with different groups. In order to move elsewhere, one first must have allies. To counteract this tendency towards instability, i.e. to physically survive, Auyanans must "generate alternatives." This is done primarily by gift giving. A high correlation was found between the exchange of goods and alliance, and a high but not significant association between the dispersion of marriages and alliance. These security mechanisms seem to apply to the Auyana since they generally do not marry whom they fight.

Based on comparative ethnographic evidence, this "generation of alternatives" hypothesis is not verifiable for all other New Guinea societies even within the Highlands. In Hagen affines are expected but not always obligated to be exchange partners (Strathern 1968: 47). Mae Enga exchange partners, who were mainly affinal and maternal kin, often fought each other (Meggitt 1965). Other studies indicate that some New Guinea Highlanders commonly fight

with other political groups with whom they exchange wives and gifts such as the Siane (Salisbury 1962), Kamano, Jate, Usurufa, and North Fore (Berndt 1962). Some groups, like Auyana, married and fought with different political groups; these include the Kuma (Reay 1959), Huli (Glasse 1968), Gahuku-Gama (Read 1959), Chimbu (Brown 1960; 1961; 1962; Brookfield and Brown 1963), and the Bena Bena (Langness 1968; 1969).

From a brief survey of the above New Guinea studies, it is clear that the relationship between marriage and warfare, even within the Highlands, varies considerably from area to area. The reasons for this variability partially stem from the presentation of data. With the exception of a recent symposium on marriage in the New Guinea Highlands (Glasse and Meggitt 1969), little quantified temporal data have been presented thereby making it difficult to assess whether affines always can be described as enemies or friends, or the relationships between groups can be said to be permanent or changing. The lack of quantified data applies equally to warfare and killings between groups. It is not sufficient theoretically to indicate whether a group "marries whom it fights." No uniform figure is agreed on to indicate at what specific ratio of marriage to fighting one can make a certain decision. The significant problem is not one of a typology of societies that do or do not marry enemies, but of explaining this distribution.

Another problem is that generalizations about marriage and warfare tend to be vague regarding the specific groups and individuals who are involved. Intra-society variation in both marriage and warfare behavior tends to be overlooked. Furthermore, no distinction is made between the rates of warfare and the frequency of killing which may vary considerably. Empirically, the role of affines in warfare is not clear; reports from the same area by different anthropologists have been contradictory (Langness 1969: 59, fn. 9).

The above discussions confound both the theoretical and empirical issues of the relationship between marriage and warfare in New Guinea. It is hoped that some of the problems in the interpretation of data can be resolved in this thesis by: (1) defining what specific social units are involved in marriage and warfare; (2) providing quantified temporal data on rates of marriage and killing; and (3) by examining a scale of political values and demonstrating how certain values are selected over others in marriage and warfare between political units.

Statement of the Problem

This thesis is concerned with the relationship between political alliances formed by marriage and warfare among several local groups in the New Guinea Highlands. The main problem is explaining to what extent marriage between groups was a deterrent to open conflict and killing between

these same autonomous political groups which have no formal legal body for handling disputes. The data presented in this thesis were collected primarily in one politico-legal unit, Tauna village.

In recent anthropological writings, "decision models" have been viewed as particularly advantageous for describing and explaining social behavior especially when they are used in conjunction with statistical treatments of the same data (e.g. Keesing 1967). In using decision models it must be assumed by the investigator that it is known what values are attached to alternative modes of action. Decisions for action are assumed to be made, then, according to a scale of value preferences. Decision theories in themselves do little to elaborate on how values arise or how they are generated between groups and individuals. One way in which this can be understood stems from propositions about social behavior as a form of exchange which involves values, rewards, investments, costs, etc. (see Homans 1961; 1967; Blau 1964).

How then do individuals select among certain values and what governs their preferences? One concern in this thesis is to demonstrate what political values are attached to both marriage and warfare behavior, and which ones take precedence. Each activity, marriage and warfare, concerns different sets of individuals, and creates different interests which are discussed below. Because of locally

specific conditions among the Tauna Awa, such as the relatively small number of outside groups with which conflict could occur and where women were sent and received for marriage, it is maintained that warfare resulted in a conflict of interests situation: between opposing interests of oneself and one's own political group and affinal-political interests outside of one's group.

A conflict of interests "stems from differences between parties in their preferred distribution of some scarce resource" (Druckman and Zechmeister 1970: 431). These "scarce resources" may include intangible conditions such as high political status and social security. Among the Tauna Awa and nearby groups it is assumed that among adult males (the focus of this society) there is a concensus of values regarding the desirability and achievement of both political status and social security. In short, all men seek both political status and social security since warfare is "culturally acceptable" as a form of politico-legal prosecution and leadership in warfare is achieved (Berndt 1964). At present, nothing can be stated about the variability in performance of individual men. Part of the reason is because many of the events described involved men who are dead. Furthermore, no tests or systematic observations were made of the motivation for political status, perception of security, etc., on living adult males.

One important question is whether the scale of

political value preferences in warfare and marriage have changed significantly over time. For the Tauna Awa it is reasonable to assume that within the major period under discussion, before outside contact (1900-1950), decisions regarding which political values were optimized remained fairly stable. It has been only recently (since 1950) with outside contact that different decisions have been made regarding the allocation of scarce resources (e.g. women) and the preservation of ideal living conditions. Part of the reason for this change is because under Australian control, warfare has been abolished among the Awa.

Therefore, given the knowledge of what values are sought, and which values are preferred over others, it is maintained that it is possible to predict what behaviors are a result of decisions to optimize these values. It remains to specify what these values are, what individuals and groups they concern, and what empirical predictions can be made.

Tauna Awa individuals, as members of several local groups, have personal interests in them, and they are expected to act in certain ways which are acceptable to other members. In this sense, an interest refers to an individual's rights and responsibilities which are implied in group membership. Some of these "rights and responsibilities" of group membership include participation in economic activities (e.g. the pooling of wealth), and in

politico-legal activities such as warfare. It is apparent that all individuals have some interests to preserve; no individuals are "groupless." Because individuals tend to maintain certain political interests of great value to them, certain behavioral consequences can be anticipated.

One outside interest revolves around affinal relationships. It is assumed that marriage between exogamous units in Tauna and nearby groups is one means by which political alliances are formed. Informants frequently commented that the exchange of women in marriage between feuding groups was a regular ritual in peace-making activities (also see Chapter 5). Reciprocal marriage, then, optimizes social security (i.e. temporarily reduces the probability of being killed), which is of course desirable, by creating political interests outside of the exogamous unit or politico-warfare unit. After marriage, ideally a series of gift exchanges between exogamous units or smaller units within them begins so that the relationship is re-enforced.

By forming political alliances through marriage, individuals and groups come to share common interests. Generally, the social units involved in a marriage relationship are relatively small and limited to the married couple and their respective exogamous unit of membership. The responsibility to act in further affinal gift exchanges is said to decrease with age, sex, and social distance from the married couple. Ideally, the parties who share common

interests in an affinal-alliance relationship are said to not kill each other in fights, and in times of trouble, one side may offer the other side an alternative place to live either temporarily or permanently. In this thesis, one major focus is to investigate the degree to which warfare affects the strength of outside affinal-political bonds.

Since warfare occurred quite frequently, it can be asked what political value it has for participating adult males. Within the maximal politico-legal unit, social security is optimized by performing acts which are expected of and rewarded by group members. If, for example, a capable adult male did not fight on behalf of his political unit, he would not be considered as a "proper" member of his unit, since one of the conditions of membership in the maximal political unit is participation in political affairs. Due to the given system of the acceptable violent prosecution of offenses, it was imperative for individuals actively to engage in warfare against other political groups. By doing so, they increased or maintained their own group's political autonomy while endangering the security of others.

Fighting on behalf of one's sovereignty (in Chapter 2 the sovereignty is defined, with other criteria, as the maximal politico-legal unit), presumably, is also a means by which political status among competing males is achieved. According to several authorities, there are generally three bases or types of factors which contribute

to status among competing performers (Kiesler and Kiesler 1969: 71-2):

First, status is conferred upon those who provide rewards for the rest of the group and whose contribution is crucial to the group goal. . . A second basis for status is the cost incurred by the individual in the realization of the group's goal. . . A third attribution of status to another is the investments of the other. Investments (see Homans, 1950) refer to any attribute or possession of the individual which is positively viewed by the rest of the group.

The above general description describes some of the conditions by which status is achieved in small groups. Specifically, it appears to be relevant in understanding how political leaders achieve status in New Guinea. In a review of leadership in New Guinea, Lepervanche (1968: 176) writes:

It may well be that Highland societies are predominantly egalitarian and no man has absolute authority over others and, indeed, the principle of reciprocity operates for Big Men as it does for everyone. But Big Men are the foci for local groups; they do not achieve an isolated position of high status. A man earns a name in competition with his fellows, and his ability to manipulate public opinion rather than impose decisions by force is important. Men with these qualities, who have also succeeded in exchanges and warfare, tend to be accepted as leaders (Reay 1959). Once established, a Big Man can then direct economic, administrative, political and sometimes ritual affairs within and between groups (Meggitt, 1962: 159; Salisbury, 1962: 28; Newman, 1965: 44; Bulmer, 1960: 5,6; Ryan, 1961: 273).

There is considerable variation reported in New Guinea

as to the degree by which political leaders achieve their position through economic success or fighting skills. It is generally agreed that exchange systems in the Eastern Highlands (the Tauna Awa included) are smaller in scale and pomp than those in the Western Highlands (Lepervanche 1968: 178-9). Among the Tauna Awa, it will be asserted later (in Chapter 5), that fighting skills indeed took precedence over the accumulation and exchange of economic goods in discriminating men politically. Therefore, violent political behavior by individuals in different maximal politico-legal units offers rewards to the individual in: in-sovereignty status, social security for the sovereignty as a whole, and, at the same time, it decreases the security of (gives "cost" to) opposing groups.

Outside of Tauna, both marriage and warfare were limited, for various reasons, to a small number of political units (see Chapters 3,4, and 5). Three adjacent sovereignties interacted directly with Tauna in marriage alliances and warfare almost exclusively. Since most Tauna individuals had affinal relationships with at least one of these outside sovereignties, one's outside affinal-political security interests were frequently being opposed to political interests in one's own sovereignty of membership. For individuals, there are limited strategies possible in the conduct of marriage and warfare with outside sovereignties. Why are some sovereignties chosen in

preference to others?

One possible decision would be for individuals and exogamous sub-units within Tauna to concentrate their marriage exchanges with one or two of the three closest outside sovereignties, and direct their violence to the outside groups with no close affinal relationships. This did not happen in Tauna, since marriage to some extent depends upon the number of eligible women available, and in Tauna and nearby sovereignties they were relatively scarce. Furthermore, this strategy assumes a ~~totally~~ rational-controlled model of warfare behavior which is probably not acceptable under the circumstances (also see Chapters 5 and 6).

The issue of the "predictability" of warfare and killing is raised here. In preparations for fighting, it would appear to be advantageous for physical survival to give little information about whom one is going to fight and when. Raiding parties would probably increase their efficiency if they planned a strategy which could not be predicted in terms of how many men were to go to what place, at what time of day, and who they would kill. Under these conditions of "random" choice (see Moore 1965), the prediction of raiding and killing to an outsider (the ethnographer included) of course becomes difficult.

This points to a crucial question^s of the extent to which the killing of others could be controlled by those

doing the killing. Randomization of behavior can be viewed as a series of choices which prevents one's adversaries from gaining intelligence about one's mode of "play" (Schelling 1960: 175). By this definition, the element of randomness appears to be more prominent in killing others in warfare than it does in contracting marriages, since the latter activity implies agreement between the parties involved. While warfare and killing also imply a series of choices, uncontrollable factors such as the availability of targets, and accidents and luck in shooting may also affect the final pattern of warfare deaths. Warfare and killing could be more controlled if small groups of men within the sovereignty fought and raided other sovereignties by going to certain areas and always aiming for specific people. But this tactic limits the number of targets. To the individual, this means that the costs in time and energy spent in consistently discriminating among political victims is increased while potential rewards are comparatively more difficult to attain. (The tactics of warfare and the control of selecting victims is discussed more fully in Chapter 5.)

The prosecution of offenses against another unit outside of Tauna was the responsibility of Tauna members as a whole, although certain classes of individuals, namely adult males, were "more" responsible for initiating action. Political responsibility of another kind, as

suggested earlier, was also expected in outside affinal-political relationships. Thus, individuals had political interests, formed in different ways, in each relationship and group in which they were considered to be a participant or member. Since it has been assumed that marriage forms political alliances and men seek in-sovereignty political status, a conflict of interests situation arises every time men fight outside sovereignties where they have affines and affinal-political interests. How, then, are opposing political interests reconciled? What choices are made and why?

Several theoretical studies deal specifically with values in groups and the choices made between them. Barth (1966: 21) flatly states that "all behavior takes place in a matrix of values and social relations." Homans (1961: 51-82) also investigates these issues in depth. One of his main propositions is that individuals tend to behave towards others in ways which are valued more and offer more rewards, holding cost constant. Like Barth, he feels that individuals tend to maximize or optimize certain preferred values in social relationships. To Barth (1966: 1-11), this is achieved mainly through specific "transactions"; to Homans, the optimization of values is accomplished in most inter-personal behavior. The proposed "missing link" between Barth and Homans, i.e. the "definition of the situation" for the actor, his perception of values and rewards

(Stebbins 1969), unfortunately cannot be supplied here because this would imply the availability of a sample of men most of whom are no longer alive.

The effects of group membership on individuals also must be examined especially when different group and relational interests and obligations vary. Generally, it has been determined that the relative importance of a group that a person is with, is thinking about, or identified with will be greater than the influence of other groups at a time of conflict between group expectations (Kiesler and Kiesler 1969: 39). This obviously, is an important assertion to add to the understanding of the conflict-of-interests situation caused by warfare. But this is not to say that group interests always take precedence over individual interests, for, in many cases, they do not (Olson 1968: 1-2). And in the ethnographic context of warfare behavior in New Guinea, both in-group security interests and personal status interests can be supported at the same time.

The above propositions are, of course, probabilistic. To what extent do these statements explain the Tauna Awa data, and what empirical predictions can be made about the relationship between marriage alliances and warfare behavior?

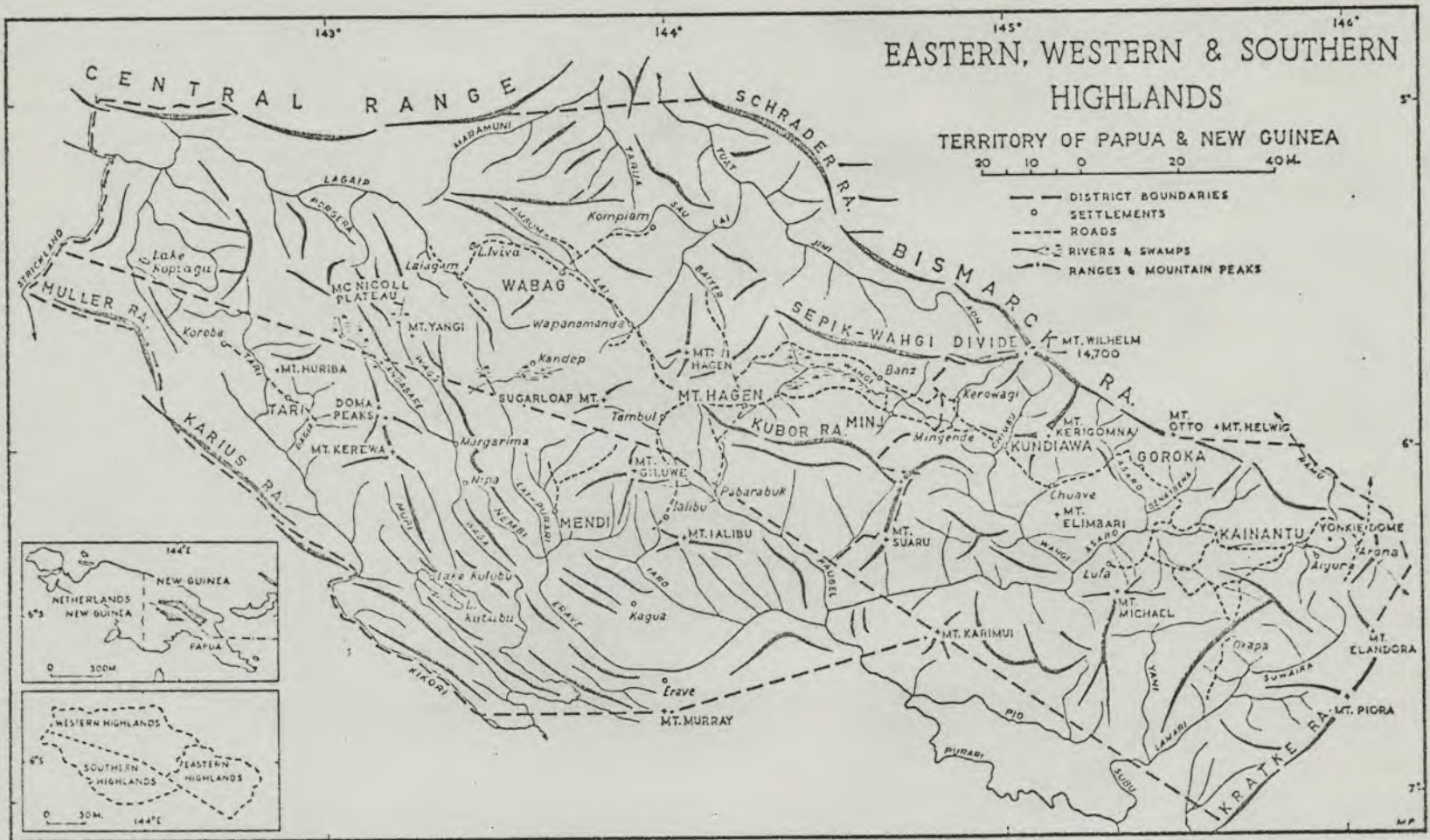
It has already been stated that by fighting on behalf of one's sovereignty of membership, one acquires political

status in addition to strengthening an already established, but not permanent, social security, i.e. a safe place to live and garden with friends and kinsmen. By comparison, outside affinal-political interests offer only a potential, not frequently proven, alternative home where one may flee if necessary. They act as more of a long-term investment rather than an immediate benefit in security to the parties involved.

If, as has been argued, in-sovereignty political interests are valued more and rewarded more than out-sovereignty affinal-political interests, it is predicted that: outside affinal ties should make no or little difference in deterring being killed by or killing affines. To fully examine this assertion, certain preliminary ethnographic conditions should be made clear. It is necessary to know: (1) how and why outside marriages are contracted; (2) how and why warfare is conducted; and (3) what outside groups are selected for marriage alliances and warfare and why. This information is presented in succeeding chapters.

Site of Field Research

From January 1969 to July 1970, my wife and I lived in the village of Tauna composed of Awa language speakers. Tauna village is presently in the Auyana Census Division, Okapa Sub-District, Eastern Highlands District of the Territory of New Guinea. Map 1 is a broad picture of the



Map 1: The New Guinea Highlands

New Guinea Highlands. Map 2² shows the specific location of Tauna and surrounding villages.

Awa is one of the four Eastern Highlands District languages as classified by Wurm (1961) and McKaughan (1964). The other three languages are Auyana, Tairora, and Gadsup. The total number of Awa speakers is about 1450. There are eight villages of Awa speakers, north and south of the Lamari River, and considerable dialect difference among them. Loving (n.d.b) classifies Awa into four dialects: (1) Tauna (Tauna village only); (2) Elakia (Elakia village only); (3) the Northeastern dialect (Tawaina and Ogaratapa villages); and (4) the Southern dialect (Tainoraba, Amoraba, Mobuta, and Agamusi villages). Tauna is the northernmost

²There are several differences in the spelling of village names between the Government map and my sketch map (see Map 4 and Table 5) based on informants' categories:

<u>Government Name</u>	<u>Tauna Awa Equivalent</u>
Yakia	Elakia
Abomotasa	Abomatasa
Ogurataba	Ogaratapa
Avia	Apia
Augana	Auyana
Nanggona	Nankona

Furthermore, Government maps, which may be out of date, tend to reflect census or social units rather than native political units. The residence designated as "Ondauna" is possibly an extinct Tawaina hamlet. Kawaina #1 referred to in this thesis is not the same Kawaina #1 listed in Map 2, but is, in fact, further to the northeast of Tauna. The villages the Tauna Awa refer to as Omuna and Indona are not listed separately here. Omuna is close to Waipina; Indona is near to Sepuna. Moipe' lies further northwest out of the bounds of this map.



Map 2: Tauna and Surrounding Villages

1 inch = 4 miles

of all the Awa villages and borders two other language groups: Auyana and Fore. For Awa, closest villages share the greatest number of cognates whose count decreases with increasing distance. (Refer to Map 4 in Chapter 3 for further listings of other villages.)

The word "Awa" derives from the native word for "talk" or "language." As far as could be determined, "Tauna" is an equally old native word for the area of land within which all of its inhabitants live. It is also used by the Australian Government to designate the village as a census unit.

Tauna was selected as the site for research even before entering the field. This village was chosen after numerous consultations with Dr. Philip Newman who had carried out fieldwork among the Awa of Elakia village for one year in 1964-65. Before entering the field, Tauna was described to me as "interesting" because of its proximity to other language groups, the alledged fact that different kin groups had migrated there from different areas, its dispersed residence pattern apparently unlike other Awa villages, and some variant features of social organization compared to Elakia village.

As it turned out, Tauna was a relatively good choice for fieldwork, both anthropologically and physically. There were many clear-running streams of the Lamari River for drinking and bathing. The villagers were cooperative

in providing us with fresh vegetables from their gardens so that we could buy them. The climate was moderate throughout the year. In the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea, the daily weather ranges from about 80 degrees by day to 50 degrees by night (Salisbury 1962: 11). Throughout the year there are several periods of heavy rainfall. Rainfall in Tauna for one year (June 1969-May 1970) measured 78 inches, about the same as that of Goroka, the administrative center of the Eastern Highlands District, for an average year (Brown and Brookfield 1963: 22). In general, like in Chimbu in the Western Highlands, there is no one specific rainy season and dry season. For one measured year, rainfall was over three inches per month in July, September to December 1969, and February to May 1970. The heaviest rainfall for one month was in November, 1969, with 17 1/2 inches.

In the Awa area of the Eastern Highlands, the mountains are quite steep and rugged, perhaps moreso than for neighbouring language groups (Littlewood 1966). Houses and hamlets tend to be distributed along mountain tops and ridges. In Tauna there is practically no level ground. Dick Loving, the SIL missionary-linguist who has his base in the Awa village of Mobuta, could find no suitable place in Tauna for a small helicopter pad. Our bamboo and grass house was constructed on a slope and our folding beds had to be tied to the wall otherwise they would have slid

across the room during the night.

The people of Tauna are like other New Guinea Highlanders in that they practice swidden agriculture at a subsistence level and raise pigs. More recently, chickens have been acquired and are used in gift exchanges and are cooked for special meals. Sweet potato, taro, yam, leafy green vegetables, sugar cane, and bananas form the staple diet. Within the last ten years, many new food crops have been introduced by the Australian Government and by men who have travelled outside of the village to other parts of New Guinea, or men who have spent some time in jail in other parts of the Highlands. These new crops include corn, peanuts, green onions, tomatoes, potatoes, cabbage, pumpkins, cucumbers, lettuce, passion fruit, pineapples, and papaya. Their adoption and intensity of use seems to vary with the individual head of the gardening unit and his degree of acculturation.

Within the past five years, coffee plants have been introduced from the nearby Auyana and Fore language groups who are admittedly more "sophisticated" than the Tauna Awa. The Australian Government also has encouraged the planting of coffee and other potential cash crops in even the most remote villages. In Tauna, coffee is carried in rice bags weighing up to 40-50 pounds for 5-6 hours over razor-backed mountains to the nearest road where it is purchased by Australian coffee buyers. Outside of contract labor,

the sale of coffee is the major source of cash income.

Hunting by the men with bows and arrows, alone or in groups, is still relatively important. Wild pigs, cassowaries, tree kangaroos, rodents, and birds are the primary targets; they are eaten and used as gifts. The killing of a wild pig is usually an occasion for a mumu (earth oven) where the pig and garden vegetables are cooked and shared. Garden food is available and abundant throughout the year. There is no shortage of arable land for new gardens.

Since contact, the general health of the population has probably improved slightly. In October, 1960, the visiting patrol officer (Tauna Village Book 1960) observed: "112 people seen. 50% spleen rate in 2-10 age---severe anemias---and malaria to epidemic proportions. Goiter prevalent." In May, 1969, Dr. Adolph Saweri, then at Okapa hospital, passed through Tauna village and also noted that malaria was "common." He also estimated that about 10% of the village was suffering from yaws, leprosy, and/or goiter.

Several years earlier, in 1964, a medical aid post was built in Tauna with a Fore-speaking medical assistant in charge. It was soon abandoned when the man decided to return home. The aid post in the nearby village of Kawaina #2 has been in operation for about 5 years, but Tauna people are not accustomed to going there for help. If they seek medical help at all, they prefer walking to Okapa hospital (15-18 miles away), but only after being treated

by native curers first.

Over the years, there have been other sources of outside contact with Tauna. Elder men in the village still recall seeing small fighting airplanes of World War II. At the time, they were called "birds' mothers," and were not particularly associated with knowledge of the outside world. But they were believed to be partially responsible for a severe dysentery epidemic which occurred about the same time.

In 1949, a Lutheran Mission station was built at Tarabo or Taramu (near Okapa), and the first government patrol post was set up there in 1951. Meanwhile other government patrols were reaching the area around Awa on foot from Kainantu, Goroka, and Kundiawa. During this time, the Awa area was still relatively unchanged and was described as either "restricted" to outside travellers or "uncontrolled." Ronald Berndt who was in the surrounding South Fore area in 1952-53, refers indirectly to the Awa villages (1962: 6) when he reports that: "Beyond Wanevinti, toward the Papua-New Guinea border, only three Administration patrols had ventured. East of Moke precipitous mountains separated this region from the Lamari River, although the smokes of Kawaina could be seen."

In 1954, the Administration changed the location of its patrol station from Tarabo to Okapa (Moke). Up until then, intervillage fighting was still taking place in that

area (Berndt 1962: 9). In 1957, with the start of kuru (a degenerative nervous disease; see Gajdusek 1963) investigation among the Fore, a native constable and two native orderlies were stationed at Okapa. At that time, it is believed that cannibalism, sorcery, ritual killings, and intervillage warfare were abandoned except in the South Fore area (Alpers and Gajdusek 1965). Thus, in 1957, it can be safely assumed that the Awa villages further South and East into the mountains were no more pacified than the South Fore villages.

Tauna was first censused in 1953. The white patrol officers were believed to be ghosts or evil spirits. Native policemen were said to be returned ancestors. Earlier to this, indirect knowledge of the white man was probably known, since in typical New Guinea fashion, important messages are shouted from village to village over the mountain tops. Tauna men also had more direct contact with knowledgeable natives in other areas. And previous to this, the Australians were beginning to build patrol stations and airfields throughout the Highlands.

Initial contact with Tauna was relatively peaceful. No men in Tauna were killed, although native policemen were shot at with bows and arrows more than once. In those days, a short jail sentence was the usual punishment for men who fought each other or the patrol officers and policemen with bows and arrows. Most of the older men in Tauna

have spent at least several months in the Kainantu jail. Occurrences of this kind are much rarer today.

Several years after initial contact, luluais and tultuls (government-appointed headmen) were used as mediators and peacekeepers between the government administrators and the villagers. However, within the last few years, the villagers have elected their own officials to represent them, now called councillors and committee members, under the guidance of the Administration. Invariably, these officials are Melanesian Pidgin speakers and are ostensibly more acculturated than other villagers. They are given the authority to handle court cases and other small disputes within their village, and they attend council meetings once a month in Okapa. More recently, these meetings have dealt with problems of "economic development" and "independence," concepts which, I feel, the majority of Tauna Awa do not understand.

Mission influence in Tauna has not been very strong. In the late 1950's, two native 7th Day Adventists from Auyana and Kamano set up a house in Tauna, but left after a few months reportedly because they could not understand the local language. In 1967, several young boys stayed at the Highland Christian Mission in the North Fore village of Yagusa. Their education seems to have been limited to learning a few hymns. In the Awa village of Mobuta, Dick and Aretta Loving, who have lived there since 1959, have

taught many of the younger villagers to read and write in Awa. In Tauna, in 1970, only a few of the younger men and boys have made a start in reading Awa.

The most significant material and social changes in Tauna have been introduced by men who have returned from plantation or domestic labor on the New Guinea coast. Shorts, shirts, and dresses are now worn by most of the men and women. Rice, fish, and tinned meat form an occasional meal for many families. Other objects found in nearly every household include steel axes, shovels, spoons, knives, forks, plates, cups, necklaces, beads, safety pins (used as ear rings), and umbrellas. Only a few of the younger men who have saved their money can afford the more expensive luxury items like kerosene lamps, razor blades, flashlights, portable radios, and cigarettes or twist tobacco.

In sum, the whole life pattern of Tauna village has been and is gradually changing. With respect to the interests in this thesis, the following remarks should be emphasized. Large-scale warfare is practically nonexistent. Occasional bow and arrow or ax fights do break out, but the fighting is soon stopped and the participants are brought to court in Okapa. Trade with other villages for the acquisition of shells and feathers has ceased with the introduction of money, since store-bought items seem to have more value or necessity in daily life and as symbols of status and wealth. Marriage customs have changed little with the exception of

the bridewealth which now includes a sum of money. But despite the material and slight social changes brought about by outside influences, most aspects of the kinship and social groupings seem to have remained fairly intact.

Informants and Data Collection

After walking for eight hours over what were thought to be impassable mountain trails and endless streams, I finally arrived in Tauna village in the late afternoon and sat down in the rest house, specifically built for government patrol officers on their annual census trips. My wife was to follow the next day with more supplies. Everyone in the village had gathered to see and examine me. My presence was announced miles ahead by my Fore cargo carriers shouting over the mountain tops. Of all the people there, some naked and some clothed, one man caught my attention and impressed me the most; he seemed somehow to be out of place. He was dressed in a black laplap (wrapover cloth skirt) and an impeccably clean, green sweatshirt. I had just sat down, and was drinking some stream water from a bamboo and nursing my tired feet when he pushed his way through the other people and came into the hut. He greeted me, "Good afternoon, Master. Can I wash your clothes?"

At that point, my knowledge of Melanesian Pidgin was sketchy, but he was understood. He was hired on the spot to be my clothes washer and, for the moment, my interpreter.

It was learned later that he was the most fluent Melanesian Pidgin speaker in the village. He was a man in his early 30's who had worked for several years in various towns and plantations on the New Guinea coast and Highlands as a laborer and domestic servant. He promised to look after me and teach me everything he could about his customs and language. From that first chance meeting he remained, for the rest of my stay, my most confidential and reliable source of information.

On arriving in Tauna in January, 1969, there were only 26 adult males present in the village. Of these 26, 11 had been to the coast and back, some as many as three times. Eighteen adult males were still on the coast. When it was time to leave, only 6 had returned. Five men were killed in March, 1970, in a fight with Highlanders from Tari on a plantation near Port Moresby (Papua-New Guinea Post Courier 1970). Seven men had not yet returned before leaving the field.

Throughout my stay, Melanesian Pidgin translators were used in any long interviews and conversations. After about a year, most replies given to me in Awa were understood from the content of the questions. It was then possible to ask interpreters to repeat what they said if it was felt that they were not interpreting a response correctly, or were leaving out some important details. In addition to a primary informant/interpreter, two or three other informants

and interpreters were used on a less regular basis. These men were selected because of their willingness to work and their fluency in Melanesian Pidgin.

On the average, at least one interview per day was held. Depending upon the topic to be discussed, either young or old men, or sometimes women, would be solicited. Every man in the village was interviewed at least once. For more detailed information about warfare, sorcery, and genealogies, older men, who were thought to be more accurate in their responses and more interested in my work than others, were relied upon. All interviews conducted in my house were taped with Pidgin translations and transcribed later.

Whenever possible, men from other villages, who were visiting Tauna, were interviewed. These informants included men from Tawaina, Elakia, Kawaina #1, Kawaina #2, Abomatasa, Asempa, Waipina, and Omuna. The most regular informant from another village was an old man from Tawaina who would sleep in my interpreter's house for about a week at a time. He then would be interviewed every day. When he got tired of this, he would leave for his home village and return again a few weeks or months later. Interviews with men from other villages were irregular, though, and not always successful.

Because of the proximity to other language groups, the men of Tauna claimed that they could speak two, or sometimes

three, other languages. All of the men of Tauna claimed to understand and speak the language of Kawaina #2, an Auyana dialect. On the basis of cognate counts, this dialect is closest to the Tauna dialect of Awa, rather than to any other Awa dialect. McKaughan (1964) maintains, however, that there was no long standing relationship between Tauna and Kawaina #2. (This will be discussed more fully in Chapters 3,4 and 5.)

Several men, including my primary informant/interpreter, could speak fluent Auyana (Asempa dialect). Other men with friends or relatives in the South Fore or North Fore areas (see Scott 1963), could speak these dialects. No man could speak or understand a language which was not close to one of Tauna's borders.

The observation of events such as marriage, death rites, and court disputes form a standard part of the anthropologist's investigation in these small-scale societies, since these events usually affect most of the community. Inasmuch as many things are said by many people, it was attempted to get many points of view on what was said and what was being done. In most cases, aside from my own observations, my main informant was interviewed later in the day or the next day, and he explained to me what had happened, who said what, and what effect this had on others.

Most data were checked with other informants. This

was necessary with warfare and sorcery stories and genealogies. The collection of accurate genealogical information was a regular part of interviewing. Whenever a new name of an ancestor was heard, genealogical information about him was collected. Throughout my stay, genealogical charts were always being added to, corrected, and modified. In the end, I felt fairly confident that my knowledge of Tauna and its ancestors was reasonably complete, but no claim is made to have accurate information for other villages.

Initially, genealogies were collected from every adult male and female in the village. Later, to fill in gaps, two or three regular older men were questioned regularly. As a principal source of data, genealogical information was especially useful, since marriage patterns, causes of death, and warfare stories could be derived from it.

There were problems in the collection of genealogies which are probably not confined to New Guinea. Men and women often have two or more names, and different persons will use different names in referring to the same individual. Also close agnatic kin, two brothers for example, may have the same name. These two problems caused endless confusion in the beginning.

Data about the past were culled mainly from interviews both with men who had participated in these events and younger men who had heard about them. There is quite

good concensus about general events in the past from about 1930 onwards among different age groups. Of course, older informants could offer more specific details. Luckily, one of my primary informants, and most cooperative, was the "number one" war leader in the recent past. His reports usually were taken to be more reliable than others when different parts of a story from different informants were contradictory.

My primary informant/interpreter was highly intelligent and had an excellent memory. In many interviews, he knew what information was to be collected, and he often would form his own questions to ask of the informant without my guidance. This is a good example in ethnographic interviewing where the native informant not only knows the answers, but he also knows the right questions to ask to elicit the right response (see the additional example by Keiser 1969: 25-7). He also would stop and translate what he considered to be "key" words or concepts in any interview. He remembered the names of individuals in genealogies which were known to me and which ones were not yet collected, and what stories and myths were already taped. He not only remembered events in his own group's cultural history, but he would conscientiously remind me to write them down or tape them in case they were forgotten, so that he wouldn't have to repeat them. Therefore, in defense of key-informant interviewing, it can be said that

since my primary interest was not in a sample of responses or representative memories, this technique, for the problem at hand and under the circumstances, was most efficient and reliable.

Ideally, the data for this study could have been more complete in several ways. However, due to limitations on time in the field and the difficulty of even collecting exact and complete genealogies within Tauna, it was not possible to completely supplement the Tauna Awa data with comparable precise information from other sovereignties. Data on the specific outside affinal ties of each individual, the relationships and group memberships of killers and victims in warfare, and the organization of sub-units in other sovereignties would have been helpful. Newman's (n.d.) field material on the Elakia Awa later will help fill this gap.

Most "formal" interviews (when there were specific questions to ask) were conducted with only myself, an interpreter and the informant present. When the informant was not in a large group, it appeared that his span of attention was longer and his interest would be maintained. He considered the interview to be "work for money," and, I think, would tend to be more informative than in a casual conversation.

Certain aspects of warfare, sorcery, and the social histories of other individuals and groups were best

discussed in private and with lowered voices. Sometimes, when other people wanted to know what was going on, they simply would sit on the other side of the bamboo walls of the house, listen to the question, and shout out what they thought would be a good answer. They did this, since they knew the tape recorder was on and were interested to hear the playback. In other cases, the informant warned me not to playback the tape in the presence of others, since he had given information which he considered to be confidential.

Reliability and translation are difficult problems in ethnographic interviewing. Cooperative informants and those thought to be most knowledgeable were preferred. It was always made sure whether a story was what the informant had actually seen or merely what he had heard. The problem of how to express accurately and translate quantities such as how many men were present at a fight, or how many pigs were killed at a certain marriage party was never fully resolved. The further back in time the data refer to and the more it is hearsay rather than direct experience, it can be said that it is more unreliable. These factors were weighed in presenting data in this study.

To estimate the dates of various events, the informant would be asked to give an indication of what "size" he was when a certain event happened. He then might compare himself with someone in the village. Or he could relate the

event with other events such as if he was married at the time, how many children he had, or if he was initiated. By doing this with several informants, it was my goal to get accurate dates of particular events, e.g. occurrences of marriages and warfare deaths.

Many of the events referred to in this thesis occurred in the not too distant past, but the exact details about them have been forgotten or were unable to be collected. Under these circumstances, frequencies of events, summations of individual cases, rather than single cases themselves will be analyzed. Of necessity, the discussions will deal with classes of events only minimally controlled through time. By doing this, marriage events have been treated as statistics, and women as goods to be manipulated, rather than examining the purpose, alternatives, and individual considerations of each political contract. Warfare, also, has been reduced to an event with little direct references into the nuances of decisions and risks involved and the phenomenology of the participants. But it is unlikely that first-hand accounts of these behaviors can be studied today. I have been fortunate enough to record the past before it has been forgotten completely.

In order of importance, the main sources of information were from: formal interviews, informal interviews and casual conversations, and lastly, my own limited observations. The major sources of unreliability and bias in the data

probably are a result of the persistent use of translators and the use of a limited number of informants who were non-randomly selected. Where it is necessary for the reader to know how other specific information was gathered, these techniques will be described in other sections.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIAL GROUPS: DEFINITIONAL ATTRIBUTES

Although the history of fieldwork in the New Guinea Highlands has been relatively short, there has emerged a great variety of terms for different kinds and levels of social groups. Part of this history may be explained by the fact that early researchers simply used terminology which was appropriate for African social groups, but not entirely applicable to New Guinea groups (Barnes 1962). Much previous emphasis has been placed on the structural and kinship recruitment principles of groups, while the implications of group membership for the individual has been neglected (Lepervanche 1967; 1968).

In this chapter, social groups in Tauna will be defined according to specific ideological and behavioral attributes, Robbins' (1970) terminology and presentation is followed. His discussion dealt with social units among the Auyana speakers of the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea. According to Robbins (1970: 43), the attributes by which groups were defined for this purpose were initially stated to him by his informants, and therefore, they represent a way in which they see themselves or attempt to present themselves to outsiders. The emphasis of this approach is on political, legal, and economic group attributes applicable to membership, not simply on modes of recruitment.

Social Groups: Definitional Attributes

A summary of some of the terms used by different writers to describe levels of social groups in New Guinea and their characteristics is presented in Table 1 (from Brown 1967: 50-1). As can be seen there is much diversity in the use of terms and how they are defined. Brown (1967: 49) concludes that:

Units called by the same name differ in size and in the many criteria of corporate activity; co-ordinated activity of the largest groups varies in type and frequency. Thus some scholars regard the main political unit as a clan, having occasional joint activities with other clans of the same tribe or phratry, while other scholars consider the tribe as the most important political unit even though the component clans frequently take independent action.

In order to facilitate comparison, a single set of terms and attributes will be used in this study. For the Auyana, three main levels of social groups are described (Robbins 1970): the sovereignty, the pooling unit, and the sub-pooling unit. (Unless otherwise specified, all references in this section will be to Robbins 1970.)

The sovereignty is roughly equivalent to social groups in Table 1 listed as the phratry, district, great clan, clan cluster, and parish. The pooling unit is similar to what has been described as a hamlet, patrilineage, clan, subclan-ward, and subclan; the sub-pooling unit is regarded as the same as smaller units within the pooling unit or its terminological equivalent. Outside of population and group composition descriptions, there are only 7 other

TABLE 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THIRTEEN HIGHLANDS SOCIETIES

<i>People</i>	<i>Main Units</i>	<i>Population/ Composition</i>	<i>Territory or Localization</i>	<i>Belief in Common Agnatic Descent</i>	<i>Exogamy</i>	<i>Ceremony</i>	<i>Fighting Unit</i>	<i>Restriction on Internal Fighting</i>	<i>Alliance with Larger Group</i>
SOUTH FORE	subclan		+	+	+			+	+
	hamlet	12-20 houses 2-4 subclans	+	+			+	+	+
	clan-parish phratry	several hamlets 3-10 clans	+	+	-	large food distribution	+	+	some some
KAMANO USURUFA JATE	patrilineage		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	clan-village	12-20 houses, 1 or more lineages	+	+	+	+	+ defence	-	some
	district	50-480 pop.	+		-	age grade, pig feast	+ offence	-	changeable
BENA BENA	subclan		+	+	+		+	+	+
	clan	ca. 230 pop.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	tribe	2-5 clans		-	-	initiations pig feast			
GAHUKU- GAMA	subclan	village or village section	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	clan	1 or more villages-100 pop.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	sub-tribe	200-500 pop.	+	+	+	initiation, pig feast	+	feud	-
	tribe	2 sub-tribes	+	+	-		+	feud	some
GURURUMBA	subclan	village	+	+	+	arrange marriage	+	+	+
	clan	67-587 pop.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	tribe	2-6 clans	+	+	-	pig feast	-	+	+ fixed
SIANE	subclan-ward		+	+	+	+		+	+
	clan-village	200 pop.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	phratry sub-tribe	2-3 clans	+	+	+	3 year	+	feud	+
	tribe	2-9 clans, 400-1500 pop.	+	+	-	pig feast		feud	

TABLE 1 continued.

CENTRAL CHIMBU	subclan	50-250 pop.	scattered in clan	+	+	arrange marriage	+	+	+
	clan	av. 600-700 pop.	several blocks in tribe	+	+	some exchanges	+	slight	+
	tribe	av. 2400 pop.	+	part, some	-	pig & food distribution	+	-	occasional
	phratry	2-9 clans	-	+	-		-	-	-
KUMA	subclan	50-500 pop.	+	+	+	arrange marriage	+	+	+
	clan-parish	100-1700 pop.	+	+	+	pig, nut feasts	+	+	some: brother clan
	phratry	2-9 clans	-	+	-		-	-	-
MBOWAMB & HAGEN	subclan		+	+	+	+ ceremonial grounds	+	+	+
	clan	30-395 pop.	+	+	+	+	+	+	
	tribe	700-3500 pop. 258 men	+		-	+ pig feast	+	+	some
KYAKA ENGA	settlement					ceremonial grounds	+	+	+
	clan-parish	50-550 pop.	+	+	+	fertility, initiation	+	+	+
	great clan	av. 800 pop.	some	+	+	some	some	+	changeable
CENTRAL ENGA	subclan	av. 90 pop.	partly localized	+	+	+	+	+	+
	clan	2-7 sub-clans, av. 350 pop.	+	+	+	fertility	+	-	occasional
	phratry	4-19 clans, av. 2290 pop.	+	+	some	fertility	occasional	-	occasional
MENDI	subclan	1-100		+	+	payments	+	+	+
	clan	2-6 subclans	+	some	+	+	+	+	+
	clan cluster	2-4 clans	+	some	+ most	+	+	some	changeable
HULI	parish section		+	+ cognatic	+	+	+	some	+
	parish	500	+	+ agnatic	+	+	+	some	changeable

KEY—

+ Characteristic present.
Some characteristics present in some groups only.

- Characteristic absent.
Where information is not available the space is left blank.

defining characteristics listed; none of these are discussed at length. Thus, it would be difficult to be more definitive concerning the exact equivalents of the terms used for Auyana social units, since other group characteristics are not mentioned by other authors. As will be argued in this chapter, several other important politico-economic attributes can be added to and identified with different group levels. In many previous studies, these attributes have been neglected to the inclusion of genealogical and territorial criteria.

A sovereignty is "the largest social unit whose members help one another in fights with outsiders and who are taken as a legal unit by outsiders" (p. 6). The sovereignty has 14 attributes each of which will be described as they apply to adult males and secondarily to adult females in Tauna. A member of a sovereignty, or unit within the sovereignty, is defined as one who has obligations and interests to act on behalf of the sovereignty and is subject to all the economic and politico-legal obligations which are implied in it. These obligations are imposed on him, in different ways from coercion to insult, by other group members. In terms of Robbins' (1970: 6) analysis, there are both "pressures" and "demands" made upon group members by other members. This definition implies nothing about the actual degree to which individuals actively or passively participate in group events.

Sovereignty Attribute #1: Having one name.

The name of the sovereignty under study is Tauna.

In Administrative parlance this refers to a village and census unit. Among the Awa language speakers, the use of this term designates both an area of land and the people who live on it. Depending upon what level of social grouping was specified, at the beginning of fieldwork informants would answer "Tauna" to the questions, "Where do you live?" and "Who is that person?"

Individuals were said to be a member of only one sovereignty at a time, but membership could change through migration or adoption. In most instances, the sovereignty name for a person was the same as the sovereignty in which he was born. The two main exceptions are males who migrated in or migrated out of Tauna. Males who migrated to Tauna when young, and have perhaps married a Tauna woman, and participate in activities associated with sovereignty membership are said to be members of Tauna. When specific histories of the movements of individuals between sovereignties was elicited, different sovereignty names were sometimes applied to a particular individual. But it should be stressed that the description of a person's migration history is different from his present sovereignty membership name which has political, legal, and economic implications.

Women presently residing in Tauna were described as

being members of Tauna only if they were born there; all other women from other sovereignties who married Tauna members were considered as members of their natal sovereignty. It is uncertain regarding the degree to which in-marrying women retained ties with their natal sovereignty. In Tauna, some non-Tauna women visited their natal sovereignties about once a month, while others almost never did so. Some older married women and widows seemed to fully participate in activities and garden in two sovereignties. In some cases, widows who have married men in other sovereignties may return, temporarily, to their natal sovereignty to live. This apparent ambiguous status (to the ethnographer) appears to be due to government contact and the curbing of overt hostility between sovereignties, allowing individuals to move more freely between sovereignties without the fear of being killed. At any rate, in-marrying women were always designated as being from their natal sovereignty. Whether they should then accurately be called members of their natal sovereignty, more than in name, is not clear. It is obvious, however, that they were obliged to participate economically and socially in those activities of their sovereignty of residence, especially ones which involved their husband's pooling unit.

Women resided with their husbands after marriage and had personal rights to gardening land belonging to him.

Women who were widowed or divorced and returned to their natal sovereignty resumed rights to the forest and land of that sovereignty.

Sovereignty Attribute #2: Having one "totem," usually a plant or animal species.

The Tauna Awa made no claim and had no myths about sharing a single totem. In this respect, they differed from the Auyana.

Sovereignty Attribute #3: Having one forest and one ground.

Forest land was available to everyone, especially males, in the sovereignty for hunting. The forest also was exploited by women who collected "wild" foods such as mushrooms, nuts, and edible greens. Rivers which flowed through Tauna territory, and animals including small fish, eels, and frogs which could be caught in or near them, were claimed by Tauna.

Land ownership and land use appear to be different in Tauna compared to the Auyana, although Robbins does not present specific information on land tenure. In Tauna, most of the land is divided into named plots which are owned by certain groups of individuals, usually pooling units (see Chapter 3). Rights to gardening land were normally open to sovereignty and pooling unit members, and since there was no real shortage of land in Tauna, these rules were sometimes flexible.

Infractions of the above rules regarding land and forest use usually involve prosecution by the sovereignty as a whole against the offending individuals of another sovereignty. At present, the severity of prosecution varies. In the past, it may not have been so slight. Generally, if persons from another sovereignty are caught chasing a wild pig on land belonging to Tauna, they will have rights to that pig; they cannot begin the pig hunt on Tauna land. Usually, arguments over the ownership of wild pigs (which are rare) are handled by the hunters who share the catch with the host sovereignty.

One offense of property rights in Tauna was observed concerning an eel which was not shared. A man from a nearby sovereignty caught an eel in one of the rivers which ran through Tauna, and he was later seen cooking and eating it by himself. He was confronted with this accusation and brought to court¹ in Tauna. An argument over the ownership of the eel started, and the man was beaten up by several Tauna men who also demanded payment. A fight between the man's sovereignty and Tauna was threatened, but it never ensued.

Sovereignty Attribute #4: They were all those who lived

¹There was no traditional court. Court in this sense refers to a hearing and discussion by an elected village councillor or committee members which may be held informally in Tauna or, in more serious cases, at the Sub-District Office in Okapa.

in one place.

Individuals who were designated as being members of Tauna and participated in Tauna activities, also lived within the boundaries of Tauna. But Tauna membership (subject to fulfilling economic and political obligations) was not automatically granted to every person who migrated or lived within Tauna. Temporary residence was distinguished from the intention to live in Tauna permanently. Persons who migrated in to live with friends for a while, for whatever reason, usually would be allotted gardening land and were expected to do their own work rather than live off the labor and good will of others indefinitely. These rights were forfeited on their movement back to another sovereignty. The same is true for men whose natal birthplace was Tauna. Upon their movement to another sovereignty, and depending upon what intentions they had, they would give up their membership in Tauna either temporarily or permanently.

Sons of fathers who settled in Tauna from other sovereignties invariably acquired membership obligations within Tauna, since their fathers probably became Tauna members within their own lifetimes. In questioning informants about the history of individual migrations, they would often mention pejoratively that another individual was "really" from another place. This was done, perhaps, to stress the difference between "ascribed" and "achieved"

status within Tauna. Although there was no observable differences in participation in social activities between persons who had lived there as long as one could remember and persons who had just migrated in permanently, this distinction might be used, for example, in settling land claims or gardening rights within Tauna, but no cases of this kind arose while in the field.

Men from Tawaina (an adjacent sovereignty) whose fathers or fathers' fathers had migrated there from Tauna many years earlier, occasionally visited Tauna. Tauna informants would sometimes describe these men and their ancestors as "Tauna men." Interestingly, most of these statements were made in certain social contexts where the pooling or distribution of wealth took place. When asked if these men could come to live and make a garden in Tauna, the invariable response was yes. Whereas a complete outsider must prove his good intentions in staying with another sovereignty, it appears that persons whose ancestors migrated out seem to retain a sympathetic hold in certain interests. They sometimes come to help in bride-wealth and death payments and act as if they were long-time members of Tauna. In other personal histories, however, men who have moved out or sons of these men were described as akin to traitors. Although there seems to be some membership ambiguity here in the economic sphere, there is little doubt that men who reside in other sovereignties can

only be classified as belonging to, i.e. being politico-legal members of, the sovereignty where they were born or where their father migrated.

The categorization of members is more obvious when individuals have been routed from Tauna and have moved to other sovereignties. Virtually all relationships with Tauna, including visitation, are terminated. One previous member of Tauna was forced to run away to Elakia (a nearby sovereignty) after a fight in which he killed another Tauna man. He still lives in Elakia and apparently does not visit Tauna for fear of being killed or sorcerized since his offense, by New Guinea standards, was relatively recent (within the last 20 years).

The point remains to be stressed that a description of the histories of individuals' movements is different from where they actually have political, legal, and economic obligations and interests. In Tauna, there was no disagreement among informants that every male presently living in Tauna was a member of Tauna sovereignty, subject to sovereignty obligations, regardless of whether he was born there or not. This seems to be a more flexible situation than the Auyana case (p. 47).

Sovereignty Attribute #5: When they got into a fight with one another, they did not shoot to kill.

In Auyana, stick fighting was said to be more common within the sovereignty, but if arrows were used, men did

not shoot to kill. In Tauna, fighting and murder within the sovereignty was comparatively more frequent. Robbins (p. 281) records three murders within Auyana during the pre-contact period (1920-1952). For roughly the same period, there were 13 deaths attributed to violence within Tauna where both the victim and murderer were members of Tauna. Of these killings, only one was caused by stick fighting.

The main difference between fights within the sovereignty, as opposed to between sovereignties, was that the former tended to arise from specific disputes between individuals. These fights seldom escalated in much larger skirmishes. When it was known that two people within the sovereignty were physically attacking each other, another sovereignty member would usually try to stop it; this was not normal procedure for fights between sovereignties in which case direct confrontation was even encouraged. Therefore, most in-sovereignty confrontations ideally brought about intervention by a third party also from within the sovereignty.

Where injuries occurred in a fight within the sovereignty, peace offerings were usually made before more persons were involved. Both sides cooked and exchanged pigs with one another. When someone was killed, the killer usually ran to another sovereignty for temporary or permanent residence. Compensation payment, in shells sewn to strips of bark, had to be paid by the murderer to the pooling unit

of the victim before he could return. When murderer and victim were members of the same pooling unit, payment was made to other members of the pooling unit, primarily to the victim's sub-pooling unit. In most cases, other sovereignty and pooling unit members, as well as friends and affines of the murderer, helped pool shells for him to deliver the compensation payment so that he could return to his home sovereignty if he was forced to flee.

Arguments between husbands and wives are a major cause of physical violence within the sovereignty which frequently results in injuries. Male informants generally were consistent in reporting that the reason a man beat up his wife was that she did not usually obey his orders. Of the five cases of males killing females within the sovereignty, two of them were the result of husbands who had killed their wives in a rage of anger.

One case involved a husband and wife who were always arguing and fighting. One day the husband was said to have found a small piece of a woman's bark skirt in his cooked greens; this is seen as a positive indication that she was trying to sorcerize him. Prosecution of this alledged offense was direct. The next day, as she carried sweet potatoes back from her gardens, he shot her in the back with three arrows.

The man consequently fled to Ilesa (a nearby sovereignty of Fore language speakers) because of the danger of being killed by men in his wife's pooling unit. He later returned with compensation payment.

In the second case, a man shot his wife with arrows when she refused to copulate with him. He ran away to Yagusa (another Fore sovereignty), and later returned with shells for his wife's pooling unit.

It is apparent from these examples that other members of the husband's pooling unit are not considered to be jointly responsible for the murder of the husband's wife. Clearly, under these circumstances, the pooling unit is not always considered to be a legal unit where any individual within the unit may be prosecuted for an offense committed by any other individual.

Sovereignty Attribute #6: If sovereignty members fought against each other, when they finished, they would meet, prepare an earth oven, and share cooked pig and vegetables.

Peace-making overtures between individuals and groups after fights within the sovereignty was a standard way of settling hostilities. However, there is no indication from the Tauna data which suggests in how many cases such a feast did take place.

In addition to the sharing of food, the payment of shells had to be made from the murderer to the victim's

pooling unit. The death of the murderer years later was attributed to sorcery performed by the victim's pooling unit.

Generally, another feature of in-sovereignty fighting was that revenge, particularly another killing, was not regarded as an acceptable solution to the problem caused by the first killing. The attitudes surrounding group membership and violent behavior is thus quite different from inter-sovereignty fighting where revenge killing is regarded as one of the major principles of how sovereignties curtail fighting by "evening" the score. In addition, there are no cases that are known where one sovereignty attempted to offer another sovereignty compensation payment when they had killed one of their members.

Sovereignty Attribute #7: Sovereignty members did not work sorcery on one another.

In actual practice, the fear of having sorcery performed on themselves, or being accused of making sorcery within the sovereignty was always present. Informants did not usually deny that sorcery within the sovereignty was and still is being practiced.²

Sorcery (wataka) invariably involves the casting of spells in which the victim's name is called out. The

²Tauna differs in this respect from both Elakia and Auyana (Newman, personal communication). The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but some suggestions are made at the end of this chapter.

sorcerer makes his intention clear whether the victim should be maimed or die immediately. Spells are used with certain objects such as magical leaves, cassowary bones, lizards, or the victim's food discards or body wastes. Sorcery is practiced in great secrecy and by lone individuals. Great precautions are made to remain unnoticed and anonymous before and after sorcery is conducted both so that the spell will be effective and the identity of the sorcerer will be unknown, making revenge impossible.

Women, as well as men in Tauna, practice sorcery, although their techniques differ. Women mainly use the victim's food discards (e.g. sweet potato skins, chewed bits of sugar cane) which they bury under the ground in the menstrual hut. Even more directly, a woman may put her pubic hair or vaginal secretions in the victim's food and offer it to him to eat. Sickness and death sorcery are performed by the same techniques.

A variety of divination methods are used to discover whether or not a death is the result of sorcery. (These specialized methods will not be discussed in detail here.) Divination is not always successful and does not always indicate the group of the sorcerer or reveal his identity. To be accepted as successful, several different divination techniques must be performed many times with the same outcome. Usually, the sovereignty of the sorcerer is located first, then his pooling unit, and lastly, he may be

identified. The divination may cease with the positive identification of any specific group or individual. The frequency of the use of divination techniques is dependent upon the importance of the person who died and the reason for his/her death. It is deemed more important to discover the sorcerer of adult married males than any other category of persons. Divination is commonly practiced when a person dies abruptly, as a result of a debilitating sickness, or in accidents such as falling from a tree, being bitten by a snake, or, for women, in childbirth. Old age is recognized as a natural cause of death and divination is not practiced in these circumstances.

Table 2 shows the sex relationship between sorcerer and victim for all known deaths within Tauna where both participants were members of Tauna. The earliest reliable sorcery case recorded was in the 1930's. The 15 sorcery deaths within Tauna, caused by another Tauna member, represent 20% (15/76) of all sorcery deaths; other Tauna sorcery deaths were caused by persons outside sovereignties. There were no cases of sorcerer and victim being members of the same pooling unit. The "antagonism" between sexes (Meggitt 1964; Langness 1967) seems to be reflected in the number of sorcery deaths between the sexes.

Sorcery has been banned recently in New Guinea by a new bill passed by the House of Assembly which "calls for prison sentences for persons claiming to be sorcerers or

TABLE 2

SORCERY DEATHS WITHIN TAUNA

(1930-70)

<u>Sex Relationship of Victim/Sorcerer</u>	<u>No. of Deaths (Percent)</u>	
Male/Male	4	(27%)
Male/Female	3	(20%)
Male/Unknown	1	(6%)
Female/Male	7	(47%)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	TOTAL 15	(100%)

attempting to work "magic" (Chicago Tribune 1971). During my stay in Tauna, it was apparent that sorcery accusations still took place, but it was not certain whether the actual practice of casting spells with magical objects still existed. Later, the results of a sorcery case were made apparent which involved the snakebite deaths of two men one night. Needless to say, this event was spectacular, not only in terms of its low probability of occurrence, but by the fact that the snake (a death adder) had crawled into the men's house at night and had bitten a father and son. There was no doubt among the villagers that sorcery was deliberately directed to those two.

An examination of the men's house in the presence of an Australian patrol officer, who happened to be taking a census, showed that an object of sorcery was actually hidden in the inside of the roof of the men's house. This apparently did not seem to surprise the people of Tauna.

Comparable figures for sorcery deaths within Auyana are not given, but it is suspected that in Tauna the frequency of sorcery, like murders, is much higher for reasons stated at the end of this chapter.

Although sovereignty members ideally were said not to harm one another, no individual involved in a sorcery accusation was ever banished from the sovereignty. But in several cases, revenge sorcery was said to be performed, and it was the preferred alternative to physical violence.

Sovereignty Attribute #8: Sovereignty members did not give "wealth" to one another for revenging the death of one of their members.

"Wealth" in this context refers to cooked pig, bows and arrows, feathers and shells. Revenge killing was a normal and predictable part of the conduct of warfare between sovereignties. Therefore, all members within a sovereignty, especially male members, were obligated to revenge the death of one of their members, since the sovereignty was defined as the largest inclusive politico-legal unit.

Allies, men from other sovereignties, who helped revenge a death would be paid. For simply helping, they might be given cooked pig and shells. They also would be eligible for participating in the "victory feast."

Sovereignty Attribute #9: Following a fight between sovereignties, each sovereignty would hold a feast which involved their members only.

This is a "victory celebration" which took place among the Auyana "most" of the time. There are several conditions which can be added for the Tauna Awa. "Victory" in itself was an unstable, transitory condition; it was never a permanent political or military statement of fact. One day Tauna might be considered to be the victors and held a feast (if they had the time and energy), while the next day many of them might have been killed,

and thus, they would qualify as the "losers."

This attribute applies mainly when the whole sovereignty or a large part of it is involved in the actual fighting. The position regarding small raids and ambushes in which people of other sovereignties were killed is not clear. On these occasions, only two or three men may have been responsible. It may be possible that a small feast was held under these conditions, although there is no data to suggest that this was so.

For the Auyana, Sovereignty Attributes #1-9 were said to distinguish sovereignties from one another, but not lower levels within the sovereignty (i.e. pooling units and sub-pooling units). Sovereignty Attributes #10-14 can be applied to sovereignties as well as to lower level units.

Sovereignty Attribute #10: Sovereignty members collectively sent wealth, or at least pigs, to those outside the sovereignty who helped them in fights against other sovereignties.

The collection of wealth is referred to as "pooling," and, for the Auyana, the wealth collected for warfare aid was the only such pooling activity involving the whole sovereignty. Other poolings were associated with lower levels (p. 52).

"Help" in this context implies physical support only. But as will be maintained here, there was a variety of other behaviors which could be also construed as "help" or

at least support. Normally when physical support was sought and given, a celebration with cooked food and pigs was held.

It could be assumed that the actual recruitment and payment to individuals of other sovereignties was more of an individual and small group affair, and therefore, was dependent upon friendship and alliance ties, rather than a permanent inter-sovereignty agreement. The exact number of allies recruited in warfare from outside sovereignties was uncertain. When asked how many men helped them in a certain fight, informants would sometimes say all of a certain sovereignty or, alternatively, when asked to name persons, they would only give a few names. It seems that "some," rather than all, individuals of a given sovereignty were available for help. The same was true for Tauna: they rarely went as a whole to help other sovereignties, although some men may have been more eager to help others dependent upon ties of friendship and affinity.

Sovereignty Attribute #11: Sovereignty members were one akum or one anda (in Auyana).

There were no accurate data collected from the Tauna Awa which suggests the use of a special "group" term (similar to the Auyana term) for the sovereignty as a whole outside of the sovereignty name, Tauna.³ Group terms

³One Awa term collected, namo' namo', was translated as "village". The informant also listed other sovereignties by this name. There was no comparable entry in Loving's (n.d.a) Awa-English dictionary.

were used only at lower levels within the sovereignty (see the discussion under Pooling Unit Attribute #10).

The remaining sovereignty attributes deal with the prosecution of offenses. Since there was no traditional "court" to adjudicate disputes, individuals, in prosecuting offenses, could only confront each other directly in a variety of ways ranging from overt physical violence to non-involvement.

Sovereignty Attribute #12: Members of a sovereignty demanded and received help from fellow members in prosecuting any of the following offenses committed against them from outside the sovereignty.

1. When outsiders attempted to use their forest for any purpose except hunting. For Tauna, the exception of hunting cannot be added. Disputes did occur when men of one sovereignty followed wild pigs into the forest of another sovereignty. Wild pigs as well as other marsupials which lived in the forest within Tauna boundaries were considered to be Tauna property.
2. When outsiders attempted to use their garden land. Since all garden land was owned primarily at the pooling unit level, the prosecution of this type of offense would seem to rest first on the pooling unit. However, no major fights regarding the abuse of this rule occurred between Tauna and other sovereignties.
3. When an outsider was caught burning or robbing

a member's house. No incidents of this kind were collected in Tauna until after a major fight between sovereignties had already begun. Thus, it cannot be determined exactly what course of action might be taken, although it would be guessed that incidents of this kind could escalate into inter-sovereignty warfare.

4. When an outsider was caught stealing a member's pig. This was a major cause of fights between sovereignties. However, a specific person did not necessarily have to be observed for prosecution to begin. A sovereignty could simply suspect a man of stealing a pig, or a curer could be consulted to "see" where a lost pig had gone. When this happened, a sovereignty would assume that another sovereignty was responsible for the offense, and the accusations of theft could be enough to start off a round of insults and perhaps physical hostility, or it may have caused the offended sovereignty to commit a similar offense.

5. When an outsider was attempting to make sorcery on a member and was caught. There were no cases reported in Tauna of a person actually being caught attempting to make sorcery against another person.

6. When a member was attacked by someone in hiding. Usually ambush attacking and fighting was not done unless some previous incident had caused there to be

open hostility between sovereignties. In these events, the sovereignty would attempt to counter these attacks by acts of a similar kind.

7. When an outsider had sexual intercourse with the wife of any member, the husband, with helpers, would go and shoot, but not kill, the offender of another sovereignty. As far as could be determined, this did not usually happen in Tauna, since a man did not normally feel strong enough to physically attack a member of another sovereignty in that person's sovereignty. He would be at a great disadvantage to do so. A more frequent alternative would be for the husband to shoot his wife, usually in the legs in order not to kill her. He would also wait for the adulterer to come again and would attack him, by shooting him in the legs, in his own sovereignty when the evidence for adultery was more obvious.

8. When an outsider killed a member by sorcery or physical attack, members would attempt to kill someone in the sovereignty of the killer. Despite divination practices, it was not common for members to know exactly what person in another sovereignty had sorcerized another person. In cases where the sorcerer was identified, Tauna informants insisted that counter-sorcery rather than physical aggression was practiced.

In warfare, it was more obvious to determine what

sovereignty and what individual had done the killing. When this happened, revenge killing was attempted by the sovereignty of the killed person, but not necessarily on the killer himself (see Chapter 5).

9. When members of a sovereignty were involved in a fight which erupted into a "big" fight (i.e. when the enemy was attempting to kill them, were beating them, or outnumbered them) others in the sovereignty would go to their aid. This is referred to as the "escalation clause."

One point to make clear is that most occurrences of the offenses outlined above, single individuals, rather than groups, were the source of trouble. When these offenses against members of a sovereignty by members of another sovereignty escalated into larger combat, there was a definite support hierarchy. The most support came from a man's nearest relatives and friends from whom he could probably make demands without exerting great pressure. Once a man has received support beyond his own pooling unit, it can safely be assumed that the other side has also done so, or will do so shortly. Obligations to help any and every member of the sovereignty were necessary for survival reasons (as well as being an attribute of group membership), but the extent to which each individual participated in the prosecution of specific offenses is not known.

Given the tendency for most offenses (except killing) not to escalate quickly into full-scale fighting, it is maintained that the types of offenses outlined above (numbers 1-7, and 8 partially) could equally be considered as Pooling Unit Attributes (see especially #12). They would remain at that level unless the fight escalated (number 9), but by that time, there may be additional factors which have increased the degree of hostility.

Sovereignty Attribute #13: Regardless of whether they always went to help one another in prosecuting the above offenses, members of the sovereignty initially said that no one of them would ever help those in another sovereignty in a fight against those in their own sovereignty.

This was not without exception for the Auyana, but members who did help other groups were unable to remain members of Auyana. It seems that a more important rule to follow was not to help other sovereignties in a fight rather than to always help one's own sovereignty in a fight (p.60).

The use of the term "help" in the above discussion seems to center around the mobilization and use of physical support. If, however, the term is extended to include other aspects of help such as verbal warnings, deliberately sparing friends, not fighting certain outside groups, hiding or securing safety for members of other sovereignties, then it can be argued that these were quite regular features of inter-sovereignty warfare, but not those that are commonly

documented.

During fights, women were said to have gone into the bush or on a nearby mountain to watch. Although they were not directly involved in the fighting, women could exert unusual influences in the fighting. One case in Tauna indicates how men might have explained their own inefficiency in warfare by blaming a woman. The last fight between Tauna and Kawaina #2 (a nearby sovereignty of Auyana speakers) resulted in four Tauna deaths and none in Kawaina #2. Independent informants told of how a mother of one of the dead men deliberately took small pieces of a string-like vine, used in fastening the arrowhead to the shaft, and placed it in the ground of the menstrual hut. Women who went in the hut menstruated and urinated on it, thus making it "cold." Because she did this, the strings on all of the arrows of Tauna were said to be "cold." Tauna men who shot at Kawaina #2 men could not hit their targets. The woman was said to have done this because she felt sorry for one of her sons who had been killed. She wanted to wait until other Tauna men were killed, so that others in the sovereignty would feel her grief, before she removed the vine.

This story could not be verified with this woman, since she died in the 1950's of old age. No attempt was made at physical revenge nor was she chased out of the sovereignty. Her behavior though could be described as

both a help to Kawaina #2 and a hindrance to Tauna. Had a male member of Tauna been accused of a similar act, he most certainly would have been punished, if not killed.

Sovereignty Attribute #14: The members of a sovereignty were a legal unit (i.e. any one of them might be retaliated against) when one of their members killed someone in another sovereignty.

Ideally, whenever an offense was committed, it would be the policy to punish the specific offender if he was identifiable. But if an offense was committed by a member of another sovereignty and that offender was not known, then all those in the sovereignty were generally held responsible. The next step in prosecuting the offense concerned what targets were available and which ones were preferred, if any. The actual social characteristics of warfare victims will be examined in Chapter 5.

It is unclear whether women from other sovereignties who married into Tauna were considered to be legal members, by the above definition, of Tauna or their natal sovereignty. It appears that women in other sovereignties were acceptable targets for revenge except women in one's own sovereignty who were sent out to be married. There are no cases of this kind in Tauna where a woman from Tauna, residing with her husband in another sovereignty, was deliberately killed.

The opposite situation did take place however when a

group of Tauna men killed a Tawaina woman who was married to and lived with her Tauna husband. One day she and her daughter (who was a Tauna member) went to Tawaina to visit at a time when there was hostility between the two places. Several Tauna men knowingly ambushed them and killed both the mother and the daughter. This was said to be revenge against Tawaina indicating, unambiguously, that in-marrying women are thought to be legal members of their natal sovereignty.

There are two other pooling events in which all of the members of Tauna are said to be collective participants. These are not mentioned for the Auyana. Below these events will be described briefly for the Tauna Awa.

The first event is when the women of the sovereignty leave and visit another sovereignty, usually when one of them has just given birth to a deformed child or dead fetus. This event is called aroiya.

To justify their behavior, the women as a whole become collectively "angry" at the men and leave for several days. Twelve women from Abomatasa (a Fore sovereignty) were observed when they came to Tauna for this reason. Tauna, as the host sovereignty, made two different earth ovens at two different hamlets. The gift pooling and distribution at one hamlet included: bows, arrows, newspapers (for cigarettes), soap, matches, strips of bark, pieces of cloth, a chicken and A\$12 in cash. The pooling consisted of most

of the adult men gathering their gifts and piling them in one area of the hamlet, making a deliberate effort to be seen contributing to the pile. Later, it was reported, all of these public gifts were brought back to their home sovereignty and distributed among the males there. In addition to these gifts which are publicly given and distributed to the women, individuals also gave personal gifts to certain women.

These gifts of food and goods should be returned in a similar way. Two weeks later 15 Tauna women went to Abomatasa to collect the expected payment. A few days prior to this, a wild pig was killed by the men of Tauna who cooked it and ate it by themselves. The women used this as an excuse to be "angry." The women returned from Abomatasa the next day with no payments, since an Abomatasa man had recently died, and the people there said that they could not think of making a return payment during the period of mourning. Therefore, no observations were made of the way in which the gifts to be received would have been distributed within the sovereignty.

The second pooling event concerning the sovereignty as a whole is when one sovereignty invites another sovereignty to come and eat food, ostensibly because the invited sovereignty is lacking in a certain kind of food. Food is cooked and distributed on a specified kunai (sharp grass) mountain. There is singing, and the distribution of food

may also include the killing of pigs. There is no quantified data on how many men killed their pigs for these affairs which were done on behalf of the sovereignty. Goods are not exchanged publicly, but they may be done so privately.

There is no information on the history of these poolings (inki) for Tauna, but their occurrence seems to be dwindling. The last inki between Tauna and Tawaina took place about eight years ago. This distribution of food was later repaid. The last inki between Tauna and Elakia involved a pig killing by Elakia; this was said to have occurred in pre-contact times (before 1950). A major fight broke out between Tauna and Kawaina #2 the last time they prepared to exchange food in the late 1940's. There have been no identical events since.

This concludes the discussion of Tauna sovereignty attributes. An examination of Tauna pooling unit attributes now follows.

Pooling Unit Attributes

This discussion is a continuation of Robbins' presentation of Auyana pooling unit attributes. Each attribute will be described as it pertains to the Tauna Awa. Tauna sovereignty is divided into five named pooling units (for a further discussion refer to Chapter 3).

Pooling Unit Attribute #1: They did not fight to kill and usually fought with sticks, not arrows.

As noted for the Auyana (p. 72), individuals were expected to be less likely to harm or kill other persons in the same pooling unit than in the sovereignty as a whole. When fights and killings did occur, those actions (also discussed under Sovereignty Attribute #5) which invariably took place were: an attempt to stop the fight, an attempt to reduce the possibility of a revenge killing, and the payment of compensation in shells from the murderer to the dead person's pooling unit.

Pooling Unit Attribute #2: Their sons and daughters did not marry each other.

Pooling units among the Tauna Awa are the largest exogamous grouping. There are also marriage prohibitions and preferences outside the pooling unit which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

There was one noted exception to this attribute. It involved a man who was said to have married his "sister", although she was not a biological one but a member of the same pooling unit. It is important to point out that the man, himself, was not a natal member of Tauna, but had moved to Tauna when his mother remarried a Tauna man. He was born in another sovereignty, but by residence was acquiring Tauna sovereignty membership. He did not pay bride-wealth when he married his wife whose first husband was killed in a fight within Tauna. He resided with and was considered to be a member of a Tauna pooling unit for the

rest of his life.

Pooling Unit Attribute #3: They used each other's daughters as exchanges for wives for their sons.

Ideally marriage in Tauna was a reciprocal arrangement. Pooling unit elders would frequently talk about the perceived imbalance between groups, and this might be one factor, according to informants, in determining whether a wife should be sent to another pooling unit or not. This is not to imply a mechanical process for the selection of spouses in marriage, for as will be discussed in Chapter 4, these decisions were contingent upon other variables besides where elder pooling unit males chose to marry their daughters.

Pooling Unit Attribute #4: When a man's wife had a miscarriage, pooling unit members gathered to perform a ceremony for the husband, followed by the consumption of a pig.

Like the Auyana, this ceremony in Tauna was restricted to initiated and married males only. The husband in question would be taken to a special part of the river, designated by the ancestors, where root crops and pig would be cooked in an earth oven and in bamboo tubes.

While the Auyana were said to "cut" the glans penis of the husband, the two cases personally witnessed in Tauna involved men who had their glans penis "shot" with a small bow and arrow with a stone tip. Moreover other portions of

the man's body were shot and made to bleed: the upper arms, the lower back, the backs of the legs, above the ankles, and lastly, the glans penis which was shot twice on either side of the urethral opening. In Tauna, cutting the penis in the same two places with a bamboo sliver or a razor blade is done only on unmarried but initiated boys and newly married men.

After the penis shooting, the man is made "hot" by smoking him over a fire. This is done either by him lying on a bed of leaves and bamboos which is shoved back and forth over the flames by other men or he may alternatively jump over the smoke and rub himself with the smoke from the fires.

The explanation for this ceremony among the Auyana (p. 74) was that the men claimed that most miscarriages were due to the fact that the men had intercourse with a pregnant woman. There was a chance then that the man, himself, might become pregnant by the fetus entering his stomach through the penis. His "pregnancy" becomes noticeable when his stomach enlarges and protrudes (this is probably due to the effects of dysentery).

For this reason, the "fetal blood-water" has to be drained so that the man might survive. The Tauna Awa also gave a similar explanation for the presence of enlarged stomachs among males. However, they also gave an alternative explanation for the performance of this particular

ceremony, since other men simply observing the main event, like the Auyana, had their penises shot so that their blood would be drained too. There was no clear relationship between the husband having an enlarged stomach and his wife having a miscarriage.

In the two ceremonies observed, the facts showed some variation. In the first case, a woman had given birth to a still-born fetus. (She later died too, but the ceremony was performed before this.) The still-born fetus' death was attributed to the ghost (wanta) of a man who attacked the pregnant woman when she was cutting bamboo at the place where this man was buried. Tauna informants insisted that procreation involves both the man and wife. Both are responsible for "no good" (i.e. deformed or dead) offspring. They explained that the ghost of the dead fetus might later attempt to kill the father, since he was partially responsible for producing it. Since it involved his semen and blood, he should be cleansed, and his blood run out.

In the second case, both a pregnant mother and fetus died after being bitten by a snake. The ceremony was said to have been performed to get rid of the ghost of the man's wife so that it would not harm him. (Her ghost was later said to be responsible for attacking and causing illness to others in the sovereignty.) During this ceremony, other men who attended also had their penises shot or cut including one unmarried male and several elder widowers whose sex

lives are presumed to be not very active.

The point to be made is that these ceremonies could have been performed, as with the Auyana, for reasons of dispelling a male "pregnancy."⁴ On the other hand, there may be several variations of this ceremony. The one reason, given here, is to prevent ghost attacks on the husband by the ghosts of the dead fetus or wife.

This same ceremony also may be performed on the advice of magical curers (pinto men). Their reasoning for a man's "pregnancy" may be one of three: (1) he copulated with a menstruating woman; (2) he copulated with a pregnant woman; or (3) some woman made accidental or deliberate sorcery against him by contaminating his food with vaginal secretion or throwing his food discards in the menstrual hut.

In both of the actual above cases observed, the cooked pig donated for eating and distribution was a gift from an affinal relative of the husband. In both ceremonies, men from all of the pooling units were present at the ceremony and pig feast. But in the first case, men from the husband's pooling unit were conspicuously absent. When one informant was asked why, he simply said that they did not

⁴Newman (personal communication) received essentially the same explanation for this ceremony as Robbins. But that does not explain why other men attending such events, including unmarried and old men, also had their penises shot. In the two events observed, informants gave different explanations for each, miscarriage and death, other than citing possible male "pregnancy" as a cause.

want to come. Some men preferred to work in their gardens; other men, it was reported (and observed), did not want their penises shot because it was too painful.

In addition to this information, there was no statement received to the effect, unlike the Auyana, that the man's pooling unit was primarily responsible for initiating the ceremony. Thus, the facts for the Tauna Awa do not suggest that this is strictly a pooling unit attribute. But it may be initiated and performed by a man's circle of friends and relatives regardless of pooling unit membership.

Pooling Unit Attribute #5: If a man died, his widow would marry someone in his pooling unit, but not his brother.

It is assumed that Robbins (p. 67) means "biological brother" or those male siblings raised by the same father and mother. This point is made, since all males of relatively equal age within the same pooling unit were addressed and referred to as "brother."

This same attribute was suggested for the Tauna Awa, but, as with the Auyana, there were exceptions. Informants stated that the widow should remarry another pooling unit member who was initiated at the same time as her first husband. There should be a sufficient period of mourning though, at least 3-4 weeks, before she married again.

For the remarriage of the widow, there is a special set of events which takes place. One such event was

witnessed, and a text was elicited to describe the ceremony, but the variation in its actual performance is not known. This ceremony is briefly described below. There is no data on the frequency of its occurrence. Its major purpose is said to be to banish the lingering ghost of the widow's first husband so that it will not interfere and harm either his former wife or her new husband.

As a sign of mourning, the widow wears the old bark skirts and string carrying bag of her husband around her neck and head. In a specially prepared earth oven, she burns these belongings in the fire. She then rubs herself with the leaves of the earth oven after it has been opened.

Later, in another ceremony, attended by the whole sovereignty, an earth oven is made near a river. A banana tree which has already bore fruit is cut down so that all that is left standing is a section of the trunk about 3-4 feet long. The tree is cut by the male members of the widow's pooling unit.

The banana trunk is laid on the ground near the river, away from the earth oven. Pitpit (a reedy grass), leaves and sticks are stuck in the banana trunk. The husband-to-be lights a bamboo torch and sets fire to the trunk. Two pooling unit brothers of the widow get sticks and shove them into the banana trunk so that they can hold it up horizontally. The widow walks under this once. Other men nearby shoot old arrows and pitpit shoots into it as it is brought

down near the river. At this moment, the flaming banana trunk with arrows and pitpit embedded in it is thrown into the river. A brother of the widow says, "Before you (referring to the first husband) looked out for this woman. Now she wants to marry someone else. You cannot look out for her. You go to the ghost place and stay there."

When the group goes back to the earth oven, the widow rubs special herb-smelling leaves all over her skin and hair. The new husband eats rats and bandicoots which are cooked with greens which are given to him by the brothers of the widow.

If the new husband already has a wife, her pooling unit waits for the new wife to return to her husband's hamlet. They hide and when she approaches, they pretend to beat her. Occasionally, the two wives may fight. After this, they are told they cannot fight anymore.

If a man of the same pooling unit as the deceased husband wants to marry the woman, the biological brother of the first husband may make a claim for bridewealth. Bridewealth also can be claimed by the dead husband's mother's pooling unit. But it is also a possibility that the widow may marry a man from another pooling unit. In these cases, the new husband sends bridewealth to the first husband's pooling unit. Claims for bridewealth for a widow, especially if she is married within the same pooling unit as her deceased husband, are not always successful.

Children of the widow, if they are "small" (informants gave examples of children 6-8 years old), may become members of their new father's pooling unit, if he is from another pooling unit. Older children usually remain in the pooling unit of their first father, and may not even live with their new father.

A case arose while in the field which aptly illustrates how the above attribute applies. A recent widow was abducted and married by the biological younger brother of her first husband. This act was viewed as particularly offensive, not only because he was a biological brother, but moreso because he was a younger brother. In the past, this same woman had looked out for him as a child, and he had previously addressed her as "my mother" (nenino). When the man was confronted with this, he retorted that his real mother was dead. Other men tried to discourage him in marriage by giving him warnings and predictions about his and his child's (by another marriage) health. For example, a recurring sickness which the man's child had was attributed to the ghost of his dead brother (and husband to the widow) who would have disapproved of the marriage. The man himself was warned that he would be short of breath and die young. It should also be noted that this woman was particularly desired by others because she had four young children and many coffee gardens. Although other men in the pooling unit had demanded bridwealth, the younger brother had not

paid any. When leaving the field, this case was not yet settled.

Pooling Unit Attribute #6: When one of their members was killed by someone outside the sovereignty and someone from outside the sovereignty revenged his death, those in the deceased's pooling unit pooled wealth and gave it to the revenger.

No cases of this actually happening were obtained in Tauna where a killing was specifically designated as a revenge for a Tauna death, especially since Tauna members tended to successfully revenge their own deaths. But given the logic of obligations to poolings and group inclusion, it would be suspected that the whole sovereignty of the killed man would be involved in the pooling, and that the bulk of the goods or pigs killed at such an event might be that of the killed man's pooling unit. (References to similar situations are made under Sovereignty Attribute #10 and Pooling Unit Attribute #11.)

Pooling Unit Attribute #7: Members pooled wealth (or at least pigs) and gave it to those outside their pooling unit at certain life-crises events whenever they involved an adult male member of their pooling unit, his wife, or his children. They did not give wealth within their own pooling unit.

Pooling Unit Attribute #8: They were given wealth at certain life-crises events which involved women married to

male members and/or their children.

The six "life-crises events" which are discussed⁵ are: (1) marriage; (2) birth and pregnancy and the period after birth; (3) the piercing of the nasal septum of the child around the ages of five and six (for both males and females); (4) a girl's first menstruation; (5) male initiation; and (6) death. Each of these will be described in turn for the Tauna Awa.

(1) Marriage. When parents agree that their respective son and daughter should marry, this marks the beginning of the "engagement period." The prospective groom agrees to send pre-bridewealth gifts, mainly killed wild pigs and marsupials, to the bride's parents. These gifts should be given as often as possible. The limits are probably flexible, but if a man does not give his affines-to-be any gifts, he may be thought of as a "rubbish man," and the engagement may be broken off.

After the groom's preparation for marriage (see Appendix 2), earth ovens are made at the groom's hamlet, and

⁵Of these six "life-crises" events, all of them were witnessed except the piercing of the nasal septum of the child (which did not occur in Tauna at this age), and the male initiation. The descriptions are based primarily on my observations and secondly on texts collected from several informants. Because of the limited number of events observed, no estimation could be made of the variation allowed or performed in most such events. The capsule descriptions given, then, are composite ones from several sources and are meant to be accurate if not totally complete or invariable.

several pigs belonging to his pooling unit brothers and fathers are killed. They are distributed the next day when other sovereignties arrive, and the bridewealth is paid to the pooling unit of the bride. In addition to pig, the current bridewealth consists of money and store-bought items such as cloth, forks, cups, tinned fish and meat, rice, etc. In the past, bridewealth consisted mainly of shells, feathers and strips of bark used for clothing. A large portion of pig goes to the bride's parents and her pooling unit. Smaller portions of pig go to the pooling unit of the groom's mother.

Money is used in Tauna in all indigenous transactions which previously involved shells and feathers. The first bridewealth in which money was used was said to be about 1964 when a man from Apia pooling unit bought a bride for A\$10 in addition to traditional gifts. While in Tauna, the upper limit set for bridewealth by the Okapa Local Government Council in the Awa area was A\$60. It was a fraction higher in the adjacent Fore and Auyana language groups, since they are nearer to the roads and Okapa patrol station, and therefore, they are able to work and sell their coffee more efficiently than the Awa. Before leaving Tauna, the asking price for one Kawaina #2 girl who was to marry a Tauna man was A\$200; after bargaining, they finally settled for A\$80.

(2) Birth and pregnancy and the period after birth.

As soon as a man knows that his wife is pregnant, sexual intercourse ceases. During his wife's pregnancy, a man should send gifts (tane) of tree kangaroos and other marsupials to his wife's pooling unit. He gives her the wing bone of a cassowary and special leaves to wear on her chest. At present, additional gifts include store-bought meat, fish and rice.

After the birth of the offspring, another set of gift payments (iokana) begins. These gifts include wild pigs, marsupials, and store-bought food. There is no single large gift presentation, but rather a flow of gifts from the husband to his wife's pooling unit whenever gifts are available.

For the first few months after birth, the baby is not given a real name. Infant mortality is quite high at birth and during the period immediately after birth. The death of a child during this time does not involve death payments, i.e. he is treated as a "non-person."

If the infant survives and is given a name (at about 4-5 months), a celebration with an earth oven and a killed pig is held by the husband and his pooling unit for his wife and her pooling unit. The husband should be the main contributor if gifts are given at this time and if a pig is killed and cooked.

(3) The piercing of the septum of the child (age 5-6). There is no comparable ceremony among the Tauna Awa for

children of this age. (See the following pages for septum piercing in Tauna.)

(4) A girl's first menstruation. Tauna informants said that when a young girl's breasts "stand up straight," she will be ready for her first menstruation. At this time, she is taken to the menstrual hut by her mother who brings her firewood, water, and food. She sleeps there for two nights until the bleeding is over. After that she goes down to the river and washes herself. She then sleeps in her brother's house for a few nights always sitting by the fire so that she will be "hot."

The next day, her pooling unit brothers, but not her biological brothers, accompany her down to the river. There pitpit grass is shoved in her nostrils to make them bleed. Then she is beaten with sticks by her pooling unit brothers, washed, and brought back to the house where she receives a new bark skirt made for her by other females in her pooling unit and the wives of her brothers. This bark skirt is different from the one she receives at marriage; it is shorter and smaller leaving the outer thighs exposed.

Following this, an earth oven is prepared. Pigs and chickens are killed if they are available. The girl's pooling unit acts as the "host." Food is distributed within the pooling unit, but the main distribution of pig goes to the girl's mother's pooling unit.

The time of menarche is one of "happiness" for all of

the young girls. It is recognized and condoned that they may attack other unmarried males with sticks and take whatever belongings they have. However, one informant claims that overly aggressive females are not liked. He recalled with distaste that he was beaten ten times in two months by a young Kawaina #2 girl. This forced him to run away to Kainantu (a small European settlement in the Eastern Highlands) and look for a job.

In the past, a girl's first menstruation was associated with the "arm beating" ceremony (ose'e). These ceremonies were mainly inter-sovereignty affairs and were a prelude to the arrangement of marriage following the first menstruation of several girls. The last arm beating ceremony involving Tauna took place about 1960 and further ones have not taken place because, as informants state, all of the young eligible men are working on the coast.⁶

In the arm beating ceremony, the young girls and boys from several sovereignties gathered on an appointed kunai grass mountain to sing and dance. Later, all of the girls would form a straight "dancing" line. If they liked a particular boy, they would beat him with a short, barkless stick. A girl could only beat a boy of a different sovereignty, and only if he agreed to "play." Singing and beating

⁶Since the late 1950's, Tauna men have been recruited as indentured laborers in various parts of New Guinea. The "coast" generally refers to larger towns on the sea such as Port Moresby, Rabaul, Kavieng, etc., where men work mainly on rubber and copra plantations.

would continue for a day until the shoulders and upper arms of the boys would begin to swell and bleed. After the beatings, the girl would give the stick to the boy whom she beat. He would take a tanket (Victory leaf shrub), wrap it around the stick, and leave it somewhere on the mountain. On coming back to their hamlets, the first precaution the boys would take was to wash themselves with pitpit leaves and sand. If they do not wash the blood off before eating, it is believed that they would get sick and die.

During this time, it was said that girls and boys, prospective brides and grooms, exchanged gifts. Girls gave string bags and armbands and received shells and feathers. Following this, the relationship could be extended, and the boy could continue it by sending pre-bridewealth gifts, e.g. marsupials, to the girl's parents.

(5) Male initiation. With the male initiation, the young boy (aged 14-16) changes status from uninitiated boy (anamai) to initiated young man (mapi).

As described by Tauna informants, the Tauna Awa initiation shares many features with that performed in Auyana (pp. 92-5). First, the boy changes his residence: he goes from his mother's house to the men's house. He stays there for about a month, mostly sitting next to the fire. He eats food handed to him only by old women so that he will not be contaminated by a young woman who may have copulated recently.

On the day of the "coming out," he is dressed in all his finery with shells, feathers, and ashes on his face and body (similar to the groom's "coming out").

The next day, earth ovens are made. Pigs are killed and cooked by the boy's pooling unit and are given to the boy's mother's pooling unit (mainly to his mother's brother). Other sovereignties are invited to come to the feast. The boy or boys are then taken to the river. First, his nostrils are shoved with pitpit stalks to make them bleed. Then a piece of cane is twisted in a ball and shoved down his throat to make him vomit. Informants said the reason for this was because, as a boy, he ate many animals such as rats and marsupials which now must be expelled as he learns a new set of food regulations. Lastly, his glans penis is cut with a bamboo knife on both sides of the urethral opening.

He is taken back to the men's house and his nasal septum is pierced by an elder male in his mother's pooling unit. Throughout his stay in the men's house, he hears lectures which mainly deal with female pollution, fighting with enemies, and food taboos. It is believed that if he observes these rules, he will grow up to be strong and live long; if he does not, he will be sickly and thin.

The main pig distribution comes after the painful

rituals.⁷ (Informants said they defecated and urinated with so much pain.) More pigs gathered by the boy's pooling unit are killed, cooked and distributed to the boy's mother's pooling unit. In the past, the boy also might have been marked for marriage at this time, and preliminary bridewealth gifts to his future bride's parents could have started.

(6) Death. Death payments (ai'ta) vary in size according to the age and sex of the deceased, the cause of death, and the wealth of the dead man's pooling unit. Generally, more payments are made when the deceased is male rather than female and older rather than younger. The main contributor to the pooled goods are the men of the dead man's pooling unit. If they need help in contributions, they could also call upon their friends in other pooling units without much pressure. All death payments made from one pooling unit to another, whether in the same sovereignty or not, should be repaid at a later date by giving the same amount of goods and/or money. Debts within the sovereignty should be repaid quicker than debts outside of the sovereignty. There are still some debts between Tauna pooling units and

⁷The occurrence of a male initiation ceremony in the New Guinea Highlands seems to be partly, but not simply, related to the degree of stress on warfare skills, views about male/female separation, and local group solidarity. It tends to be more common in the Eastern Highlands, rather than the Western Highlands, of New Guinea (Strathern 1970).

other sovereignties which are still discussed although these debts were incurred up to ten years ago.

In pre-contact times, death payments would not be made between sovereignties if there was hostility between them. This was especially so if the man had been killed by another sovereignty, or if members of another sovereignty had been accused of sorcery. In situations where many people died within a short span of time, such as the early 1940's dysentery epidemic which swept the Eastern Highlands, no death payments were made; people were said to be too busy burying and crying for the dead.⁸

Public mourning⁹ for the dead may go on for two or

⁸ Figures in Tauna show that 8 male deaths and 17 female deaths were a direct result of the dysentery epidemic. This represents 4.2% and 13% respectively of the total male and female deaths recorded between 1900-70. Salisbury (1962: 123) calculates that some villages in the Siane area lost up to 20% of the adult male population. He recorded only one female death to every five male deaths and attributes this to the fact that female deaths were not worth mentioning. If the Tauna population is assumed to be about 80-100 during the early 1940's (in 1953, the census showed 70 persons), then the epidemic deaths would account for 20-25% of the total population. The same dysentery epidemic reached as far south as the Gimi language groups, although Glick (1963: 176) does not provide precise figures on how many died.

⁹ Mourning in private for several months after the burial should also be observed. This includes a taboo on burning of new kunai grass for gardens and singing and dancing.

In the 1950's, a young daughter of a powerful man died at the time of an arm-beating ceremony which involved group singing and dancing. He was so furious over other people participating in it that he cast a spell by putting magical leaves at the head of a ficus tree, and he cursed all of the places, near and far, to become short of food. The people of Tauna apparently believed that this did eventually happen. Since then, they claim that they are more careful during the period of mourning, but it was not observed that they followed these rules very closely.

three days while friends and relatives in other sovereignties are contacted. The body is displayed on a tilted bamboo bed while mourners surround it for several days and nights wailing songs of grief. When a person hears of a death in another sovereignty, he then must make a political-economic choice, as well as an emotional one, as to whether the distance to be travelled will be worth it in terms of the possibility of receiving a death payment.

When other persons come to mourn from distant sovereignties, they usually show their grief by a display which involves wailing, calling the dead person's name, and waving a stick or leaves around his head. If a person does not do this properly with enough emotion, he may be thought to be a sorcerer responsible for the death. If by chance the dead person should move, spit blood, or urinate when a mourner is present, this is believed to be a sure sign of sorcery.

On the morning of the burial, earth ovens are made at the hamlet of the dead person. He is usually buried in the morning. His pigs and pigs belonging to other males in his pooling unit are killed and cooked in earth ovens so that they may be distributed later. Other goods such as bows and arrows, shells, feathers, string bags, strips of bark for clothing, and nowadays, store-bought food and money, are also part of the death payment. Recipients of the death payment within the sovereignty include the dead man's sister's

son, cross-cousins, mother's brother, and other members of their pooling units. Recipients in other sovereignties include regular exchange partners (usually always "friends") and sons of exchange partners (they are called "sons").

It is an admitted technique for persons of other sovereignties to arrive "angry" and demand as much payment as they think they can obtain. Sometimes, minor fights may occur as a result of this. While in Tauna, many people from Elakia came to mourn the death of a young girl whose mother was originally from Elakia. As they approached, they stood on a hill and fired a volley of arrows down to the hamlet where the body of the dead girl and many mourners were gathered. This was deliberately done, since they felt they were slighted on a previous death payment. In this case, payment was made and was sufficient by their own standards.

The size of death payments generally depend upon the social and physical distance of the recipient. Often, claims for payment are made by men who "come angry" and demand gifts because they are friends of relative of the dead man's exchange partners (who also may be dead). In such debatable circumstance, the dead man's mother's brother, or another person in charge of the pooling, gathers with the pooling unit and decides whether the guest should be paid, and whether they might be repaid in the future. If they decide not to pay him, they usually find an excuse such as having no more pigs or goods left to distribute. They may also

make promises to call for him later when the goods are available. This rarely materializes.

When a married woman dies, the main death payment goes from her husband's pooling unit to the pooling units of his dead wife and her mother. There are exceptions and alternatives as to who receives and should accept payments within the sovereignty. To be accepting, when it is not considered to be appropriate, is to bring shame upon oneself. For example, when a young married girl died several of the elder men in her pooling unit voluntarily refused the payment for themselves and distributed it to others claiming that they were not the same "size" as the dead woman.

Pooling Unit Attribute #9: They could refer to themselves as one "bunch" of age-mates (aparawainonda in Auyana).

There is no data collected from Tauna which suggests a similar linguistic category. (This does not mean that one does not exist.) But it was apparent that males of roughly the same age referred to and addressed each other as "brothers." If there was an age difference, other males would be referred to as "fathers" and "sons." These kin categories could be extended to a more general usage to include all males in the sovereignty, but under normal conditions, this was not done.

Pooling Unit Attribute #10: They could refer to themselves as one akum or anda (in Auyana).

What has been termed a pooling unit here could be

glossed as a'ku in Tauna. As with the Auyana, one could describe pooling units in reference to a particular person. When asking what group a person was in, the response might be, turua ne a'ku (the luluai's group).

The term mora'ku (one group) is used to describe members who are in the same pooling unit. To classify members in different pooling units, the term mo'mo'na'ku (another group) is used. The term a'ku is used for two levels of groups: the pooling unit and the sub-pooling unit. Every person in Tauna is said to be a member of one of these named groups (except in-marrying women). Pooling unit membership is exclusive, except in rare cases where a pooling unit "adopts" another pooling unit and members would sometimes switch names and behave as if they belonged to both groups. It was also reported that name switching was done on a sovereignty level between Tauna and a Fore sovereignty. On approaching one another, men would call them by the name of their own sovereignty, and the other group would respond by doing the same.

Pooling Unit Attribute #11: When the sovereignty sent wealth to those who gave war aid (or those whom they hoped would give it), those in a pooling unit initiated the pooling and contributed the bulk whenever the fight started over an offense against or an offense by one of its members.

This was generally applicable to the Tauna Awa. Also, if in warfare an ally had been killed, a special reparation

payment was made to the dead man's pooling unit and to his sovereignty as a whole. In one instance, a Tauna man was killed while helping nearby Kawaina #2 fight Indona, one of their enemies. Kawaina #2 later paid for his war aid by giving shells to his pooling unit, while other pooling units in Tauna received portions of cooked pig.

The following attributes, #12-14, are those which refer to the pooling unit as a prosecuting and legal unit.

Pooling Unit Attribute #12: Members of a pooling unit demanded and received help from other members in prosecuting any of the following offenses committed against them by someone from another pooling unit, whether the offender was in the same sovereignty or not.

(1) When a girl attempted to marry a man other than the one intended by the pooling unit, all those in the pooling unit would go to bring her back from the place to which she fled. If she was not turned over to them on demand, they would take her by force.

In pre-contact times, there were no cases reported of this happening in Tauna where a woman, without a man's help, fled to another sovereignty or pooling unit to marry someone whom she preferred. But at present, under Administration influence, young girls are given the right to select their own marriage partners. This causes some young girls to be indecisive, and so they are likened to a lizard; if you try to catch them, they scurry from one tree to the next. But

no major incidents of the kind described above have occurred yet.

(2) When a certain size bridewealth had been promised and the girl had her "clothes changed" and was sent only to find out that the bridewealth was smaller than promised, then all those in the pooling unit went to at least lend their physical presence to the demand that more be given and to physically take back the girl if necessary.

The technique of "getting angry" to encourage a large payment is used not only in death payments but in other payments which are not "pure" gifts. But usually the amount of marriage payments are carefully discussed and arranged beforehand. This is particularly true now with the use of money, however, there is still room for argument about the amount before the actual bridewealth is paid.

The one case collected of this offense and prosecution resulted in an ax attack by the members of the bride's pooling unit on the groom. The pooling unit of the bride felt that they had been forced into the marriage, since the groom "pushed" them for the girl. For this they demanded a high payment which was to be gathered on a bamboo platform. When the bride's pooling unit went to collect the pay, they looked at the platform and remarked, "Whose small pay is this?" An argument started and ended up in an ax fight with only minor injuries. Later, the pay was accepted and the couple married.

(3) When a pooling unit did not receive wealth at those times it should have (Pooling Unit Attributes #7 and 8), then all those in the pooling unit would go to demand the wealth.

There were no cases of this happening at a time after a payment was supposed to have been made. The main arguments for receiving part of a distribution of goods were usually made at the time of the payment, otherwise people tended to "forget." The louder one talks about getting pay, Tauna informants say, the more pay a man will probably receive. Likewise, a man who talks quietly probably does not really want, or deserve, a lot of pay.

One desperate way of exacting pay from another pooling unit, in addition to "getting angry," was to threaten the other group that their pigs would die or they would become short of food. If an important man did this, then according to informants, pay would be sent quickly. Threats of sorcery against other groups do not openly take place, and are not used politically. But sometimes it is thought to be a possibility. In one case, the death of a young girl in Tauna was said to have been caused by her mother's pooling unit because they did not receive any gift payments when she was born. Although no major fights started in arguments over the size of payments, smaller fights between individuals and groups did occur, but they were usually pacified.

There are two other categories of offense which center

around the pooling unit as a prosecuting unit but may also escalate and involve the sovereignty as a whole (see Sovereignty Attribute #12). They are offenses related to property damage and destruction and wife abduction.

Property damage and destruction include offenses such as when another person's pig spoils a garden, when a garden fence is destroyed, when another person's pig is killed or stolen, and food or plantings are stolen from another person's garden. Although, as was observed, these offenses were initially handled on an inter-personal basis, further arguments sometimes lead to disputes between the individual's respective pooling units. With the exception of pig stealing and pig killing, these offenses rarely escalated into inter-sovereignty fighting.

Wife abduction can be viewed in two ways: a Tauna man abducting a woman from another sovereignty, and a man from another sovereignty abducting a Tauna woman. Several cases of the former possibility were collected. In both cases, the result led to a full-scale fight between Tauna and another sovereignty. In both of these offenses, members of the woman's sovereignty tried to kill the abductor; they were successful in one case. Also, one of the abducted women was shot and wounded by the men in her own pooling unit.

There were no cases known of wife abduction within Tauna. This is probably because wife abduction is not

necessary. Even though pooling units of the bride and groom may object to a particular marriage choice, some agreement is usually reached. This is not necessarily the case between sovereignties, since even minimal cooperation is not legally enforced.

Pooling Unit Attribute #13: Those in the pooling unit demanded and received help from one another when the following offenses were committed by someone from another pooling unit in the same sovereignty:

- (1) Adultery
- (2) Escalation clause

Adultery is a relatively common offense. By "relatively common" it is meant that of all the cases collected, virtually all of the men in the sovereignty were involved in at least one such affair. Despite its frequency of occurrence, it is still regarded as an offense, both within and outside of the sovereignty. Young boys are warned that it usually leads to trouble and fighting. Deprecatory terms are used for unmarried and married women who copulate with other married men.

Since it is an offense, prosecution is considered to be something the adulterer "deserves." In other words, the punishment inflicted upon the adulterer is viewed as apt and just by the rest of the sovereignty. If it were not, then certainly, larger fights would have occurred. The prosecution of adultery is largely an individual matter and

does not usually escalate beyond the triangle of husband, wife and adulterer.

The husband is seen to be the wronged party and therefore is justified in attempting prosecution. In the past, he usually shot arrows into the legs of his wife, the adulterer, or both persons. This was said to be fair punishment. In fact, one of the adulterers, after being shot in the leg, was reported to have said that he was rightly punished, since it was his fault. Adultery rarely escalated into killings between pooling units; no in-sovereignty deaths recorded were due to adultery. The prosecution usually remained on an inter-personal level, since informants claimed that they were loathe to "get someone else's trouble."

If it is argued that the escalation of trouble in adultery offenses could occur, the predicted effect would be that the husband's pooling unit would join him in prosecuting the offense. In this respect, this attribute would hold for the Tauna Awa, but in reality, such cases are rarely negotiated in this manner.

Pooling Unit Attribute #14: No member of a pooling unit helped those in another pooling unit against his own pooling unit.

As mentioned previously, fights within the sovereignty usually involved individuals with specific complaints against other individuals, and only infrequently did pooling

units, as politico-legal units, fight each other.

An exception to this attribute usually took place when: a man saw someone beating another man with no apparent reason, or when a man was being beaten badly with no help. In both cases, it is said that bystanders would attempt to help the "underdog," regardless of pooling unit membership. "Help" can be defined here to mean anything from stopping the fight (which is normally the case for fights within the sovereignty) to physical support. Encounters of these kinds were described as pertaining to fights within Tauna, and in no event was the intervening man forced to leave Tauna for helping someone in another pooling unit. In fact, help, of all kinds, to affines and persons in one's mother's pooling unit was expected in these relationships.

Sub-Pooling Unit Attributes

Separate units within pooling units will be referred to as "sub-pooling units." Their number and distribution are described in Chapter 3. Generally, pooling unit attributes #1-9 also apply to sub-pooling units, but for the latter, they are more "intensified." In Auyana (pp. 104-5), there are two attributes distinctive of the sub-pooling unit. These are discussed below.

Sub-Pooling Unit Attribute #1: There was a special ceremony performed for a new husband following his bride's first menstruation after she moved to his hamlet. The members of the sub-pooling unit organized and pooled goods for

this ceremony.

Sub-Pooling Unit Attribute #2: They were given goods at this ceremony when the new husband was a child of a woman from their unit.

No observation was made of a comparable distribution of goods in Tauna for this occasion. There was, however, a similar ceremony which was performed in Tauna (see Appendix 1), but it was not a distinctive attribute of the sub-pooling unit. In actual practice, as noted, participants included the new husband, other men from his pooling unit, and any men from the sovereignty who wished to attend.¹⁰

Sub-Pooling Unit Attribute #3: Those in the sub-pooling unit initiated and contributed the bulk of the goods to any pooling which was the responsibility of a pooling unit (see Pooling Unit Attributes #7-8).

This attribute is generally applicable in Tauna, although occasionally an individual was observed who waived "pooling responsibility" under certain conditions. For example, he might not have approved of the reason for pooling or, more frequently, he might claim that he does not have enough goods or pigs at the time. These reasons apparently are acceptable, because it was not noted that strong and excessive demands were consequently made on the person,

¹⁰This ceremony took place in Tauna after a marriage, but I was not told of it until it was finished. A taped description of the events was collected from my primary informant who attended the proceedings.

indicating perhaps, that these tactics are commonly employed. But there is probably a limit on their use before a man begins to be pressured to fulfill his pooling obligations.

Sub-Pooling Unit Attribute #4: Those in the sub-pooling unit carried out the negotiations for either getting or giving a girl and were allowed by others in the pooling unit to proceed as they pleased in the absence of strong objections.

Although marriage negotiations in Tauna could be handled exclusively on the sub-pooling unit level, they usually included many other persons, mostly individuals in the pooling unit. Sometimes a person in another pooling unit or sub-pooling unit other than the bride's father would negotiate for bridewealth on the assumption that he was a "stronger" man and people would listen to him. Other persons who made claims for receiving bridewealth or having to pay it out might use the same tactics. Of the marriage negotiations which were observed, it appeared that the sub-pooling unit or the pooling unit was "more jointly responsible" when bridewealth or similar payments were to be received rather than when they were to be collected for distribution to other groups. When pooling and giving individuals tended to waive responsibility more often (see Sub-Pooling Unit Attribute #3).

Sub-Pooling Unit Attribute #5: They referred to themselves as one "bunch" of age-mates (aparawainonda in Auyana).

There was no equivalent term which was collected in Tauna.

Sub-Pooling Unit Attribute #6: They referred to themselves as one akum or anda (in Auyana).

The equivalent term by which sub-pooling units were designated in Tauna was a'ku. See the discussion under Pooling Unit Attribute #10.

Sub-Pooling Unit Attribute #7: Those in the sub-pooling unit demanded and received help from one another when the following offenses were committed against them by someone from another sub-pooling unit in the same pooling unit: (1) Adultery, and (2) the Escalation Clause.

The same discussion under Pooling Unit Attribute #13 applies here.

Sub-Pooling Unit Attribute #8: They did not help those in another sub-pooling unit against someone in their own sub-pooling unit.

As noted before, a clarification of the term "help" is needed, and in this respect, there were exceptions (see Sovereignty Attribute #10).

Brothers and Individual Families

In Auyana, brothers constitute a unit below the sub-pooling unit. In Tauna, brothers often make up the sub-pooling unit, since the composition of groups tend to be smaller. Thus, the attributes which brothers possess are generally the same as those described for the sub-pooling

unit. Individual families constitute another group. Family attributes are mainly an intensification of lower level (i.e. pooling unit and sub-pooling unit) attributes.

Husband and wife disputes are one of the most common type of dispute within lower level units. Certain causes of disputes are said to be "real" grievances and deserve punishment (invariably by the husband punishing the wife). These common grievances against the wife include: not working properly in the garden, not coming and giving food to the husband, not tending the pigs or looking after the children, refusing sexual intercourse, or in general, being "bighead," i.e. not listening to what her husband told her to do.

After verbal warnings, fist or stick beatings are the usual form of punishment when husbands feel that an offense has been committed. However, the husband must be careful not to inflict too much punishment on his wife, otherwise the fight may escalate. Usually, the wife's natal pooling unit would intervene and join her while the husband's natal pooling unit would support him.

After divorce, a man no longer has legal rights to prosecute his ex-wife; all relationships are formally severed. In one instance which was observed, several other politico-legal implications were made evident. A "crazy man" (wogarani) attempted to beat his ex-wife who had left him and recently married someone else. This took place

during a death distribution in Tauna where several other sovereignties had gathered. As he ran and attacked his wife with a piece of sugar cane, he was immediately grabbed and "cooled down" by having arrows waved in front of his face.

Although this case had unusual elements in it, several conclusions were apparent: (1) the ex-husband was no longer justified in beating his ex-wife for any reason; (2) the ex-husband was not fully responsible for his own behavior since, by definition, he was crazy; (3) the new husband tried to take action against this man by shooting him with an arrow and had he succeeded, it probably would have been justifiable; and (4) the obligation to stop the fight rested with the members of Tauna sovereignty, as opposed to other sovereignty members who were present.

Tauna and Auyana Social Units: Accounting for Differences

Using the terminology and attributes for social units as they were applied to the Auyana (Robbins 1970), comparable social units among the Tauna Awa have been described. There were only a few differences in the way in which sovereignty, pooling unit, and sub-pooling unit were defined in Tauna outside of the fact that minor variations in the form of certain ceremonies were sometimes noted. There were, however, major differences in the organization of these three levels of social groupings in Tauna as compared

to Auyana.

One of the main factors affecting organizational differences between Tauna and Auyana may be in population size and population density. In 1962, there were 213 members of Auyana (Robbins 1970: 362); in the same year, there were 129 persons in Tauna (Government Census Reports 1962). Tauna then was about two-thirds the size of Auyana in that year. There is also an indication that the population density of Auyana is correspondingly higher.

It is reported that the history of Auyana sovereignty (Robbins 1970: 113-4) suggests a unit under pressure to move and divide into independent segments indicating an instability in relationship to the land and to other sovereignties. Referring to the Auyana, in comparison with other Eastern Highland language groups, Littlewood (1966: 104) writes:

This group, located in what amounts to a broad but very rugged and broken-up valley, is physiographically transitional between the Gadsup-Tairora and the Awa. The high village size variability and low isolate stability given an impression of moving rapidly into a confined ecological space. Large stands of widely spaced, dead trees give evidence of forest gardens recently worked and passed over in the pressure to expand against the forest margins. One suggestion for this picture is that the Auyana are a group local to the valley for some time past which has begun to feel the pressure of numbers. Another explanation, and both may be correct (or neither), is that warfare pressures have displaced them from their former range. This suggestion gains some strength from the observation that the Auyana language appears

to be more closely related to Awa and Gadsup than to Tairora (McKaughan 1964: 118). There is today no contiguous border between Auyana and Gadsup, an arm of Tairora having interdicted them.

With population differences, there is also a difference in the size and number of social units within each sovereignty. Tauna is composed of five main pooling units which are then divided into as many as five sub-pooling units (see Chapter 3). Auyana is said to consist of two main pooling units, each divided into two sub-pooling units (Robbins 1970: 104). It is clear that the composition of these local groups in Tauna is much smaller in size relative to Auyana.

One of the differences in sovereignty attributes lies in the degree to which symbolic criteria are said to "hold" groups together. It was noted for Tauna, unlike Auyana, that there was no shared totem at the sovereignty level, and there was no attempt to relate the history of Tauna to one or more common ancestors of all of the pooling units. There was no one organizing principle for all of the units within Tauna. Common residence was a necessary, but not sufficient, feature of both sovereignty and pooling unit membership.

Between Tauna and Auyana residence patterns also varied. Tauna was more dispersed over smaller hamlets (see Chapter 3), while Auyana tended to be more nucleated. Robbins (1970: 71) writes that Sovereignty Attributes #3-4 (those that concern having one forest and one ground and living in one place)

"were not distinctive of pooling units, although it was true that hamlets were usually comprised primarily of the members of a single pooling unit and as a consequence, the members of a pooling unit tended to have their gardens clustered in the same area." In the following chapter, it will be shown that pooling units within Tauna were usually the main owners of land plots within the sovereignty. It appears that the spatial distribution of these land plots may have also influenced both hamlet and gardening patterns.

In sum, at least four features stand out differentiating Tauna from Auyana social units: (1) population size and density; (2) the number and size of pooling units and sub-pooling units; (3) the relative absence of symbolic mythical or genealogical criteria which even vaguely point to a common origin for all of Tauna; and (4) a dispersed residential pattern based on pooling unit membership and land holdings. It is not clear exactly how these differences arose. Undoubtedly, there are unrecoverable historical factors such as early migrations, wars, and epidemics which have led to differences in group size and alignment. Furthermore, it is possible that Tauna pooling units may have had different migration histories with regard to their origin in other sovereignties

or in areas now occupied by these sovereignties.¹¹ This, to some extent, may explain differences (3) and (4) noted above.

While pooling units in Tauna share as many attributes as those in Auyana, several attributes are lacking at the sovereignty level (as noted above). What does this condition do to the behavior of men in groups which share relatively fewer group identification attributes and no recognized common history? For one, it may lessen the strength to which obligations to act on behalf of the group can be successfully carried out or demanded of members. Since a rigid hierarchy of social control based, for example, on the opposition of groups in a segmentary structure is lacking, it may give more politico-legal autonomy to smaller units, i.e. pooling units within the sovereignty. Smaller group interests may take priority over larger inclusive group interests whose "commonness" remains even amorphous to the members within them.

The result of these differences may mean an increase in conflict between smaller units within the sovereignty. This is reflected in the comparatively greater number of murders, and presumably sorcery deaths, within Tauna as compared to Auyana. Thus, if an in-sovereignty "irritation

¹¹This information is suggested by P. Newman (personal communication). I did not obtain conclusive evidence to suggest if or when these migrations may have taken place. From detailed genealogies it is inferred that no major pooling unit movements into Tauna took place after 1870.

coefficient" (Rappaport 1968: 116) is to be calculated, it must not only account for population density, but also for the type of groups which is present and how these groups may be related hierarchically.

To conclude, the differences in Tauna and Auyana lie not so much in the attributes of social groups themselves (since most of them are common to both sovereignties), but rather in the organization of groups to which they apply. An explanation of how these two sovereignties differed and changed over time would require additional data which is not available or probably retrievable at this time. Only general variations in the environment, demography, and history of the two groups have been pointed out to suggest where the answer may lie, but the results are by no means conclusive.

Summary

The main purpose in this chapter was to examine Tauna social units with the terminology used to describe the nearby Auyana social units. Where relevant, several attribute differences were described as they applied to various social levels. Some ethnographic details and case studies were presented where they would be illustrative, but no attempt was made to explain variations in customary practices. Alternatively, several factors which may have accounted for differences in the way people organize themselves in groups were discussed. Having defined how social

groups are organized and what constitutes membership in them, the "groups on the ground" in Tauna will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL GROUPS "ON THE GROUND"

An examination of Tauna social groups "on the ground" will make the notion of social levels and their organization clearer. Historically, social units within Tauna appear to have had different patterns of migration and settlement as reflected in the present distribution of individuals in groups and their residence. Part of the reason, it will be argued in this chapter, is the result of the location of lands for gardening and ownership rights.

In order to understand the nature of the relationship between Tauna and other sovereignties, a brief history of individual and group movements to and from Tauna is presented. It will also be shown how these sub-units are physically and socially related to outside sovereignties. This information will be a necessary prelude to a discussion of marriage and warfare outside Tauna in the following chapters.

Pooling Unit Histories

A list of the names of current Tauna pooling units and sub-pooling units is recorded in Table 3. This table also includes the number of separate units within each category. By a "separate unit" is meant a socially confined unit

TABLE 3

TAUNA POOLING UNITS AND SUB-POOLING UNITS

<u>Pooling Unit Name</u>	<u>Sub-Pooling Unit Name</u>	<u>Number of Separate Units</u>
Tanuna	-----	2
	Tamiopina	4
	Machampa	3
	Abampa	3
Aramona	-----	2
	Anewerampa	4
	Tumerapa	2
	Imiana	1
	Po'nia	1
Apia (or Nonakia)	-----	7
Obepina	-----	7
	Alaula	1
	Paranorarapa	1
Awatera	-----	10

where the vertical and horizontal limits do not overlap with any other unit. For example, the limits of one unit might not exceed beyond a FaFa, Fa, and Ego if there is no recognized connection further back in time (such as to a FaFaFa or FaFaBr) or horizontally to other brothers. These units are largely isolated and defined in the idiom of genealogy although recruitment to them may take place in other ways, namely migration and adoption. Sometimes these units are the same as sub-pooling units, and other times, they are smaller, perhaps "sub-sub-pooling units," or groups of brothers. As mentioned before, membership in these units is mutually exclusive. All of these units, whether they exist today or became extinct are included.

The names of pooling units, in the cases of Tanuna and Obepina, are similar to old hamlet places where the ancestors of these pooling units were originally said to have lived, i.e. Tanuna members lived at a place called Tanu'pe' and Obepina members lived at Obepi'pe' hamlet. As far as could be determined, there is no linguistic similarity between the names of Tauna pooling units and pooling units in other nearby sovereignties. Clues to past migrations and group segmentation using this approach are not revealed.

The names of Aramona, Apia, and Awatera pooling units are not derived from similar hamlet names. Awatera is sometimes referred to as Katahupina both by members and by outsiders. Katahupi'pe' is the name of an area of land in

the present sovereignty of Kawaina #2. In this case, migration from this area to Tauna was obvious (this will be discussed later).

Each Tauna pooling unit has a mythical male ancestor:

<u>Pooling Unit</u>	<u>Mythical Ancestor</u>
Tanuna	Maramati
Aramona	Ioranuma
Apia	Masionkana
Obepina	Obepi
Awatera	?

There is no remembered or recognized genealogical connection between these mythic ancestors and actual names ancestors. If an individual is asked the name of his "ancestor," he will respond with the name of a real ancestor rather than a mythical one. The ancestors in myths are simply individuals found in these stories and do not given genealogical continuity to the pooling unit. Mythical ancestors, may, however, offer a feeling of "symbolic continuity" to pooling unit members. Myths describing the adventures of specific ancestors are said to be "from" or "belonging to" certain pooling units. Totemic myths (at the end of the story ancestors turn into an existing tree or part of the natural environment) also contain within them an explicit injunction against pooling unit members destroying or modifying these totems.

Both Tanuna and Aramona pooling units have had a

relatively long history (at least 70 years) in Tauna, and attempts to discover their histories and origins even further back in time were unsuccessful. Apia and Obepina pooling units have had a close common history in residence, land ownership patterns, and intermarriage; their known history also is confined to Tauna. In the past, Obepi'pe' and Apia men resided in a large hamlet called Obepi'pe' or Masionkana'pe' (shortened to Masio'pe'). Obepi'pe' hamlet is still standing today, and the men's house area is referred to as Masionkana'pe'.

In one myth, Obepi and Masionkana are said to be elder brother and younger brother, indicating that these two pooling units may have been, at one time, a single pooling unit. This point is only mentioned here, since it is based on fragmentary and unverifiable evidence. Another recollection, equally inconclusive, describes how these two units separated:

Before many men lived at Obepi'pe' and the men's house was too crowded. The men split up and some men went to build a men's house at Masionkana'pe'. The leader of the men who did this was Masionkana. Now there is a stone near Obepi'pe'. It has marks on it and looks like a man's face. A 'child' of this stone was taken by Masionkana and put near the new hamlet.

It is agreed by most informants, and here the evidence is more reliable, that the original homeland of Awatera pooling unit used to be on top of a hill at a place where the present-day sovereignty of Kawaina #2 has built hamlets.

Before this time, the people of Kawaina #2 lived closer to the center of the Auyana area in places called Ko'mai'ka'pa' and Mara'kaimpa'. In a severe battle between several Auyana sovereignties and Kawaina #2, the inhabitants of Kawaina #2 were defeated and driven off their land. Awatera pooling unit of Tauna who were physically near to Kawaina #2 were also displaced and they moved down a hill towards Tauna. Other refugees are reported to have moved to Kawaina #1 and even to a more distant sovereignty referred to as Moipe' which is now composed of Usurufa language speakers.¹ Other Kawaina #2 persons fled mainly to Kawaina #1 and to other friendly Auyana sovereignties (see Map 3). One man from Kawaina #1 who was interviewed in Tauna, claimed that he was a member of Awatera pooling unit, although he was born in Kawaina #1 and his father was from Kawaina #2. These claims on a more distant ancestry, different from one's present one, are commonly made when attempting to collect on death or bridewealth payments. These claims are not always successful, but they do give an indication of migrations and past friendly relationships between groups.

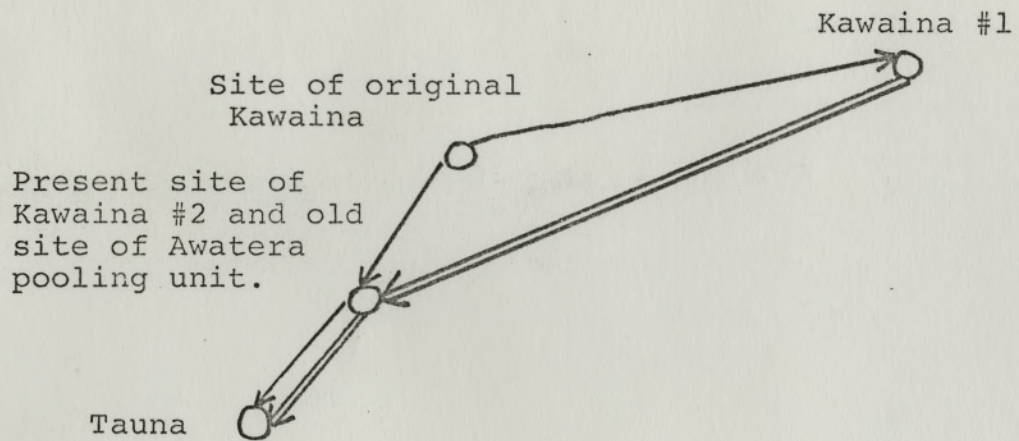
Since moving down the hill, Awatera has been living in

¹What the Awa call Moipe', Berndt (1962: 21) refers to as Moiiife, a "district" composed of three villages north of the Fore area.

Tauna, specifically Awatera and Obepina pooling units, still have retained social activities with Moipe' which includes visiting and sleeping with them when men go to the Sub-District Office at Okapa. The precise number of Awatera (or perhaps Kawaina #2) persons who were supposed to have migrated there could not be determined.

MAP 3

MOVEMENTS OF KAWAINA SOVEREIGNTY AND
AWATERA POOLING UNIT



→ first movements (1910-1920)

⇒ second movements (1930-1940)

proximity to Obepina. They also have built small one and two family hamlets next to the Kawaina #2 boundary. In fact, some units are split. One or two brothers live in Tauna, while others live in Kawaina #2, and they each participate in the activities of both sovereignties. But this seems to be a recent post-contact phenomenon.

Awatera and Obepina pooling units are frequently said by informants to be "one line" (mora'ku), i.e. one pooling unit. This too is a fairly recent change, and it means that they now tend to act as a single pooling unit (economically, politically, and legally) whereas before they were two separate units. This incorporation of units is probably a gradual rather than an immediate process. It does not appear to be complete; for example, members of one pooling unit never gave the name of the other pooling unit as their group of membership. Although there were marriages between these two units in the past, none have been recorded recently (since pooling units are exogamous). And, as was observed, all food and wealth distributions in marriage, death, and ritual events which went to one pooling unit also went to the other. Since this process of fusion is yet incomplete, for purposes of this presentation, Awatera and Obepina have been considered to be separate pooling units.

Presently, the Awatera pooling unit has many ties with both Kawaina #2 and other Auyana sovereignties. These ties have remained strong despite the frequent movement of

groups and persons to more separated areas. Whereas Kawaina #2 and Auyana were long standing enemies (Robbins 1970: 16), Awatera pooling unit always had friendly trading relationships with different Auyana-speaking sovereignties. Several Awatera men living in Tauna still exclusively speak the Kawaina #2 dialect of Auyana rather than the Tauna dialect of Awa, but informants say that this is a recent innovation. Since the population of Kawaina #2 has moved on to what was formerly ground belonging to Awatera pooling unit (claims are made that it still is), some men from that sovereignty often refer to themselves as Awatera men. But Tauna informants are quick to point out that the real Awatera is found only at Tauna, and other groups who call themselves Awatera are merely trying to justify and make excuses for the fact that they are living on someone else's land, or are trying to make claims for wealth in Awatera pooling activities.

Sub-Pooling Unit Histories

Sub-pooling unit names are similar to garden areas where the ancestor of a particular unit was first believed to have made his gardens. There is only one exception; this is Po'nia sub-pooling unit (see Table 3). However, there is said to be a Po'niape' ground area in nearby Elakia sovereignty, but all attempts to relate this to possible past migrations were met with denial.

Although the only instance of a pooling unit moving en

masse from its original home territory (but still within Tauna sovereignty) was that of Awatera; it was common for sub-pooling units and parts of these units to move in or out of Tauna or to become extinct. A discussion of these changes and how they affected group composition follows below:

Tanuna pooling unit: (1) one sub-pooling unit (unnamed) was formed as the result of an Obepina man being adopted by Tanuna; his descendants are now said to be Tanuna members; (2) in the early 1950's, a man of Tamiopina sub-pooling unit killed another Tauna man with an arrow after an argument over who should remove the feces of a child who defecated near the door of the men's house. This man was chased out of Tauna and fled to Elakia where he later married and had children. Neither he nor his children are said to be Tauna, Tanuna, or Tamiopina members.

Aramona pooling unit: (1) one whole sub-pooling unit (unnamed) moved to Tawaina sovereignty when several Fore sovereignties raided Tauna in the early 1900's; (2) one part of Imiana sub-pooling unit moved into Tauna from Tawaina (it had earlier moved to Tawaina from Kawaina #2) and was adopted by Aramona; (3) one sub-pooling unit (unnamed) was formed by a single male from Tawaina who was adopted by Aramona in the 1950's. Presently, he lives in Tauna and his children are considered to be Tauna members. Although he has relatives, including biological siblings,

in Tawaina, he rarely participates in activities there.

Apia pooling unit: (1) one part of a sub-pooling unit consists today of two sons who are children of an Abomatasa man who came to live in Tauna when his sovereignty was raided by Ilesa and Kasokana. This man's younger brother went to live in Omuna (and Auyana sovereignty), and there are now close exchange and friendship relationships between Apia pooling unit in Tauna and Omuna sovereignty.

Obepina pooling unit: (1) when the Fore fought Tauna in the early 1900's, the heaviest violence was directed towards Obepi'pe' hamlet which was burned and later rebuilt. As a result of this raid, four different Obepina sub-pooling units migrated to Tawaina at that time; their descendants are living there and are considered to be members of Tawaina.

Awatera pooling unit: (1) one sub-pooling unit is made up of the descendants of a Tawaina man who was adopted by Awatera; (2) one sub-pooling unit migrated to Tawaina during the early Fore raids; (3) parts of two sub-pooling units, both involving biological brothers, are presently divided between living in Tauna and Kawaina #2.

Sub-pooling units in Tauna have also become extinct for a number of reasons, mainly because of the death of the last male in that unit, and the presence of only female offspring to a male sub-pooling unit head. The following figures indicate that sub-pooling unit "extinction" was a

relatively common occurrence:²

<u>Pooling Unit</u>	<u>No. of Extinct s.p.u.'s</u>
Tanuna	7
Aramona	3
Apia	3
Obepina	4
Awatera	3

Group Recruitment

One further point concerning sovereignty, pooling unit, and sub-pooling unit membership has yet to be discussed: how members are recruited. Membership in a sovereignty, pooling unit, and sub-pooling unit is automatically, but not finally, determined at birth. A child becomes a politico-legal member of his father's membership groups. Of course, he is not subject to economic, political, and legal activities until he is considered to be an adult, e.g. there is no insistence that he participate in warfare, pool wealth (which he probably does not have anyway), etc. This is probably the most frequent way in which membership in groups is attained. There are, however, other options in Tauna.

As reported for the Bena Bena of the Eastern Highlands

²The occurrence of sub-pooling unit extinction, which may have something to do with size, may be more frequent in Tauna than in other nearby sovereignties. In Elakia (Newman, personal communication) such a high rate was not collected.

(Langness 1964a; 1964b), kinship (or group membership) can be achieved through common residence. Because of warfare, for example, refugees may settle in other sovereignties as had been indicated above, and can gain membership in them in one generation. But it is not residence alone which does this. Potential members are obligated to act in other ways which signal their intention to stay with the group. These economic and politico-legal obligations are raised in Chapter 2. Hence, the use of the term "pooling unit" suggests levels of group participation and membership other than agnatic descent, "cumulative patrification" (Barnes 1962), or common residence.

Usually a migrating individual's allegiance to one sovereignty and denouncement of another could be tested quickly by fighting against his natal sovereignty. Men who migrated to other sovereignties did not usually become men who tried to stop fights, gave warnings to the other side, or initiated peace-making activities. These activities were often confined to affines and friends, but not refugees, from either sovereignty.

Through adoption, a person could also change sovereignty, pooling unit, and sub-pooling unit membership. If a child was young and initiated by his foster father, he invariably became a member of his foster father's pooling unit. Usually, children are adopted, at the death of the father or mother and if the mother does not remarry, by a

pooling unit "brother" of the father. In other cases, the child's mother's brother or elder sister may raise him. Nevertheless, a relative in the same pooling unit is preferred, for "strangers" are said to be unconscientious in taking care of other people's children. Adoption and simply "looking out" for other people's children do not seem to have been as common in Tauna as it was in Auyana, although there are no precise statistics to support this assertion.

In pre-contact times, when a man visited other sovereignties, those places would often try to convince him that he should live there permanently. Based on informally collected data and impressions, it is concluded that temporary visiting of other places was more frequent in the past than it is in the present. Part of this reason may be due to the Australian Administration's insistence on men not moving around so frequently. Also in the past, "good" men (men who were adept at fighting and talking) were, of course, assets to every sovereignty in terms of their defensive and offensive strengths. One way in which a "good" man might be tempted to stay in another sovereignty would be for an old knowledgeable man or woman to spit on a sweet potato and say to it:

You can't think of your old place. Now that I give you this sweet potato you can stay here and think of this place. There is a good snake in the ground and already he has taken your thoughts. You can't think of your old place now.

When the man eats the sweet potato, so informants claim, he will not go back home. Only one case of this actually happening was collected.

Men who visited other sovereignties were also tempted to stay by being offered a wife and gardening land. Arable land in Tauna was not scarce, but on the whole, out-migration from Tauna was greater than in-migration. The vast majority of Tauna members were natal members. Thus, in cases such as Tauna, with a small population and population density, the "agnatic composition" of groups may be extremely high, rather than low as predicted by Meggitt (1965), because of relatively little population movement, little pressure to move for new gardening land, and warfare without land conquest as an objective.

Unfortunately, the statistics regarding the population of Tauna in pre-contact times are difficult to ascertain. The only available figures are the Government Census Reports taken every year immediately after first contact. These may be quite inaccurate. If anything, they are underestimated rather than overestimated. Informants claim that people hid in the bush when the patrol officer came, and for many years he did not get their names. Nevertheless, the following census figures for Tauna are presented (Government Census Reports 1953-69) in Table 4.

On the other hand, if these population figures are reasonably correct, they indicate a more than 100% growth

TABLE 4

TAUNA CENSUS (1953-1969)

Year	Totals (excluding absentees)				Grand Total (including absentees) (M and F)
	Child		Adult		
	M	F	M	F	
1953	15	11	25	19	70
1954	18	11	29	23	81
1955	21	15	29	30	95
1956	24	22	26	24	96
1957	24	23	24	22	93
1958	32	25	27	24	108
1959	35	30	30	24	118
1960	33	30	24	28	126
1961	34	31	32	30	127
1962	35	32	32	30	129
1963	30	31	37	36	139
1964	39	33	26	30	136
1965	34	30	40	35	141
1966	36	35	42	33	146
1967	40	38	27	33	152
1968	35	40	28	30	148
1969	30	41	44	34	152

rate in one generation since government contact. This is probably due to the cessation of practices such as warfare, infanticide, and the minimal but increasing availability of health services. Under these conditions, this growth rate for the Tauna Awa would not seem at all unusual given a reportedly 300% growth rate every generation for "more developed" populations like the Hutterites and French Canadians (Livingston 1969: 59).

The exact extent to which infanticide was practiced is unknown, since male informants who were interviewed were not supposed to know what women did when they gave birth. Only two cases were collected from a reliable informant, both of living women, who were said to have killed their offspring at birth. Infanticide was said to be practiced if it was in some way "no good." Male informants described this as one who was born without a nose, hands, legs, mouth, or anus. These are undoubtedly their ideas about what they believed or what women told them rather than actual fact. Both male and female offspring were killed.³

Another population limiting device, whose effect is unknown, is an oral contraceptive, a special tree bark (waiowa) which is believed to prevent pregnancy. There

³Newman (personal communication) received additional information in Elakia to the effect that males may have made decisions at the time of pregnancy regarding the killing of the offspring.

are also other tree barks which only men are allowed to eat; when women eat them they are said to cause miscarriages. Curers are also said to be able to produce a miscarriage by "working a smoke" (smoking a pipe) and "seeing" the woman's spirit essence. The frequency of the use of these measures is not known.

In sum, the population of Tauna immediately before outside contact (about 1950) can thus be described as small in number (70-100?) and limited in size largely by warfare (see Chapter 5) and sickness from the available data. There are five pooling units which are divided into smaller sub-pooling units. Pooling units, based on present figures, were probably of unequal size and varied from 15-30 individuals.

Tauna Relationships with Other Sovereignties

With Tauna as the center of its own social universe, other outside sovereignties can be grouped roughly in different concentric circles radiating from Tauna. Sovereignties in these different circles vary from one another by both geographical and social distance. These outside sovereignties are listed in Table 5 and roughly illustrated on Map 4.

In this thesis, a main concern is with Tauna's

TABLE 5

OUTSIDE SOVEREIGNTIES IN RELATIONSHIP TO TAUNA

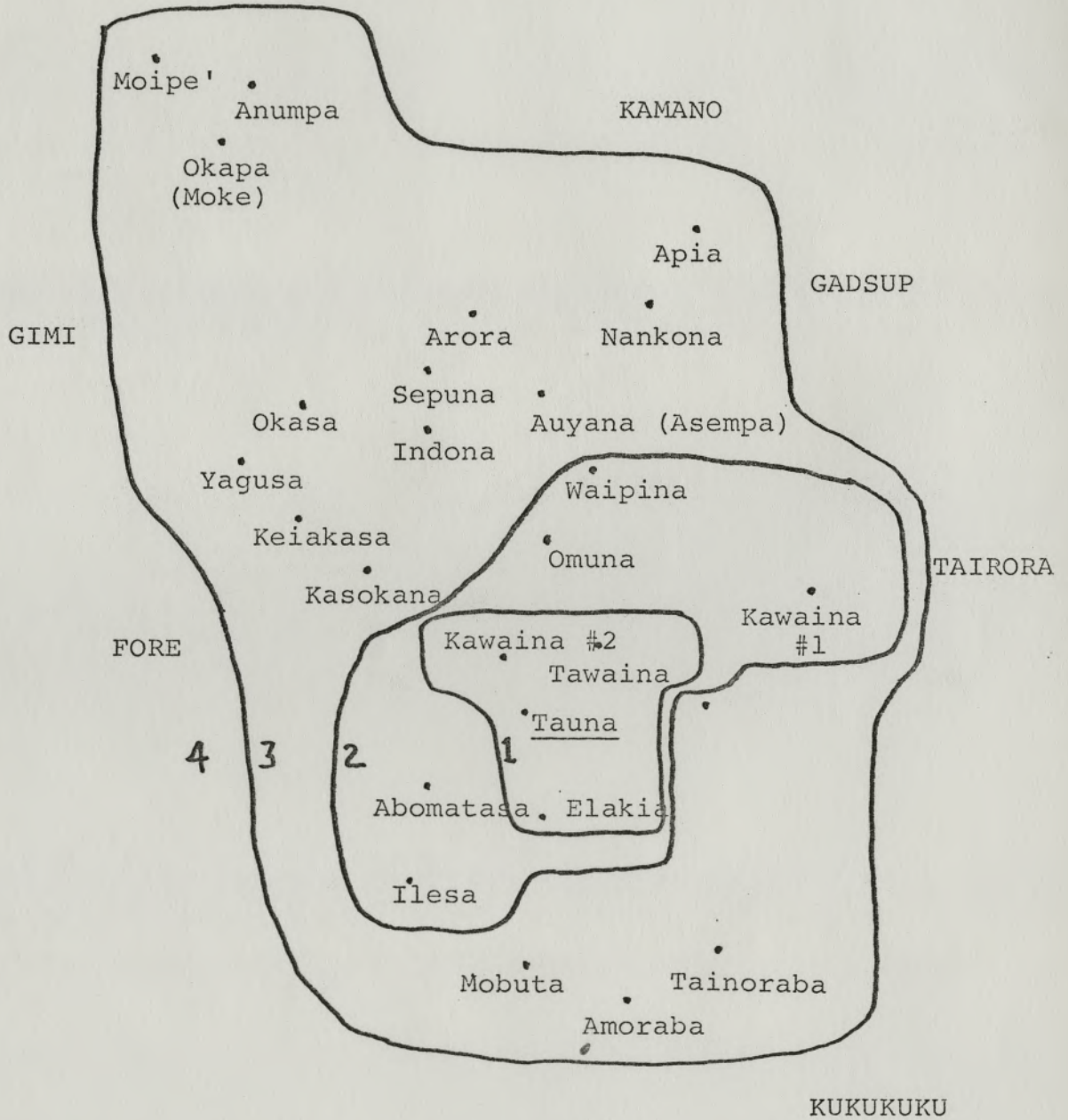
<u>Circle</u>	<u>Sovereignty Name</u>	<u>Language Group</u>
1	Elakia	Awa
	Tawaina	Awa
	Kawaina #2	Auyana
2	Abomatasa	Fore
	Ilesa	Fore
	Kawaina #1	Auyana
	Omuna	Auyana
	Waipina	Auyana
3	Amoraba	Awa
	Mobuta	Awa
	Ogaratapa	Awa
	Tainoraba	Awa
	Anumpa ⁴	Fore
	Kasokana	Fore
	Keiakasa	Fore
	Yagusa	Fore
	Apia	Auyana
	Arora	Auyana
	Auyana (Asempa)	Auyana
	Indona	Auyana
	Nankona	Auyana
Sepuna	Auyana	
Moipe'	Usurufa	
4	unnamed	Fore
		Gadsup
		Gimi
		Kamano
		Kukukuku
		Tairora

⁴Berndt (1962: 22-3) lists Anumpa as a patrilineage rather than a village or a place. It is located mainly in Ora district with one group in Busarasa district, both districts around present day Okapa.

Tauna informants also called Anumpa by the Awa name of Ora'pe'. In Scott's map (1963: 282) Anumpa is designated as a "village." I have thus considered it to be generally equivalent to a sovereignty as the term has been used here, although it is conceivable that it may refer to different levels of social groups.

MAP 4

LOCATION OF TAUNA AND
NEARBY SOVEREIGNTIES



Sovereignty: Tauna
OUTER LANGUAGE GROUP: FORE

relationships with the three other sovereignties⁵ in Circle 1: Elakia, Tawaina, and Kawaina #2. With these sovereignties, relationships of all kinds, especially marriage and warfare, were much more frequent than with more distant sovereignties.

Circle 2 consists of nearby (within a day's walk) Fore and Auyana sovereignties. A note of clarification regarding the names of Kawaina sovereignties is needed here. What is labelled as Kawaina #2 is sometimes referred to as Kawaina #1 and vice versa. The problem is a result of the fact that informants in different Kawaina areas themselves number these sovereignties differently because of the movements from area to area. In this thesis, the Kawaina sovereignties are numbered in the way they are conceived of by Tauna informants and by the Administration.

The main relationships with Circle 2 groups were in

⁵For purposes of this thesis, Elakia, Tawaina, and Kawaina #2 are considered to be three separate sovereignties. Newman (personal communication) adds that in pre-contact times, Elakia (presently one census unit) may have in fact been two separate sovereignties, Ira'kiah and Po'na. There is some indication that Tawaina and perhaps Kawaina #2 may have been divided into two parts. Whether these units should be called pooling units, as in Auyana, or separate sovereignties, is uncertain. But since the precise structure of these units is not yet known or reported, they are considered to be a single sovereignty unit. No doubt due to the Administration's influence, they may be merging into single political units. It should be understood then that all references to the "three outside sovereignties," i.e. Elakia, Tawaina, and Kawaina #2, is a higher level categorization which makes no mention of the internal structure of these groups.

gift exchange and trade. Marriages and warfare occurred with these groups but were infrequent. Of all the Auyana sovereignties, Waipina and Omuna only were described as the "true" friends of Tauna. Both of these groups lent physical support in warfare to Tauna, but avoided fighting other sovereignties, such as Tawaina, where they also had good relationships. When asked why these particular groups were selected for exchange relationships (and some for wives and fighting), the usual response was that "the ancestors marked what places one should be enemies and friends with." Trading excursions between Tauna and these two Auyana sovereignties continued throughout the period of Administration contact, or even may have increased, since steel tools and other manufactured goods were beginning to filter down through the areas of the Highlands being settled by Europeans.

A myth, independently recalled by both an Auyana and a Tauna informant, was given as the main reason why Tauna and Auyana sovereignties (with the exception of Kawaina #1 and Kawaina #2) did not inter-marry. It would be difficult to conclude that a myth, alone, might regulate this behavior, and certainly other factors, such as distance, probably operate here.

In this myth, a snake and a bat from Auyana married two Awa women from Elakia. One of the women gets pregnant and later gives birth to rats, snakes, insects, and birds

as her "children." One snake in particular looked like the father. All of these animals are accidentally killed by the wife's mother who drops them in the fire. When the snake husband finds out, he kills his wife's mother. In revenge, his wife kills him. Taken literally, this myth could point to the possibility that both "no good" children and fighting between in-laws may be a result of the Auyana marrying people from the Awa. Consequently, marriage should be avoided so that trade relationships will not be severed. (The northern Awa villages, Tauna, Tawaina, and Elakia were collectively called Anepa' by the Auyana.)

In terms of distance, customs, and language, the Fore groups were said to be more different than the Auyana groups in relationship to Tauna. Yet, there were a total of 14 marriages (5 women taken in and 9 sent out between 1900-70) between Tauna and Fore sovereignties, namely Abomatasa, Anumpa, and Ilesa. But the reason why more marriages are not contracted is that the Fore are said to practice a particularly dangerous and lethal type of sorcery, tugabu sorcery, which is believed to be responsible for kuru, a degenerative nervous disease.

Tugabu sorcery, as Tauna informants said it was practiced by the Fore, takes the following form. It is the only kind of sorcery which takes four or five men to perform it. The victim is first "sighted" by the leader of the group who holds a magical leaf in front of his eyes. By

doing this, the victim will not be able to see who is coming. When the victim approaches, he is physically attacked and beaten up by the men so that he is unconscious. A special tugabu stick is shoved under his skin in various parts of his body. If the attack is successful, an accomplice of the sorcerers may then approach the man pretending to help him. He offers him a piece of sweet potato which may have feces or magical leaves in it. He then helps the man go back to his house. Additional sorcery may be made by taking some of the ground the man fell on and cooking it with another kind of magical leaf. All Fore men know how to perform tugabu sorcery; there are no specialists.

It is not known to what extent tugabu sorcery actually takes place as stated above. Berndt (1962: 224), who studied the South Fore, comments:

In the majority of cases, the sangguma (Pidgin for tugabu) 'nails' are projected into the victim only symbolically, but there is some evidence to suggest that more than this may be attempted. A victim may be violently beaten and then released exhausted; because of the widespread belief in sangguma, he is convinced that the operation has been performed on him, and this has a detrimental effect on his health. (Bracket added.)

With government contact, the fear of Fore tugabu sorcery has not diminished in Tauna. Men who walk through Fore country do so usually in pairs. The only thing said to have changed in recent years is the sorcery apparatus.

Wires from the inside of an umbrella are said to be used instead of the traditional sharpened tugabu stick.

This belief in Fore sorcery and the overall violent nature of the Fore is reflected in Tauna's diagnoses of the causes of death of persons who have had prolonged contact with the Fore; for example, women who have married Fore males. Of the 12 women who died of tugabu sorcery, 7 (58%) of them were married to Fore men. This contrasts with the normal rate of sorcery deaths for all females in Tauna which is 25.2%.

Circle 3 consists mainly of other Awa, Auyana, and Fore sovereignties where trade goods not readily available in Tauna were sought. The main trade items received and desired from the Fore and Auyana areas were pigs, chickens, and shells. Feathers, of all kinds, came from the Mobuta area to Elakia and Tauna and then on to the Fore and Auyana areas. String bags, strips of bark used for clothing, and bows and arrows were originally made in Tauna and traded into the Fore and Auyana areas. In particular, the right kind of tree (black palm) for making bows was said to be abundant in Tauna but scarce in the Fore and Auyana areas and was greatly desired by them. Birds and bird's eggs also were traded to the Fore and Auyana sovereignties from the southern Awa groups.

The general flow of trade objects between Tauna and outside sovereignties can be summarized as follows:

<u>Other Sovereignty</u>	<u>Received</u>	<u>Sent</u>
Elakia	string bags, arrows, feathers	shells, salt
Tawaina	string bags, arrows, feathers	shells, salt
Kawaina #2	shells	string bags, bows and arrows
Auyana (Omuna, Waipina, Indona, Sepuna, Asempa, Kawaina #1, Nankona, Apia)	shells, later axes and knives	bows and arrows, string bags, feathers
Fore (Yagusa, Ilesa, Abomatasa, Anumpa, Kasokana, Keiakasa)	shells, salt, ashes used in sorcery	bows and arrows, string bags, feathers
Awa (Mobuta, Amoraba, Tainoraba)	feathers	shells

Two types of gift exchanges can be distinguished: (1) delayed exchange, and (2) direct exchange (trade). Both types of exchange are on an individual basis, although groups of men, rather than individuals, usually comprise trading parties.

Delayed exchange appears to involve relatives rather than friends or strangers and persons in near rather than distant sovereignties. It is not entirely clear whether these gifts should or should not be returned later. Some informants remarked that gifts to relatives were simply "pure" gifts, while others said that they should be returned later, but not immediately. "Relatives" in this category include men in one's own pooling unit, in one's

wife's and mother's pooling unit, and cross-cousins. Regardless of what gift is given, it is the personal contact between individuals that is important since some sort of gift is expected to be transferred in these relationships. These gift exchanges do not constitute public poolings and therefore are not obligations which are related to group membership. They may be initiated at any time.

Direct exchange does not necessarily depend upon establishing or securing one's personal relationships; it is more impersonal. It usually takes place when two or more sovereignties decide to gather and exchange goods. If, for example, a man wants to acquire a pig, he would go to another place and look for a pig he liked and then find out who the owner was. Between him and the owner there is room for bargaining over exchange items. When an agreement is reached, goods are exchanged immediately. In this type of exchange, goods are traded because persons in more distant sovereignties may have different ecological specializations or access to other trade routes.

Each man, of course, also had regular trading partners in other sovereignties who would insure that a particular item would be saved for exchange at the request of his partner. These types of exchange partners and the interaction that occurs between them differ markedly from the type of exchange where a man simply desires to "buy"

another object from a man.

Friendships would be encouraged and developed between the sons of trading partners, and they would continue the relationship through time. Tauna informants usually claimed that a man's trading partners were "marked" in advance by his ancestors, although they regularly admitted that men always tried to seek new partners, such as a person who offered a good "deal."

Over time, pooling units within Tauna carried on more or less permanent trading relationships, if not interrupted by war, with other sovereignties. It was said that most men followed the "law" of the ancestors and regularly traded with the same outside groups. As can be seen from the following list, different pooling units within Tauna seemed to concentrate their attention on certain outside sovereignties. Every adult male in each of Tauna's pooling units, however, was said to have at least one regular exchange partner in the adjacent sovereignties of Elakia, Tawaina, and Kawaina #2. (Also see Map 4)

<u>Tauna Pooling Unit</u>	<u>Main Trading Sovereignties (excluding Circle 1)</u>
Tanuna	Apia Kasokana Mobuta Omuna
Aramona	Asempa Ilesa Waipina Yagusa

Apia	Abomatasa Kawaina #1 Omuna Waipina
Obepina	Abomatasa Anumpa Indona Kawaina #1 Nankona
Awatera	Anumpa Kawaina #1 Nankona Sepuna

Tauna had little direct relationship with other Awa sovereignties in Circle 3. No marriages between Tauna and them took place. Tauna fought against them only when it was helping another sovereignty as an ally, but never as a primary adversary. Trade with these sovereignties was mostly conducted at a closer sovereignty, e.g. Elakia or Tawaina.

Sovereignties listed in Circle 4 were not distinguished by name from one another and were not visited in person by Tauna members. The languages of these groups were unintelligible. Men, unlike Tauna men, were said to live in the mountainous Kukukuku area. They were believed to be near-men who lived in stone caves, or they were said to be ghosts. No relationships of any kind were made with these outside groups although their existence was known through hearsay from other sovereignties.

Tauna Land Ownership and Hamlet Patterns

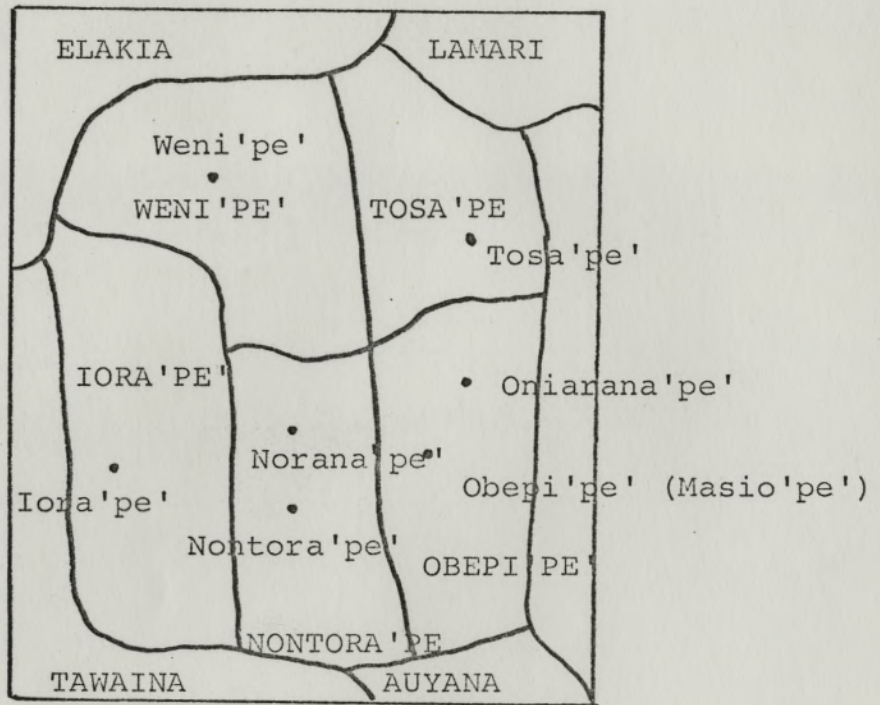
All land in Tauna is divided into named and recognizable plots set off from one another by natural markers such as rivers, certain trees, clumps of bamboo, and stones. In general, these plots are owned by specific pooling units who have rights to this land in gardening. These rights are inherited within the pooling unit through one's father. Probably because there is judged to be plenty of arable land available, the actual use of land for gardening is quite flexible. Individuals often use land belonging to their wife's or mother's pooling unit as well as their own. Since this is not a central concern of this thesis, these figures will not be presented here.

Map 5 is a sketch map of Tauna with the location of present hamlets and the location of the ten main Tauna areas which are usually the same as hamlet names. In describing the location of a particular named area of land, informants would, besides pointing, usually indicate its relationship to a present or past hamlet area, or describe its position in a relationship to a bordering sovereignty. These ten main areas have been demarcated by these criteria.

From the area marked "Tawaina" (Tauna land on the Tawaina border) most of the Tauna area is visible looking southwest down into a valley which is open at that end and enclosed by mountains on the other three sides. It is estimated that primary forest, mainly around the north

MAP 5

MAP OF MAIN TAUNA AREAS AND LOCATION OF
PRESENT HAMLETS



MAIN TAUNA AREAS: NONTORA 'PE'

Hamlet Names: Nontora 'pe'

(Auyana) and east (Tawaina) borders covers about a quarter of the land. Most of the older hamlets and gardens are at the center and lower parts of the valley where there is also a greater amount of kunai grass covering the mountain slopes. Secondary growth comes down from the mountains and up from the rivers and usually meets the kunai grass midway. The altitude of the hamlet marked Nontora'pe' is 4400 feet which is probably one of the lowest habitable points in the whole Tauna valley.

Within each of the ten main areas are smaller named individual plots which are owned by specific pooling units⁶

⁶The names of most Tauna areas were collected from my primary informant. Many times I simply asked him to call out the names of the places in a certain section of Tauna. I added these to a file of names which I heard in conversations, myths, when I asked people where they were going, and when I walked from one area to another and the boundaries of named plots (often invisible to me) were pointed out. By the end of my stay, I could assert that the list collected was fairly complete for at least a representative sample of the total named areas in Tauna.

The knowledge of the names and location of these areas is learned fairly young. Sometimes the names of these areas on duplicate cards would be thrown in the trash box, and small children would ask me what was on it. I would then call the name of the area out. They would laugh and then I would ask them where it was, and they would point to it. In this informal way, the location of some areas was re-checked.

The pooling unit ownership of areas was also collected from my primary informant. Towards the end of my stay, an attempt was made to verify this information and another informant was solicited to help me. At this time, 560 (final total 581) named areas within Tauna were collected. The informant was asked what pooling unit owned what area listed on every fourth card in my file which was in alphabetical order. Thus 25%, 139 names, of the total sample was rechecked.

Agreement on pooling unit ownership was reached in 79%

(see Table 6). The most number of named plots, probably coinciding with the most arable and lowest land, is in the Nontora'pe' area. Overall 51% (297/581) of the named plots was judged to be "arable," i.e. had or presently has gardens on them. Other non-arable areas were described as consisting of stone mountains, kunai grass, primary forest, or were cemetery and ghost places.

Pooling unit land holdings are concentrated in specific parts of Tauna. Specifically: (1) Aramona pooling unit has most of its owned lands in the Iora'pe' hamlet and Tawaina border areas; (2) Tanuna pooling unit claims most of the land in the Weni'pe' hamlet and Elakia border areas; (3) Apia pooling unit has most of its owned lands in the central Nontora'pe' hamlet area; (Obepina pooling unit has much of its land in the central Nontora'pe' area and in the area adjacent to it in the direction of Kawaina #2); and (5) Awatera pooling unit, indicating its migratory past, claims most of its land around the Kawaina #2 border. This distribution of owned land plots within Tauna represents sections where the ancestors (real and mythic) of the pooling units and sub-pooling units first made their

(110/139) of these. Regarding those cases where there was disagreement, the responses given by my primary informant were used for the reason that he appeared to me to be more knowledgeable about the land categorization system in general. The second informant tended to say that certain areas were owned by all of Tauna rather than being more specific, and sometimes he had to be told where a certain area was before he could answer who owned it.

TABLE 6

NUMBER OF OWNED AREAS BY POOLING UNIT

<u>Name of Main</u> <u>Tauna Area</u>	<u>Pooling Unit</u>					<u>Total</u>
	<u>Aramona</u>	<u>Awatera</u>	<u>Apia</u>	<u>Obepina</u>	<u>Tanuna</u>	
Elakia border	0	0	0	0	17	17 (3%)
Lamari border	21	10	2	6	25	64 (11%)
Weni 'pe'	10	2	4	4	78	98 (15%)
Tosa 'pe'	3	3	0	19	7	32 (6%)
Iora 'pe'	64	0	3	3	38	108 (19%)
Nontora 'pe	11	6	50	34	25	126 (22%)
Obepi 'pe'	7	6	7	16	8	44 (8%)
Kawaina #2 border	0	38	2	4	0	44 (8%)
Tawaina border	33	0	5	2	1	41 (7%)
Auyana border	1	4	0	2	0	7 (1%)
Totals (Percent)	150 (26%)	69 (12%)	73 (13%)	90 (15%)	199 (34%)	581 (100%)

gardens and hamlets. There is no precise measure of estimating how long ago these activities first began.

The construction and spacing of hamlets is probably affected by the natural features of the environment (e.g. mountain ridges for defense, nearby arable land, etc.) in addition to the spatial distribution of areas owned by each pooling unit. Table 7 shows the distribution of Tauna pooling unit members (excluding in-marrying women) in all of the hamlets in 1970. The conclusion is that men generally live with the same pooling unit members and in a hamlet which is built on land owned by their pooling unit.

Before government contact, hamlets were enclosed by long, high (10-12 feet) fences as protection against being fired upon by raiding parties. Hamlets were usually built on ridges which permitted men to survey the surrounding area for the enemy. Every hamlet and garden had several roads leading to and from it for a quick escape.

The names of all past and present Tauna hamlets and the time span for each of them is presented in Table 8. Several hamlets, it will be noted, have had a long life-span, over 70 years of continuous residence. But normally, hamlets were not stable physical structures and were abandoned for a variety of reasons; warfare with

TABLE 7

POPULATION OF TAUNA POOLING UNITS BY PRESENT
HAMLET RESIDENCE (1970)

<u>Pooling</u> <u>Name</u>	<u>Unit</u>	<u>Hamlet Name</u>						<u>Total</u> <u>(Percent)</u>	
		Iora'pe'	Nontora'pe'	Weni'pe'	Norana'pe'	Obepi'pe'	Oniaranape		Tosa'pe'
Tanuna		16	0	8	0	4	0	0	28 (17.8%)
Aramona		26	10	0	0	5	0	0	41 (26.1%)
Apia		4	17	0	0	0	1	0	22 (14.0%)
Obepina		1	4	6	4	15	0	1	31 (19.7%)
Awatera		4	4	0	0	13	6	8	35 (22.3%)
Total		51	35	14	4	37	7	9	157 (100%)
(Percent)		(32.5%)	(22.3%)	(8.9%)	(2.5%)	(23.6%)	(4.5%)	(5.7%)	

Chi square = 171.64, df = 24, significant at .001 level

TABLE 8

TIME PERSPECTIVE OF TAUNA HAMLETS

Hamlet Name	1960-1950-	1940-	1930-	1920-	1910-	1900-	pre		
	1970	1969	1959	1949	1939	1929	1919	1909	1900
Ainchu'pe'			x	x					
Antepi'pe'							x	x	
Aramisa'pe' ⁴						x	x		
Arapona'pe'						x	x	x	x
Asuara'pe' ^{2,4}		x	x	x	x		x	x	x
Arawe'pe'			x	x	x				
Ia'pe'								x	x
Iamanta'pe'		x							
Iankuernara'pe' ²			x	x					
Iora'pe'	x	x	x						
Imia'pe'				x	x				
Ino'pe'			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Kobantura'pe' ¹	x	x	x						
Konko'pe' ¹	x	x	x						
Mamara'pe'						x	x		
Mokanara'pe'				x	x				
Nontora'pe'	x	x							
Norana'pe'	x	x							
Obepeta'pe'							x	x	
Obepi'pe'	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Oniarana'pe'	x	x							
Ontara'pe'		x	x						
Ota'pe'			x	x	x				
Ontuna'pe'								x	x
Pantoka'pe'			x	x					
Pioko'pe'		x	x	x					
Potopi'pe'				x					
Taina'pe'				x	x	x	x	x	x
Tanu'pe'			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Tarakia'pe'				x	x				
Tumera'pe'								?	?
Tosa'pe'	x	x							
Tumpo'pe' ³			x	x					
Una'pe'		x	x	x					
Urara'pe'			x	x					
Wano'pe'			x	x					
Wein'pe'	x	x							

¹Presently a Kawaina #2 hamlet

²both Awatera pooling unit and some Kawaina #2 lived there

³later became an Elakia hamlet

⁴some Abomatasa lived there

outside sovereignties account for almost half of the known cases⁷ (see Table 9).

It was often stated that in the past men were more mobile than they are today. The larger populated hamlets, and the fewer present hamlets, are in part a product of the Administration's insistence that people live "where they are supposed to," not in distant pig houses or in the bush where they can hide from census and medical patrols.

Today, the structure of hamlets has not entirely changed. While some hamlets are composed of many families or almost an entire pooling unit, three present-day hamlets have only one or two families in them. The indigenous pattern seems to have been similar. While there was always semi-permanent large hamlets with men's houses and a line of women's houses, there were also many smaller outlying hamlets where men might keep their pigs and wives in a sort of hiding place. One man then could actually have several houses (or sleeping places) in different hamlets

⁷There were five other cases where no data were gathered. The percentage error here is due to rounding.

There is little information on hamlet moving or in-sovereignty movement for other New Guinea groups. One notable exception is Brown and Brookfield (1967). Generally, warfare and land unavailability have been suggested as the main factors. In Tauna, the latter alternative did not play a significant role. Even in warfare, there were no mass movements displacing all of Tauna. This can be contrasted with the Maring who "remain at a place between one and fifteen years" (Rappaport 1969: 149) although neither the "place" nor the number and size of local groups and the reason are suggested in his discussion.

TABLE 9

REASONS FOR ABANDONING HAMLETS

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Number of Cases (Percent)</u>	
Warfare:		
fought with Fore	1	(4%)
fought with Auyana	2	(9%)
fought with Elakia	2	(9%)
fought with Kawaina #2	5	(22%)
Other:		
many people died or got sick there	4	(17%)
snakes killed pigs there	1	(4%)
it was a "no good" place	1	(4%)
Australian Government orders	7	(30%)
	<hr/>	
TOTAL	23	(99%)

at the same time.

In this chapter, it has been shown that pooling units are usually also residential units and the area of hamlet residence is dependent, for one, upon land ownership patterns. The spatial hamlet pattern of Tauna appears to differ markedly from the residential pattern of nearby Awa and Auyana sovereignties. In Elakia (Newman, personal communication), Tawaina, and Kawaina #2 (I visited the latter two) present-day hamlets are much larger populated and are not so widely dispersed over the entire sovereignty territory. This could be a function of the fact that land owning sub-units within these sovereignties are much larger in size and number fewer than in Tauna (also refer to footnote 5, this chapter).

As far as could be determined, apart from the physical structure of hamlets and the tendency towards more centralization with government contact, the spacing of hamlets in Tauna, as compared to other close sovereignties, has always been different. This can be explained partially by the fact that people in the same groups (e.g. pooling units) tend to live together and build their homes on land which they own. In Tauna, these owned plots within sovereignty territory generally belong to individual pooling units, and are concentrated in different sections of the sovereignty. Furthermore, groups in the New Guinea Highlands tend (or tended) to congregate on mountain ridges for defensive

reasons. The fear of sorcery and sickness may also add to the dispersal of a population (Brown and Brookfield 1967: 146-8), especially when members are in different groups.

In sum, this chapter has been concerned with: (1) the organization of pooling units and sub-pooling units within Tauna; (2) the spatial and social relationships of Tauna to outside sovereignties; and (3) the relationship of pooling units to land ownership and residence patterns. In the next chapter, Tauna marriage behavior will be discussed focusing on each pooling unit as it is related to outside sovereignties.

CHAPTER FOUR

MARRIAGE

As mentioned in Chapter 3, there were reasons that Tauna men and women seldom, or never, married persons from other outside sovereignties. Certainly sovereignties in the Fore and Auyana areas were physically accessible though not on Tauna's immediate borders. But partly because of beliefs about sorcery and in certain myths, marriage was limited in frequency with these groups. Since none of these prohibitions were in effect with bordering (Circle 1) sovereignties, other variables such as propinquity and individual preferences seemed to have played a part in affecting the distribution of marriages between Tauna pooling units and outside sovereignties.

Propinquity in the selection of marriage partners has been shown to be a relatively good predictive independent variable in New Guinea as well as in other environments.¹ If this argument holds for maximal political units (sovereignties), then will it also hold for exogamous sub-units within them in relationship to outside sovereignties? Tauna presents a good test case for this idea because of

¹See for example Abrams (1943) and Ramsoy (1966).

the distribution of owned land areas by pooling units and the pattern of hamlet location. Hamlets within Tauna are sufficiently dispersed so that some hamlets are closer to other sovereignties than they are to other hamlets within Tauna. On the basis of the data presented in Chapter 3 on land ownership and residence patterns, one should be able to make certain predictions about the number of marriages with outside sovereignties for each Tauna pooling unit relative to propinquity.

The following list matches Tauna pooling units (which are usually residential units; see Table 7) with the nearest outside sovereignty in terms of owned lands within Tauna and hamlet settlement:

<u>Tauna Pooling Unit</u>	<u>Nearest Sovereignty</u>
Tanuna	Elakia
Aramona	Tawaina
Apia	Kawaina #2
Obepina	Kawaina #2
Awatera	Kawaina #2

These distances have not markedly changed, at least within the last 70 years. Even though some of the hamlets have been destroyed and replaced with others, the distribution of land ownership areas belonging to each pooling unit has remained stable. No permanent land transfers between pooling units were recorded (outside of the migration of Awatera pooling unit; see Chapter 3). Temporary

usufructary gardening privileges between individuals in different pooling units is common, but use does not imply ownership. If the "propinquity hypothesis" is correct, then marriages with these outside sovereignties and Tauna pooling units should correspond. The following three tables² (10, 11, and 12) show the distribution of marriages through time between Tauna pooling units and the sovereignties of Elakia, Tawaina, and Kawaina #2.

These tables indicate that for a tabulation of individual male and female Egos, there are certain trends for pooling units to select marriage partners from near sovereignties, but with the exception of Awatera and Obepina pooling units favoring marriages with Kawaina #2 (Table 12), they are not statistically significant. These trends are not exactly those predicted by the "propinquity hypothesis." For example, both Tanuna and Aramona had an equal number of marriages with Tawaina, and Aramona actually contracted more marriages with Elakia than did Tanuna. One intervening variable is relative pooling unit size.

As physical distance from Tauna increases beyond Circle 1 sovereignties, other variables affect the pattern of

²There are discrepancies in the totals and sums of some of the tables in this thesis due to the fact that a pairwise deletion of missing variables was performed by the computer, i.e. where one variable in a chi square table, for example, had missing data, the other variable value was also eliminated. The computer program used was the SPSS (Nie, Bent and Hull 1970).

TABLE 10

POOLING UNIT MEMBERSHIP AND NUMBER OF
SPOUSES FROM ELAKIA (1900-1970)

<u>Pooling Unit</u>	<u>Number of Spouses</u>			<u>Totals</u>
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	
Tanuna	109	9	1	119 (23.9%)
Aramona	134	14	0	148 (29.8%)
Apia	64	2	0	66 (13.3%)
Obepina	83	6	1	90 (18.1%)
Awatera	68	6	0	74 (14.9%)
Totals	458	37	2	497 (100%)
	(92.2%)	(7.4%)	(0.4%)	

Chi square = 5.715, df = 8, not significant at .05 level.

TABLE 11

POOLING UNIT MEMBERSHIP AND NUMBER OF
SPOUSES FROM TAWAINA (1900-1970)

<u>Pooling Unit</u>	<u>Number of Spouses</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	
Tanuna	113	6	119 (23.9%)
Aramona	142	6	148 (29.8%)
Apia	62	4	66 (13.3%)
Obepina	88	2	90 (18.1%)
Awatera	72	2	74 (14.9%)
Totals	477	20	497 (100%)
	(96.0%)	(4.0%)	

Chi square = 2.119, df = 4, not significant at .05 level.

TABLE 12

POOLING UNIT MEMBERSHIP AND NUMBER OF
SPOUSES FROM KAWAINA #2 (1900-1970)

<u>Pooling Unit</u>	<u>Number of Spouses</u>			<u>Totals</u>
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	
Tanuna	119	0	0	119 (23.9%)
Aramona	145	3	0	148 (29.8%)
Apia	65	1	0	66 (13.3%)
Obepina	86	4	0	90 (18.1%)
Awatera	65	8	1	74 (14.9%)
Totals	480	16	1	497 (100%)
	(96.6%)	(3.2%)	(0.2%)	

Chi square = 25.256, df = 8, significant at .01 level

marriages to make distance alone an even less reliable predictive variable. Even further away from Tauna, any kind of social interaction between sovereignties is not sustained.

Before outside contact, it is said that men married older and girls married younger than they do now. Parents of the prospective bride and groom would begin a series of talks and negotiations and make the final marriage decisions for their children. Ideally, a man who was "strong" (physically and socially), had plentiful gardens, many pigs, and who had enough bridewealth was desired by the potential bride's parents. Young women were sought who had "good skins," and who were known to work hard in their gardens. Less desirable women were said to have been sent to outside sovereignties for marriage.

When young girls were at the age of puberty (about 10-12), informants said that they might at that time be marked for marriage. By having a long engagement, parents of the bride would have a number of years to "look" at the groom. If he had productive gardens and presented his affines-to-be with many wild pigs and marsupials, he would be considered to be a potential suitable mate. (See Appendix 2 for a brief description of Tauna Awa marriage ceremonies.)

It would be difficult to assess the number and availability of eligible marriage partners (not even accounting

for personal preferences) in the past, since there is no reliable demographic information for Tauna and surrounding sovereignties. Merely judging by sovereignty size, it would appear that in the present, the number of potential eligible marriage partners would be comparatively greater for each individual than in the past. But even now this proposed increased pool of females does not insure a Tauna wife for every Tauna male, not to imply that this is particularly desirable for everyone.

Within the next five years in Tauna, there will be 10 eligible males and 6 eligible females for marriage. Nowadays, males usually wed between the ages of 20-25 and females between 16-21. Awatera pooling unit will have neither eligible males nor females, and given the attribute of pooling unit exogamy, the choice of marriage partners within the sovereignty is extremely limited. Sovereignty exogamy then becomes imperative if a man is to marry at all and if the preference for polygyny continues.

However, it is surprising that, over time, even in a society that stresses male wealth and polygyny, the total number of marriages for females is not significantly different from the total number of marriages for males (see Table 13). The same is true for out-sovereignty marriages: females marry spouses from outside sovereignties

TABLE 13

TOTAL NUMBER OF MARRIAGES BY SEX
(1900-1970)

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Number of Marriages</u>						<u>Totals</u>
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	
Male	139	110	27	6	1	1	284 (52.6%)
Female	99	119	32	6	0	0	256 (47.4%)
Totals	238	229	59	12	1	1	540 (100%)
	(44.1%)	(42.4%)	(10.9%)	(2.2%)	(0.2%)	(0.2%)	

Chi square = 8.069, df = 5, not significant at .05 level.

about as often as males (see Table 14³). The reason for these figures probably has something to do with the premature death of young married males mostly in warfare and the remarriage of widows. And since women are relatively scarce, there is no unwillingness to marry widows, or women with physical defects such as albinism, goiter, or even yaws.

From a sample of living married men, it appears that most men before marriage have their own preferences of spouses, but for one reason or other their first choice is not acceptable⁴ (see Table 15). This sample consists of about 50% of the married men in the sovereignty where data was available. Objections raised by the man's pooling unit or his intended bride's pooling unit, combined with preferences from another woman and her pooling unit, account for a high percentage of cases of how actual marriage choices are changed.

Complete changes in sovereignty, from preferred bride to actual spouse, account for 72% (13/18) of all the cases. The breakdown is: 7 cases where a woman in an outside sovereignty was first chosen, but the man finally married a Tauna woman; 5 cases where a Tauna woman was selected and

³The "0" marriages column refers to no outside marriages which includes no marriages at all and marriages only within Tauna.

⁴Twenty men were selected, on availability, and two persons reported that they married their first marriage choice.

TABLE 14

SEX BY THE TOTAL NUMBER OF OUTSIDE
SOVEREIGNTIES MARRIAGES
(1900-1970)

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Number of Marriages</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	
Male	223	52	2	277 (52.1%)
Female	215	34	6	255 (47.9%)
Totals	438	86	8	532 (100%)
	(82.3%)	(16.2%)	(1.5%)	

Chi square = 5.012, df = 2, not significant at .05 level

TABLE 15

REASONS FOR MALE EGO NOT MARRYING
HIS FIRST MARRIAGE CHOICE

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Number (Percent)</u>	
Another woman insisted on marrying him	5	(28%)
Another pooling unit insisted on him marrying their daughter	3	(17%)
His own pooling unit objected to his choice	3	(17%)
His first choice refused	2	(11%)
His intended bride's pooling unit objected	2	(11%)
The relationship between him and his intended bride was said to be too "close"	2	(11%)
His intended bride copulated with others and he refused to marry her	1	(5%)
TOTAL	18	(100%)

the man eventually married a woman from another sovereignty; and 1 case where one outside sovereignty was chosen, but the man finally married a woman from another one. In addition, there were 5 cases within Tauna: 2 of them involved a marriage to a spouse within the same pooling unit as the first preference, and 3 in which the married spouse was in a different pooling unit from the intended marriage choice. These figures appear to indicate that choices involving marriages outside the sovereignty are wrought with more indecision, and initiated with more tentativeness, than in-sovereignty marriage choices.

Using a sample of living married men with wives from other sovereignties, Table 16, though lacking in sample size and time perspective, indicates that the initiator of a sovereignty exogamous marriage is more frequently a person other than a male Ego who is to be married. Of course, these recent figures may be affected by the increasing autonomy of women in selecting their own marriage partners.

Despite the more general objections to marriage with other sovereignties, there were also a series of stereotypic attitudes about females held by Tauna men. It was not determined whether in fact these stereotypes were individual rather than general. One informant claimed that not only marriage, but copulation, with Fore women was the cause of sickness where a man's penis and testicles would swell up and he would eventually die. On the other hand, it was said

TABLE 16

INITIATOR OF OUT-SOVEREIGNTY MARRIAGES

<u>Initiator</u>	<u>Number (Percent)</u>	
Ego (male)	2	(15.4%)
Ego's wife	5	(38.4%)
Ego's father	2	(15.4%)
Ego's wife's pooling unit	4	(30.2%)
	<hr/>	
TOTAL	13	(100%)

that it was safe to copulate with Auyana women, but not marry them. Other illnesses such as a bloated stomach (dysentery), and chills and fever were sometimes attributed to copulation with women in distant sovereignties.

The women of Tawaina were said by Tauna men to have more menstrual blood (which is undesirable) than Tauna women. One informant correlated the height of women with the size of their vaginas, and concluded that small women were more desirable than tall women since they had smaller, tight vaginas. Tall women with big vaginas are liable to get pregnant sooner than small women since, at marriage, pig's fat is put in their vagina and for tall women it will ooze out more quickly.

Women who were sent to Tawaina and Elakia to be married were said to grow older more quickly because the mountains were higher and the gardens further away from the hamlets than in Tauna. These two sovereignties are also said to not pay enough bridewealth. With the increasing use of money in marriage payments, Kawaina #2 and other Fore and Auyana sovereignties are known to be comparatively richer than Awa groups, and one informant claims that Tauna will now try to send wives to those groups; a trend in this direction is not yet confirmed.

In addition to these attitudes about women in other sovereignties, similar general attitudes were mentioned for women in other pooling units within Tauna. Men would

sometimes describe the women in other pooling units as being stubborn, having large vaginas, or being poor garden workers. The extent to which these ideas actually weighed in prohibiting marriages within Tauna is not ascertainable, but it is believed that they were not very serious constraints in the majority of marriage choices.

The only formal authoritative marriage prohibition was begun in 1967 when the native-elected councillor of Tauna, Tawaina, and Elakia declared that there should be no intermarriage among the sovereignties. Apparently, the women of Tawaina voted on this issue, since a fight over bridewealth payments started the last time a Tawaina woman was sent to Tauna. Elakia also has recently prohibited their women from marrying Tauna men. Since this leader has been replaced in the last election in 1969⁵ by a man from Tauna, the extent of his authority has noticeably diminished. Although no marriages between Tauna and Tawaina or Elakia were recorded within the last five years, it is not certain that this prohibition will be effective in the future given the demographic facts and the past preferences for marriage outside of Tauna.

Among the Tauna Awa, there are two general relationship

⁵Elections, under the guidance of Australian patrol officers, have been conducted in north Awa since 1967 to elect native councillors and committee members who act as mediators between the Administration and the villagers. For a description of these elections in the wider New Guinea political context see the article by Reay (1964).

categories of eligible females for marriage: (1) anoka; and (2) wapanani. Anoka can be translated as "cross-cousin." This term is generally applied to persons of the same relative age as Ego in his mother's and father's sister's husband's pooling units. "Real" cross-cousins, i.e. the biological MoBrDa and FaSiDa, are not eligible marriage partners. They are also called "my sister" (nenimana). When either of these girls marries, Ego receives a substantial part of her bridewealth.

The second category of females, wapanani, can be translated as "another person." Usually, they are not relatives, or at least not close ones. Informants claimed that men should marry "other persons" and were embarrassed if their close relatives received their bridewealth.

A tabulation of all living married males indicates that 25% (13/52) of their marriages were with a "cross-cousin" (anoka); 75% (39/52) were with "another person" (wapanani).

Affinal Relationships

Ideally, marriage between or within sovereignties was reciprocal. Between sovereignties, the "direct" exchange of women was preferred where both sovereignties immediately provided a woman for the other side. According to one informant, 24% (10/42) of the marriages between Elakia and Tauna were direct exchanges; 35% (8/23) between Tawaina and Tauna, and none were noted between Kawaina #2

and Tauna. Whether or not individuals perceived or agreed on a particular marriage being part of an exchange was difficult to assess. Undoubtedly, the actual figures for reciprocal marriages is higher since many other marriages were not "immediate" exchanges. It is not known how long certain marriage contracts for the exchange of women are remembered or allowed to lapse before arguments begin.

One of the main sources of conflict between sovereignties, informants claimed, was when one side did not reciprocate in sending a woman in return. The men would say, "We have penises just like you. We have sent you one of our sisters and now you can send us one of yours!" The extent to which this was a serious threat between sovereignties will be investigated in the next chapter.

Over time, from what data was collected, the sovereignty exogamy rates are relatively stable. For example, before contact (1900-1949), 43.8% of all marriages were outside of the sovereignty. After contact (1950-1970), 47% of all marriages were outside of the sovereignty. The main difference is the extent to which reciprocity in marriage is undertaken. In pre-contact times, there was an almost equal number of Tauna men taking outside women and Tauna women being sent to outside sovereignties (53% to 47%). In post-contact times, Tauna so far has taken in more women than they have sent out (67% to 33%).

For each Tauna pooling unit, the number and percentages

of outside sovereignty marriages contracted over time do not differ significantly when population factors are taken into account (see Table 17). This means that each pooling unit is not particularly using different strategies in regard to the relative number of women that are sent out and taken in. Different strategies, however, are used as to where each pooling unit is sending and receiving wives.

As previously indicated in Tables 10, 11, and 12, there is no statistically significant relationship between Ego (male and female) marrying a spouse from Elakia and Tawaina, but there is with Kawaina #2. On the other hand, because of the differential size of pooling units and sub-pooling units, there is, in almost every case, a statistically significant difference in how pooling units, as a whole, marry women in and out. Calculations were made for each individual regarding the number of biological brother's wives and sister's husbands were from each of the three Circle 1 sovereignties. Primary affinal relationships for the sub-pooling unit (or unit within it) can be made in three ways: (1) by Ego; (2) by Ego's biological brother; and (3) by Ego's biological sister. Therefore, where Ego has more biological brothers and sisters, more inter-personal affinal ties will be created with each marriage as opposed to when Ego is an only child. It is for this reason, as well as the total number of marriages, that marriages for pooling units composed of sub-units with

TABLE 17

POOLING UNITS AND NUMBER OF MARRIAGES WITH
OUTSIDE SOVEREIGNTIES
(1900-1970)

<u>Pooling Unit</u>	<u>Number of Marriages</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	
Tanuna	101	17	1	119 (23.9%)
Aramona	123	23	2	148 (29.7%)
Apia	60	6	0	66 (13.3%)
Obepina	71	16	3	90 (18.1%)
Awatera	54	20	1	75 (15.1%)
Totals	409 (82.1%)	82 (16.5%)	7 (1.4%)	498 (100%)

Chi square = 12.81, df = 8, not significant at .05 level

many biological siblings rather than fewer biological siblings form more affinal ties even though the same number of marriages for Egos in each pooling unit might have taken place. In either case, the number of sibling groups tends to correspond with the size of the pooling unit, i.e. large pooling units have more Egos with more biological siblings. This is not a case of pooling unit size being unrelated to sibling group size and sub-pooling unit size.

There are, of course, varying degrees of affinal relationships. Strictly speaking, everyone in the pooling unit (since it is exogamous) is an affine to the members of the pooling unit of the other bride or groom. But if every possible affinal link were drawn for each pooling unit member, there probably would be little difference in where one's pooling unit members' spouses came from; everyone would have many ties with Elakia, Tawaina, and Kawaina #2. The disadvantage of this approach is that it does not distinguish between the intensity of relationships and the interests and obligations inherent in them.

The affinal relationships which are the closest are those which are made up of relatives socially (and often biologically) nearest to both the bride and the groom. In other words, the relationship between Ego and his wife's brother, for example, tends to be closer than that of Ego's classificatory brother and his wife's classificatory

brother in her pooling unit. By "closeness" is implied the obligation to help considerably, without force, in pre- and post-marital payments and exchanges. Furthermore, political interests in the alliance aspects of the marriage relationship is deemed to be more important by the participants relative to social distance from the bride and groom. (Also, refer to Pooling Unit Attribute #8 and the note of intensification of this attribute at lower levels, i.e. sub-pooling units and sibling groups.)

Data are presented below in Table 18 which indicates the sovereignty location of an outside spouse, the order of Tauna pooling units which receives and sends the most spouses, and the statistical significance level. (Individual chi square tables for each case are not presented.)

Interpreted another way, it is demonstrated that: Tauna pooling unit receives and sends most of its women from Elakia and Tawaina; Aramona from Tawaina and Elakia; Apia from no one particular place; and Obepina and Awatera largely from Kawaina #2. Most of these distribution are statistically significant. The one that is not, Tauna pooling units sending sisters to Kawaina #2, is because of the small occurrence of such events.

During pre-contact times, wife abduction was one way of taking a wife from another sovereignty without paying bridewealth. This was considered to be a major offense against the whole sovereignty and a frequent cause of fights.

TABLE 18

LOCATION AND RELATIVE NUMBER OF EGO'S SIBLING'S
SPOUSES FOR EACH TAUNA POOLING UNIT (MARRIAGES
BETWEEN (1900-1970)

<u>Ego's biological brother's wives from:</u>	<u>Order of pooling units (most to least marriages)</u>	<u>Chi square significance level</u>
Elakia	Tanuna Aramona Awatera Obepina Apia	.05
Tawaina	Aramona Tanuna Apia Obepina Awatera	.01
Kawaina #2	Awatera Obepina Aramona Apia Tanuna	.001
<u>Ego's biological sisters sent to:</u>		
Elakia	Tanuna Obepina Aramona Apia Awatera	.01
Tawaina	Aramona Tanuna Obepina Apia Awatera	.025

TABLE 18

(continued)

<u>Ego's biological sisters sent to:</u>	<u>Order of pooling units (most to least marriages)</u>	<u>Chi square significance level</u>
Kawaina #2	Awatera Obepina Aramona Apia Tanuna	n.s.

There are no reliable statistics on the frequency of wife-abduction in pre-contact times. One informant claimed that ugly women in other sovereignties were shot while "nice ones" were taken. In raids some women, it is reported, would open their bark skirts and invite men for copulation rather than be shot. No more than 5-6 documented cases of wife abduction between 1900-1950 were collected which occurred between Tauna and other Circle 1 sovereignties.

The relationship between a male Ego and his wife's parents is observed to be one of respect and formality. When a man goes to his wife's hamlet and house where his wife's mother is present, he should eat only a small amount of food or nothing at all. Tauna informants said that it was no good if the mother-in-law thinks that her daughter married a man who eats a lot. If his wife's mother is alone in the house, he cannot go inside and sit down and talk with her. There would be great shame if he saw his wife's mother sleeping with her thighs or pubic region showing. Ego's relationship with his wife's father is less formal and there is less pressure to avoid him or be alone with him.

Gift exchange is a regular and expectable part of the affinal relationship, especially between individuals who are closely related to the bride and groom. Under these conditions, gift exchange is said to be non-reciprocal. One informant summed it up by saying, "To my affines I

give things without receiving in return. I would have shame if I tried to exchange with them." If pigs are killed in any distribution, individuals often give small portions to their affines as a matter of course. One particular relationship where informants agreed that gifts need not be returned was from Ego to his sister's husband and their children. Since Ego is their mother's brother, he will be eligible for many payments which they will receive in the future. Another one-way gift relationship is from Ego to his wife's father.

In actual practice, both types of gift giving, reciprocal and non-reciprocal, take place between affines. As to what type takes place depends largely upon the participants in question and whether they are in the same or different sovereignties. Between Ego and his wife's father, gifts tend to be fairly regular in frequency. But between Ego and his wife's brothers (who are roughly the same age as Ego) the gift relationship is less formal, and there is a lesser degree of deference in the relationship. Generally, gift exchange between affines in different sovereignties is marked by more formality and publicity. These gift exchanges are less likely to include classificatory affines in the pooling unit, and there is less obligation to give non-reciprocally, except, perhaps, from Ego to his wife's father.

The degree gift exchange played in fostering and

strengthening political ties with affines or other individuals and groups is not totally clear, since these activities have been changed with the present widespread use of money. At any rate, it is obvious from what data was collected that the extent to which gift exchange and trade was practiced in Tauna was not as intense and complicated as exchange systems were in other parts of the New Guinea Highlands (e.g. Bulmer 1960; Strathern 1971).

Compared to other New Guinea Highlands groups, Tauna was materially poorer. Informants always claimed that they were always lacking pigs (the most anyone had in 1970 was four) in contrast to the nearby Auyana and Fore from whom they received pigs in trade. One factor may be that pigs are more plentiful in grassland as opposed to "bush" areas (Langness 1969: 48, fnt. 6) where there is a tendency for them to go wild. Pigs were killed in ceremonies involving status changes, but they were not regularly exchanged between affines. Similarly, and this may be due also to environmental factors, certain bird feathers and, of course, shells were never abundant in the Tauna area, and were usually only taken in in trade. Because of the relative scarcity of these valuables, enough so that the distribution of wealth among men was relatively even, the ownership of valuables did not appear to have been a good predictor of political status ranking within Tauna. Informants stressed that everyone was "rich" (relatively).

Similarly, the number of spouses a man might have was affected by the demography of Tauna and nearby sovereignties and the wealth of his pooling unit. Because of these limitations, the total number of marriages varied little between adults of either sex. Using a sample of living persons of all ages and all dead persons, Table 12, presented earlier, gives the number of marriages for each individual. The most for anyone is five marriages by a man who presently has two wives. For anyone, the most number of concurrent spouses which could be ascertained was two. This again can be contrasted with groups who are larger in size and materially wealthier such as the Mae Enga who have many more multiple marriages, both simultaneous and successive (Meggitt 1965: 89). On the other hand, the phenomenon of permanent bachelorhood (Bowers 1965) or spinsterhood is virtually non-existent in Tauna. The cases of "0" marriages in most of the tables of this chapter refer to persons who are too young to marry or who died very young. Not a single documented case could be found of a male or female adult who lived through their life without marrying at least once.

Divorce is rare in Tauna. Only six divorces were recorded, most of these since 1950. Of course, there could be omissions in the earlier data which informants did not complete. The main reason for divorce include fighting, adultery, and the husband's dissatisfaction with his wife's work. In the past cases of divorce, no bridewealth was

returned, nor could claims be made for them. The divorced woman is usually remarried, with no additional bridewealth paid, to another man in her first husband's pooling unit. With the little data obtained, there is no indication that divorce is more frequent with men who have wives from outside sovereignties. In the past, men only had the right to initiate divorce, but in recent cases, women have been successful in claiming this right.

Summary

In this chapter, a description of the distribution of Tauna marriages with outside sovereignties and some of the variables which affect this distribution was presented. Three conclusions can be drawn from this data.

First, pooling units within Tauna concentrated their marriages with different outside sovereignties. Propinquity in term of a pooling unit's land holdings and residence within Tauna and in relationship to the nearest outside sovereignty was one factor which appeared to influence this distribution. Over time, this distribution of marriages represents a definite statistical tendency. Regarding each individual marriage in the sample as to what affected its final choice is open to question. There are little data to present on every individual case. But it appeared, from limited observations in the field, that different marriage preferences of individuals in different pooling units for

certain outside sovereignties were held, and decisions to marry were also based on this preference. Marriage was only one possible relationship between these groups. Ties of friendship, kinship relationships (due to migration), and all past marriage ties seemed to be related to the direction of present marriage preferences. Marriages throughout time, therefore, are to be interpreted as a reflection and summation of individual preferences.

Second, since pooling units differed in size according to the number of sibling groups in them, the number of primary alliance relationships formed by each marriage of Ego in each pooling unit varied significantly with the sovereignty of the outside spouse. These statistically significant relationships show the same pattern as the tendencies described above, i.e. involve the same Tauna pooling units and outside sovereignties.

Finally, the number of marriages (or spouses) did not vary significantly by sex. Among adult males, it was not a good indicator of relative status, probably partly because of demographic conditions which resulted in a scarcity of women such that they were relatively evenly distributed.

CHAPTER FIVE

WARFARE

In this chapter, some of the ways in which warfare was conducted in Tauna will be described. A general sequence of events will be dealt with rather than an actual case study, since no one case study or group of studies accurately contains all of the information described here (for further data see Appendix 3). Later, a discussion of the part that leadership played in the political status organization within Tauna and among sovereignties, and the qualities that leaders were said to have had will be presented. Finally, statistical data on Tauna warfare deaths will be given to show how warfare affected members in certain age, sex, and pooling unit categories. The overall aims are to explain how warfare was practiced between Tauna and other sovereignties, what strategies were used in killing others, and how warfare victims were selected.

A Warfare Sequence

From the moment a young boy can hold a small bow and arrow, he plays with it daily. As he grows older, he tries to shoot birds and small rodents. It is at the time of the male initiation ceremony, when the youths of the sovereignty are brought together, that he is given lectures on women,

sex, marriage, and fighting. In pre-contact times, skill in fighting was obviously important. Older men would teach the boy about tactics on the battlefield and the importance of revenge killing. If a boy's father or brother was killed, he would be told that he should make sure that a person in the sovereignty of the killer should be killed. However, it was considered to be dangerous to go to other sovereignties, not only in raiding parties, but in times of relative peace when the threat of sorcery was always present.

Assuming that an offense against a man in one sovereignty by a man in another sovereignty has occurred and is perceived as one, there are several alternative courses of action. None of these involve the intervention of a third party to negotiate claims impartially. First, a man could choose not to settle or prosecute the offense. It appears that this alternative was not usually taken. Men who did not take the opportunity to express their grievances and rights were regarded as cowards. Furthermore, although a man could be categorized as politically ineffectual, other men in his pooling unit and sovereignty could take it upon themselves to settle or prosecute the offense if their reputation, status, or security was also in jeopardy. Second, a man could settle the offense peacefully: by returning a stolen pig or a substitute, usually on the demands of the offended person. Third,

one could attempt to covertly prosecute the offender by sorcery. Lastly, one could overtly prosecute the offender in a non-peaceful manner, i.e. by directing physical violence and destruction against him, his property, or any member of his sovereignty and their property. The last alternative appears to be the most commonly chosen alternative, especially in offenses against pigs and women.

The exact patterning of this mode of prosecution is not entirely clear. It seems that individuals attempted to first prosecute offenses by themselves or in small groups before threatening large-scale combat. The relationship between the frequency of offenses and the rate of large-scale confrontations is not ascertainable. Tauna warriors claimed that other sovereignties were "called out" to fight both when a Tauna person was killed and at other times when men merely wanted to fight, but large fights were not generally an initial reaction to an offense other than killing. Large-scale fights rarely started without a history of specific prior offenses. The data for the Elakia Awa (Newman, personal communication) indicate that the escalation of violence occurred after a series of small, unavenged offenses when men began to feel that their security was in danger and they had to protect their rights.

Once the level of conflict reached inter-sovereignty

proportions, the patterning of offensive prosecution and defense is fairly clear. The operation of a composite fight sequence can be described as being divided into three phases: (1) the preparations for fighting; (2) battle tactics and techniques; and (3) ending fights and making peace.¹ Phases (1) and (2) may have been repeated over and over for several years until peace gestures were finally initiated. Part (3) may not have been "formalized" every time to the extent that peace rituals and the exchange of women took place. Indeed, fights may have subsided simply because the "score was even" or the men were temporarily too tired to fight.

Informants always insisted that in pre-contact times everything was "hot." This is a common description used in New Guinea to indicate a particularly dangerous or violent activity. Men in battle were "hot"; even the drinking water was "hot" in those days!

During warfare times, men would gather in the men's house to talk and plan warfare strategies. Preceding a fight, young men were constantly reminded not to copulate with their wives. Copulation was believed to have a weakening effect on male strength, and a man would be more liable to be hit with an enemy arrow if he had

¹The general organization of fighting in Tauna has parallels with other small-scale groups such as urban Black street gangs (see Keiser 1969).

copulated recently.² While "big men" knew and observed all of the rules, "rubbish men" did not, and therefore, they were thought to be more susceptible to being killed.

Sitting in the men's house, men would prepare themselves for a fight by eating a special magical tree bark (pinto) which would enable them to "see" and "possess" the "spirit essence" (awa'na) of the enemy. Having done this, the enemy would be more vulnerable to being hit with arrows. Certain pinto men (who were also curers) would be particularly adept at this, and they would tell others of their dreams. They might dream of a certain type of arrow to use (there are 25 or more types), or of a certain place to go for a successful raid. If the enemy tried to revenge, it might be forecast that they would not be able to kill anyone.

Men designated as pinto men (pintoani) were not necessarily "big men" (tabi'pa). "Big men," it is suggested, achieve their relative status mainly from skill in warfare, and only secondarily from the collection and exchange of wealth (this is discussed in more detail later

²This restraint on copulation is contrary to other writer's observations. Liebow (1967: 68, fnt. 24) has written: "In wartime. . .all classes tend to slough off conventional restraints on sexual and other behavior (i.e. become less able or less willing to defer gratification)." His assumption seems to be that sexual pleasure is pure gratification and not without inherent dangers; this is not a good assumption to make in New Guinea.

in this chapter). They, too, reported premonitions and dreams about future fights. One war leader of Obepina pooling unit had a dream that he would be so "strong" he would be able to catch arrows in the air that were shot at him. He would frequently give important advice to the younger men on how to fight. His most important lesson was to watch the roads carefully and walk slowly and easily all of the time. He took his own advice well, since he died only recently of old age.

The general name for a fight is topawe. Within this category, there are several named varieties which specify certain kinds of tactics. There include: hiding in the bush or watching a road to ambush; raiding and enclosing an enemy hamlet; surrounding a garden and killing its owner; fighting on an open kunai grass mountain; and pretending to leave a fight and waiting for the enemy to follow.

In a "big" fight involving two or more sovereignties which was fought on a mountain slope, every initiated male was expected to aid his sovereignty. Women and children, it was said, would either hide in the bush or watch the fight from another kunai mountain. In smaller raids on other hamlets, usually the "strong" men went first, and less experienced men followed and watched. A war leader was not only strong offensively, but he was thought to be more immune to being killed in a fight. His dreams

were "more" prophetic than those of other men; he knew how to turn his war shield to just the right angle to prevent being hit with arrows; he knew exactly what prohibitions to follow before a fight, and he followed them closely. A man who refused to fight was called a "woman's man" and other insults. It was reported that even "rubbish men" and "crazy men" always fought. The only ones who were exempt from regular fighting were very old men and sick men. Physical prowess and skill in fighting was highly admired.³

It was not the usual practice in Tauna Awa warfare to emphasize the destruction of property of other sovereignties. Occasionally, hamlets were deliberately burned, and men killed as they ran out. But probably a more frequent kind of destruction involved the smashing of fences, and uprooting of gardens and clumps of bamboo. During some raids, garden food and pigs also would be stolen if possible.

Men did not fight at night, although at least one man was posted in each Tauna hamlet to watch the roads and

³Note the similarities with men in modern warfare: "Another factor that plays a part in combat motivation is the notion of masculinity and physical toughness that pervades the soldier's outlook toward warfare. Being a combat soldier is a man's job. Front-line soldiers often cast aspersion on the virility of rear-echelon personnel ('titleless WAC's'). A soldier who has not experienced combat is called a 'cherry' (i.e. virgin)" (Moskos 1971: 376).

listen for anyone approaching the hamlet fences. If men were going on a raid, they would leave early in the morning, and make sure they would travel through the bush rather than on certain known roads. Informants insisted that this was the preferred method of fighting if they really wanted to kill someone. Confrontation on a kunai grass mountain was more of a gesture that "real" fighting would invariably follow. It was more of a way of sizing up enemy strength and insulting him rather than successfully killing him. Although arrows would be shot, the accuracy would be limited because of distance. Almost every death where there is complete information was a result of closer contact fighting, such as raids or ambushes, which large-scale fighting may have led into. Other killings occurred when a man or woman visited friends in other sovereignties when, they thought, it was a time of peace. One Tauna informant was shown a picture of the Dugum Dani threatening each other with spears in the kunai grass (Gardner and Heider 1969: 162-3), and he was asked what he thought about it compared to Tauna warfare. His response was that they "really" couldn't be fighting. If a man wanted to kill another person, he would hide in the bush or near his enemy's garden, wait for him, shoot him with an arrow, and then run.

It is obvious that certain environmental factors may operate to influence the particular type of warfare tactic

that is most successful or more frequently practiced. For example in Tauna, as previously mentioned, level cleared land is scarce. There are virtually no broad, flat grass areas which can support alignments of men from two or three sovereignties. Although fights may have been started and announced on a cleared area, as soon as arrows started flying, men ran into the security of the bush. Primary and secondary dense forest cover comprises most of the land on the Tauna border with other sovereignties. Natural features of the land then seem to inhibit large-scale confrontation in fighting. This leaves small-scale raiding as a more successful alternative.

If raids are the most preferred and frequent tactic used, what implications can be drawn concerning the control over killing others? Are individuals in certain groups preferred or not? At present, there is only one way to answer this question, and that is with the data collected on Tauna warfare deaths. There is no comparable accurate data for warfare deaths in other sovereignties, although Newman's (n.d.) Elakia Awa may later shed light on this problem.

First of all, it should be stated which elements in raiding could be controlled and which ones could not. Decisions could be made regarding what part of another sovereignty to raid, more specifically what pooling unit area and hamlet, or whose garden. The number and

designation of what men would go or stay behind also could be controlled. The time of day could be planned so as to encounter unprotected women in gardens or men sleeping in the men's house of a hamlet. Lastly, each individual could make his own decision regarding who, or even if, he wanted to kill anyone.

Certainly, there were additional uncontrolled factors which affected the kind and number of targets. It could never be predicted for certain if a member of a certain pooling unit would always be in his own hamlet or where he had his gardens. Furthermore, although shooting skills probably varied a great deal, luck or accidents may have contributed to a particular warfare death.

Raiding was only one tactic, but probably the most "controlled" in terms of the examples given above. Large-scale fighting when arrows were fired at groups of men and ambushes were probably less controlled in the above sense of the word. It then can be stated that depending upon the particular type of battle tactic used, the control over potential victims varied. But small raiding parties seem to be the most successful, based on the number of warfare stories which were collected. However, they were by no means the only possible strategy, or the only ones which resulted in warfare deaths.

Although there may have been some successful cases of individual revenge killings, this does not mean that

all inter-sovereignty revenge killings were controlled and executed perfectly. Over time, considering all warfare victims by pooling unit and the sovereignty of the killer, a relatively "even" pattern is revealed (see Table 19). In other words, regardless of one's pooling unit membership, or sub-pooling unit membership (no table presented), one is likely to be killed by either Elakia, Tawaina, or Kawaina #2 of all outside sovereignties. The only skewing seems to be in the direction that numerically and by percentage, more individuals are killed in larger populated pooling units. But relative to sovereignty and pooling unit size, this difference can be expected (see Table 26 in Chapter 6).

The figures in Table 19 logically could mean in one instance that the likelihood of causing trouble varies proportionately with pooling unit size. In each case, then, one would have to argue that a successful revenge was undertaken on the pooling unit member or a pooling unit relative who caused the trouble. But as has been stated above, the tactics of fighting contained several uncontrolled elements to not make revenge successful every time. Alternately, if killing was totally uncontrollable, victims would tend to be relatively equally distributed in each pooling unit merely by chance. But again, there is no evidence that warfare was conducted in this manner.

An alternative explanation would be to assume, as

TABLE 19

SOVEREIGNTIES RESPONSIBLE FOR WARFARE DEATHS
IN TAUNA BY POOLING UNITS (1900-1950)

<u>Sovereignty</u>	<u>Tanuna</u>	<u>Aramona</u>	<u>Apia</u>	<u>Obepina</u>	<u>Awatera</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Elakia	3	10	4	3	0	20 (37.7%)
Tawaina	5	2	1	2	4	14 (26.4%)
Kawaina #2	3	2	1	3	2	11 (20.8%)
Arora	0	0	0	1	0	1 (1.9%)
Indona	1	0	0	0	1	2 (3.8%)
Kawaina #1	0	0	0	0	0	1 (1.9%)
Abomatasa	0	1	2	0	0	3 (5.7%)
Ilesa	0	0	1	0	0	1 (1.9%)
Totals	12	15	9	9	8	53 (100%)
	(22.6%)	(28.3%)	(17.0%)	(17.0%)	(15.1%)	

Chi square = 38.200, df = 28, not significant at .05 level

above that frequency of trouble varied with pooling unit size, i.e. larger pooling units created more trouble and offenses than did smaller pooling units. While killing was sometimes successful in terms of the outside sovereignty killing the trouble-maker, other times it was not. This is due to the presence of uncontrolled elements in warfare and the variation in use of different tactics. Some, such as ambushes, greatly increased the uncertainty in predicting what targets would be available.

It appears then, from what data are available, that other sovereignties, mainly Circle 1 sovereignties, are not deliberately selecting certain individuals and groups for revenge consistently. Men in battle seem to be trying for the first or safest targets without jeopardizing their own security. Thus, while specific interpersonal grievances may generate hostility and aggravate fighting, aggression is not always directed to these same sources; actual killing is largely impersonal.

Once a successful raid was over, the victors would sing of their conquest. They would sometimes even yell out to the enemy that they had killed someone. On the way home, the men would sing victory songs.⁴ A celebration

⁴In one popular "blood song" (nai'i), men sang that a "big bird had been killed" indicating an important event. It seems that man-bird symbols have universal appeal (Levi-Strauss 1965), but can have different forms and connotations. To take a more familiar example, at an anti-draft demon-

would be held the next day in which a pig would be killed and cooked with food in earth ovens. It is not known to what extent persons in the sovereignty participated in the celebration of a successful raid, especially when raiding parties were usually very small, consisting of from 2-6 men. Nor is there adequate data on each individual's participation in different raids. But because of the extent of politico-legal obligations, the killing of a person of another sovereignty was regarded as a sovereignty enterprise and even when the killer was personally identified, his whole sovereignty was held responsible (refer to Sovereignty Attribute #14).

A man who was wounded in a raid or in battle was usually carried back to his hamlet. Blood from his wound would be cooked with leafy greens and eaten by the other men. Another type of grass could be chewed up and spit on the wound which then would be wrapped with the white fur of a tree kangaroo. Curers would "pull a smoke" (light a pipe and think) and will the wound to heal and the blood to go away. If a man was killed in a fight, others would try to bring his body back to Tauna to be buried so that his ghost would not wander in other places.

stration in Boston, Harvey Cox recalls: "One guy waved a sword at us with a freshly killed chicken on the point and the blood running down. He had a sense of symbolism" (Harris 1970: 66).

A sign of bereavement for persons killed in fights would be for surviving relatives to cut off the joints of their fingers or an ear lobe. In Tauna, there was only one living man who had chopped off his small finger joint when his brother was killed by Kawaina #2. Finger joints were usually cut off on the left hand, since the right hand was used for holding the arrow to the bamboo bow string. Self-mutilation was not always a necessary feature of one's personal mourning behavior. One fierce war leader was asked why he did not cut off any of his finger joints when several of his close relatives were killed. He answered, "I didn't want to. Besides it's a lot of pain."

Although the nearby Fore sovereignties practiced cannibalism regularly (Berndt 1962), it was not an ordinary part of the disposal of the dead for Awa groups. To the Tauna Awa, it was a repugnant custom associated with the sorcery-ridden Fore. Admittedly, cannibalism was tried once in Tauna in the late 1940's. A Tauna man had married a Fore woman, and she had convinced the others that human flesh was tastier than pig's meat. Beyond that experience, cannibalism was not continued in Tauna since the Australian Administration intervened soon after.

After killing a person in an enemy sovereignty, some Tauna men would go to a special place near a river and add another stone to a pile to count the dead. When a

revenge killing was successfully made, a red leafed shrub (Cordyline fruticosa) would be planted on the grave of the man whose death had been avenged. The use of this particular plant is common in other parts of the New Guinea Highlands after a revenge death or as part of a truce ritual (Rappaport 1967: 146-52). During periods of intense raiding, women and children were not allowed to go to their gardens unprotected by men. The roads, mountains, and gardens were still "hot" from the previous fighting. Arrows used in warfare, if they had killed another person, would not be brought back to the hamlet, since the blood on the arrow was believed to have been contaminated and would kill the women and children. No actual Tauna deaths were ever attributed to this belief.

Men would try to stop fights when both sides felt that an equal number of men had been killed or when one side was being beaten very badly. When stopping a fight, each side would gather betel nuts, tobacco, and flowers and meet at a pre-designated mountain area somewhere between the two sovereignties. People would shout out to their affines and friends on the other side. The two sides would come together and initiate friendly comments and gestures. Nevertheless, men always carried their bows and arrows with them. Several men would volunteer to sleep in the sovereignty of the enemy. Men would then shake hands and exchange tobacco.

Sometimes both sides would agree to the exchange of women immediately or soon after. Marriage not only established political relationships between groups, but it also, even momentarily, helped end physical aggression between the two sovereignties. When a marriage was agreed on, both sides would exchange small gifts such as sugar cane and tobacco. Each side would claim to think only of peace from that moment on. The women to be exchanged would then be sent holding an arrow to their future husbands. Bamboo tubes full of water would be overturned on the ground, and the men would say: "We have fought a long time now; we can stop this fight and make it cold."

"Big men" who could influence others would act as negotiators between sovereignties at war. Often, a certain leader with affinal or friendly connections with another sovereignty would act as the mediator. Since marriage alliances among Tauna pooling units varied with each outside sovereignty, the specific Tauna "big man" also changed. Predictably, according to affinal-political connections, a Tanuna pooling unit leader was particularly close to Elakia and would act as mediator. Similarly, an Aramona man stopped fights between Tauna and Tawaina, and Awatera and Obepina leaders mediated between Tauna and Kawaina #2. Within Tauna, there was said to be no one absolute leader or "big man" who had the authority or power to control everyone else. This is a common feature

of Melanesian political systems (Sahlins 1963). Thus, since each pooling unit had different marriage and exchange relationships, leaders could exert their influence sometimes maximally over only their own pooling unit.

Informants always claimed that the initial conflicts between sovereignties had a specific reason. Further offenses against either sovereignty committed later would obscure the original reason for warfare. One frequently stated reason for starting a fight was said to be that when a man was angry with his wife, he would pick up his bows and arrows and kill someone in another sovereignty (no actual case of this kind was recorded). His aggression would not be directed toward his wife, since he would be shamed if his wife's pooling unit heard about the argument.

Another way of unintentionally starting a fight would be to insult another man's way of making bows and arrows or gardens in another sovereignty. To insult a sick or old man by asking him why he walked around instead of hiding in a house could provoke a fight. Taking food or any other goods without their being offered also could be classified as an offense against the sovereignty. Although these examples were taken to be acts which could provoke someone into fighting, these causes were not viewed as sufficiently offensive to escalate into bigger trouble. Most fights which were recorded were initially started by an offense over either the abduction of a woman

TABLE 20

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS RELATED TO
WARFARE IN TAUNA (1900-1970)

- 1900-10 Three Fore sovereignties, Abomatasa, Ilesa, and Kasokana join together and raid Tauna and burn down Obepi'pe' hamlet. Several Tauna sub-pooling units flee to Tawaina. Tauna did not continue to fight the Fore.
- 1910-20 Auyana chases Kawaina #2 and also displaces Awatera pooling unit. Awatera moves down the hill closer to the rest of Tauna, namely Obepina and Apia.
- 1920-35 In this period there are no warfare deaths attributed to Elakia. No large-scale fighting is reported although there is at least one Tauna death caused by Kawaina #2 and 9 deaths caused by Tawaina. In the 1930's there are at least 8 murders within Tauna.
- 1935-40 There is a movement from Kawaina #1 back to Kawaina #2 and a movement of more Awatera members down to the main Tauna area after Kawaina #1 is routed in a fight with Me'auna.
- 1935-40 Hostilities erupt at an arm-beating ceremony held at Tawaina where Tauna claims that Tawaina wanted too many young girls for marriage. A series of small raids begins between the two sovereignties.
- 1938-40 A Tauna man abducts an Elakia woman. This offense quickly escalates into a major fight. Six Tauna men are killed in one day, and at least 13 other Tauna deaths are a result of additional raids and ambushes which continue for a number of years.
- 1942 A Tauna man steals a Tawaina pig and a series of small fights begin resulting in at least 5 Tauna deaths.

TABLE 20

(Continued)

- 1945-50 A major fight between Tauna and Kawaina #2 breaks out at a food-sharing party aggravated by the previous abduction of a Kawaina #2 woman by a Tauna man. Small raids and hostility continue for several years until the Australian Administration intervenes and native missionaries from Kainantu are sent to various areas in the Eastern Highlands which later include Kawaina #2 and Tauna.
- 1948 Two Tauna boys are knifed to death by Abomatasa men after visiting their sister there and killing and eating one of their affine's pigs.
- 1953 The first Administration census and the start of annual patrols, appointed native leaders, and a pacification program.
- 1955 The last killing within Tauna takes place over the stealing of an eel.
- 1970 Five Tauna men on contract-labor are killed in a fight with Tari men from the Southern Highlands on a plantation near Port Moresby over a bowl of rice.

or the stealing of a pig. Table 20 contains a brief description of the causes and chronology of major fights between Tauna and other outside sovereignties. Tauna warfare and killing, like marriage, is largely limited to the three nearest sovereignties, i.e. Elakia, Tawaina, and Kawaina #2.

One other cause of conflict between groups, not frequently mentioned in the literature nor by my informants, concerns the sacred and secretive nature of the red pandanus fruit (arumpai).⁵ The red pandanus is planted and eaten by men only. Some species apparently are wild throughout Melanesia (Barrau 1958: 60). The collection and cooking of this fruit takes place only when women are away in the gardens, and men can cook it in bamboo tubes inside or in back of the men's house. Tauna men described the juice of the red pandanus as being like blood. Because of this and probably because of the purity-virility association with male blood, women, children, and uninitiated males are not allowed to see men eating it. Copulation with women also is prohibited after eating the fruit otherwise blood is said to rise in the woman's womb and she would die. Plots of red pandanus trees are individually

⁵Among the Maring, the red pandanus has associations with spirits of the low ground and is used ritually and eaten with marsupials, spirits of the low ground (Rappaport 1968: 174-9). There is no taboo against women eating pandanus in these rituals.

owned, and transferred from father to son.

Although it was reported that fights started over the ownership of red pandanus trees, the significance of its importance was not fully realized until two men in a hamlet were bitten and killed in one night by a death adder. Previous to this, they were observed eating some red pandanus, and other men in the sovereignty soon speculated that a sorcerer had put some magical leaves in it in order to direct the snake to bite them. The secrecy of eating it and its prohibition from women then became apparent. From other information collected, it was also viewed as an offense for men in other sovereignties to see Tauna men eating it. The major fight between Tauna and three Fore sovereignties (Abomatasa, Ilesa, and Kasokana) was said by several informants to have been started when several Tauna men observed some Kasokana men cooking and eating the red pandanus there. Because of this, Kasokana men were shamed so much that they decided to raid Tauna. Although many exact details of this fight were forgotten, since it occurred between 1900-10, several independent informants stressed the red pandanus and the prohibitions surrounding it as the precipitating cause of the fight. Today, its ritual importance is less important, but women are still prevented from viewing men eating it.

In the past, no permanent ally relationships between Tauna and any other sovereignty was formed. But, at

certain times, temporary military alliances with Circle 1 sovereignties were made. In different instances, either Elakia, Tawaina, or Kawaina #2 joined Tauna separately to fight other sovereignties. For example, Tawaina helped Tauna fight Elakia, and Elakia aided Tauna in battling Tawaina. It is not certain of the extent to which whole sovereignties were or could be recruited as allies, but based on several descriptions, only certain men from other sovereignties, namely friends, affines, and "big men," would be recruited. Some informants said that Tauna, as a whole, never aided another sovereignty in a fight, but separate pooling units within Tauna tended to give support to close affines in other sovereignties. For example, Obepina and Awatera pooling units helped Kawaina #2 fight Indona, and Tanuna supported Elakia in fighting against Mobuta. As distance from Tauna increased, so did the possibility of recruiting reliable fighting allies, however temporary, on a group basis. Friendly individuals from Waipina and Omuna occasionally did help Tauna but more distant friends and exchange partners were not normally pressured to support Tauna in warfare. Similarly, Tauna individuals did not usually aid sovereignties beyond Circle 1 in a fight. As one informant openly remarked, "We did not want anyone else's trouble."

The offending sovereignty, rather than any of its temporary allies, was held responsible for a death in

warfare. A frequent tactic would be for men to urge other sovereignties to do their killing for them with a promise of a payment in shells and cooked pig if they had killed someone. In these cases, the sovereignty that hired the other sovereignty was held to be primarily responsible for the death. The sovereignty that did the killing was merely a secondary agent.

The physical killing of another person is sometimes viewed only as the culmination of a series of aggressions which may be directed from other places. Once a Tauna "big man" and his wife went to visit friends at Kawaina #1, and as he was leaving, he was shot in the back with a volley of arrows. His wife ran away wounded. Before this, it was believed that he was sorcerized by Elakia thereby making him extremely vulnerable to being killed with arrows. Elakia was therefore said to be at least partially responsible for this man's death. No revenge action was ever taken against Kawaina #1.

Leadership in Warfare

Many researchers who have worked in the New Guinea Highlands make a distinction between "big men" and "strong men" as to the degree of political influence each commands. This distinction is clearly made by Strathern (1966: 366) in his argument about New Guinea Highlands' political types:

Read distinguishes between real leaders, who are strong but not too strong, and the men who are

'very strong' but not leaders. Leaders temper their strength with the ability to make compromises. They are thus negotiators, but at the same time they are all to some degree charismatic. They are also 'director,' although perhaps in a more limited sense than Salisbury would allow. The 'very strong' by contrast, are the would-be despots---men less flexible and less persuasive, whom Read describes as incapable of attracting and holding followers.

It should be noted here by "big man" is meant a man who is more a "director" type than simply and exclusively a successful killer. How is this status achieved in Tauna?

In the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea, as opposed to the Western Highlands, the status of "big man" seems to have been more dependent upon strength, bravery, and success in warfare than in gift exchanges (Watson 1967: 93; Strathern 1970). It is maintained that Watson's generalization applies appropriately to the Tauna Awa on informant's descriptions and my own observations of exchange and marriage relationships with outside sovereignties.

Part of the reason for this may be in environmental and demographic factors. For example, Strathern (1971: 53-4) views the relative priority given to exchange and warfare skills as being related to population density:

. . .in many of the large, central Highland areas, where population density is heavy, men of violence were not necessarily important political leaders. And this is correlated with the fact that in these areas there were well-developed inter-group alliances, gradations of enemy relationships, controls on the escalation of fighting, and means whereby big-men would arrange truces and compensation payments between groups.

Tauna, with its relatively low population density,

can almost be described in totally opposite terms. However this comparative theme cannot be developed in detail here.

It can be argued for the Tauna Awa that the conduct and timing of warfare was largely a matter of independent decisions or actions caused by "trouble makers." The exact occurrence of a fight was unpredictable since there is not, nor was it possible to collect, a large corpus of data on individual and situational variables. This view of warfare differs markedly from the more predictable account of Tsembaga warfare where Rappaport (1968; 1969) leaves little room for individuals making autonomous decisions or breaking rules outside of the ecological context. He writes (1969: 122-23):

Warfare was not continuous, nor was its eruption unpredictable. An elaborate and prolonged cycle of rituals regulated its occurrence, and the sacred conventions of this cycle defined the circumstances under which land previously occupied by an enemy could be annexed.

Later, he adds that:

The frequency of warfare is. . . a function of of demography of pig herds.

Although it was stated that most fights in Tauna were started over trouble involving either women or pigs between sovereignties, it does not necessarily follow that the perception of deprivation leads to offensive behavior for all individuals. In Tauna, the argument that warfare was a function of the demography of pig herds (or women) would be difficult to test, since precise perception and

demographic variables are not available today.

The explanation of Tauna warfare offered here rests on the behavior of Tauna "big men" and how they achieved their status and control over others. Informants suggested that Tauna "big men" could always give orders to other men who wouldn't argue with them for fear of being humiliated or provoked into a challenge. Their followers simply would listen to what they had demanded and then perform. The strategy of raids and battles was left to knowledgeable and respected war leaders. It was said that lower-status men would respect a war leader's property and would not steal his pigs or commit adultery with his wife. "Big men" were also believed to be more virtuous; they did not steal other people's pigs or commit adultery.

Well-known "big men" would always be called on to help other sovereignties in a fight. For their help, they might be given small pigs, shells, or cooked pig to redistribute to their pooling units. "Big men" were men who were said to grow old with white hair and then die peacefully. A man who made trouble would either be killed in warfare or die of sorcery.

It is argued that in Tauna, and perhaps the Eastern Highlands in general, the means to achieve high political status was mainly through constant participation and success in warfare. Thus, it was hinted earlier, both the number of wives and the intensity of exchange were activities

which did not adequately distinguish persons in status because both the number of available women and goods were limited for several reasons. Elsewhere it has also been suggested that political status gained in warfare is more permanent than that gained in exchanges (Strathern 1971: 12).

In so-called "acephalous societies" of the New Guinea Highlands type where adult male political status is not based on ascription at birth, but rather on achievement, some form of leadership is necessary and undoubtedly does arise since warfare between political units is prevalent. It was assumed that men seek and compete for political status. If the argument is correct that men seek high political status through skill in warfare (and secondarily through other activities), one could ask why more offenses, fights, and wars were not caused by "big men" and why each side did not attempt to annihilate the other.

In almost every warfare case collected, the person who initiated the causal offense was described as a "rubbish man" (kapona) or "hambag man," a man of no worth or a man who always caused trouble. Presumably, a man was described in this way before he committed the offensive act rather than simply because he once started major trouble between sovereignties. After trouble began, it was perfectly acceptable, even encouraged, to defend one's home sovereignty from property destruction and raids and to assert one's power on the battlefield. Men described as

"big men" would be the ones who killed other men in fights, planned successful raids, and attempted to stop fights, but in no cases were they men who started fights over women and pigs with no reason. This evaluation of Tauna "big men" has similarities with war leaders in the Mount Hagen area (Strathern 1971: 79).

It is not certain to what extent these personality judgments of "big men" and "rubbish men" can be considered to be a post-contact judgment of what happened in the past or an indoctrination of present Administration views. On the whole, simply judging from what interviews were obtained concerning the attributes of men in different political statuses, it was reasoned that these certainly could have been pre-contact evaluations as well. If they were, then it would partially explain why more offenses were not committed and why war leaders attempted to stop fights once the "score was even." Since each side considered further fighting unnecessary as part of the ideology of warfare, "big men" would gain additional control and assert their influence by stopping fights. Only men who could influence others could stop warfare between sovereignties while any man could commit a petty infraction leading to warfare.

In extending this argument, political status differentiation and mobility were increased both by skill on the battlefield and by influence in peace-making negotiations: contrasting tactics which produce the same relative

political effect. To some extent this may explain why the total annihilation of other sovereignties was not a necessary or desirable goal in Tauna Awa warfare. The "costs" of conducting annihilation warfare would eventually offset its gains since, presumably, the enemy would employ the same tactics.

In Tauna, the ranking of war leaders is relatively unambiguous. Twenty-three adult male informants (selected by availability) were asked to rank living Tauna war leaders in order of "bigness." This listing is presented in Table 21. Not all of the informants mentioned the names of everyone who once participated in warfare. The maximum number of persons who were ranked was 9. In Tauna, there were only 10 men, over 40-45 years of age, who actively participated in inter-sovereignty warfare. No one from Apia pooling unit was represented, since the oldest man in it was about 40 and had fought only as a young man; he did not qualify as a war leader. The one man old enough to have fought in warfare and who was not mentioned by anyone was a man who, predictably, was a troublemaker. He was a man from Awatera pooling unit who abducted his present wife from a Kawaina #2 man thereby partly causing a series of fights between Tauna and Kawaina #2 in the late 1940's.

Informants were unanimous about the first two status positions of Tauna "big men." After that, the positions

TABLE 21

STATUS RANKINGS OF LIVING TAUNA WAR LEADERS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Pooling Unit</u>	Number of times ranked								
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
Apiu	Tanuna	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Antoku	Awatera	0	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nonkoi	Aramona	0	0	11	7	0	0	1	1	0
Upue	Aramona	0	0	5	7	6	2	0	1	0
Tintia	Aramona	0	0	1	4	13	2	1	0	0
Shontanto	Obepina	0	0	2	3	2	9	3	0	1
Wenapala	Tanuna	0	0	2	1	0	5	8	2	0
Auwe	Tanuna	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	4	2
Aro'mi	Tanuna	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	8	5

are fairly close and organized around a common ranking. The variability of responses may mean that, below the first two ranks, there is much room for competing and maneuvering for positions within the sovereignty. It also indicates that although there is not unanimous concensus at lower rankings, there is overall a general agreement about the relative ranking of war leaders. Such a ranking of course may be somewhat deceptive, since it is based mainly on past accomplishments. It would be difficult to indicate to what extent such rankings were stable in the past and how quickly a different status rank could be achieved after a specific favorable act on behalf of sovereignty interests. It appears, though, from what warfare stories were collected that the same names kept occurring while others were consistently omitted, and that the present ranking may be a good indication of how war leaders were evaluated in the past. It is also possible that some of the younger men in the sample would have heard the same warfare stories as were told to me. They additionally may be using present-day criteria, since elder "big men" still assert themselves in most economic transactions such as in marriage and death payments. The only outside confirmation of the status ranking which was tabulated is a fragmentary note written by an Administration patrol officer in 1958 who wrote (Tauna Village Book 1958): "Village has not really settled down, any small argument

is settled by bows and arrows. Big leader in most cases is Apiu."

Successful fighting among the Tauna Awa did not offer the same status rewards to one's near relatives. Status-ranking appears to be based entirely on individual achievement and competition among one's peers. In short, there is no formal inherited system of status ranking. Informants, themselves, did not assert that sons of "big men" would be more likely to be ranked higher. Neither did a long personal history of agnation within Tauna appear to be a determining criterion. Brown (1967: 47) reports a similar situation for the Chimbu: "Personal pride is asserted when men claim that their fathers had been Big Men, but in fact I saw little continuity of leadership."

Because Tauna war leaders in different pooling units had varied marriage and exchange connections by area, it also led to the possibility that the degree of violence each person would demonstrate would be controlled according to his network of friends and affines. If it is assumed that men try to preserve these connections, then it is possible that certain men were especially violent towards some sovereignties and more peaceful to others. There is a whole range of behaviors, from non-participation in certain raids to organizing raiding parties, that each individual decides to participate in for himself. Of course, decisions regarding participation in warfare are

not always made autonomously, since group pressures and rewards to conform are made upon the individual. Unhappily, data on the participation of individual men in the many raids is difficult to collect. Furthermore, the precise number and group membership of men in other sovereignties who were killed by Tauna could not be completely determined. Older informants tended to claim either that they were responsible for many killings or that they were not responsible at all for any killings. On rechecking this kind of data, the variety of responses given indicate little consensus about specific events in the past, especially those concerning the killing of individuals in other sovereignties.

Based on an intensive examination of Tauna genealogical data and rechecked through specific warfare stories, warfare deaths accounted for 25.7% of all deaths recorded between 1900 and 1949 (up to government contact). 30% of all males and 16% of all females died in warfare. Comparatively, the actual number of deaths is quite small. For example, among the Kapauku Papuans, maximal political units ("confederacies") are much larger than Awa units. Political units may number 400-1000 persons and may include up to 9 villages. Predictably, the result of warfare in such populations is reflected in the greater number of warfare deaths. One warfare episode in the Kamu Valley lasted for a year and over 250 persons were killed

(Pospisil 1963: 45, 57).

On a percentage basis, the Tauna Awa seem to be about average for New Guinea and other "tribal" groups in terms of warfare deaths.⁶ For the Dugum Dani, 28.5% of the males and 2.4% of the females died in warfare (Heider 1970: 128). Among the Huli of the Southern Highlands, warfare was responsible for 13% of all deaths (Glasse 1968: 98). In the Fly headwaters, 35% of all Faiwolmin died in fights (Barth 1971: 175). For groups in similar ecological conditions and with comparable political structures, Chagnon (1968: 140) reports that 15.4% of the Yanomamo of South America were violently killed.

The relationship between warfare deaths, other deaths, and the social characteristics of victims is now outlined below. By ranking "degrees of violence in death" the intent was not to consider all of the nuances of physical violence. Three basic categories were of interest. First, a category of deaths by physical violence (arrows, sticks, and knives) caused by persons both within Tauna and in other sovereignties is made. This category is referred to as "Most" (violent) in the tables where it is used. Second, the large number of sorcery deaths formed another category ranking, since Tauna people considered sorcery

⁶None of the comparable studies cited give any indication of the time depth of such figures and the possible effects (if any) of Administration pacification programs.

to be a physically violent act. This was the second degree of violence and is labelled as "Less" (violent) in the tables. The last category includes all other deaths from accidents to old age to sickness in which outside agents, except ghost attacks, were said not to be responsible. For present interests, it was not necessary to break this category into finer units. This category is titled "Least" (violent) in the tables.

Table 22 shows that the type of death whether physical violence or other means does not vary significantly by pooling unit. The reason some pooling units are smaller than others to begin with is unexplained. It is possible that fights prior to 1900 decimated certain units, or migrants in the past from certain areas were fewer. At any rate, data referring to events earlier than 1900 was not used because of its incompleteness and unverifiability.

The type of death does vary significantly with the year of death (see Table 23). This is a result of two facts. The first is that as one proceeds back in time, the reliability of the data decreases. Therefore, many more deaths are recorded for the recent past. Second, after government contact in the early 1950's, the most violent deaths, i.e. warfare and in-sovereignty murders, sharply decreased while sorcery deaths continued to remain about the same.

The degree of violence in deaths also varies signifi-

TABLE 22

DEGREE OF VIOLENCE IN DEATHS AND POOLING
UNIT MEMBERSHIP (1900-1970)

<u>Degree of Violence</u>	<u>Pooling Unit Membership</u>					<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Tanuna</u>	<u>Aramona</u>	<u>Apia</u>	<u>Obepina</u>	<u>Awatera</u>	
Most	17	20	14	13	8	72 (22.3%)
Less	16	30	8	13	8	75 (23.2%)
Least	54	52	22	31	17	176 (54.5%)
Totals	87	102	44	57	33	323 (100%)
	(26.9%)	(31.6%)	(13.6%)	(17.6%)	(10.2%)	

Chi square = 6.901, df = 8, not significant at .05 level

TABLE 23

YEAR OF DEATH AND DEGREE OF VIOLENCE
IN DEATHS

<u>Year of Death</u>	<u>Degree of violent death</u>			<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Most</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Least</u>	
1901-1910	2	0	1	3 (0.9%)
1911-1920	7	0	3	10 (2.9%)
1921-1930	13	11	13	37 (10.9%)
1931-1940	26	19	29	74 (21.8%)
1941-1950	24	15	62	101 (29.8%)
1951-1960	2	19	34	55 (16.2%)
1961-1970	5	16	38	59 (17.4%)
Totals	79 (23.3%)	80 (23.6%)	180 (53.1%)	339 (100%)

Chi square = 53.005, df = 12, significant at .001 level

cantly with the person's age at death (see Table 24). Most warfare deaths are concentrated in the 10-39 age range, those young men most vulnerable and least experienced in fighting. For the Tairora of the Eastern Highlands, Watson (1967: 92) writes that there was a "constant aim" in killing off the strong man of an enemy group. If it is assumed that "strong men" were generally in the older age categories (over 40), then for the enemies of the Tauna Awa, such a tactic in killing could not be described as being successful.

Predictably, males died more frequently in warfare than females although other types of death remain about the same with sex (see Table 25). Thus, while females were sovereignty members in a politico-legal sense, they were probably not as accessible in fights nor were they preferred targets.

Summary

Tauna Awa warfare was restricted primarily to raids and battles with the nearest sovereignties: Elakia, Tawaina, and Kawaina #2. At different times, Tauna was an ally with each of these sovereignties, and while Tauna helped them fight more distant groups they did not do so regularly or as primary enemies. Warfare in Tauna was frequent but it was not so violent that whole populations were upset or annihilated. Revenge warfare, probably begun over an offense about women or pigs, was the most

TABLE 24

AGE AT DEATH BY DEGREE OF VIOLENT DEATH
(1900-1970)

<u>Age at Death</u>	<u>Degree of Violent Death</u>			<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Most</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Least</u>	
0-9	0	2	52	54 (21.7%)
10-19	12	7	20	39 (15.7%)
20-29	12	17	17	46 (18.5%)
30-39	10	9	5	24 (9.6%)
40-49	6	8	2	16 (6.4%)
50-59	7	8	10	25 (10.0%)
60+	0	1	44	45 (18.1%)
Totals	47	52	150	249 (100%)
	(18.9%)	(20.9%)	(60.2%)	

Chi square = 106.437, df = 12, significant at .001 level

TABLE 25

DEGREE OF VIOLENCE IN DEATH AND SEX
OF VICTIMS (1900-1970)

<u>Degree of Violence</u>	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Most	61	18	79 (22.6%)
Less	43	40	83 (23.8%)
Least	97	90	187 (53.6%)
Totals	201 (57.6%)	148 (42.4%)	349 (100%)

Chi square = 16.098, df = 2, significant at .001 level

common feature of Tauna fighting. Warfare was not waged against other sovereignties for the conquest of land or because the population became too large for its habitat.

Statistics on Tauna warfare deaths show that deaths in each of the five pooling units were distributed almost equally relative to pooling unit size within the sovereignty. Although specific killings may have been planned and controlled, warfare deaths over time indicate a pattern where the victim's pooling unit and sub-pooling unit is not taken into account.

Much of the political status of Tauna "big men" depended upon their prowess in warfare and in manipulating others. War leaders were described as excellent marksmen and persuasive arbitrators in settling fights. Successful skill in warfare was valued and highly rewarded since at one it contributed both to the interests of security in one's own sovereignty and diminished that of the others. Politico-legal obligations, part of sovereignty membership, sometimes had to be expressed in warfare which was one alternative to be considered when serious disputes arose between sovereignties. In the next chapter, the political implications of marriage alliance as a warfare-controlling device will be examined.

CHAPTER SIX

MARRIAGE AND WARFARE

Having discussed marriage and warfare patterns separately in the preceding chapters, here their relationship will be examined as it pertains to Tauna and several adjacent sovereignties. The main question is whether marriage alliances adequately deter killing between groups and what factors limit their success or failure. Basically both marriage and warfare between sovereignties involve, it is assumed, different political interests and values, of potential outside security and internal political status respectively, for male individuals in each pooling unit. While the direction of marriage alliances varied for each pooling unit, warfare and killing did not, and perhaps, it was not even desirable that it should be directed to certain outside groups to the exclusion of others. Thus, give a knowledge of inter-group marriage alliance patterns, what can be predicted about warfare and killing rates among these same groups?

Tauna Marriage and Warfare Patterns

In actual fighting between sovereignties, some Tauna informants claimed that they would shoot their affines

while others said that they definitely would not. Others reported that some men broke off the points of their arrows when they shot at their affines, or else they would shoot but deliberately miss. Some men simply would shout out for their affines to run away and hide when they knew a fight or ambush was being planned. Obviously, normative statements of these kinds without numerical support are not very helpful, especially when they are contradictory (for other examples see Langness: 1969, 50, fnt. 9). It can only be concluded that no one set rule was followed by all individuals.

As a way of summing up some pertinent figures, Table 26¹ gives percentages of present population, warfare deaths, and outside marriages for each Tauna pooling unit. In most cases, the differences in percentages do not exceed more than five percentage points, except in the case of Awatera. This is due mainly to an increased relative population size directly prior to and after government contact because of migration from Kawaina #2. Before this, it is believed that the Awatera population may have been smaller, more nearly approximating the relative percentage of warfare deaths it incurred and the percentage of outside marriages it made. Relative to pooling unit size within the sovereignty, it appears that, over time, smaller

¹The percentages used in this table are taken from Tables 7, 17, and 19. Errors in total percentage are due to rounding.

TABLE 26

PERCENTAGES OF PRESENT TAUNA POPULATION,
WARFARE DEATHS, AND OUT-SOVEREIGNTY MARRIAGES
BY POOLING UNIT

<u>Pooling Unit</u>	<u>Present population percentages</u>	<u>Warfare death percentages</u>	<u>Outside marriage percentages</u>
Aramona	26.1	28.3	29.7
Awatera	22.3	15.1	15.1
Obepina	19.7	17.0	18.1
Tanuna	17.8	22.6	23.9
Apia	14.0	17.0	13.3
Totals	99.9	100.0	100.1

pooling units are not attempting for more political security through comparatively more outside marriages. Nor are larger pooling units particularly attempting to do the same. Pooling unit size, relative to sovereignty size, has very little to do with the degree to which in-sovereignty or out-sovereignty marriages are contracted.

Warfare deaths in each pooling unit are also evenly distributed by percentage relative to the population of the pooling unit. It is assumed that no great variation in pooling unit size took place over time. Since the present population percentages are the most reliable, they were the ones used. This data support an earlier assertion which stated that a potential warfare victim's group membership (within the sovereignty) was not usually accounted for in the long run. Outside sovereignties did not successfully decimate larger pooling units nor did they attempt to completely annihilate smaller ones. If the group membership of warfare victims was not regularly considered, what characteristics, if any, were?

From a sample of all dead individuals over time, those individuals who die most violent deaths (in warfare and sorcery) tend to be married (see Table 27). This is partially a result of age and being available as a target rather than the fact of being married itself.

Table 28 is an examination of the degree of violence in death and marriage rates controlling for each pooling

TABLE 27

DEGREE OF VIOLENCE IN DEATHS AND THE TOTAL
NUMBER OF MARRIAGES
(1900-1970)

<u>Degree of Violence</u>	<u>Total Number of Marriages</u>				<u>Totals</u>
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	
Most	24	41	8	0	73 (21.9%)
Less	22	49	10	1	82 (24.6%)
Least	86	68	22	2	178 (53.5%)
Totals	132 (39.6%)	158 (47.4%)	40 (12.0%)	3 (0.9%)	333 (100%)

Chi square = 15.545, df = 6, significant at .025 level

TABLE 28

DEGREE OF VIOLENCE IN DEATHS AND THE TOTAL
NUMBER OF MARRIAGES CONTROLLING FOR POOLING
UNIT MEMBERSHIP (1900-1970)

<u>Pooling Unit</u>	<u>Chi square</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Significance level</u>
Tanuna	7.62	4	n.s.
Aramona	11.363	4	.05
Apia	2.06	4	n.s.
Obepina	7.01	6	n.s.
Awatera	2.71	4	n.s.

unit within Tauna (individual tables are not presented). Because Aramona was the largest in size, and therefore, the one that contracted the most number of marriages, the relationship between the degree of violence in death and the number of marriages is significant. Again, this appears to be a function of population size, certain types of death occurring in certain age categories, and the availability of certain classes of individuals to being killed, rather than the frequency of marriage itself.

Table 29 presents figures on violent deaths in Tauna in relationship to the number of outside sovereignty marriages. This relationship is statistically insignificant, and means that the number of outside sovereignty marriages for individual Egos is not related to the degree of violence in death. When the effects of each pooling unit are controlled (see Table 30), the results are still insignificant (individual tables are not presented). That is, the number of marriages between individuals in Tauna pooling units and outside sovereignties is neither increasing nor decreasing the probability of Ego being killed in warfare, or, for that matter, dying in a less violent way.

In reference to the sovereignties Tauna has had most contact with, i.e. Elakia, Tawaina, and Kawaina #2, it is shown that violence in deaths and the number of spouses is significant (for both chi square and Pearson's r) with

TABLE 29

DEGREE OF VIOLENCE IN DEATHS AND THE TOTAL
 NUMBER OF MARRIAGES WITH OUTSIDE
 SOVEREIGNTIES
 (1900-1970)

<u>Degree of</u>	<u>Number of Outside Marriages</u>			<u>Totals</u>
<u>Violence</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	
Most	54	16	0	70 (21.5%)
Less	67	12	0	79 (24.2%)
Least	151	25	1	177 (54.3%)
Totals	272	53	1	
	(83.4%)	(16.3%)	(0.3%)	

Chi square = 3.692, df = 4, not significant at .05 level

Pearson's r = -0.07, significance = .103

TABLE 30

DEGREE OF VIOLENCE IN DEATHS AND THE TOTAL NUMBER OF
MARRIAGES WITH OUTSIDE SOVEREIGNTIES CONTROLLING FOR
POOLING UNIT MEMBERSHIP (1900-1970)

<u>Pooling Unit</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
Tanuna	0.473	2	n.s.
Aramona	4.149	2	n.s.
Apia	1.381	2	n.s.
Obepina	1.819	4	n.s.
Awatera	4.260	2	n.s.

Elakia, but not with Tawaina and Kawaina #2 (see Table 31). In other words, it was shown earlier that Tauna and Elakia had the most number of marriages and more Tauna warfare deaths were caused by Elakia than any other sovereignty. Although it has been suggested that affinal relationships generate within them potential or actual conflict over the payment of gifts, this reason was never suggested by informants to be a major cause of an actual fight between Tauna and another sovereignty. Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that more marriages are causing more violence between the two sovereignties. On the contrary, the high rate of marriage may be a result, rather than a cause, of frequent violence, and represents a tendency to curb hostilities. This interpretation fits perfectly the description given of peace-making rituals between sovereignties at war (see Chapter 5).

The original research question stressed the relationship between rates of marriage and warfare; this simply can be diagrammed as M-->W. In this approach, the preconditions of marriage were stated first, and from that information it was attempted to predict when and where violence would occur. Another possible approach would be to examine first the occurrences of warfare and killing and, secondly, the rate of marriage, diagrammatically W-->M. It was suggested earlier that high rates of inter-sovereignty marriage could be a result of individuals

TABLE 31

DEGREE OF VIOLENCE IN DEATHS AND THE NUMBER OF SPOUSES
 FROM ELAKIA, TAWAINA, AND KAWAINA #2
 (1900-1970)

<u>Sovereignty</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>	<u>Pearson's r</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
Elakia	8.026	2	.025	-0.133	.008
Tawaina	4.382	2	n.s.	0.014	.399
Kawaina #2	2.529	2	n.s.	-0.072	.096

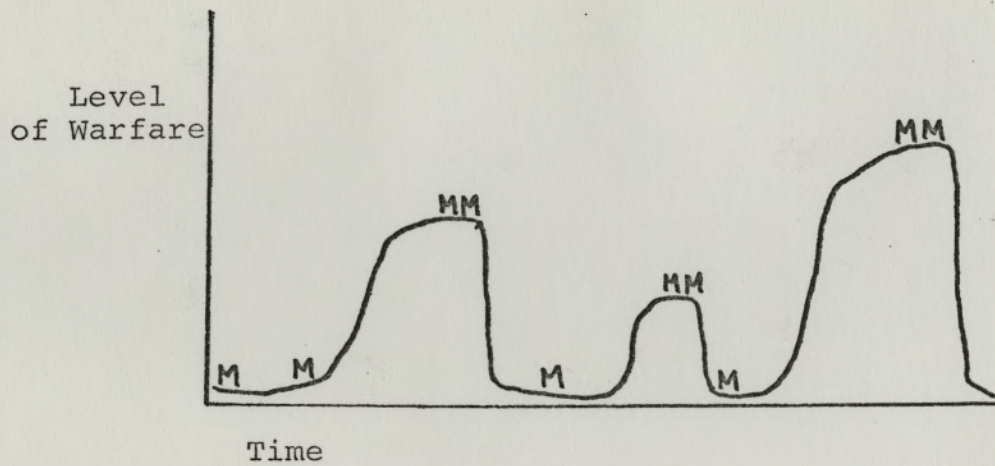
attempting to maintain a former peaceful condition. It is also believed that the type of marriage between groups changes: after heavy periods of fighting, the most successful means of terminating it appear to be in an immediate, reciprocal exchange of women. Not all marriages were reported to be of this type. Simple one-way transfers of women, it can be inferred, tend to occur more frequently at times when the need for immediate change in the level of prevailing hostility is not seen as urgent.

A diachronic interpretation of the above two approaches is also implied: the inter-regulation of both rates of marriage and warfare over time, or $M \leftarrow \rightarrow W$. It has been suggested that there may be regular, predictable cycles of amity/enmity; Figure 1 gives a rough approximation of how these cycles may be charted. This crude model predicts that most one-way marriages occur when there is little or no overt hostility, possibly because it is convenient. Reciprocal exchanges of women will tend to take place at the peak of hostility after killings on both sides; the effect is an immediate (though temporary) cessation of killing. There is much ethnographic evidence to support this contention.

It should be repeated that reciprocal marriage exchange is the "ideal type." What is implied here that they are "more ideal" when the level of hostility and violence is high so that opposing sides will have "insurance"

FIGURE 1

CYCLES OF MARRIAGE AND WARFARE AMONG
THE TAUNA AWA



M = Marriage: One-way

MM = Marriage: Reciprocal Exchange

against the other side defaulting on an obligation. When both sides have actually exchanged women, no threats can be made by one side to reciprocate. Usually, the reduction of threats tends to improve chances of success in arbitration: "the less opportunity for threat any two parties have in negotiating a settlement, the more likely they are to share a profit in their negotiations" (Gergen 1969: 70).

Neither type of marriage, predicatably, occurs at intermediate levels of increasing hostility. Only at the highest level of active warfare, can marriage even be considered to be a partial deterrent, and only because other intervening events such as verbal peace promises have already reduced the intensity of fighting.

To what extent do marriage alliances actually maintain a low level of violence? It should first be stressed that full-scale inter-sovereignty warfare seldom occurs before several preliminary stages have been reached, namely the recognition of an inter-sovereignty offense, the decision to prosecute by direct confrontation, and finally, one or more killings (see Chapter 5). If this pattern is correct, then marriage alliances seem to have little influence on the occurrence of initial inter-personal offenses between members of different sovereignties (at this stage there is no fighting). When escalation begins, it is only then that marriage alliances may be brought into consideration by the participants. At further stages, past alliances seem

to be unsuccessful in deterring killing until the exchange of women takes place again.

Frequent marriages do not seem to build up or cumulatively secure permanent peace. Thus, it can be argued that marriage between sovereignties always tends to begin a new political alliance whether one was there in the past or not. Each marriage starts a new semi-permanent alliance cycle until violence terminates it.² It is a reaction to heavy violence rather than a deterrent. Alone it does little to prevent or counteract violence once war has started and people have been killed. The exchange of women in marriage, especially, is more a part of an ideal peace-making ritual rather than a strong preventive measure with long-term stability.

It is not certain when peace negotiations are begun in relationship to the intensity of killing, but it is suggested that they occur either when both sides have lost an equal number of men or one side is losing very badly. To continue fighting under either circumstances would probably involve more risks and "costs" to both sides. Related to this problem is the suggestion by some researchers that the constant conflict of values in an "unordered world" is itself deleterious, and individuals usually attempt to correct the situation, in this case by making

²Precise cycles of marriage to violent deaths cannot be charted because of the lack of exact time referents for each event.

peace:

. . .it is the ordered and consistent world that best allows the person to maximize his returns. If he can be sure that each time he behaves in one way he will be rewarded, and that for other actions he will be punished, he will be in a position to maximize his satisfaction. If the environment is capricious, his capacity to make a "correct" choice is destroyed. In effect, the state of consistency has a learned payoff value, and the individual is trained to devalue the state of disorder (Gergen 1969: 73-4).

From the above discussion, the assumption that marriage in Tauna creates a political alliance seems basically correct, but nothing can be assumed about the strength or length of time such alliances may last. Other local conditions, for example, having warfare limited by preference to the same sovereignties as marriage, and warfare viewed as an acceptable mode of political defense and offense, affect the degree to which political alliances formed by marriage are stable.

Table 32 presents data on the kinds and number of primary affinal ties for Ego and the degree of violence in his/her death. The only statistically significant relationship is with the number of Ego's brother's wives taken in from Tawaina and a high degree of violence in Ego's death. The reason for this is probably because of the fact that Aramona pooling unit, the largest within Tauna, is located and owns most of the land nearest to Tawaina. Many marriages between Aramona and Tawaina have taken and still take place. Being the largest pooling unit, Aramona

TABLE 32

DEGREE OF VIOLENCE IN DEATHS AND THE NUMBER OF
 SIBLING'S SPOUSES IN OUTSIDE SOVEREIGNTIES
 (1900-1970)

<u>Sovereignty</u>	<u>Type of sibling's spouse</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	<u>Sig. level</u>	<u>Pearson's r</u>	<u>Sig. level</u>
Elakia	BrWi	2.998	n.s.	-0.059	.155
	SiHu	2.374	n.s.	-0.061	.145
Tawaina	BrWi	9.311	.05	-0.118	.021
	SiHu	1.142	n.s.	-0.048	.204
Kawaina #2	BrWi	5.087	n.s.	-0.032	.290
	SiHu	6.339	n.s.	-0.034	.278

also has the greatest number of warfare deaths, Therefore, this relationship may be largely coincidental; at least, it cannot be concluded to be causal based on other ethnographic evidence. In all other cases, whether Ego's biological brothers took wives in or he sent his biological sisters out for marriage to other sovereignties, these numbers did not make any difference towards significantly deterring warfare deaths for Ego.

Again the moderate to high negative Pearson's correlations and significance levels indicate that the number of affinal ties formed by one's siblings shows a trend towards being related to a high probability of being killed by violence. But the true relationship between these two variables is probably affected, as usual, by several intervening variables, namely age and sex. The distribution of the number of marriages is skewed by age, and warfare deaths are skewed by both age and sex.

Other Hypotheses

Other hypotheses have been suggested by different researchers to explain marriage and warfare behavior in the New Guinea Highlands. Some of these are discussed and evaluated below as they apply to the Tauna Awa data.

One hypothesis concerns the relative size of groups. Assuming that numbers make for greater strength, and security is highly valued by men in hostile conditions,

one strategy may be for relatively small groups to align themselves through marriage with relative large groups and, in turn, fight smaller groups.

There are several problems with examining this hypothesis with the Tauna data. First, it is difficult to make very good estimates of population figures for periods when warfare was prevalent. The best figures available are those of the Government Census Records filed in the Okapa Sub-District Office (see Table 4, Chapter 3). In 1969 and 1970, the government patrol officer was observed when he took the Tauna census. It can be reported that every individual in Tauna now has his/her name in the official books, and the population figures for recent years are probably more accurate than earlier years. In 1970, three men who lived in Tauna hamlets and were considered to be Tauna members, had their names transferred from the Kawaina #2 record books to the Tauna books. Predictably, they were all members of Awatera pooling unit, and they all claimed to be born in Tauna. The implication might be that when the first census was taken, they probably lived in what the government considered to be Kawaina #2 hamlets. Facts such as this make the government censuses difficult to accept without further examination.

Nevertheless, in 1953, the total censused population for Tauna was 70; Kawaina was 173; the figures for Elakia

and Kawaina #2 were not available. However, based on later censuses, for example 1968, it is clear that Tauna village is the smallest in population of all 16 villages in the Auyana Census Division. In 1968, the relevant sovereignty population figures were:

<u>Sovereignty</u>	<u>Population</u>
Tauna	148
Tawaina	235
Elakia	256
Kawaina #2	240

Assuming that these census units (termed villages) were the maximal politico-legal units (i.e. sovereignties) in warfare days, it can be seen that there is relatively little difference in population size among Tauna's immediate neighbors.³ Furthermore, in order to test the "relative size hypothesis" it must also be assumed that Tauna's perception of population size was the same as actual population size. There is no data on this. Therefore, the relative size variable seems to be inapplicable in the Tauna case. The data for the nearby Auyana (Robbins 1970: 292) also indicated that this variable was inoperative.

Propinquity has been suggested as another variable which affects both marriage and warfare rates between major political groups. For the Mae Enga, Meggitt (1965:

³Refer again to footnote 5 in Chapter 3 for a discussion of how sovereignties were classified and counted.

101) observes that:

. . .they tend most often to marry and to fight those who live near them. One clan, for instance, had fought at various times with 41 other clans, and at least 36 deaths had occurred in these fights. In roughly the same period, this clan had made 182 marriages with the same clans. The correlation between the rates of killing and marriage is positive and high ($p_{k,m} = +.65$). This figure doubtless expresses a limited causal relationship between warfare and marriage. Affinal ties, for instance, may create tensions leading to open aggression, and negotiations over death compensations after warfare may lead to opportunities for marriage. But the important factor here seems to be simple propinquity.

The Mae themselves assert, "We marry the people we fight."

As discussed above, it is doubtful that marriage resulting in affinal tensions was a major factor in Tauna warfare. Although propinquity may be a factor in both the frequency of marriage and warfare, it is important to make clear precisely what this means. It does not necessarily mean simply physical distance. Other variables such as the type of terrain between two sovereignties, and further obstacles, should be taken into account.

The only relatively objective measure of propinquity is that of walking distance. From the many government patrol reports (Tauna Village Book 1962-70), it is obvious that "roads" (in our sense of the term) cleared of grass and undergrowth have greatly improved on orders of the patrol officers. Walking times between sovereignties today are not necessarily the same as those in warfare times. Native walking time is relatively quicker, even with 40 pound loads, than most European walking times.

Before the Administration encouraged the widening of footpaths, there was not one main road, but many possible roads or trails between sovereignties. It cannot even be assumed that the shortest distances were always taken. Given these problems of definition, the following figures are presented nevertheless on native walking times as they were observed (but my presence slowed them down):

<u>Sovereignties</u>	<u>Going</u>	<u>Coming</u>
Tauna-Kawaina #2	1 hour	1/2 hour
Tauna-Tawaina	1-1 1/2 hours	1-1 1/2 hours
Tauna-Elakia	2 1/2-3 1/2 hours	2 1/2-3 1/2 hours

These figures represent walking times to and from a central point in each sovereignty. Prior to 1950, these walking times and distances were probably the same with the exception of the Tauna-Tawaina walk. The government patrol officer in 1962 took 4 hours to walk to Tawaina over a "shocking track" (Tauna Village Book 1962). Since then, this path has been greatly improved.

Thus, from Tauna outwards, in the present, the nearest sovereignties are Kawaina #2, Tawaina, and then Elakia. Other more outlying sovereignties will not be considered. Under the assumption that propinquity is related to warfare and killing frequencies, it should be predicted that the most Tauna warfare deaths are caused, in order, by Kawaina #2, Tawaina, and Elakia. As previously shown (see Tables 10,11,12, and 19), the order of warfare deaths in Tauna

and the number of marriages is directly opposite the order predicted on the basis of propinquity alone. Previously, it was concluded that the propinquity variable seems to act very generally within the near ranges of Tauna's social universe, e.g. Circle 1 groups marry and fight more than Circle 2 groups do with Tauna. But for more precise predictions and discriminations, this variable is not accurate.

Following Meggitt's (1965: 101) interpretation of Mae Enga marriage and warfare rates, the same can be done with the Tauna Awa data. The three sovereignties (Elakia, Tawaina, and Kawaina #2) bordering Tauna accounted for 82.3% of all exogamous marriages and 85.7% of all Tauna deaths in warfare. From these general figures, one could certainly draw the conclusion that the Tauna Awa "marry who they fight." But these figures are misleading on a more specific scale and fail to indicate the various sub-political units with particular ties in each of these three sovereignties. Moreover, such a conclusion is over-generalized because it fails to account for the choices and strategies of marriage and warfare used by specific pooling units and individuals.

In other writings, researchers like Vayda (1961; 1968) and Meggitt (1965) have argued that resource inequality, specifically in arable land, is a major cause of warfare especially among subsistence agriculturalists. Warfare,

then, acts to "regulate" certain economic variables (Vayda 1968: 86):

. . . war breaks out when the inequalities between groups in their possession of or access to certain economic goods or resources reach a certain magnitude. Such hypotheses are 'functional' ones if they go on to state that the effect of warfare is to reduce the inequalities to a point where they do not exceed a proper or acceptable level.

Strictly on empirical grounds, and considering arable land to be a resource, it was not true that warfare was fought over land in all of New Guinea, for instance the Chimbu (Brown and Brookfield 1963). Neither is this applicable to the Tauna Awa case.

What happens to alliance relationships when "resource inequality" is perceived by the individuals? One experimental study dealing with two person alliances reported that "the most intense conflict was observed in alliances in which discrepancies in resource units were moderate" (Vitz and Kite 1970: 235). Where resource discrepancies were very small or very large, the conflict observed was relatively less.

In essence, a high degree of perceived resource inequality is posited to have two different effects in relationship to conflict: it is said either to cause more conflict (Meggitt and Vayda) or less conflict (Vitz and Kite). However, none of these studies (nor does this thesis) deal specifically with individual variability in this perception. There is an added problem of defining

the boundaries of a group or an alliance, and stating whether conflict is occurring within them or between them.

In Tauna and nearby sovereignties, resource discrepancies could probably be described as "moderate" rather than grossly unequal. This conclusion stems from earlier discussions about the distribution of wealth (see Chapter 5), and present information on the ownership of wealth which is slightly distorted because of the increasing importance of money. Nonetheless, the argument could then follow, according to the Vitz-Kite findings, that warfare, under conditions of moderate resource discrepancies, would be practiced to create a greater amount of resource inequality, especially in the number of pigs and women. This is contrary to the Meggitt-Vayda hypothesis which views resource inequality as a necessary pre-condition of warfare in the New Guinea Highlands. But to test either hypothesis, both perception and precise economic variables would be required. In no published studies is there sufficient data to make this test.

Experimental studies of conflict such as the one cited above usually make an assumption (probably derived from Game Theory) of the rationality of subjects and of their basic uniformity in decision making given the same set of conditions of "play" before them. It is difficult to assume this for New Guineans regarding economic and political behavior. Informants said that they always made their

own decisions and felt themselves to be responsible for their own actions, but they were reluctant to take the blame for others. As to what decisions and acts may have started a fight, it was mentioned previously that they were considered to be the fault primarily of "rubbish men" or "hambag men." When asked why these men made trouble, informants would say either that it was his own affair, or else, to be circular, he was what he was, a trouble maker.

It is the strength and plan of each individual to act for himself that many writers (e.g. Newman 1965) have emphasized about New Guineans. Pigs are stolen and women abducted because, informants often stated, one day a man decided that he would, this time, seek revenge rather than forget about it. Describing individual behaviors as "regulating" or "homeostatic" (Rappaport 1968; Vayda 1968) does not take these individual personality and situational factors into account, rather it tends to treat human behavior as being "functional" within a total system. The same criticisms against "functional theory" (Hempel 1959) can be raised against this approach, although, admittedly, its adherents are attempting to overcome one of the difficulties of setting limits to variable in variable systems.

Summary

In summary, it can be stated that Tauna falls into the category of one of these New Guinea societies which,

for various reasons, "marry whom they fight." Of course, this simple description alone greatly masks the conditions which need to be clarified before one can understand why this is so. These conditions, described in earlier chapters are: (1) how and why outside sovereignty marriages are contracted; (2) how and why inter-sovereignty warfare is practiced; and, importantly, (3) what outside sovereignties are selected and why. When these conditions are known then the relationship between marriage and warfare behavior can be more easily understood.

In this chapter, it has been shown, in Tauna, that inter-sovereignty marriages and the resulting affinal-political interests: (1) did not cause a significant number of fights or deaths in Tauna (this is based on the perhaps mistaken assumption of frequent affinal conflict); (2) did little to significantly deter warfare and lower rates of killing for individuals; and (3) were mainly one part of a political gesture to end a fight once verbal peace negotiations had already begun. In itself, marriage and its concomitant political interests among affines, was not sufficiently strong enough to prevent overt conflict from erupting and continuing. Political interests on behalf of one's own sovereignty, reflected in defensive and offensive warfare behavior, seemed to take primary consideration over other political interests, especially those outside the sovereignty. The next chapter will sum

up these observations and attempt to relate them to the more general theoretical problems posed in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Because of environmental conditions and the history of migrations and settlement of groups, which will never be completely known, there presently are and have been (since at least 1900) three sovereignties which border Tauna. The population and population density of these sovereignties is relatively low compared to similar groups in the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea. Marriage outside the sovereignty is imperative if everyone is to marry and because of the preference for polygyny. There are no major prohibitions against sending or receiving wives from any of these outside sovereignties. There are, however, prohibitions on sending wives to and taking wives from more distant sovereignties. It was found that Tauna pooling units tend to prefer different adjacent sovereignties in contracting marriages. This is a strategy which indicates preferences toward establishing alliance relationships with one or possibly two outside sovereignties rather than a strategy which is intended to create relationships with all three outside sovereignties.

With reference to warfare, there are no prohibitions

against fighting these same three outside groups. Since warfare was a frequently chosen alternative by which politico-legal disputes between sovereignties were prosecuted, and a means by which in-sovereignty status and security were achieved, it was undertaken with little regard to outside sovereignty affinal-political interests. This assertion is supported by what is known of an individual's obligations to groups, i.e. what it means to be a member (see Chapter 2). It also receives confirmation from the fact that Tauna warfare casualties showed an unskewed distribution in regard to pooling unit membership, sub-pooling unit membership, and the location of Ego's affinal ties. Since there are no exact data on Tauna killings in every other sovereignty, it has had to be assumed that other contiguous sovereignties share the same essential political values. Therefore, although it was conceded that some elements in raiding and fighting tactics were uncontrollable, others, such as what section of what sovereignty to go, etc., were controllable by the political decision makers or war leaders. Generally, no considerations were given to target preferences beyond certain age and sex categories, but even in times of revenge, these may have been forgotten. Predictably, then, the values placed on outside affinal-political interests were not given consideration "most" of the time, since they were superceded by in-sovereignty political

values.

At a theoretical level, several propositions have been substantiated. Among these are: (1) that political values offering more rewards (i.e. security and status) are chosen and sought over those which offer fewer ones (such as security or status alone); and (2) the values of a group or relationship with which one has more contact (for example, politico-residential groups) will take precedence over other group or relational interests. These conclusions are over-generalized, since the specific conditions of their application are not stated. Nor are the relationships between political values and other values (e.g. economic, moral) explored fully here. Knowing conditions under which marriage and warfare take place is a necessary step in examining their mutual relationship. Under other ethnographic conditions, political values may be subject to other pressures, and therefore, different ones may take priority. But this remains to be documented.

From assumptions about the selection of political values in marriage and warfare, it was hypothesized (in Chapter 1) that because successful inter-sovereignty warfare behavior concerned more in-sovereignty interests and was more rewarded, killing others outside of the sovereignty was not affected by the possibility of directly confronting affines. This hypothesis was

found to be acceptable, but an important point to consider is that it is acceptable only under certain circumstances. For example, in Tauna, it was argued that warfare, in general, was the most important means to achieve political status as opposed to other ways, e.g. gift exchange or the accumulation of material goods. Also, the number and location of outside sovereignties is a limiting factor in affecting decisions on how outside groups are selected for social relationships by the political unit or units under study.

The above hypothesis, if correct, implies several other relationships between marriage and warfare behavior when the empirical conditions (e.g. population density, number of outside sovereignties) are changed. First, it is implied that if the degree to which warfare is stressed in political status systems is lessened in preference to other means such as gift exchange in marital obligations, affinal ties will tend to remain intact: people will tend to discriminate among targets in warfare based upon the presence or absence of affines. Secondly, under demographic conditions where women are not scarce and their sources in other political units are not very limited in number, it is suggested that clear preferences for sending and receiving wives from certain groups will be developed; depending upon other factors these groups may or may not be the same groups with whom one fights. What

tends to develop, where there are many potential opposing political units, is a scale of outside groups from "permanet" allies to "permanent" enemies. This condition is not found in Tauna Awa where amity/enmity relationships with a limited number of outside sovereignties tend to be fluctuating depending upon the level of offenses.

The explanation of marriage and warfare behavior presented here concerns the optimization of specific political values. Certain "negative" cases should also be mentioned. There are instances of groups in New Guinea which are said to "not marry whom they fight." It was previously mentioned (in Chapter 1) that descriptions of this kind are not very helpful since no standard method of evaluation is used. But generally, it is suggested that in other New Guinea Highland societies, more value and rewards may be attached to gift exchange and outside marriage in determining political status. The expression of these political values may be correlated with environmental factors, high population density, and different types of leadership (see Strathern 1971). Additionally, there may be more "target" groups for such practices with different histories of group segmentation and alliance. For the Tauna Awa, however, its political values in regard to status ranking seem to be related to the relatively small scale of traditional exchange systems, a low population and population density, and the presence of only a

few neighboring groups.

It is extremely probable that other sovereignties value warfare as much as Tauna, but under their local conditions, they do not kill affines and affines do not kill them. If, for example, a sovereignty had many outside sovereignties to choose potential marriage partners from, it would be possible that a wider range of affinal alliances would develop, from well-established (permanent) alliances to very little developed ones. Different histories of group segmentation and fission could also preset conditions for marriage alliance. A single group which divides into autonomous segments might, for instance, seek to cultivate marriage relationships. Through time they may become permanent allies. What is implied here is that the total number of groups available and preferred for marriage and warfare will affect the inter-regulation of these behaviors. Whether these activities are limited to the same groups or different groups, by preference or circumstance, is surely a significant variable.

The Tauna Awa case concerns a politico-legal unit which, by preference and geographical-historical circumstance, limits marriage and warfare to the same sovereignties. Neither permanent allies nor enemies can develop, rather cycles of amity/enmity are begun and terminated. Under the opposite condition of many neighbors, marriage and gift giving may create permanent allies, but this does

not necessarily reduce the importance of warfare. It merely means that warfare behavior is under different constraints. It is suggested, and this needs cross-cultural verification, that when many outside groups are available for socio-political interaction, a group tends to cultivate a few secure affinal-alliance relationships (and a few hostile ones) rather than all fluctuating, ambiguous relationships. The presence of many neighbors, itself, may be related to high population density, frequent group segmentation with groups having a past common origin and a propensity towards cooperation and alliance, and an imposition upon the territory of other cultural-linguistic groups resulting in increased conflict. When near neighbors are few and stable, the option to make fine political discriminations may not be possible or necessary.

How did these political values arise and how were they perpetuated? Although specific answers to this question cannot be provided, more broadly it appears that the degree of male aggressiveness which is culturally allowable may be related to certain kinds of territorial and political systems (Strathern 1971: 53). "Acephalous" systems are a case in point. Regardless of personal motivation for political status, it seems likely that where there is warfare between small groups, leaders will emerge if only by the fact that followers will create

them (Lepervanche 1968: 179) for their own protection. Political values attached to male aggressiveness, therefore, will arise nevertheless in small, "egalitarian" societies.

The notion of political values attached to exogamous marriage are found in early discussions on the origins of exogamy and incest taboos. In a present-day context, Tylor's alternatives of marrying out or being killed out are not entirely appropriate in this case, since the most successful effect of an exogamous marriage seems to be to temporarily check fighting only after it has started and assumed proportions where it has been thought necessary, by the participants, to end the heavy interchange of violence. The success of affinal-political alliances, furthermore, is undoubtedly related to demographic and environmental constraints which early generalizations did not adequately consider for lack of a large body of ethnographic data.

At present, some of the ideas suggested here can be applied only to the Tauna Awa data. A comparison with other New Guinea Highlands societies is not possible at the moment because of the dearth of published information about the same variables which were considered in this study. Further cross-cultural studies, though desirable, would be difficult to undertake since the same variables and assumptions selected for this study may not be

applicable elsewhere. Not all societies, even small-scale ones without formal politico-legal agencies, regularly practice warfare in the same intensity as in New Guinea. It is agreed that the development of social theory builds upon variables which are not necessarily the same variables useful to ethnographic analysis (Hammel 1970: 653). More general relationships, such as among political values, status, rewards, etc., certainly can be investigated in a wider range of societies and situations. But only further studies will determine whether the group of specific and general concepts and variables used here are of more theoretical relevance towards understanding how and why inter-group violence is occasionally encouraged, but often controlled and terminated.

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Appendix 1: Male Purification Ritual After Marriage

The first time a man's wife menstruates after their marriage, the man is prohibited from drinking water, eating sugar cane and sweet potato, and smoking. While his wife is in the menstrual hut, he sits in the men's house. Other sovereignty members collect special leaves and a small stone for the purification ceremony.

The ceremony is performed in the men's house in the middle of the night. A small stone is heated in a fire and placed in the plant leaves. One of the elders of the man's pooling unit takes the steaming leaves with the stone in it, and places it near various parts of the man's body: his neck, chest, stomach, genitals, buttocks, and legs. Next the newly married man eats some pitpit (an edible shoot) and spits it on the heated stone to make it steam. For each part of the body where the stone is held, there is a different chant which is repeated by all of the men present. The groom takes the stone and throws it backwards between his legs, but he does not throw it too far otherwise, informants say, his wife will leave him and go to someone else.

The group of men inside the men's house then walk to the doorway. A bamboo torch is lit, and the groom holds the torch and shakes it near his body letting the smoke cover his skin. The elder men instruct him what to say:

"Before my wife was with me, but now she has gone to the menstrual hut. She has left her string bag, cassowary nose bone, armbands, small and large bark skirts, digging stick, etc. (all women's items) in her house and has gone. If I get sick I can throw these belongings in a pool of water and give them to the eels and frogs." The following day, without being sick, the husband threw some of his wife's possessions in the river and then washed himself.

This ceremony is to insure that the man will not be sick in the future, since his personal contact with women will increase. In Tauna, the "boiling" and smoking of the skin is a common feature of purifications rituals. It cannot be estimated how often this protective ceremony was performed for all males; nor can variability in its performance be established. On informant claims he did it for the first five times his wife menstruated. After having a child, this ceremony is no longer necessary. It is done only for the newly married man who must insure that he is not polluted by his wife's menstrual blood. There was no special food or gift distributions associated with this event which were known to have taken place.

Appendix 2: Preparations for Marriage

This description of a Tauna marriage ceremony is based on several interviews and my own observations. Since only three marriages were observed, it would be difficult to determine the extent to which any variability in procedure was allowed. Most events described in this section were witnessed first-hand.

In order to attract the woman of his choice during the courtship period a man may either cook special magical leaves and give them to the woman to eat, or he may put the leaves in an arrow and shoot it in her direction. If he does either of these things, Tauna informants said that she will begin to think about him. In order to attract a woman from another sovereignty, a man will burn magical leaves with some kunai grass; when a woman sees the smoke, she will come to the man's sovereignty and attempt to marry him. The exact success rate of these tactics is not known. As far as could be determined this latter tactic was said to have attracted a woman from another sovereignty only once about 25 years ago.

The usual procedure in preparation for marriage is for the parents and adult pooling unit members of the prospective bride and groom to start negotiations over the amount of bridewealth. In the past, little responsibility was given to the bride and groom themselves.

During the "engagement period" sexual intercourse between

the young man and woman is strictly forbidden. Informants repeated that avoidance of the future bride and groom was normal, and publicly they attempt to be aloof. Of the three couples observed during this period, some were judged to be quite friendly and were said to have been copulating in secret while other couples made obvious attempts to avoid each other totally. I made the mistake of asking a prospective married couple, one who avoided each other, if they wanted a photograph of them taken together. This remark was a great embarrassment to them and an amusement to the others present.

When the parents of the bride and groom feel that they are old enough and there are enough pigs to be killed, the formal marriage preparations begin. A few days before the marriage ceremony, the young man goes into the men's house. While there, the hole in his nasal septum is made larger to accommodate a pig's tooth which he wears until after the marriage. He does not leave the men's house. Men of his pooling unit make a new bark skirt for him. He is also dressed in shells and feathers, and his face is painted black with ashes. For several nights, singing goes on all night in the men's house.

During the night, the young groom is repeatedly given advice and admonishments by the older men of the sovereignty. Now he must learn to kill wild pigs and share them with the members of his pooling unit. He especially must

give a large portion to his brother's daughters since he will receive a large part of their bridewealth when they marry. He should be careful not to copulate with his wife too frequently or when she is menstruating. When men from other sovereignties visit Tauna he must treat them like friends and always invite them for food. He must be sure not to accept food from his wife which has been held near her small bark skirt or her vagina.

After about five or six days, the youth officially "comes out" of the men's house. The whole sovereignty gathers to see this. Other men in the sovereignty, also dressed in shells and feathers, dance and run out of the men's house twanging the bamboo strings of their bows. The groom simply stands immobile watching the event himself. After the dancing and singing ceases, he is presented with a newly-made bow and arrow by an elder female in his pooling unit. She makes a speech to him telling him again that he should concentrate on hunting wild pigs and marsupials, since he no longer is simply a "youth" who can waste his time.

The same afternoon bridewealth is paid by the groom's pooling unit to the bride's pooling unit (see Chapter 2). Several days after the bridewealth is paid, the newly married man undergoes a purification ritual in order to remove the ashes from his body and to be cleansed. At a selected ceremonial riverbed, he and other men of the

sovereignty gather for the event. First pitpit leaves are shoved in his nostrils to make them bleed; next his glans penis is cut twice with a bamboo knife; and finally, he is smoked over a fire. Later in the afternoon, a special meal of grated taro and left-over pig is cooked by the women of his pooling unit. The groom continues to sleep in the men's house, and for many more days he is given advice on the polluting effects of sexual intercourse.

The bride-to-be undergoes a different ceremony. About a week before the bridewealth is paid, she is taken down to the river by the males of her pooling unit excluding her biological father. As for the groom, pitpit leaves are shoved up her nostrils for several minutes to make them bleed. Then another bundle of sharp, spiny leaves is rubbed on her back which immediately erupts in small bumps and scratches. Next she is beaten with sticks by her pooling unit brothers. When this is finished, she washes herself in the stream. The leaves and blood are washed down the river so that they later will not be used in sorcery against her.

When the above part of the ceremony is finished, she is escorted back to her hamlet, and there her nasal septum is pierced by a pooling unit brother; she wears a cassowary wing bone through it. For the next few nights before "coming out" she sleeps in one of her brother's houses. She puts on a new bark skirt and is given advice mainly

about taking orders from her future husband. She is warned against copulating with others, and she must be careful not to give her husband any food which has been near her vagina or small bark skirt.

When she "comes out" from her brother's house, earth ovens are made, and her pooling unit kills and cooks pigs for distribution. A large portion of pig is given to her mother's pooling unit. In the past, the bride's biological mother's brother was given an entire pig for himself which was placed inside of a house. Several other killed and cooked pigs were put on display outside the house and given to the rest of his pooling unit. If the two pooling units have frequently intermarried, some pig may be sent to the groom's pooling unit, but the groom does not eat any.

In addition to her new wrap-around bark skirt, the bride is given a dowry by her pooling unit consisting of shells, string bags, pigs, chickens, and recently, blankets, shovels, and other store-bought items. Her pooling unit warns her against using all of the household and gardening implements belonging to her husband until she has at least two children. If she does not do this, his pooling unit will be angry with her. When members of her pooling unit visit her in her husband's hamlet, she should cook food for them and treat them well. When members of her husband's pooling unit visit her, she must do the same.

Before the bridewealth is paid, the bride-to-be is

constantly given advice on her social obligations to her future husband and his pooling unit. If some of the pigs she receives from her pooling unit has offspring, she should give some of them to her husband's pooling unit. When she receives cooked pig in a distribution, she should give it to her husband's parents and his brothers while she and her husband should not eat any themselves. On the other hand, if the groom and his pooling unit gives what is considered to be a small bridewealth, the bride's pooling unit will not feel as obligated to provide her with as large a dowry as the groom's pooling unit expected.

On the day the bridewealth is paid, she is accompanied by her pooling unit to the hamlet of her new husband, dressed in a new bark skirt rubbed with pig fat, her face painted black, and a cassowary wing bone punctured through her nasal septum. She walks on a specially prepared path of leaves in her husband's hamlet in order that her future gardens will be fruitful. In the hamlet, the major part of the bridewealth is given to her parents, her brothers, and the rest of the members of her pooling unit.

The morning after the bridewealth is paid, the newly married pair walk to their gardens and jointly plant some root crops, thereby insuring that their gardens will be productive for the rest of their marriage. They then go down to a river where the new husband collects a small section of bamboo with water in it; she gathers some leaves

to make a small bed. She removes her bark skirt, and her husband washes her vagina with the water in the bamboo tube. He does not remove his own bark skirt or shorts, informants say, because he would have an erection, and it is too soon to copulate after marriage. To make his wife "cold" so that she will not have a child too quickly, the husband rubs melted pig fat in her vagina. After this is done, they throw the bamboo and leaves away in the river so that these objects will not be used in sorcery against them.

On the way back to their hamlet, they gather some firewood and carry it back together. She carried the top half of the bundle, and he supports the bottom half. Later in the day, food is cooked in bamboo tubes by the husband's pooling unit. The bride's pooling unit is also invited to eat. They are served with food outside the houses while the groom's pooling unit eats inside one of the houses. The hands of the married couple are "boiled" on steam from an earth oven, and, for the first time, she gives her husband cooked food with her own hands.

Appendix 3: Tauna Warfare Data

The main goal in collecting warfare stories was to elicit exact descriptions of inter-sovereignty fights with as much detail as possible. Most information was gathered in the course of collecting genealogies. General information about sources of conflict, battle tactics, and peace ceremonies was collected in addition to texts of specific events. Almost every story was rechecked with at least two or sometimes three other informants at other times. Informants from other sovereignties were also interviewed as often as possible in order to obtain and consider the "opposite version" of the same set of events.

The following text of a series of fights between Tauna and Tawaina serves as "typical" description of an inter-sovereignty offense and fight sequence. This particular story was collected in an interview with one informant; other facts about the case were rechecked with other informants including those who had actually participated in the fight. Cases of this kind were the primary data out of which generalizations about the organization and conduct of warfare were made.

At about 1942, the men of Tauna lived at the hamlets of Urara'pe', Ino'pe', Wamo'pe', Arawe'pe', Potopi'pe', and Tanu'pe. One day four Tauna men, Kinta, Ma', Onkaitu, and Moke went to Tawaina to steal a pig. They killed a pig there and brought it back to Urara'pe' hamlet to be cooked. Several Tawaina men followed them back. They came down to Wopi'pe' near the river and called out to Aramona pooling unit: "You have killed one of our pigs' now

you can give us a small pig in return." Aramona and Tanuna pooling units answered by saying: "No we didn't make any trouble; it was Obepina, Awatera, and Apia pooling units who did it."

The latter three pooling units replied to the first two: "Yes, we can give them a pig; we aren't your wives, and you can't tell us what to do." Tawaina was waiting and watching on the road for the return of the pig. Tauna decided that Kinta should go first since he was one of the men that stole the pig in the first place. The rest of the men would follow.

As Kinta approached them Wanchara of Tawaina stood up and shot Kinta straight in the chest with a kanti (square barbed arrow). The rest of Tauna came and chased the Tawaina men. As they chased them, they shouted: "Yes, we are strong. You killed one of us. Never mind. Later, we can kill one of you." Tauna men carried Kinta back to Urara'pe' hamlet with the arrow still in his chest. At the hamlet, a man removed the arrow but he died. Later, they buried him.

During this time, some men and women of Awatera pooling unit were living in Konko'pe' and Asuara'pe' hamlets near Kawaina #2. Other Tauna men told Awatera to move down nearer to the center of Tauna around Urara'pe' and Obepi'pe'. The women of Awatera had many gardens in the north part of Tauna. They said they wanted to collect some sweet potatoes. It would be dangerous for them to go to their gardens since there were many roads around there from Tauna to Tawaina. Umantara, a "big man," said that he would watch the roads first. When everything was clear and there were no Tawaina around he would call out for the others.

Umantara went into the hills. If he saw any men he might have killed them. At this time, the men of Tawaina had the idea that they might sleep in the houses of Asuara'pe' that Awatera pooling unit had left behind. They would watch the gardens around there and shoot anyone who came near. Tawaina men came and made an earth oven. When Umantara was on the hill he saw the smoke. He came back and told the rest of Tauna to get their bows and arrows ready.

The next morning Motare of Tawaina got up to defecate at Asuara'pe' hamlet. He went to the toilet, but

he saw two ghosts standing there. He ran back and said to the rest of the Tawaina men: "I saw two ghosts at the toilet; I think Tauna saw the smoke from our earth ovens, and they are waiting on the roads to kill us." The rest of Tawaina thought he was lying. Motare said he wasn't a man who lied. He went back to sleep and dreamt that two Tawaina men would be killed. Again he warned everyone to go back to Tawaina. Some men wanted to go back; others didn't listen. Kau'a and Tape said: "No, we won't listen to what this man said. We can go and kill Tauna.

Meanwhile Tauna men were hiding around the bushes of Konko'pe'. Kau'a and Tape came first; Motare, the man who had the dream stayed far behind. Tauna enclosed the first two men on the road. Moke of Tauna shot a kanti arrow and killed Kau'a; Ana and Aro'mi killed Tape.

The other Tawaina men ran all the way back to their sovereignty. Tauna men carried the bodies of the two dead Tawaina men back to Tauna. They made a fire with logs and stones like an earth oven. They put the bodies on the fire and covered them up with leaves. They did this simply because "they wanted to do it."

Apiu of Tauna, however, was a friend of Tape, one of the killed men. He pulled the two burned bodies from the fire. He called out for Tawaina. In the night Tawaina men came to get the corpses so that they could bury them at Tawaina.

Additional hostile acts between Tauna and Tawaina continued for several years.

From this text, several facts about the nature of the data are apparent. First, in many recent cases, the actual names of men who were involved in fighting, specific locations, and conversations are remembered and recounted with high reliability. Second, parts of the story are later pieced together to form a whole, e.g. the description of the Tawaina man seeing ghosts. Third, the time dimension of events is sometimes compressed and other times extended

to include long descriptions of each event; this usually depends upon individual informants' interests and memories.

I attempted to collect texts of this kind for each Tauna warfare death and deaths in other sovereignties caused by Tauna. The content of information varies considerably with the informant and with the dating of events in time. Obviously, most informants can recall more recent events in greater detail. After about 15 months, I felt confident that the texts which were collected represented an almost complete history of Tauna warfare between 1900-1950. A part of the rest of my stay was spent trying to elicit more precise information about specific events. In many cases, such as with events between 1900-1920, this was clearly impossible. However, overall, it is felt from what texts were obtained that the generalizations made about warfare (see especially Chapter 5) are a reasonably faithful record of the past.