

MANGA SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by

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## ABSTRACT

In this dissertation the author focuses his attention on the problems of "flexibility" and "loose social structure". These terms have been used by ethnographers to characterize a type of social structure in New Guinea. The author maintains that these concepts are invalid since they result from theoretical biases, inadequate analytical treatments, and a failure to apply adequate conceptual frameworks. In order to demonstrate these points, he analyzes a body of ethnographic material from the Manga society of the Highlands, New Guinea which he collected during the years 1961-1963. Through the application of the complementary concepts of social and societal structure to his ethnographic data he demonstrates that the ideas of "flexibility" and "looseness of social structure" lack both analytical utility and descriptive clarity. On the contrary, the conceptual separation of the domains of social structure from societal structure allows for an exact analysis and shows that there is no dialectic opposition between the principles of unilineal descent and bilaterality. While the former is an organizational principle in the sphere of societal structure, the latter pertains to relations and behavior of the social structure domain. The two principles that operate simultaneously in the New Guinea societies complement rather than contradict each other.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
Acknowledgments. . . . .	ix
I. New Guinea and the Problem . . . . .	1
History of Contact. . . . .	1
The Field Situation . . . . .	10
The Problem . . . . .	17
Structure. . . . .	17
Flexibility. . . . .	24
II. Land, Language and People. . . . .	32
Land Forms, Climate and Vegetation. . . . .	32
Language Distribution . . . . .	38
Genealogy and Demography. . . . .	48
Settlement Pattern . . . . .	61
Domestic Units . . . . .	67
Summary . . . . .	70
III. General Features of the Manga. . . . .	71
Bodily Appearance . . . . .	71
Health. . . . .	72
Clothing. . . . .	72
Housing and Ceremonial Structures . . . . .	74
Additional Manufactures . . . . .	82
The Food Quest. . . . .	85
Cultivated Produce . . . . .	85
Animal Husbandry . . . . .	90
Hunting and Gathering. . . . .	94
Food Preparation . . . . .	97
Food Consumption . . . . .	99
Summary . . . . .	100
IV. Life Cycle . . . . .	102
Pregnancy . . . . .	102
Babyhood. . . . .	104
Childhood . . . . .	107
Young Adults. . . . .	109
Men and Women . . . . .	115
Old Men and Old Women . . . . .	150
Death and Burial. . . . .	152
Summary . . . . .	156
V. Kinship and Marriage . . . . .	158
Nominals. . . . .	158
Designatives. . . . .	161

	page
The Kinship System. . . . .	164
Manga Referential Kinship Terminology . .	164
Componential Analysis of the Reference Terminology for Consanguineals. . . . .	167
Kinsmen by Marriage . . . . .	171
Discussion of the Referential Terminology . . . . .	174
Address Terminology . . . . .	177
Kinship Behavior. . . . .	178
The Marriage System. . . . .	191
Methods of Wife Acquisition . . . . .	192
Sister-Exchange. . . . .	200
Bride-prices. . . . .	209
Marriage by the Rule. . . . .	220
Incorporation of Individuals. . . . .	231
Conclusions . . . . .	237
Summary . . . . .	250
VI. Segmentary Structure and the Ceremonial Cycle. . . . .	251
Introduction. . . . .	251
Segmentary Organization of the Manga	
Phratry . . . . .	251
Phratry. . . . .	253
Clan . . . . .	253
Clan-moiety. . . . .	253
Sub-clan . . . . .	255
Segment names. . . . .	256
The descent concept. . . . .	257
The Ceremonial Cycle. . . . .	260
Religion . . . . .	261
Warfare. . . . .	265
The Pig Festival . . . . .	271
The Developmental Aspect. . . . .	313
Morokai phratry. . . . .	316
Unjika and Korika clans. . . . .	318
Okona phratry. . . . .	319
Kaulaga phratry. . . . .	320
Moluma phratry . . . . .	321
Manga phratry. . . . .	323
Phratry level. . . . .	324
Clan level . . . . .	325
Clan-moiety level. . . . .	326
Sub-clan and sub-subclan levels. . . . .	326
Summary . . . . .	329
VII. Conclusion . . . . .	330
Introduction. . . . .	330
The Problem . . . . .	330

The Analytical Approach . . . . .	331
Manga Social Structure. . . . .	333
Manga social categories. . . . .	333
Manga social quasi-groups. . . . .	334
Manga Societal Structure. . . . .	335
Unilineal kinship groups . . . . .	335
Domestic groups. . . . .	335
Residential groups . . . . .	336
The Interrelationship of Social and Societal Structures. . . . .	336
Summary . . . . .	338

### Appendices

I. Genealogies of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan. . . . .	352
II. Alphabetical Listing of Names. . . . .	393
III. Age and Sex Distributions by Sub-clan. . . . .	397
IV. Genealogical Summaries by Sub-clan . . . . .	405
V. KulakaeNgeyka Houses and Their Occupants . . . . .	413
VI. Domestic Units . . . . .	430
VII. Some Common Nominals and Their Meanings. . . . .	441
VIII. Patterning in Nominals . . . . .	443
IX. Some Additional Terms of Personnel Nomenclature. . . . .	446
X. Brothers Marrying Sisters. . . . .	447
XI. Distribution of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan by Sub-clans. . . . .	448
XII. Bride-price Payments . . . . .	450
XIII. Calendar of Events, Manga Pig Festival . . . . .	463
XIV. Segmentation of Narak Phratries. . . . .	470
Bibliography . . . . .	475

TABLES

	page
I. Kwiop Rainfall and Temperature, 1962 . . . . .	36
II. Named Languages in the Jimi River Valley . . . . .	39
III. Percentages of Cognates. . . . .	40
IV. KulakaeNgeyka Clan: Age and Sex Distribution. . . . .	51
V. KulakaeNgeyka Clan, Genealogical Summary . . . . .	53
VI. Summary of KulakaeNgeyka Agnates Living and Dead . . . . .	55
VII. KulakaeNgeyka Agnatic Emigrants. . . . .	56
VIII. KulakaeNgeyka Immigrants and Subsequent Emigrants. . . . .	59,60
IX. Residences by Village and Sub-clan . . . . .	65,66
X. Type and Number of Domestic Units. . . . .	68
XI. Nominals . . . . .	159
XII. Plural Marriages . . . . .	193
XIII. Methods of Wife Acquisition. . . . .	195
XIV. KulakaeNgeyka Levirate Cases . . . . .	197
XV. Sister Exchange. . . . .	201
XVI. Marriage Frequency by Phratry. . . . .	208
XVII. Percentage Distribution of the Total Number of Individual Contributors and Recipients of Bride-prices by Their Unit of Membership. . . . .	215
XVIII. Percentage of Items Contributed or Received by Unit of the Contributor or Recipient. . . . .	217
XIX. Number of Items and Percentage of Bride- price Paid by Husband. . . . .	218
XX. Classification of Second Cousins in the Manga Marriage Model . . . . .	230
XXI. Sex Ordering in Sibling Sets . . . . .	241
XXII. Population Sizes of Narak Phratries and Clans. . . . .	315

PLATES

page

1.	Woman's House Under Construction by Tsapinde . . . . .	75
2.	Men's House Under Construction by Wabi at Kwiop. . . . .	75
3.	Wando's Men's House. . . . .	77
4.	The Ceremonial Dance Ground at Kwiop . . . . .	79
5.	Wando Entering his Sacrifice House to Speak with the Spirits of his Ancestors. . . . .	80
6.	Burning off a New Garden . . . . .	87
7.	A Recently Planted Garden Marked off into Sections . . . . .	87
8.	A Clique of Young Girls, Their Faces Decorated With Talcum Powder . . . . .	110
9.	The <u>Kananta</u> , a Courtship Event . . . . .	113
10.	A Bride-price Payment Banner is Being Stuck in the Ground at the Head of the Displayed Sides of Pork. . . . .	142
11.	Feeding the Affinal Kinsmen the <u>Kongaminba</u> (a Blood, Fat, and Fern Pudding) During a Bride-price Payment. . . . .	143
12.	At the Conclusion of the Reciprocal Payments in a Bride-price Ceremony the Bride is Re- claimed by her Husband's Brother . . . . .	146
13.	Distributing Pork at the Conclusion of a Bride-price Ceremony . . . . .	147
14.	The Women Mourners Carry the Body of the Deceased to the Cemetery for Burial. . . . .	157
15.	Two Women who have Married Each Other's Brother. . . . .	205
16.	Tsapinde Distributes Wealth Received in a Bride-Price Transaction. . . . .	219
17.	Elevated Food Storage Houses Constructed for the Pig Festival . . . . .	282
18.	Extracting and Removing Evil Spells from the Ground . . . . .	286
19.	Wabi Blows Tobacco Smoke Containing a Spell into a Feather Headdress . . . . .	291
20.	Clan "Sisters" are Displayed as Potential Brides during a Dance. . . . .	293
21.	A War Ally Symbolically Re-enacts 'Killing an Enemy'. . . . .	294
22.	Wabi Makes a Food Presentation During the Pig Festival . . . . .	295
23.	The Two Sorcerers, Kolip and Kent, Blow Spells into the Gate Post of the <u>Fapey</u> Fence . . . . .	298
24.	Carrying the <u>Fapey</u> Fence Gate Posts to Their Designated Place . . . . .	299
25.	Wan Wears a Jimi Style Wig at the Coming Out of the Wigmen. . . . .	300
26.	Kum Wears a 'Cleopatra' Style Wig at the Coming out of the Wigmen . . . . .	301
27.	A Dead Cassowary Bird Dressed as a Human and Symbolizing the Ancestors. . . . .	306

PLATES (Cont'd)

page

28.	Kent Speaks to the Ancestors. . . . .	307
29.	Men of the Kulakaengeyka Clan Call Out to Their War Allies to Come and be Fed . . . . .	309
30.	War Allies Waiting to be Called to the <u>Fapey</u> Fence to be Fed . . . . .	309
31.	A War Ally is Fed the Pork Fat and Smearred with Salt . . . . .	311



MAPS

page

I. Western Highlands Area of New Guinea . . . . . 5

II. Jimi and Simbai Rivers . . . . . 34

III. Jimi and Simbai Rivers, Language Distribution. . 46

IV. Village Map of TagaimbaNgo and Kwiop . . . . . 62a

V. Village Map of Epi, Timank, and Ngonome. . . . . 62b

VI. Narak Settlements. . . . . 269

FIGURES

1. Manga Marriage Model . . . . . 225

2. Model of Relative Age Structure. . . . . 239

3. Segmentary Levels of the Manga Phratry . . . . . 252

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## I. NEW GUINEA AND THE PROBLEM

History of Contact: The island of New Guinea, or at least its western tip, was known to the people of Indonesia for centuries. It is thought to have been first sighted by a European in 1511 or 1512 when Antonio d'Abreau, a Portuguese sailor, passed nearby, although there is some speculation as to whether d'Abreau actually did see New Guinea (Souter 1964: 18, Essai 1961: 1, Pacific Islands Yearbook 1963: 305, 395). It was not until 1526 that a landing was made by the then Portuguese Governor of the Moluccas, Don Jorge de Meneses, who has subsequently been credited with the "discovery" of New Guinea.

During the 16th century, the island was sporadically touched by several Spanish ships sailing between the Moluccas and their New World possessions. In the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries, New Guinea was seen by several English, Spanish, Dutch, and French explorer-navigators. The Dutch formally annexed the western half of the island in 1828. It was not until 1884, however, that the British properly annexed Papua, the southern portion of the eastern half of the island, and it was this move that precipitated the German annexation, through their agent the South Sea Syndicate, of the northern portion of the eastern half of the island, along with New Britain and New Ireland.

At the outset of World War I, Australia quickly occupied the German held areas, and in 1920 the League of Nations mandated these former German possessions to Australia. During

World War II, the Japanese invaded and held portions of New Guinea, though they did not penetrate into the central highlands. In 1946, the former Mandated Territory of New Guinea was returned to Australia for administration as a Trust Territory of the United Nations Organization.

With the exception of the western bulge in the course of the Fly River, the 141st degree of East Longitude is the agreed upon border between Papua and the former Netherlands New Guinea, since transferred to Indonesia and renamed Irian Barat. There is no agreed upon border between what is now Irian Barat and the Trust Territory of New Guinea.

The island of New Guinea is about 1,400 miles long and 400 miles wide at its widest part. Of this, the Trust Territory of New Guinea comprises approximately one-third, or about 70,000 square miles. The Territory is subdivided into nine Administrative Districts. Each has a headquarters town from which Sub-districts and their respective patrol posts are centrally administered. The Western Highlands District, with its headquarters in Mount Hagen at the southwestern end of the broad, flat Wahgi Valley, has a total area of 9,600 square miles and in 1962 had a total estimated native population of 269,329 (Pacific Islands Yearbook 1963: 308). Today, this is not regarded as surprising, though in the early 1930's the area was considered to be not only uninhabited but also uninhabitable. The discovery of the large populations of the interior is directly due to the gold prospecting efforts of the Leahy brothers. In 1932 an airstrip was constructed at Bena

Bena (now in the Eastern Highlands District) by the Leahys in conjunction with the Administration and:

"On March 8, 1933, with the veteran pilot I. Grabowski at the controls, Major Harrison and I (Michael J. Leahy) and my brothers, Jim and Dan, flew out over the new valley (which was to become known as the Wahgi) and laid to rest for all time the theory that the center of New Guinea is a mass of uninhabitable mountains. What we saw was a great, flat valley, possibly twenty miles wide and no telling how many miles long, between two high mountain ranges (now known as the Kubor Mountains to the south and the Wahgi-Sepik Divide to the north), with a very crooked river meandering through it. Below us were evidences of a fertile soil and a teeming population--a continuous patchwork of gardens, laid off in neat squares like checkerboards, with oblong grass houses, in groups of four or five, dotted thickly over the landscape" (Leahy and Crain 1937: 150).

During 1933, in the extension of the Pax Britannica and the further pursuit of gold bearing deposits, M. J. Leahy, along with a surveyor, K. L. Spinks, and an Administrative Officer, Jim Taylor, penetrated the Jimi River Valley. This river system is located to the north of the Wahgi-Sepik Divide and flows westerly from its headwaters at the base of Mt. Wilhelm (15,400') to its confluence with the Gai River, at which point the river turns north and is known as the Yuat. The Yuat continues in a northerly direction and is one of the major tributaries of the Sepik. Though Leahy made three trips into the Jimi, at no time did he cross the river to the north wall, that is, the south fall of the Bismarck Mountains.

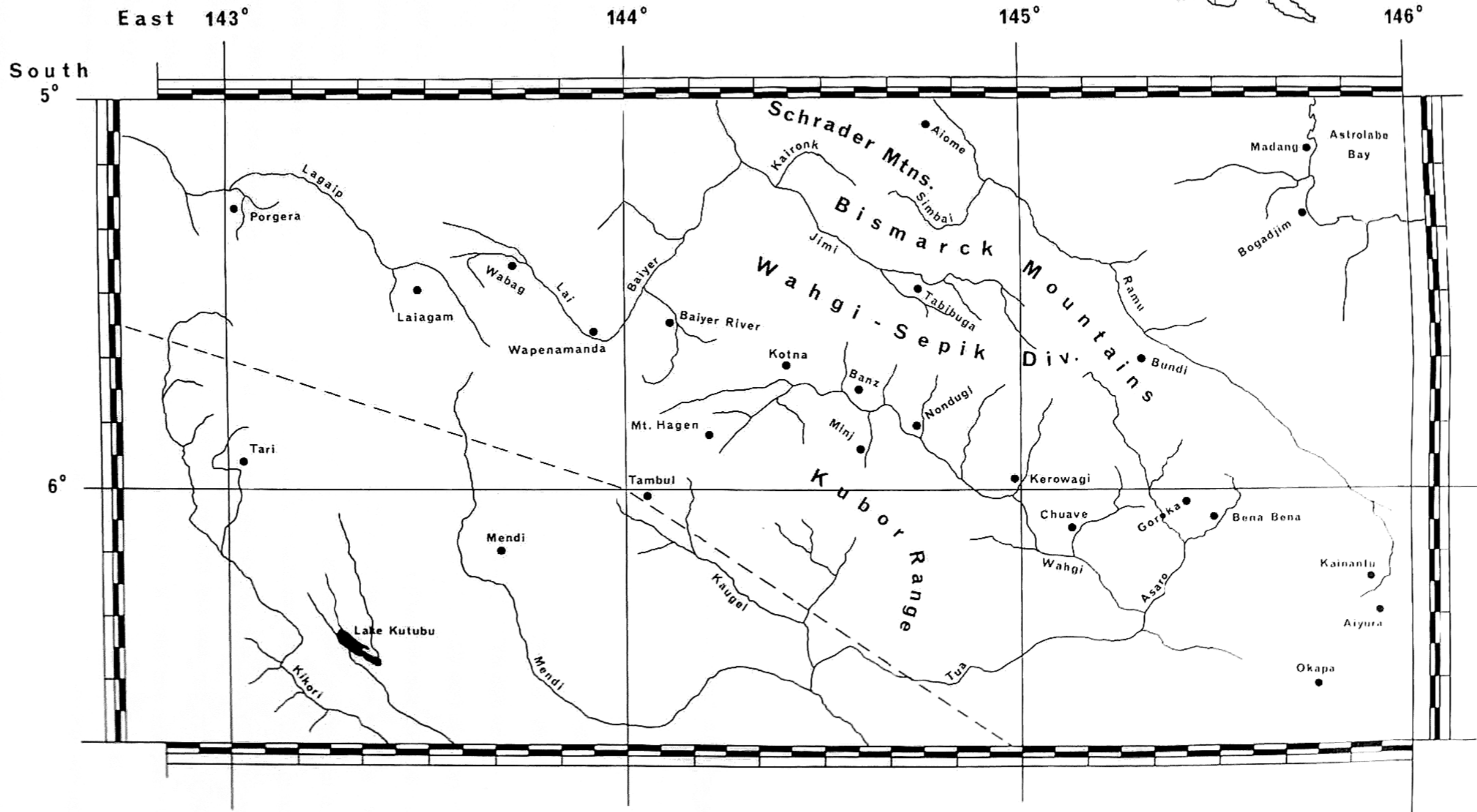
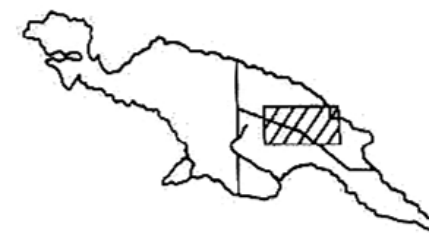
In 1934, the son of an Austrian gold prospector accompanying his father was wounded during an attempt to build a bridge to cross the Jimi (Souter 1964: 187). Later in the same year,

the two McKee brothers, in company with the two Ashton brothers, planned a gold surveying expedition to the Upper Jimi, though it is uncertain whether they ever attained their goal or simply traversed the Lower Jimi on their way to the Yuat (Souter 1964: 188, Leahy and Crain 1937: 258).

From this early period of exploration until after World War II, there appears to have been little interest and less traffic in the Jimi. No profitable gold deposits had been discovered and the region was too far from Mt. Hagen for the Pax Britannica to have been promulgated effectively. One coast-watcher, Mr. Bert Carra, is thought to have traversed the Jimi from north to south sometime during 1943 on his way from the vicinity of Madang to Mt. Hagen.

After the war, the Jimi River area was jointly administered from both the Mt. Hagen and Minj Sub-district offices. However, even these patrols tended to confine their efforts to the area on the south side of the Jimi. On August 18, 1951, Brian Corrigan, a Patrol Officer stationed at Minj, made the initial contact with the Manga people at a place called Kwiop, located on the north side of the Jimi River. At that time he noted, "...tribal fighting was occurring in the area." (Corrigan 1951). It was not until 1953 that the second official contact and initial census patrol, also conducted by Mr. Corrigan, was made along the north wall of the Jimi in the area north and northeast of Tabibuga (Map I). As late as 1963, no census or official initial contact had been conducted west of

Map I  
NEW GUINEA HIGHLANDS





Tsendiap, though the area was officially listed as "controlled", i.e. inter-tribal warfare had ceased.

At the time of initial contact, special emphasis is placed by Patrol Officers upon the doctrine of the Pax Britannica, and often there are supervised burnings of native weaponry and displays of European rifle power using several native shields or pigs as targets. For this program to be effective in newly opened areas it must be pursued vigorously and continuously. However, the Department of Native Affairs has always been chronically shorthanded. Thus, between 1953 and late 1955, the north wall of the Jimi River was again virtually ignored (Skinner 1956).

During this two year period, warfare, an endemic condition of the area, erupted along the north wall of the Jimi. It involved the groups now censused at Kompiai and Yimbugema, at Kwima and Kabeng, and at Kwiop and Togban. In October 1955, Patrol Officer R. I. MacIlwain of the Minj Sub-district office arrived at Kwiop for the 'annual' census and noted that:

"With the neighboring Yimban (Yomban of Togban) drawn up for battle and howling threats there was considerable confusion and absenteeism. The census added a diversion from the threatened attack. With gardens situated in the threatened area little food was forthcoming" (MacIlwain 1955).

Mr. MacIlwain's patrol ascertained that earlier in the year a party of Yuomban had attacked a Manga gardening party consisting of one man, five women, two young boys and four young girls, all of whom had been killed. Mr. MacIlwain attempted to ferret out the Yuomban "murderers", but was met at the Yuomban-

Manga territorial boundary by an arrogant and belligerent group of Yuomban. Though they admitted to the Manga killings, they would neither surrender nor name the responsible parties. Mr. MacIlwain, feeling that at this time he did not possess the necessary complement to engage in a forceful encounter with the Yuomban, withdrew his patrol to Minj. On his way out he admonished the Manga not to be the instigators in any subsequent warfare activities, though he noted that, "...it cannot be expected that they (the Manga) will let the matter pass" (MacIlwain 1955).

Withdrawal at this time was unfortunate for the Administration, since the Yuomban spared no effort in spreading the word that they had backed the white man down and that the Yuomban could and would defeat any Government patrols attempting to cross their borders.

Toward the end of April and the beginning of May, 1956, as Ian Skinner tells it, "...pilots who were flying from the Wahgi to Madang on the northern coast reported seeing villages in flames and some of the kanakas came over the hills with stories of women and children being slaughtered wholesale" (Attenborough 1960: 44). The villages in flames were the villages of the Manga. On May 15th, Mr. Skinner flew over the area in a light plane to assess the damage. As a result, Mr. MacIlwain was then sent into the Jimi to restore order and relocate the Manga on their own territory. He reached the south bank of the Jimi River gorge on Saturday, the 19th of May,

1956. The cane suspension bridge had been cut down by the Yuomban, and it was necessary to rebuild it before the party could continue. As the patrol progressed up the ridge to Kwiop (altitude 5,200') from the Jimi River (altitude 2,200') there were a few sporadic arrows fired at them by Yuomban scouts. After staying at Kwiop that night, the patrol left for Togban in the morning, having been forewarned that the Yuomban intended to ambush them. During the subsequent battle, lasting from 8:45 to 9:15 in the morning, six Yuomban were killed and eight wounded, one of whom later died. No one in the patrol was injured. The Manga, who had accompanied the patrol, then proceeded to destroy the Yuomban settlements. MacIlwain ordered them to return to Kwiop. After conducting an investigation, MacIlwain apprehended several of the Yuomban responsible for the previous Manga garden massacre and he then retired to Tabibuga on the south side of the Jimi River.

Patrol Officer Barry F. Griffin was also ordered into the Jimi at this time to continue the work of MacIlwain, to establish an administrative Patrol Post at Tabibuga, and to supervise the amicable resettlement of the Manga and other defeated groups further to the west on their original lands. Mr. Griffin arrived at Tabibuga on June 26, 1956. In July, Mr. Skinner also proceeded into the Jimi from Mt. Hagen to conduct a formal inquiry into the events of the preceding months. Thus, during the short period of three months, three well-armed Government patrols successfully established the Pax Britannica on the north wall of

the Jimi. The Patrol Post was established at Tabibuga and construction of a light plane airstrip was begun. Also, an administrative elementary school was formed embracing the first and second standards (grades). The airstrip was not finished during Mr. Griffin's tenure and was only completed in 1959. Another airstrip was also constructed at Kol in the Upper Jimi at about the same time. The missionaries, as usual, were quick to move into the newly opened territory. By 1958, the Lutherans and Catholics and, by 1959, the Anglicans and the Church of the Nazarene were represented in the Jimi, if not in the person of a resident European minister, then through the media of native lay catechists.

In January of 1959, Mr. Barry A. Ryan succeeded Mr. Griffin as Patrol Officer at Tabibuga; G. H. J. Pople succeeded Mr. Ryan in late 1959 or 1960. In October, 1960, J. H. Stitt replaced Mr. Pople. Work was begun on a vehicle road from Tabibuga to Minj, but was shortly abandoned. Mr. Stitt left the Jimi sometime in February or March of 1961, and for the next few months there was no resident Patrol Officer at Tabibuga. In July of 1961, Mr. John A. Edwards was posted to Tabibuga and in turn was replaced in early 1963 by Mr. Mark Sage, who was responsible for constructing the electoral rolls for the first national House of Assembly in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. At the time of the compilation of the electoral roll, some natives in the Jimi River area had known Administrative contact since 1951, while others in the far reaches of the western end of the valley

had never seen a white man and still ran in terror at their rumoured approach. The 1961-1962 censuses conducted by Mr. Edwards indicate a total of 23,012 known natives in the Jimi River valley, with perhaps another 2,000 or more still uncontacted.

The Field Situation: New Guinea is a large island, and therefore the problem of selecting a suitable place for research is complicated. The nature of the anthropological problem frequently determines the ultimate location. My original intent was to conduct a study of minimal acculturation with particular emphasis on change in systems of valuing. For this type of inquiry I felt that I needed an area which had quite recently been de-restricted by the Administration, since it is only in rare instances that the Administration will permit entry into uncontrolled regions.

This initial criterion immediately narrowed the choice of an area to the central highlands. Secondly, since the study was to be comparative, I needed an area in which two groups were located at varying distances from their source of contact with "western" culture and who would themselves be homogeneous in language and culture. In connection with these criteria, Dr. Ralph Bulmer of Auckland University recommended the Jimi River area of the Western Highlands District. A patrol post had only recently been established in this area and large sections in its western extremity were still listed as uncontrolled.

Therefore, with the Jimi River area in mind as my probable

site, I arrived in Port Moresby on November 3, 1961, where I acquainted myself with the Administrative structure. Through the assistance of the Government Anthropologist, patrol reports on the area were made available to me, and these confirmed the area's suitability. On November 12th I departed for Mt. Hagen, principal air terminal of the Western Highlands District, and was unfortunately detained there for ten days because my field equipment was misrouted by the airline to Madang on the north coast and subsequently 'lost' in a warehouse. After recovering these possessions, I proceeded to the Jimi River Patrol Post located at Tabibuga. I arrived there November 22nd, only to learn that the Patrol Officer, Jack Edwards, was out on patrol and was not expected to return for three weeks. Since it was extremely inadvisable to go further without the Patrol Officer's sanction, I set up temporary camp in a Government rest house. During this time, I began an analysis of the local language and definitely selected the villages where I intended to reside.

On December 13, the Patrol Officer returned and after conferring with him, I left Tabibuga and arrived at Kwiop on December 18, 1961. Depending on the weather and the condition of the trail, this walk can take anywhere from three to eight hours. We were accompanied by a Cadet Patrol Officer, Mr. John Bradbury, who had been assigned to conduct a census at Kwiop.

My first problem, and one which continued for some months, was communication. I had erroneously assumed that I would be able to use Neo-Melanesian. On my arrival at Tabibuga, I did

manage to obtain the services of Dembo, a young single man from the nearby settlement of Wanku, who had an extremely minimal knowledge of Neo-Melanesian. But when established at Kwiop, it became necessary to terminate Dembo's employment, since his first action there was to entice two young unmarried girls into accompanying him back to Wanku. Once there, he gave one girl to his good friend, Turu, and retained one for himself. This action had its good and bad aspects. It precipitated my entry into a legal fray, and I thereby secured a measure of rapport, since I was able to obtain the temporary return of the two young girls. This process, however, eliminated my interpreter. As a result, my initial field efforts were reduced to a very basic level; language learning without the aid of an interpreter and mapping the settlements and gardens.

In addition to other techniques of language learning, I spent a great deal of time just listening to conversations. My interruptions were frequent, using what were then my two best questions: "What person?", nara yua; "What is that?", ora nara wali; and my standard response, "I don't understand", na na kano. During one of these eavesdropping sessions, the name "Ndikai" came up. By this time I thought I had logged most of the local names (which could be very confusing, since many people have the same name), but "Ndikai" was new to me. It turned out that he was a young man of about sixteen who had been away from Kwiop in Administration schools for the last four years, spending two years at the Tabibuga patrol post and two years at

Mt. Hagen. He should have returned to Mt. Hagen in February to continue his education, but had decided not to do so. Because he was afraid that I would report him to the Patrol Officer, he had stayed as far away from me as he could. I requested permission to see him and in a few days we managed to get together. I was happy to note that his Neo-Melanesian was excellent. We chatted for a bit and I discovered that his father's name was kuk. What a striking bit of luck, I thought, as I told him that my name, too, was "Kuk". It was not until later that the full implications of this coincidence became evident, for I discovered that Kuk had been a relatively prolific man and that he had died leaving his widow and several dependent children. On the other hand, Kuk had also been a warrior of some merit and a little of his status accrued to me, plus his son, Ndikai.

The acquisition of Ndikai helped to solve the communication problem, but the practical problem of housing required time and patience for its ultimate resolution. Upon my initial arrival at Kwiop, I selected a site on the periphery of a small local village where we wished to have our house built, but this location was refused to us by the natives. I then selected a spot at another village and this, too, was refused. It developed that the natives had already chosen a site for us adjacent to the Anglican mission station, which had been established there since June 1961. As I subsequently discovered, this location was a fifteen minute walk from any native settlement.



The natives' reasons for placing me here were not immediately apparent. The first house was completed within two weeks. It was only subsequently that I learned the bases for the natives' selection of this site. Given the prestige that accrues to a native group with a resident European<sup>1</sup> in their area, it made sense that I should be conspicuously displayed. The site was located on the Government walking track so that no matter who came through the area, the house was unavoidably obvious. Further, it directly faced the Togban ridge. This in itself would have had no particular significance if it were not for the fact that the natives of Togban, the Yuomban, were those same natives who had defeated the Manga of Kwiop in the 1956 war. Upon becoming aware of these considerations, I began to agitate mildly for another location on the following grounds: first, the land upon which the house was situated did not belong to the exogamous unit with which I was associated; second, living in a place where all manner of strangers were continually walking by, my health was in jeopardy, since it would be very easy to practice sorcery against me; and third, I could leave the original house standing, but empty, which would constitute a joke on everyone, especially the Yuomban. After much haggling back and forth, I was finally permitted to rent a small piece of land at Kwiop, the site of the ceremonial village on top of the ridge. Undoubtedly, one of the reasons for permitting me access to this place was that the former resident, the woman Kaina, had been shot with an arrow there in a surprise

Yuomban raid some years prior. Whatever the reasons behind the leasing of this particular piece of property, the new site facilitated the fieldwork immeasurably, since it placed me in the mainstream of native day-to-day existence. The second house was built and I moved into it as soon as possible.

Exclusive of my initial genealogical inquiries and their extensive cross-checking, investigation into other aspects of Manga life were largely determined by the exigencies of particular situations. For instance, an extended discussion of garden preparation is out of place at a bride-price ceremony. However, I tried to keep several topics in mind so that should the opportunity present itself I could interject a new topic for discussion. The method has its pitfalls. For example, early in the field work period, I inquired about the origin of the Manga. I was immediately told by several informants that the Manga had never been anywhere else and had always resided at Kwiop. Nevertheless, I persisted in my efforts to elicit some form of creation story or a history of origin. Surely, I thought, they must have myths about the origin of men, women, pigs, etc., or migration legends. I was finally told by an elderly man that he remembered hearing stories when he was a young boy about a person named Kunakai, and though he did not remember these stories, I could consult his elder brother who probably would. So I eagerly sought out Mauwi, who told me that his younger brother was mistaken, that Kunakai was not any sort of 'culture hero' who gave the Manga fire or pigs or

placed them in this piece of land in this world; no, Kunakai was the name of a woman who had married a Manga man several generations ago, and her name was perpetuated as the name of one of the smaller segments of Manga society.

If origin myths and culture history were not primary concerns of Manga life, however, the pig festivals definitely were. During the second week in January, 1961, I was informed that the people at Kompiai, the Koatse, were preparing the final ceremonies of their pig festival. Preliminary inquiries had established the fact that there was no fixed distributional pattern to the occurrence of these ceremonies in the Jimi. Thus, afraid that this might be my only opportunity to witness such an event I determined to make the trip, even though the Koatse spoke still another language. In all, I was gone one week and was amazed to learn upon my return that the Manga, too, were planning their own pig festival, though at that time no one would speculate on the date of the final ceremony. This was understandable, since the Manga do not have any calendrical system, do not 'reckon moons', nor, in fact, do they count past four with any sense of accuracy.

As the weeks sped by, it became increasingly apparent that I had arrived among the Manga at a most propitious moment. Insofar as one can speak of a central focus of a group of people, the pig festival is it for the Manga. It is more than just a religious expression, for this is the time when all Manga work together; it is the time for courtship and marriage; it is the

time for paying bride-prices and collecting the unpaid prices of one's sisters; it is also the time to liquidate war alliance debts; and through all of this there is a continual round of visiting, trading, inevitable litigation, singing, and dancing.

I entered into the economy by contributing to these bride-price payments and by purchasing pigs, which I then had to subcontract for rearing. I never owned so many pigs (6) as to incur the envy of any influential man; yet, on the other hand, I did own more pigs than some men. In addition to intensive participant observation, an age-stratified sample of 25 per cent (36) of the adult males from both Kwiop and Warames was selected for intensive interviews. Much of this data has been tabulated and occurs throughout the monograph.

I remained in the ceremonial village through the conclusion of the festival season and on December 24, 1962, moved to Warames. This village of Morokai inhabitants is located a short fifteen minute walk from the patrol post at Tabibuga. Of all the natives in the Jimi, the Morokai have probably had the most frequent and intimate contact with the Administration. I continued my work at Warames until May, at which time I began a survey of the segmentary organization of neighboring speakers of the same language. On the first of June, 1963, I left the Jimi.

The Problem: The development of structural models of social organization has been most pronounced among the British social anthropologists, and particularly those whose field experience

has largely been confined to Africa. Anthropologists working in New Guinea, however, have repeatedly concluded that these African models of social organization are insufficient as descriptive devices for Highland New Guinea societies. This lack of 'fit' has frequently been attributed to a greater degree of individual optation in the formation of descent groups. Because of this viewpoint, several Highland New Guinea societies have been characterized as having 'loose structures', or as being 'flexible'.

In brief then, the problem I have set for myself is a joint one of determining the structure of a Highland New Guinea society and the relevance of the concept of flexibility within that structure. By way of introduction I shall first consider the notion of structure and then that of flexibility. In concluding this section I shall set out the goals I hope to attain.

Structure. As Levi-Strauss noted so well, "The term 'social structure' refers to a group of problems..." (1953: 524). During the last decade there has been a great deal of effort directed toward the resolution of some of these problems and, though clarity has undoubtedly been forthcoming in some areas, we have engendered additional problems as well. It might be said, for example, that until Davenport's seminal article (1959), non-unilineal descent groups hardly constituted a problem area at all, primarily because they had been overlooked. A similar statement can be made for the analysis of kindreds (Freeman 1961). What had begun to appear as a lithic body of social

structural types has since dissolved in the face of dissension, modification and, perhaps most essentially, re-examination.

In 1953 Levi-Strauss noted that, "...it would be hopeless to try to reach a valid definition of social structure on an inductive basis, by abstracting common elements from the uses and definitions current among all the scholars who claim to have made 'social structure' the object of their studies" (1953: 525). If anything, the task of defining 'social structure' in the same inductive manner today would be almost insurmountable.<sup>2</sup> I shall define social structure as that set of organizational principles to be derived from models constructed from social reality. Social reality is that body of ethnographic data recorded by the ethnographer. This does not mean that some ethnic fact is not 'real' if it is unrecorded by the ethnographer, but rather that a model can only be constructed from the facts at hand. The obvious corollary is that ethnographers should record all of social reality. I do not wish, at this time, to go into the topics of problem-oriented ethnographies and the resultant bias to social reality that this can produce. Let it suffice that I acknowledge maintaining an idealist position with respect to the task of an ethnographer, though I do want to point out that an ethnography produced with these considerations in mind would exceed the requirement set forth by Goodenough for adequacy (1957).

The depiction of structure proceeds from the derivation of organizational principles of models. The first question is, then, how is it that one arrives at a model. Levi-Strauss' par-

adigm for the construction of a model appears to be as follows:

1. Presentation of the observed phenomena, i.e. models are "built up after...empirical reality", being constructed from, "social relations" (1953: 525). Social relations are the "raw material", of models (1953: 525).
2. The application of, "methodological devices", which permit the construction of models (1953: 526).

This is a non-reversible procedure; that is, while a social structure is ultimately derived from social relations, a social structure cannot, in turn, "...be reduced to the ensemble of social relations to be described in a given society" (1953: 525).

There are many types of methodological devices which may be utilized in the construction of models. The term itself, 'model', "...is more frequently applied to various kinds of verbal or symbolic systems...", though three dimensional and arithmetical representations, diagrams, and pictorial devices may equally qualify as models (Brodbeck 1959: 375). In my presentation I shall rely largely on diagrams as models.

Models may be derived from both social reality and from social structure, though at different levels of analysis. It is not quite clear to me whether Levi-Strauss deliberately intends two levels of model constructs, though the grounds for suggesting that he does are the following seemingly contradictory statements by him on this subject:

1. "The term 'social structure' has nothing to do with empirical reality but with models which are built up after it" (1953: 525).

2. "...what kind of model deserves the name 'structure'" (1953: 525).<sup>3</sup>
3. "For though many models may be used as convenient devices to describe and explain the phenomena, it is obvious that the best model will always be that which is true (his emphasis), that is, the simplest possible model which, while being extracted exclusively from the facts under consideration, also makes it possible to account for all of them" (1953: 526).
4. "It will be enough to state at this time that social relations consist of the raw materials out of which the models making up the social structure are built, while social structure can, by no means be reduced to the ensemble of the social relations to be described in a given society" (1953: 525).
5. "...conscious models...are usually known as 'norms' ... (but)...norms are not of themselves structures" (1953: 527).<sup>4</sup>
6. "...structures are models..." (1953: 528).<sup>5</sup>

It would appear from the foregoing that we have the paradigm:

Social Relations = Model = Social Structure.

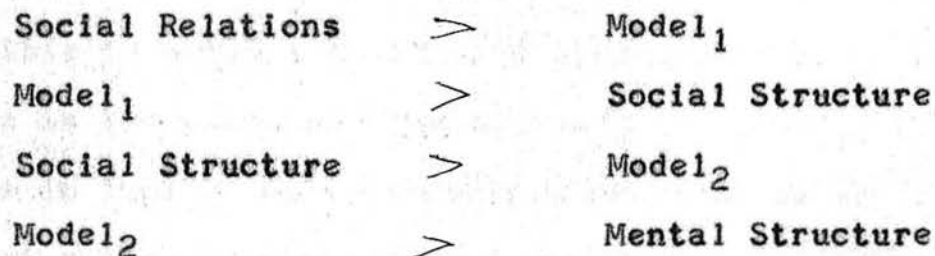
with 'social relations' representing only a selection of the possible totality of social relations within a given society. It would then follow that:

Social Structure = Social Relations.

that is, if  $A = B$  and  $B = C$ , then  $A = C$ . But in this case it is a false syllogism and when syllogisms are false it is either because the contrast sets are not in the same domain, or because the contrast is made between separate analytical levels. The process of moving conceptually from one analytical level (social relations) to another (social structure) requires mediating or transforming (models) statements.



Further, it appears to me that when Levi-Strauss introjects the human mind (1960) he is actually speaking not only of the structure of the mind of man but also of the structure of social reality. These considerations then force a distinction between levels of models. Thus, in terms of an analytical paradigm:



Model<sub>1</sub> yields the structure of society and Model<sub>2</sub> the structure of the mind.<sup>6</sup>

Models of the first order may be either conscious or unconscious with the native (Levi-Strauss 1953: 526-7), but models of the second order will generally be unconscious. When the facts from which the structural model is derived are overt, then the model is said to have a "conscious" quality or character (Levi-Strauss 1953: 526-7). Conversely, when the facts are covert, the quality of the model is said to be unconscious. Overt and covert mean marked or recognized as opposed to unmarked and unrecognized by the bearers of the facts themselves. These are polar concepts, and Levi-Strauss recognizes that a culture's models may range from fully conscious to fully unconscious, i.e. that there are, "degrees of consciousness" (1953: 527). It must be remembered, however, that these are qualities of models and not of structures. Structures have to do with derivative aspects

of the models.

Similarly, models of the first order may also be mechanical and/or statistical. The determining factor is "scale" (Levi-Strauss 1953: 528). Here again, a facile reading of Levi-Strauss' work can produce confusion. For though he says that, "According to the nature of these phenomena, it becomes possible or impossible to build a model, the elements of which are on the same scale as the phenomena themselves" (1953: 528), he does not refer here to 'scale' as a percentage replication of the phenomena itself<sup>7</sup> but rather to a variable I would call 'closure', or possibly, systemic recursion. This is a difficult concept to circumscribe adequately but, in essence, it refers to the nature of the native's conscious or unconscious model in terms of the model's being finite (bounded) in an ideal sense. Thus, a marriage rule stating that all men must marry a female individual whom he refers to by the proper kin term for a mother's brother's daughter, may be portrayed as a finite model, because this is an inclusional statement delimiting a genealogically specifiable area within which certain social relations are to be contained. It is finite. But statements which are solely exclusional, e.g., all males must marry non-kinsmen, are normatively infinite in that they only imply a boundary outside of which certain social relations may be inaugurated.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, the dimension of conscious or unconscious refers to overt and covert manifestations of structure in native-held models; while the dimensions of mechanical and statistical refer

to the form of the model.

The foregoing set of concepts will provide the basic framework for the analysis of Manga social structure. Elaborations and modifications of this framework will be introduced and substantiated where necessary.

Flexibility. The characteristics of Highland New Guinea co-residential units which have led to questioning their status as patrilineal descent groups have been succinctly summarized by Barnes (1962). It is the occurrence of these features that has led many anthropologists to characterize Highland New Guinea societies as 'flexible'. I have included this summary by Barnes since my argument depends, in some part, upon showing how the social structure of the Manga either supports or refutes portions of this characterization, even though Barnes himself recognizes that, "These remarks apply unequally to different Highland societies" (1962: 6).

- "(a) In many instances non-agnates are numerous in the local community and some of them are powerful.
- (b) It is often hard to detect any difference in status between agnates and non-agnates. If a distinction is drawn it may be made in such a way that the patrilineal descendants of non-agnates after one or two generations are assimilated to the local agnatic group.
- (c) An adolescent boy, and even an adult man, has some choice in deciding whether he will adhere to the local group in which his father is an agnate or to some other group to which he can trace non-agnatic connexion. He may be able to maintain multiple allegiance or to shift his affiliation.
- (d) A married woman neither remains fully affiliated to her natal group nor is completely transferred to her

husband's group but rather sustains an interest in both. Yet the division of rights in and responsibilities towards her is not exclusive.

- (e) Many individuals who assert a mutual agnatic relationship are unable to trace out their connexions step by step and are uninterested in trying to do so.
- (f) The names of remoter patrilineal ancestors are forgotten; or alternatively the genealogical structure of the group is stated to be a single (or sometimes a double) descending line of males with no remembered siblings leading to a large band of brothers about three generations above living adults; or else there is a gap of unspecified magnitude between the putative remote ancestors who give their names to contemporary segments and the father's fathers or father's father's fathers of the living.
- (g) Even if the agnates form a recognizable core to the local community there may be no context in which all potential members of this core, including non-residents, act as a unity distinguished from their non-agnatic neighbours.
- (h) An agnatic ancestor cult either does not exist or else does not provide contexts in which non-resident agnates, or agnates from co-ordinate segments, are brought together" (Barnes 1962: 6).

Barnes' summary suggests four basic kinds of inquiry with respect to the social structure of Highland New Guinea societies.

First, from (a) above, it is necessary to distinguish non-agnates determined through genealogical inquiries of the anthropologist from the recognition of these same individuals by the indigene himself. The relevance of whether or not "non-agnates are numerous" depends on who is defining "non-agnate". This question must be resolved prior to a discussion of how such persons come to occupy positions of power.

The two contentions that there are many non-agnates in the

patrilineage and that groups are formed by "cumulative patri-filiation" (Barnes 1962: 6) both result from viewing genealogical data. The same points can be made with reference to the Manga, but I shall show that to do so violates their own organizational ideas by ignoring the meaning of their own descent rules. Of course there are problems since culturally recognized non-agnates (exclusive of spouses) are co-resident with the patrilineal core. But is this a problem conceived by the anthropologist or a problem recognized as such by the indigene? Does the indigene worry about the presence of non-agnates; does he feel that the patrilineal descent dogma has been violated? The genealogies collected and cross-checked for accuracy by the anthropologist may or may not reflect a dogma of patrilineal descent but this is not the point insofar as the native is concerned. So, in one sense, the problem of deviations from a patrilineal ideology is a problem manufactured by anthropologists. I do not contend that there is no significance to these anthropologically perceived variations but rather that an analysis pursued along the lines set forth herein will show that there is a definite structure to the social organization and that such 'deviations' as exist are perfectly understandable. Further, though these variations may not be explicitly verbalized by the indigenes there do exist cultural rules which when applied bring variants into line with their ideology of patrilineal descent. I think that insofar as this is true we may reason that the indigene also perceives these variations as

'problems'.

Secondly, from (c) above, there is the problem of establishing the presence or absence of a descent group ideology and the relevance of the notion of optation in descent group affiliation. Though there is a certain validity in characterizing Highland New Guinea societies as emphasizing "low-level non-agnatic ties" (Barnes 1962: 7), I shall demonstrate that there is a regularity in this which appears to have previously gone unanalyzed thus contributing to the emergence of the concept of 'flexibility'.

Third, from (b) and (d) above, there is the problem of identifying the mechanisms whereby these non-agnates, as well as affinal relatives, are incorporated into the patrilineal descent group.

Fourth, from (e) and (f) above, there is the problem of determining the structural role of indigenous genealogical reckoning.

Fifth, from (g) and (h) above, there is the problem of determining whether such a body of agnatic kinsmen perform as a unit on any occasion and if so then on what occasions and for what purposes. Leadership within these bodies of agnatic kinsmen has been viewed as largely indeterminate and susceptible to the vagaries of personal achievement (Barnes 1962: 8). I shall show that the criteria for the incumbency of positions of leadership cannot be totally described as those of achievement.

In addition to the above comments, Barnes has also drawn a

polar contrast for the Highlands between "matrimonial alliances...(that)...are either concentrated or deliberately dispersed...(with)...the latter alternative...(being)...more common in the Highlands" (1962: 8). In connection with this he notes that individuals in Highland New Guinea societies have a multiplicity of allegiances, "to several groups which may be either at enmity or amity with one another", and that this "is largely the result of individual initiative and is not due to the automatic operation of rules" (1962: 7). I shall show, first, that for the Manga the situation is much more complex than this. Not only is there an ideal of enduring connubial alliances maintained through adherence to a prescriptive marriage rule, but there is also an ideal of dispersal of marriageable daughters among neighboring clans. There has been no previous documentation of any prescriptive marriage rule of the Manga type for the New Guinea Highlands.

But, returning to the central theme, I must note that there are two aspects to the general problem of flexibility. The first of these relates to the actual genealogical composition of groups of individuals and may at any point in time be regarded as the synchronic aspect. The second has to do with the structure itself and the result changes due to the processes of segmentation. As Paula Brown has noted, "Not only are the forms of social structure diverse...but the structure itself is flexible..." (1962: 57). With reference to this developmental aspect of Highland New Guinea segmentary societies, Barnes characterized

their fissioning process as "catastrophic" (1962: 9). The contrast is with some African societies where segmentation is "chronic" in that the genealogical lines of fission are totally predictable. Barnes does not say that there are no regularities in the fissioning process in Highland New Guinea, but rather that it is impossible to tell at just which genealogical linkages fission will occur. I object to the term "catastrophic" since it seems to me that this implies an untoward suddenness and thereby it detracts from the pursuit of establishing such regularities as there may be of the fissioning process. Indeed, it seems that Barnes doubts that there are perceivable regularities in a fissioning process that is unpredictable less than two generations in advance (1962: 9). Though my data is not sufficient to conclusively settle this point, I shall present such information as I have on the Manga and on six neighboring phratries in an attempt to clarify the problems involved.

The ultimate conclusion to be attained, in view of this approach is not that the Manga are a New Guinea type of African segmentary society, but rather than the social structure of the Manga is describable in its own milieu and has its own characteristics. Thus, though it may not appear to be so, my argument is in general accord with the thesis of Professor Barnes, viz., our perception of the structural regularities of Highland New Guinea societies has been clouded by a reliance on African segmentary models. It has been shown by Barnes that while they may be instructive, these models are inadequate as exemplars of



Highland New Guinea societies. The Manga are New Guineans, not Africans. Yet before we can proceed to fruitful cross-cultural comparisons we must be able to describe and analyze New Guinea societies in their own contexts.

In proceeding to this conclusion I shall demonstrate that: first, except for special cases of group migration and individual adoptees, co-residence is always dependent upon bonds of genealogical kinship; and second, in accordance with the descent dogma, an individual has no real choice in descent group affiliation. When an individual does affiliate with other descent groups it will be shown to be conditioned by specifiable cultural events. Third, the extent of incorporation of women into the patrilineage will be shown to be marked by various cultural practices, notably the bride-price; fourth, the reasons for variations in indigenous genealogical reckoning will remain suggestive but inconclusive since this would require a substantial cross-cultural comparison which is beyond the scope of the present inquiry; fifth, the mechanism for the incorporation of non-agnates as individuals as well as groups will be revealed; and sixth, the corporate character of the segmentary organization will be shown to exist in the economic, political and religious activities of the pig festival.

This then constitutes an advance statement of the problems and how I intend to seek their resolution. In the next chapter, "Land, Language and People", I provide orientation data on the spatial location of the Manga in terms of both geography

and linguistic affiliation. After these preliminary statements, I shall present detailed information on the residential pattern, age and sex structure, and genealogical composition of the Manga. Even on this elemental level organizational regularities will be readily apparent.

In chapters three, "General Features of the Manga", and four, "Life Cycle", I present a summary ethnography of this Highland New Guinea society. The emphasis in these two chapters is twofold as chapter three treats the normal day-to-day activities of the population while chapter four depicts the forms of activity in relation to the life cycle of the individual.

These four initial chapters provide the setting for the remainder of the work. In chapter five I undertake an analysis of the Manga kinship and marriage system. In so doing, I largely pass from a presentation of Manga activities into the ideology of Manga interrelations both at the level of the individual (social) and of the group (societal).<sup>9</sup> This is continued in chapter six, "Ceremonial Cycle and Segmentary Structure", in which the principal focus is the analysis of group interrelations. In the concluding chapter I shall draw these various strands together showing wherein structure lies in Manga social organization.

## II. LAND, LANGUAGE AND PEOPLE

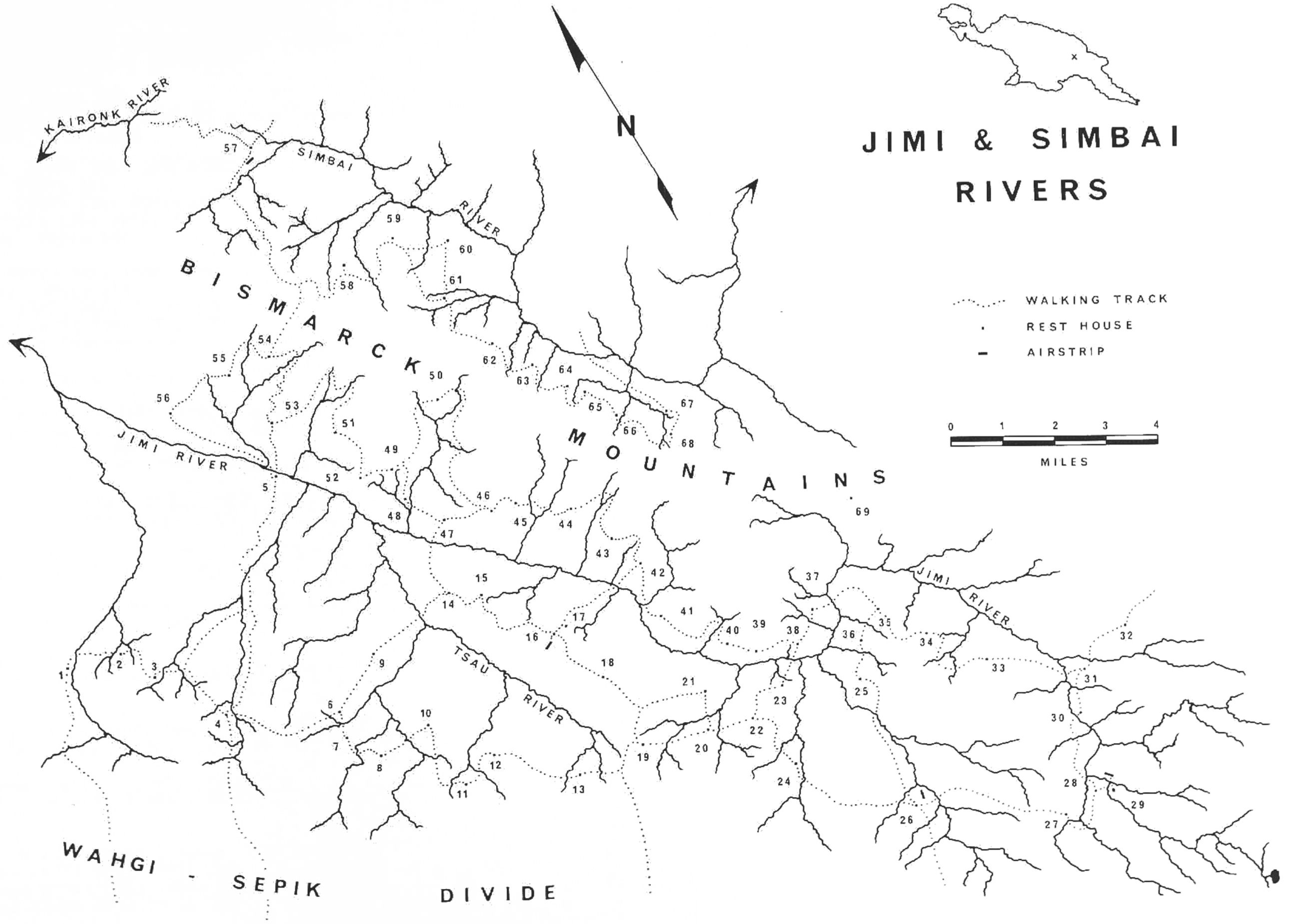
Land Forms, Climate and Vegetation: The Jimi River valley is only a small segment of a large central mountain range system in Highland New Guinea. The southern boundary of the Jimi valley is the Wahgi-Sepik divide, a mountain chain lying on an east-west axis and proceeding relatively undisturbed from the Baiyer River in the West to Goroka in the east. The northern boundary of the Jimi is the Bismarck Mountain range, which also forms the southern boundary of the larger and better known Ramu River. The Bismarck Mountains run in a general northeast by east to southwest by west direction, beginning at the Kaironk River and progressing to their juncture with the Wahgi-Sepik divide. It is at this juncture that the highest mountain in Australian New Guinea, Mt. Wilhelm, is to be found. With the exception of those areas closest to Mt. Wilhelm, the Wahgi-Sepik Divide has a fairly uniform altitude varying from 7,000 to 9,000 feet, while the Bismarck Range varies between 8,000 and 10,000 feet in altitude.

Geologically, the entire New Guinea area is of recent origin. The major uplift of the system probably occurred in the late Pliocene and early Pleistocene. Mt. Wilhelm bears the marks of Pleistocene glaciation. The rapid uplift of the area was accompanied by strong volcanic activity. Earth tremors and landslides are still frequent. Today, the area is characterized by sharply V-shaped valleys, with steeply graded streams in the Upper Jimi.

Map II



# JIMI & SIMBAI RIVERS



This topographic pattern continues on both the north and south sides of the Jimi River down to the confluence of the Tsau and the Jimi Rivers. West of this point, the area south of the Jimi River is a low and hilly grassland, rising slowly to the Wahgi-Sepik divide, but the north side of the Jimi River bisects the steeply declining outlier ridges of the Bismarck Range. It is only past the Tsau-Jimi confluence that a valley floor comes into existence. At Timbunki the altitude is 1,800 feet (Map II, no. 5. See following Key for explanatory remarks). At the Jimi River crossing between Tabibuga (Map II, no. 16) and Kwiop (Map II, no. 42) the altitude is 2,200 feet. The entire area is characterized by extremes of relief, the ridge and mountain tops are quite narrow and the slopes are precipitous.

Though no soil samples were taken, the general character of the soils at all altitudes is a black organic topsoil, varying from non-existent to several feet in depth, usually dependent on gradient and vegetation cover. The sub-soil is primarily a reddish, silty clay which becomes extremely plastic when wet and quite solid when dry. Water runoff is rapid and the streams rise quickly during rains.

Average annual rainfall at Kwiop is approximately 90-100", varying from slightly under 3" during one month to over 17" in other months (Table I). Daily shade temperatures were taken with a Centigrade thermometer and were found to vary from around 19°C. (66.2°F.) at 9:00 a.m. to about 23°C. (73.4°F.) at 1:00

KEY to Map II.

1. Rodigna (Arrow to Kotna Lutheran Station. Five hours walking time.) 1961: 302
2. Pagl 1961: 185
3. Kurunga 1961: 166
4. Menjim (Mala Rest house is a 1 1/2 hours walk.) 1961: 584
5. Timbunki 1961: 264
  
6. Tsenga 1957: 356; 1961: 750
7. Kumur 1957: 315
8. Korob 1957: 134; 1961: 119
9. Wum 1957: 131; 1961: 177
10. Maegmal 1961: 185
  
11. Toll 1957: 327; 1961: 335
12. Ongomal 1961: 475
13. Kaul 1957: 348; 1961: 362
14. Kwibun 1957: 730; 1961: 886
15. Tsingoropa (Nazarene Mission station.)
  
16. Tabibuga (Patrol Post) alt. 4,700', 1957: 474; 1961: 514
17. Warames
18. Korendiu alt. 5,850', 1957: 932; 1961: 957
19. Karap (Arrow to Banz, a five hour walk.) alt. 5,300', 1957: 584; 1961: 828
20. Manemp alt. 4,750', 1957: 434; 1961: 425
  
21. Magin alt. 5,150', 1957: 478; 1961: 223
22. Olna alt. 5,550', 1957: 920; 1961: 944
23. Mose Djimbining
24. Mans (Waramans) alt. 4,300', 1957: 519; 1961: 528
25. Meginpol 1957: 378; 1961: 403
  
26. Kol (Arrow to Kerowagi, a ten hour walk.) alt. 4,750', 1957: 1,277; 1961: 1,379
27. Kunmol
28. Monggum alt. 6,300', 1957: 951
29. Ambulla (Roman Catholic mission station.)
30. Mame
  
31. Gebbal alt. 4,800', 1957: 311; 1961: 335
32. Nemi (Arrow to Bundi, a one to two day walk.)
33. Goibu
34. Iawaramun alt. 5,300', 1961: 996
35. Bubulsunga alt. 5,400', 1957: 1,020; 1961: 853
  
36. Omun
37. Bubgile alt. 5,400', 1957: 894; 1961: 960
38. Kubura 1957: 322; 1961: 344
39. Kurunga 1957: 218; 1961: 228
40. Mogini 1957: 273; 1961: 287

41. Koriom 1957: 302; 1961: 307
42. Kwiop alt. 5,200', 1957: 292; 1961: 351
43. Togban 1957: 563; 1961: 705
44. Kwima 1957: 514; 1961: 844
45. Kabeng 1957: 305; 1961: 410
  
46. Kompiai 1957: 851; 1961: 859
47. Koinambi 1957: 192; 1961: 287
48. Yimbugema 1961: 246
49. Bokapai 1957: 323; 1961: 562
50. Tsuwenkai 1961: 247
  
51. Sembant 1961: 135
52. Kandambiamp 1961: 347
53. Ginjinji 1961: 335
54. Gondomben 1961: 160
55. Waim 1961: 197
  
56. Tsendiap 1961: 230
57. Simbai (Patrol Post and Anglican mission station.)
58. Kumbruf
59. Bpaimp
60. Tembiump
  
61. Kinimbong
62. Tsambaga
63. Tugma
64. Gai
65. Nimbra
  
66. Sangamp
67. Fogaikumpf
68. Gunz
69. Aindem

Notes:

1. The Jimi river flows westward to its conjunction with the Yuat, a distance of approximately seventeen miles.
2. The Kaironk River flows south into the Jimi River.
3. The Simbai River flows northerly into the Ramu River.
4. Altitudes are noted where available.
5. Total population for these census points is noted by year of census in those cases where the data were available.

p.m. Pre-sunrise temperature was a few degrees cooler at  $14^{\circ}\text{C}$ . ( $60.8^{\circ}\text{F}$ .). During the more rainy periods, clouds fill all the valleys and rise rapidly during the early morning hours with full sunshine normally by 10:00 a.m. The rain and occasional lightning storms usually arrive in the late afternoon around 4:30 or 5:00. It rarely rains all day. Seasonal variation is reflected in the varying amounts of rainfall during the year, though variation in temperature is slight.

All of these climatic and geographic elements combine to provide the setting for the vegetative cover. However, the problem of defining meaningful vegetation units in the tropics has not yet been resolved by the botanists. Many simplified classifications, particularly of forests, have been offered, such as Lane-Poole's six forest types for Papua and New Guinea (1925) or the more recent schematic presentation of Barrau (1958: 6).

Models for forest classification, however, have often been transferred unaltered from the temperate zones of Europe and it is only recently that their applicability has been questioned. Lane-Poole's classification was based on the dominant species concept of the Scandinavian school (van Steenis 1958: 159) whereas Barrau's typology was closely related to climatic zones. But, as van Steenis has noted, "It is a matter of observation that under continually wet tropical conditions the vegetation is of a baffling mixed complexity" (1958: 160). Van Steenis would recommend a rain forest typology based on multiple factors



TABLE I

## Kwiop Rainfall and Temperature

1962	Rainfall inches	Centigrade Temperature		
		9:00 a.m.	1:00 p.m.	6:00 p.m.
January	4.01*	19.35	23.59	21.63
February	17.34	19.55	24.09	20.52
March	8.93	19.91	24.14	20.29
April	11.36	19.22	23.18	19.83
May	8.66	19.80	23.64	20.34
June	1.69	19.46	24.79	19.81
July	14.65	18.46	22.61	19.23
August	6.10	18.51	23.13	19.85
September	7.59	19.33	22.50	19.42
October	2.84	19.50	23.39	19.82
November	5.63	19.13	22.98	19.83
December	1.57**	19.77	23.69	19.72
	<hr/> 90.37			

\* Incomplete month. Recordings from 10th to 30th.

\*\* Incomplete month. Recordings from 1st to 18th.

of climate, regeneration cycles, and particularly variations in edaphic conditions.

The recent work of Haantjens, Reiner, and Robbins in New Guinea (1958) most closely reflects this new theoretical orientation. In terms of land systems and associated vegetative communities, the Kwiop vicinity appears to be intermediary to the Bismarck and Pira land systems they describe. Though the range in altitude is greater, the similarity of lower altitude vegetation with the vegetative cover of around 4,500' is felt to be due to local soil and climatic conditions.

I distinguish three primary types of plant communities for this area. Highest in altitude is the basically two story Lower Montane Rain Forest Formation. Varying with local conditions, this may extend as low as 4,500'. Below this in elevation is the Lowland Rain Forest which alternates with the induced vegetative communities of gardens and grasslands. Characteristic species of these plant communities are presented by Haantjens, et al (1958).

The fauna of the area is all the more spectacular due to the abundance of many of the various species of Birds of Paradise, hawks, and parrots. There are numerous species of marsupials which are sought for their pelts as well as their meat. There are many snakes, both poisonous and non-poisonous, lengthy pythons, ground and tree lizards, frogs, rats, and poisonous scorpions and centipedes. The largest animal in gross weight is the pig though the cassowary is far the taller and more im-

pressive. In addition to these latter two, chickens, dogs, and cockatoos are also maintained as domesticates.

Language Distribution: Normally, many ethnographers simply state that the language of the people they studied is language 'X'. Although I have been tempted to follow this example, I find it scarcely possible due to the differences of opinion expressed in the works of those few authors who have published on the languages of this area.

One of the difficulties in administering the peoples of the Jimi River is their tremendous linguistic diversity. In the early 1950's, Patrol Officers often found it necessary to employ two interpreters in order to communicate at all with the newly contacted natives. The Patrol Officer would translate from English into Neo-Melanesian for the first interpreter, who would then translate Neo-Melanesian into his own language, say language "A", for instance. The second interpreter, understanding language "A", would then translate into language "B". Though language "B" would not be the proper local language or dialect of the newly contacted natives, they would, nevertheless, usually be able to understand "B" and to communicate with the second interpreter by speaking "C", their own language or dialect. This process has led to many misunderstandings between the Administration and the non-Neo-Melanesian-speaking population.

As a result of this generally confused situation, the Administration requested the Summer Institute of Linguistics, New

Guinea Branch, to undertake a linguistic survey to include the Mount Hagen Sub-district of the Western Highlands District. This survey was conducted by Gordon Bunn and Graham Scott between August 1 and September 12, 1961. The data are sketchy, since in most instances comparison of languages was based on a sample of 50 lexical items (Bunn and Scott 1962: 1). They spent no more than two weeks in the Jimi valley and, considering the task at hand, it is therefore remarkable that they accomplished as much as they did.

Bunn and Scott distinguish a maximum of five languages within the boundaries of the Jimi River valley: Medipa, Karam, Maring, Narak and Gandja (Bunn and Scott 1962: [map following] 8). In comparing this listing with Wurm's listings (1961, 1962, 1964) and Wurm and Laycock's (1961), several differences in terminology appear (Table II).

TABLE II

Named Languages in the Jimi River Valley

<u>Bunn &amp; Scott</u>		<u>Wurm, Wurm &amp; Laycock</u>
1. Medipa	equivalent to	1. Hagen
2. Karam	" "	2. Karam and Kobon (two languages)
3. Maring	" "	3. Yoadabe-Watoare (or Maring)
4. Enga	" "	4. Enga
5. Narak	" "	5. Wahgi
6. Gandja	" "	6. Narak and Kandawo (two languages)

Both Wurm and the Bunn and Scott team computed percentages of cognates between most of these languages. Table III compares their computations. Since it is known that Bunn and Scott used a greatly shortened list and that Wurm used a much longer list, I feel that Wurm's figures are much more reliable. However, at the same time, I suspect that longer lists would produce even higher percentages of cognates.

TABLE III

Percentages of Cognates<sup>1</sup>

	Hagen		Maring		Wahgi		Narak <sup>4</sup>		Kandawo <sup>4</sup>	
	B <sup>2</sup>	W <sup>3</sup>	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W
Hagen	∅	∅	12	30	36	48	19	5	19	41
Maring			∅	∅	16	5	30	57	30	44
Wahgi					∅	∅	18	5	18	53
Narak <sup>4</sup>							∅	∅	5	61
Kandawo <sup>4</sup>									∅	∅

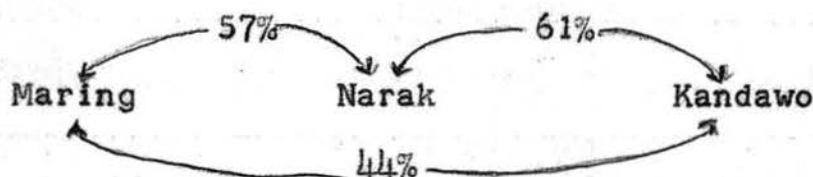
Notes:

1. The language labels used in the table follow Wurm (1961).
2. Bunn and Scott's percentages, 1962.
3. Wurm's percentages, 1961.
4. Since I am using Wurm's distinctions then Narak and Kandawo are separate columns. Bunn and Scott do not segregate Narak from Kandawo (calling them collectively, "Gandja", as noted in Table I.), therefore the percentage of cognates with any other language will be identical in both columns.
5. No figure given by Wurm (1961: 21).

The most interesting point to be noted from Table III is Bunn and Scott's failure to distinguish Narak from Kandawo; i.e. their Gandja. Since they differentiate one language from another on the basis of sharing less than 85% of their basic vocabularies (Bunn and Scott 1962: 3), and since, according to Wurm, Narak and Kandawo share only 61% of their basic vocabularies, then we may assume that either Bunn and Scott's truncated list was not sensitive to this difference, or that they did not touch on places in the Jimi where this difference would have been revealed. They do concede that there are two dialects of "Gandja" and that, "...mutual understanding is very limited due to the fact that they almost border on being two separate language groups" (1962: 5). Their "separate", I believe, refers to spatial distribution rather than any comparison of cognates, as a glance at the map will show (Map III). Bunn and Scott's work was also hampered by the fact that at the time of the survey there were virtually no Neo-Melanesian speakers in the Jimi River area (Bunn and Scott 1962: 5).

The problem here is whether the speech of a group of natives should be termed a dialect or language. As Wurm and Laycock note, this is a problem of deciding when the speech of two communities is mutually intelligible or nonintelligible. Wurm had originally utilized Swadesh's criterion that the speech forms of two communities are to be considered dialects when they share more than 80% of their basic vocabularies. On this basis, Wurm established a typology of Highland languages. The

East New Guinea Highlands Stock (731,000 speakers), whose members share 12-28% of their basic vocabularies, is composed of five language families, sharing 28-81% of their basic vocabularies. One of these five is the Hagen-Wahgi-Jimi-Chimbu Family (282,000 speakers). The Jimi Sub-family is one of four Sub-families of this Family and is composed of three languages: Yoadabe-Watoare (Maring) -- 3,200 speakers, Narak -- 6,150 speakers, and Kandawo -- 6,750 speakers (Wurm 1961: 18). The percentage of cognates in basic vocabulary between Maring, Narak, and Kandawo is as follows (Wurm 1961: 21):



However, Wurm and Laycock both felt that, "...the percentage figure quoted (of 81%) corresponds to the reality of the borderline between mutual intelligibility and unintelligibility only in rare instances" (Wurm and Laycock 1961: 129).

These two authors cite four methods, derived from Voegelin and Harris (1951), for determining the extent of mutual intelligibility: (1) the opinion of the informant, (2) counting cognate lexemes, (3) comparison of phonology and morphology, and (4) testing the informant with a text to translate (Voegelin and Harris 1951: 323). Wurm and Laycock found that when speakers shared between 60% and 70% of their basic vocabularies there was some mutual intelligibility. But when the percentage began to drop below 60%, intelligibility was then more depend-

ent on congruence in phonological and morphological structures (Wurm and Laycock 1961: 134). Relying on the opinion of the informant as a criterion of relatedness is, they say, the weakest of the methods (Wurm and Laycock 1961: 136). Testing the informants by having them translate texts is the most reliable, but is also the most time consuming and is seldom attempted by ethnographers in the normal pursuit of their work.

There is also the additional consideration of the phenomena of language chains (Wurm and Laycock 1961: 137). That is, of three languages A, B, C, distributed lineally in space, where '+' means dialect and '-' means language boundary, you may have the arrangements: A-B-C; A+B-C; A-B+C; A+B+C. In the event of intrusion you might also have A+C-B. Taking the 81% figure, Maring, Narak, and Kandawo, which are distributed more or less lineally in space, are of the form 'A-B-C' (Wurm and Laycock 1961: 140). Using the 60% minimum figure, Maring, Narak, and Kandawo are of the form 'A-B+C' (Wurm and Laycock 1961: 141), and using the 50% figure reduces all three to dialect status, i.e. 'A+B+C' (Wurm and Laycock 1961: 142). Since Wurm and Laycock were not peculiarly interested in the Jimi Sub-family, the problem was left unresolved.

However, in a recent article, Wurm uncritically presents all three solutions (1964 passim). First, in listing members of the Central Stock by languages within their respective families, Wurm lists Maring, Narak, and Kandawo as three separate languages (1964: 79). Secondly, citing his own and Laycock's



previous publication (1961), Wurm regroups these languages so that Maring retains the status of language but Narak and Kandawo are classified as dialects of a second language, Narak-Kandawo. Although Wurm does not explicitly state his criteria for this rearrangement, he must have used the 60% cognate figure, since a lower figure (e.g. 50%) would have resulted in the inclusion of Maring as a third dialect. Third, if we consider similarity and dissimilarity in structural features (phonological and morphological), then the data in the tables presented by Wurm (1964: 85) supports a Maring, Narak, Kandawo relationship of the form "A+B+C", i.e. all dialects, since each agrees with the other two in either the presence or absence of all twenty-one of the listed features.

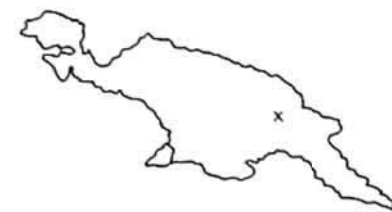
My own data, obtained by asking the informant, supports the arrangement 'A-B+C'. That is, informants are quite certain that Maring is an altogether different language. Informants from both Togban and Kwiop each maintain that the other speaks a different language. On the other hand, as one progresses upriver toward Bubgile or to the south toward Korendiu, informants maintain that the next speech community is either identical with their own or only slightly different, a difference which does not seriously restrict the transfer of information. Many natives of these small speech communities are extremely sensitive to even the most minor of dialect differences and, within a limited spatial range, an intelligent informant can tell you almost precisely in which village an individual was

raised as a child. Dialect variations constitute one source of humor, and the speech of natives from slightly or greatly varying speech communities is often exaggeratedly mimicked by local inhabitants. My own limited command of Narak was achieved at Kwiop. Later, while residing at Warames, I conducted an informal experiment. With myself as narrator, I taped several short texts and played them back to informants who were unaware that they were listening to my voice. They were invariably able to place the speaker's speech community as Kwiop.

Map III shows the language boundaries within the Jimi River valley which were achieved by asking informants. The boundary through Korendiu is further supported by Marie Reay (1959). She notes that the language of the Kuma, located near Mij in the Middle Wahgi, is known as "Yoowi". This language, she states, is spoken as far north as "Korendyu" in the "Jimmi" (Reay 1959: 1). Further, the Reverend Father Joseph McDermott, S.V.D., who speaks Chimbu (Bunn and Scott's "Kuman" 1962: 5) states that he has no trouble either in communicating or understanding the native language around Monggum in the Upper Jimi. Brookfield and Brown note that Chimbu-speakers live on the north side of Bismarck (1963: 3).

This additional information has not, of course, resolved the problem entirely, but only an extended linguistic analysis could produce better results. There are many potential faults with the 'ask the informant' method. Voegelin and Harris point

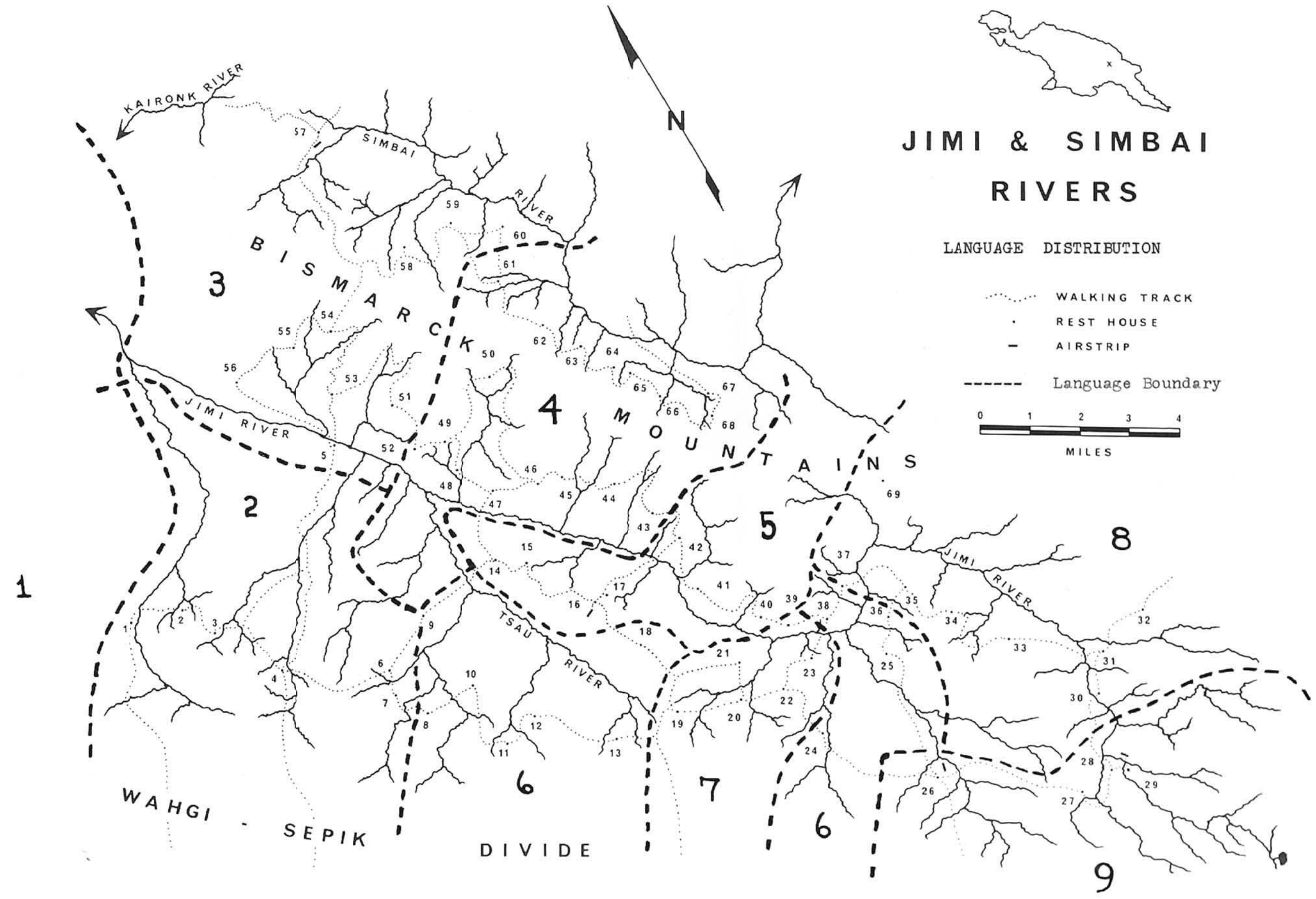
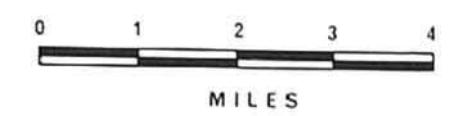
Map III



# JIMI & SIMBAI RIVERS

## LANGUAGE DISTRIBUTION

- WALKING TRACK
- REST HOUSE
- AIRSTRIP
- Language Boundary



### Key to Map III

The language groups are represented on this map by the heavy dash lines. There are nine groups noted on the map. See Map II for names of rest houses.

1. Enga
2. Medipa
3. Karam
4. Maring
5. Narak
6. Yoowi (Yu) <sup>1</sup>
7. Yoowi (Wi) <sup>1</sup>
8. Gandja
9. Chimbu

1. Marie Reay speaks of the language near Minj as Yoowi and that, "the language changes from Yoowi to Yoonerag at Korindyu, about midway between the heights of the Wahgi-Sepik Divide and the Jimmi River" (1958: 1). Local informants maintained, however, that the language "Yoowi" was split in the Jimi into Yu and Wi. From distributional evidence it would appear that speakers of Wi are later migrants to the Jimi than speakers of Yu though this is only speculative. It seems to me that "Yoonerag" may be composed of the morphemes yua (man) and narak (what). A loose translation (from the point of view of the Minj people) into English would render this as "the 'what?' men", perhaps implying that in response to Minj speech, Jimi people past Korendiu would invariably reply with, "What?", i.e. narak?

out that, "...the informant's perception may or may not agree with the amount of linguistic difference between the dialects in question" (1951: 324). However, whatever features the native speaker may be recognizing when he makes a distinction between languages and dialects he is ultimately referring to the transfer of information, i.e. mutual intelligibility.

In this work I shall refer to the language spoken by the peoples I studied as Narak. Though this is in opposition to the designation proposed by Bunn and Scott (1962), Narak has precedence in the literature. Bunn and Scott state that, "The names given to the dialects are either the name of the valley in which the dialect is situated or one of the prominent ground names in the area" (Bunn and Scott 1962: 1). However, the expression, narak, is best glossed into English as "What?", and, in fact, does not occur at all in the Kwiop dialect where the terminal '-k' has been dropped. Gandja, Bunn and Scott's name for this language is best translated as "speech".

Narak phonemes follow the Highland pattern noted by Biggs and Luzbetak. Phonemically, the Kwiop variant of Narak is quite similar to the Middle Wahgi dialects of the Banz-Nondugl area (Luzbetak 1956: 7), as well as the Karam language of the lower Jimi, Kaironk, and Simbai valleys (Biggs 1963: 13). An incomplete preliminary analysis indicates that there are twenty consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes. In Narak as well as Karam (Biggs 1963: 15), phonetic schwa is fully predictable

and non-phonemic in occurrence. Orthographically, Narak phonemes will be represented as follows:

Consonants: /p, t, k, ʃ; b, d, g, j; m, n, N[ŋ], M[ɲ];

ɬ [ts], ɮ [tl]; w, l, y; ʃ [ʃ], v [β]; r/.

Vowels: /i, u, e, o, a/.

The consonants /b, d, g, j/ are pre-nasalized. In some cases I shall use the symbol 'A' for schwa, but such usage is to be regarded only as an aid to pronunciation. The orthography and translation of Neo-Melanesian words will follow that established by Mihalic (1957) and will be underlined.

Genealogy and Demography. Each member of the Manga phratry is also a member of one of its two exogamous sub-units, which I shall call clans. Each of these clans is further segmented into two named sub-units which I shall call clan-moieties. Each clan-moiety is subdivided into a number of units which I call sub-clans. My residence and field work at Kwiop was confined to the first clan, named KulakaeNgeyka, the segmentary structure of which will be a topic of chapter six. The second clan, named Timbamaruwaga, has an additional level of segmentation below that of sub-clan, but its internal structure will not be further examined.<sup>1</sup>

At this point my interest is in the personnel composition of the named sub-clans and the distribution of these individuals in space.

There are 188 individuals who claim residence within the KulakaeNgeyka clan boundary. These individuals are shown in

the genealogies in Appendix I. Each individual carries a letter number designation. The letters preceding indicate an individual's sub-clan; thus, NA = Nanbekale, PE = Peymbankale, MB = Mbalekale, AL = Aliyaumo, KO = KobuNga, KU - Kunakaikale, EK = Karakambo, and EM = MbaNkale. The last three are sub-clans of the ENgeyka clan-moiety and the first five are sub-clans of the Kulaka clan-moiety. Collectively, these two clan-moieties comprise the KulakaeNgeyka clan.

The genealogies have been arranged by genealogical generation, that is, according to genealogical position relative to mature males of 25-30 years of age and this was established arbitrarily as generation 'D'. Their fathers are in 'C' generation, many of whom are still living. The genealogical charts then extend to two additional senior generations, labelled 'B' and 'A' respectively. Generation 'E' is composed of the 'sons' and 'daughters' of 'C' generation. In general, there are no additional descendants. Having arranged the genealogies in this manner, it is to be expected that there is a great deal of variation in the absolute ages between individuals within any single generation. The most prominent example of this is individual NA-43 of generation 'D' who was more near in age to those of 'C' generation than those within his own generation. Yet, in the application of kinship terms, he was still a 'son' to males of 'C' generation. Individual's names with their letter-number designations are alphabetically listed in Appendix II for purposes of cross-reference. In cases of double-named individuals,

the person is listed twice, once under each name.

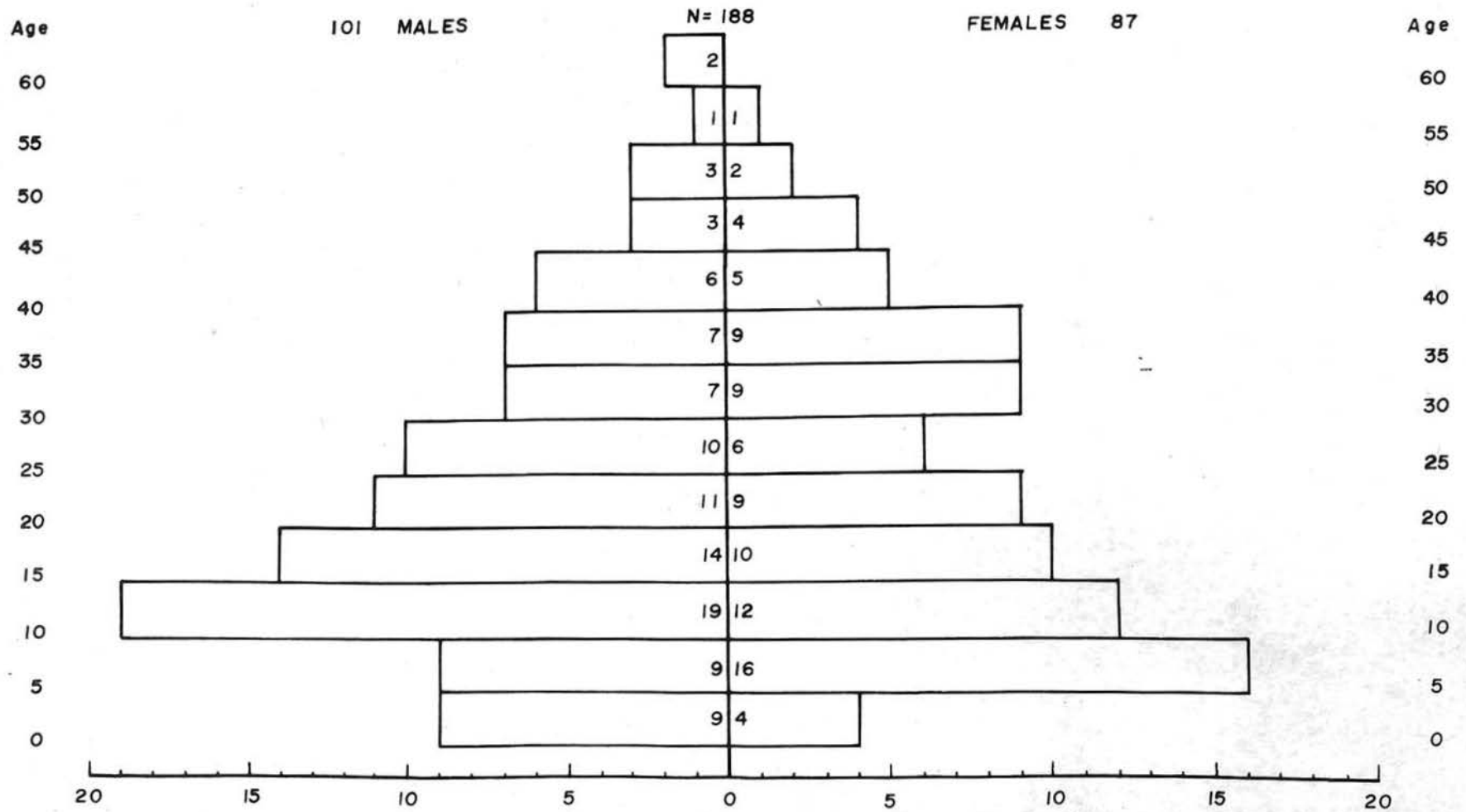
In terms of population structure, the people inhabiting KulakaeNgeyka territory are youthful; 60.1% of the total population is younger than 25 (Table IV, KulakaeNgeyka Clan Age and Sex Distribution). The same information by sub-clans is in Appendix III. There is a slight preponderance of males over females, 37 males to 32 females in the age category 0-15. Manda do practice infanticide, but my insistent questioning elicited no regular stated preference for either males or females. Informants replied that infanticide (except for twinning, in which case both are killed) is practiced at the discretion of the parents and may be effected on a child of either sex.

The youthful age structure of the population is no doubt partly due to a high death rate among the aged. Only 8.9% of the male population and 8.0% of the female population is over age 45. I estimate infant mortality in the age range of 0-5 years to be at least 50% and probably higher. I did not construct indices for infant and child mortality, since it was my experience that the women could not be relied upon for accurate pregnancy histories.

The clan is ideologically patrilineal and is composed of a "line of males", yua ka, literally a "man line or rope", plus their spouses and the children of these unions. Residence for women after marriage is ideally virilocal. The Manga envision the clan as a stable male organization to which previously non-



**TABLE (V)**  
**KULAKAENGEYKA CLAN**  
**AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION**



related females are attached in marriage and from which "sisters" are sent away in marriage. Men are regarded as islands of stability in a sea of feminine flux.

The tables to follow reflect the extent to which this ideal is met with practice. Some women acquired as wives do not remain with their husbands and some sisters sent away in marriage do not stay away, but return to their natal residence. In Table V, KulakaeNgeyka Clan, Genealogical Summary, I have summarized the data in the genealogies for the KulakaeNgeyka clan. Summaries by individual sub-clans are in Appendix IV. The Table is set up to reflect the developmental processes at work in the formation and maintenance of the clan as a population unit. The first row (A) in the Table shows the numbers of males and females (dead and alive) comprising the agnatic core by right of patrilineal descent. This core may be either depleted or augmented. The agnatic core is depleted by the emigration of both males and females and the number of such emigrations is shown in Row B, Agnatic Emigrants. The great majority of these emigrants are clan "sisters" sent away in marriage. In Row C, I note the number who have immigrated to the clan and in one way or another become affiliated with the agnatic core. In Row D I enumerate the numbers of descendants of these immigrants and in Row E I cite the numbers of immigrants to KulakaeNgeyka clan who subsequently emigrated to other clans. In Rows F and G I list the number of wives acquired by the clan and the number of such wives who have subsequently left

TABLE V  
KulakaeNgeyka Clan,  
Genealogical Summary

	I MALES		II FEMALES			
	a. Dead	b. Alive	a. Dead	b. Alive		
A. Agnatic Core	128	84	74	72	+358	+
B. Agnatic Emigrants	5	12	35	42	- 99	-
C. Immigrants	4	2	6	3	+ 15	+
D. Descendants of Immigrants	16	29	10	15	+ 70	+
E. Immigrants who left		2	2	7	- 11	-
F. Wives incoming			102	63	+165	+
G. Wives leaving			5	13	- 18	-
<u>Totals</u>	143	101	149	87	480	

the clan. In the far right column I have noted by '+' and '-' signs whether the row concerned constitutes an addition or depletion to the agnatic core of Row A. In the tables that follow, I have analyzed each of the rows of Table V.

The total of 358 dead and alive members of the agnatic core are listed by genealogical generation and sub-clan in Table VI, Summary of KulakaeNgeyka Agnates Living and Dead. The most significant feature here is the obvious disparity in numbers between the sexes in the senior generations among those deceased. Women, though outnumbering men in 'E' generation, very rapidly become increasingly smaller numerically in each ascending generation. It is not that something tragic happens to women (other than their getting married), but simply that they are more rapidly forgotten.

The 99 agnatic emigrants are listed in Table VII, Kulakae-Ngeyka Agnatic Emigrants, by Sub-clan and by nearest genealogical relationship to a same-generation member of the agnatic core. Thus, the column 'B' indicates the number of brothers who emigrated and the next two columns include the children of these emigrants. These children, as seen from a same-generation member of the agnatic core, would be related to the core as father's brother's sons and daughters (FBs/d) or father's father's brother's son's sons and daughters (FFBss/d) depending on the number of elapsed generations. The 'S' column indicates the number of sisters who have emigrated. These emigrant females are primarily those women sent away in marriage, and comprise

TABLE VI

Summary of KulakaeNgeyka Agnates Living and Dead

## A. Males (D = Dead, A = Alive)

Generation	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A
A	2			4						1		1		2		10		
B	6		(no agnates)	10		4		2		3		9		11		47		
C	12	4	(no agnates)	13	7	5	3	6	1	9	1	12	2	16	3	76	23	
D	13	12	(no agnates)	11	8	7	3	6	5	4	1	13	9	15	14	81	60	
E	3	3								2	2	6	3	4	3	17	11	
Sub-total	36	19		38	15	16	6	14	6	19	4	41	14	48	20	222	84	

Sub-clan	Nanbekale	Peymbankale	Mbalekale	Aliyaumo	KobuNga	Kunakaikale	Karakambo	Mbankale	TOTALS
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## B. Females

Generation	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A
A	1																	1
B	2		(no agnates)	2		1								2				7
C	8	4	(no agnates)	13	6	5	3	2	1	3	1	9	5	8	3	48	23	
D	15	9	(no agnates)	10	2	7	4	4	3	2		11	7	15	11	64	36	
E	10	2	(no agnates)							3	3	8	7	5	1	26	13	
Sub-total	36	15		25	8	13	7	6	4	8	4	28	19	30	15	146	72	
Grand total	72	34		63	23	29	13	20	10	27	8	69	33	78	35	358	156	

TABLE VII

KulakaeNgeyka Agnatic Emigrants

<u>Sub-clan</u>		B	FBs FFBss	FBd FFBsd	S	Dead	Alive	Total
Nanbekale	dead		1		7	8		19
	alive		3		8		11	
Mbalekale	dead				8	8		15
	alive				7		7	
Aliyaumo	dead				2	2		7
	alive				5		5	
Kobuyga	dead				1	1		5
	alive	1			3		4	
Kunakaikale	dead				3	3		4
	alive				1		1	
Karakambo	dead				6	6		16
	aiive				10		10	
Mbaykale	dead	1	3	1	8	13		33
	alive		8	4	8		20	
<b>Total Dead</b>		1	4	1	35	41		
<b>Total Alive</b>		1	11	4	42		58	
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>		2	15	5	77			99

77 of the total of 99 agnatic emigrants. The remaining 22 are accounted for as follows: four emigrant female spouses (NA-7-W, NA-59-W, NA-65-W, and EM-34-W) account for the non-co-residence of eight agnatic kinsmen (NA-39, NA-60, NA-61, NA-72, EM-39, EM-40, EM-41 and EM-42). The remaining 14 agnatic emigrants result from two emigrant brothers (KO-5 and EM-67) who moved to their sister's husband's residences and the subsequent 12 agnatic descendants of EM-67, which includes EM-69 through EM-80. Of the two original emigrant brothers, KO-5 moved to the Morokai phratry after the Yuomban-Manga war and has never returned. EM-67 also moved to the Morokai phratry when he was accused of practicing death sorcery and neither he nor any of his descendants have ever returned to Kwiop as permanent residents though there is continued visiting.

I now turn to the 15 immigrants and their 70 descendants, both dead and alive, and the 11 of these who have subsequently emigrated. The top portion of Table VIII, KulakaeNgeyka Immigrants and Subsequent Emigrants, identifies the 85 immigrants by sub-clan and kintype from a same generation member of the agnatic core. The bottom portion of the table identifies the subsequent emigrants in the same manner. As noted before, not all sisters who are sent away, stay away. When they return they may bring other persons with them. Of the 85 total immigrants to KulakaeNgeyka, 9 are returning sisters (10.5%) and 62 are sister's children and their descendants (72.9%). Collectively, these two categories represent the greatest block of immigrant

kinsmen (83.4%). In two cases (2.3%), the sister's husband has accompanied his wife to her natal home (AL-1 and NA-1-H). There is only one instance of a sister's husband's brother accompanying the returning sister. He and his subsequent descendants (NA-56-HB, NA-56-HBa, NA-56-HBb, and NA-56-HBc) comprise 4.7% of the total immigrants and should be considered in the same class as returning sister's husbands.

The second largest group of immigrant kinsmen includes the wife's brother and his subsequent descendants, who will be mother's brother's children to their peers in the agnatic core. There are only 7 individuals (8.2%) in this category. The numerically least significant type of immigrant is the matrilineal parallel kinsman, e.g. a mother's sister's son. There is only one instance (MB-41) of this having occurred (1.4%).

Out of this total of 85 immigrants to KulakaeNgeyka, 11 have subsequently emigrated. Of these 11, 9 are females who married out. The remaining two, MB-20 and AL-4, are males who have both returned to their father's clans. The specific details of MB-20's return are unknown, but those of AL-4 are cited in the chapter on marriage.

The only other remaining alteration to the agnatic core of the KulakaeNgeyka clan is in the accretion of wives ("F. Wives incoming" in Table V) and the subsequent return to their natal residences of some of these same women ("G. Wives leaving" in Table V). There is little correspondence between the total number of wives acquired (165) by the men of KulakaeNgeyka and the



TABLE VIII. KulakaeNgeyka Immigrants and Subsequent Emigrants

A. Immigrants		S	FSs FFSss FFFSsss	FSd FFSsd FFFSssd	SH	WB	MBs FMBss	MBd FMBsd	SHB	FSHBs	FSHBd	MSs	Dead	Alive	TOTAL
Nanbekale	dead	3	1	1	1					1			7		
	alive	1	5	2					1	1	1			11	
Peymbankale	dead		9	6									15		
	alive		10	4										14	
Mbalekale	dead	1		1		1		2					5		
	alive		1	1			3	1				1		7	
Aliyaumo	dead	1	4		1								6		
	alive	1	6	3										10	
Karambo	dead		1										1		
	alive	1	2	2										5	
MbaNkale	dead	1	1										2		
	alive		1	1										2	
TOTALS	dead	6	16	8	2	1		2		1			36		
	alive	3	25	13			3	1	1	1	1	1		49	85

TABLE VIII. KulakaeNgeyka Immigrants and Subsequent Emigrants (contd.)

B. <u>Emigrants</u>	S	FSS	FSd	SH	WB	MBs	MBd	SHB	FSHBs	FSHBd	MSs	Dead	Alive	TOTAL
		FFSss	FFSsd			FMBss	FMBsd		FSHBs	FSHBd				
		FFFSsss	FFFSssd											
Nanbekale	dead													
	alive		1										1	
Peymbankale	dead		2									2		
	alive		2										2	
Mbalekale	dead													
	alive		1			1	1						3	
Aliyaumo	dead													
	alive	1											1	
Karakambo	dead													
	alive		1										1	
MbaNkale	dead													
	alive		1										1	
TOTALS	dead		2									2		11
	alive		1	6			1	1					9	
TOTAL REMAINING	dead	6	16	6	2	1		2		1		34		74
	alive	3	24	7			2		1	1	1	1	40	

total number of women (86) sent away in marriage by these men in the five generations covered in the genealogies. As previously noted, female agnates represent a disproportionately small percentage of the total remembered agnates in ascendant generations. The conclusion is that in-marrying female spouses are more frequently remembered than out-marrying female agnates. The significance of this will be shown to be related to marriage practices in the chapter on marriage and kinship. But it is more significant that while there are 50 living wives (Table V, Row F less Row G) there are also 46 women alive who have been sent away in marriage and who have stayed away (Table V, Row B plus Row E less Row C). Thus, while it may appear in any genealogical summary spanning several generations that there is a drastic imbalance between the number of wives acquired and the number of sisters given, such figures are ultimately irrelevant since what counts to the Manga, and is therefore reflected in the genealogies, is the balance between women given and women received in any one generation. The same conclusion is reached by Reay for the Kuma (1959: 99) and by Salisbury for the Siane (1956: 642).

Now that I have discussed the genealogical constitution of the KulakaeNgeyka clan, I turn to their spatial distribution.

Settlement Pattern. At the conclusion of my residence with the Manga, there were 85 house structures, excluding temporary garden shelters, in eleven named locales (Kwiop = KW, TagaimbaNo = TA, Ngonome = NG, Timank = TI, Mbinjim = MB, Ngole,

Nginji, Epi, NgogIAmoro, NduNgAravo, and Mbaura) within the KulakaeNgeyka clan territory. Most of these houses are shown in Maps IV and V. In Appendix V, KulakaeNgeyka Houses and Their Occupants, the structures are numbered from 1 to 85 by locale and owner. Co-resident members are listed under each house and their genealogical relationship to the owner is noted.

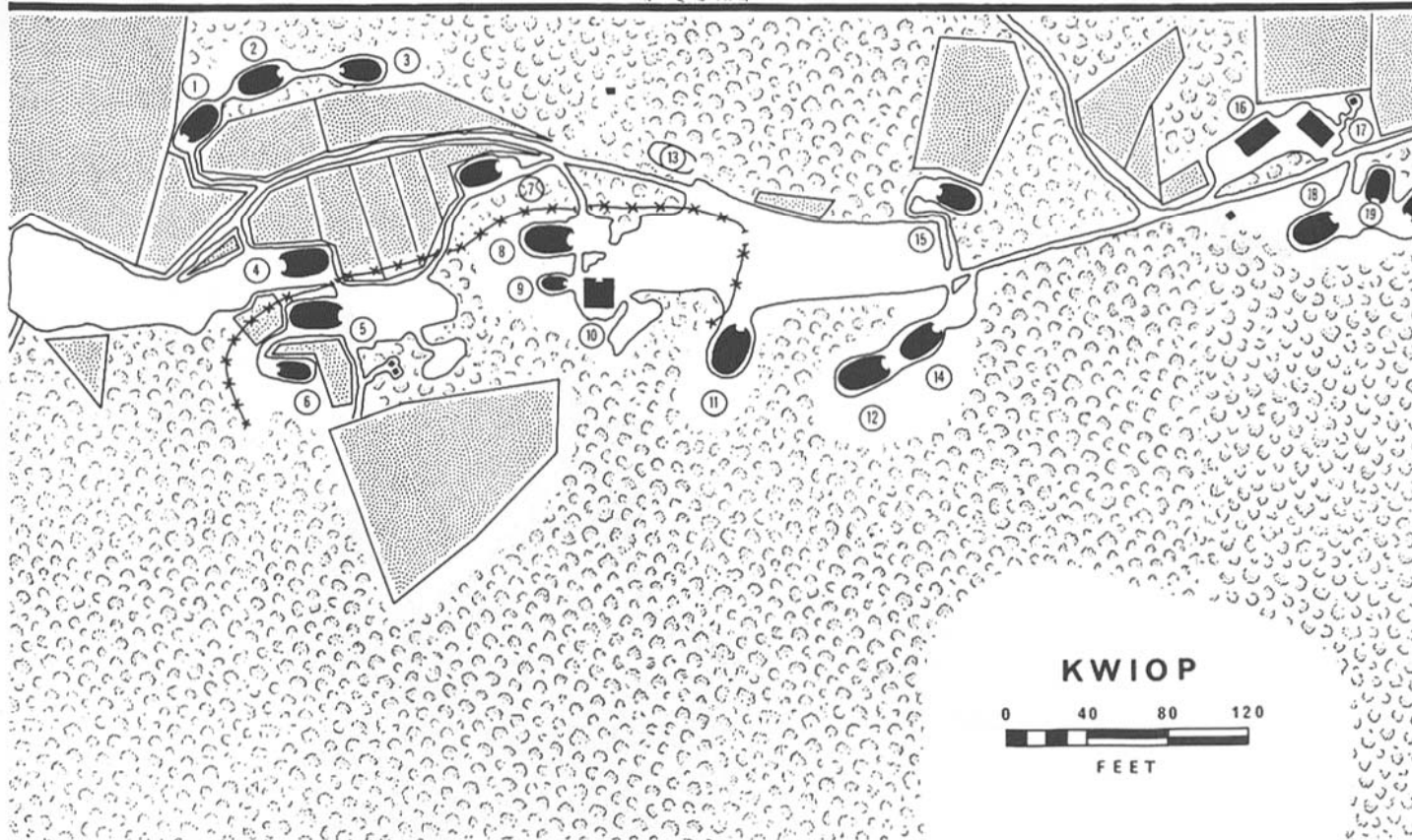
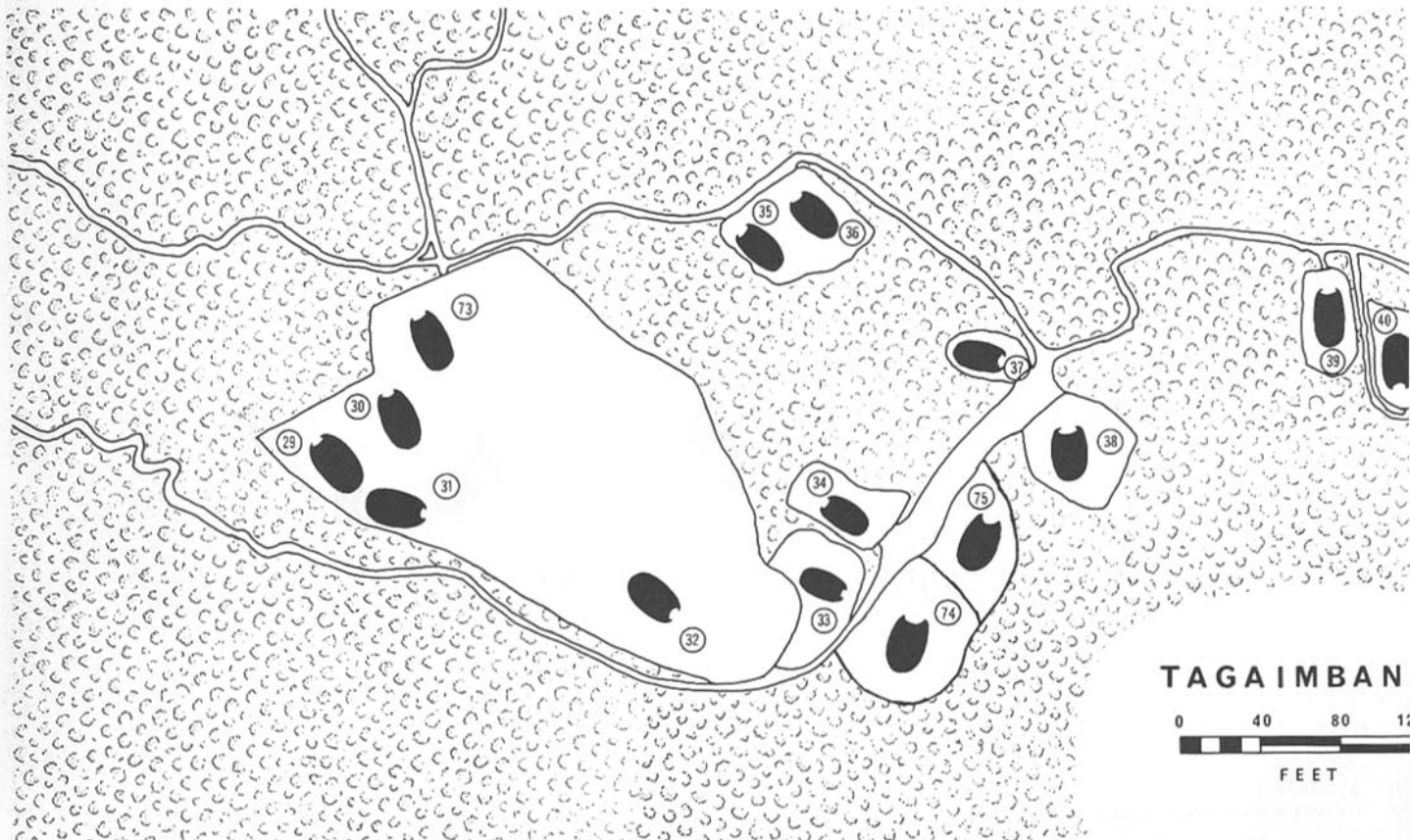
Two of these 85 structures, KW-16 and KW-17, belonged to me and a third, KW-13, was not lived in at all since its owner did not complete its construction.

There are two types of settlement patterns, dispersed and concentrated. All places where houses are located are known as nimp ndmo, literally, "house place". Dispersed settlements are usually composed of one to three dwellings. The settlements at Mbinjim, Ngole, Nginji, NgogIAmoro, NduNgaravo and Mbaura are of this type and account for only 10 of the 85 houses.

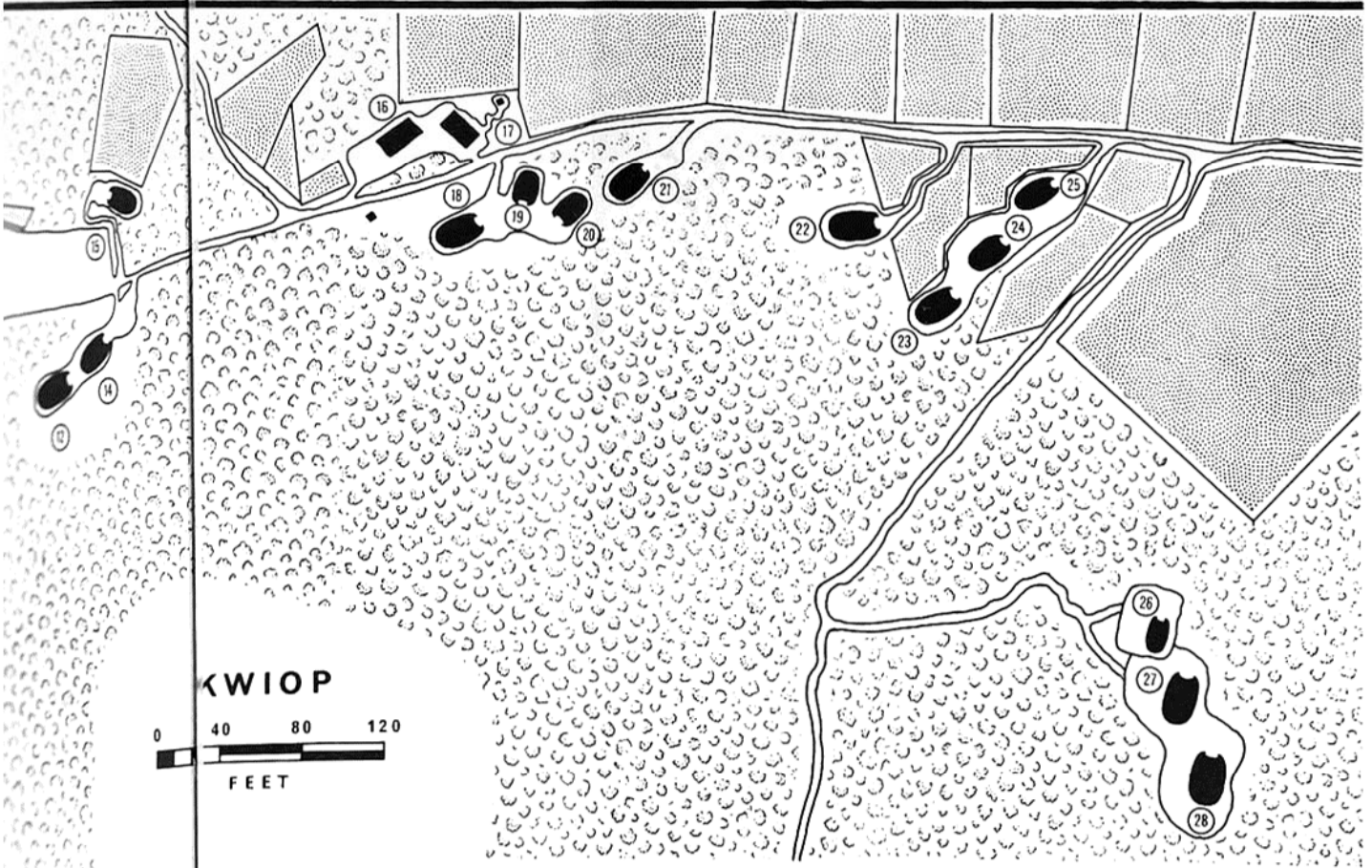
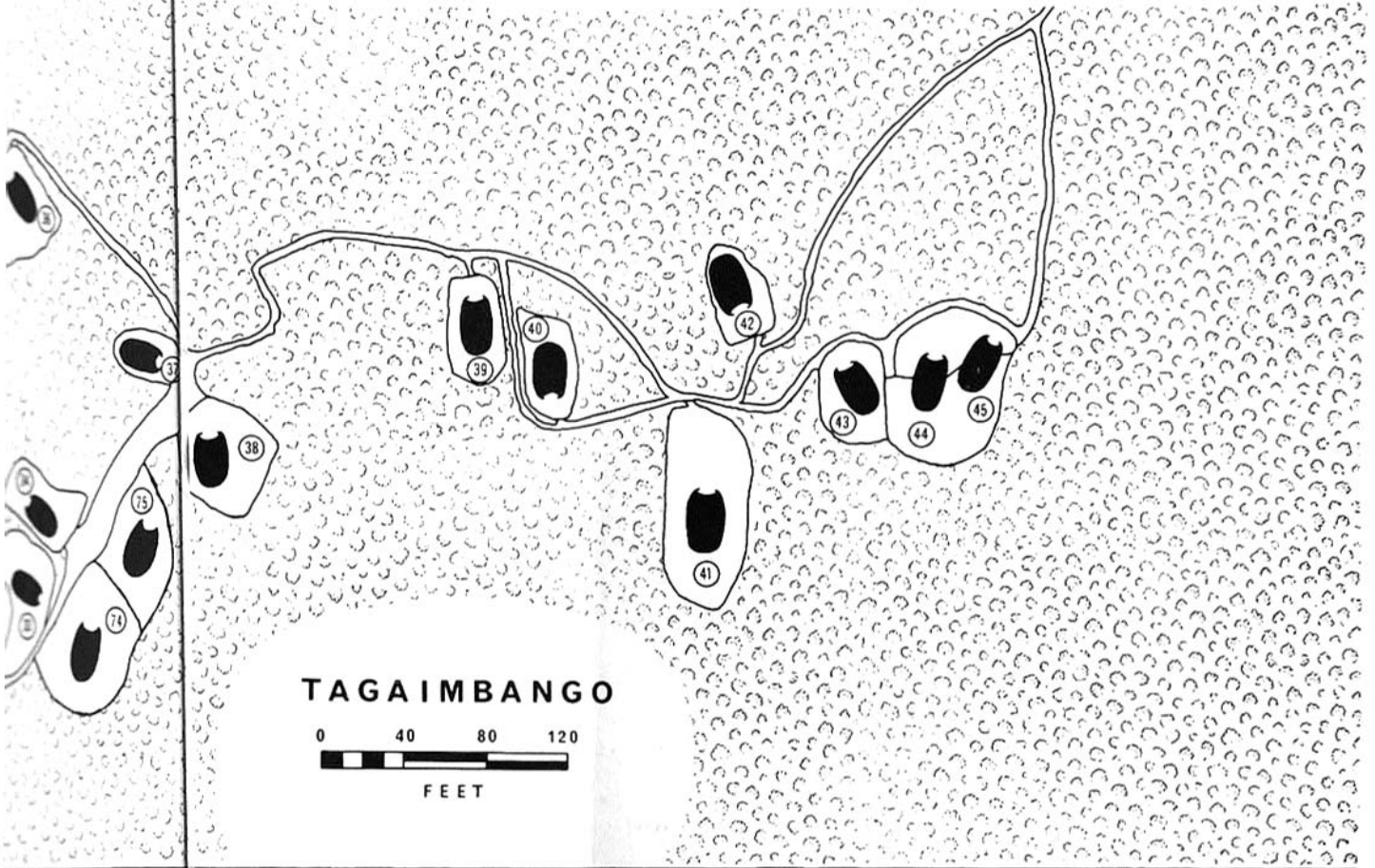
Concentrated settlements vary in size from 8 to 28 houses (Maps IV and V). There are two sub-types of these concentrated, or nucleated, settlements. First, there are the more permanent residential villages such as TagaimbaNo (20 structures), Timank (8 structures), Ngonome (8 structures) and Epi (11 structures) and secondly the semi-permanent ceremonial center of Kwiop.

The largest single concentration of structures was at this ceremonial center, Kwiop, though at the time of my arrival in December, 1961, houses KW-5, KW-7, and KW-8 were the only dwell-

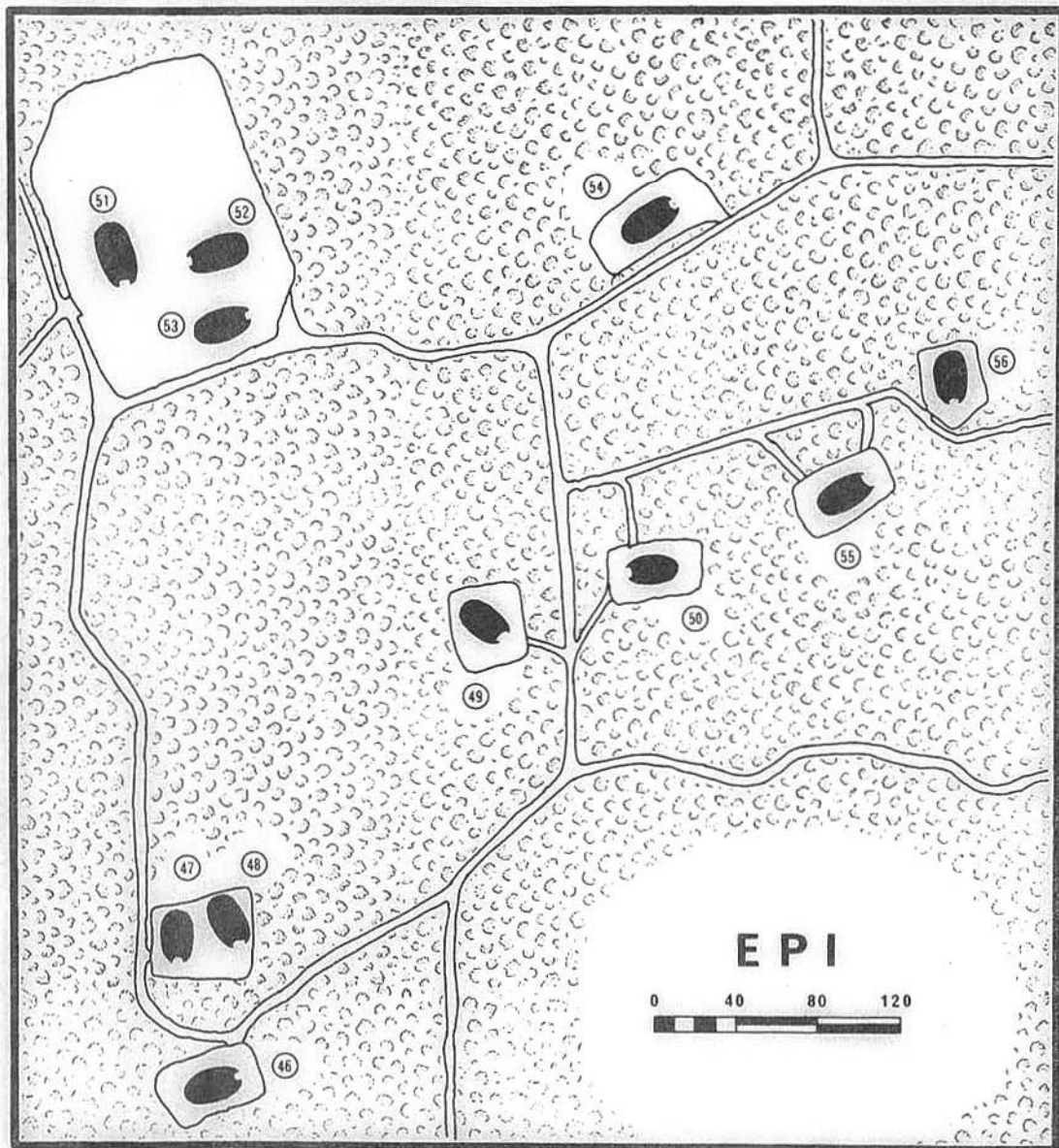
# Map IV. VILLAGE MAPS



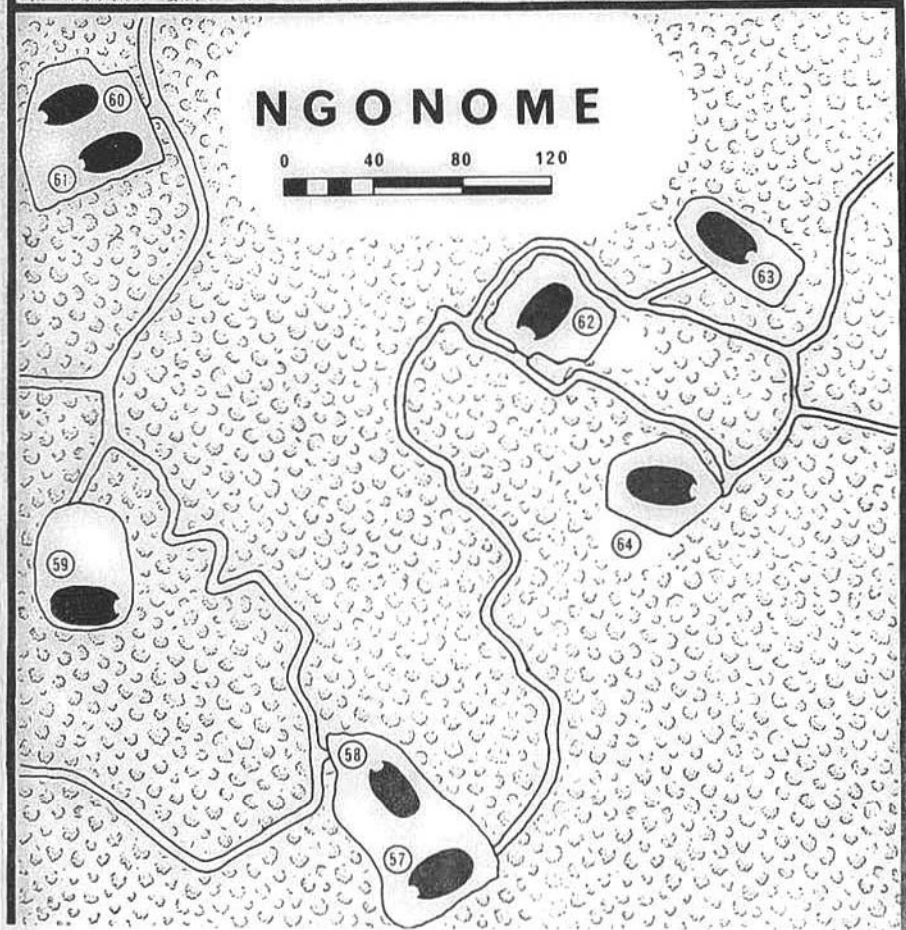
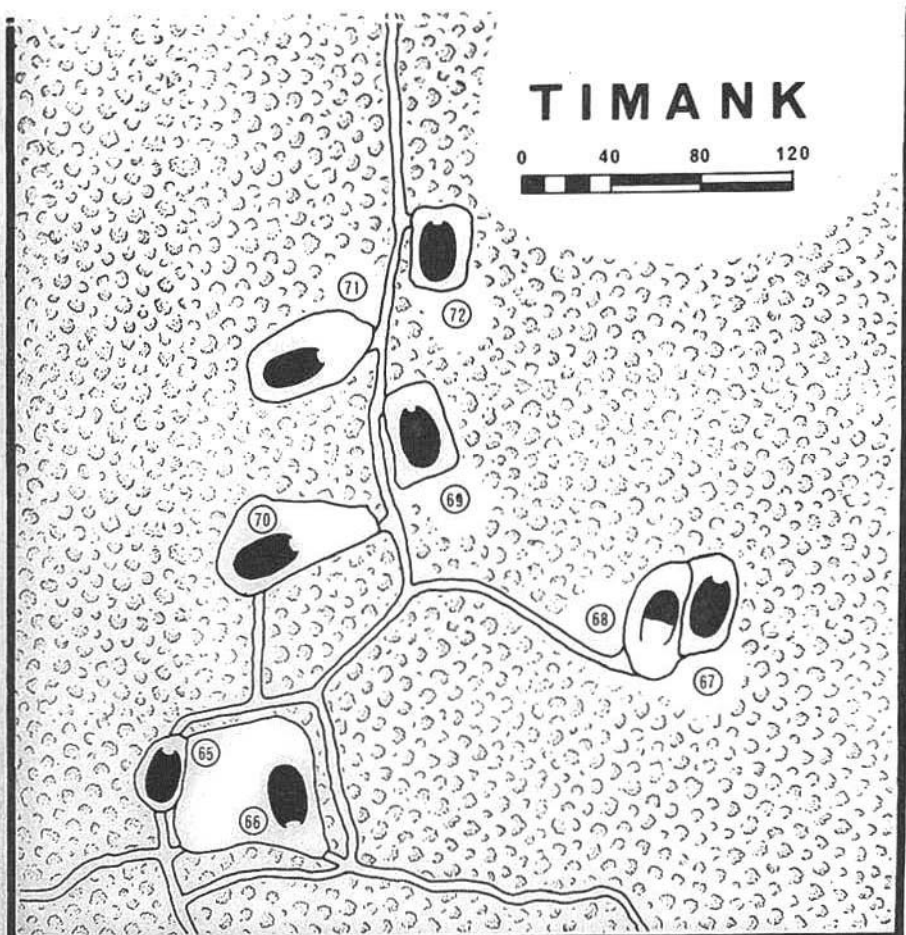
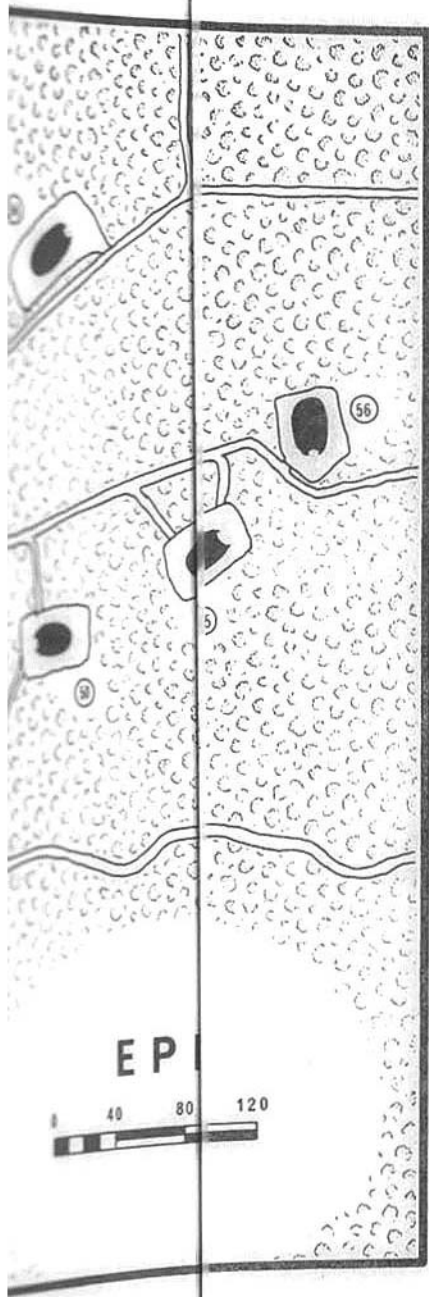
# VILLAGE MAPS



# Map IV. VILLAGE MAPS



# AGE MAPS





ings located there. The additional 25 were built between then and September 1962.

The nucleation of the entire clan population at a ceremonial center occurs only in conjunction with the pig festival cycle about every 7 to 12 years. The specific temporal interval between pig festivals is dependent upon several variables, the most significant of which is an adequate supply of pigs. At the conclusion of the festival, which is essentially a series of renewal ceremonies to be portrayed in greater detail in the chapter on the ceremonial cycle, most of the houses are abandoned and residence is again resumed in the smaller more permanent villages. This cycling residential pattern between the ceremonial center and the more permanent villages is not followed by all members of the clan equally. Quite frequently, after the festival has been concluded, many individuals establish residence in the bush immediately adjacent to new gardens though I was not present to document this feature. The reason expressed by the natives for doing so is quite practical. The pig festival has depleted the supply of pigs. Since boars are not kept as domestic animals, future increase in the pig herd is dependent upon the remaining sows becoming pregnant. The boars, which are wild, do not frequent village areas but do raid the gardens in the bush. The result is that smaller settlements at altitudes lower than the ceremonial center and closer to the gardening areas are more propitious as places in which to raise pigs. When there are enough pigs, then there will be talk of

having another pig festival. The same area or a different area may be selected as the site of the new ceremonial village.

The current distribution of dwellings by sub-clan is presented in Table IX, Residences by Village and Sub-clan. Members of all sub-clans are periodically co-resident at the ceremonial center of Kwiop. Excluding the dispersed settlements previously noted, there is nucleation of the ENgeyka clan-moiety at Epi, while the Kulaka clan-moiety is distributed among the villages of TagaimbaNo, Ngonome, and Timank. These three are located quite close together and are separated only by two small streams. In general, then, settlement nucleation is primarily by clan-moiety and only secondarily by sub-clan. Certain exceptions are to be noted in the Table:

1. EPI-55 is the house of NA-56-HB's wife Ngunma, who is by birth an ENgeyka agnate. NA-56-HB is a co-resident affine of the Kulaka clan-moiety. Thus, with the exception of their residence at the ceremonial center, NA-56-HB is uxori-local in residence.
2. When KO-14 acquired EM-44-W, resident at EPI-48, as wife, he shifted residence to his wife's deceased husband's sub-clan. This also accounts for his presence in the men's house, EPI-51.

In concluding this section, I wish to make note of the unusual agglomeration of individuals co-resident in house KW-10. This house is not built in the local style, but was constructed along the pattern established by the Administration for houses

TABLE IX. Residences by Village and Sub-clan

	Type of House	Occupants							ENgeyka clan-moiety	
		KulakaeNgeyka Clan								
		NA	PE	MB	AL	KO	KU	EK	EM	
Kwiop	men	7,8,26, 27,10	14,10	11,13, 15,20, 22,10	10,24	10		5	4,5	
	women	18,21, 28	12		19,23 25		2	2,3	1,3	
Taga ImbaNo	men	32	31		29,37		29			
	women	35,36, 39,43, 45	30,33, 73,74	42,44	34,38, 40,41	75				
Ngonome	men									
	women	60,62 63	57,58	59,61, 64						
Timank	men			66,70			68			
	women			65,69, 71,72			67			
Hbinjim	men				76					
	women				77,78					
Ngole	men			79						
	women			80						
Nginji	men									
	women	81								

TABLE IX. Residences by Village and Sub-clan (contd.)

		NA	PE	MB	AL	KO	KU	EK	EM
Epi	men					51		51,52, 53	52
	women	55				48		46,49 50,54	46,47, 56
Ngoglamoro	men							82	
	women							83	
NduygargBo	men								84
	women								84
Mbaura	men								
	women								85

occupied by Europeans. It was built in July and August of 1962 principally by PE-9 and MB-63 with assistance from the other co-residents. These young men are eight of the nine Manga (the ninth is a member of the Timbamaruwaga clan) who returned from the coast after a two year period as wage laborers on a copra plantation. Of the other coastal labor returned, MB-50 commenced building his own house, KW-13, but soon abandoned this effort, KO-20 left Kwiop for employment with Roy A. Rappaport of Columbia University who had commenced his own anthropological fieldwork late in 1962 at Tsembaga (Map II, No. 62) and as a result was seldom present at Kwiop.

Domestic Units. Table X lists the 188 living members and affiliates of the KulakaeNgeyka clan as they are grouped into a total of 39 domestic units. The personnel composition of these units is listed in Appendix VI, domestic units.<sup>2</sup> A domestic unit is here defined as the smallest unit of people engaged in cooperative food production, food preparation, and food consumption.

The principal type of the domestic unit is composed of a man, a woman (usually his wife), and some children, who may be the children of either parent. There are twenty of these simple nuclear domestic units which represents 51.3% of all domestic units. A compound nuclear domestic unit is a conjunction of two or more simple nuclear units, and the existence of such a unit is usually only temporary. For example, domestic unit No. 6 (Appendix VI), is compound because NA-37 was, at the time of

TABLE X

Type and Number of Domestic Units

	Number of units	Average size of units	Unit Numbers (See Appendix VI)
Nuclear	20	3.55	1,3,4,9,10,11,12,15,17, 20,21,23,26,28,31,33,34, 36,37,38
compound nuclear	2	5.00	6,29
complex nuclear	10	5.30	5,8,18,19,22,24,25,27, 30,32
compound-complex nuclear	1	6.00	39
Polygynous	3	5.33	13,14,16
complex polygynous	3	10.66	2,7,35
<b>Total Units</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>4.82</b>	

my field work, employed as an interpreter by the Anglican Mission and so his wife had taken residence with his brother's family. Complex nuclear units are simply nuclear units with added kinsmen such as brothers, sisters, a mother, a father's sister, or, in rare instances, in-laws and cross-cousins. A compound-complex nuclear domestic unit, of which there is only one example, No. 39, is composed of more than one nuclear domestic unit plus additional kinsmen; in this case, EM-61, a father's sister's son. Polygynous domestic units are formed by a single man as the head of the domestic unit, his wives, and their children. Complex polygynous units are formed by the accretion of additional kinsmen to the basic polygynous unit.

All forms of nuclear domestic units comprise 84.7% of the 39 domestic units of the KulakaeNgeyka clan. The population size of these various types of units ranges from a low average of 3.55 for the simple nuclear domestic units to a high of 10.66 for the complex polygynous units.

The activities of a domestic unit are centered about the presence of a female and a group of dependents.<sup>3</sup> A single adult male will engage in these primarily female activities of food preparation and production by himself only under extreme circumstances and, even so, he will still be unable to avoid dependence upon some female for the manufacture of some articles of his clothing and sleeping mats and for the service of pig husbandry. The small number of bachelors (16) serves to reveal the necessity of women to the male's continued well-being, and

the lack of great differences in access to land and other forms of wealth serves to equalize the male's opportunities to acquire a spouse.<sup>4</sup>

In instances where a man has been deprived of his wife through death or desertion, he will normally affiliate himself with the domestic unit of a brother. Similarly, young men who have not yet acquired a wife will continue in the domestic unit of their parents or of an older married brother. The domestic unit is not necessarily coterminous in membership with either the gardening or residential unit, both of which may be larger.

Summary. In this chapter I have placed the Manga in space and commented upon their language. I have shown that villages exist in an area previously thought to be characterized only by hamlets and that there is a bipolar pattern of residence between village and ceremonial center.

I have examined in detail the genealogical composition of the KulakaeNgeyka clan and demonstrated that all clan territory co-residents are kinsmen of one type or another. How the individual non-agnatic kinsman comes to be a member of the patrilineal descent group is one of the topics of a succeeding chapter.

Now that I have established these basic facts I shall turn to a presentation of daily activities and the life cycle of the individual.



### III. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE MANGA

Bodily Appearance: Physically, the Manga conform to the general Papuan type. Average male height is about 5'6", though some are considerably shorter and others are almost 6' tall. The women are on the average about 4" shorter. The further one goes up the Jimi River toward Kol (Map II, no. 26), the taller the average height; whereas downriver, toward the country of the Kaironk pygmies, the shorter the average height. Skin color varies from a dark brown to an occasional reddish brown. The latter natives are referred to as yuambaN, or "red men", a label which has been transferred to all Caucasians. At birth, skin color is a light yellow-brown, but as the child matures and tans from his incessant exposure to the sun, the skin darkens.

Hair form is kinky, dark brown in color and is worn short by both men and women. If a child's hair appears to be poorly formed or not as desirable as it might be, his head may be shaved in order to give him a fresh start. Adult men wear beards, but trim them from the sides of the face and the upper portion of the chin. This gives a sort of fringe effect to the face and is utilitarian. When the chin shell kina pagAna is worn, it is supported by the underlying beard. In general, bodily hair is sparse, and many adult males are unable to grow a complete beard.

Nose form, which is distinctively Papuan, is depressed at the root and characterized by flaring alae and a convex sep-

tum. Septums may or may not be pierced in female babies, but are invariably pierced in males. The original incision is stretched to a diameter of about  $3/8$ " by the insertion of progressively larger reeds. Two additional holes are pierced in the nose, one in each wing of the alae; occasionally a third hole is made in the bulbous tip of the nose. Tattooing with charcoal is usually confined to the outer rim of the eye socket and nose of both men and women, though occasionally men will also have tattooing performed on their chests. The designs are simple linear or arc arrangements of dots and dashes.

Health: The Manga are susceptible to a variety of illnesses. In spite of the rather even climate, respiratory infections are common and pneumonia is probably the greatest single killer. Malaria and bacillary dysentery are endemic in the population, and there are occasional cases of leprosy and yaws. Tropical ulcers, gangrene, and 'grille' (Tinea imbricata) are not uncommon, as well as cirrhosis, worms, fungus infections and diarrhea. A complete medical survey, if available, would doubtlessly increase this listing. Moreover, the Manga give every indication of being accident prone, for they are continually cutting, chopping, and slashing themselves open with a variety of implements.

Clothing: Clothing is minimal and confined to the pubic areas of both men and women. Young boys are usually unclothed until age 4-5, but young girls will wear some form of pubic cov-

ering, no matter how minimal and inadequate to the task, almost from birth.

Women's clothing consists of a double set of twisted fiber strings attached to a twisted fiber waistband. When donned, one set of strings, about 8" wide, covers her in front, and the other, about 6" wide, covers her in back. They are usually knee length and several sets may be worn simultaneously. Young unmarried girls decorate the bottom of this apparel by attaching bits of marsupial fur to the ends of the individual strings.

Men wear a netted front covering extending to the knees for everyday wear, which is looped over a bark under-belt, krm. On ceremonial occasions, a front covering of the same style, but reaching to the ankles, is worn and this too is decorated at the bottom with tassels of fur. The rear covering consists of a bunch of leaves of the plant om (Liliaceae Dracaena augustifolia = cordyline terminalis) which are inserted underneath the bark under-belt and held in place by pulling a few leaves through and allowing them to fall down over the belt. The bark under-belt itself is held in place by a decorative braided belt (kentanjiba) worn over the bark under-belt. The ends of the belt are tied together in front under the netted front covering mnja kon.

Many other items of bodily decoration are also worn.

Men and women may both wear braided bands on the ankles (kagoanjiba) and upper arms (aNgloanjiba). Immediately below their breasts, young unmarried girls used to wear the same bark under-

belt and braided overbelt arrangement worn by men. This custom has now disappeared in favor of red plastic and beaded trade store belts.

The quantity and style of bodily decoration is dependent upon the activity. Thus, in mourning, all bodily decoration is forsaken and the skin is covered with clay, preferably white. Pig festivals and warfare activities have their own customary costumes.

The major elements utilized in bodily decoration are feathers, from numerous varieties of birds (most notably the Bird of Paradise), various clays (primarily red and white), grease and oil to make the skin shine (from pigs and the yellow pandanus fruit), charcoal, several styles of worked shell, the upper portion of the hornbill beak, netted skull caps and wigs of human hair, cassowary quills, and the colorful leaves of the crotons.

Housing and Ceremonial Structures: Manga house-types (nimp = "house") are most easily discussed in terms of the division which occurs as a result of the practice of residential segregation between husbands and wives. Both men's and women's houses range in size from 20-30' in length and about 8'-12' in width with the center beam of the roof elevated from ground level a distance of 4-4 1/2'. The woman's house (Plate 1) is divided into three parts: sleeping quarters at the rear, pig stalls in the center, and the fire place and cooking area at the entrance.



PLATE 1  
 WOMAN'S HOUSE UNDER CONSTRUCTION  
 BY TSAPINDE. THE THREE DIVISIONS  
 OF THE INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE ARE  
 EASILY SEEN.



PLATE 2  
 MEN'S HOUSE UNDER CONSTRUCTION  
 BY WABI AT KWIOP.

Men's houses (Plates 2 and 3) have no divisions and are open from the front to the rear without intervening partitions. In villages other than the ceremonial village, each house, or a small cluster of two or three houses, will be fenced. Outside of the entrance to the house (nimpNgrage, literally "house mouth"), there is a small cleared area for outdoor living. Here will be the earth oven or cooking pit. A smaller cooking pit will also be located inside the house at either of the front corners for cooking on rainy days.

Several additional types of structures may also be found in the village. Because of encouragement from the Administration, an occasional latrine may be built over a hole about 5' deep by 4' in diameter. Somewhere near the residential quarters individual cassowary pens, one for each adult bird, are erected either singly or in a series, depending on the number of cassowaries. The cages are deliberately constructed to restrict the movement of the bird and have such low roofs that the cassowary is unable to raise his head completely. There is a small aperture in the front of the pen, just big enough for the bird's head and neck, outside of which is located a wooden feeding bowl.

Elevated food storage houses are also built in the village periodically. So much food accumulates in the village at the time of the pig festival, that there is not enough room for it in the regular residential structures. The storage structures are elevated so that animals, principally dogs, will



PLATE 3

WANDO'S MEN'S HOUSE. SMOKE FROM THE FIRE INSIDE ESCAPES SLOWLY THROUGH THE ENTRANCE AND ROOF.

not consume the produce.

Sacred stone houses (nimpomba) are located in the ceremonial village. These are, structurally, replicas of the men's house but are much smaller, measuring about 6-7' wide and 10-12' long with a floor to center beam distance of 3 1/2 - 4' (Map 5 nos. 6 and 9). Toward the end of the pig festival, a tall fence, fapey, is erected in the ceremonial village. This fence segregates the central men's house area and the sacred stone houses from the rest of the village and from the dance ground (Plate 4).

Several additional types of structures are found in the cemeteries. Most prominent is the kongAtiNgArava or what I term the sacrifice house (Plate 5). The size of this structure is dependent upon the number of people affiliated with a particular cemetery. Near the sacrifice house there are koNgAmbo and miambo. These are both cooking structures, the former for pigs' heads and the latter for cassowaries. They are about 2 1/2' tall and 3' in diameter and are built on the surface of the ground out of tree bark. They are both decorated on the exterior with colorful leaves. Somewhere in the cemetery, tied to a tree, will be a tena, also a cooking device. The tena is made out of a piece of bamboo and is about 4-5' tall. The top section of the bamboo is split into many pieces, but left attached to the bamboo shaft; these pieces are then spread to form a cone. Particular portions of a sacrificed pig will be cooked in this receptacle. A tena may also be found tied erect to the





PLATE 4

THE CEREMONIAL DANCE GROUND AT KWIOP. THE FAPEY FENCE HAS NOT BEEN COMPLETED. THE ENTRANCE TO A HOUSE MAY BE SEEN ON THE FAR LEFT.



PLATE 5

WANDO ENTERING HIS SACRIFICE HOUSE TO SPEAK WITH  
THE SPIRITS OF HIS ANCESTORS.

entrance of a woman's house or located inside a men's house affixed to a center beam support and used for special sacrificial purposes.

There is usually some sort of crude temporary shelter for people in the cemetery. This structure may be almost any shape and is the least durable of all housing units. In addition, if garden areas are some distance from the village, a single house may also be erected there.

"Permanent" village houses require constant maintenance. As the construction materials dry out, the structure loosens and must be tightened up. A new roof is required every 18-24 months. In the women's houses, the pigs cause a great deal of damage and occasionally, when excited, may exit right through a wall. When new housing is required, the wall posts, center beam and roof streamers are transported from the old to the new house site and re-used.

Along walking tracks, two other sorts of structures can be seen. First are bridges (aiya) for crossing wide rivers or gorges. These may simply be either one or several logs laid across the chasm, or, in cases of a longer crossing, a cane suspension bridge may be constructed. Along the trails themselves are periodically encountered what I term sorcery gates (kufapey). These consist of an arrangement of poles or sticks (often painted) and stones (some buried directly in the track) on either side of the path.

Under the persuasion of the Administration, the Manga

Have learned to erect more grandiose structures. At each census point, the Administration oversees the construction of a "permanent" rest house for the patrol officer's occasional visits and for the use of any other itinerant personnel. This rest house is built of native materials but in European style.

Additional Manufactures: There are innumerable items in the material culture inventory of the Manga. It is not my intent to include them all here. However, many are intimately associated with common activities such as gardening, hunting, and household work, or are objects of common conversation and story telling, such as warfare.

Exclusive of dress, the weaponry of warfare was limited to bows and arrows, axes, spears, and shields. Shields (kmba), were quite large and served to conceal the entire person. They measured about 2 1/2 - 3' in width, 5' in height, 1/2" thick, and were made of a very lightweight wood. They were roughly rectangular in shape with the rounded top lashed with a cane binding. The top was decorated with several long pieces of reed around which were bound cassowary plumes. The face of the shield occasionally had geometric or life form (lizard and human) designs punched in with an arrow tip. In times of actual combat, the shields were garishly painted with startlingly brilliant clays. It was believed that the brilliance of the shield would cause the enemy's eyes to blind and spears and arrows to fall short of their mark.

Hand-held spears (kurank), used both in jabbing and throw-

ing, range from 8-12' in length and were either made of black palm wood (Kentiopsis archontophoenix) or other hardwoods. Bows (epi), were fashioned out of black palm or heavy-walled bamboo and varied between 5 and 6' in length. Bow-strings (epikunda), were narrow strips of bamboo attached to both ends of the bow. Arrows (epmeyNyi), were about 4' long, made with a reed shaft and, dependent upon type, a black palm foreshaft which in turn were attached to the point or blade. Prior to the introduction of steel, some ten to fifteen years ago, blades (kunje) were made of stone and mounted in the unique T-shaped frame characteristic of this area. Blades of different sizes and shapes were used in varying activities, some traditionally so thin and delicate that they were used only in bride-purchases.

In hunting, the only crafted weapons used are bows and arrows and spears, and their use depends upon the size and nature of the game. Many game animals are simply seized by hand or pummeled to death with sticks and rocks closest to hand. Domestic pigs are killed by bludgeoning them over the head with a 3 1/2' length of good hard post measuring about 3" in diameter.

There is also a variety of items associated with household and gardening activities. The former split-stick fire plow (krmbo) with bamboo strands for starting a fire (krka) has been largely replaced by matches. Women are seldom seen without their all-purpose net carrying bags (kon), suspended down their backs by tump-line extensions of the bags themselves.

The women have no special attachment to particular digging sticks and mostly will pick them up and discard them at will. Tucked between the net carrying bag and her back a woman will carry her combination pandanus leaf sleeping-mat and rain-shield (kunoN). Men seldom carry their sleeping mats about with them, relying on the abundance of giant leaves (mostly Xanthosoma) which they cut and place upside-down on their heads in the event they are caught out in the rain.

Stone scrapers and stone or bamboo knives, have been largely replaced by the steel bush knives which are carried by both men and women. Sewing needles (wova), are made from the wing bones of small bats and birds. The only receptacle used in food preparation prior to the advent of the metal saucepan, and one which is still in use, is the (kombAkamba), a large oval-shaped wooden bowl measuring 1 1/2 - 2' in length, about 1' wide, and from 6" to 1' deep. Other household objects include gourd containers (ndulumbe), with their leaf stoppers (publie), hair combs (Nambalo mbende), and bamboo tube salt containers (auwinime).

The Manga's inventory of musical instruments is very limited and includes only bamboo flutes (kambare), one, two, and four-holed varieties, bamboo jew's harps (Ngaumbo) played mostly by children and adolescents and never by mature persons, and the hour-glass shaped, hand-held drum (NgisN), measuring about 2 1/2 - 3' in length and 6-8" in diameter at the ends.

### The Food Quest

The Manga are primarily bush-fallow cultivators and pig raisers. In comparison with these two activities, hunting and gathering are relatively unimportant.

Cultivated produce. In spite of the relatively constant amount of rainfall and slight fluctuation in daily temperatures, there are delimitable seasons at Kwiop which are recognized by the natives. On one occasion, Mauwi pointed to the range of mountains behind Kwiop and told me that the sun progressed from Mt. Yopmoi to Mt. Goblom (Map VII, Nos. 42 and 45) and then returned. He said that this was the Manga 'calendar' for agricultural events and further pointed out that the time of rain was the time the sun came up in-between peaks; when the sun rose from behind the mountain peaks, that was the time of sunshine. October through January is the 'dry' season which breaks with the onset of heavy rains in February. This dry period is also the time during which gardens are made.

Soil types are important in selecting a suitable garden site. Areas with a rich black soil, magumbA Nanbo, are understandably preferred over the more common red clay soils, magumbA mbaN, or areas covered with small stones, magumbA Ku Ngviye.

The land is cleared by men who cut down the secondary growth, although they frequently limb the older trees rather than fell them directly. Women assist in clearing away the underbrush. Under the former stone technology, this task consumed a great portion of their time, an amount which has been

greatly shortened with the advent of steel axes and bush knives. Concurrent with clearing, a man will utilize the felled timber and poles to construct a fence surrounding the entire cleared area. The boundaries are marked by plantings of *Cordyline om.* When the area has been cleared and fenced, the cut material is allowed to dry out over a period of several days and is then burnt off (Plate 6). After the garden has been burned, the land owner or leasee will allocate portions of the ground to those men who have assisted him in the clearing and burning. Each of these men will then mark off sections within his allotted portion for his dependent women to plant (Plate 7). At any rate, this is the way it should be done. However, a sudden occurrence of rain may occasion a delay, and frequently a man has not completed his fence prior to firing the dried brush. There is no preparation of the soil other than the ash accumulation due to burning. Since all gardens are planted on slopes ranging from 25° to 45°, neither drainage ditches nor earth mounds are typical of this area.

Planting too may take several weeks, since this involves numerous trips from the old gardens to the new. The first crops to be planted, kuni, in the garden, mau, are men's crops and include bananas, mbamba; Musa spp.; tobacco, yin, Nicotiana tabacum; sugar cane, mbo, Saccharum officinarum; and another type of cane, ndop, which in outward appearance is quite similar to regular sugar cane, except the stalks are dry inside and the inflorescence is the part consumed (Saccharum edule).





PLATE 6  
 BURNING OFF A NEW GARDEN.



PLATE 7  
 A RECENTLY PLANTED GARDEN  
 MARKED OFF INTO SECTIONS.

The reason given for the precedence of the male in planting is quite practical; most of the crops planted by women are planted sub-surface and, as a result, the man might well step on them should he enter the garden afterwards.

The most important crop, and the one which provides the bulk of the native vegetable diet, is the sweet potato, (akai, Ipomoea batatas). Other tubers planted by women include yams, (wan, Dioscorea spp.); taro, mi, (Alocasia esculenta); and cassava (mbaundi, Manihot utilissima). The Manga recognize over fifty varieties of these plants. The men say that a garden should, ideally, be constantly kept free of weeds. In fact, however, the women usually weed the entire garden but twice during its growing season. The first weeding is done a few weeks after planting, when the crops have just begun to come up and so are distinguishable from the weeds. The second weeding is usually done around the fourth or fifth month of the garden's life. Men are responsible for keeping the fence repaired so that pigs will not enter and destroy the crops.

Additional crops planted in the garden include beans, pNga (Phaseolus lunatus); a grass, nola, Setaria palmaefolia, whose stalk is consumed; a green, agemba; Acanthaceae, Rungia klosii; and a bewildering variety of ground vines, whose leaves are eaten and which are collectively called kem. Several introduced crops which are now planted include cucumbers, pka, Cucurbita sativusa; pumpkins, ita, Cucurbita moschata, whose leaves, andkem, are eaten as well; corn, konava, Zea mays; onions, aniani, Allium spp.; and peanuts, kalip, Arachis

hypogaea.

With few exceptions, the garden is planted with all edible crops at the same time, and as they mature they are eaten. Specific daily diet in terms of vegetable intake is largely determined by whatever happens to be ripe. While major gardens are normally planted twice a year, this does not imply a necessary periodicity. Additional, but usually smaller gardens may be, and often are, planted at any time of the year. These smaller gardens are more apt to be restricted in terms of the range of crops planted. As an extreme example, Maima, who was very fond of the green agemba, caused his wife to plant a small plot near his house with nothing in it but that single crop.

Similarly, small house gardens are occasionally planted around both men's and women's houses. Around the men's house it is very common to see small but dense groves of sugar cane, bananas, and tobacco. Around women's houses there may be planted many of the same crops in the major garden, in addition to such spices as ginger root and the special, small, soft leaves used in menstruation and as absorbent padding in net carrying bags for babies. Pawpaws, Carica papaya, and the red, kombA peNgv, (Pandanus conoideus) and yellow, kombA yiNgam, fruited pandanus trees are also planted around houses. Since these latter are trees, the pigs do not bother them.

As the crops mature, they are consumed, but the harvester must be the planter. Thus a wife may not, without express permission from her husband, harvest any of the crops he has

planted and vice versa. The life of a garden may extend up to two years, at which time about the only produce the garden yields is bananas. However, when the sub-surface crops have been harvested, within a year of planting, pigs are then deliberately turned into the garden to forage. When the pigs have exhausted the remainder of the garden's resources, they are turned out and the garden slowly reverts to bush. Except for gardens near villages, casuarina trees, Casuarina oligodon, are not deliberately planted. The fallow period varies from five to fifteen or more years.

Animal Husbandry. The domestic animals of the Manga include the pig, kongA, Sus Scrofa papuensis; chickens, kakrokro, Gallus gallus gallus; dogs, kena, Canis familiaris; cats, kena wuti, Felis domestica; and the cassowary bird, miA, Casuaris spp. Pigs are the most important and, as in other economic transactions (exclusive of inheritance), may be obtained either through 'gift', auwi, or purchase, tof. In auwi, the onus is on the recipient to reciprocate at some future unspecified date. In tof transactions, the duty to reciprocate is openly acknowledged and the exchange of goods may be completed immediately or within a matter of days.

A young man or boy will obtain his first pig by either of these above mentioned methods. He will then turn the pig over to a female relative to be reared. At the time of acquisition, the pig must be young enough to be trained to follow a woman. As a result, older pigs are never purchased for the purpose of

rearing. All male pigs are castrated and sows become impregnated in the bush by wild boars. Until it becomes extremely obvious, pig owners do not know when their sows are pregnant. The sow will also litter in the bush. When this occurs, the responsible woman must find them and attempt to bring both the sow and the litter back to her house. In weaning the piglets from the sow, the woman pre-masticates baked sweet potatoes and feeds it to them.

During the day pigs are allowed to run free and forage for themselves. In the evening they return to the woman's house, impatiently snuffling and grunting outside the house fence, into which a drop gate has been constructed for their entrance and exit. Around five or six o'clock, the woman will permit the pigs to come inside the house. They are put into their stalls and one of their legs is tied with a rope (manufactured by the husband) to a front post of the stall. Later still, around sunset or shortly thereafter, the pigs are fed their nightly ration of sweet potatoes, gathered by the woman that day in the gardens. In the morning, the pigs will be fed again and turned out of the house compound.

Pigs are supposed to be good pigs and not misbehave; one of the worst things pigs can do is to enter gardens of their own accord. This occurs frequently, due to the rapidity with which fences rot or due to a husband's laxity in not having finished construction prior to planting. If a pig has been particularly bad about getting into the gardens, or by attacking people, he

will be blinded in one eye. In order to do this, the pig is caught and tied longitudinally to a stout pole which is then elevated off the ground. The pig's head is securely bound to the pole. Two bamboo splints are inserted on either side of the eyeball and the eyeball is then levered in the socket until it protrudes enough to slice off the cornea, which is accomplished with a bamboo knife. When performed properly, the operation is almost bloodless. During the operation, the pig is constantly admonished. He is told what he is being punished for and is cautioned not to engage in that sort of behavior in the future. The pig is then turned loose and will probably 'sulk' in the bush for a couple of days before returning home. Should the pig continue to invade gardens, the same operation will be carried out on the remaining eye. Totally blind pigs appear to manage well enough, though they tend not to roam very far from home. For minor infractions of proper pig manners, the pig may suffer his ears to be cut and/or his tail to be chopped off.

Chickens are left to roam, but usually stay very close to the house where they are occasionally fed cooked sweet potatoes in the evenings, after having spent the day scavenging about the area. They are raised for their meat rather than eggs. When a hen is missing she is immediately searched for, because it is suspected that either someone's dog has eaten her, in which case the responsible party must reimburse the chicken owner, or she has laid eggs somewhere in the bush. If she is hatching eggs,

then a small fence is built around the nest to keep other animals out. The wing feathers of chickens are not clipped and they roost in trees near the house at night.

Dogs are raised primarily for the assistance they render in hunting and, as a result, are the property of men, who must also see to their feeding and care. Dogs are also eaten. Cats have only recently been introduced, and no real use is made of them. Their fur is not valued and, further, they compete with people for rats and mice. Cats are encouraged to remain around the house and are subsequently eaten. More commonly, however, adult cats run away and are hunted as game animals.

Cassowaries occupy an unusual position. They are not bred in captivity and the Manga claim that they are unable to distinguish male from female birds. The only way to obtain one is by capturing it alive in the bush as a chick or by purchasing it from someone who has done so. When sold as a chick, the price of a cassowary is second only to the price of a bride, though of course much less. After the chick is obtained, it is turned over to a woman who cares for it, training it to follow her about. When the bird begins to mature and its plumage changes from a dusty fawn color to the adult black, a pen is built and the bird is incarcerated for the rest of its life. In its adult form, the feeding responsibility devolves upon the man who is its owner. Cassowaries are only rarely killed and eaten. Their plumage is used in warfare headdresses and shield decorations.

Cassowaries, pigs, and dogs are the only animals given per-

sonal names. Kinship terms are never extended to any of them.

Hunting and Gathering. Much edible forest produce is collected in season, and fruit-bearing trees, bushes, and vines are privately owned. Ownership of these trees is established and maintained by keeping them clear of underbrush and weeds. The nut-bearing pandanus, amola, Pandanus julianetii, which grows only at high altitudes, is collected by men. Though these trees are most frequently allowed to seed themselves, they may also be planted. There is some danger involved in eating the nuts, since the Manga claim that one can catch a cold, nogonom, by doing so. This is not surprising, since in order to collect it, it is necessary to go up into the constantly dripping and chilly Lower Montane Rain Forest.

Other tree produce includes breadfruit, mogola, Artocarpus altilis, and mangos, waula, Mangifera minor. Several trees provide edible leaves, most notably, mbeyga, Ficus wassa; ambiam, Gnetum gnemon; the fig tree, minba, Ficus danim maropsis; and the giant fern tree mbeu. Several varieties of mushrooms, ndoga, are collected, and dead logs and stumps are often chopped open to obtain edible grubs, kova. Most of these latter items are collected by women and children.

Frogs, koliNgey, and rats, koi, are taken by women in traps or by hand. Snakes, okola, are distinguished on the basis of whether they are tree or ground dwellers with the latter being generically regarded as poisonous and the former thought to be thoroughly edible. All snakes, however, are greatly feared and



are killed whenever and wherever they are found. They are believed to be immortal, unless deliberately killed, a trait which is attributed to them because they shed their skins. It is said that man, too, once possessed this attribute, but lost it due to his transgressions against the ancestors. Large tree lizards, Ngona, are killed and immediately cleaned and eaten, since they are believed to rot too fast to be safely transported back to the house and then prepared. The skins of large pythons and tree lizards are valued as drum heads, though marsupial skin is more commonly used.

Wild pigs, birds, cassowaries, wallabies, and numerous other varieties of marsupials are hunted by men and boys. These are either shot when sighted or are taken from behind blinds or in deadfalls, traps or snares.

Deadfalls of logs weighted with stones are built only for pigs. Traps, KoNgAngumuru (in opposition to snares which tie up the game, usually by suspending it from the ground) are also built for pigs and consist of a huge hole in the center of a pig track covered over lightly with vegetation. Elongated wicker traps, kowekuo, up to 4 1/2' in length and 8" in diameter, are built for eels and are baited with frogs. Bamboo tube traps, koikuo, incorporating the features of a snare, are made for rats and are placed in rat runs and baited with raw sweet potato.

Snares are constructed for rats, marsupials, cassowaries, and pigs as well. The pig snare is built into a deliberately

constructed opening in a garden fence and is a fertile device for legal entanglements should one happen to catch one's neighbor's pig. Also, whenever it is discovered that a pig has been jumping or scrambling over a low spot in a fence to get into a garden, the pig is tracked to that place in the fence where he has habitually been making his exit. At this place, outside the garden fence, a koNgApaga is built. This trap consists of two hardwood stakes 1-1 1/2" in diameter and about 3-3 1/2' long, lashed together so that they are about 6" apart. The double stake apparatus is then buried in the ground at an angle to the fence so that the two stakes are pointing in the direction from which the pig will come when it jumps over the fence. Dried leaves, matching the vegetation lying about on the ground, are stuck on the tips of the stakes so the pig won't see them, dodge, and thereby avoid his justly deserved fate.

Blinds for bird hunting are of two styles: one is built on the ground near a water hole where birds have been observed drinking, and the other is constructed in trees underneath the branches chosen by some Birds of Paradise for courtship dancing.

It is difficult to evaluate the role of hunting as a male activity. A man will seldom set out on an indeterminate hunting trip. If, in the course of his daily activities, he has spotted the tracks of an adult cassowary, or espied a large marsupial scurrying off into the underbrush or jumping about in the trees, or seen the nest of a bush-fowl, then he will probably get some male assistance and return the next day to

hunt down his quarry. Or, if the man is intent upon acquiring marsupial fur or bird feathers for trading purposes, he may specifically set out into the bush with several days' food supply, build himself a small temporary shelter, and 'go hunting'. In general, young boys will immediately hunt whatever they happen to see, mature married men will actively engage in trapping and hunting, and old men seldom, if ever, bother.

Food Preparation. Every day the women return to their houses between 4:00 and 5:00 in the afternoon with the days' gatherings from garden and bush. Husbands will usually follow shortly, each carrying a large limb or section of a tree for firewood. There are two basic cooking methods: roasting and pit steaming, supplemented by a less frequently used third method of bamboo-tube cooking. The method employed depends largely on the type of food available. Beans are the crop usually cooked in the fresh, green, thin-walled 12" section of bamboo. The beans are placed in the tube, some water is added, a stopper is placed in the open end, and the tube is then placed in the fire embers. Care must be taken that the tube is frequently turned and not allowed to get too hot since, due to internal pressure, they have a tendency to explode, scattering boiling water, scalding beans, and fire all over the house.

The most common and frequently utilized method of cooking for tubers, bananas, and Saccharum edule, is roasting. Pit steaming is utilized only when there is some sort of oily additive available. This may be either pandanus fruit, meat,

animal fat, ambiam leaves, or, today, tins of grease and margarine. The diameter of the pit varies according to the size of the meal being prepared, but its depth is always at least one foot. The pit is lined with heated stones over which banana leaves are laid. Next, the various greens, leaves, and tubers are tastefully arranged in the pit and, finally, the oil-bearing food is put on top; more hot stones are added, the banana leaves are folded over all, and, just before the pit is closed, some water is added, producing a large cloud of steam. The pit is hastily closed and weighted down with additional hot stones. The food is allowed to steam from 50-60 minutes. On the numerous occasions that I watched this type of cooking, the time interval hardly ever varied outside of this range. The proper time to open the pit was judged from the amount of heat still radiating from it.

Following a pig-killing, a fire is built and the pig is hauled onto the burning wood and rolled about to singe off its hair. At the same time, the pig is scraped with sticks to remove the burnt hair and some of the skin. This process also acts to puff up the pig which facilitates the slaughtering. The pig is then laid on its back on banana leaves with its four feet sticking up in the air and is sectioned into viscera, head, spine, and two sides. The intestines and stomach are washed out at a stream or with water from the long bamboo water tube which is hauled up to the house, a chore which is allocated to children. The pig's bladder is used by the children as a balloon.

In the event that the killed pig was a newly pregnant sow, piglets in the womb are eaten by old people who have few teeth left. A special package of blood, visceral fat, ferns and select greens is roasted on poles above a fire to produce a grayish-colored blood pudding, koNgAminbA. The slaughtered pig will be immediately pit steamed. Raw meat is not transported.

Cassowaries are killed by placing a noose outside the feeding aperture of the pen and then enticing the bird to stick its head out. When it does, the noose is quickly drawn and the bird is strangled. It is then plucked, cut up, and cooked as a single unit in the steaming pit. Birds of Paradise, which are first delicately skinned to preserve the plumage intact, are cooked in the men's house in a tena, an elevated split bamboo pressure-cooker. Small fledglings of no consequence are simply tossed into the embers of a fire, turned once or twice, and popped into one's mouth.

Salt is the most commonly used and most highly desired spice. The Manga once manufactured salt and traded the resultant packages of salt-laden ash for stone axe blades. With the coming of steel axes and commercial salt, this entire trading system has been inactivated.

Food consumption. Individual food consumption is surrounded by a maze of taboos, mabl. There are also, in addition to food taboos, kola mabl, taboos on fire-sharing, wam mabl, and on cigarette smoking yir mabl. These various taboos always imply a break in the network of social relationships surround-

ing each individual. Conversely, a bond is established between persons who share the same item of food. On one occasion, Tultul Ngarin offered me the remaining half of a banana which he was eating. I ate it, and thenceforward Ngarin and I were kambAnoIA, "eaters of the same banana", to each other and so addressed each other whenever we met. This act made us special friends and thenceforward we were each accorded the hospitality of the other's house. Food taboos between persons imply the opposite, thus personal animosities are expressed in terms of non-commensality, and the resumption of good fellowship is signified by eating each other's food.

The status of a person may also determine what he may eat. Certain foods are considered as 'hot' and others as 'cold'; the 'hot' foods are preferred by sorcerers and war leaders.

The general notion behind all these food taboos is that eating another's food grants that party an internal accessibility to the consumer. It is an implicit acknowledgment that a man who feeds you in some sense controls you. Inculcation of this concept begins at an early age. Children are constantly told to behave themselves for if they don't, "who will feed you?"

Summary. In this chapter I have presented a general overview of Manga culture in many of the traditional ethnographic categories. I have touched upon their physical characteristics, material culture and general subsistence pattern. Though I mapped the gardens extensively, this data has not been included

here since this is not a major topic of this thesis. In the next chapter I shall present the behavioral content of Manga culture in a developmental framework. That is, activities will be discussed as they relate to stages in an individual's life cycle.

#### IV. Life Cycle

From birth to death, the individual Manga progresses through a series of named stages. The particular daily routine of any one person is always a reflection of his position in this progression.

Pregnancy: Natives believe that a single act of sexual intercourse is insufficient to induce pregnancy in a woman. When a man and his wife desire a child, they must engage in coitus as often as possible, for it is the continual deposit of sperm, in addition to the mother's blood, which builds the fetus. Pregnancy is not supposed to occur outside of marriage or while another child is still nursing or during the season of the pig festival. During these times, married couples are expected to refrain from sexual intercourse, though they seldom abstain totally. In the event that pregnancy occurs too soon after the birth of another child, the husband is regarded as some sort of wild animal who has no self control. Early in a marriage, a couple may decide to withhold pregnancy, since caring for babies disrupts the pursuit of capital assets for the bride price.

Should pregnancy occur during any prohibited period, either abortion or infanticide will be practiced. Abortion is performed on a woman by her close friends, usually without the husband's knowledge. They retire to an uninhabited portion of the bush, where her assistant ties her arms up to a tree. A second rope is tightly tied about her waist and her belly is then



rubbed, kneaded, and struck in a downward motion until she aborts. The aborted foetus is gathered up in leaves and stuck high up in the tree. There is no ceremony nor does she ever return to the tree. Infanticide is most usually performed simply through abandonment. The unwanted child is deposited in the bush, far from any habitation, and is left there to die. In the case of twins, both are abandoned.

As a woman's pregnancy advances, she requires assistance in the execution of her normal gardening and pig-tending duties. While her husband may help her at this time, it is more common for a good friend, a sister, or her mother to provide the necessary assistance. When the birth of the child is imminent, the woman retires to the back sleeping section of her woman's house and bars the door. Her female helpers pass food to her through a small opening in the door. The giving of birth itself is unassisted. The mother reclines on a pandanus sleeping mat and delivers herself of the child. The afterbirth and umbilical cord are collected in a leaf package and are disposed of later. The baby is immediately offered the breast unless the mother has not commenced lactating, in which case water is given to the baby.

The baby is not named until the mother judges whether it will survive. If the baby takes to the breast and begins to fill out it reaches the stage of "strong skin", Ngoave kondon, at which point the mother announces that the baby is ready to be named. If it is a female child, then female relatives, sis-

ters and mother, will go to their gardens or to the bush and capture a rat, a distinctively female endeavor. The rat is brought back to the new mother's house and a tena is constructed and tied outside of the house to one side of the entrance. The rat is cooked and the head presented to the mother who then announces the child's name.

If the child is a male, then it is the husband's responsibility to shoot a game bird and bring it to the house where a similar tena is built, except that a small replica of a bow and a bird arrow is tied on top of it. The bird is cooked in the tena, a portion is given by the husband to his wife, and the men consume the rest of the bird. At this time, the husband will announce a name for the child.

At some unspecified point in time between naming and that period when the infant begins to show visible signs of being aware of other people, of grasping and smiling, the infant acquires an inner spirit, his 'soul', min, which enters through the soft region of the fontanelle, mbkmbk. Should the child die prior to naming, or be stillborn, then it is regarded as having had no inner spirit. In this case, the baby and the afterbirth package are unceremoniously deposited in the crotch of a bush tree (not a regular cemetery) by the child's mother. In either event, whether the child lives or dies, the afterbirth package will be disposed of in this manner.

Babyhood, omba. By this time, the mother is strong enough to return to her work. The infant is carried in a net carrying

bag on the mother's back, and when it cries it is fed. While working in the garden, the child is left in the net bag, which is suspended from a tree or pole to keep it above the ground. The soft leaves underneath the child are changed as they become soiled. Babies are fussed over by the women, though the men tend to ignore them as much as possible. The male pride in the new addition to the family is mitigated by the disruption the infant causes; what with squealing pigs, crying babies, and the stench of pig and human excreta, it is no wonder that the men prefer their own houses. They say that women's houses stink and are noisy and that a working man must have his sleep.

Until the child is accomplished at walking, the husband's interest is negligible. Effective child training does not commence until the infant begins to walk. Prior to this time, what are regarded as unreasonable demands on the part of the infant, such as loud wailing in the middle of the night, are met in like kind; the child will be shouted at in return but, at this age, will probably not be struck. In fact, growing children are not supposed to be struck for any reason, since it is thought that the child's spirit will be angered and retaliate by making the child sick or by causing it to die. An angered soul can cause a child's death by simply abandoning the child and escaping through the fontanelle. When a child becomes ill, it is automatically assumed, unless there is contrary evidence in the form of threats from other persons, that the child's mother has either committed adultery or has beaten the child.

As the child gets larger, he may be carried on his mother's shoulders or astride his mother's hip. When he eliminates, he is simply held away and then wiped off with the ever-present leaves. No effort in toilet training the child is made until he begins to walk. When he does begin to get about on his own, there are three first lessons he must learn at home. First, keep out of the way of the pigs; second, stay out of the fire; and, third, don't defecate in the house. He is browbeaten into behaving properly by being shouted at and pulled and pushed about. When he cries at this treatment, he is shouted at more and told not to behave like a baby. When he cries for no apparent reason, the child will either be totally ignored or yelled at and pushed away.

On many occasions, small children are deliberately made to cry by being spoken to loudly and are then rebuked for their childish behavior. Non-family members encourage the small children to throw stones at their own parents as a form of humor. When they do so, their parents scold them in a loud voice and say that they will not be fed if they persist in this behavior. This usually makes the infant cry again, whereupon the child is told to shut up and to quit behaving like a baby.

Small children are told that they must not wander away from their parents or from the house because the bushes are full of wild cannibals who will capture them and eat them. As the child gets a little older, 3-4 years or so, there may come occasions when he will be left home alone while the mother goes

to the garden. When this happens, the husband, or a designated accomplice, will sometimes dress up in leaves and mud, don a gourd mask, ndulumbenjaga, and set out to terrify the child.

Early child training is a bimodal push-and-pull affair. Children are told that if their behavior is unacceptable no one will feed them. On the other hand, no one else but their parents will feed them, and if they should run away or be captured, their fate is obvious, they will become food for the cannibals. Thus, a child seems to acquire parents by a sort of psychological default; a set of individuals to whom the child is greatly indebted for his current existence and continued survival. By the time the child is 7-8 years old he is quite well disciplined and his sense of responsibility, nomani, in terms of expected behavior toward his parents is rapidly developing.

Childhood, omba ndala. There are no ceremonies which would serve to set off an individual moving from one of these categories to another. The transition is a function of many variables, but includes primarily age and sense of responsibility. By the time a child is 7-8, it is expected that he will begin to be of some assistance to his parents. It is only through assisting them that he will acquire the skills necessary for the ultimate management of his own subsistence activities.

Prior to this time, young boys and girls have both slept in their mother's house. Now the father begins taking his son

with him on short excursions, and, in the evenings, the boy may eat with his father in the men's house and perhaps remain there through the night.

As he grows older and more adept at the work of men, he will spend more and more time with his father and less with his mother. He accompanies his father to the gardens and assists him in clearing land and in building fences. He helps his father build new houses when they are needed and he hunts with him. By the time he is 12-14, his father will give him a piglet, which his mother will care for. He may also be assigned a portion of the garden in which to grow sweet potatoes to feed his pig.

Young girls are often recruited as baby-sitters for their younger siblings. They will also accompany their mothers to the gardens, assisting in planting, weeding, and harvesting. They learn how to make the string which is used in the complicated netting technique and other women's activities. Their fathers or brothers will apportion segments of the garden to them and they will be expected to care for them properly.

Incompetence at this stage is met with outright laughter, teasing, shouting, or physical punishment. One day I took a stroll from my house with the usual accompanying gaggle of 10-12 year olds, and as we approached Kula, a young girl, sitting by the side of the path, we noticed that she hurriedly put her hands behind her back. When it turned out that she was hiding a net bag that she was in the process of unravelling, everyone

began laughing and pointing at the evidence, saying that if she didn't know how to net things properly how could she ever expect to get married.

All of a child's time is not spent in industrious activities. Quite frequently the children are left to their own devices. Boys and girls do not play together now, but form their own cliques. This clique formation occurs prior to entering the next stage which is signaled by puberty.

Young adults, yua kovuŋgaŋA, ana mot. There are no puberty ceremonies for either boys or girls. At the onset of the menses, a young girl, ana mot, i.e. marriageable woman, is told by her mother how to take care of herself. There are no menstrual houses. During menstruation the girl or woman simply makes herself unavailable for coitus by avoiding men and keeping to the society of women. Leaves that have been used to absorb the menstrual flow are put up in trees in the bush where they are inaccessible to pigs and dogs, who would become sick if they should eat them. Menstrual blood is greatly abhorred, and the worst insult a person can utter is to accuse a man of eating his mother's menstrual blood.

At about the time a young girl's breasts begin to develop, disciplinary control exercised by her mother sharply wanes. The young girl increasingly associates with her female peers (Plate 8). Her focus in life at this point is the kananta, a courtship enterprise variously termed in Neo-Melanesian as Karim lek, tanim het or, kukim nus. As a prepubescent girl



PLATE 8

A CLIQUE OF YOUNG GIRLS, THEIR FACES DECORATED WITH TALCUM POWDER.



she has been to many of these courtship sessions, accompanying her older sisters and learning to sing the courtship songs, but otherwise not participating. Courtship is initiated by the girl, who either sends word or speaks directly to the young man of her choice. The young man can only strive to do his best to appear attractive. He greases his skin and wears some of his fancy decorations. Most of these individual dates result from the more formal kananta conducted at night. In this ceremony a group of girls, all members of the same exogamous unit, will collectively invite the young men from some other exogamous unit to come to the girl's village for a courtship session. This may be held in either a men's or woman's house, though the former is preferred. The young men arrive en masse at about dusk or a bit later and proceed to the house where the courtship ceremony is to occur.

In the house, the girls sit cross-legged with their backs to the wall and the men, two to a girl, sit cross-legged facing her, each positioned off the point of one of her knees. A man will begin singing the verse portion of a song and is joined in a standardized chorus by the rest of the people present. The songs are usually two verses long and are thereafter repeated. Several of these songs are sung during the evening and the singing continues until daybreak. The songs are sung in a nasalized falsetto, and as the men sing they gently sway toward and then away from their joint partners. Girls may or may not sing; they may simply gaze unconcernedly into the dim

burning sticks of the fire, smoke cigarettes, nibble on some item of food, or carry on a jocular repartee with each other.

As the night progresses, however, a girl's participation becomes more intense. She has surveyed the available men and perhaps made a choice, or perhaps she wishes to play off one man against another. She sings now, and as a 'round' concludes she sways, back and forth, toward one then the other of her partners (or she may ignore one altogether) and as the song terminates she may choose to 'cook nose' with one of them. This involves the girl's pressing her forehead against the forehead of a boy so that as they rotate their heads, her nose and his nose are mashed together (Plate 19). Mihalic claims that orgasm is frequently achieved in this fashion (1957: 56), though I was personally never able to confirm this. A good nose, not too broad or too narrow, is a mark of great beauty. To be told that someone's nose is no good is to be told that there goes a very ugly person.

After several rounds have been sung, there may be a general changing of partners. The group breaks up, some go outdoors where it is not so hot and smoky for a breather and perhaps to sneak off to the bush toilet. When they reassemble in the house the men may line up with different girls, though there is no orderly progressive changing of partners. In the early morning hours, when the younger non-participating girls have either left or fallen "asleep" in some corner, and as the firelight gets weaker and weaker, the daring male may fondle a breast



## PLATE 9

THE KANANTA, A COURTSHIP EVENT.  
NOTE THE BELTS WORN UNDER THE  
BREASTS WHICH ARE BELIEVED TO  
PREVENT PREGNANCY.

or two and the girl may solicit greater intimacies (to be consummated in the bush later on) by surreptitiously reaching under the man's net covering and grasping his penis. The local wag-gish boys maintained that Nimbutsa's pendulous left breast (in contrast to her firm uplifted right breast) was due to her boy friend's penchant for always sitting on her left side.

It is largely at these evening courtships that a girl will make arrangements for a young man to meet her somewhere the next day, or week, for daytime courting, which is a bit different in style. The boy and girl sit side by side with both of her legs over one of his and his other leg over both of hers. They will joke and talk and perhaps sing songs softly to themselves. Sometimes the boy is so irresistibly handsome that the girl persuades him to take her away, in effect, to marry her. Sometimes the boy makes elaborate promises of huge bride prices, never-ending pork banquets, and most influentially, the promise of one of his "sisters" for her "brothers" to marry. While a girl is generally encouraged to have as many suitors as possible, her showing too great an interest in any one man may upset the plans of marriage made for her by her kinsmen.

The young man's role in courtship is largely dependent upon his attractiveness to girls. Short and ugly men are not desired by the girls. The converse is not necessarily true, however, for some men prefer short stocky wives, maintaining that the durability and stamina of these women is greater than that of taller girls, and that their breasts do not begin to

sag so early. Participation in courtship events is not limited to single men. Many young married men also continue to engage in them. However, should their wives discover that they are doing so, or even contemplating acquisition of an additional wife, they become quite angry. While there is no such thing as a woman who never marries, bachelorhood among men is not uncommon.

Men and Women, yua, ana. Being married and settled to raising one's own family marks the transition to the status of "man", yua, and "woman", ana. The status of bachelor is signified by the term prankA which literally means "without descendants". As indicated, courtship is one of the principal means whereby a man may acquire a wife, ana li ("to take a woman"), and a woman a husband, yua pi ("to go to a man"). During these courtship sessions, a girl, impressed by the attractiveness of a young man and perhaps swayed by his extravagant promises, may herself propose that they depart at that time for his home, or she may arrange to meet him somewhere on the morrow, at which time she promises she will go with him to his home. This is not as simple a transaction as it sounds, because all courtship sessions in houses are chaperoned by members of the girl's own exogamous unit who are quick to forestall elopements because marriageable girls represent a capital asset. Should the young couple be successful in their getaway, the man will take the girl home to the house of his own mother or to the wife of an influential man from whom he can expect support,

or he may escort her to his patron's men's house.

Since it is the woman's contributions, in terms of the produce of her labors, which will ultimately determine the prestige of her husband, the importance of being married cannot be overstressed. Courtship is only one of several methods through which a man may acquire a wife, and it is certainly the most hazardous way. Not only are financial arrangements by the groom's kinsmen with his potential affinal kinsmen never conducted until after the elopement, but he also runs the risk of getting shot while running away with the girl. When it is discovered that a young girl is missing, her immediate kinsmen quickly grab their weapons and set out in pursuit. Should they locate the errant couple before they get to his residential area, the young man will most probably bolt off into the bush, abandoning his almost-wife to her own relatives. On the other hand, should the young man succeed in getting her home, a day may elapse before her patrilineal kinsmen appear in a body in that village. The kinsmen's primary problem is to find where the girl is being hidden. Given the number of houses and the dispersal of the population on the land, it would seem that her kinsmen might never locate the proper house. But this is not the case because there will inevitably be affinal connections of some sort already established. A previous marriage between the groups serves as an effective communication leak. When her kinsmen have learned where the young girl is being kept they will proceed to that house. Their purpose is to retrieve the

girl. At first they plead with her, saying that her actions have caused much trouble and that her parents are quite distraught over her behavior. If they are unable to persuade her to go back home willingly, her kinsmen may attempt to pull her out of the house bodily, provided they are able to gain entrance at all. This, however, usually precipitates violence and, occasionally, people are killed. On the other hand, successful negotiation may result between the girl's and boy's kinsmen and the union is thereby sanctioned.

The severity or intensity of these re-claiming activities are largely dependent upon what sort of alternate marital arrangements have already been made by the girl's kinsmen in contrast to the potential utility of a marriage based on the de facto situation. Sometimes, at birth, the right of ultimate disposition of the girl in marriage is sold. This contract is made between two otherwise consanguinally unrelated persons. It is the purchaser's obligation at the time of the initiation of the contract to pay the seller at least one piglet (female) and a goldlip shell, kina, or two. Over the years, as the girl matures, the conscientious purchaser is expected to continue to make small presentations to the seller, and when the girl is mature she is then transferred to the purchaser. The seller, in this sort of arrangement, has not excluded himself totally from sharing in the ultimate bride price, but his share will be a minor portion. Kula has been sold by Tolingen to Kwiaga in this fashion. Thus, a man can be presented with a wife who has

been partially pre-paid. The new husband still owes a bride price, but it is to the purchaser in the original contract.

Another form of wife acquisition is through sister-exchange. In this instance, two unrelated men, each having a sister, exchange them with each other and thereby both acquire wives. The significance of bride price in terms of the transfer of wealth in plumes and shells for certain rights is highlighted by the fact that in marriages effected through sister-exchange, no such transfer of wealth occurs. The arrangement for this sort of marriage may be made by either the girl's brother or other, more senior, male kinsman.

A wife may also be acquired by a man's patrilineal kinsman's conforming to the marriage prescription which states that a man's first (eldest) daughter must be given to his own mother's brother's son's son. Thus a man may acquire his FFSsd.

Sometimes these various forms of wife acquisition come into conflict. A good example of this is the case of KoNa's elopement. At the conclusion of a courtship session at Konyif (Map IV), KoNa agreed to accompany NA-26 Kombk of Kulaka clan-moiety back to his residential area. Kombk brought KoNa to Kwiop and she was installed in the back of PE-21 Wabi's men's house (Map V no. 14). This occurred at about 5:00 A.M. Promptly at 6:00 A.M. a group of men of the Timbaga clan-moiety came and attempted to remove KoNa by force, but were unsuccessful, though both MB-66 Wura and EH-5 Kombla of Kulaka received minor knife wounds in the ensuing scuffle. At 9:00 A.M., KoNa's



mother, Kum, and her father, Kome, arrived accompanied by several of Kome's male kinsmen; his "brothers" and "sons". They entreated Wabi to relinquish the girl, suggesting that she be decorated with plumes and shells and have her skin greased with pig fat and returned thus to her parents. This is a custom which is practiced further upriver and around Minj (Reay 1959: 177), but is not an intra-Manga practice, though it is occasionally observed between the Manga and the Kamam, the people of Bubgile. On this occasion, Wabi stated that he was unable to follow this custom, since the girl has expressed a desire to remain with Kulaka and to be the wife of Kombk and, furthermore, she arrived during the night time, not daytime, which negates the possibility of decorating, greasing, and returning her. Kome reminded his daughter that she has already been promised to the Moluma-Nimbuga, just as her younger sister has been promised to the Okona at Koriom. Luluai Wabi, however, recalled that when KoNa was a little girl, her mother, Kum, accepted payment from NA-11 Kent, Wabi's classificatory brother. Kum maintained that the pig and cassowary given by Kent were consumed by other women who are now all deceased and that she herself did not eat any of the food. Non-commensality means non-acceptance and therefore the obligation to give KoNa to Kent, so far as Kum was concerned, was based on an invalid contract.

Kum also protested on the grounds that KoNa was still a mere child (which she obviously was not) and therefore not old

enough to get married. Kent, an old and childless man, arrived a bit later, having just heard that KoNa had come to the village. He verified Wabi's account and added that though he knew her father had also promised KoNa to the Nimbuga, he had said nothing, but now that she had come and had expressed a desire to remain, he promised to arrange an exchange girl. Kome, of course, refused, because in order to accept Kent's proposal, and in order to accept as valid Kent's prepurchase contract, he must violate the prescriptive marriage rule. His own mother was a Nimbuga and should he do this, his mother's spirit will make him sick and kill him.

Knowing this, it is not considered surprising that in the midst of Kome's entreaties to his daughter, he suddenly stated, "I don't feel well. I've got a headache and my skin is hot-- something is making me sick." And with this he left, moving slowly and somewhat uneasily as befitted a sick man.

The entire party of KoNa's patrilineal kinsmen departed shortly thereafter and retired to the Government Rest house clearing, which is located on their own land. Kome's first wife Kum, and his second, Ndre, along with others' wives, began berating their menfolk for their lack of positive action. They say that if the men can't (or won't) go and pull that girl (KoNa) out of Wabi's house then they, the women, will do it. The men tell them to shut up and go to the gardens where they belong and besides, they added, "We tried that this morning and it didn't work too well."

After about an hour's worth of arguing the case amongst themselves, the group returned to Wabi's house and recommenced their persuasive efforts, but it shortly began to rain and they left. When the rain had ended they came back again and resumed their efforts. Each side proffered evidence which supported its own position. KoNa maintained that her prospective Nimbuga groom was an active ally of the Yuomban in their war against the Manga and is therefore as much an enemy to be feared as the Yuomban themselves. Kent added that a few weeks prior to this case, two girls of the KulakaeNgeyka clan, AL-31 Njeo and Nguni, ran away in the night to men of the Timbamaruwaga clan, and though one of them has now returned, the other is still there. (The implication here being that KoNa's arrival now constitutes a completed "sister" exchange transaction.)

It began to rain again and the court dispersed. The rain continued during the next day, and it was not until the third day that activity picked up again. Kum arrived early in the morning and told KoNa (who was still in Wabi's house) to come with her. Kum warned KoNa that though KoNa has no brothers who are old enough to come and get her, her father is on his way with his axe, and with that Kum left. About 10:30 A.M. Kome arrived accompanied by Wotai, Koli, another Wabi, and AL-4 Klua. Much the same argument was reiterated except that more details were injected. Kent annotated the items he had given for KoNa: a piglet, a cassowary, a single packet of salt, and one goldlip shell. He then left, reiterating his willingness

to arrange as exchange one of Kombk's sisters.

Koli, one of the major protagonists for the Timbaga clan-moiety position in this case, yelled to KoNa that by persisting in this behavior she was killing her father, and then he began insulting the KulakaeNgeyka men in the hope of getting those who were guarding KoNa to come out of Wabi's house, but the ploy was unsuccessful. Then Kum, Kome and Koli rushed into the house and grabbed KoNa, who in turn held fast to the post supporting the center beam of the house and began kicking and screaming. Koli quit the house and raced to get his axe which he had left outside. Returning with an axe in each hand, he was disarmed by the KulakaeNgeyka men. whereupon he tried to get someone to loan him an axe. He appealed to his cross-cousins, now calling them "brother" rather than "cousin". He succeeded in obtaining another axe and raced back into the house where Kum and Kome were hanging on to one of KoNa's arms. Her legs were wrapped around the post, and EM-54 Tsapinde was holding her back by the remaining arm. A major tug of war began. KoNa screamed and shouted, her parents yelled, Koli was being disarmed again at the door, Wotai charged the house, but both he and Koli were forcibly ejected--and at this precise moment NA-43 Wando (Kulaka sub-clan; a man renowned for his warfare and sorcery achievements), who has been standing on the perimeter sharpening a bamboo bladed arrow (of the type used to kill pigs), turns to all of the women spectators who are just sitting about on the ground, and loudly tells them that they are not supposed

to be here--that this is the work of men and that they, the women, are simply cluttering up the premises with their presence. He says that they should be off in the gardens gathering food for the evening meal.

While this tirade had no immediate effect on the women in terms of inspiring them to pursue their proper duties, it does serve well to direct the attention of the men, first, to Wando sharpening his arrow (he killed a man at one of these courts several years ago), and secondly, away from their own immediate concerns. Wando had effectively withdrawn the fire from beneath the simmering pot. At 1:15 P.M. it began to rain again and everybody left--the women, huddled under their rain shields, scurried off to the gardens close by and quickly returned with food for the evening meal.

Early the next morning, Kome came again and entreated KoNa to return home with him. She refused and he left. Later, her mother arrived in company with Nawa, the wife of Koli, and said that Kome is now very ill and thus unable to come with her, so she has come by herself. She stated that KoNa must do what her father has told her to do, that they were not really mad at her and reminded her that they have always provided her with food and a good home. KoNa replied that on many occasions her father had been cross with her and, further, that her own mother, Kum, had lied to her repeatedly, telling her that when she grew up she could marry whomever she wished, and now that she wished to marry Kombk, no one would permit it. Nawa said to KoNa, "I have

fixed bananas, come and eat with us, your parents are old and need you." But KoNa said that she would not come. Her mother and Nawa departed saying that Kome is ill, that they must go and care for him and will return when he is feeling better.

In the afternoon, about 2:30, Kome returned with Ngaunts (a Wamgaga sub-clan male) only to learn that KoNa was no longer in Wabi's house. They were told that the men took her with them when they went to the gardens in search of a wild pig which had broken through the fence and destroyed a portion of the garden crops. They left in a disgruntled state. Though they did not know it, KoNa was not away with the men, but had simply been quietly transferred to Wando's wife's house down the hill (Map V, No. 21). This was on a Friday.

On Saturday, word was sent to the Nimbuga and three Nimbuga men with two of their wives arrived at Kwiop the following Tuesday. In the interim, unknown to Kome, Kent and Wando had decided to go ahead with greasing and decorating KoNa and returning her to her parents. Their grounds for this decision were simply that the whole thing had become a big mess of trouble; that in spite of having retained her in the face of two retrieval efforts by her father and his assistants, no amicable alternative to her return has been found. Her father had remained adamant in his crusade, and his constant efforts mean that members of the Timbamaruwaga clan will continue to come tromping through their village--which is regarded as highly undesirable.

Monday morning, however, before Wando's and Kent's plan was put into effect, Kome, Koli, Tultul Ngarin and several additional men again arrived in the village and headed straight for Wando's wife's house. KoNa was outside the house cooking, and when she saw them coming down the track she bolted off into the bush and was quickly lost from sight. She was not pursued and the potential abductors returned to their own village.

In the afternoon of the same day, Kome, accompanied by Apunga and Kuru of Kobungeyka sub-clan, plus eight women including Kome's two wives, came again to the village of Kwiop. Kome chose a clear spot on the ceremonial ground and there laid out four sets of tail plumes of the bird, kambaN, Paradisea raggiana, one goldlip shell, and one maindma forehead shell decoration. He then again requested of Wando and Kent that his daughter KoNa be returned to him.

Wando told Kome not to bother, that he and Kent had decided to grease and decorate her and give her back, but Kome protested on the grounds that KoNa did indeed come to Kulaka during the night time and her return in that manner is therefore unacceptable. Further, Kome added, this payment is composed of two shells for Kent and four plumes for Wando. Kome reasoned that if he could get Kent to accept this, then he would successfully forestall any future claims on KoNa based on Kent's original payment to her mother, Kum. Further, should Kome be receptive to Wando's insistence on violating a custom, then that too would further obligate Kome.

At this point, Apunga chimed in with a homily to the effect that, 'when a pig is pregnant you aren't supposed to make distribution before the piglets are born', and that the same thing applies to crops you plant and girls you raise. This points up one of the many unresolved facets of the conflict; the Kulaka faction maintained that KoNa was a little girl at the time Kent made the original presentation, whereas Timbamaruwaga maintained that KoNa had not yet been born. Wando then said that the decision either to accept or reject Kome's offer was not his, and that they would have to wait for Kent to return from his garden where he had gone to investigate pig damage to his crops. After waiting a bit longer, Kome decided to leave and he gave the valuables to Wando so that Kent might accept the payment. However, during the night, Kome, Tultul Ngarin, Kum, Apunga, Okolu, Kolinga, Kuru, and Ndobiya stealthily hid themselves in the bush outside the house where KoNa was sleeping. When she came out to urinate they quickly grabbed her and ran back to their own village. When Kent discovered this, early in the morning, he immediately went to Kome, threw the valuables at his feet, and returned home.

KoNa was then carefully guarded by her patrilineal kinsmen. Even so, during her first night at home she successfully managed to slip away, but was recaptured very quickly and returned to her guardians. The next morning, Wednesday, Tultul Ngarin and Koli attempted to persuade KoNa to ask them for permission to marry into the Nimbuga clan. They told her that in



spite of her behavior they were still feeding her and looking out for her best interests. Ngarin pointed out that not only has the Timbaga clan-moiety already given four women to Kulaka clan-moiety, but further, that one of these was given to NA-28 Kinjan, Kombk's elder brother, and KoNa should have known that it is not particularly good for brothers to marry sisters. Also, Ngarin noted, prior to this time he could not have visited with the Nimbuga, nor could he have stopped there for something to eat while on his way to somewhere else, because he had no "sisters" or "daughters" there who could feed him. KoNa remained silent. Several other women, also present, were talking among themselves about how it was when they got married, how they had tried to run away, how they, too, were pulled about until they thought their arms would fall off, etc.

The sun was well up in the sky by that time, and the morning dew had dried off the grass. "It is time," said her mother, Kum, "to grease KoNa's skin with pandanus oil and to decorate her with shells and beads so that we may give her to the Nimbuga." KoNa became quite distressed, went as far to the rear of the house as was possible and began crying. Kome admonished his wife, Kum, for setting her off again and Ngarin yelled at the other women who were talking outside to shut up, since they were a bad example for KoNa.

Kuru and Apunga entered the house and pulled KoNa to the front floor post. She refused to get up and laid on the ground kicking, screaming and crying. They entreated KoNa to rise and

get decorated, but she didn't, so Kuru and Apunga twisted her arms and began dragging her bodily, bumpety-bump, down the trail to Parim's house, where the three Nimbuga men stood waiting--a distance of about thirty yards. KoNa struggled to her feet and fought back, twisted and turned and dragged her legs, leapt for the bush at the side of the trail, but Kuru and Apunga were too strong for her. Wotai helped them to subdue her. KoNa's mother followed behind with the bamboo tube of pandanus oil, trying to get some of it smeared on her struggling daughter. Ngarin, Koli, Kome and the women followed and when the party reached Parim's house, Ngarin said to the three Nimbuga men, "This 'pig' is not a wild 'pig', it is a 'pig' that belongs to me. Now we are going to take this 'pig' to your village and leave it there, but should it run away, then it is your job to find it; personally, I'm going back to my own house, since I am expecting some visitors today who are going to open negotiations on a sister-exchange contract; so as you see I am busy and have other things to do."

And with this, the party of Nimbuga and KoNa with her three guards and her mother left for the Nimbuga village. KoNa was not struggling any more--but then she was not talking either. The Nimbuga men had decided that they would wait to grease and decorate her until just before they entered the Nimbuga village. But KoNa's efforts to avoid the marriage were not complete. While they were crossing the suspension bridge over the Jimi River, she made a mighty leap for the pounding rapids and was

barely caught in time to be saved from a certain suicidal death. Now guarded more closely, the group finally succeeded in bringing her to the Nimbuga village.

In actual fact, the marriage did not take place as planned by her kinsmen, but this was due to intervention by the Administration. In normal circumstances, she would have been housed with her prospective husband's female kinsmen in the village until she had settled down. Until it is evident that her adjustment to her new village is satisfactory, her husband would not have sexual relations with her. After a few months, he would build her a house of her own, he would prepare garden land for her to plant, and he would give her some piglets to rear. However, if she should persist in running away, there would be a good chance that she would only earn herself more trouble.

EK-17 Wan told me of a similar case involving adherence to the marriage rule with the Yuomban which occurred several years ago. When the time came for the ENgeyka girl to be given to the Yuomban, her agnatic kinsmen greased and decorated her and took her there. A few days passed and suddenly she appeared at her natal home. So they returned her to the Yuomban, and she ran away again. After this had happened the third time, her own village kinsmen killed her, cut off her head, and took that to the Yuomban who, along with some valuables, accepted this as fulfillment of the obligation.

As these cases illustrate, young girls seldom have any

real choice about their initial marital partners, in spite of the permissive atmosphere of the courtship ceremonies. The examples also illustrate the double role of a young man. Not only is he actively engaged in courtship for the purpose of obtaining a wife, but he must also be continually watchful of his sisters, safeguarding what are ultimately his own interests.

For the young man commensurate in age with his sisters, these are not usually problems. First, boys enter the courtship period at a more advanced age than do girls. Secondly, though they may be highly regarded as husband material by the girls, many young men seriously avoid this potentially enduring form of attachment for two primary reasons. First, they do not wish to work that hard at the traditional tasks of a husband, and secondly, the voracious sexual appetites of young girls are believed to be physically debilitating to young men.

Insofar as courtship is concerned, the wealth of the individual males is of little consideration. The boys can and do lie endlessly to the girls. At this stage, their physical attractiveness to the young ladies is the dominant focus of courtship. As the boys get older, however, pressures are put on them to get married. By the time they are twenty years old or so, they no longer resist the hardships of marriage.

The KoNa case also illustrates the nature of antagonisms which can develop between mothers and daughters, a major point in Reay's work (1959). Not only may the mother have made private transactions for the ultimate disposal of her daughter

in marriage, thus transgressing the realm of male decisions, but she is also bitter about the loss of her gardening assistant. As the young girl begins spending more and more of her own time with her peers in courtship activities, her mother berates her more frequently for her failure to help with the gardening and pig rearing. Violent stick fights often ensue, with the usual result that the daughter runs away to her mother's brother. This causes a great deal of trouble for her own family, since they must now make a special trip in order to persuade her to come home.

With the high frequency sexual intercourse that goes on during this pre-marriage period, it is surprising that there is not a high degree of illegitimacy. Two factors mitigate this. First, girls do not conceive as readily at this age as they will a few years hence; and second, should they become pregnant in spite of the first factor, they are quickly rushed into marriage. As may be expected from the foregoing discussion on pregnancy, paternity is assigned to the male who has had the most frequent sexual relations with the girl. For example, NA-24 Ndikai, of the KulataeNgeyka clan, courted Kopi, a girl of the Timbamaruweja clan, for several months, but then lost interest in her and became enamoured of her classificatory sister, Wura. Wura ran away to Ndikai in the middle of the night. In the subsequent court proceedings Wura's father invoked the prescriptive marriage rule as justification for non-occurrence of a marriage with Wura, and Kopi's brothers angrily produced Kopi,

who by this time was obviously about seven months pregnant. This was sufficient to have Wura withdrawn as a potential bride and to force Ndikai into paying the kon kunoN wordndo payment (see below) immediately and accepting Kopi as his wife.

In those cases where a marriage arrangement has been satisfactorily concluded, the groom will collect and pay to the bride's parents the payment mentioned above, kon kunoN wordndo ("having lost the net carrying bag and sleeping mat"), meaning that she arrives at the groom's without these articles. This is a small payment consisting of a single pig, three to five goldlip shells and perhaps a steel axe or a couple of bush knives. It is usually effected a few days after the arrival of the bride. The bride price proper, ana kolAma, ought to be paid immediately. All of my informants agreed on this. In fact, however, this is never done, and the time interval between co-residence of the wife with the husband and the actual payment is about seven years, by which time there are usually two live children with the youngest past weaning.

The first years of a successfully contracted marriage are busy years for both husband and wife, for now the husband must seriously engage in those sorts of activities through which he can accumulate his own bride-price. He relies upon four sources: his own prowess in hunting and success in trading the products thereof, bride-prices paid to him for his sisters, contributions (loans or repayments of his own loans) from his kinsmen, and the pig-rearing abilities of his wife. During this period the

couple may decide to restrict their own frequency of coitus, since a pregnant wife and a small baby to care for constitute liabilities rather than assets. Not only does the infant cut into the activities of the wife, but its continuing existence puts additional pressure on the husband to accumulate the bride price. Instances of infanticide and abortion are said to be more commonly confined to this period than any other. However, there is a greater chance of survival for the infant if it is female, though there is a division of opinion on this point. When the eldest child is a female, the economic position of the nuclear family is greatly insured. Although it is this child who is subject to the prescriptive marriage rule, the rule may be circumvented by her father. He may simply gamble on the possibility that his matri-kinsmen will not survive the next fifteen years or so and will therefore be unable to exercise their rights, a not uncommon occurrence given the prevalence of pre-contact warfare; or, he may negotiate with them to accept a younger daughter, a course which is sometimes acceptable to his matri-kinsmen; or, he may follow the most certain method, which for him is to "buy his mother". In this last, he makes a payment to his matri-kinsmen, ostensibly for his mother, but actually he is purchasing the right to dispose of his eldest daughter as he wishes. This is a difficult enterprise and veritably impossible if he has already had a daughter born to him. Therefore, when such payments are made they are effected in full prior to the birth of any children. Such transactions

are not too common since they pre-suppose the possession of a measure of wealth which is not usually available to him at that time. Further, his own wife is usually against this practice, since she sees the wealth which could have been her own bride-price disappearing.

There is a tremendous amount of pressure brought to bear upon a husband by his wife to pay her bride-price. Until paid, she may take offense easily at any of his actions, particularly if he strikes her, and return to her patri-kinsmen. With the exception of cases of marriage through sister-exchange, or on the pre-purchase plan, the runaway wife is always supported by her male relatives. Once paid for, however, this avenue of wifely retribution is closed, and should she seek refuge with her patri-kinsmen she will undoubtedly be returned to her proper husband.

Thus, as the husband collects units of wealth, he turns most of them over to his wife, who retains them in her own house. She therefore has an accurate gauge of the intensity, and the success or failure, of her husband's enterprises. In this state of uncertainty as to the temporal durability of a marriage, the husband engages in what I would call insuring activities. Since he has little assurance that his wife will remain with him, it seems wise to him to have more than one wife, and he therefore continues courtship activities, now forbidden to his wife.

Wives, however, take a very dim view of polygyny. Consider these cases for example. EM-52 Amgoi told his newly acquired



wife, EM-52-W Kum, that he wished her to prepare some extra food for him on the next day, since he was planning to go courting at another village. She refused his order and a domestic crisis evolved in which she maintained that he was ugly and therefore no one would want to court him and that he was neglecting his responsibilities toward her parents by not spending all of his time working toward the accumulation of her bride price. He accused her, in turn, by maintaining that his efforts were of little avail if she could not care for pigs properly and, further, that no one wants a woman who neglects her primary responsibility, feeding her husband. In this instance, Amgoi left with no food and Kum refused to work in the garden for several days.

In another case, NA-43 Wando and EM-54 Tsapinde set out together early one morning several years ago for a courtship session with some Okona girls. Their wives laid in wait for them in the bush along the trail, not far from the men's house, and when their husbands came by they jumped out of the bush and set upon them with their digging sticks. The men, however, after suffering a few sharp blows, succeeded in disarming their wives, gave them a sound thrashing and sent them running and screaming back to the village; whereupon they proceeded on their way.

And as a last example, EM-61 Mon returned from a visit he had been paying to kinsmen, and he brought back with him a young marriageable cross-cousin of his own which he intended to

present to EM-15 Munda. Mon had returned in the middle of the afternoon, however, and there was almost no one in the village. Everyone was off in the gardens or otherwise pursuing his own work. Of course, he told those who were there that he had brought a new wife for Munda, not a mean achievement and one of which he could understandably be proud. Munda's wife, Horu, already paid for, arrived home before Munda and upon hearing this news showed no immediate reaction, but simply began preparing the evening meal. Munda arrived home with a load of firewood and a red pandanus fruit to cook with the greens. After it was cooked, while he was busy squeezing the red oil from the seeds into the wooden bowl, his wife, Moru, swiftly, and with a sudden shriek, attacked him from the rear with both a piece of firewood and a large rock. She clouted him on the right mastoid with the rock, which dazed him, and then began pummeling him with the stick, breaking the skin on his arms in several places, as he feebly tried to protect his head. But Munda regained his senses quickly and, with a shout, leaped toward Moru, who managed to elude him and raced off through the village with Munda in close pursuit. Unfortunately, as they passed MB-63 Taiya's house (Map V, no. 10), the latter's large dog, excited by the commotion, attacked Munda, ripping a three inch gash in his right thigh. This temporarily halted the pursuit, as Munda sat down to bind his leg and Taiya began counting out ten shillings as compensation to Munda for the offense. Mon left the next morning with the young girl and returned her to her

parents.

In spite of these obstacles, some men do succeed in concluding polygynous marriages, but even when they do, their troubles have just begun, for the wives tend to vie with each other in an effort to make the other wife leave or to make the husband lose interest in the opponent. They squabble and fight over who has the most pigs, the best shells, the choicest gardens, the better house, and other topics, ad nauseum. Only rarely do co-wives really become co-workers. Yet it is still in the husband's interest to practice polygyny, for his success and status and efforts to make a name for himself are directly linked to the establishment of as many "roads to affines" (kondAma), as he can. It is through these linkages that wealth and women travel. A man guards his "roads" jealously, and none of his brothers are permitted to use them on their own initiative, but must conduct whatever transactions they have in mind through the road owner.

In the period between effective co-residence of husband and wife and the actual payment of the bride price, there is considerable visiting between the husband and his wife's close patri-kin. Whenever the kinsman of a wife shows up in the village he ought to be treated with the utmost hospitality. He may stay for several days, and when he leaves, he should be given something to take with him; a supply of cooked food, perhaps a shell or several strips of marsupial fur, or some similar small item. These visits are reciprocal affairs, and so

in a few months the husband and his wife, with perhaps their one child, will travel to her village, where they will be accorded the same treatment. This visiting pattern is more intense before the bride price is paid. After that, a wife may not see her own patri-kinsmen for years at a time.

The payment of bride-prices occurs most frequently in conjunction with the time of the pig festival. Having spent several years attempting to accumulate enough wealth, the approach of a pig festival serves to stimulate the husband's activities. He now spends more time hunting and more time traveling and trading. When he has accumulated a major portion of the bride-price, he will inform his wife's patri-kinsmen of the approximate time at which he intends to make the payment, e.g. the next new moon (tagano kinja). About four days prior to the actual event, he will mark the precise day. The payment is made at the bride's village. Two days prior to the payment, usually in the late afternoon or evening, there is a display of the bride price to be paid, either at the men's house where the husband normally resides, or at his wife's house. Sleeping mats are laid out on the ground in front of the house and the valuables are tastefully arranged on them, with the feather plumes stuck in the ground around the edge of the mats.

Men have been giving the groom their contributions to the bride price all during the foregoing weeks, and this is now the last opportunity for additional contributions. When a man presents the groom with an item of wealth to be added to the bride

price, his wife, if present, or another involved female relative of the groom, will shriek joyfully and run up to the man, falling on the ground in front of him to hug his knees. The man must behave properly; he must appear unconcerned and rather bored, as if this sort of thing were a regular but tiresome event in his life. The husband accepts the addition to the bride price, making no comment as he does so.

In making the display, each item is slowly brought forth from storage in the house and placed on the mat. When the total amount has been laid out, the husband announces that he is finished. All the women begin shrieking again. When they have quite finished their emotional display and things have quieted down a bit, the valuables are put away. Then, on the day before the payment, the bride's brothers come to her husband's village and 'abduct' her. This is done with the full knowledge and consent of the husband, and his wife willingly returns to her own village with them.

She is taken back to the house of her mother and unmarried sisters, or to a brother's wife's house, and there she is confined in the rear of the house. She is heavily greased by her brother's wives. The fires in the house are built up so that the place becomes very, very hot. Many of her kinsmen come and stuff themselves into the house. Songs are sung concerning her attributes as a good wife and everyone perspires heavily in the heat, but the wife is not allowed to do anything for herself; the sweat is wiped from her face by a brother, she is fed by

hand and given water to drink, she may not speak to anyone or join in the singing or sleep. This is kept up all night, and in the morning her kinsmen begin decorating her.

Meanwhile, on the day of payment, her husband and his kinsmen have arisen early, killed the pigs and cooked them, prepared the koNgAminbA (previously described under food), decorated themselves and, at about ten or eleven in the morning, everyone involved departs for the wife's village. A hundred yards or so beyond the village the group stops to prepare the payment banner, yiko moNgoi poga. The valuables are tied to this banner and are carried into the village. Then the people arrange themselves in the proper dancing formation, with the spearmen at the head of the procession, the two parallel lines of men with drums following, the unmarried girls in the middle, and the bowmen at the rear. All commence chanting, "oooooooo" in unison, the drummers beat their drums and the whole procession dances into the village, carrying the payment banner in their midst, with the married women following at a discreet distance carrying the cooked pork.

There is no one there to meet them; in fact, the village looks deserted. If a stranger had passed by an hour earlier he would have thought everyone was off in the gardens. However, by the time the wife's patri-kinsmen have completely danced into the village, an answering "oooooooo" is heard from the groom's patri-kinsmen and they emerge from their house compound in a similar dancing arrangement. After the two

groups have circled each other for a while, they stop. The bride purchasing group sticks the banner in the ground (Plate 10) and spreads out sleeping mats on the ground in front of it. The cooked pigs are laid out on this. The women of the payment receiving group take their positions, seated, at the foot of the mats. Men of the payment giving group form a double line up to the mat from the banner, and additional items in the bride purchase price are then passed up this line; axes and knives and possibly additional shells for which there was no room on the banner. As each item is passed up, the leading man of the payment giving group announces what it is for:

mbule, ambaNma movie  
"Attention, this (axe) is for her spine"

mbule, ambaNma aNgle kora  
"Attention, this (axe) is for one of her arms."

mbule, ambaNma ndambe kora  
"Attention, this axe is for half her chest", etc.

Not only is the wife thus purchased literally piece by piece, but her children as well are paid for in this manner and at the same time. Though additional children born in later years should also be paid for, this is seldom done.

While this payment procedure is going on, a few men of the groom's group are feeding the seated women of the wife's group the koNgAminba (Plate 11). When the presentation of the valuables is complete and the women have been fed, two of the leading men then make speeches. There is a formal pattern to speech making quite similar to that described by Reay for Kuma



## PLATE 10

A BRIDE-PRICE PAYMENT BANNER IS BEING STUCK IN THE  
GROUND AT THE HEAD OF THE DISPLAYED SIDES OF PORK.  
PLUMES OF PARIDISEA RAGGIANA ENCIRCLE THE SHELL  
WEALTH.





PLATE II

FEEDING THE AFFINAL KINSMEN THE KONGAMINBA (A BLOOD, FAT, AND FERN PUDDING) DURING A BRIDE-PRICE PAYMENT.

rhetoric thumpers (1959: 118-119). Among the Manga, however, the speaker circles the display in a rapid walk, twirling his axe in one hand and carrying his spear or bow and arrows in the other. He is followed around and around by his second, who will make the next speech. The cadence is formal and each line ends with either kano (perceive), in which the terminal vowel is stretched to bring the statement into a uniform length with previous statements; or, if it should be inappropriate to end the phrase with kano, then a lengthy o or a is simply added on to the last utterance.

When the speeches are finished, there is loud shouting and yelling by all, and through the midst of this is again heard the preparatory low oooooooooooo of an approaching dance group. These are the men of the wife-giving group, who have reassembled and surrounded the wife and children who are being purchased. They again dance into the village clearing. Sleeping mats are set out by their women and laden with bag after bag of cooked vegetable goods, cooked pigs, and a smaller amount of wealth in the form of shells and plumes. Speeches are then made by the two leading men of the wife-giving group. While this set of speeches is made, men of this group feed their own koNgAminbA to the women of the wife purchasers. The wife and children are kept in the background, more or less hidden from the view of the wife purchasers.

When the speeches are finished, the wife is suddenly produced, the crowd screams and yells, and men (excluding her own

husband) from the purchasing unit rush forward and 're-capture' her as well as the children, carrying them bodily back to their own group (Plate 12). After this, there is more dancing and as evening nears, some participants may leave for home. Others remain and eat the food distributed to them by the leading men (Plate 13), and later on in the evening there is more singing and dancing as well as a courtship session. By noon of the following day, the festivities are completely broken up and all members of the bride purchasing group return home. Later that day, or perhaps the next, the payment which was received is distributed.

The ordering of events and degree of elaboration in the ceremonies is largely dependent upon the distance between the involved villages. Thus, the necessity of making a two day trip in advance to abduct the wife may be deferred, and she may not be taken at all, but simply greased and decorated by her patri-kin upon their arrival. Also, the performance or non-performance of many specific minor features will largely depend upon the place of origin of the wife. Thus, while rushing forward to re-capture the bride is traditional among the Manga, Okona, Kamam, Morokai and other phratries to the south and east, it is regarded as highly humorous by members of phratries further to the west, such as the Koatse at Kompiai and the Manamban at Kabeng (Map II, nos. 46 and 45).

Once this payment, the ana kolAma, has been made, the wife is considered fully the property of the purchasing group. Should



PLATE 12

AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE RECIPROCAL PAYMENTS IN A  
BRIDE-PRICE CEREMONY THE BRIDE IS RECLAIMED BY HER  
HUSBAND'S BROTHER.

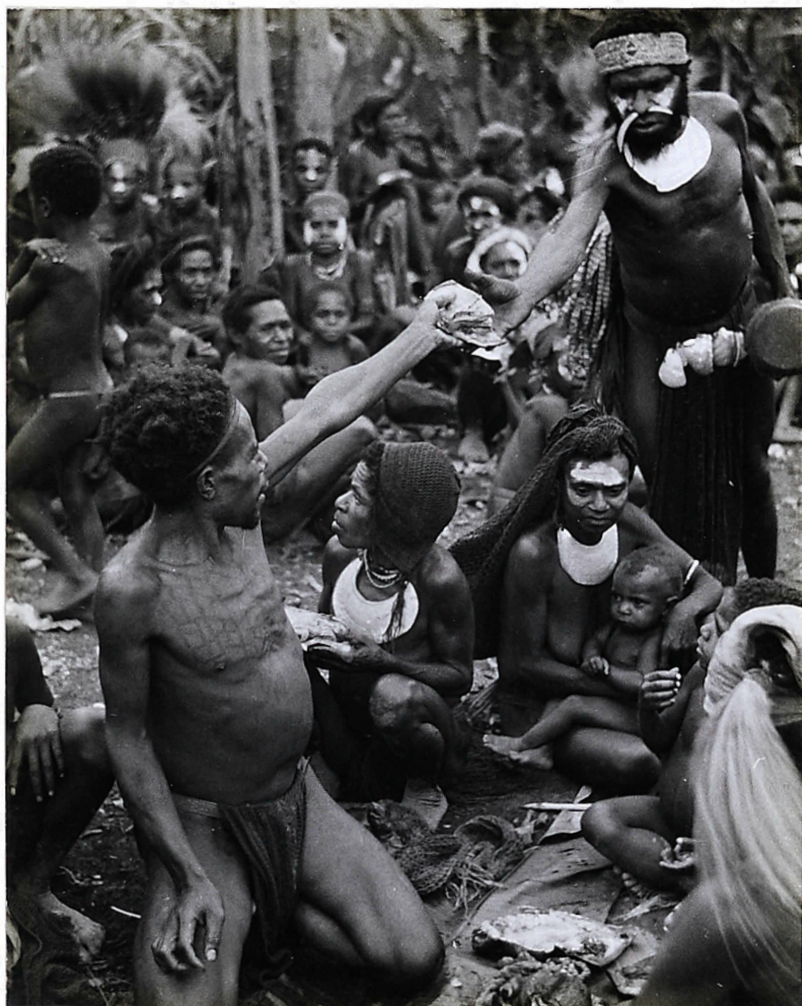


PLATE 13

DISTRIBUTING PORK AT THE CONCLUSION OF A BRIDE-PRICE  
CEREMONY.

her husband die now, the rights to her disposal in future marriages are retained by her husband's brothers. The children remain members of their father's clan. If, however, the husband should die prior to making the bride purchase payment, the wife may take the option of returning to her original home where her father or brothers may again dispose of her in their best interests. In these latter cases, however, a "brother" of the deceased may be acceptable to her and to her father or brothers, in which case, the new husband presents her parents with a small presentation of wealth and assumes the obligation to pay the full bride price at some unspecified date in the future.

These are rights which are, in effect, collectively purchased by the groom and his brothers, but the rights to sexual intercourse are solely the husband's. In fact, he will have an extremely difficult time prosecuting any case arising out of his wife's adulterous activities prior to the payment of the bride price, since when faced with the accusation, his wife will loudly reply that he has not yet paid for her and that if anyone at all is in a position to receive compensation, then it is her parents. All wives are suspected of adultery because women are sexually insatiable. It is believed that it is simply a characteristic of a woman, and there is very little that can be done except to keep a close watch on her activities and to question her when there appears to be good reason. Such reasons include sick children, pig deaths, and the observation that one's

wife is menstruating. The first two of these are caused by the spirits of the ancestors, who are displeased with their son's wife's behavior. The third is Manga empiricism.

It is difficult at first to understand how the menstruating of a wife is indicative of adultery on her part. But Manga men know that girls begin menstruating at about the time they begin courting, and that they continue to do so throughout this period of sexual liberty until they are pregnant and married (or vice versa), at which time, of course, they cease to have menstrual periods. The post-partum sex taboo ideally lasts until the child is weaned and then the wife usually becomes pregnant again. As a result, the husband's experience of menstrual periods is associated with unmarried girls who fornicate frequently and freely; ergo, a menstruating wife can only indicate an adulterous wife.

But menstruation is only evidence, and actual cases are difficult to prove. As an example, consider the unresolvable case of MB-67 Kolen and his wife Kumonts whom he has not yet paid for. One morning Kolen discovered three shillings in her net carrying bag, carefully wrapped up in leaves. Upon questioning her, she admitted that a man had "fought" her with his penis. Kolen immediately told NA-43 Wando, a leading man, and Wando said that he should bring Kumont to him and he would hear the case. Since this was early in the morning, there are still many people in the village and they gathered to hear the proceedings. When Kolen and Kumonts arrived, Wando asked her how she came to possess

three shillings. The plaintiff, Kolen, sat removed some distance from the proceedings while Kumonts spoke. She said that a few nights ago she was returning to her house in the dark after having gone visiting in the evening and was carrying a bamboo torch to light the way. As she walked along the track, a man came up to her, knocked the torch out of her hand and possessed her sexually. When he was finished, he pressed these three shillings into her hand and departed. Wando asked her to name the man because they will assess him one pig and one axe which will be given to Kolen. She replied that it was too dark and she could not tell who it was. Wando asked again but Kumonts refused to name the party. Wando and NA-37 Kum, Wando's protege, took Kumonts off to a corner of the clearing and told her that she could confess to them in private and that they will see that things are straightened out. Kumonts did not reply. Kum left and then Wando alone asked her repeatedly to divulge the name of her "aggressor", but Kumonts never did answer. Wando then stalked back to the gathered bystanders and delivered a short lecture to the women. He said, rather bitterly, that when men unlawfully fight women with their penises they should ascertain the identity of that man so that his (Wando's) valuable time will not be wasted pursuing a case which it is not possible to resolve. With this, the crowd dispersed to their regular tasks.

Old Man and Old Woman, yua ma, ana ma. As the married couple advances in age, the problems of their younger years fall



away. Their concern now is not to die alone. "When you die I shall bury you," is a sincere expression of friendship. A man's sons are responsible for their parents in their later years, but the rigors of living fairly well decree that very few will ever achieve old age, or even a position in which they are totally dependent for their entire sustenance on the activities of others. As a man becomes older, he continues to do a little gardening, and if he has no wife he may tend a single pig of his own, or one belonging to someone else. He stays close to his house and sits in the sun on the fine days, or inside the house near the fire on rainy days. No one really pays very much attention to him anymore.

NA-11 Kent and his wife Yomp were such an old couple, and they had no children at all. Kent arranged with NA-20-W1 YaNai, the stepmother of NA-30 NdeymaN (a young boy of about 12) that NdeymaN could inherit his land if he would come and help them in their old age. Kent also knew a great deal of sorcery, and one day he told Wando to come and he would tell him much of what he knew because he realized he was getting old. He was afraid that someday, while walking in the jungle, he might fall or drown and never return, so it was better to tell Wando now, even though Kent still maintains his position as one of the two leading diviners.

Thus, as men and women age, they become less and less active in the village life, until finally they are not there at all.

Death and Burial: Sickness, accidents, or warfare claim most individuals before their hair is grey. No death is believed to be truly natural. Similarly, no person simply gets sick, or simply contracts an illness; rather, something comes to him and makes him ill. The expression, nam wale tondo, which means, "I am sick", may be literally translated as, "To me something is fighting". No one 'falls' out of a tree; he is believed to be rejected by the tree for some reason. No one trips over stones or vines in the tracks, or inadvertently bumps into things simply because he is not watching where he is going, but rather someone or something causes the object to be moved into his path, so that the accident is, in one sense, unavoidable. In warfare, a man is not killed because of his ineptitude in defending himself, but rather because his opponent possessed some form of power over which his own was inadequate or ineffective.

When a person progresses to the point where he is seriously ill, or states that he is seriously ill, a diviner cum sorcerer is called in. His first duty is prognostication. Obviously the patient is ill; the problem is, why? It is sometimes possible that the sick person himself knows which ancestral spirit, enemy ghost, or bush spirit is plaguing him and why this is being done. In these instances, the sick individual will announce his 'reasons' for being ill. More commonly, however, the diviner is called upon to perform this task.

A cigarette made of native tobacco rolled in a piece of

dried banana leaf is prepared by the sick person if he is able, or by a brother if he is not up to the task. The diviner puffs mightily on the cigarette, drawing the smoke deeply into his lungs. After he has done this several times, noisily inhaling and coughingly exhaling, he goes into a sort of shaking trance, which may last for several minutes, during which a non-distinct mumbling or an occasional shouted name escapes his lips. Gradually the shaking subsides and finally he speaks. He has been away, off on a long journey seeking the ancestors in order to learn their wishes, and these he now reveals, provided he has been successful. Sometimes, however, all the spirits are hiding, which usually presages a period of bad fortune for everyone.

The cure itself is thus divided into two aspects--the physiological and the spiritual. In a simple case of a headache, Nambalo tondo, the cause of pain is often believed to be rocks in the head. The pain is relieved by 'removing the rocks, which are drawn to the surface and into the leaves with which the sorcerer is rubbing your head. The reason the rocks are there at all is quite another thing. Since rocks do not fly by themselves, they must have been put there, and finding out who did it is the task of the diviner. Both services, divining and sorcery, must be paid for if the cure is a success. In cases of failure of a cure and subsequent death, the sorcerer is not held responsible, since here it is not his divining powers which are put into question, but rather his technology in curing. The

potential success of his technological manipulations with leaves, rocks, sticks, and other paraphernalia can be thwarted by a stronger (and unknown) technology promoted by the opposition. Even in those cases where the cure appears to be an immediate success, there is usually a waiting period of several days before payment is rendered, in order to test the permanence of the cure.

In cases in which the patient becomes progressively worse, however, and death is imminent, there is what I would call a ceremony of dying. In this, many of a man's "brothers" come and sit with him and they tell him that all their fathers were "brothers" and that they, too, are all "brothers". They kill a small pig for their dying "brother" so that he may eat meat and feel good. Part of the acknowledged reason for this is so the dying person will depart from this life in a happy frame of mind, and that in the future the remembrance of his last blissful days as a mortal will temper his capriciously malevolent spiritual nature.

When the patient does ultimately die, the word spreads rapidly to his kinsmen. In the case of a man, to his matrilateral kinsmen, and in the case of a woman, to her patrilateral kinsmen. These kinsmen will be the recipients of the death payment. Other mourners are paid in cooked pork. Wherever they are and whatever they are doing, the instant they hear the news they commence mourning; they remove all bodily decoration and smear red, or preferably white, clay on their bodies. Then they begin

a plaintive, quavering wailing. This applies primarily to those who do not have far to go to get to the house of the deceased. For those relatives further removed spatially, clay might not be put on or wailing begun until they are within earshot of the deceased's house.

A dead person can only be kept on view in his house for a maximum of three days. Shortly after death, the body is tied into a flexed position, anointed with pandanus oil and decorated with shells, beads and fur. These items will be buried with the individual. With the exception of infants, evil sorcerers who have caused deaths, and men killed in war or famous leaders, bodies are buried in a sort of semi-interment over which a sturdy log cairn is constructed. Cemeteries are usually located lower in altitude than residential areas but near to them. Infant burials have already been discussed. Individuals killed for practicing death sorcery are simply dragged off into the bush and left to rot. It was once the custom that men of high status were first interred for a period of several months, then exhumed. The skeletal remains were greased and transported to a place in the bush where they were re-deposited in a hollow tree, along with their spears and bows and arrows. Their shield was set up in front of the hollow as a sort of door. A long bone was taken by his widow and worn about her neck, hanging down her chest. These practices have disappeared, since they were prohibited by the Administration.

The transportation and burial of all bodies is a woman's task (Plate X14). Men prepare the hole and cut the posts and maintain the graveyard vigil. The smell of rotting flesh is thought to attract ghouls, who will come and devour the corpse. This first stage of mourning continues until the corpse no longer smells, after which pigs are killed and cooked and the mourners are paid. Up to this point, none of the funerary participants may go into any garden, or else all the crops will die. Until the pigs are killed, the departed's spirit is thought to linger about the residential and cemetery areas. When the pigs are killed, related spirits are called on to come and get their newly departed relative and to take him with them.

More closely related individuals, such as husbands, brothers and wives, may continue mourning. This consists of wearing clay, going without decoration, and non-participation in village activities for as long as a year, and in exceptional cases even longer.

Summary. In this chapter I have discussed the activities engaged in by Manga individuals from the time of their conception; through childhood, adolescence and adulthood, culminating in their eventual death and burial. I have shown that there is very little ceremony attendant on most activities with the exception of marriage, warfare, and the pig festival. In the next chapter, therefore, I shall examine in detail the kinship and marriage system. Data on the pig festival and warfare will be presented in a later chapter.



PLATE 14

THE WOMEN MOURNERS CARRY THE BODY OF THE DECEASED  
TO THE CEMETERY FOR BURIAL.

## V. KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

In any society there will be certain terms which are used primarily to differentiate among individuals. The two most common types of terms used for this purpose are names, or "nominals" (Frake 1960: 59), and kinship, or "designative" terms (Frake 1960: 59 after Lounsbury 1956: 167).

In this chapter I discuss these two subjects as well as the marriage system.

The data were acquired through the collection of genealogies of members of the KulakaeNgeyka clan. Almost all adult males and several of the females were interviewed. The acquisition of a complete genealogy including kinship terminology proved to be extremely time-consuming. Where possible, cross checks with other individuals were made. No single informant was found to be more accurately knowledgeable in this regard than any other. The normal difficulties in collecting genealogies were compounded among the Manga by such practices as naming individuals after other individuals, giving the same person two names, and by a taboo against mentioning one's own name or one's father's name or the name of anyone else present during the interview session. Fortunately, most of these taboos are now in the process of dying out so that the problem was not as insurmountable as it may seem.

Nominals: While individuals may often be named after events, places, things, or other unrelated persons (see Appendix VII, Some Common Nominals and Their Meanings), it is



TABLE XI

Nominals

<u>I. Pattern for Male Nominals:</u>								<u>Percentage</u>	
A.	12	males	named	after	one	of	their	FB	32.4
B.	5	"	"	"	"	"	"	MB	13.5
C.	3	"	"	"	"	"	"	FSH	8.1
D.	10	"	"	"	"	"	"	FF	27.0
E.	4	"	"	"	"	"	"	MF	10.9
F.	3	"	"	"	"	"	"	FFB	8.1
<hr/>								<hr/>	
	37								100.0
 <u>II. Pattern for Female Nominals:</u>									
A.	11	females	named	after	one	of	their	FS	47.8
B.	3	"	"	"	"	"	"	MS	13.0
C.	7	"	"	"	"	"	"	FM	30.4
D.	2	"	"	"	"	"	"	FFS	8.8
<hr/>								<hr/>	
	23								100.0

also quite common to name the infant after a kinsman. In a sample of 37 cases from the genealogies (Table XI, Nominals, and Appendix VIII, Patterning in Nominals) where it was known that a junior generation male was named after a senior generation male, 45.9% were named after a parent's sibling, 46% were named after a grandparent or grandparent's sibling, and the remaining 8.1% were named after a parent's sibling's spouse. No male is ever named after his presumed genitor. The pattern for female nominals is much the same. In a sample of 23 cases, 60.8% were named after a female parent's sibling and the remainder, 39.2%, were named after a female grandparent or female grandparent's sibling. In total, 75.6% of the males and 87.0% of the females were named after patrilineal relatives. In view of the shallow genealogical depth (never more than two generations ascending or descending from any informant), the prevalence of naming individuals after patrilineal relatives takes on added significance. A long genealogy is one mechanism of retaining contact with the past but, as Firth has noted, patterns of personnel naming may also, "reflect the social significance of the links with the past, to grip past generations into the life of the present" (1951: 8).

Two persons who have the same name are ambaNa to each other. In the ambaNa relationship, the direction of authority from senior to junior generations is reversed though it is done in a sense of mock authority. A young boy, for example, is permitted to chide and berate his elder male kinsman of the

same name for alleged lassitude and general behavioral improprieties. The elder kinsman usually responds with laughter or, should he wish to prolong the game, he may feign some physical disability and complain that he is not well, when it is obvious that he is in the best of health.

When the elder kinsman dies, the younger ambaNa will assume either another name, his own second name, or a nickname in the belief that the ghost of his ambaNa is unduly attracted to him and he wishes to avoid this potentially dangerous association.

Designatives. In contrast with many other societies, the Manga are not notably preoccupied with kinship. A child first learns the terminology of his family of orientation, later he acquires a knowledge of the proper terminology for additional kinsmen. It has been a traditional assumption in studies of kinship terminological systems that, "...terms of reference are usually more complete than terms of address" (Murdock 1949: 98), though some evidence to the contrary has also been presented (Frake 1960: 59, Koentjaraningrat 1960: 108, Conant 1961: 19). I shall proceed first with the terms of reference and then consider additional terminological applications. The listing of kin term denotata (Lounsbury 1956: 168) is for both a male and a female propositus (Freeman 1961: 193, Lounsbury 1964a: 1075) unless otherwise specified. Kin types are designated in terms of the following set of symbols: F = father, M = mother, B = brother, S = sister, d = daughter,

s = son, H = husband, and W = wife. Terms are listed with the first person singular possessive suffix, -na, included. The third person singular possessive suffix is -ye.<sup>1</sup>

The collection of these terms is a primary product of genealogical inquiry. Before proceeding to the terminology itself, I wish to comment on the nature of Manga genealogies in terms of their depth, width and asymmetry.

Two separate aspects of genealogical depth and width must be distinguished. One is the abstract conceptualization of those genealogically connected individuals who are considered as kinsmen, and the second is the list of individuals actually recited as "kinsmen" by individual informants. Obviously, no single individual will have a set of kinsmen which corresponds precisely to all of the positions available on an idealized genealogical tree.

By genealogical depth I mean the limits of recognition of kinsmen by any propositus in terms of ascending and descending generation. Genealogical width refers to the extent of collateral recognition. Together, they refer to the abstract conceptualized limits of the application of kinship terms to consanguineals. By confining this to consanguineals, recognition of relatedness is coterminous with potential membership in the cognatic kindred, wuna tiNa. The maximal depth of the recognized kindred is two generations ascending and two generations descending. The maximal width is second degree collaterals (computed here as the least number of links to a

common ancestor, comparing the count from the propositus with that from the terminal kinsman in the kin type) in any generation providing the computation does not proceed through non-kin links. Non co-resident third degree collaterals (which includes all zero generation second cousins) are defined as non-kinsmen, keu wuna.

There are many variables that affect the accuracy and extent of an informant's recitation of his genealogy. The determinants of these biases are not always evident. Sex and age of the informant are obviously relevant factors. Youthful informants are often simply unaware of many of their kinsmen because they have not been instructed by their elders. Females, in general, at all ages, are less extensively knowledgeable than males. Taking adult male informants as an orientation point, however, I noted that there were certain consistent biases in the non-recognition of individuals who are ideally kinsmen. These were the descendants of, first, the mother's sister (and often the mother's sister as well), and secondly, the descendants of the father's sister. Thus, outside of the nuclear family and patrilineal kinsmen, the most frequently remembered kinsmen are those related through the mother's brother. Marie Reay notes for the Kuma that while the terms for cross-cousin, mother's brother, and father's sister's husband may be logically extended symmetrically, there are actually employed in the recognition of, "...more matrilateral than patrilateral relatives" (1959: 62), and that

as far as Kuma ideas of relatedness are concerned, any cross-cousin, "...is generally assumed to have been (of) his mother's clan" (1959: 58), that is, "...the extension of bebe (the Kuma term for cross-cousin) appears to be....asymmetrical in the channels of descent" (1959: 65). The same conclusion applies to the Manga. This asymmetry is probably a reflection of the marriage system.

#### Manga Referential Kinship Terminology

The kinship vocabulary is composed of a set of lexical items each of which is a kin term (vide Lounsbury 1964a: 1073). These terms constitute a semantically isolable paradigmatic set. Their common unifying feature is the component "kinsman"; which contrasts with its opposite, "non-kinsman".

Consanguineal kinsmen. These are kinsmen who are related to a propositus solely through consanguineal links. They may be collectively referred to as wuna tiNa, 'blood people', as opposed to keu wuna, 'nothing people'.

1. Kogana, "grandfather" and "grandchild". Consanguineal males of the second ascending generation and all consanguineal kinsmen of the second descending generation; e.g. FF, FFB, FMB, MF, MFB, MMB, ss, sd, ds, dd, Bss, Bsd, Bds, Bdd, Sss, Ssd, Sds, Sdd.
2. Apona, "grandmother". Consanguineal females of the second ascending generation; e.g. MM, MMS, MFS, FM, FMS, FFS.
3. Ana, "father". Consanguineal male parallel kinsman of the first ascending generation. In ascendant generations the

feature "parallel" intends same sex of the first consanguineal link and the designated kinsman. Thus FFBS would be a parallel kinsman whereas FFBSd would not (see Lounsbury 1964a: 1078). Ana denotes F, FB, FFSSs, FMSs, FFBS, FMBs.

4. Mana, "mother". Consanguineal female parallel kinsman of the first ascending generation; e.g. M, MS, MFSd, MMSd, MFBd, MMBd.
5. Arana, "aunt". First ascending generation female cross consanguineal kinsman; e.g., FS, FFSd, FMSd, FFBSd, FMBd.
6. Mbapona, "uncle". First ascending generation male cross consanguineal kinsman; e.g., MB, MFSSs, MMSs, MFBs, MMBs.
7. Ngorena, a man's "brother". Zero generation male parallel consanguineal kinsmen, i.e. same sex "sibling" for a male propositus only. "Parallel" is determined in this generation by comparing the sex of the last linking kinsman with that of the first linking kinsman. When the sexes are the same then the kinsman is a "parallel" relative. The sexes of the apical link set of kinsmen are irrelevant in this terminological system for distinguishing "parallel" from "cross". (See also Pospisil 1960: 200, 204 and Lounsbury 1964a: 1082.) This category includes B, MSs, FBs, FFSSs, FFBSSs, FMSSSs, FMBSSs, MMSDs, MMBDs, MFSDs, MFBDs. The non co-resident second cousins, however, are considered by the Manga to be non-kinsmen though informants were able to state what term they would use in referring to such a genealogi-

- cally linked person if they were to refer to them by a kinship term.
8. Mamona, a woman's "brother". Opposite sex "sibling" for a female propositus only. This category includes the same denotata as listed for Ngorena with the same general comments and restrictions.
  9. Ambana, "sister". Zero generation female parallel consanguineal kinsman, i.e. female sibling. This includes S, MSd, FBd, FFSd, FFBsd, FMSsd, FMBsd, MMSdd, MMBdd, MFSdd, MFBdd. The same restrictions apply to second cousins as noted above under Ngorena, i.e. they are recognized as non-kinsmen.
  10. Wambena, "cousin". Zero generation cross consanguineal kinsman. "Cross" is determined in the complementary manner as "parallel" for this generation. When the sexes of the first and last linking kinsmen are opposite then the designated kinsman is a "cross" relative of the propositus. This includes MBs, MBd, FSs, FSd, FFSds, FFSdd, FFBds, FFBdd, FMSds, FMSdd, FMBds, FMBdd, MMSss, MMSsd, MMBss, MMBsd, MFBss, MFBsd, MFSss, MFSsd. The same restrictions apply to second cousins as noted under Ngorena.
  11. Warina, "son". First descending generation male consanguineal kinsman; e.g., s, Bs, Ss, MBds, MBss, MSds, MSss, FBds, FBss, FSds, FSss.
  12. Ambrena, "daughter". First descending generation female consanguineal kinsman; e.g., d, Bd, Sd, MBdd, MBsd, MSdd, MSsd, FBdd, FBsd, FSdd, FSsd.



A Componential Analysis of the Reference Terminology for Consanguineals. Twelve kinship terms are used in referring to consanguineal kinsmen. These terms are generationally distributed as follows:

G <sup>+2</sup>	<u>kogana</u> , <u>apona</u>
G <sup>+1</sup>	<u>arana</u> , <u>ana</u> , <u>mana</u> , <u>mbapona</u>
G <sup>0</sup>	<u>wambena</u> , <u>Ngorena</u> , <u>mamona</u> , <u>ambana</u>
G <sup>-1</sup>	<u>warina</u> , <u>ambrena</u>
G <sup>-2</sup>	<u>kogana</u>

The term kogana has two referents, "grandfather" and "grandchild". This is resolved by constructing a superclass KOGANA (Lounsbury 1964b: 364) for G<sup>2</sup> without indicating generation direction, i.e., superscript '+' or '-'. Then, by introducing the feature of generation direction I am able to segregate senior generation kogana (kogana<sup>1</sup>) from junior generation kogana (kogana<sup>2</sup>), and by introducing the dimension of Sex of Kinsman I am able to segregate senior generation kogana<sup>1</sup> from senior generation apona.

I have now established three distinctive semantic dimensions:

1. Generation
  - A. Second
  - B. First
  - C. Zero
2. A. Senior (ascending)
  - B. Junior (descending)

### 3. Sex of Kinsman

A. Male

B. Female

In the first ascending generation, the four terms may be segregated by two dimensions, Sex of Kinsman, which has already been introduced, and the dimension of Cross-Parallel.

Examination of the denotata in each of these four kin classes provides the definitions of cross and parallel for the first ascending generation. These are:

Cross for  $G^{+1}$ : A kinsman is a cross relative when the sex of the first link of the denotatum and the sex of the designated kinsman are opposite.

Parallel for  $G^{+1}$ : A kinsman is a parallel relative when the sex of the first link of the denotatum and the sex of the designated kinsman are the same.

Within the context of the propositus' own generation the definitions for cross and parallel are altered as follows:

Cross for  $G^0$ : A kinsman is a cross relative when the sex of the first and last links of the denotatum are opposite.

Parallel for  $G^0$ : A kinsman is a parallel relative when the sex of the first and last links of the denotatum are the same.

These definitions only become apparent when considering second cousin types in the zero generation. Since non co-resident second cousins are non-kinsmen by Manga definition, then the reason for defining cross and parallel in this manner might be questioned. I was led to these definitions, however, by several considerations.

First, it did not initially appear consistent to me that while a man's FSs was a "cousin" (wambena), this designated kinsman was a "father" to a son of the propositus, i.e. FFSs = F. This led me to suspect that the cross-parallel distinction in Manga kinship terminology might be similar to that discovered by Pospisil for the Kapauku of the Wissel Lakes area in Western New Guinea (1960: 200-201, see also Lounsbury 1964a: 1079, footnote 4).

Second, Manga males jokingly told me that, "We take our 'sisters' as wives." This appeared to make no sense at all since all males also acknowledged that you could not marry anyone you referred to or addressed by a kin term and certainly that included sisters. However, when I discovered that there was a marriage rule, and that a man might expect to obtain his FFSsd as a wife, I then inquired as to what kin term would be applied to this person if they were to apply one at all. I thus learned that the FFSsd = S, though the FFSdd = FSd.

It is for this reason that I have listed the second cousin kintypes of zero generation in their appropriate categories because even though they are classed as non-kinsmen, the manner of

their hypothetical categorization by the Manga is the basis for the cross-parallel distinction I have established.

In the first descending generation, however, the distinction between cross and parallel is not continued. All descendants are categorized as either "sons" or "daughters" and the dimensions of Generation, Direction, and Sex of Kinsman are sufficient to segregate them.

The dimension of Cross-Parallel, then, varies by context (the contexts of  $G^{+1}$  and  $G^0$ ) and does not extend to the first descending generation. The fourth dimension, then, is that of Cross-Parallel.

#### 4. Cross-Parallel

##### A. Cross

##### B. Parallel

For zero generation, the Cross-Parallel dimension segregates wambena, as a term referring to cross relatives, from the three remaining terms: ambana, Ngorena, and mamona. Ambana refers to a female sibling for a propositus of either sex, while Ngorena and mamona refer to a male sibling by a male and female propositus respectively. By introducing the dimension of Sex of Propositus, in conjunction with the already noted dimension of Sex of Kinsman, I am able to segregate these three terms. The fifth and last dimension is Sex of Propositus.

#### 5. Sex of Propositus

##### A. Male speaking

##### B. Female speaking

The twelve referential terms for consanguineal kinsmen may now be defined in terms of their components as follows:

1. kogana<sup>1</sup>: 1A, 2A, 3A.
2. apona: 1A, 2A, 3B.
3. ana: 1B, 2A, 3A, 4B.
4. mana: 1B, 2A, 3B, 4B.
5. mbapona: 1B, 2A, 3A, 4A.
6. arana: 1B, 2A, 3B, 4A.
7. wambena: 1C, 4A.
8. ambana: 1C, 3B, 4B.
9. Ngorena: 1C, 3A, 4B, 5A.
10. mamona: 1C, 3A, 4B, 5B.
11. warina: 1B, 2B, 3A.
12. ambrena: 1B, 2B, 3B.
13. kogana<sup>2</sup>: 1A, 2B.

Kinsmen by Marriage. This listing includes all persons referred to by kinship terms who are linked to a propositus by at least one marital link. Collectively, they are known as wuna kmba, "people of the belly", which signifies the reciprocal food giving common between affines.

Whereas the boundaries for the application of the referential terminology for consanguineal kinsmen are generation removal by two and third degree of collaterality, the boundaries for affinal terminology are generally only removal by one gen-

eration and, in ego's generation, a lateral removal encompassing more than two affinal links. Thus, a WFF is not usually recognized as a kinsman nor is a WBss. The exceptions to this generational restriction are the kin types involved in the marriage rule. Laterally (i.e. in the same generation as the propositus) a WSH is a kinsman but a WSHSH is not.

1. Kogana, a woman's "father-in-law". For a female propositus only, her own and her same sex sibling's male parent-in-law; e.g., HF, HFB, HMB, SHF, SHFB, SHMB.
2. Apona, "daughter-in-law". For a propositus of either sex, the first descending generation male consanguineal's spouses and these spouses same sex siblings; e.g., sW, sWS, Bsw, Bsws, SsW, SsWS. For a female propositus only, the term is self-reciprocal; e.g., a woman's HM, HMS, HFS, SHM, SHMS, SHFS.
3. Ana, "father"; e.g., MSH, a first ascending generation parallel consanguineal kinsman's male spouse.
4. Mana, "mother"; e.g., FBW, a first ascending generation parallel consanguineal kinsman's female spouse.
5. Ara Ngaye, "uncle"; e.g., FSH, a first ascending generation cross consanguineal kinsman's male spouse. A literal translation of ara Ngaye is "aunt's husband."
6. Mbapo Ngmaye, "aunt"; e.g., MBW, a first ascending generation cross consanguineal kinsman's female spouse. A literal translation of mbapo Ngmaye is "uncle's wife."
7. Ngorena, a man's "brother". For a male propositus only, his

- own and his same sex sibling's spouse's sibling's spouse and the same sex siblings of these latter spouses; e.g., WSH, WSHB, BWSH, BWSHB.
8. Mamona, a woman's "brother". For a female propositus only, her BWSH.
  9. Ambana, "sister". For a male propositus only, his WSHS. For a female propositus only, her HBW, HBWS, SHBW, SHBWS.
  10. Giana, a man's "brother-in-law". Zero generation male propositus' spouse's opposite sex sibling and the reciprocal opposite sex sibling's spouse. This includes WB, SH, BWB, WBWB, SHB, SHSH, MSdH, FBdH, WMSs, WFBs.
  11. Movana, a woman's "sister-in-law". For a female propositus only, zero generation spouse's opposite sex sibling and the reciprocal opposite sex sibling's spouse; e.g., BW, HS, BWS, BWBW, SHS, HSHS, MSsW, FBsW, HMSd, HFBd.
  12. Kamena. For a male propositus, "sister-in-law", i.e. zero generation spouse's same sex sibling and the reciprocal same sex sibling's spouse; e.g., BW, WS, MSsW, FBsW, WMSd, WFBd. For a female propositus, "brother-in-law", i.e. zero generation spouse's same sex sibling and the reciprocal same sex sibling's spouse; e.g., SH, HB, MSdH, FBdH, HMSs, HFBs.
  13. Ngmana, a man's "wife". For a male propositus only, his spouse; e.g., W.
  14. Ngana, a woman's "husband". For a female propositus only, her spouse; e.g., H.
  15. Warina, "son". Male step-kinsman of the first descending

generation. This includes for a female propositus, HSs, HBs; and for a male propositus, WBs, WSs.

16. Ambrena, "daughter". Female step-kinsman of the first descending generation. This includes for a female propositus, HSd, HBd; and for a male propositus only WBd, Wsd.
17. Imana/Kovana, "son-in-law", "son's" and "daughter's" "parents-in-law", and "brother's parents-in-law" for a propositus of either sex; e.g., dH, BdH, SdH, DHM, dHMS, dHFS, dHF, dHFB, dHMB, sWF, sWFB, sWMB, sWM, sWMS, sWFS, BWF, BWFB, BWMB, BWM, BWMS, BWFS. For a male propositus only, "parents-in-law". This includes WF, WFB, WM, WMS, WFS, SHF, SHFB, SHMB, SHM, SHMS, SHFS, and SHBW and BWBW. For a female propositus only, her HBWB and HSHB. The two terms, imana and kovana are generally interchangeable. A discussion of this point follows later.

Discussion of the referential terminology. There is a total of 20 separate terms, 3 of which apply solely to consanguineal kinsmen (ara, mbapo, and wambe) and 8 of which apply solely to kinsmen by marriage (giana, movana, kamena, ara ngaye, mbapo ngmaye, ngmana, ngana, and imana/kovana). The remaining 9 terms (kogana, apona, ana, mana, ngorena, ambana, mamona, warina and ambrena) apply to kinsmen of both types. When a speaker wishes to designate a particular individual within a kin class he will either append that person's name or add a teknonym to the kin term.

The division I have made between consanguineal kinsmen (wuna



tiNa I interpret as "cognatic kindred") and all kinsmen related to a propositus by at least one marital link may at first appear insignificant. But note that not all step-kinsmen (consanguineal's spouses in ascending generations and spouse's consanguineals in descending generations; Pospisil 1960: 202, Lounsbury 1964b: 389), are merged with consanguineals. Two step-kinsmen (ara Ngaye, mbapo Ngmaye) are terminologically segregated in the first ascending generation. Thus, in the first ascending generation spouses of parallel consanguineal kinsmen are terminologically merged with consanguineal kinsmen such that MSH=F and FBW=M, while the spouses of cross consanguineals are terminologically separate. However, for the eight reciprocal types no distinctions are made between cross and parallel step-kinsmen. This is analagous to the situation among the consanguineal kinsmen of the first ascending, zero, and first descending generation. In the first ascending and zero generation, cross and parallel distinctions are maintained, but in the first descending generation all kinsmen may be reckoned as "parallel" and are merged with lineals. Distinctions between kinsmen are often made in ascending generations which are not maintained among their reciprocals. Also, some kin classes contain such a variety of kin types that conjunctive componential definitions in terms of genealogically based distinctive features appear to be impossible. I suggest that this condition of the terminological system is due to its undergoing change.

For example, the term for "grandfather" is self-reciprocal

for the class "grandchildren". Here a sex distinction between males and females appears in the second ascendant generation, "grandmother" being apo, which does not appear in the second descendant generation. This in itself is not necessarily peculiar but the kin class also includes a female's father-in-law though not a male's father-in-law. Among the Kuma, both parents-in-law of a propositus of either sex are included in the grandparental kin class kobanan (Reay 1959: xv, 80). The same may be said for the Kakoli of the Kaugel Valley near Tambul (Bowers 1965: Personal Communication). Among the Manga this is retained only by a female propositus. I believe that the kin class designated by the terms imana/kovana is also involved in this change. Consider the following: among the Kuma, grandfathers and parents-in-law for a propositus of either sex are both kobanan; among the Tsembaga of the Simbai valley, grandfathers are kokanan, parents-in-law for a male propositus are yimatsA, father-in-law for a female is kokanan, and mother-in-law for a female is aponan (Rappaport 1964: Personal Communication); and among the Kamam of Bubgile in the Jimi Valley, grandfathers and parents-in-law for a propositus of either sex are kobana. In Chapter I, I noted the position of the Manga with reference to language distribution. The boundary which separates Narak-speakers from Maring-speakers is the territorial boundary between the Manga and the Yuomban. There has been extensive inter-marriage for several generations by the Manga with Maring-speakers. I am suggesting that a distinction which does not

exist among the Kuma (most Kuma kin terms are linguistically cognate with Manga kin terms) and Kamam, and which does exist among many Maring-speakers, is now being acquired by the Manga who interchangeably use imana (from the Maring yimatsA) and kovana to refer to the same class of kinsmen. It is also among Maring-speakers that all first descending generation consanguineals are classed as "sons" or "daughters", depending on their sex. The Manga referential system of kinship terminology is intermediate between those systems to the south and those to the north.

Address Terminology. Most of the terms listed as referential kin terms are also used in address. The exceptions are the terms for FSH and MBW. In addition, there are two more terms which are solely terms of address. These are, amgo for MBW, and wowa for FB; the reciprocals for both being either "son", warina, or "daughter", ambrena, depending on the sex of the kinsmen addressed. The term for FS, ara, is extended to FSH in address. Furthermore, in the address terminology, the terms ara and mbapo are self-reciprocal for a male propositus and a male kinsman. Thus a man will address his FSH as ara and be so addressed in return, i.e. a man's WBs. The fact that the terms in address are more consistently self-reciprocal between ascendant collaterals and descendant collaterals, e.g. FS, Bs; MB, Ss, rather than being complementary reciprocals as in the reference terminology supports the conclusion that the system is changing. Among the Morokai people located immediately to the south of the Manga on

the south side of the Jimi River, these address self-reciprocals are now a feature of the referential system. This is consistent with the general sequence of terminological change in kinship systems which states that change in terms of reference follows change in terms of address (Spoehr 1947: 215, 229; Solien 1960: 157). Even though Wurm gives equal taxonomic status to the members of the Hagen-Wahgi-Jimi-Chimbu language family (1962: 108, 1964: 79), a comparison of the kinship terminologies reveals that those of the Narak-speakers in the Jimi and those of the Middle Wahgi (Reay 1959: xv; Luzbetak 1956: 10, 13, 18, 22, 30, 32) are more similar than either are with the Hagen-speaking Mbowamb (Vicedom and Tischner 1943: 65 passim) and Kawelka (Strathern: Personal Communication) or the Chimbu-speaking Siane (Salisbury 1962: 19) and Gururumba (Newman 1956: 24). It is most probable, therefore, that the Manga kinship terminology is the northernmost variant of a type of terminological system which extends from the Kubor Mountains on the south side of the Wahgi valley to the Bismarck Mountains on the north side of the Jimi valley.

The terminology of address and reference does not exhaust the vocabulary of personnel nomenclature. There are also terms for sets of kinsmen which are, in many instances, compounds of the terms already presented. These are listed in Appendix IX, Some Additional Terms of Personnel Nomenclature.

Kinship Behavior. "Na na li pu moNgA yelA, I do not defecate and urinate inside (houses)." Such is the statement of a

man who wants to express that he knows how to behave properly toward his kinsmen. As may be expected, there are recognized ideal forms of behavior which ought to obtain between classes of kinsmen. Though I shall describe these relationships as if the ideal were actually realized in behavior, it must be kept in mind that such is not necessarily the case. Individual personalities, circumstances, and life-history events often serve to alter the ideal relationship.

1. Grandparents:Grandchildren (apona, kogana : kogana). The relationship between kinsmen separated by two generations ought to be one of easy familiarity tempered by respect for elders. Grandparents often indulge grandchildren, giving them small bits of food thus exhibiting their generosity. A small measure of teasing and joking is an ideal between very young grandchildren and their grandparents. There are no statements concerning formal economic assistance, since by the time a grandchild is old enough to require valuables for his various transactions, the grandparents are either no longer active in these affairs or else they are deceased. Grandparents are supported in old age by their own children.

2. Parents : Children (ana, mana : warina, ambrena). Parents are responsible for the material and social support of their children and provide food and shelter as well as the child's education. The relationship is basically one of authority on the part of parents and respect and obedience on the part of

children. There is no joking or easy informality on the part of either. Sons look to their fathers for guidance in their initial economic affairs and are heavily dependent upon their advice. Eventually, the sons will inherit their father's estate in both land and movable property, provided that they are considered mature. Primogeniture is the rule for inheritance but, as implied, if the son is still young a father's brother may well succeed to the father's estate, acquiring not only the property but often the minor children as well. It is occasionally the case that a father is instrumental in acquiring a wife for his son. It is more frequent, however, that the father determines the marriage for his daughter. Perhaps the most important rights that a man can inherit from his father are those of forth-coming bride-prices for his own sisters, and death payments for his father's sisters. Until such time as children are successfully established in their own domestic units, they remain economically dependent upon their parents.

3. Mother's brother : a man's sister's children (mbapona : warina, ambrena). The mother's brother, who may also be the father's sister's husband in those instances where direct sister exchange has occurred in the parental generation, is considered a very close relative upon whom one may depend for refuge in times of domestic crisis or war. Sister's children are frequent visitors to the mother's brother who, though a senior generation kinsman, remains free of the aura of immediate authority characteristic of one's own parents. His economic assistance

is restricted to providing food and shelter when the sister's children are co-resident with him. For a male, the mother's brother may be instrumental in assisting him to acquire a wife, though it is not considered his duty.

4. Father's sister : a woman's brother's children (ara; warina, ambrena). In contrast to the mother's brother, the father's sister is not considered a particularly close relative. Undoubtedly this distinction has to do with the pattern of migration noted in Chapter II. The ideal relationship pattern in this instance is one of mutual respect and formality.

5. Brother : Brother (Ngorena : Ngorena). For adult males, the same sex sibling relationship is most important. Brothers are expected to aid each other in any undertaking. They should be the best of friends, united in all activities and economic tasks. A brother should be the principal contributor to his brother's bride-price. Brothers should conduct pig sacrifices together at their cemeteries so that both may benefit equally. It is not surprising, therefore, that such an ideally intense relationship also provides the seeds of its own destruction. Junior male siblings often feel oppressed by their elder brothers and frequently rebel against their assumed authority. This elder brother authority stems from the pattern of inheritance mentioned before. For example, EM-52 often complained that his elder brother, EM-54, had kept the better garden lands for himself while giving his brother portions of land which were not as desirable.

Additional conflict often arises over the acquisition of wives. Since the elder brother usually marries first, this puts an economic strain on the relationship, since the younger brother is often cautioned to wait until the elder brother's wife has been paid for. Thus, in real life, it is more common to find that the elder brother is dominant and the younger brother is dependent.

6. Brother : Sister (mamona : ambana). The brother and sister relationship is also one of mutual dependence, with a certain measure of authority on the part of the brother. A limited amount of sexual joking is permissible. This usually takes the form of brothers telling their sisters that marriages will be arranged for them with old men who are ugly and impotent or perhaps with some wild bush boar. A woman's brother is her primary source of comfort and protection in the face of her own marital strife. A woman will seek refuge with her brother from her violent husband. Rumors that a man has beaten his wife or perhaps shot her with an arrow in the thigh on evidence of adulterous behavior are certain to bring that woman's brother to her side. This is more prevalent prior to the payment of her bride-price than subsequent to it. A brother very often gives his sister her first piglets to care for after her marriage and she may continue caring for his pigs occasionally for the rest of her lifetime.

7. Sister : Sister (ambana : ambana). Of the three sibling



relationships, this one is the least intense and is marked by the same sort of conflict over authority and compliance which occurs between junior and senior male siblings. The practice of post-marital virilocal residence, however, ultimately serves to sever sisters' ties and later in life many years may go by with the sisters seldom seeing one another. This relationship term also applies between a female propositus and the additional wives of the same generation who have married into the husband's patriline.

8. Cross-cousin : Cross-cousin (wambena : wambena). In general, cross-cousins are also distant relatives. It is a more formal relationship marked by occasional visiting. There are no necessary economic or ritual obligations between most cross-cousins, though they ought to remain hospitable to one another. Neither is there any sexual license or joking between distant cross-cousins.

These generalities apply to all but a man's MBs who, because of sister exchange in the previous generation, may also be his FSs. The importance of this relationship is second only to that between a man and his brother, because it is through this relationship that demands for spouses can be made in accordance with the marriage rule. Male cross-cousins of this relationship visit with each other more extensively and assist each other in meeting their economic obligations when called upon to do so.

9. Husband : Wife (Ngana : Ngmana). The relationship between husband and wife is marked by exclusivity of sexual access on the part of the male, though the converse is not true. It is a relationship of mutual support and dependence in most endeavors. The male is in the position of authority and the female ought to be compliant. In formal terms, the male assumes the duties of shelter and protection, while the female is responsible for the majority of nurturant roles.

10. Brother-in-law : Brother-in-law (giana : giana). For males, the importance and intensity of this relationship is equally important as that between male siblings. In actual behavior there are two facets to the relationship, depending upon whether the brother-in-law is a sister's husband or a wife's brother. That is to say, a man may make economic demands on his sister's husband in the form of movable wealth and labor which he in turn must yield to his wife's brother on demand. The relationship is only symmetrical in instances of direct sister exchange. The greatest hospitality is always extended to a brother-in-law. Mutual support in warfare, but not the duty of vengeance, is characteristic of this relationship, and it is this linkage which is the basis for the acquisition of war allies.

11. Sister-in-law : Brother-in-law (kamena : kamena). This is a relationship of secondary mutual dependence in terms of the rights and duties of a non-sexual nature which obtain be-

tween husband and wife. A kamena always signifies a potential spouse, given the decedence of the intervening marital partner. Individuals who are kamena to each other should not be alone with each other. Though sexual joking and sexual relations are prohibited, people who are involved in adultery cases are most frequently kamenas.

12. Sister-in-law : Sister-in-law (movana : movana). This relationship, between women of the patriline (same generation female agnates) and women who have married into the patrilines, is informal and friendly with little specific behavioral content. After her marriage, a woman's husband's sister will not be co-resident and, due to the demands courtship makes on her time, she is unavailable for gardening assistance for several years prior to her marriage.

13. Parents-in-law : Son-in-law (imana/kovana : imana/kovana). All of the ascendant generation in-law relationships are characterized by formal respect, almost approaching avoidance. There is very little behavioral interaction between members of this class. They will respectfully greet each other but will seldom enter into protracted conversations, nor will they assist each other in their various activities.

14. Parents-in-law : Daughter-in-law (kogana, apona : apona). This relationship is markedly different from its male counterpart and in ideals it parallels that between grandparents and grandchildren.

The application of kin terminology. The preceding parts on reference and address terminology and kinship behavior are normative, or ideal, statements concerning how kinsmen are classed and how they ought to behave toward one another. However, as ethnographers have observed (Bohannan 1963: 70), application of the terms in everyday life may deviate markedly from this ideal and are usually indicative of what has been called the manipulation of kinship terminology (Bruner 1955: 849). The bases for the manipulations are analogies constructed on the content of inter-kin behavior (Schneider 1953: 228). As Frake has noted, "Non-kin can be brought into the framework of these (kinship) relationships and named by a kinship term appropriate to an existing or desired social relationship" (1960: 62-3). I add that this manipulation is not confined to non-kinsmen, but also is often applied to individuals who are already kinsmen. I shall cite instances of both sorts of manipulation.

For example, the application of the term for wife, Ngmana, by an unmarried male to his sister's husband's sister may be regarded as an expression of the highly desired ideal form of marriage, direct sister exchange. However, should such an anticipated marriage fail to be realized and should the sister's husband's sister marry some other unrelated individual, she is then terminologically shifted from the class of "female spouse" to the more general and genealogically further removed class of "in-law", imana/kovana. Similarly, in direct sister exchange,

a man's wife's brother's wife equals sister and will be recognized by the proper term for sister. But when the exchange does not occur, then a wife's brother's wife is terminologically in the same distant affine class, imana/kovana, as in the previous example. A female's status as single or married also determines the proper kin terms to be applied to a man's brother's wife's sister. When unmarried, she, too, is in the female spouse class (which in itself is intriguing, since there is a prohibition against brothers marrying sisters). However, when she is married to any individual she becomes a sister-in-law, kamena, on the grounds that two men who may be previously unrelated, but who marry sisters, thereby become brothers and one's brother's brothers are one's own brothers as well.

While the foregoing examples of variation in the application of kin terms are still directly based on variations in genealogical linkages, these genealogical criteria may also be completely overridden or ignored altogether. For example, a man who consistently has trading contacts with another unrelated individual will refer to him as his "brother", Ngorena, and will address him in a similar manner. Such usage of kin terms may actually precede any trading relations and in these and similar instances the application of the kin term is anticipatory of a desired and expected form of behavior. The relative age between kinsmen may also affect the selection of a kin term. By the time a male becomes an established adult family man he may refer to any of his still living grandfathers,

kogana, as fathers, ana. The age difference between a man and his grandfathers is perceived as greater when a man is a child than when he is 25-30 years old and, further, the behavioral counterpart of grandfather-grandson kin term application is considered inappropriate for two adult males.

In another instance, a young boy of 13 was intensely ashamed when addressed as kamena by his brother's wives whenever he was in the company of others. In this example, the behavioral implications are more appropriate among peers. In other cases, my initial confusion over certain informants' responses was resolved by the pertinent details of life histories. One informant had responded that a certain person was his "mother", but the informant's elder brother stated that the woman was their "sister". For a moment it appeared that an elder male sibling referred to and addressed his opposite sex sibling by the term I had come to translate as "sister", ambana, whereas the younger male sibling adamantly maintained that he referred to and addressed the same female as "mother", mana. After protracted questioning, I learned that this anomaly had developed in the following manner: the woman, the eldest (living) sibling of the three living siblings, had married and left home to assume residence with her husband prior to the birth of the younger brother. Shortly after the younger brother was born, both his biological mother and his sister's husband died. Upon the death of the latter, the sister returned to her natal residence and assumed care of her younger brother, since the

elder brother was old enough at that time to care for himself. Thus she fulfilled the role of "mother" to her younger brother while remaining a "sister" to her elder brother.

These have been illustrations of the application of kin terms which effect closer relationships between individuals than had previously existed in the concrete genealogical sense. Applications of kin terms with the opposite end in mind also occur, thereby creating more distant relations. For example, Koindi of Timbamaruwaga clan referred (quite properly in terms of genealogical linkages) to his mother's brother, KU-5, as mbapona, and the proper referential reciprocal ought to have been "son", warina; or, in address, the self-reciprocal mbapona. I have already noted that the mother's brother may be instrumental in acquiring wives for his sister's son, and, in fact, it is common to discover that many "mother's brothers" are not genealogical mother's brothers at all, but are the individuals who gave Ego's mother to Ego's father in marriage. But KU-5 is an old man, he is unmarried and therefore lacks 'affine roads' and he is not influential in the community. KU-5 refers to and addresses Koindi by the term for grandchild, kogana, and in so doing he is 'signaling' to Koindi that he is unwilling (and unable) to fulfill the roles which are the responsibility of a mother's brother.

Another case appeared more complex at the outset. I was surprised one day to hear EM-5 refer to NA-28, a classificatory brother, as his giana, i.e., brother-in-law. I asked Kombla

(EM-5) why he had done so and was it not true that Kinjan (NA-28) was also his brother, Ngorena, and had he not been referring to Kinjan as 'brother' prior to this time. Kombla said that Kinjan was his "brother" because their respective fathers were "brothers" (making Kinjan a putative father's brother's son) but that he was also a "brother-in-law" because Kombla's mother, EM-2-W, and Kinjan's wife, NA-28-W1, were both female agnates of the same smallest segment of the same exogamous clan. This reckoning made Kinjan a putative mother's brother's daughter's husband to Kombla. The significance of an in-law term's taking precedence over a consanguineal term was not immediately apparent, and additional questioning at the time only served to provoke Kombla who steadfastly insisted that this shift was a personal preference of his own. Several days later, however, I learned that Kombla had instituted legal proceedings against Kinjan. In brief, the case involved trespass and damage done by a pig of Kinjan's to one of Kombla's gardens. While pig trespass cases may be solved in different ways depending upon the specific circumstances in each case, restitution in one form or another is usually called for. In this case, since the pig and its owner had been identified and since both parties to the litigation were still alive and co-resident, it would have been normal for Kinjan to pay Kombla a few shells or plumes as compensation for the damage to his garden. However, Kinjan chose to ignore Kombla's subtle comments to their common relatives (plaintiff and defendant seldom if ever face each



other directly in legal proceedings) on the duties of "brothers".

This is not the place to discuss Kinjan's possible motives for behaving in this manner. Simply stated, one cannot make direct demands on the wealth resources of a brother because, in cases like this, a brother ought to voluntarily offer restitution. On the other hand, such demands can be made of a brother-in-law. In this, the shift in kin terminology removed a close kinsman to a more distant class but more significantly, it served to put Kinjan in a different legal domain. The case was successfully prosecuted by Kombla and he ultimately received compensation from Kinjan.

In concluding this section, I must caution that none of the foregoing in any way contradicts the fact that kin terms primarily specify kinds of genealogical relatedness and that there are correlative sets of normative behavior. I believe I have amply demonstrated that insofar as kin term usage is concerned, divergent applications are the result of manipulating the system on the basis of genealogical alternatives and behavioral analogies.

#### The Marriage System

"Yua pi ma?, Did she go to a man?" "Ana li ma?, Did he acquire a woman?" These are the questions used in eliciting information on marriage and, as can be seen, they reflect the ideals of patrilineality and patri-virilocal residence. When a woman gets married she goes (pi) from her natal residence to

that of her husband. When a man obtains (11) a wife, she comes to his place.

I shall approach marriage among the Manga from the male's point of view, not only in terms of a man's own efforts to acquire a wife for himself, but also in terms of the control he exercises over the marital disposition rights of his own sisters and daughters. By a 'marital disposition right' I refer to the right of a man to determine whom a woman shall marry.

The first consideration, however, concerns marriage prohibitions. A Manga may not marry any individual recognized as a consanguineal or affinal kinsman, wuna tiNa and wuna kmba, respectively. It is important to note that, while the prohibition excludes all zero generation first cousins, it does not do so for non-co-resident zero generation second cousins, that is, the descendants of non-co-resident first cousins consider themselves as unrelated.

Marriage prohibitions are largely dependent upon previous marriages. These prior marriages establish kinship ties which ideally last for a specified number of generations after which the descendants are again regarded as non-kinsmen, keu wuna.

Methods of wife acquisition. Within the span of the five generations depicted in the genealogies (Appendix I), 156 KulakaeNgeyka males of marriageable age acquired wives, while only 16 remained bachelors. Twenty-two men have been polygynous (14.4%), though no man has ever been known to have had more than two wives at the same time (Table XII, Plural Mar-

TABLE XII  
PLURAL MARRIAGES

<u>Males of the Sub-clan:</u>	<u>Bachelors</u>	<u>Men With 1 Wife</u>	<u>Men With 2 Wives</u>
Nanmbekale	1	26	5
Peymbankale		8	3
Mbalegale	6	23	4
Aliyaumo	1	13	4
Kobunga	4	6	1
Kunakaikale	2	7	2
Karakambo		22	1
MbaNkale	2	29	2
<b>Totals</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>22</b>

**Summary:**

Total number of adult males: 172 (16 + 134 + 22)

Total number of married men: 156 (134 + 22)

Total number of marital unions: 178 (134 + 22 + 22)

riages). From the woman's standpoint, 44 of the 159 women (27.6%) originating from outside the clan have spent at least a part of their married lives in a polygynous union with a KulakaeNgeyka male.

In Table XIII, Methods of Wife Acquisition, I present a summary of the ways in which Manga men have acquired their wives, exclusive of leviratic marriages, which will be considered separately. The large number of 'Unknowns' in Row X of the table is simply a result of Manga genealogical ignorance. Of the 86 women for whom the method of acquisition is unknown, 56 are in the senior generations A and B.

Sister-exchange is the most numerically important method of wife acquisition, with courtship a close second. Marriages effected in accordance with the prescriptive marriage rule are infrequent in occurrence.

By "Gift" as a method of wife acquisition, I am referring to the practice whereby a leading man acquires marital disposition rights over some woman through his own affine roads which he then confers on someone else, usually a dependent co-resident of his own men's house group. For example, NA-43, the leading man of Nanmbekale, has obtained both of his classificatory son NA-37's wives for him. In acquiring the first wife, NA-37-W1, NA-43 exploited the genealogical connection through NA-12, his own father's sister. In acquiring NA-37-W2, the second wife, NA-43 exploited the connection through his own father's mother's brother's son. The remaining cases of wife acquisition by gift

TABLE XIII

## METHODS OF WIFE ACQUISITION

<u>Method of Acquisition</u>	<u>Sub-clan Segment</u>							<u>TOTAL</u>	
	Nanmbekale	Peymbankale	Mbalegale	Aliyaumo	Kobunga	Kunakaikale	Karakambo		Mbankale
A. Courtship	8	4	2	2			4	9	29
B. Sister-exchange	6	1	7	3	2	2	4	7	32
C. Marriage rule	4							1	5
D. "Gift"	3			2		1			6
E. Other <sup>1</sup>	1	1	1	2					5
F. Unknown method	15	7	17	9	5	6	15	12	86
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>37<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>13</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>18<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>29<sup>4</sup></b>	<b>163<sup>5</sup></b>

## Notes:

1. The cases under "Other" are recorded in the Historical Notes accompanying the appropriate Sub-clan genealogies in Appendix I.
2. NA-28-W2 is listed under both categories C and E; NA-28-W1 is listed under both categories B and C.
3. AL-16-W1 is listed under both categories B and E.
4. EM-15-W is listed under both categories B and C.
5. The total of 163 reflects the total number of methods of wife acquisition, not the total number of marriages. To bring this Table into agreement with Table XII on Plural Marriages delete one entry for each of those individuals with double entries (notes two to four above). This reduces the total to 159. To this figure, add the number of women acquired by the levirate (18) and the single incest case and the total will be 178, which is the total number of marital unions noted in Table XII, Plural Marriages.

are similar to these examples.

The method of acquiring wives through courtship was discussed in detail in Chapter IV. As noted in the KoNa case, acquisition of a wife through courtship can be hazardous for all parties concerned. Courtships often end in elopements which frequently run counter to the desires of the girl's patrilineal kinsmen. Violent legal disputes ensue, which can easily develop into extensive armed conflicts if no amicable settlement is reached.

I shall now consider, in greater detail, the levirate, sister-exchange, bride-prices, and the marriage rule. I may recall again that sororal polygyny is prohibited.

The levirate. Table XIV, KulakaeNgeyka Levirate Cases, summarizes the data on leviratic marriages by Sub-clan segments. In 44 per cent of these cases, the woman re-married with a genealogically traceable "brother", real or classificatory, of her deceased husband.

When a woman's husband dies, the most significant factor controlling her possible future is whether or not her bride-price has been paid. If she has been paid for in full, and this includes being party to a completed sister-exchange, then she is properly regarded as the property of her deceased husband's Sub-clan. If her sons are still too young to be of any real assistance in house building, gardening, and offering protection, then her care in these matters will most likely be assumed by a real or classificatory brother of her deceased

TABLE XIV  
KULAKAENGEYKA LEVIRATE CASES

Subclan Membership of the New Husband	Genealogical Traceable Relation- ship of the Deceased Husband to the New Husband				<u>TOTAL</u>
	FBs, B FFBss	FSs	None		
			Same Sub- clan	Diff. Subclan	
A. Nanbekale		1			1
B. Peymbankale	1				1
C. Mbalekale	2			2 <sup>1</sup>	4
D. Aliyaumo	2	1			3
E. Kobunga				1 <sup>2</sup>	1
F. Kunakaikale	1			1 <sup>3</sup>	2
G. Karakambo				1 <sup>4</sup>	1
H. MbaNkale	1		3 <sup>5</sup>	1 <sup>6</sup>	5
	4	4	1	3	6
					<u>18</u>

Notes on individual cases involving re-marriage with a non-genealogically traceable "brother" of the deceased husband.

1. NA-73 died and his wife, NA-73-W, remarried MB-49 (See Appendix 1).  
KO-6 died and his wife, KO-6-[ , remarried MB-11.
2. EM-44 died and his wife, EM-44-W, remarried KO-14.
3. KO-17 died and his wife, KO-17-W, remarried KU-21. When KU-21 died she then married KU-12. KU-12 is KU-21's father's father's brother's son's son.
4. EM-2 died and his wife, EM-2-W, remarried EK-62.
5. EM-27 died and his wife, EM-27-W, remarried EM-13.  
EM-45 died and his wife, EM-45-W, remarried EM-13 as the latter's second wife.  
EM-30 died and his wife, EM-30-W, remarried EM-35.
6. NA-41 died and his wife, NA-41-W, remarried EM-51.

husband. Through association and mutual consent, this arrangement may come to include sexual union as well. In these cases there are no subsequent payments to be made by the new husband to his own patrilineal kinsmen.

A woman in this position is able to control mate selection within certain limits. She may elect to remain unmarried (especially if she has mature sons, as in the case of KO-17-W), or she may accept an economic arrangement with a senior male of her husband's sub-clan. In this case she provides pig husbandry, gardening, and food preparation services in exchange for his labor, but without sexual union.

In these latter instances, any male of the same clan as the deceased husband may propose that he assume these duties by leaving bundles of firewood at her door. Her acceptance of this offering constitutes her acceptance of the donor. If the husband acquired in this manner is a member of a different sub-clan, he is obligated to make a small payment of a pig and a few shells to the deceased's brothers at some unspecified future date. The new husband also inherits obligation to his newly acquired wife's agnatic kinsmen and will now be required to continue the wealth presentations to affines upon the births and deaths of his children by her and upon her eventual death.

Some men feel this responsibility to a much greater degree than others. MB-45 acquired the wife of deceased MB-7, MB-7-W, and though her bride-price had been paid, he insisted on making an additional payment as well as payment for the two chil-



dren to her patrilineal kinsmen. The two men were father's father's brother's son's sons to each other.

Similarly, in cases of widow acquisition in which the new husband is a member of a different sub-clan, his obligation to his wife's deceased husband's brothers may be fulfilled in several manners. KO-14 married the wife of the deceased EM-44 and is now uxori-local, maintaining his normal (but not ceremonial) residence in the ENgeyka men's house EPI-51. In so doing he provides labor when needed to his wife's deceased husband's "brothers".

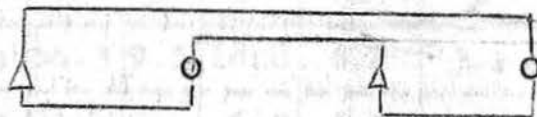
On the other hand, in those instances where a woman's bride-price has not been paid and there are no living children, it is most probable that the woman will return to her natal residence. But the more children she has had, then the less the probability that she will do so. In general, older widows with children are not highly regarded as potential spouses. Men see them as relatively independent females able to conduct most of their affairs with little male assistance. In addition, it is also believed that there is a possibility<sup>of</sup> the deceased husband's spirit becoming angry when he notes his brother's sexual union with his former wife. Widows are considered as potentially disruptive to the marriages of other women.

There are also rare occurrences of widows being sent in marriage to completely different clans by the "brothers" of her deceased husband. A case of this involved EM-64-W who, upon the death of her husband, was sent in marriage to Karap in the

Upper Jimi. Since she had been a party to sister-exchange by marrying EM-64, she remained as a form of property of her deceased husband's sub-clan, MbaNkale upon his death. A bride-price will be forthcoming from her new husband and his kinsmen.

I maintain a minor distinction between the practice of levirate and that of widow acquisition. The distinction is dependent upon the manner in which the widow is acquired. Those cases where there is simple continuity of care by a "brother" of the deceased, culminating in eventual sexual union, I have classed as levirate. Widow acquisition, however, differs in that there is a formal announcement (the firewood at the door) of the man's intention. The exercise of levirate is confined to the sub-clan whereas widow acquisition may be accomplished on the initiative of any male member of the entire clan of the deceased husband.

Sister-exchange. In cases of sister exchange, I am interested in tabulating the exact genealogical relationships of the parties involved prior to the marriage. Ideally, all instances of direct exchange of women are characterized as involving two previously un-related men and a biological sister of each. This may be represented as follows:



Reay states that, whereas this model of biological sister-exchange is regarded as the ideal by the Kuma as well, "...gen-

TABLE XV  
Sister-exchange

KulakaeNgeyka Sub-subclans	Genealogical Relationship of Woman to the Male Donor							TOTAL
	S	Fwd	FBd	FFBsd	FFBssd	FSd, MBd'	unknown	
Nanbekale $\frac{\text{Given}}{\text{Rec'd}}$	$\frac{2}{5}$	$\frac{2}{-}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	-	$\frac{1}{-}$	-	-	$\frac{6}{6}$
Peymbankale $\frac{\text{Given}}{\text{Rec'd}}$	-	-	$\frac{1}{-}$	-	-	-	-	$\frac{1}{1}$
Mbalekale $\frac{\text{Given}}{\text{Rec'd}}$	$\frac{4}{7}$	-	$\frac{1}{-}$	$\frac{2}{-}$	-	-	-	$\frac{7}{7}$
Aliyaumo $\frac{\text{Given}}{\text{Rec'd}}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	$\frac{1}{1}$	-	-	$\frac{1}{-}$	-	$\frac{3}{3}$
KobuNga $\frac{\text{Given}}{\text{Rec'd}}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	-	$\frac{1}{-}$	-	-	-	-	$\frac{2}{2}$
Kunakaikale $\frac{\text{Given}}{\text{Rec'd}}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{-}$	-	-	-	-	-	$\frac{2}{2}$
Karakambo $\frac{\text{Given}}{\text{Rec'd}}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	-	$\frac{1}{-}$	-	-	-	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{4}{4}$
MbaNkale $\frac{\text{Given}}{\text{Rec'd}}$	$\frac{7}{5}$	-	-	$\frac{1}{-}$	-	$\frac{1}{-}$	-	$\frac{7}{7}$
TOTALS $\frac{\text{Given}}{\text{Rec'd}}$	$\frac{18}{26}$	$\frac{3}{\emptyset}$	$\frac{6}{2}$	$\frac{2}{1}$	$\frac{1}{\emptyset}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{32}{32}$
Percentages $\frac{\text{Given}}{\text{Rec'd}}$	56.3 81.4	9.5 -	18.8 6.2	6.2 3.1	3.1 -	3.1 3.1	3.1 6.2	100 100

The incidence of sister-exchange was not high

erally the 'sister's' exchanged are the men's clan sisters" (1959:57).

For the Manga, out of a total of 159 women acquired as wives from other exogamous units over the period covered in the genealogies, 32 women (20.1%) were acquired through sister-exchange. Table XV "Sister-exchange" lists, by Sub-clan, the genealogical relationships of these women to their respective donor male kinsman (for both sisters received and sisters given).

If I exclude genealogical generations A and B (See Appendix I) from consideration, and consider only generations C, D, and E, the number of women acquired by sister-exchange, as opposed to all other methods of wife-acquisition is 30 out of 96 (31.3%). If, however, we consider all generations, the incidence of sister-exchange is 20.1%.

It is difficult to assess the importance of the contrast in these two percentage figures. I have already established the fact that genealogical knowledge of the members of ascending generations is weak, particularly with regard to the father's sister and the father's father's sister. I offer three possible interpretations. First, there is the previously noted evidence that informants are, in a majority of instances, unable to state the method of wife acquisition by males of generations A and B; therefore the different percentages are simply a result of genealogical ignorance. In this case, I would postulate that the incidence of sister-exchange would have been just as high

several generations ago as it is now. Second, it is logically possible that sister-exchange is actually declining in occurrence. I have no evidence which would definitely prove whether either of these two interpretations is absolutely true or false. A third possible interpretation is that the difference in percentages may indicate that the system of marriage arrangements is actually undergoing change toward a greater reliance on direct sister-exchange as a method of wife-acquisition. There are at least three possible contributing factors to such a change; the incursion of the kananta courtship complex (See Chapter IV), declining clan size in terms of gross population, and Administration policy.

Informants in the twenty-thirty age range state that the courtship complex of kananta was first practiced among the Manga about two generations ago. Prior to this, many women were attracted to the clan by the appearance of elegantly attired males attending pig festival events, and some say that this method of wife acquisition was more important in former times than it is today. On the other hand, this statement may be an instance of male vanity. However, the kananta is not yet practiced in the lower (Western) Jimi River area and with relation to the spatial location of the Manga, the kananta is even more prevalent (and in a more virulent form) to the South and Southeast of Kwiop. In these Southern areas special long-houses are constructed for the courting parties of men and girls and, though the Manga were familiar enough with this custom, they did not yet practice it.

I would postulate that when women begin eloping, as is quite common in areas where kananta is practiced, a great deal more emphasis is placed upon immediate reciprocation of a woman. That is, as women attempt to exert more control over their own marital destinies, their fathers and brothers will more firmly demand reciprocity.

It may also be the case that the increasing incidence of sister-exchange is a deliberate effort to initiate continuing affinal alliances by a clan which is diminishing in size and importance. In cases of direct sister-exchange there is no formal bride-price, which works to the particular advantage of the smaller clan, since their economic resources are not as great as those of a larger clan. Sister-exchange marriages are also more durable, since the return of one man's wife precipitates the return of her exchange. Thus, not only does sister-exchange marriage provide an affinal bond between two men which is to the advantage of both, but the women also usually become friends and exchange minor services (Plate 15).

A third possible contributing factor to the difference in percentages might be the effect of Australian Administrative policy. Patrol officers have continually upheld the right of a young girl to choose whomever she wishes to marry and, at the same time, have denied men the right to make this decision for a girl. However, this policy has been in effect such a short time (since 1956) that its effect here may be discounted.

In sum, it is currently impossible to tell whether any



PLATE 15

TWO WOMEN WHO HAVE MARRIED EACH OTHER'S BROTHER.

change occurred or not, and, if there is change, in what direction it is moving. This problem can be resolved only through a re-study at some later date. Neither can accurate comparisons with other New Guinea Highland societies be made at this time, since there are no figures available from other areas on the incidence of sister-exchange. Sister-exchange is non-existent among the Mae-Enga (Meggitt 1965: 93), and the exchange of real sisters is apparently rare among the Kuma (Reay 1959:61,66). Among the Manga, 65.8% of the women given in sister-exchange are biologically full or half-sisters and an additional 18.8% are father's brother's daughters. Collectively, this comprises 84.6% of the women given in sister-exchange.

The negotiations for sister-exchange are most frequently carried on by men at the clan-moiety level. Whether the negotiations are or are not conducted at this level is, however, ideologically irrelevant to the Manga since sister-exchange is always referred to as having occurred between these clan-moieties. The resultant affinally linked units are referred to as "brother-brother" units, Ngore-Ngore. In other contexts the phrase may also be used to refer to the paired clans of the same phratry, as well as to the affinally linked clans of different phratries.

The affinal kinship terminology is theoretically extended to include all members of the opposite affinally linked Ngore unit, which dictates, in effect, that no additional marriages may be conducted with that unit for at least one generation. The phrase is that 'brothers may not marry sisters'; that is,



two men of one clan ought not to marry two women of another clan. The primary result of this custom is that women are widely distributed among other clans. In many specific cases, the manifest reason given for sending a woman to a particular clan is that her presence there will provide a place where her male agnates may obtain food while on trading expeditions.

The 159 Manga women sent away in marriage have gone to at least 16 different phratries, none<sup>4</sup> of which is located more than 5 miles away from Kwiop. Almost one-fourth (24.7%) of all marriages have been contracted with the opposite clan of the Manga phratry. The second greatest percentage of marriages (14.6%) was contracted with the Yuomban phratry. Those phratries with which marriages are most frequently conducted are also those which are spatially the nearest to the KulakaeNgeyka. In spite of the bias in these figures, due to genealogical ignorance, it is significant that the ideal of reciprocity has been least attained with the Yuomban Phratry, and that it was the Yuomban who subsequently initiated the war with the Manga.

Table XVI, "Marriage Frequency by Phratry," is arranged by declining order of the frequency of marriages between the KulakaeNgeka Clan and other Phratries. A further breakdown of this distribution in terms of sub-clans of both the wife-giving and wife-taking phratries fails to reveal any significant variations (Appendix XI, Distribution of Marriages of the KulakaeNgeyka clan by sub-clan segments). That is, it does not appear that a specific sub-clan of one clan-moiety has any

TABLE XVI

Marriage Frequency by Phratry

<u>Phratry</u>	<u>Total Number of Women Involved:</u>	<u>Married Into KulakaeNgeyka clan-moiety</u>	<u>Married Out From KulakaeNgeyka clan-moiety</u>
Manga	61 (24.7%)	39	22
Yuomban	36 (14.6%)	29	7
Tukma	28 (11.3%)	21	7
Morokai	27 (10.9%)	14	13
Kamam	19	11	8
Yismban	15	7	8
Kaulaga	14	7	7
Okona	12	8	4
Moluma	9	7	2
(unknown)	9	8	1
Manga <sup>1</sup>	5	3	2
Koatse	4	1	3
Palau	2	1	2
(Koinambi) <sup>2</sup>	1	1	-
(Banz) <sup>2</sup>	1	-	1
Korika	1	1	-
Maika	1	1	-
Unjika	1	-	1
Watsamban	1	1	-
	<u>247</u>	<u>159</u>	<u>88</u>

<sup>1</sup> These cases include the transfer of women between sub-clans of KulakaeNgeyka Clan-moiety.

<sup>2</sup> These are place names. Phratry names at these places are not known to me.

sort of exclusive affinal connection with particular sub-clans of other clan-moieties of other clans. This is further substantiated by the data on incoming marriages.

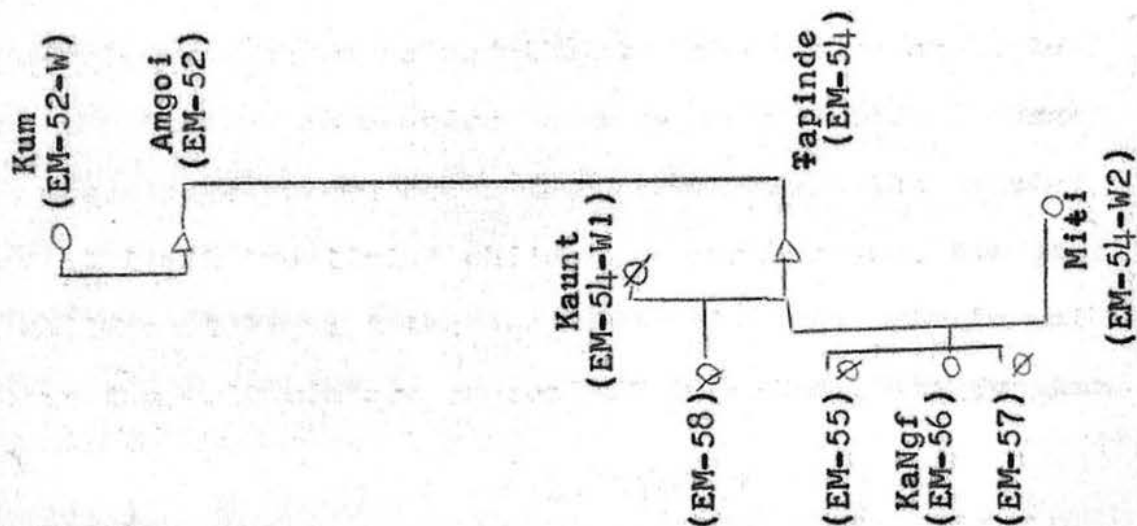
In looking at these data, it appears that the previously mentioned prohibition (i.e., two men of the same generation and exogamous clan may not marry two women of the same generation who are members of the same exogamous clan) is frequently violated. The prohibition is phrased by the Manga as, "brothers may not marry sisters". The data show that there are several cases where two women of the same clan and even from the same clan-moiety have married two similarly related males.<sup>5</sup> However, when taking the sub-clan membership of these individuals into account, it can be seen that, in these cases, either the two men or the two women do not, in fact, belong to the same sub-clan. Thus, for purposes of adherence to this marriage prohibition, the actual referent unit is the sub-clan; not the clan as stated in the rule. In spite of this discrepancy, the marriages of clan members and the subsequent bride-price payments are invariably referred to, by the Manga, as being between clans rather than sub-clans.

Bride-prices: The Manga say that a bride-price ought to be paid at the time a man acquires a woman as a wife. In practice, however, bride-prices are seldom paid before the married couple has at least two living children. Furthermore, the youngest child must be past the age of weaning and able to walk well. These two criteria are approximately coterminous events

in the development of the child.

A wife does not formally determine the time when the bride-price is to be paid. This is her husband's decision. She can, however, exercise pressure on her husband and in several indirect manners, induce him to fulfill his financial obligation. Since a man stores the majority of his wealth in plumes and shells at his wife's house, she has a constant gauge by which to measure the efficacy of his efforts to accumulate sufficient valuables. If she feels that her husband is lax in these matters, or that he already has enough wealth accumulated, she may indirectly attempt to force him to pay for her. She may do this by berating him constantly, withdrawing sexual privileges from him, refusing to cook food for him, or by threatening to return to her parents.

Occasionally, additional external events may precipitate a payment, as in the following example. This instance illustrates one of the manners in which pressure can be brought to bear upon a man by his wife in urging him to pay her bride-price.



Ƨapinde (EM-54) and Amgoi (EM-52) are full brothers.

Ƨapinde, the elder, was married previously to a girl of the Timbamaruwaga Clan of the Manga, who was later killed by the Yuomban. As his second wife, Ƨapinde acquired a girl of his first wife's opposite clan-moiety. That is, both of his wives belonged to the same clan but opposite clan-moieties. Ƨapinde and his second wife, MiƧi (EM-54-W2) had three children, all daughters. Two of these children died in infancy. The remaining daughter, KaNgf (EM-56), was about seven years old at the time that Amgoi, her father's younger brother, acquired Kum (EM-52-W) as his wife. Amgoi had been courting Kum for several months and on May 13, 1962, she eloped with him in the middle of the night. A legal case ensued, during which it was agreed that by this elopement a balance of sisters lost and wives gained had been achieved between Amgoi's and Kum's clans and there was, therefore, no reason to demand the return of Kum.

The newly acquired wife, Kum, was installed in the same woman's house as MiƧi, her sister-in-law. The two women, though female agnates of the same clan-moiety, did not get along together. MiƧi constantly harassed Kum. She overturned her cooking pots, would not give her any assistance, would seldom speak to her and, in general, made Kum's life quite miserable. MiƧi complained publicly that no man's brother had any right to acquire a wife when the older brother's wife had not yet been paid for. On several occasions Ƨapinde berated his wife because of her behavior, which inevitably led to a stick fight between them.

Around the first week in June, Tapinde began to talk about paying his bride-price, but in a rather negative sense. He proclaimed that he had no shells, no plumes, no pigs, and, moreover, no relatives to assist him in the collection of these articles. He stated that he wished he could pay his wife's bride-price but how was it possible under these circumstances? Further, he said, his wife had only one living child and there was no male heir.

On July 7, 1962, Miti (EM-54-W2) complained, upon awakening, that she did not feel well (nam wali tondo, "something is 'fighting' me"). She had no external symptoms other than a morose countenance and an astonishing reluctance to move or do anything. She moaned slightly. Her husband, Tapinde, called for the two sorcerers, Kent (NA-11) and Mauwl (PE-5). They arrived, and after smoking the ritual cigarettes, concluded that Miti was experiencing soul-loss. They related that in the wanderings of their own souls during the cigarette ceremony, they had heard from other souls that Miti's soul was in hiding and that this was her husband's fault. They prescribed that one chicken and one pig must be killed in order to placate Miti's ancestors and that certain additional rituals must be effected to reduce the general high level of contamination caused by the neighboring Yuomban, their 'perpetual' enemies. The pig and chicken were duly slaughtered and, prior to their being covered in their earth ovens, Tapinde placed his hands on the heads of the animals and cried out to her parents and

his parents to help locate his wife's soul and return it to her body. While the pig and chicken were still cooking, Tapinde and several of his 'brothers' proceeded to the Manga-Yuomban territorial boundary to conduct more magic and, on their return, I intercepted Tapinde to ask him if they had been successful in regaining his wife's soul. He replied that it was too early to tell. I then inquired whether he had any prospective date in mind for paying his wife's bride-price. He told me to come with him to the ENgeyka sacred grounds, where the animals had earlier been slaughtered. I accompanied him and when we arrived we sat on a log within easy earshot of his wife and he said to me, "What was that you were asking?" And so I, on cue, said again, "When do you intend to pay your wife's bride-price?" "Well," Tapinde said, "I would like to do it today (an obvious impracticality) or perhaps sometime this week but, unfortunately, Tmbna (MB-72) has just died, and until his brother, Wura (MB-66), has signaled the end of the formal mourning period, there can be no beating of drums in the village, which would certainly put a crimp in any bride-price festivities." "But," he continued, "I am working on it, and I should be able to pay her bride-price in a few weeks or so."

In fact, on the second of August, Tapinde did pay his wife's bride-price. The shortage of one child was compensated for by using EM-28 (a classificatory son but not genealogically related to EM-54) as a surrogate for the son Mit'i had not had.

During this same year, 1962, the year of the pig festival,

several additional bride-prices were paid, either to or by men of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan. The ceremony attendant to bride-prices has been described in Chapter IV. Data on the wealth distribution of eight bride-price payments and of one child payment are in Appendix XII, Bride-Price Payments. In the course of any bride-price payment, there are two sets of contributors and two sets of recipients; one set each for the bride-price and for the subsequent repayment. It was not always possible for me to document each of these four. Repayments, for instance, may be put off for several weeks or months. On several occasions, either I was absent from the village or the payment was made or received in another village.

In Tables XVII, XVIII, and XIX, I present the data of the eight payments which I witnessed. Though only slightly more than 50% of all the contributors and recipients are members of the same Sub-clan, their average contribution constitutes over 70% of all payments, and they receive about the same percentage of all distributions. Less than 10% of the contributors belong to a different Clan-moiety. Thus, while a particular individual may be slighted in terms of wealth given and wealth received, equity in the flow of valuables is achieved at least at the level of the Sub-clan. It is found that in bride-price payments, the husband personally contributes approximately 50% of the total payment (Table XIX). Additional contributions to these payments by non-members of the husband's Sub-clan come from three sources; political leaders (and those aspiring



TABLE XVII

Percentage Distribution of the Total Number of Individual Contributors and Recipients of Bride-prices by Their Unit of Membership

Case Number <sup>1</sup>	Total Number <sup>2</sup>	Same Clan		Different Clan
		Same Clan-moiety		
		Same Sub-clan	Opposite Sub-clan	
1. Contributors (BP) <sup>3</sup>	13	46.2%	23.1%	30.7%
Recipients (RP) <sup>3,4</sup>	11	45.5	45.5	9.0
2. Contributors (RP)	8	37.5	50.0	12.5
3. Recipients (BP)	10	50.0	40.0	10.0
Contributors (RP) <sup>5</sup>	5	100.0		
4. Contributors (BP)	13	53.8	30.8	7.7
Recipients (RP)	12	58.3	41.7	7.7
5. Contributors (BP)	10	60.0	40.0	
6. Contributors (CP) <sup>3</sup>	6	33.3	66.7	
Contributors (BP)	11	45.5	45.5	9.0
7. Recipients (BP)	12	41.7	48.3	
Recipients (RP)	13	53.8	46.2	
8. Recipients <sup>6</sup> (BP)	16	56.3	12.5	31.2
TOTALS (averaged)				
Contributors (BP)	11.8	51.4	34.9	11.8
Recipients (BP)	12.7	49.3	33.6	17.1
Contributors (RP)	6.5	68.8	25.0	6.2
Recipients (RP)	12.0	52.5	44.5	3.0

TABLE XVII (Cont'd)

Notes:

1. See Appendix XII, Bride-price Payments, for the particulars of each case noted here.
2. The anthropologist, as a contributor and/or recipient, has been excluded from this table. His role is noted in the Appendix.
3. (BP) = Bride-price; (RP) = Repayment; (CP) = Child payment
4. Where a portion of the wealth is set aside by the distributor <sup>As</sup> ad capital, as noted in the Appendix, it is regarded as belonging to the distributor, who will control its ultimate use.
5. This is a crucial case since in this instance the repayment was not made until the close of the pig festival. At that time there is a critical drain on each man's capital. Thus, outside contributions are nil since these potential contributors are having to meet their own obligations at the same time. This case clearly reflects the fact that the primary responsibility for contribution obtains between members of the same sub-clan.
6. The peculiarity of this distribution is explained in the Appendix.

TABLE XVIII

Percentage of Items Contributed or Received by Unit of the Contributor or Recipient

Case Number	Total <sup>1</sup> Number	Same Clan		Opposite clan-moiety	Different clan
		Same Clan-moiety			
		Same Sub-clan	Opposite Sub-clan		
1. Contributors (BP)	85	74.1%	3.5%	22.4%	
Recipients (RP)	53	78.9	14.8	6.8	
2. Contributors (RP)	14	42.9	35.7	11.4	
3. Recipients (BP)	58	76.7	8.3	15.0	
Contributors (RP)	33	100.0			
4. Contributors (BP)	55	76.4	16.3	3.6	3.7%
Recipients (RP)	33	74.2	25.8		
5. Contributors (BP)	42	88.1	12.9		
6. Contributors (CP)	25	56.0	44.0		
Contributors (BP)	41	78.0	19.5	2.5	
7. Recipients (BP)	60	80.0	20.0		
Recipients (RP)	22	66.7	33.3		
8. Recipients (BP)	63	63.5	3.1	33.4	
TOTALS (averaged)					
Contributors (BP)	55.8	79.2	13.1	7.5	.9
Recipients (BP)	60.0	73.4	10.5	16.1	
Contributors (RP)	23.5	71.5	17.9	10.6	
Recipients (RP)	36.0	73.3	24.6	2.1	

## Notes:

1. Items contributed or received by the anthropologist have been omitted in this table.

TABLE XIX

Number of Items and Percentage of Bride-Price paid by Husband

<u>Payment Case No.</u>	<u>Total Items Contributed</u>	<u>Number of Items from Husband</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	88	44 (EM-54)	50.0%
4	55	27 (MB-30)	49.1
5	42	29 (PE-21)	69.0
6	41	25 (AL-10)	60.9
<b>Totals</b>	226	125	
<b>Averages</b>	56.5%	31.3%	55.4%

to leadership, e.g. PE-21, NA-43), co-resident non-agnates, and friends. Either Wabi (PE-21) or Wando (NA-43) figure in 9 of the 13 payments I have detailed.

In the distributions of many of these payments (Plate 16), the principal recipient may elect to set aside a portion of the wealth received as a capital reserve (moNgoi tof, literally, "valuables to be exchanged"). He will have control over the ultimate disposition of this resource.

The payment of the bride-price may be considered as the mark of incorporation of the female spouse into the membership of her husband's Sub-clan. As noted before, prior to this time she may seek refuge with her natal patrilineage in times



PLATE 16

TSAPINDE DISTRIBUTES WEALTH RECEIVED IN A BRIDE-PRICE TRANSACTION.

of marital discord. But after the bride-price has been paid, her brothers and fathers are more apt to take the side of her husband in any family arguments between them.

Marriage by the Rule. The peculiarity of the Manga prescriptive marriage rule is that it is only applicable to a man's eldest daughter. The father refers to this type of union as nambalo konye pi, a marriage (nambalo = head, konye = net carrying bag, pi = went), meaning that his eldest daughter has been sent (given) in marriage to a man of her generation of her father's mother's patrilineage. Among the nearby Tsembaga of the Simbai valley, this practice is known as "returning the planting material" (Rappaport 1964). Under this rule, an eldest daughter may expect to marry her father's mother's brother's son's son (FMBss). Should the father fail to give his daughter to his mother's patrilineage, he can expect the wrath of his mother's angered spirit to fall upon his own head.

In the following paragraphs, I characterize "marriage by the rule" in terms of two features from the four possible standard descriptive characteristics for such rules:

1. Is the rule patrilateral or matrilateral?
2. Is the rule preferential or prescriptive?

Next, I introduce a model incorporating into it the rule and the feature of sister exchange. I then comment on the organizational implications of adherence to the model over a period of 5 generations.

Third, I consider two additional pairs of possible char-

acteristics of such models when presented as closed systems:

1. Is the system unilateral or bilateral?
2. Is the system symmetrical or asymmetrical?

In the conclusion, I discuss the relationship of this model with the relevant actual marital patterns.

Initially, it must be established whether the marriage rule is patrilateral or matrilateral.

Types of laterality (patri- or matri-) in marriage rules have always been based on whether the female spouse was a kinsman to her husband either through the husband's father or the husband's mother. But it must be asked whether our anthropological bias of regarding a male in the role of bride-taker is particularly valid in the analysis of a system in which the husband's role in the acquisition of his spouse is minimal. In the Manga marriage rule, it is possible to arrive at different interpretations of the type of laterality, depending upon which kinsman is regarded as the focal point in the genealogical linkage. The possibilities are:

1. Patrilateral, given the male spouse as the focal point.
2. Matrilateral, given the female spouse's father as the focal point.
3. Patrilateral, given the female spouse as the focal point.
4. Patrilateral, given the male spouse's father as the focal point.

Thus, the rule is patrilateral if considered from the point

of view of the marriage partners (1. and 3.). The rule is matrilateral if considered from the point of view of the father of the bride (the individual to whom the negative sanction for non-compliance will apply). And last, the rule is again patrilateral from the point of view of the father of the groom (who claims the girl as a bride for his son). The possibilities are three to one in favor of regarding this as a patrilateral marriage rule.

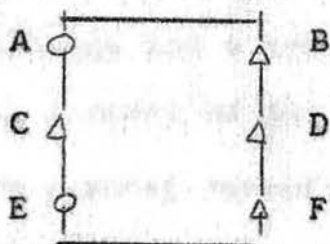
The second question to be considered concerns the status of this rule as prescriptive. I intend to use the term "prescriptive" in the sense promoted by Needham. A marriage rule is prescriptive if "the category or type of person to be married is precisely determined, and this marriage is obligatory" (Needham 1962a: 9). This is a more rigorous and precise definition than that proposed for the Siane of Highland New Guinea by Livingston. Livingston defined prescriptive, "in the sense that it is not desirable or economic to keep sending women to another group with no exchange" (1964: 56). For Livingston<sup>2</sup> the Siane prescriptive system is also patrilateral, though it is not based on exact genealogical reckoning. As Livingston says, "To obtain a wife a man negotiates with the 'father's sister's' clans" (1964: 56) even though the marrying kinsmen may not be genealogical cross-cousins.

Salisbury's ethnographic data on the Siane support Livingston's assertion, since Salisbury states that, "all men, when they marry, must be and are...marrying a 'father's sister's



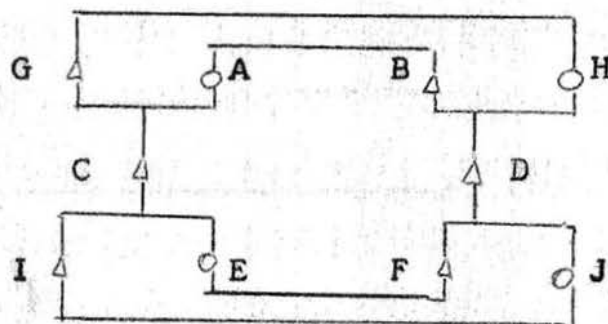
daughter'" (1964: 169). Salisbury, however, has changed his position so many times that it is really difficult to determine whether the prescriptive marriage system refers to first or second cousins (vide Maybury-Lewis 1965: 220).<sup>3</sup> It may be that the system is prescriptive only in the sense defined by Livingston: that is, in terms of clan exchanges. If this is so, then the Siane are not comparable to the Manga. The question must remain unresolved until such time as Salisbury straightens out his own data. For the present, the Manga are unique among New Guinea Highlanders in having a marriage rule which obligatorily prescribes a marriage form.

In summary then, the Manga marriage rule is a prescriptive patrilateral marriage rule. If the type of cousins getting married were regarded as kinsmen, they would be parallel cousins in accordance with the definition of parallel in the Manga kinship terminological system. In a marriage of this type (see diagram below), the claimant (D) of the girl (E) is a cross-cousin to the girl's father (C). That is, marital rights in the girl are transferred by the girl's father (C) to his mother's brother's son (D) who gives the girl, in turn, to his own son (F). In contrast, among the Kuma, the girl's father's mother's brother's son may take her as a wife for himself (Reay 1965).



While a man (D in the diagram above) may solicit wives for his son (F) along several affine roads, he has a legal claim only on his father's sister's son's daughter (E).

In cases where the ideal of sister-exchange has occurred in the generation of A and B (see diagram below), C and D will be bilateral cross-cousins and will have legal claims on each other's daughters. This would result in a genealogical arrangement of the following sort:



C and D are bilateral cross-cousins. C has a claim on D's daughter J, and D has a claim on C's daughter E. The marriages of E=F and I=J reunite the two patrilineal lines after one generation. The resultant pattern, as it continues over the generations, is one of alternate generation patrilineal parallel cousin marriage with sister exchange. However, in order to be complete, the marriages of C and D must also be shown as part of this ideal system. In figure I, "Manga Marriage Model," I propose a model which incorporates the two ideals of sister-exchange and a prescriptive patrilineal marriage rule. This is a model of the normative statements of informants. It is not a model describing the "observed distribution of marriages" (Romney 1961: 225-6).

### MANGA MARRIAGE MODEL

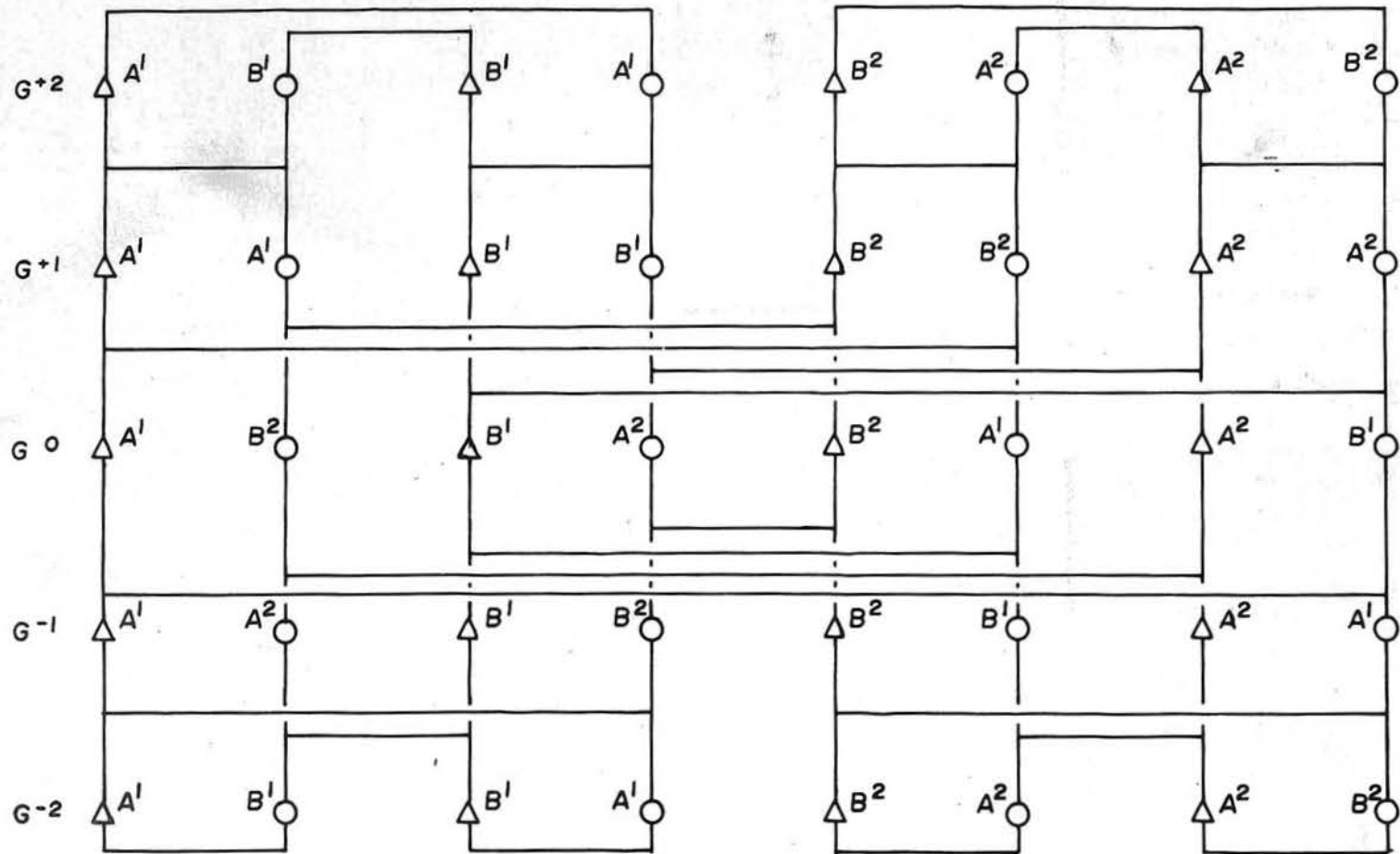


Figure I.

The following conditions exist in the model:

1. The Manga phratry is also composed of two exogamous clans. 'A' designates one exogamous Clan and 'B' designates the second exogamous Clan.
2. Each Manga clan is divided into two parts. 'A<sup>1</sup>' and 'A<sup>2</sup>', 'B<sup>1</sup>' and 'B<sup>2</sup>' designate the Clan-moiety divisions of the Clans 'A' and 'B' respectively.
3. The model spans five generations from G<sup>+2</sup> to G<sup>-2</sup>.
4. All marriages are by sister-exchange.
5. In G<sup>0</sup> and lower generations, each female is married to her father's mother's brother's son's son. The model can be extended to include additional senior generations and still retain this feature.

I now proceed to a discussion of the model, first in terms of why the model has four descent lines rather than three; and, second, in terms of the extent of 'fit' between the model and aspects of the kinship terminological system. In the latter discussion, I shall examine the applicability of the labels "unilateral" and "asymmetrical" to the model.

In considering any one descent line (Clan-moiety) in this model (either A<sup>1</sup>, A<sup>2</sup>, B<sup>1</sup>, or B<sup>2</sup>) in conjunction with the two descent lines of the opposite Clan, the roles of wife-taker and wife-giver are seen to alternate in each generation. For example (using descent lines A<sup>1</sup>, B<sup>1</sup>, and B<sup>2</sup>):

1. In G<sup>0</sup>, A<sup>1</sup> is wife-taker from B<sup>1</sup>.
2. In G<sup>-1</sup>, A<sup>1</sup> is wife-taker from B<sup>2</sup>, and

3. In  $G^{-2}$ ,  $A^1$  is once again the wife-taker from  $B^1$ . With sister exchange,  $A^1$  is simultaneously a wife-giver-to, and a wife-taker-from, the same descent line. The significant feature is the alteration of generations. This is due to the marriage prohibitions which exclude first cousins as marriage partners. As a result (using the same descent lines as above):

1.  $B^1$  may not marry into  $A^1$  in  $G^{-1}$ , and
2.  $B^2$  may not marry into  $A^1$  in either  $G^0$  or  $G^{-2}$ .

Therefore, a model of the system which incorporates only three descent lines is inadequate. This 'open' aspect of the system is eliminated in the model by the introduction of an additional descent line paired with  $A^1$ . The resultant system of paired exogamous Clans ("A" and "B") with each Clan split into Clan-moieties (" $A^1$ " and " $A^2$ ", " $B^1$ " and " $B^2$ ") results in a continuous and closed system which does not violate any of the marriage prohibitions and fulfills both the ideal of sister exchange and the prescriptive patrilineal marriage rule. In spite of the fact that the relationships alter between the marrying patriline every other generation, "a man would know which descent groups were givers and which takers vis-a-vis his own in a particular generation" (Maybury-Lewis 1965: 216).

On the conditions of asymmetry Maybury-Lewis stated: "When we refer to unilateral cross-cousin marriage as an asymmetric system, we are referring to an asymmetry in the rule, not in its social consequences" (1965: 221). By "two sides being contrasted"

Maybury-Lewis means a situation in which the kinship terminology serves to segregate matrilineal from patrilineal cross-cousins (1965: 221). For example, he states that, "The minimal characteristic of... (a prescriptive patrilineal cross-cousin marriage)... system is that a man must marry a woman whom he addresses by a relationship term which denotes a category of relatives that includes his FZD (father's sister's daughter) and excludes his MBD (mother's brother's daughter)" (1965: 215).

These characteristics are not all applicable to the Manga. First, the Manga rule is not concerned with marriages between first cousins; second, the primary point of reference is a female ego and not a male; and third, the Manga kinship system does not terminologically contrast patrilineal and matrilineal cross-cousins. It is not possible, therefore, to say that the Manga rule is either bilateral or unilateral in Maybury-Lewis' terms. Since there are no common referents between Maybury-Lewis' definition and the Manga data, it is necessary to examine the data from another point of view.

The Manga marriage prescription applies only to a man's eldest daughter. She must marry a "son" of her own father's mother's brother. That is, for any female ego in the Manga Marriage Model (Figure 1,  $G^0$  to  $G^{-2}$ ), husband equals father's mother's brother's son's son (a type of second cousin). Laterality is a contrastive opposition between two sides of the genealogical tree, and in first-cousin marriage systems there can only be two sides of the genealogical tree, the father's

(patrilateral) and the mother's (matrilateral). But in a second-cousin marriage system (such as that of the Manga) it is necessary to take the grandparental generation into account. When this is done, each side can be split in half since any ego's second cousins are descendant from both sides of both parents, i.e. ego's second cousins are the second generation descendants of his (her) father's father, father's mother, mother's mother, and mother's father. That is, ego's second cousins are descendants of ego's father's patrilateral and matrilinear kinsmen, as well as ego's mother's patrilateral and matrilinear kinsmen. For a Manga eldest daughter, however, the only socially significant descent line is her father's mother's. Therefore, the rule is itself asymmetrical, in that it specifically excludes from consideration the collateral lines descendant from mother's mother and mother's father.

It might be supposed, however, that the introduction of the complementary ideal of symmetrical sister exchange into the model effects bilateral marriages in spite of an asymmetrical rule. I shall demonstrate that this is indeed the case. In Figure 1, Manga Marriage Model, take female  $A^2$  of zero generation as the starting point. This female has a maximum of sixteen male second cousin types (marriage is prohibited among first cousins) (Table XX).

TABLE XX

The Classification of Male Second Cousins in the Manga Marriage Model Relative to Ego as Female  $A^2$  of Zero Generation

	Clan-Moiety $A^1$	Clan-Moiety $B^2$
Cross Second-cousin	MMBss	MMSss*
	MFSss I	MFBss
	FMBds	FMSds
	FFSds	FFBds
Parallel Second-cousin	MMSds	MMBds
	MFBds III	MFSds
	FMSss	FMBss
	FFBss	FFSss

\* In tracing kintypes in the Manga Marriage Model which incorporate a same sex sibling link, e.g. MS, it is necessary to skip from one descent line to the opposite descent line of the same clan. In this example (MMSss),<sup>2</sup> the MM is female  $A^1$  of  $G^{+2}$  and the MMS will then be female  $A^2$  of  $G^{+2}$ . This would represent a classificatory but non-genealogical linkage.

Eight of these cousins are prohibited since they would be members of the same exogamous clan (Cells I and III) as ego. Of the remaining eight cousins, four are excluded as potential marriage partners because they would be cross cousins (Cell II). Only four second-cousin kintypes remain, and it is in this group that ego finds her husband (Cell IV). The marriageable kintypes for this female ego are all within the class analytically designated by the intersection of two dimensions; membership in clan-moiety  $B^2$ , and parallel second-cousin. This group of four second cousins includes one out of each four cousins



from each of the four possible collateral descent lines (FF, FM, MF, MM), though only two of these are possible mates, FMBss and FFSss.<sup>6</sup> However, since all four descent lines are equally represented in cell IV, and since there is no terminological contrast between them, it must be concluded that the model is bilateral, even though the form of the rule quite clearly excludes the two kintypes of MMBds and MFSds as possible mates. Thus, even though the rule itself is asymmetrical, the form of the model is both bilateral and symmetrical.<sup>7</sup>

#### Incorporation of individuals

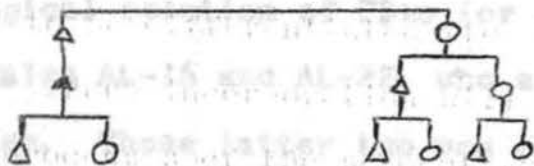
Incorporation of entire groups of people into segments of a society is to be differentiated from incorporation of single individuals. Group incorporation will be discussed under developmental processes of the segmentary organization.

Incorporation of the individual married female into her husband's patrilineage is primarily achieved through payment of the bride-price. A further indication of the incorporation of wives is the practice of burying them, when dead, in their husbands' territories, and the belief that their spirits continue to reside in the same vicinity, without returning to their natal territories.

While patri-virilocal females are eventually incorporated into the patrilineages of their husbands, the uxorilocal male will remain, for the span of his life, as a marginal man, a recognized affiliate. It is the same among the Chimbu (Brown 1962: 66). This marginality does not extend, however,

to second generation descendants.<sup>8</sup> I shall view the incorporation of these descendants from the position of a wife who has returned with her husband to her natal territory. The incorporation of her non-agnatic descendants is achieved through the mechanism of the kinship terminology. I do not intend to convey the impression that terminological change is sufficient for full incorporation. It goes without saying that the proper behavioral correlates of the terminology are also significant for the full incorporation of an individual.

It is the Manga method of reckoning cross and parallel in the first ascending and zero generations that is peculiarly well suited for the terminological incorporation of the descendants of a woman returning with her progeny to her brother.



In the above figure, consider that Ego's FS has resumed her natal residence with her two children. Ego refers to his FSs/d ('/' read 'and') as wambe, "cousin", a self-reciprocal term. In the succeeding generation, Ego's s/d and Ego's FSs/d refer to each other by the terminology for siblings on the indigenous rationale that they refer to each other's male parent as "father". However, Ego's s/d and Ego's FSds/d refer to each other

by the terminology for "cousin", wambe, a self-reciprocal term, because they refer to each other's parents by the terms for first ascending generation cross-relatives. Thus, as the system works, Ego refers to his FSs as "cousin" while Ego's son refers to the same person as "father"; Ego refers to his FSd as "cousin" while Ego's son refers to the same person as "aunt", ara. In the next generation, Ego refers to his FSss/d as s/d and they reciprocate with the term for "father"; but, while Ego refers to his FSds/d as son or daughter ( $G^{-1}$  is "Hawaiian", i.e. all consanguineal kinsmen are either "sons" or "daughters" depending on sex of the kinsman), they refer to Ego as "uncle", mbapo.

For example, from the genealogies for Aliyaumo (Appendix I) it can be seen that the three males AL-6, AL-12, and AL-10 are in a genealogical relation of FSss (or are members of that class) to the two males AL-16 and AL-22, who are both one generation senior to them. These latter two men are full patrilineal descent members of Aliyaumo sub-clan. The former three males (AL-6, AL-12, and AL-10) are not, genealogically, full patrilineal descent members of Aliyaumo. They are co-resident descendants of a female agnate (AL-1-W1). The two fathers of these three men (AL-2 and AL-9) were related to AL-16 and AL-22 as wambe, the self-reciprocal term for cross-cousin. However, AL-16 and AL-22 now refer to AL-6, AL-12 and AL-10 as warina, the term for 'son', and are referred to in turn as ana, 'father'. Thus it is seen that a man's father's male cross-cousins may become, terminologically, that man's "fathers" (that is, FMBS=F).

The application of the terminology for cross-relatives in ascendant generations is consistent with the ideal of virilocal residence for females and their children. Yet the method of reckoning zero generation cross-relatives is consistent with the facts of the real world in which the non-fulfillment of bride-price obligations often results in the female's resumption of her natal residence.

The conjunction of these two aspects of the terminological system also reflects the patrilineal ideology, since the descendants of zero generation females are always segregated by the reciprocal terminology. Yet when a sister does return, her male descendants will be totally incorporated terminologically after the passage of two generations, i.e. Ego's son and Ego's FSs call themselves "brothers" but Ego's son and Ego's FSs would be mutual "cousins".

The problem which remains is the explanation of the Hawaiian-type terminology in the first descending generation. In the full Seneca system, the reckoning of the cross-parallel distinction for the first descending generation is analytically based on a comparison of the sex of Ego and the sex of the last linking kinsman. When the sex is the same, the relatives are parallel kinsmen; when the sex is opposite, the relatives are cross kinsmen (Pospisil 1960: 201, Lounsbury 1964a: 1081). Thus in the full Seneca systems, there are four "available" (Lounsbury 1964a: 1080) consanguineal terms in the first descending generation; viz, terms for son, nephew, daughter, and niece. However,

Manga terminology provides a notable departure in having only the terms for sons and daughters, without classifications for niece and nephew. The Seneca distinctions in the first descending generation appear to be confounded in the Manga system by the operation of the prescriptive marriage rule. In terms of the proposed marriage model, Ego's FSds/d will be agnatic members of Ego's own clan. Thus the peculiar Manga terminology once again is seen as reflecting the descent ideology.

In sum, while the actual composition of local groups in terms of genealogical linkages may be shown to include non-agnates, the indigenous descent ideology is maintained through the application of the kinship terminological system. In this manner, the composition of localized residential groups is revised to meet the ideology, and anomalies to the actual patrilineal descent are removed.

Sahlins has characterized Highland New Guinea groups as "local clan-phratry systems", in which the "Anomalies of agnatic derivation are eventually exterminated by genealogical amnesia" (1965: 106). Paula Brown has stated that, "The absence of extended genealogies obviates the need for genealogical revision" (1962: 67). In contrast, I would maintain that, for the Manga, the lineal ideology is more forcefully conceived, since genealogical revision may be seen as a result of the application of the kinship terminology. Though genealogical depth among the Manga is equally as shallow as it is among the Chimbu, I would suggest that in this case it is a product rather than an instru-

ment for the incorporation of the non-agnate. It may be that in light of the structure of Manga kinship and marriage, and in the absence of other correlates of lengthy genealogies, extended pedigree reckoning is simply irrelevant to the Manga.

If I had considered as non-agnates all of the descendants of a man's sister who had returned with her own children and resumed residence with her brother some two generations ago, then non-agnates would be numerous in the KulakaeNgeyka Clan. It is the presence of non-agnates defined genealogically which has led some authors to use the term "quasi-unilineages" (Brown 1962: 59, 60, 68) and to say that membership in these units, "is ordinarily ascribed by birth but may (also) be achieved" (Brown 1962: 59), or that, "rights conferred by residence equal (my emphasis) those established by birth" (Langness 1964: 169). Contrary to this, I maintain that rights acquired by residence are contingent (in terms of individual incorporation) upon the prior existence of rights acquired by birth.

Though I do concur with Langness that there are many reasons which an individual may give for changing his residence (e.g. sorcery accusations, defeat in warfare, etc.), the fact still remains that the choice of a new residence is made upon existing bonds of kinship which can be, and are, genealogically demonstrable. The additional consideration that there may be several such alternative choices available to the individual does not weaken the argument. Langness, however, denies this for the Bena Bena, saying that, "People do not necessarily reside where

they do because (his emphasis) they are kinsmen; rather, they become kinsmen because they reside there (1964: 172). My point is that non-agnates affiliate with their agnatic and affinal kin because they are kinsmen. These 'refuge links' are maintained through the operation of the marriage system and the constant accompaniment of economic transactions.

Conclusion: The questions which remain to be answered are: what is the relationship between these various methods of wife acquisition, and why is it that the marriage rule seems to be exercised so infrequently?

It must be kept in mind that the marriage prescription only applied to eldest daughters and that the exercise of rights in her marital disposition is effected by a single individual, her father. Implementing of the marriage rule depends upon an individual's responsibility and action. Additional daughters, however, may be regarded as corporate property. Their marriages are a result of collective action on the part of the clan. Thus, the relationship between the two principal methods of wife acquisition is complementary.

With regard to the low frequency of adherence to marriage by the rule, there are several factors at work:

First, I must note that in terms of actual expression of the marriage rule there are two forms; one in which the genealogical generations of the marriage partners are equivalent, and another in which they may be skewed, with the male or female belonging to a genealogical generation senior to their partner.

According to the Manga pattern, such marriages occur between persons of the same generation.

In examining the problem of frequency of adherence to the rule, I have been stimulated by the recent work of F. G. G. Rose (1960), who has convincingly demonstrated that for the Groote Eylandt Aborigines, "...the age structure prevents bilateral and patrilateral cross-cousin marriage" (in de Josselyn de Jong 1962: 44). I maintain a similar thesis for the Manga, holding that the structuring in the sibling sets makes it very nearly impossible for the rule to operate in conjunction with sister exchange two generations after sister exchange had originally occurred. Or, to put it another way, if in any generation, men of two patrilineages exchange women, the second generation descendants of the first generation descendant males will not be able to exchange women again. The most probable marriage involving two individuals of the same generation occurring between the same two patrilineages will be that of a woman with her FMBs.

There are two types of data available as a test of this hypothesis. First, the structure of birth order by sex in sibling sets; and second, a comparison of marriage in one generation with marriage by the rule plus sister exchange between the same two patrilineages two generations later.

To assist in testing the above proposition, I have constructed a hypothetical model of relative age structure (Figure 2) on the basis of the following principles:



1. There are only two siblings as products of each union and the female is always three years older than her brother.
2. Females marry at age 15 and males at age 18.
3. Children are born at three year intervals, commencing in the first year of marriage.

Generation

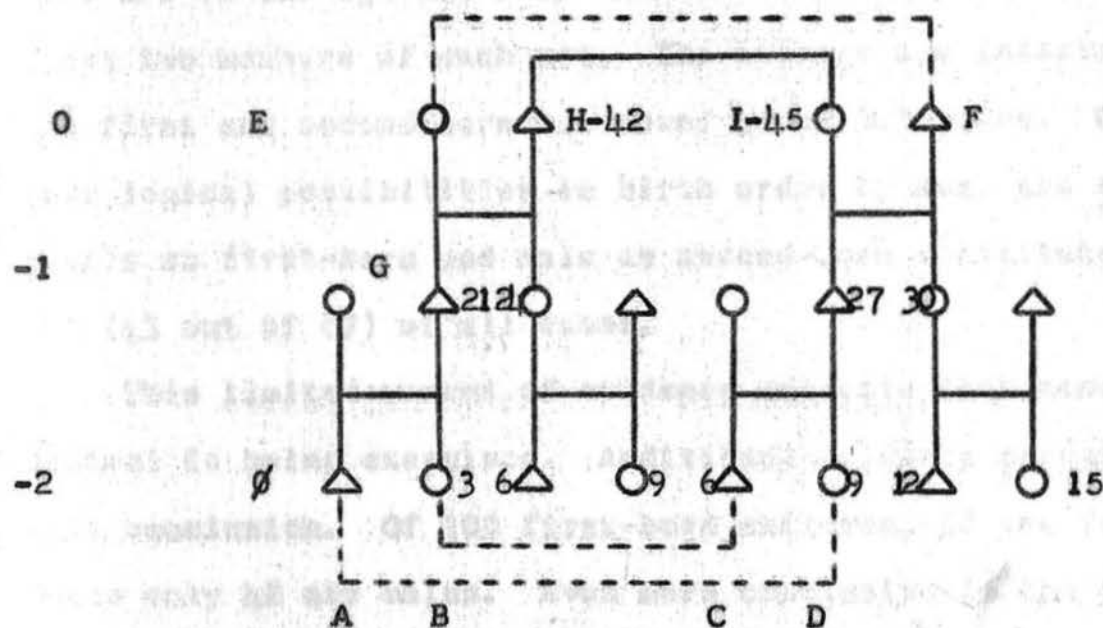


Figure 2

**Model of Relative Age Structure**  
(Numbers refer to the ages of the individuals)

The validity of the principles on which the model is based may be checked by the following findings. In my genealogical data there are more than 100 biological sibling 'sets', counting all generations.<sup>9</sup> Since the information on the presence or ab-

sence of females in ascendant generations is generally unreliable, I shall consider only genealogical generations C and D (See Table XXI, Sex Ordering in Sibling Sets). A 'set' is the total number of first generation descendants of each marital union within the clan. An only child can thus be the sole member of a 'set'. Out of the 100 sets in C and D generations, there are only 13 instances of single member sets. The remaining 87 sets have two or more members each. In terms of the hypothetical model in the preceding figure, my primary interests are in the age interval and birth order by sex of only the first two members of each set. The average age interval between the first and second born was found to be 3.3 years. Of the four logical possibilities in birth order by sex, the one of female as first-born and male as second-born constitutes nearly 50% (43 out of 87) of all cases.

This limited amount of evidence suggests that some sort of control is being exercised. Additional evidence corroborates this conclusion. Of 100 first-born children, 58 are females, while only 42 are males. Even more conclusive is the fact that in the 87 sibling sets, no matter what the sex of the first-born is, the second child is a male in 56 of 87 instances. What this obviously suggests is infanticide. With regard to this, I was originally assured by the Manga that they had never done any such thing. I subsequently discovered that the Administration's highly negative reaction to infanticide had greatly impressed the Manga people. By later careful investigation I learned from

TABLE XXI

## Sex Ordering in Sibling Sets

	<u>Individual Cases</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>
I. Total Sets:		100
II. Sets with a single member:		13
A. Single member is a male:	7	
B. Single member is a female:	6	
III. Sex order in Multiple Sets of the first and second born:		87

		<u>First born</u>		
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
<u>Second Born</u>	<u>Male</u>	13	43	56
	<u>Female</u>	23	8	31
		36	51	87

$$\chi^2 = 19.850$$

$$p = .001$$

several informants that infanticide had indeed been practiced, but there appeared to be no sex preference. I was told that in some instances the infant was male and in others, female. The impression that there might be any actual conditioned selectivity did not become apparent to me until after I had witnessed several bride-price payments and frequently noted that, of the wife's two present living children, the elder was most often a female. This structuring is corroborated by the genealogical data. Not only does it appear that infanticide is practiced when the first born is a male, but also, given a first born female, infanticide will be practiced on second born females. Thus, the first principle of the ideal model of relative age structure is borne out by the evidence of the relative age and sex order of sibling sets.

With regard to the ages of individuals at the time of their first marriage, I must note, that while it is generally true that many first marriages for both males and females are not durable, because of the sanctions involved, this is generally not true for those unions contracted in accordance with the marriage rule or sister exchange.

Manga girls marry at about the age of 16, while the boys are usually married by the age of 19 or 20. This is a familiar pattern in the New Guinea Highlands. For example, among the Chimbu, "Girls are always married in their middle teens, by choice or arrangement...a boy reaches marriageable age (at) about 20..." (Brown 1962: 63). For the Enga, the difference

in age at marriage between men and women is somewhat greater, "Women marry when they are about 15 or 16 years old, but men do not marry until they are about 25 or so" (Meggitt 1964: 222, footnote 5).

The assumption, however, that children are born during the first year of marriage (principle No. 3) may not generally be true for several reasons; first, young girls do not conceive as readily as they will when they are a few years older; second, the relative infrequency of sexual intercourse during the first few months of marriage will prolong the advent of the wife's first pregnancy; and third, the opinion expressed by many couples is that it is wise to wait for a year or more before having any children so that the intervening time may be more profitably spent in building good gardens and a sizable pig herd. Also, the presence of children puts additional pressure on the husband to collect the necessary wealth articles for his wife's bride-price. However, in terms of the model, this factor would have equal influence among both males and females and would not, therefore, affect the relative age structure through the generations.

Now I turn to a comparison of marriages in one generation with marriage by the rule plus sister exchange among members of the second descendant generation. There are no comparative data available for other parts of Highland New Guinea.<sup>10</sup> For this analysis of frequency of conformity to the marriage rule, comparative data from two Manga generations are required. Gene-

alogical generations A and C cannot be used because the data are weak to non-existent in generation A. Generations C and E cannot be used since E is composed almost entirely of small children. This leaves only generations B and D. I wish to determine if there is any relation between the patrilineal membership of female spouses in B generation and operation of the "Manga marriage rule" and sister exchange in D generation. Since exercise of the rule is dependent upon sons of B generation males having daughters, it is important to know how many fall into this category. For this purpose the following information is relevant:

1. The total number of males in B generation (47).
2. The number of men of B generation who were bachelors or who did not live long enough to become married (3).
3. The number of B generation males who married by sister exchange and those who did not (9).
4. The number of B generation married males who produced sons (38; These 38 men produced 79 males of C generation). The existence of a son in the C generation is important, since it is they (sons of the B generation males), who are responsible for fulfillment of the marriage rule.
5. We do not need to concern ourselves with the types of marriages of C generation males because these would theoretically relate to the unions of the A generation. For our purposes we have

to list only the numbers of the C generation males who got married (62), and of those who had daughters (39). These data will tell us how many men could possibly have complied with the marriage rule.

6. Of the D generation 39 females (counting only eldest daughters) three were sent in marriage to their father's mother's patrilineage and a fourth is scheduled to be sent.
7. Of a total of 86 D generation males, 26 are unmarried and of these, 6 acquired as a wife their FFSsd.

The supporting evidence here is so scanty that I have to consider it as denying validity to the hypothetical age structure model. Even though I have confined the inquiry to the two genealogical generations for which the most data are available, the lack of knowledge concerning the method of wife acquisition in B generation deters me from making any definitive statements.

A third possible factor which could affect the frequency of adherence to the marriage rule is culture change. I have mentioned several times the fact that the courtship complex, kananta, is of recent appearance in the middle Jimi River area. One of the most pronounced effects of its appearance has been the increase of opportunities for marriageable boys and girls to meet each other and arrange their own marriages through elopement. The KoNa case, presented in detail in Chapter IV is an example of this sort of occurrence.

The possible frequency of adherence to the rule may be re-

garded as being reduced by at least three factors:

1. Death, bachelorhood, and the non-production of daughters all serve to disrupt adherence to the marriage rule by eliminating potential marriage partners.
2. The structure of sibling sets through time creates a bias in the relative ages between marriageable kinsmen.
3. The incursion of the kananta complex has served to increase the number of options in terms of marriage partner selection. As a result, there is less reliance on working through established affinal paths as a means of obtaining a wife.

Returning to Figure 2, Model of Relative Age Structure, by  $G^{-2}$  (without sister-exchange in  $G^0$ ) the prescribed marriage partners (A and D, see Figure 2) have an age discrepancy of 9 years, the female being the older of the pair. However, given the ideal of sister exchange and its occurrence in  $G^{-2}$ , the alternate set of partners (C and B) is properly matched in terms of relative age with the male (C), being three years senior to his FMBsd (B). If sister exchange occurs in  $G^0$ , as it does in the model, that is, if E and F were siblings, then the prescribed marriage for B is with C.

Though the model is hypothetical, it does provide two tentative conclusions:

1. Given genealogical sister-exchange in  $G^0$ , it will most probably not occur between the prescribed biological sibling sets in  $G^{-2}$ . The most probable marriage arrangement is for B to marry C.



2. Without sister-exchange in  $G^0$ , that is, with E and F regarded as non-siblings, it would be more appropriate in terms of the relative age structure for D to marry G. This would produce the generationally skewed prescriptive marriage that is typical among the Kuma (Reay 1966). But the skewed form does not occur among the Manga. This factor of relative age appears to be the basic difference between the two forms of realization of the marriage rule mentioned at the outset of this section. The consideration of relative age structure points not only to a possible reason for the directionality of the skewing, but also to a plausible reason for the non-occurrence of direct genealogical sister-exchange in  $G^{-2}$  in conjunction with exercise of the marriage rule.

The interdependence of these two systems of marriage, marriage by the Manga rule (asymmetric) and sister exchange (symmetric), is now revealed. The open system of sister exchange with the clan as the referent participating unit generates the limited closed system of individual adherence to the Manga marriage rule.

Van der Leeden, who has worked among the Samarokena and Mukrara kin groups in the Sarmi area of Northern Irian Barat (the former Netherlands New Guinea), revealed that these people also have both symmetrical and asymmetrical marriage systems at work (Pouwer 1960: 113). The symmetrical system is one of sister exchange, while the asymmetrical system results from "...the opinion that the matrilineal relatives of a married woman may

'marry back' after an unspecified number of generations" (Pouwer 1960: 113). From these two features, Van der Leeden posited as a model for Sarmi, "...a double-descent system of the Aranda type" (Pouwer 1960: 113). For Van der Leeden's Samarokena kin groups:

"Patrilineality functions within the local groups; matrilineal relations exist between members of different groups who are connected with one another by marriages. Therefore, we are not dealing with alternatives, but we have a structural situation which is double-unilineal or bilineal, in which the matrilineal ties do not counteract, but cross the patrilineal organization. Patrilineality, in Sarmi, has its greatest importance in creating kin groups. Matrilineality is active as a latent factor in interpersonal relationships, and only become overt with certain situations necessitate matrilineal descent reckoning. A case in point is when one is cogitating on the rules of exogamy" (Pouwer 1960: 131-2).

I am, however, in agreement with Pouwer's criticism of Van der Leeden to the effect that, "Marriage with a matrilineal descendant of an 'outmarried' female member of one's own descent group need not be explained by means of a double descent system" (1960: 116).

In spite of the Sarmi kin groups where, "...the institution of sister exchange...is linked with an ideal of an asymmetrical cycle of matrilineal descendants traversing at least three generations and several local groups," and though, "...the Sarmi system...is symmetrical in each generation and, in its ideal form, asymmetrical through the generations" (Van der Leeden 1960: 140-2), I believe that Pouwer is basically correct in maintaining that, "...the phenomenon of 'marrying back' ...need not however

be coupled by hook or by crook with a latent matrilineal tracing of descent" (1960: 368). Among the Manga, a patrilineal descent model is sufficient.

Also, Pouver has viewed the joint occurrence of sister exchange and indirect exchange (asymmetric connubium) as principles in opposition (my emphasis; 1965: 96). I believe I have amply demonstrated here that these two systems can be complementary rather than oppositional. The former operates on a lateral one-generation level, whereas the latter operates vertically through the generations. The referents as well are different. In direct exchange, we are concerned with the opposition of named segments of the society whereas in the asymmetrical exchange the referent is the individual.

While the kinship term mbapo (mother's brother) might be considered as marking the direction (wife-takers) in which a man will give his eldest daughter, and the term ara (father's sister) the direction (wife-givers) from which he might expect to obtain a wife for his son, it must be noted that the referent is not to named segments of the genealogical tree, but to individual kinsmen. As Strathern has pointed out (contra Wilder 1964: 119), kin terms which may be indicative of the 'wife-giver' and 'wife-taker' roles need not necessarily indicate groups. "In fact," Strathern says, "men may regularly be marrying women of the cross-cousin category without any block relations of wife-giver and wife-taker resulting between any two clans, say in the society. And, on the other hand, there can be exchange marriages

between clans without any notion of marrying one's cross-cousin being involved" (1965: 51). The significant feature is that for the Manga both symmetrical and asymmetrical marriage systems occur simultaneously and complement each other.

Summary: In this chapter, I have undertaken an analysis of some of the complex aspects of Manga kinship and marriage. While I have presented a componential analysis of the consanguineal terminology, I have not done so for the affinal set, since at the moment it presents problems which I have not yet resolved. I believe that this difficulty is due to the fact that the system is currently undergoing change, particularly in the affinal domain. I have shown that the major cultural mechanisms for the incorporation of individual non-agnates is the kinship terminological system itself. I have also considered, in some detail, the matter of wife acquisition. I have presented evidence on exercise of the levirate, sister-exchange, courtship, and marriage by the rule. I have attempted to show how these forms are integrated. Perhaps most significantly, I have described a prescriptive marriage rule that exists among the Manga. At the time of my field work there was no knowledge of any such rule in this part of the New Guinea Highlands. I have presented a model of this system and have explored its applicability to the data of Manga ethnography. I have shown how systems of symmetric and asymmetric alliance can co-exist complementarily within the same society.

In the next chapter, I take up the topics of the Manga ceremonial cycle and their segmentary organization.

## CHAPTER VI

## SEGMENTARY STRUCTURE AND THE CEREMONIAL CYCLE

A. Introduction. This chapter is divided into three main parts. In the first part I introduce the basic segmentary nature of the Manga phratry and specify some of the general functional correlates at each level of its segmentation.<sup>1</sup> I then proceed to an ethnographic account of the major aspect of the Manga ceremonial cycle, the Pig Festival, which serves to illustrate the segmentary structure in organizational terms.

The series of events which occur in the course of the Pig Festival are conducted by members of the various segments with reference to specific hierarchical levels of the segmentary structure.

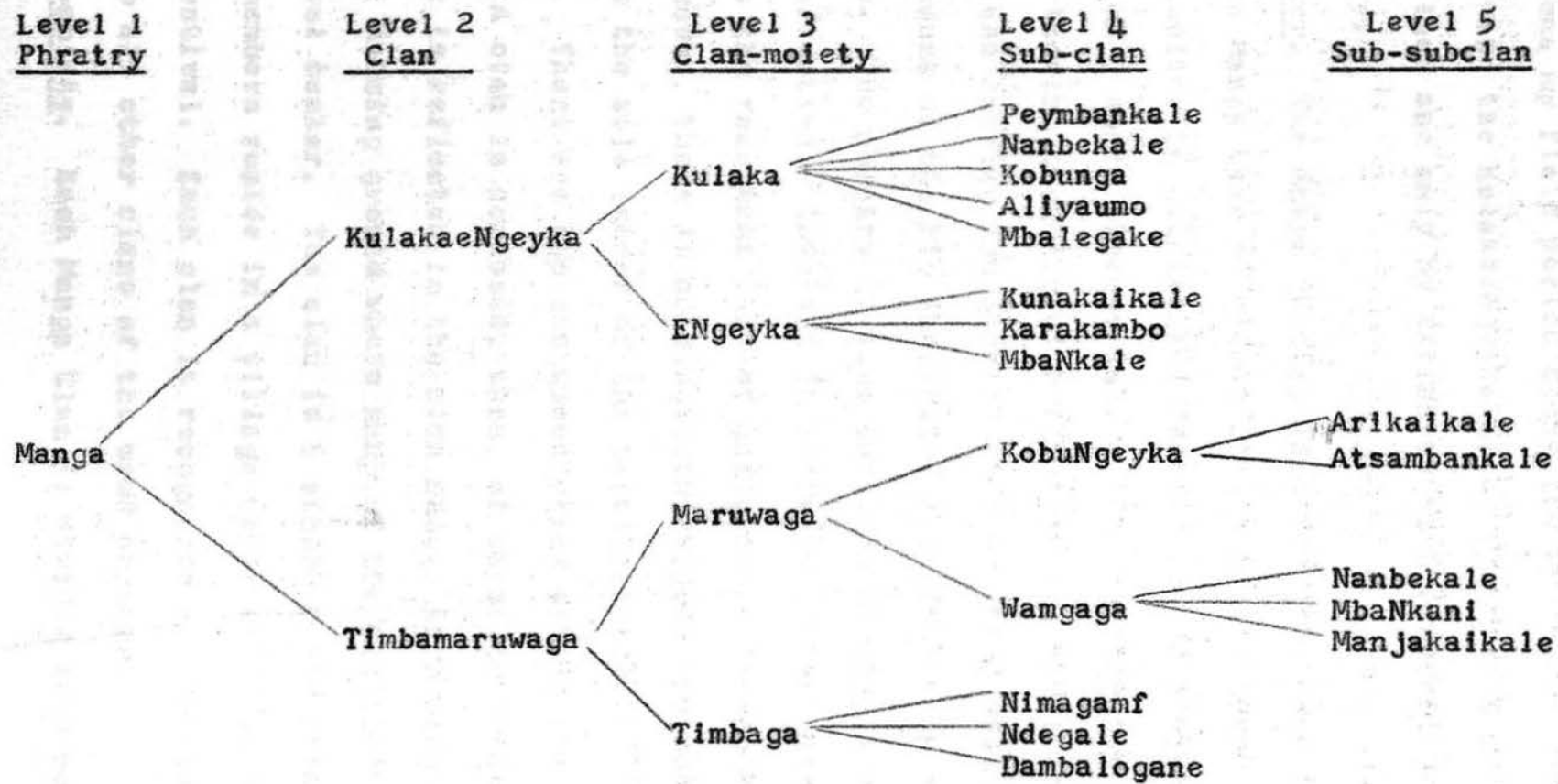
In the third part I draw on comparable data from six additional societies of the Narak-speakers in a discussion of the developmental aspects of their segmentary organization.

B. Segmentary organization of the Manga phratry. There is a maximum of five segmentary levels within the Manga phratry (including the phratry level). In descending order of inclusiveness these are the phratry, clan, clan-moiety, sub-clan, and sub-subclan (Figure 3).

The units at each level of the hierarchy are named. The system is hierarchically inclusive; for example, the collective members of Atsambankale Sub-subclan (level 5) are simultaneously members of KobuNgeyka Sub-clan, Maruwaga Clan-moiety, Timbamaruwaga Clan, and the Manga Phratry. However, members of one seg-

Figure 3

Segmentary Levels of the Manga Phratry



ment are not members of any other segment located at the same level. Since my field period among the Manga was limited to residence with the KulakaeNgeyka Clan, my remarks pertain primarily to them and only by extension to the opposite clan of the phratry.

Phratry. The Manga Phratry is a named linkage of two clans. The Manga have no common origin myth, though there is a form of belief in patrilineal descent from a single male ancestor which I shall discuss later. The phratry has a recognized territorial boundary with reference to other phratries. The two clans forming the phratry combine, as I will demonstrate, in the conduct of the Pig Festival their efforts in a joint enterprise. The phratry is also the largest single unit which becomes collectively involved in warfare; in this sense the phratry is the resultant unit of political alliance between two clans; however, there is no single individual who can be considered as the sole leader of the total phratry.

Clan. There are two exogamous clans within the Manga phratry. A clan is composed, then, of these two named halves, which fact is reflected in the clan name. Each clan has its own ceremonial dancing ground where many of the activities of the Pig Festival center. The clan is a single residential unit only when its members reside in a village constructed especially for the Pig Festival. Each clan is recognized as territorially distinct from all other clans of the same phratry.

Clan-moiety. Each Manga Clan is divided into no more than

two parts; that is, there is a moiety division within each clan. As the comparative data to be presented illustrate, the dual division is a more prevalent characteristic of clans than it is of phratries. As shown in Chapter II, the permanent residential villages are structured primarily with reference to the clan-moiety membership. This characteristic is also preserved in the ceremonial village, where an unmarked but stated boundary exists separating the territory of one clan-moiety from that of the opposite clan-moiety (on Map IV, the boundary separates houses 1-6 from the remainder).

Within each clan-moiety there are two powerful positions. The first of these is the political leader. The incumbent is regarded as being a 'true man', yua wei. The second position is that of the leading war-magic practitioner, kumyua. In some instances both roles may be combined in the same individual. This was the case in the Kulaka Clan-Moiety where NA-43 occupied both the sacred and secular poles of the power structure. In the ENgeyka Clan-moiety, however, the political role was performed by EK-17 while the religious role was played by EK-62. There is no unified political or religious leadership above this level of the segmentary hierarchy.

The clan-moiety 'true man', or 'big man', adjudicates disputes within his own clan-moiety. Disputes between two clan-moieties of the same clan can be resolved peacefully through negotiation between their respective leaders. The pattern for the settlement of disputes between clans of the same phratry



should ideally follow the same escalating scheme; that is, the 'big men' of each clan-moiety of the involved clans should collectively meet to resolve their differences. This pattern was observed in the KoNa elopement and marriage case presented in Chapter IV. In spite of these formal aspects, the decision process is not one of autocracy on the part of the leading man of the clan-moiety, but rather one of controlled consensus. 'Big men' do not impose their will upon others but attempt instead to formulate a decision or to shape the course of argument so that a concordance of opinion is attained; or, as the Manga phrase it, discussion extends to that point at which 'the talk becomes one', nji timani moro.

The clan-moiety is a territorial unit and is the holding unit of land which has not yet been subject to cultivation. Arrangement of marriages by sister exchange is also conducted between the leading men of clan-moieties, even though this is done ostensibly in the name of the clan. Similarly, the courtship ceremonies are held at the clan-moiety level.

Sub-clan. The lowest segmentary level within the Kulakae-Ngeyka Clan is comprised of eight named segments, the sub-clans. These named units are composed of one or more actual genealogically traceable patrilineages (see Appendix I). It is within these units that the process of individual incorporation of non-agnates and affines is effected. The sub-clan (or sub-subclan, whichever unit is the lowest level named unit) is the basic building block of all higher segmentary levels. It

is the principal unit within which the members recognize a common economic liability for bride-, child-, and death-payments, as shown in Chapter V. In the same Chapter, the sub-clan was also noted as the effective unit with regard to the levirate and the injunction against "brothers" marrying "sisters". This latter rule effects the occasional conjunction of genealogical linkage with the membership boundary of the segment. At no higher segmentary level can all the members be shown to be genealogically related.

Members of the same sub-clan may cooperate in house building and land clearing for new gardens, are collectively responsible for revenge, and their unit serves as a holding agent for the land of those who die without heirs or assigns.

Each sub-clan may have one or more leading males who are usually the focal point of a men's house unit. The leading man of the clan-moiety will also be a leading man of his respective sub-clan, though the range of applicability of their decisions is more restricted in the latter context.

Segment names. The names of the various units discussed above have various origins, some of which will be discussed later. The clan name is a combination of the names of its constituent clan-moieties. Other segments are named after an individual, as was noted in the cases of Kobunga and Kunakaikale. Place names such as Karakambo and Aliyaumo are also used. A very common feature is to find minimal segments, those at the lowest level in the segmentary hierarchy, named "red" and

"black", MbaNkale and Nanbekale. Other colors are also used as "white", Peymbankale, and "brown", Mbalekale. These colors are believed to represent the skin color of the members of the designated unit.

The descent concept. A recurrent morphemic feature of segment names is the affixed -kale (variants are -gale and -kani). It is actually composed of two elements, ka and ie. Ka means 'rope', 'vine', and also is a generic term for 'bird'. Le is the simple past form of the verb 'to put'. Thus, these minimal units are conceived of as descent lines having been founded (put) by the person whose name, place, residence, or skin color is a part of the word. This is a common feature throughout Highland New Guinea. Among the Chimbu, "nearly all clans have distinctive names, usually that of a putative male founder with a suffix -ku or -kame (line, cord) although a local place name with -nem (father) is sometimes used..." (Brown 1964: 337). Among the Kamano, Jate, Usurufa and Fore, "...the male descent line from father to son...(is)...conceptualized as a continuous process in time and symbolized by a growing creeper, or 'rope', linking generation with generation" (Berndt 1962: 27).

As with the Kuma (Reay 1959: 40), Manga regard all members of the minimal named segment as belonging to the same ka. The suffixed -le does not appear as part of a segment name at any level above that of the minimal segments. The minimal ka are all sub-units of higher order ka, up to the highest level segmentation. The moiety division at the level below that of

the clan is symbolized as representing Ngore-Ngore ("brother-brother") units, and among some phratries there is a stated descent mythology which alleges that the members of clan-moieties are the real descendants of a male sibling set.

The segments, then, are conceptually patrilineal descent groups "...whose members regard themselves as related by descent" (Befu and Plotnicov 1962: 313). The patrilineal nature of these units as descent groups is further revealed by the question used to elicit an individual's phratry membership yua ka kale kande ma?, in which Yua ka means a "man line". The internal structure of a phratry is elicited by asking for the Ngī ka, the "inside lines", which are, in descending levels of inclusiveness, the ka wei, ka omba and ka omba wio; "big lines", "small lines", and "very small lines". The system can be theoretically extended almost indefinitely by addition of more wio; thus, ka omba wio wio is a "very very small line".

While the conceptual format is very clear to most individuals, knowledge of names of the internal segments of clans other than one's own is extremely minimal. Even among the Manga themselves, members of Timbamaruwa clan were astounded at my ability to recite the sub-clan names of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan. Members of other phratries are most commonly identified by their phratry name or the clan-moiety name if they are affinally related.

Ideologically speaking, then, this is a segmentary lineage structure. Fortes has maintained that for lineage structures

of this type, "...the stretch of time, or rather of duration with which perpetuity is equated varies according to the count of generations needed to conceptualize the internal structure of the lineage and link it on to an absolute; usually mythological origin for the whole social system in a first founder" (1953: 31). But among the Manga, there is no genealogical charter corresponding to the levels of the segmentary hierarchy. Marie Reay has proposed that the presence of accurate genealogies is relevant only at the minimal level of segmentation and that at this level an accurate genealogy functions as a charter for unity in the face of non-localized settlement (1959: 38, 41). But among the Manga not even this correlation is valid. The presence or absence of accurate genealogies does not correlate with the particular form the residential pattern takes (see Chapter II and Appendix I).

I think I may conclude that, for the Manga, stability or unity is reflected in the conceptual structure of the segmentary organization rather than in genealogies. It is the concept of the yua ka and its internal subdivision which is permanent. Ka with their proper names may come and go, as do the individuals within them, but the reference pattern is stable. For the Manga, a traceable genealogy is an actor-referent system, whereas the conceptual apparatus centering on the ka is a system-referent.

C. The ceremonial cycle. In order to show the functioning of the segmentary organization, I turn to a description of the Manga Pig Festival. The Pig Festival is the culminating point of a ceremonial cycle. By ceremonial cycle, I mean the complete round of activities from the conclusion of one pig festival to the conclusion of the next. A festival occurs approximately every 5 to 7 years, though several factors may intervene to either advance or retard the timing.

Conclusion of a festival frequently marks beginning of a war. War continues until one of the contenders is evicted from his traditional land, or until peace is concluded. During the period of peace, activity is concentrated on subsistence pursuits, in particular on enlarging the pig herd. War allies must be paid, and they are paid largely in pork. The ancestors, too, must be reimbursed for their spiritual assistance, not only during the most recent war, but also for help in assuring the fertility of crops, pigs, and humans.

When there is a sufficient number of pigs, a decision is made to hold a pig festival. Certain ceremonies are conducted and approximately 15 to 18 months later the pig herd is depleted by mass slaughter, the ancestors are honored, allies are paid (and simultaneously committed to future alliances), and the next war commences. Before I begin discussing the activities of the Pig Festival, however, it will be necessary to present a summary statement on the practice of Manga warfare and the content of Manga religious belief.

Religion. Manga religious practice is centered about a set of concepts and a set of supernatural beings. The conceptual paradigm is intrinsically oppositional:

hot + strong + up  
versus  
 cold + weak + down

The hot-cold dimension refers to one's internal state. An individual who is hot is in complete possession of his well-functioning faculties; he is attuned and sensitive to the demands of his ancestors, his personal stock of magical techniques has been proven effective, he is successful in his undertakings and conducts himself skillfully in all his endeavors, his own soul spirit (minye) maintains a close union with his body (i.e. is not so displeased as to desert him), and his awareness and fulfillment of his social obligations is regarded as correct (this being a function of his nomani, or social conscience). In sum, this is a most desirable state. However, it has its dangers as well, for too much "heat", it is believed, can kill a man. Furthermore, the possession of heat makes a man the target of envy and, in a society in which there is an expressed value on equality, it is the 'hot' individuals who are the obvious transgressors of the ideal. This heat is equated with strength, not only physically but also in terms of strength of character. In this context the directional dimension, "up" versus "down," refers most explicitly to the

residences of the spirits of the departed ancestors. The souls of eminent warriors remain on the mountain tops where they have been interred, but the souls of lesser individuals cling to their burial grounds near the cold damp rivers at the bottoms of ridges.

There are both prescribed and proscribed forms of behavior for the acquisition and retention of heat. Largely, these involve various taboos on food and cigarette smoke. Plain water, for example, is a cooling substance and should not be drunk, but sugar cane is hot and strong and is a man's food. It is dangerous for men of heat and strength to spend a night in the lower altitudes. Their men's houses should be located on top of a ridge or at the most elevated point of the settlement.

Other items and events are associated with one or the other side of this oppositional paradigm. Warfare enterprises are efforts of heat and strength; on the contrary the whole field of vegetable and animal fertility is cold and damp. Cassowaries, noted for their ill-tempered and vicious dispositions are the birds of war; on the other hand the gaily decorated courtship-dancing birds-of-paradise are symbolic of fertility. These two contrastive yet complementary themes are both emphasized in the conduct of the pig festival.

In addition to the spirits of departed humans there are several other important supernatural beings. The most central of these is Kondile MbaNye, "The Red Spirit", and his less important sister, Ngola Amba "Dead Sister". The Red Spirit is



representative of the impersonal supernatural source of all power and is not a personalized spirit of any particular departed ancestor. By tapping this power, aid in both warfare and the promotion of fertility may be obtained. Various ceremonies are directed toward obtaining this assistance, the type of assistance desired being determined by the location and content of the ceremony. Whereas those ceremonies held on a river bank, at the bottom of a ridge, are attempts to enlist the aid of The Red Spirit in promoting the fertility of humans, crops, and pigs, ceremonies conducted on top of a ridge are directed toward attaining strength in warfare. The Red Spirit's Dead Sister appears to men in their dreams and shows them where to hunt for wild pigs, cassowaries, and birds-of-paradise.

In the bush, and other uncultivated and uninhabited places, there are the bush spirit brothers Yivn and Nanoa, the hunters. Both are capable of killing men and pigs out of simple malice. KaNi are a more capricious category of bush spirits. They are dwarf-people and, though omnipresent, are not visible. Their prime responsibility is the care of pigs after they have been turned out of the women's houses each morning. They are credited with a prankish nature and are held responsible for most trivial human accidents such as tripping over logs, bumping into things, or losing one's footing on a slippery trail. Ninba comprise another class of bush beings. They are cannibals who roam the world seeking the flesh of others to eat. Their description is particularly terrifying to Manga children, since

it incorporates the unknowns over which men exercise little or no control. These cannibal beings are depicted as looking like part jungle, part landslides, and part raging rivers. Unlike the ancestor spirits and the powerful Kondile MbaNye, none of these spirits constitute a focus of religious endeavors.

Animals as well as all humans are thought to have spirits, and it is their spiritual essence which the ancestors and other bush spirits are believed to consume. When pigs are killed in honor of, or in payment to the ancestors, or to gain the ancestors' assistance for future projects, the butchery of the carcass is deferred for a short period of time while the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to consume the pig's released spiritual essence. When any domestic pig is killed and cooked, a small portion, usually a piece of an intestine, is set aside on a leaf for the KaNi in thanks for their assistance in caring for the pig while it lived. This is done by the woman who was responsible for the care of the pig.

The principal religious paraphernalia are the sacred stones. These are actually mortars and pestles manufactured by a nowadays unknown people. The Manga do not know where they came from. They are regarded as another manifestation of the power of The Red Spirit. Each Manga clan-moiety once possessed a set of these stones, consisting of mortar and its accompanying pestle. Among the NivAparaka and Ndeymayka Clans of the Morokai Phratry, each set is said to have specific attributes. The stones of one NivAga clan-moiety are used in those fertility

ceremonies connected with the pig-festival, while those of the opposing Paraka clan-moiety are utilized in connection with strength-giving rites of warfare. Among the Manga, this distinction was not as clear-cut, most probably because their society is currently undergoing change. The pestle is 'male' and the mortar is 'female'. Each set of stones is housed in a small structure known as the nimpomba, literally, "house small". The objects are wrapped in a package of pandanus leaves and tied to the central beam of the nimpomba when they are being used. The stones are considered to be extremely hot and dangerous and are kept and handled by only one individual of each clan-moiety. For Kulaka, he was NA-43; for ENgeyka, this person was EK-62. The complementarity of the clan-moieties is now evident. The ceremonial cycle has two poles, one of warfare and one of fertility, with one constantly succeeding the other in time.

Warfare. The causes of warfare are diverse, but usually concern a series of altercations over women and pigs. Land is never mentioned as a cause of warfare and is not one of the ostensible reasons for which it is conducted. As among the Chimbu, the stated cause of war is usually found to be, "merely the last in a series of grievances" (Brown 1964: 349). The inception of the war between the Manga and the Yuomban was allegedly the slaughter of one Yuomban pig by one Manga man of the Timbamaru-waga Clan for which restitution was refused.<sup>2</sup> The affair slowly escalated from killing pigs to killing men and culminated with

a rout of the Manga from their land. As nearly as I could discover from native accounts and patrol reports, the entire sequence of hostilities comprised a time period of about three to four years, and was initiated at a period between pig festivals. Prior to this, the Manga had been in a war with the Okona, a phratry on their eastern flank. This former conflict had been settled peaceably through the mediation of members of a third phratry, the Morokai.

The hanging up of the warfare stones signals a time of formal conflict, and, in a latent sense, marks an eventual debt relationship to the allies and ancestors who will be paid at the next pig festival.

There are two styles of fighting in the conduct of a war; a raid, and a formal confrontation. Raids on settlements or gardening parties may occur at any time; the major element is surprise. In the formal confrontation, however, one party will challenge the other (by ululation) to an open conflict at a designated place on an appointed day, usually two days from the date of the announcement.

Pigs are killed at the "bone burial trees" of famous warriors so that their spirits will also assist in the fight. Allies are already at hand as a result of the concluded pig festival. Several food and inter-sex taboos are in effect. Women are escorted under guard to the gardens to obtain food for the men remaining at the men's houses on top of the ridge. In the evenings men gather in the sacred stone house and at-

tend prognostications of the custodian of the fight stones. Water may be put into the hollow of the mortar and in the flickering firelight the diviner 'sees' in the water the course of the morrow's battle.

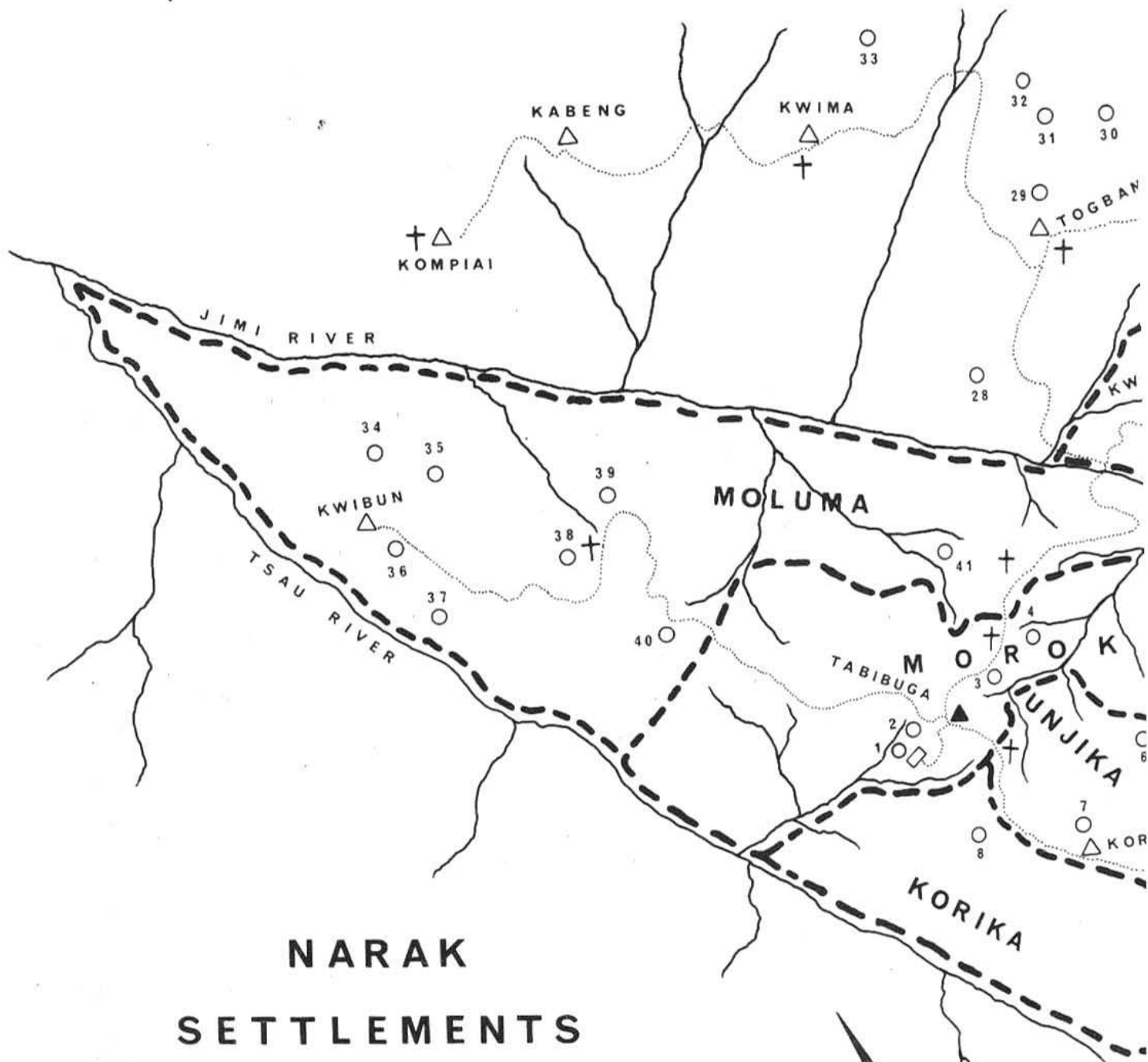
On the final morning of a day of formal warfare, the men prepare themselves. They cover their bodies with a mixture of grease and charcoal (from the nimpomba fire), don their head-dresses of cropped cassowary plumes, and paint their shields. About noon, or shortly thereafter, when all are ready, they commence the war chanting, a continuous loud low, "oooooooooooo", and proceed to the fighting grounds. Manga conduct their fighting behind their large shields (about 3' by 5' in size), wielding their spears, axes, or bows and arrows. Sometimes a choice of weapons is proclaimed when the fight is announced, e.g. a fight with spears or a fight with bows and arrows. Treachery in this matter is quite common so that bowmen usually back up the spearmen who are carrying the shields. After the fight has continued for some time and it appears that evening is falling without anyone's having gained an advantage, both sides fall back to their own residences; the retreat sound is a continuous high-pitched, "iiiiiiiiiiii".

If a man has been successful in slaying an enemy he must take certain precautions so that the person's spirit does not follow him back to his own house. He must also sacrifice a pig to his ancestors for their assistance. The war may continue in this manner, at sporadic intervals, for months and months; a

death on one side balanced by a death on the other (care is taken so that one does not kill one's own affinal relatives), a garden raid countered by a garden raid, an ambushade countered by a night raid on a settlement, and so on. Thus, though a war may commence because of several causes, it can end only in one of two ways. A truce may eventually be established, at which time death compensation payments in the form of valuables as well as women are paid and the two groups exchange the shoots of vegetable produce to be planted in each other's gardens. On the other hand, a group may totally defeat their opponents, cause them to abandon their territory and flee to affinal relatives in all directions.

The latter type of conclusion of war took place in 1956 when the Yuomban routed the Manga. On an appointed day of formal warfare, men of both groups proceeded in the traditional manner to the fighting grounds. But the Yuomban dressed up old men and boys (so the Manga say) and sent them down behind the shields while the younger men split into two parties of flankers and caught the Manga in a pincer movement. The Manga suffered heavy losses and retreated to their ridge top, scattering as they went. The Yuomban quickly pursued their advantage, but as they approached the Timbamaruwaga village of AndAlamo (Map VI, no. 26) they met with a stiffened resistance and suffered a few casualties themselves. The Yuomban returned to their own territory announcing a continuation of the war for 2 days hence.

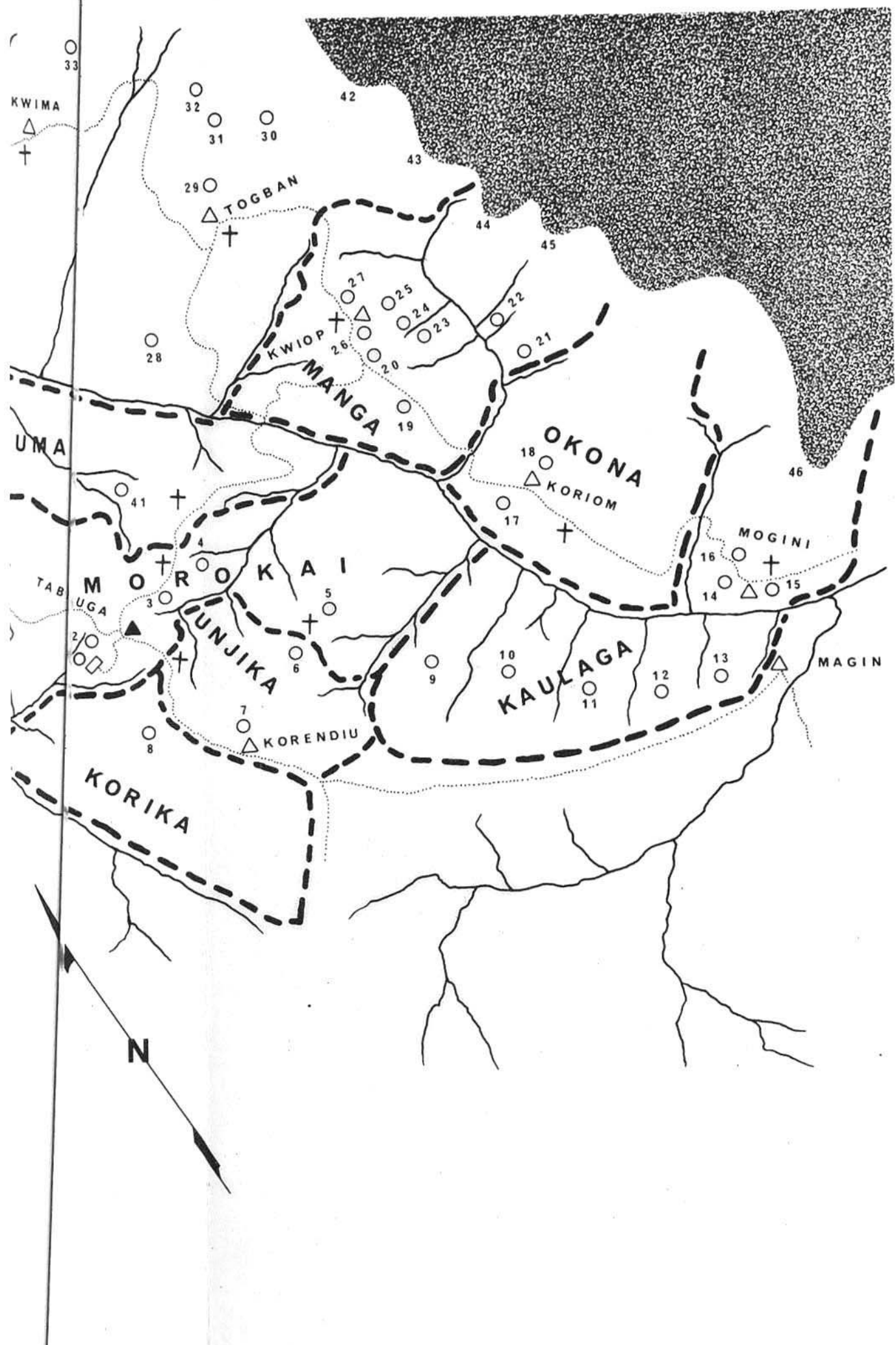
# Map VI



## NARAK SETTLEMENTS

- † = MISSION STATION
- = VILLAGE
- △ = GOVERNMENT REST HOUSE
- ▲ = PATROL POST
- = AIRSTRIP
- - - = TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES
- ⋯ = WALKING TRACK







## Map VI

Narak SettlementsKey

<u>No.</u>	<u>Phratry</u>	<u>Village Name</u>	<u>Mission Denomination</u>
1.	Morokai	Mbaura	
2.	"	NgogIAmoro	
3.	"	Warames	Nazarene
4.	"	Unjikamaye	
5.	"	Mbumbi	
6.	Unjika	Amboga	
7.	"	Korenduwa	
8.	Korika	Wanku	Lutheran (at Mogomp)
9.	Kaulaga	Mbnamp	
10.	"	Ndimbi	
11.	"	Mognkai	
12.	"	Mbupa	
13.	"	Emil	
14.	Kaulaga		
15.	Kaulaga		Lutheran (at Mogini)
16.	Kaulaga		
17.	Okona		Anglican
18.	Okona		
19.	Manga	Ndaimba	
20.	"	Eimokufu	
21.	"	Konyif	
22.	"	Epi	
23.	"	Tagaimbango	
24.	"	Ngonome	
25.	"	Timank	
26.	"	AndAlamo	
27.	"	Kwiop	Anglican
28.	Yuomban	KondAroga	
29.	"	Tognbani	Anglican
30.	"	Ongoma	
31.	"	KongApagana	
32.	"	Matsomph	
33.	Yismban	Ndega	Anglican (at Kwima)
34.	Moluma	Angdai	
35.	"	Karekumbu	
36.	Moluma		
37.	Moluma		

## Key to Map VI (Cont'd)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Phratry</u>	<u>Village Name</u>	<u>Mission Denomination</u>
38.	Moluma	Tsingoropa	Nazarene
39.	"	Ndimi	
40.	"	Kongophgala	
41.	"	Ngomba	Nazarene (at Mbraimba)

Mountains

- 42. Mt. Yopmoi
- 43. Mt. Nombanjo
- 44. Mt. Kamanui
- 45. Mt. Goblom
- 46. Mt. Oifo

The Manga slowly straggled into their houses that night, under the cover of darkness, and hurriedly concluded that the coming engagement would be disastrous and that the best possible policy was to abandon the village. The next day was spent in collecting their belongings and killing and cooking as many of their adult pigs as they could locate.<sup>3</sup> Late that afternoon many of the Manga abandoned Kwiop. On the following day, the Yuomban, encountering no adversary, proceeded directly to the various Manga settlements and burned all the houses, uprooted the crops in the gardens, ringed all the casuarina trees and killed whatever pigs remained. As noted in the first chapter, the Manga were later restored to their land by the action of the Australian Administration. In fact, however, the land would have remained vacant until the next Yuomban pig festival, for it is only in conjunction with the territorial boundary marking ceremonies that new land can be legally acquired. If, during the intervening period in which the land remained unoccupied, the Manga had been able to gather a sufficient force and defeat their enemy, or had otherwise been able to come to terms with them, they might have resettled their original ground themselves.

At the time that these events transpired, the Yuomban had just concluded their pig festival, while the Manga were within a month of doing so. It is easy to see that in cases where a state of war exists between neighboring phratries, there is a tactical advantage of concluding one's own pig festival first.

The pig festival. Unless it is precipitated by the enemy's having commenced his own pig festival, the pig festival portion of the ceremonial cycle commences when there is a sufficient number of pigs. In 1961, however, there was little chance that the Manga would attack the Yuomban and, in any event, the Manga commenced their pig festival some nine months before the Yuomban began theirs.

The Festival, like so many other aspects of Manga organization, is divided into two parts corresponding to two different types of songs and two different general orientations. Part one of the festival is conducted without the involvement of participants from any other phratries. It is focused "inward" on Manga growth and fertility. Part two is focused out from the Manga to other phratries and is oriented toward the ultimate continuation of hostilities.<sup>4</sup>

The sequence of activities commences with the decision to have a pig festival. Either of two factors may trigger this decision. As indicated before, an adjacent hostile phratry may initiate their festival thereby putting pressure on their enemy neighbors to commence their own since the completion of the festival signals the resumption of hostilities. The second factor is the size of the pig herd. The 'feast-triggering' effect of a large pig population for groups in Melanesia and the New Guinea Highlands in particular has already been noted by Vayda, Leeds and Smith (1961).

A woman, even with the assistance of a young daughter,

cannot competently care for more than six to nine pigs. As the pig herd grows, she finds that she is expending most of her efforts in feeding the animals, and this strains not only her own capabilities but, more significantly, the production capacity of her gardens. As a result, she complains that she has too much work to do because there are too many pigs. To drive her point home she may neglect to feed her husband, claiming that the pigs have eaten everything and there is nothing left for him. Since it is the more influential men who have the most pigs, and since they are the individuals who generally control the decision making process, it is not necessary that everyone has to have what would be considered as "too many pigs" before there is an affirmative decision "to hold a pig festival".

As the conduct of a pig festival is a phratry activity, the pig herd may be expected to attain the same relative strength in both clans at the same time. The actual decision, however, is formulated within each clan-moiety and then an approximate date is established between the two clans by an agreement of the leading men of each clan-moiety. The dates established refer usually to garden and moon cycles (marked by ripening of crops and full moons). A pig festival will commence at the beginning of a new gardening cycle.

The pig festival at Kwiop in 1961 commenced in September, prior to my arrival. At this time, a single stalk of the Ti plant (Cordyline terminalis) is planted by each clan-moiety

at a location in the ceremonial village near their respective sacred stone houses. At the planting, each male member of his respective clan-moiety grasps the stalk of the om as it is stuck into the ground. This symbolizes their unity of endeavor and serves, so they say, to 'fix' the men to the ground. From the time that the om is planted until it is taken out, only flutes may be played; no drums may be beaten, nor may any aggressive action be initiated against an enemy. No pigs are killed at this time.

The flutes (kambare) are made and played and the new gardens are cleared and planted. There is no elaborate ceremony connected with the flutes. They are played in pairs, one by each of two adolescent males. As the boys play, they walk, one behind the other.<sup>5</sup> Flutes may only be played in the bush and near gardens and may not be played in residential areas. Playing them serves to notify the ancestors (who are metaphorically referred to as kamba, "bananas") that a pig festival in their honor is commencing and that their assistance is desired. There are two kinds of gardens made at this time: those made for and by individual domestic groups, and a single collective garden for the entire clan. This latter garden is made on the perimeter of the intended ceremonial village site.

From this time until the latter half of January, normal activities continued, except that often in the evenings men gathered at their men's houses and, while working on bodily decorations and their drums, rehearsed the songs to be sung

later. The form of the chorus is stable but verses may be composed by anyone and introduced into the melody. There are basically three kinds of songs: those of fertility and ancestor supplication, those of strength and warfare, and those for courtship. I am concerned here with the first two types only. These are distinguished, according to the natives, by a common element of the chorus, into olo-olo-ei and nde-nde songs. The first of these two types (ei is the word for "war"), is sung until the conclusion of the first part of the pig festival, after which time the second type is used.

Olo-olo-ei songs are sung by warriors after returning from battles and their lyrics reflect several complementary themes: an affinity or sense of unity with the ancestral spirits, an attachment to the territory they have successfully retained, and an implication that warfare is a natural occurrence; that is, that birds, pigs, opossums and men all fight.

Meanwhile, the gradually maturing crops in the recently planted gardens and the healthy condition of the Ti plant at the ceremonial village indicate that the assistance of the ancestors in helping the crops to grow has been forthcoming. Preparations are made to commence the sacrifice of some pigs to the ancestors and to formally announce that their pig festival is now in progress.

One of the verses of the olo-olo-ei songs refers to the rivers calling people to come to them because initial sacrifices occur in the cemeteries located on their banks. Each

minimal named segment has one such cemetery. It is cleaned of brush and undergrowth, a temporary shelter is built, pits are dug for cooking pigs, and a house for sacrifice to the ancestors (Plate 5) is built. To witness the ceremony at Kwio I accompanied EK-62 and EK-17 to their sub-clan cemetery by the river Ngole, flowing at the base of the ridge upon which their residential village of Epi is located.<sup>6</sup> At this stage of the ceremonial cycle, only female pigs are killed in the cemeteries. They may only be killed immediately before the sunrise which can be dangerous, since at this time of the day the full moon has gone down and torches are not permitted in the ensuing darkness. On January 23, EK-17 killed one sow and an offering was made in a tena (a bamboo cooking device, see Chapter III). The head of the sow is cooked separately in a koNgAmbo (cooking structure). As EK-17 put the pig head onto the hot stones, the steam swirled about him and rose up into the trees and EK-17 screamed and tearfully began crying, alternately mumbling and shouting the names of his ancestors. He told them that there used to be many members of the Karakambo sub-clan (actually, he says, "ka") but now there are only a few members left and he hopes that they will look upon the living members with favor.

The remainder of the pig is then cooked while work on the various structures in the cemetery continues. When the wall posts of the ancestor sacrifice house (koNgAtiNArava) had been put in place, a young tree (yiko timpf) was cut down and brought for the



center pole. All the men and boys gathered in the unfinished ancestor house and, collectively grasping the sapling, raised it and plunged its sharpened end into the damp ground several times, thus 'planting' it. EK-17 was in the center of the group, squatting down by the hole the others were making with the tree, and he cried again, his own soul communicating to the souls of his ancestors the same message he had given them earlier in the morning; only this time he specifically requested their help in making his sub-clan numerically strong.

Work continued in the cemetery while the pig was being cooked. When the food was ready EK-17 distributed the pork to those present, and the remainder was taken up to the village of Epi to be consumed later. None of this meat may be eaten by other than members of the sacrificing sub-clan.

Late the next afternoon, everyone returned to the cemetery with their wives, who brought along the pigs to be killed on the next day. Only men who have killed an enemy in battle may sacrifice pigs at this time. Earlier that day these men had gone to their pandanus gardens and had each obtained one red pandanus fruit from a tree planted by their respective fathers. The fruits had not been simply knocked off the trees, as is usually the custom, but had been carefully cut and lowered. They were then brought to the cemetery and since the fruit may not touch the ground, the four men who had brought them constructed a table for them.

Each man then decorated his own pandanus by draping it

with shells in a replication of the decorations a man wears on his forehead, nose, chin and chest. Into the top of the fruits they stuck bone daggers (kombAkwivA, usually made from a cassowary thigh bone), which would later be used to cut the pandanus prior to the cooking. These "images" were addressed as koga, "grandfather."

When the four men had finished this task they each took the image they had made and, gathering at the table, they all began crying and talking to their ancestors while holding their images aloft. They informed the ancestors of the events that had already taken place. They promised to kill more pigs on the morrow and feed the ancestors well. They said that now they had prepared a 'bed' for them (the table) so that they might rest and watch the activities in the cemetery clearing. The men then put the images onto the table and retired to a distance of a few feet where they squatted on the ground and talked together about the sorrow they felt over the loss of their ancestors.

As they spoke, the emotional tension seemed to increase and they commenced crying and turning to the images again they wailed: "See us, we are crying for you, see our tears and help us to become many again." None of the women were present during this portion of the ceremony.

As the shadows deepened with the setting sun, the men regained some of their composure and each took his ancestral image from the table and set it upright in the sacrifice house.

Then they went to the temporary shelter located just outside the perimeter of the cemetery. There they ate their evening meal, prepared for them by the women. Afterwards they returned to the sacrifice house to spend the night with their ancestors. They brought with them several uncooked yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and cassava which they tied to the rafters of the house. The drum skins had also been hung there. During the night, the men occupied themselves with preparing the clubs which they would use for killing the pigs in the morning. While working they talked as if their ancestors were actually present; only occasionally did they cry. At about five o'clock in the morning their occasional crying turned into a loud wailing which continued for about thirty minutes. This effectively woke everyone else up and signaled that it was time to bring the pigs. The four men carrying their clubs left the sacrifice house and stood outside wailing while the four pigs destined to be killed were brought into the cemetery by the younger men. When the pigs were placed in front of the four men they raised their clubs and, as they struck the pigs' skulls, "their own souls leaped into their throats and cried out the names of their ancestors." There is a specified order of name calling that has to be followed: first comes the name of one's father, followed by that of one's father's father, and, finally, additional kinsmen may be added. Once a Morokai man reversed the first two. His subsequent illness and death were thought to have been caused by

his father's angered spirit.

All four pigs were then quickly pushed into the sacrifice house. After the sunrise the pigs were removed from the sacrifice house and lined up in front of it. EK-17 then took some sweet potatoes which his wife had brought with her and, after having blown a magic spell into them, rubbed several of them over the legs and belly of each pig, and returned them to his wife. These potatoes were to be fed later to the piglets so that they, too, would grow healthy and large. Each man butchered the pig he killed.<sup>7</sup> Pig tails were cut off and given to girls for arm band decorations and children were given the bladders. They blew them up like balloons and played with them. The intestines were turned over to the women who took them to the river to clean. Two of the sows were pregnant and the men seemed genuinely surprised to discover this. It was regarded as an extremely auspicious omen, as if it were a sign that their requests to the ancestors would be granted.

The pig livers were removed and immediately cooked on pointed sticks held over the fire. In the same fire rocks for the earth oven were being heated. When the livers were done, each of the four men took that of his pig and, calling his women, addressed them saying: "We are men who have killed other men. Now we have killed pigs for the ancestors. We kill our enemies and we feed our own. We will be a strong people and grow in numbers. Come and eat some of this pig." The wives of each man came forward and, while their husband

held the meat, they bit off a piece. Afterwards they were handed the rest to eat by themselves. Since the liver is considered to be the dwelling place of the pig's spirit this consumption had an important symbolic value.

When all of these activities had come to a close, and the pigs were about ready to be cooked, EK-17 again entered the sacrifice house to converse with the images and inform them about what happened outside their house. He told them how frightened he had been during the night. Nevertheless he had stayed with them so that now they could feast on the escaping spirits of the recently killed pigs. He said that while he was not, at this moment, considering engagement in a war, such a time might not be too far away and he wanted their continued support. During the "conversation", conducted in an informal manner in a normal tone of voice, he proffered some of the cooked pig to the images, holding a piece up to each of them for a few seconds before consuming it himself.

After this, the sacrifice house was prepared for cooking of the pork. Since the house was too small, only half could be cooked at a time. By three o'clock in the afternoon, the first portion of pork had been cooked and the second was ready to go into the earth oven. Each of the four men retrieved his own ancestor image and without a ceremony (other than making certain it did not touch the ground), divested it of its decorations, split it open with the bone dagger (stuck already in the top of the image, and put it into the earth oven on top of

the pork. The root crops which had hung in the sacrifice house were similarly prepared and put in the earth oven, covered over, and left all night cooking.<sup>8</sup> All the participants then returned to Epi and the food that was not immediately consumed was put in the storehouses which had been built during the previous weeks for this purpose (Plate 17). Early next morning they came back to the cemetery, retrieved the cooked food and left for the ceremonial village on the top of the ridge at Kwiop.

On this day, all the members of the Kulaka Clan-moiety and the ENgeyka Clan-moiety had gathered separately at the ceremonial village on the dance ground for the purpose of uprooting the ceremonial om planted there some months before. The ceremony began in the morning, the men were busy decorating both themselves and the unmarried adolescent girls of their respective Clan-moieties. All the ENgeyka men's drums were massed in the house of KW-5 and the Kulaka men's drums in house of KW-8 where EK-62 and NA-11 were busy blowing spells into the drum skins of their respective Clan-moiety members. The spells insure that the 'cry' of the drums will be loud and strong and pleasing to the ancestors.

Meanwhile EM-13, who had originally planted the om, removed the small protective fence that surrounded it, and cleared away the weeds that had grown around it. He took a small stake called "pig-killing stake" (to which the om had originally been tied in order to hold the om upright) out of the ground, and



PLATE 17

ELEVATED FOOD STORAGE HOUSES CONSTRUCTED FOR THE  
 PIG FESTIVAL.

attached a piece of pig fat to its sharp end. Another sharpened stick called "spear" was produced, and the two were held together by EM-13 as he blew on them, thus dedicating them to killing the pigs and enemies. With the "spear stick" he loosened the soil about the om plant, and taking the "pig killing stick", he lit the fat attached to it and dropped the hot melted grease into the soil around the om.

The om was then ready to be removed from the ground. The men of the Cian-moiety retrieved their drums and formed a silent circle around it. The young girls were placed inside the circle. Everyone began dancing silently and softly and they lowly intoned "oooooooooo". The volume of the song slowly increased as the bare feet pounded the hard packed clay. When the penetrating sound reached its apex, the om was uprooted. Like a shock wave a sudden thundering of drums reverberated from ridge to ridge announcing: "MaNa koNgoli yemon, the Manga make their Pig Festival."

At the same time, Kulaka Clan-moiety had gone through the same procedure. Finally, the two units danced out together carrying their om plants carefully wrapped in dried banana leaves, with the leaves of the Ti plants protruding. The bundled plants were carried at waist height, as is a dead warrior on his shield, and deposited to the side of the trail with its leaves pointing toward the territory of the enemy Yuomban. The whole KulakaeNgeyka Clan then proceeded partway to the territorial boundary between them and the Yuomban Phra-



try, to return finally to the ceremonial village. Later in the evening, additional magic was made by each clan-moiety over river stones (kuNgawan). Each male dancer then stomped on them, an action intended to increase the strength of his feet and legs for the long periods of dancing which were to follow for the next few months. This ritual was repeated periodically throughout the Pig Festival.

On the next afternoon, the entire phratry (both clans) massed in a single dancing group and, as a unit, danced to the boundaries of the phratries on either side of their territory, where new om plants as territorial boundary markers were planted.<sup>9</sup> This procedure symbolized their common defense of a recognized territory as well as their political and ceremonial collaboration.

Upon returning, members of each clan repaired to their own ceremonial village for an evening meal. After the sun had set, singing and dancing commenced again. Up until about the first or second week in April, depending on the weather, there was singing and dancing at each village for about an hour in the early morning (before the sunrise), and late evening (after the sunset). This dancing must be done in darkness, and the songs that are sung are the "olo-olo-ei" songs of the returning warriors, who mourn the dead and praise their ancestors for their assistance.

The constant singing and dancing on the dance grounds builds up the strength and heat of the ridgetop. Any misfor-

tune during this period, an illness or death, as well as the appearance and departure of non-phratry members, is regarded as evidence of the presence of unwanted spirits, most probably those of deceased enemy warriors. "Extraction and expulsion ceremonies" (Plate 18) are performed to rid the area of these evil influences. Magic is also made over stakes (kufape) which are posted at the clan-boundaries in order to prevent men of other clans from luring their unmarried clan sisters away in the night.

Much of the time between January and the end of July was spent in various economic enterprises aimed at the acquisition of many plumes and shells. Men spent a great deal of time on trading journeys, principally to their affines, exchanging plumes for promises of deliveries of pork at the time of the conclusion of the Pig Festival.<sup>10</sup> This was done because one of the certain signs that a clan is strong is the show of valuables that its members are able to accumulate and display as personal adornment. It was also during the period that most of the additional houses at the ceremonial village were constructed, and the dance grounds were cleaned and expanded to accommodate the expected crowds.

Toward the end of the third week in July each clan-moiety began construction of their sacred stone houses (nimpomba) in which the fertility and warfare stones were to be kept. Normally, these structures already exist in a village, but since the Yuomban had burned down the last Manga ceremonial center,



PLATE 18

EXTRACTING AND REMOVING EVIL SPELLS FROM THE GROUND.

there had been no nimpomba in existence at that time. Had the burning not occurred the sets of the mentioned stones would have been hung in the sacred houses in leaf packages when not in actual use for divining purposes.<sup>11</sup> They would have been neither greased with pig fat nor decorated in any fashion. Generally, a set of fertility stones is in use from the time of the planting of the om, that inaugurates the Pig Festival cycle, until mid-way in the Pig Festival, when the warfare stones come into use replacing the fertility stones. The warfare stones remain in force until the next om is planted. The transition period from the use of one type of stones to the use of the other is marked by certain ceremonies conducted by members of each clan-moiety at their respective sacred house, by a shift from fertility to war songs, and by a torchlight dancing ceremony.

After the sacred house had been built a fire was lit in it. This fire was started on the roof top and then brought into the house. The strength of the Red Spirit was requested to enter the fire because the eventual charcoal from this fire was to be used in decorating the skin of warriors. Once lit, such a fire must not be permitted to die out, for if it should, it would signify the impending death of a member of the clan-moiety. After the fire had been lit, a small piglet was killed inside the house and cooked there. Pork of this piglet is thought to be especially imbued with the strength of the Red Spirit. A portion of it was fed to each male mem-

ber of the clan-moiety. Men who have partaken of this pork must not eat frogs, insects or snakes, because they are regarded as 'cold'. Not only would a warrior lose his 'heat' by violating these food taboos, but also, if he had eaten any of these items and attempted to approach the sacred house, the sacred stone would 'see' him and make him very ill, or would possibly kill him.

Though the Kulaka sacred house (house KW-9) was not completed, the same style of ceremony was held in the men's house KW-8. On the following day all adolescent and adult males of the entire clan gathered in KW-8. Under the direction of three men (NA-43, EK-62 and EK-17), they collectively implored their ancestors to aid in the increase of their population. In their appeals they repeatedly stressed that there were not many children born in their clans. They brought their women within the fenced inner compound of the ceremonial village (area enclosed by a fence, marked on the Map IV, Kwiop, by the line "x's"),<sup>12</sup> so that they too might derive benefit from the fertility affect of the ceremony. Sticks and small fist-size water-worn stones with spells blown into them were then buried under the ground at the four entrances to the inner compound. This action was believed to tie those inside to the land of their clan, to protect them from any malignant spirits who might be following them, and to counteract possible contaminating effects any non-clan visitor might bring with him.

On the next afternoon (August 4, 1962) a sort of 'dress rehearsal' for the proper dancing styles and songs was held with all the men of the clan participating. This was the first time that dancing was conducted in the full daylight since the beginning of the Festival. On the next day lengthy (8' to 12') sections of bamboo were collected and deposited in each clan-moiety's men's house. That evening the men decorated themselves and, after repeating the ceremonies in which spells were blown into the drums and the legs of the participants 'strengthened' by stomping on the kuNgawan stone at their respective clan-moiety sacred houses, they were ready to light torches (called "spears") made of the bamboo sections. All of the women were gathered just outside the inner compound fence awaiting the emergence of the men. It is believed that the previous dancing in the dark has attracted spirits of all enemies killed in battle by the participants of the ceremony. These would be repulsed, thrown back into the darkness by the massed flaming "spears" of the entire phratry.

As the members of each clan-moiety completed their preparations, they joined with the opposite clan-moiety. Then members of both clans joined within the inner compound of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan and, as their voices rose in the opening vibrant "oooooooo" and the drums burst into a deafening accompaniment, the men of the Manga Phratry proceeded out onto the dance ground where they were met by their women, shriek-

ing in wonder at the display of their power and beauty. Around the perimeter of the dance ground and among the dancers younger boys ran with the blazing bamboo "spears", jabbing at the darkness and hurling their flaming shafts at the spirits of the enemy.

This ceremony continued relatively unabated into the daylight hours of the next morning. "Olo-olo-ei" songs were no longer sung because this ceremony dramatically marks the turning point in the Pig Festival. At this time members of other phratries would be invited to come and participate in the singing and dancing. There would be courtship parties and much trading. Old friendships and alliances would be renewed. This unification is reflected in the verses of the nde-nde songs. Warriors with their charcoal blackened skins and head-dresses of cropped cassowary plumes are metaphorically referred to as 'black birds'. The "nde-nde" verses say that now the "black-birds will fly together," that "the birds will come to us and help us," and that when "the young girls see what marvelous birds there are here they will flock to us as wives and remain as the flat stone remains in place." In this second half of the Pig Festival cycle, the two themes of war and courtship are interwoven in the verses of the nde-nde songs. Love magic to attract women is infused into the feather head-dresses in the form of spells bound in smoke, which is exhaled by the sorcerer into the plumage (Plate 19). At the same time, the marriageable girls of the clan are also deco-



PLATE 19

WABI BLOWS TOBACCO SMOKE CONTAINING A SPELL INTO A  
FEATHER HEADDRESS.



rated and join in the dancing with their clan "brothers" and "fathers" (Plate 20).

During the next several months neighboring affinally allied phratries, with whom amicable relations were still maintained, were invited by members of the clan (on behalf of the phratry) to come to Kwiop to sing and dance, usually for a period of two days. They assisted in cleaning the dance ground. Those individuals who, while serving as their war allies, had killed an enemy, ceremonially re-enacted this event by cutting down one of the small casuarina trees at the dance ground which had been assigned to them (Plate 21).

The members of the visiting phratry were presented with bags of prepared food by their hosts (Plate 22). Though the first day and night of the visit was devoted to these more formal aspects of the Pig Festival, the second day was a day of trading. Manga men traded shells and small piglets for plumes, or bargained for plume-loans to be paid for with pork at the conclusion of the Festival.

During this second and concluding phase of the Festival, each sub-clan had at least one living "ancestor representative".<sup>13</sup> The men selected as "representatives of ancestors" were the leaders of the sub-clans or their heirs apparent. Special ceremonies for their purification and consecration to the ancestors commenced on November 29. The men were secluded and kept in the inner compound while wigs necessary for the ceremony were being constructed. These wigs were very elaborate, made from



PLATE 20

CLAN "SISTERS" ARE DISPLAYED AS POTENTIAL BRIDES DURING A DANCE.



PLATE 21

A WAR ALLY SYMBOLICALLY RE-ENACTS 'KILLING AN ENEMY'.



PLATE 22

WABI MAKES A FOOD PRESENTATION DURING THE PIG  
FESTIVAL.

the warriors' hair, attached to a wicker frame, and sewn to the frame with the wearers' own hair. Consequently, the only way a wig can be removed is to cut it off. It takes about three days to make the wigs. The last step involves coating the hair structure with hot glistening tree resin, which immediately solidifies. When the sunlight strikes the wig it flashes with reflected brilliance from the thousands of mirror-like facets of the hardened resin. The wigs are thought to be especially pleasing to the ancestors and their brilliance in 'capturing' the rays of the sun is regarded as evidence of their drawing power from the Red Spirit.

During the entire period in which wigs are worn, the wearers may not go down into the valleys. It is believed that the lower altitudes, which are wet and cool, would destroy the heat and strength the wearers have acquired through the ceremonies. Younger men must procure food for the wig-wearers, since they may not accept food from women at this time. The wig-wearers are addressed by the kin term for grandfather and father, kogana. Thus, the notion of patrilineal descent is re-affirmed for each sub-clan. While this ceremony was conducted on top of the ridge, other men were setting eel traps in the river below, as a preparation for the final pig killing.<sup>14</sup>

By the 3rd of December, all of the wigs were completed and on the next day all of the KulakaeNgeyka wigmen ('ancestor representatives') secluded themselves in house KW-10. There they completed their bodily decorations by coating their skins

with fresh pig grease and pandanus oil and adorning themselves with a multitude of plumes and shells. Early in the afternoon members of the opposite clan (Timbamaruwaga) of the Manga phratry arrived at the KulakaeNgeyka dance ground and prepared to "receive the ancestors" (the wigmen).

At this time the two gate posts of the fapey fence that mark the place where allies would be fed pork were consecrated, each by the leading sorcerer from one of the two clan-moieties (Plate 23). Then, at the sounds of drums, they were ceremonially carried through the inner compound (Plate 24) to their designated place in the fence, where they were erected. After the posts had been put in place, the men proceeded to the entrance of the house of the men with the wigs. The latter, solemnly singing, filed out from the house in pairs. Most of the wigs worn were of the Jimi River style (Plate 25); only two men wore wigs of the Eastern Wahgi and Chimbu style (Plate 26).<sup>15</sup> The appearance of the men with the wigs was met with shrieking of the women, while the entire procession slowly moved in a stately dance step to the dancing grounds. Some of the married women, however, broke through the circle of dancers surrounding the men with the wigs, grasped them about the knees, and carried them around. These men, adopting an assumed demeanor of the ancestral spirits, did not appear to take notice of the fact that they were irresistible to the women. Their faces remained passive masks while accepting this adulation



PLATE 23

THE TWO SORCERERS, KOLIP AND KENT, BLOW SPELLS INTO THE GATE  
POST OF THE FAPEY FENCE.



PLATE 24

CARRYING THE FAPEY FENCE GATE POSTS TO THEIR DESIGNATED PLACE,





PLATE 25

WAN WEARS A JIMI STYLE WIG AT THE COMING OUT OF  
THE WIGMEN.



PLATE 26

KUM WEARS A 'CLEOPATRA' STYLE WIG AT THE COMING OUT OF THE WIGMEN.

as a matter of course. This lasted only a few minutes after which the women put the men down on the ground, while the other members of the phratry re-grouped around them. The singing, dancing, and shouting continued for several hours and died down only after the individual families drifted away to prepare and consume the evening meal.

The men with the wigs continued to sing and dance every day at the ceremonial dance grounds. On some occasions, other men joined them, but this was infrequent. Most of the people were busy accumulating firewood, cleaning out the cemeteries, locating pigs, and trapping eels. On December 11, a meeting of all the clan males was held, with the sorcerers PE-5, NA-11 and EK-62 charged with the task to determine an auspicious day for the start of slaughter of the pigs. As a result of their deliberations and "the retrieval of the disgruntled souls" of some of the clan-members, it was decided that the pig killing could commence on the next day or so.

There are three types of pig killings conducted at this time. The first type involves pigs called koNGA kambAkaukolo, which expression literally means "pigs to cover up the bananas."<sup>16</sup> These pigs are killed by the owners at their own discretion and for their own personal interests, at the burial places of their fathers. The second type of killing affects pigs called koNGA mablAmaye, literally "pigs of the mature taboos." During the ceremony described here all clans killed their mablAmaye pigs on the same day in their respective sub-clan cemeteries at the

site of their residential villages that antedated the Yuomban war. After killing and consuming the kambAkaukolo pigs, which took three days, men proceeded to the other cemeteries and cleaned them, built the sacrifice houses, and collected stones for earth ovens. In content, the ceremony that followed was much the same as that conducted at the opening of the Pig Festival, except for several details: while ancestor images of pandanus fruit were not made, cassowaries and eels were sacrificed at this time. As before, the night preceding the killing of pigs all members of the sub-clan remained awake, softly singing the sad songs of mourning for the ancestors.

Early next morning, immediately before dawn, the men, shouting the names of their ancestors, rushed from the bush shelter and killed the pigs which had been tied around the perimeter of the cemetery by the women the day before. The female pig carcasses were thrown into the sacrifice houses. The men then went to the nearby stream, in which the trapped eels were kept in weirs. They took the traps, with the eels inside, and carried them back to the cemetery, passing through a leafy arch called inolu. These live fish were dumped from the traps and the married women killed them with heavy sticks, taking care not to smash their heads.<sup>17</sup> Then they threw the eels into the sacrifice houses, on top of the female pigs.<sup>18</sup>

The bodies of the killed male pigs were put into the earth ovens. After completion of the slaughter some men collected the flowering plants called koṭambA and, having dipped

them in pig blood, sprinkled their wives, and attached the plants to the rear of their waistbands. It is believed that this action enhances their wives' fertility by bringing to a close the period of taboo on sexual relations which had been in effect since the commencement of the Pig Festival.<sup>19</sup> This ceremony of blood sprinkling is also used to erase internal enmities. For example, AL-16 and his wife AL-16-W1 sprinkled NA-36-W with pig blood so that the wife might regain her health. AL-16-W1 had been caught stealing sweet potatoes from NA-36-W's garden some months before and believed to be punished by a series of minor illnesses for her deed. The blood-sprinkling was, in effect, a statement to NA-36-W that the matter was now closed and that they should be good friends again.

By this time the sun had risen and the women began preparing the root crops to be cooked with the pigs. The male guests of the clan members, their affines who have been promised pork, began arriving at the cemetery where they were charged with the slaughter of the pigs. They had been slowly trickling into the ceremonial village over the past few days. As a result of the slaughter there was so much pork to be cooked that the earth ovens were used and reused all day long. The last to be cooked were the female pigs and eels. These had been left in the earth ovens overnight and taken out early next morning.

Meanwhile, at the ceremonial village on the top of the ridge preparations were made to kill a few male pigs and some

cassowaries. In opposition to the obvious fertility orientation of the sacrifice at the cemeteries, the killing of cassowaries is directed toward the attainment of strength in the conduct of war. The cassowaries were strangled and hung up by their necks so that their feet just touched the ground. They were then outfitted in male apparel and heavily decorated with plumes and shells (Plate 27). When these preparations had been completed, the old sorcerer NA-11 spoke to the ancestors, recounting the past history of conflicts with their enemies and seeking their continued assistance in future encounters (Plate 28).<sup>20</sup>

Late in the afternoon everyone returned to the ceremonial village loaded with pork, which was deposited in the storehouses. The ceremonial village was crowded to the full capacity of its housing facilities. Courtship parties, and singing and dancing continued for most of the night.

The next day (December 18, 1962) was the day to prepare the third type of pigs to be killed, "koNgA auwi, the pigs to be given." Although much of the pork from the koNgA mabiAmaye pigs was used for this purpose, additional pigs, specifically assigned as payment to individual war allies, were killed within the inner compound.

The Manga spent the morning of the last day of the ceremonies in killing and cooking the koNgA auwi pigs and in decorating themselves for the afternoon ritual. These terminal ceremonies were conducted on the same day by the entire phratry,



PLATE 27

A DEAD CASSOWARY BIRD DRESSED AS A HUMAN AND  
SYMBOLIZING THE ANCESTORS.



PLATE 28

KENT SPEAKS TO THE ANCESTORS.



and each clan was responsible for distributing pork to its own allies at its own dance ground. Since there is some overlap in recipients, the two ceremonies had to be staggered. There was no pre-arrangement as to which of the two clans the recipients would go first; rather, individuals of each clan were frequently going back and forth, checking on the progress of the two clans. As it turned out, members of Timbamaruwaga clan finished cooking their pigs first, so they were first to conclude their pork distribution ceremonies.

When all the pork had been cooked, belly fat, still attached to the hide, was cut into strips. Large packages of pork, wrapped in banana leaves, were prepared and shells, plumes and perhaps an axe or knife were tied to them. The male clan members then climbed the fence of the inner compound and on its top, with much ululating, shouted the names of the individuals who were to receive compensation for assistance in warfare (Plate 29). These were the persons who had previously cut down casuarina trees at the dance grounds during an earlier phase of the pig festival. Each ally was called individually. He burst from the crowd at the opposite end of the dance ground where he has been waiting (Plate 30), and, silently, began "the war-step." Silence descended upon the crowd as he rushed the fence with his spear and axe, demonstrating for all his war prowess. He retreated then to the opposite end of the dance ground and there gathered about himself members of his sub-clan. Accompanied by them, he rushed to a hole in



PLATE 29  
 MEN OF THE KULAKAENGEYKA CLAN CALL OUT TO THEIR WAR  
 ALLIES TO COME AND BE FED.



PLATE 30  
 WAR ALLIES WAITING TO BE CALLED  
 TO THE FAPEY FENCE TO BE FED.

the fence where, from the opposite side, a piece of the heavily salted pig fat was stuffed into his mouth and his body was liberally smeared with salt (Plate 31). Upon having received his package of pork and valuables he, being accompanied by his clan mates, retreated to the opposite end of the dance grounds. The same procedure was then repeated with every war ally.<sup>21</sup> Payments for feather loans, received from other affines and cognatic kinsmen, were made both before and after this ceremony (see Appendix XIVe Pig Ownership and Disposition).

When this part of the festival was concluded, the hole in the fence was sealed. All of the KulakaeNgeyka men were joined in the inner compound by members of the Timbamaruwaga clan, and together commenced a monotonous "oooooooo", the prelude to a war assault. The men, preceded by a rank of wig-wearing spearmen, rushed the surrounding fence on several places, thrusting their spears through it and shaking it violently. Finally, as the tension reached its peak, the males of the clan, smashing through the fence, burst out from the inner compound, and, led by the wig-wearing spearmen, charged onto the dance ground. Their allies joined them in this triumphant moment, and all together commenced singing and dancing.

As darkness descended, the men of the clan sang and danced down to the end of the ceremonial village that faced the enemy territory. There they threw away the decorative leaves they had been wearing as anal coverings. Among other things, this act signifies a formal announcement of the re-



PLATE 31  
A WAR ALLY IS FED THE PORK FAT  
AND SMEARED WITH SALT.

sumption of hostilities. If no war should develop from this time until there are sufficient pigs to hold a pig festival again, then the next festival will be held in the same manner as the one I have just described, except that the former 'enemy' phratries will also be invited to participate. In our case I was told on several occasions that at the next one both the Okona and Yuomban phratries would be invited to come to sing and dance at the next festival.

Early in the morning on the following day, most of the guests left, carrying their gifts of pork and valuables home. Later in the morning and in the early afternoon married women of one of the Manga clan approach married men of the other and complimented them on their performance of the previous day. The women claimed that the men had decorated themselves so well that it surpassed all previous achievements of this kind, that their dancing was the finest ever seen, and the 'cry' of their drums could be heard all through the valley. Men who accepted such an outrageous flattery, committed themselves to a reciprocation for the compliments. They had to arrange for their own wives to smear the visiting women's skin with pig grease and to give them some of the men's plumes to wear in their hair. The original act of flattery is considered to create an overture to a possible mutual friendship to be established between husbands of the two women. The overture, however, may be rejected by the man receiving the flattery simply by having the flattering woman decorated and then send-

ing his own wife to reciprocate the flattery to the woman's husband. For example, Kome (the father of the girl KoNa whose legal case was described in Chapter III) directed his wife to compliment AL-6. AL-6 gave Kome's wife two Bird-of-Paradise plumes and had his own wife grease her skin with pig grease. Kome's wife then returned to her husband. Later in the day, AL-6 sent his own wife to Kome to make return flattery compliments, thus rejecting the overture.

Most of the day after the conclusion of the pig festival is spent in simply wandering about and eating. A couple of days later, when the pork had been consumed or become spoiled, the men with wigs removed their head coverings and resumed their normal day-to-day activities. The dance ground, now considered to be very 'hot' and 'strong', was immediately planted with sugar cane by the men for their own future consumption.

Thus the pig festival is concluded. In the above description of activities of the Manga pig festival I have shown how the segmentary organization comes to life in the pursual of aims of this ceremony.

D. The Developmental Aspect. The seemingly too neat form of the Manga hierarchical system of segmentation led me, in the latter stages of my period of field work, to undertake a survey of additional phratries in the same language area.<sup>22</sup> Map VI, Narak Settlements, shows the territories of the six groups surveyed in addition to the Manga. The territory west

of the Manga's location is uninhabited for some distance up to the point where the territory of the Kamam phratry commences.

The segmentation charts for all seven groups are included in Appendix XV, Segmentation of Narak Phratries. Table XXII is a summary of the population sizes of these seven Narak speaking groups and their sixteen component clans. In terms of gross population size for both phratries and clans, the Manga are below average in phratry size and about average in clan size.<sup>23</sup> I shall now consider each of the seven Narak groups included in the sample.

Since the names of most of these segments are rather lengthy (e.g., Njipnjiptsamakale, Tukmayokleyka) and occasionally repetitive (e.g., there are nine segments named MbaNkani), I refer to them by the notational system presented in Appendix XV. Each of the seven segmentary societies is presented in outline form of descending order of inclusiveness in the appendix. Thus, the Morokai phratry is "A", the three current clans of "A" are "A1", "A11", and "A111", and the subdivisions of clan "A1" are "A1a" and "A1b". This system is continuous down to the lowest level of the segmentary structure. For example, the segment with the notation A1b2a is the Kumakani sub-subclan of Wuṭameyka sub-clan of Mayka clan-moiety of Ndeymayka clan of the Morokai phratry. This notational system facilitates the identification of any one of the one hundred eight-five segments in Appendix XV.

TABLE XXII

## Population Sizes of Narak Phratries and Clans

Phratry	Total Pop.	Component Clans	Total Pop.	Adults only male	female
1. Morokai	514	A. Kimbagalemboga	197	66	57
		B. NivAparaka	151	39	44
		C. Ndeymayka	166	54	48
2.		Unjika <sup>1</sup>	237	67	60
3.		Korika <sup>1</sup>	247	83	72
4. Manga	351	A. KulakaeNgeyka	195	58	50
		B. Timbamaruwaga	156	47	47
5. Okona	307	A. TumpNgraNa	93	25	25
		B. Pubishkondo	214	55	49
6. Kaulaga	615	A. Yagitiga	287	71	71
		B. Nempkani + Aglika	328	92	70
7. Moluma	886	A. Nimpgarikai	79)	84	76
		B. Toleymaypka	204)		
		C. Tukmayokleyka	205	80	70
		D. PaNareyka	326	93	86
		E. Mambragai	72	16	18

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 3,157

Mean Phratry Size: 534

Median Phratry Size: 514

Mean Clan Size: 197

Median Clan Size: 200

Notes:

1. Unjika and Korika are territorially and politically autonomous exogamous Clans not currently allied with any other clans into phratries.



Morokai phratry. The Morokai phratry is segmented into three clans, and each clan is divided into two clan-moieties. There are twenty segments at the sub-clan level and eight at the sub-subclan level.

The Morokai have no commonly held origin myth. One of the meanings of the word "Morokai" is "existing descent lines". In the Maring language group the "-kai" suffix is the cognate of Narak "-ka", meaning "lineage." Only one other segment has a "-kai" ending (segment FV), and the members of this segment are migrants from the Maring language area downriver. Other than this minimal clue, there is no other history to account for the phratry name.

In the late 1940's, Morokai phratry consisted of only two clans. Clan All is probably the older of the two clans. This conclusion is based on its extensive internal segmentation, which presupposes a relatively longer period of development. The proper name of the second clan of this phratry in 1940 is no longer recalled, though it was probably a word consisting of the names of its two major segments, Allia and Alb. The total population of this second clan was approximately 300 individuals, which exceeds the mean size of clans (Table XXII). Each of these two clans had its own ceremonial village and pig festival dance grounds; however, the normal residential villages were on separate ridges.

Around 1950, the clan-moiety segments Allia and Allib fought and lost a minor war against clan segment F1 of the con-

tiguous Moluma phratry. Before segment F1 could proceed through the pig festival and establish a new territorial boundary through the om planting ceremony, they were defeated in ambush by the segments Allla and Alllb, who reclaimed their former land. At the same time, the Morokai phratry was also engaged in an active war with other clan segments of the Moluma phratry. The last informal battle between these two phratries was interrupted by the advent of the Administration's Census Patrol in 1953.

Shortly after this, the segments Allla and Alllb, who had combined for purposes of warfare, began marrying women of segments Ala and Alb, i.e., within the clan. The native phrase for this development is, "exchanging women in the middle", ana tof paNo paNo yei. They say that the reason for doing this is because, "our roads have fences"; that is, the affinal connections through which new spouses are normally acquired have been blocked due to hostilities. Some informants phrase the reason for exchanging women within the clan in terms of clan size, saying that they had been sending their own sisters away in marriage, but no women had been forthcoming in return, and so, since they were a small clan and could not afford to give their women away for nothing, they decided to marry among themselves.

Thus, the new clan, Alll, though now distinct both by name and function from its parent, Al, has not yet begun regularly intermarrying with the remaining clan, All, of the

same phratry. The first marriage between these two units occurred in 1963 and was the occasion of a court case concerning the legality of the marriage. Both the man and the woman involved were affiliated non-agnates, and though the marriage was sanctioned solely on these grounds, several informants regarded the decision as a sanction for additional future marriages between the two clans.

Unjika clan. Members of the clan, B1, believe that they are the descendants of a man named Unji, who migrated to their current place of residence from Toli (Map II, No. 11). Unji had two sons, Komun and Agli, from whom the names of the sub-segments Komunka, Bla, and Aglika, Bib, are derived. B1 is itself the exogamous unit, and no internal marriages have occurred in this segment. Informants say that it is not likely that such marriages will occur for some time.

When the Administration conducted its original census in 1953, B1 was listed as a sub-segment of clan C1. Informants, however, deny this relationship and say that the Administration has committed an error. Each of the clan-moieties, Bla and B1b, has its own pig festival village and ceremonial dance ground. Some time ago, these two segments conducted the pig festival at the same dance ground, but in 1954 an altercation broke out over the death of a pig and the two segments established separate dance grounds.

In total, the extent of internal segmentation of this clan is minimal. I believe this fact points to their recent

settlement in the area, although no informant is able to substantiate this opinion.

Korika clan. The members of this clan, C1, believe that they are all the descendants of a man named Kori, who originally came from Kundambi, located in the Kuma territory of the Wahgi Valley. Kori migrated first to Toli and then on to Wanku (Map VI, No. 8). Though this clan possesses the double-named segments characteristic of all other Narak groups, these segments are not yet exogamous. However, it is expected that women will soon be exchanged within the clan.

When this practice commences, the clan Korika will have attained the full status of phratry, since a phratry contains two or more exogamous clans as sub-segments. The presence of these double-named units may be taken as an indication of incipient segmentation. A further indication of the imminent rise of this clan to phratry status is the fact that this is the only group in which each of the sub-clans has two sub-subclans. An examination of the distribution of the segments within this clan, as shown in the appendix, is sufficient to demonstrate the regularity with which this clan has developed.

Okona phratry. There is no common origin myth for the Okona phratry, D. However, each of its two clans, D1 and D11, has its own mythical founder. D1 was founded by a man from Mbumbi (Map VI, No. 5) of the Unjika phratry, though he is alleged to have originally come from Ambang, a place near Banz in the Wahgi valley. His son, Wutsi, founded the clan-

moiety segment Dia. The name of this segment, Pubuka, is a verb form meaning "to turn away", and signifies their migrant origin. It is thought that Wutsi had four sons who founded the sub-clan segments Dia1, Dia2, Dia5, and Dia6. The two remaining sub-clans' names are derived from the names of the clan-moieties of Moluma phratry where they have their most numerous affinal ties.

The second clan, D11, is believed to have been founded by a man named KuluNa from the region of Aindem on the north side of the Bismarck Mountains. One of the sub-segments of this clan, Kindual (D11a3) was also founded by a migrant. This latter individual came from Kurunga (Map II, No. 39), and it is thought that he arrived some three to four generations ago.

Kaulaga phratry. This phratry is rapidly splitting into two phratries, according to several indicative factors. First, it is the only phratry which is distributed on both sides of the Jimi river. As Meggitt has noted for the Enga, "A phratry straddling a river usually includes larger than average clans that have recently expanded territorially." (1965: 6). This statement appears to be valid for the Jimi river area as well. Second, the two exogamous segments of Kaulaga phratry, E1 and E11, are both well over the mean clan size in terms of population. Third, there are conflicting origin myths. Some informants maintain that the entire phratry was founded by a common ancestor Kaula from whom the name of the phratry is

derived. Others state that Kaula founded only the clan E1, and that the segment E11, Yagitika, was founded by a man named Njeynjeyman from the Chimbu. This conflict supports the idea that soon there will be two phratries here instead of one. Fourth, when the Administration conducted its initial census, people on opposite sides of the river were recorded separately. Fifth, segments E11a and E11b are already double-named, though they are not mutually exogamous. I believe that this is a further indication of incipient fission as noted in several previous cases.

Historically, the segment E11c, Mbroga, is said to have once been much larger than it is now; so large, in fact, that it used to be exogamous. This is no longer the case. Some of its members have now affiliated with segment E11a2 and are known as the Tukika. This appears to be an instance of a once powerful clan now declining in numbers and rapidly losing its membership to other segments. Thus the Kaulaga phratry appears to be in the process of rapid change.

Moluma phratry. This phratry (F) is the largest of the Narak segments in the sample. It has a population of 886, which is almost 80 per cent larger than the mean size for phratries. There are currently five exogamous clans within the phratry; F1, F11, F111, F1V, and FV. The last clan (FV) was founded several generations ago by a group of war refugees from another language area downriver. At the time of their arrival, there were about 25 to 30 of them, and they were

given land in exchange for women. This clan has maintained its own exogamous status vis-a-vis all other Moluma clans. Each of the remaining four double-named exogamous clans is typically divided into clan-moieties. With the exception of the migrant clan FV, there is a single origin myth for the entire phratry. Members of the four clans (F1, F11, F111, and FIV) believe themselves to be the progeny of four sons of Plemp, the original founder of the phratry.

I believe that fission of this phratry is imminent. Some members of clan F1 no longer acknowledge that they are also members of F phratry. They maintain that they will conduct their next pig festival with clan F11, whether the remaining clans (F111, FIV, and FV) are ready or not. This is another indication of the emergence of a new phratry, since it is the phratry which is the largest unit to conduct collectively a pig festival. In addition to this sign of fission, a disunity in the conduct of war has occurred. During the last two wars with clans of the Morokai phratry, Moluma clans F1 and F11 fought on one occasion and, on the other, only the Moluma clans F111 and FIV stood against the Morokai.

In sum, it seems most probable that the Moluma phratry will cease to exist as a unit encompassing five clans. Instead, it will split into two phratries, one composed of the segments F1 and F11, and the second consisting of the remaining clans. The name "Moluma" will probably be retained by the latter group.

Manga phratry. This phratry (G) has no origin myth at all, or at least none that I was able to obtain (see Chapter 1). The phratry is composed of two exogamous double-named clans, G1 and G11. Historically, there was once a single clan, Maruka, composed of the segments Gla and G11a, but a feud developed many generations ago which caused the Kulaka segment to move to their current place of residence at Kwiop (Map VI, No. 27).

The individual histories of the sub-clan segments within clan-moieties Gla and G1b are presented in Appendix 1. The name for segment Gla, "Kulaka", means "the lost patrilineage". This name may reflect their movement away from the parent clan, Maruka. The etymology of G1b "ENgeyka", is unknown.

At the level of sub-clan within G1 clan, Gla1 is the result of an uxori-local male originating from a clan downriver. The name of this segment, "Peymbankale", is derived from this man's natal clan name. The sub-clan segments Gla3 and G1b1 are named after women who were given in payment to the clan on war reparation. Sub-clan segments Gla2, Gla5, and G1b3, are named after the colors black, brown and red, respectively. Segment G1b2 is named after a locale; the Karakambo river. Segment G1b1, Kunakaikale, was once a sub-segment of the opposite clan-moieties, but after an altercation (documented in Appendix 1) residence and affiliation was shifted to the other clan-moieties within the clan.

This particular phratry has lost approximately 50 members



within the last decade, principally due to long-term war with the Yuomban, a neighboring phratry, culminating in the Manga's being completely defeated and chased out from their own territory. They were restored to their traditional lands by the Administration in 1956. However, several members of the phratry who had taken refuge with their affinal kinsmen have not yet returned to their ancestral territory.

This completes the summary of historical evidence relevant to the seven Narak segmental societies in this sample. I now turn to a discussion of the events occurring in the development and dissolution of societal segments. These events are considered separately for each level of the hierarchical structure.

Phratry level. Because of the limited depth characteristic of Narak segmental histories, little can be said about the formation of new phratries. Currently, three of the seven phratries appear to be in the process of fission or segmentation. Two of these phratries are the Kaulaga (E) and Moluma (F). In both instances, the phratry is well over the mean phratry population size. When a new phratry splits off from its parent, the new phratry obtains a distinctive name and the remaining portion of the old phratry, or "rump" segment (Barnes 1955: 16, Meggitt 1963: 165), retains the former collective name.

In the case of Kaulaga, the genesis of a new phratry is being facilitated by spatial dispersion across a natural

barrier and the Administration's recognition of them as two separate entities.

A third possible example of phratry formation is the clan Korika, C. I suspect that, when the two Korika clan-moieties Cia and Cib become exogamous, the former clan will assume phratry status since, by definition, a phratry is a cluster of (usually two) exogamous clans. This is an example of incipient segmentation (Middleton and Tait 1958: 7-8).

Clan level. At the clan level, the appearance of a new segment is marked by an independence in warfare, spatial removal, intermarriage with members of the remaining part of the former clan, and the assumption of a new named identity. The new name, which actually may be assumed prior to the occurrence of marriages between the members of the two incipient segments of the parent clan, is a combination of the names of its two constituent clan-moieties. In the case described for the Morokai phratry, A, the new clan's name is NivAparaka (A111), which is a conglomerate of the names NivAka and Paraka, its component clan-moieties.

In the Korika clan (C) and Yagitsika (E11) there are two of these double-named units at the clan-moiety level. I assume that these two segments, Cia and Cib, will shortly intermarry. The presence of a double-named unit serves to communicate imminent segmentation of the clan. Of the sixteen exogamous Narak clans in Appendix XV, eleven are double-named. Of the remaining five, one is a migrant clan (FV), three are

too undeveloped to have achieved double-named units (B1, C1, and E11), and one is unnamed (E1). In this latter case, I think it is safe to predict that the E1 clan will become known as Nemphaglika, which is the combination of the names of its two clan-moieties, Ela and E1b.

Segment FV, Mambragai, is an example of an externally originating group that has affiliated itself with the Moluma phratry. Because its members have maintained their exogamy in relation to all other segments within the phratry, I have placed their unit at the clan level of the segmentary structure in spite of their minimal internal division and small population size.

Clan-moiety level. Clan-moieties may emerge either through fission or segmentation, though my historical evidence is insufficient to indicate the more prevalent process. The clan-moiety segment Gla is a product of fission, as noted in the history of the Manga phratry. Clan-moiety segments Bla and Allb are probably the result of normal internal segmentation. At the level of the clan-moiety there are no known examples of accretion of segments that originated externally.

It is on the clan-moiety level of the segmental hierarchy that the people trace their mutual relationship from mythical ancestors. At the next lower level of the hierarchy, that of the sub-clans, the relationship is solidly based upon known genealogies.

Sub-clan and sub-subclan levels. Both of these levels

are discussed together, because there are many sub-clans without internal divisions. New segments may originate in several ways at these lowest levels. In some instances, only a minor portion of the parental segment splits off to establish a new named identity, retaining membership in that parental segment. While the remainder of the parent group continues under its original name, the new segment may take its name from such sources as the founding male, a place name, the name of the clan with which numerous affinal ties exist, or from a significant event. Representative examples in Appendix XV of this form of segmentation are the units A111a<sub>1</sub>, D1a<sub>3</sub>, D1a<sub>4</sub>, G1'b<sub>2</sub> and G11b<sub>2</sub>.

In other cases of segmentation, the parental group, while retaining its original name, divides and its newly formed segments are usually called 'red' and 'black', mbaN and Nanbe, respectively.<sup>24</sup> Representative paired examples are A111a<sub>1</sub> and A111a<sub>2</sub>, E1a<sub>1</sub> and E1a<sub>2</sub>, E1b<sub>1</sub> and E1b<sub>2</sub>, E11a<sub>1</sub> and E11a<sub>1b</sub>, and F1Vb<sub>1</sub> and F1Vb<sub>2</sub>.

If migrants from another territory form a minimal segment, the name of their clan or phratry of origin is often retained. Accordingly, there is a high incidence of segments in the middle Jimi river area that incorporate in their name the word "Kuma". In the Manga phratry, the "migrant segment" G1a<sub>1</sub> has retained its clan name of origin.

There are two factors responsible for a change of a group's status in the hierarchy of the Manga societal segments:

the population expansion and the population reduction. The causes which produce expansion in the population size of a phratry or of any other segment are varied. The normal increase through sexual reproduction is the most usual course. The size of a segment is also increased by the return of divorced or widowed sisters, together with their progeny, to their brothers, as well as by the inclusion of other, often political, migrants.

Population depletion may occur through warfare and feud, or may be due to natural causes, such as epidemics of typhus, dysentery, or pneumonia. As a group becomes smaller and smaller in size, it eventually reaches a point when its membership cannot adequately fulfill the functional requirements of a segment on that hierarchical level. Such a group will then descend in the segmental hierarchy and its members will be eventually incorporated as a subdivision into another, larger segment.

In the course of my survey, I found an occasional man who claimed to be the last member of a former sub-clan and who stated that he had now shifted his affiliation to another, similar unit. Where the migrant segment is small, there is a high probability of a complete incorporation in two generations. On the other hand, where the segment is large, as in the Mambragai case of Moluma phratry, there can be an economic advantage in retaining subgroup identity and an exogamic function. Thus the degree of incorporation of a group into another may be viewed as

the extent of its participation in the collective functions of the host unit. Population size is here the crucial factor. As Langness has shown, "segmentation is not totally unpredictable in New Guinea,...the antecedent conditions of segmentation (fission) probably have to do with the optimum size of groups..." (1964: 181).

For Narak segmental societies, the optimum population size is around 200 for a clan and about 500 for a phratry<sup>26</sup> (Table XXII). As these sizes are exceeded, we may expect segmentation and fission or fusion to occur.<sup>27</sup>

Summary. In this chapter I have described the nature of Manga segmental structure and organization. In doing so, I have drawn upon ethnographic material concerning the activities of the pig festival, as well as comparative demographic, ethnographic and historical data from six additional Narak segmental societies. I have shown that, among these people, segmentation concerns the ordering of relations between groups and does not refer to individuals. Title to membership in segments at levels higher than those of the sub-clan or sub-subclan is vested in these minimal segments and not in individuals.

In the previous chapter, I concentrated on social relations, e.g., relations of Ego with other individuals; in this chapter I have centered my attention on societal relations. In the next chapter I use this analytical distinction in formulating my conclusions.

## VII. CONCLUSION

Introduction. This concluding chapter brings together the data of the previous chapters and applies them to the problem of "flexibility". After an initial review of the problem an analysis is offered that is believed to have a plausible solution.

The problem. In my original statement, I listed attributes of other highland New Guinea societies which have led some authors to characterize their structures as flexible or loose.<sup>1</sup> As a contrast, I maintain that such characterization of the structure of many New Guinea societies is the result of an inadequate analysis that uses a conceptual framework inapplicable to them.

These authors have cut short the analytic process and reified the notion of flexibility by disregarding alternate analytical approaches. In their search for "enduring groups and constant relations" (Brown 1962: 57), they have come to regard variation in individual behavior as "looseness of structure" (Bureau of Native Affairs 1958: 144; Pouver 1960: 111, 114; Van der Leeden 1960: 121). Many of these authors have implicitly compared "the de facto situation in a highland (New Guinea) community as shown by an ethnographical census, with a non-existent and idealized set of conditions among the Nuer" (Barnes 1962: 5). As Barnes noted, "deviations from the African model were often regarded as anomalies requiring special explanation" (1962: 5).

Paula Brown attempted to correct this problem by combining and modifying "several modes of analysis" (1962: 60). I regard her effort as inadequate because she persisted in tying her analysis to a comparison between "Chimbu enduring groups and African lineages" (1962: 60). African segmentary systems are not the same as New Guinea segmentary systems. It does not seem that the conceptual apparatus used in the analysis of African societies can be profitably employed in an analysis of New Guinea ethnographic material without leaving a large residue of unaccounted-for behavior. Many authors have concluded that this residue of behavior results from the presence of flexible social structures that the New Guinea society possess. In his review of Oosterwal's People of the Tor, Needham comments on such a solution as follows:

"although one is readily persuaded that the fluid and 'loosely structured' mode of life reported is characteristic of many parts of New Guinea, it may be that more particular attention to pervasive principles of organization, in society and cult, could relate such disparate observations into a more coherent and significant representation of Tor culture" (1962c: 16).

The New Guinea ethnologists are in need of an analytical approach that would be relevant to their societies and that would prove to be adequate in accounting for all the recorded behavior in a tight and logical way.

The analytical approach. A structural analysis must be based on social reality, a reality composed of ethnographic facts. The purpose of my analysis is to account for these facts without leaving a factual residue. In this analysis



I utilize the analytical constructs formulated by Pospisil in his treatment of the Kapauku Papuans (1963).

Pospisil makes a distinction between social structure and societal structure as follows:

1. Social structure "refers to the structure of Ego's social relations and applies to those instances in which Ego is the common point of reference, and in which all the relationships, as well as categories and aggregates of people, will be defined and described relatively (in relation to Ego) and will not be treated as absolute units within the matrix of the society" (1963: 27).

2. Societal structure "is applied to the analysis of the nature and relationships of the society's segments (subgroups). This concept refers to the structure of society, in which all aggregates of people will represent discrete groups, described absolutely without any dependence upon the functioning of a single individual (Ego) as a point of reference" (1963: 27).

Within the sphere of social structure, Pospisil makes a further distinction between social categories and social quasi-groups in the following terms:

1. Social categories are comprised of "individuals whose relationships and behavior toward Ego are patterned in the same way but who do not unite into a temporary grouping while acting vis-a-vis Ego" (1963: 28).

2. Social quasi-groups are comprised of "individuals who tend to behave in a similar way toward Ego and who do intermittently form temporary unions while acting on behalf of Ego" (1963: 28).

These are conceptual tools developed within the field of ethnological research in New Guinea where they have been employed in an analysis of the Kapauku Papuans of the Wissel Lakes. I propose to apply these concepts to the Manga data to determine their utility.

Manga social structure. Individuals who have a single Ego as a common referent point may be defined as a set by right of that relationship. Consequently there are as many such sets as there are Egos at their point of reference. Since these sets are relative and not absolute phenomena, they cannot form discrete groups. These sets of individuals may be classified according to whether they do or do not, "unite into a temporary grouping while acting vis-a-vis Ego." (Pospisil 1963: 28)

1. Manga social categories. Social categories of a Manga man include aga wuna, most of his terminologically designated categories of kinsmen; kam wuna<sup>2</sup>, people who are strangers to him; ei wuna, his traditional enemies; and wuna mabla, people with whom he observes certain fire, food and tobacco taboos. The specific behaviors toward each of these categories were noted in Chapter V.

A Manga regards strangers with suspicion until he can determine their intent. In a very real sense, the "stranger" category consists of unknown individuals who, when they become known to Ego, are often shifted into other categories or quasi-groups.

The category of Manga traditional enemies is analogous to the same category among the Kapauku (Pospisil 1963: 29). In fact, the existence of a similar category is prevalent in every known highland New Guinea group for which there are data, and the relations are much the same throughout the en-

tire area. A traditional enemy stands, as a separate segment, in opposition to Ego's own segments. But this does not exhaust the category of traditional enemies relative to Ego, because his affinal's traditional enemies are also in this category. Therefore, the category of traditional enemy belongs to social structure.

2. Manga social quasi-groups. The sets of relatives who "intermittently form temporary unions on behalf of Ego" (Pospisil 1963: 28), are his consanguineal kinsmen, wuna tsina; trade partners, wuna moNgo tof; and his best friends, kambanola. The limit of kinship reckoning for consanguineal kinsmen constitutes also the boundary within which marriage is prohibited. Within this set, there are special relationships with certain classes of kinsmen. Ego's cross-cousins, wambe ke wambe, are those with whom he is collectively responsible for complying with the marriage rule.

Ego's affinal kinsmen participate as recipients in the bride-and child-price payments and are responsible for making the return payment. They are also the recipients of the death payment.

Ego's set of trading partners may be drawn from several of the social categories, but most frequently are affinal kinsmen. They stand in a special relationship to Ego as focal points of his extra-societal economic transactions. At the conclusion of a pig festival, Ego's trading partners may be present in a double capacity as members of a quasi-group as

well as representatives of a societal segment. This duality is seen in the feeding ritual at the pig festival fence, when those being fed respond initially as individuals and secondly as members of a societal segment.

Best friends are those individuals who have established this bond through a deliberate sharing of some item of food with Ego. Hence, kambanola refers to two persons who have partaken of the same banana. Any Ego has a set of these relationships with individuals who will offer him their hospitality when he is on trips and, when called upon, will assist him in housebuilding or garden preparation.

Manga societal structure. In discussing societal structure, the point of reference is the absolute segments of the society, "the discrete social groups that possess absolute, non-overlapping membership" (Pospisil 1963: 32). There are three kinds of these groups; unilineal kinship groups, domestic groups, and residential groups.

1. Unilineal kinship groups. Membership in a unilineal kinship group is attained through adherence to the Manga dogma of patrilineal descent, plus common territorial co-residence. These groups, in descending order of inclusiveness, are the phratry, clan, clan-moiety, sub-clan, and sub-subclan. The specific functions and characteristics of segments at each level of this hierarchy have been extensively discussed in the preceding chapter.

2. Domestic groups. There are two major types of these

non-unilineal co-residential kinship groups; nuclear families, and polygynous families. All members of a single family are kinsmen of one type or another. These units are the smallest units of cooperation in food production, food preparation and food consumption.<sup>3</sup>

3. Residential groups. There are several types of residential groups; permanent and ceremonial villages, hamlets, and men's and women's households. Membership in each type is defined solely by residence. The cycling feature between types of residential groups was discussed in Chapter II, where I showed that the prevalent residential type at any one time was governed by the pig festival cycle.

This completes the demonstration of the exposition of the social and societal conceptual framework. I now turn to an examination of the utility of this method.

The interrelationship of social and societal structures. Social and societal structures refer to two different domains of structure. When considered collectively, these two domains constitute the total structure of a society.

I now wish to show by examples in that manner these structures are interrelated. First, in the marriage system, all types of marriages can be adequately and totally described in terms of social and societal structure. For example, the Manga marriage model (Figure 1, Chapter V) is a graphic representation of this intersecting phenomenon for two types of marriage. In the discussion of that model, I demonstrated that

sister exchange is effected between clans (rule of societal structure) while marriage conducted in accordance with the marriage prescription is the responsibility of cross-cousins, wambe ke wambe (rule of social structure). Exogamy may also be defined by the intersection of the social category of "kinsman" (social structure), with the segment of "clan" (societal structure). In every case, this type of analysis eliminates any necessity to resort to vague generalizations.

Second, highland New Guinea descent units (unilineal kinship groups) have frequently been characterized as flexible because of the co-residence of non-agnates. To Brown, this condition presents a problem of "whether descent groups are mainly agnatic with numerous accretions, or cognatic with a patrilineal bias" (1962: 57). I believe that this is a false problem, generated by improper approach to structural analysis, which can be corrected by using the concepts of social and societal structure and ignoring the African models. As an example, consider the Peymbankale sub-clan of the Manga phratry discussed in Chapter VI. Individually, members of Paymbankale are terminologically agnatic members of the social structure, but the societal segment of which they are also members has not yet been fully incorporated into the societal structure. In this latter context, the status of the segment as "foreign", or "migrant", is manifested in the performance of ceremonial activities vis-a-vis other societal segments. This status was amply illustrated during the pig festival when the segment was

treated as only an ally of the phratry by being fed at their own fence.

The Peymbankale example also illustrates the fact that incorporation of migrants into a host group proceeds at different rates on the social and societal structural levels. Their initial incorporation took place on the level of the social structure through the mechanism of extension of kinship terms. I have shown that existence of lengthy genealogies is irrelevant in such a process. If I had been unable to separate these two domains of structure analytically, I might have attributed the seemingly contradictory types of behavior to a "cultural flexibility" or "structural looseness". Fortunately, this was not necessary. Instead, by carefully segregating social from societal structure, I have been able to show that the referent points for these types of behavior are different in each case and that they complement, rather than contradict, each other.

Summary. In my dissertation I have tried to resolve the problem of the claim of flexibility in the social structure of New Guinea societies. For analytical purposes I stated that social structure must always be derived from what Levi-Strauss has called 'social reality'. Social reality is a set of ethnographic facts recorded by the ethnographer, but it remains for the ethnologist to provide an analytical format.

While describing and analyzing the Manga culture I have questioned the ethnographic analyses of those ethnologists who

have persisted in seeing structure in a society solely from the point of view of descent-ordered segments. In their analyses, they have regarded the presence (co-residential) of non-agnates in the structural segments of their Papuan societies as contradictory to the structuring principle of patri-lineality, and they have taken this to be a proof of the flexibility and looseness of social structures of New Guinea societies. I maintain, however, that this "contradiction" is simply a product of their analytical procedure. Accordingly, I have tried to show this 'contradiction' to be a myth; that is, a by-product of a dogmatic theoretical orientation.

In their search for order in Papuan social systems, these authors have turned from analyses of their own data to anthropological constructs based on analyses of African society. It is significant, however, that in their ethnographies two authors, Pospisil and Meggitt, who have published extensive and exact data on highland New Guinea societies, have never had a recourse to the notions of flexibility or looseness of social structure.

In addition to the analysis of the Manga social organization, I believe that I have established in my dissertation the utility of an analytical framework that dispenses with the notions of flexibility and structural looseness and proves them to be obstacles to a rigorous analytic approach. Theoretically significant and sociologically meaningful analyses of New Guinea societies have to be achieved through an exact



and unbiased approach rather than through a resort to such cryptic and evasive concepts.

1. In discussing the role of induction in theory construction Levi-Strauss stated that, "we must not suppose that a theory can be constructed by means of a simple process of induction from its facts. In the construction of a theory the scientist conceives and models what he has observed and then verifies against the facts his prediction" (1953: 107).
2. This quote is taken from the context of Levi-Strauss' discussion of the role of induction in the construction of a theory. The full context is as follows: "It should also be noted in this connection that while social-structure studies claim that structures are models, the formal properties of which can be compared independently of their vicinities" (1953: 106).
3. In a recent article, however after this was written, Levi-Strauss has withdrawn from his theoretical position vis-à-vis social structure and the structure of the mind. He has now said, "In my own past work, I may have been trying in some degree to evade the issue when I invoked rather hastily the unconscious presence of the human mind, as if the so-called primitive could not be granted the power to get his intellectual operations than unconsciously." (1961: 17). While this may appear at the outset to be an improvement, this is not the case. Levi-Strauss now advocates, in place of the structure of the mind as a determinant, a primitive rationality extending perhaps thousands of years ago as the formative agent for currently existing social structures. In effect, what Levi-Strauss has done is to substitute one empirically unworkable explanation for another.

Chapter Notes

## I.

1. Any caucasian is referred to as a "European" in New Guinea.
2. In discussing the role of induction in theory construction, Lees has stated that, "we must not suppose that a theory can be constructed by means of a simple process of induction from the data. In the construction of a theory very abstract concepts and models must be postulated and then verified against the data in question" (1957: 407).
3. The full quote is, "Then the question becomes that of ascertaining what kind of model deserves the name 'structure'" (Levi-Strauss 1953: 525).
4. These partial quotes are extracted from that portion of the article in which Levi-Strauss is concerned with conscious and unconscious models. The full contexts are, "For conscious models, which are usually known as 'norms' are by definition very poor ones, since they are not intended to explain the phenomena but to perpetuate them" (1953: 527); and, "But even when taking into consideration these culturally produced models, the anthropologist does not forget--as he has sometimes been accused of doing (Firth 1951: 28-31)--that the cultural norms are not of themselves structures" (1953: 527).
5. This quote is taken from the context of Levi-Strauss' discussion of mechanical and statistical models and in its entirety is as follows: "It should also be kept in mind that what makes social-structure studies valuable is that structures are models, the formal properties of which can be compared independently of their elements" (1953: 528).
6. In a recent article, received after this was written, Levi-Strauss has withdrawn from his theoretical position vis-a-vis social structure and the structure of the mind. He has now said, "In my own past work, I may have been trying in some degree to evade the issue when I invoked rather hastily the unconscious processes of the human mind, as if the so-called primitive could not be granted the power to use his intellect otherwise than unknowingly." (1966:15). While this may appear at the outset to be an improvement, this is not the case. Levi-Strauss now advocates, in place of the structure of the mind as a determinant, a primitive rationality occurring perhaps thousands of years ago as the formative agent for currently existing social structures. In effect, what Levi-Strauss has done is to substitute one empirically unknowable assertion for another.

7. I have profited from the extensive discussions of types of models in the works of Max Black (1962), Robert Harre (1961), and May Brodbeck (1959).
8. The reader will readily see that a definition of "a society" in terms of distinctive may be formed on the basis of normative statements. Cases of overlap could be statistically treated along lines similar to the construction of linguistic isoglosses.
9. The useful analytical distinction between social and societal is derived from Pospisil who defines these terms as follows: a social analysis refers to, "the analysis of Ego's relations with the rest of the members of his society...with Ego as the point of reference", while a societal approach refers to "the analysis of the nature and relationships of the society's segments ...discrete groups", in which there is no "dependence upon the functioning of a single Ego as a point of reference" (1963: 27). For the applicability of these concepts in the analysis of societies characterized as 'loose' or 'flexible' see Pospisil 1964: 399.

## II

1. The terminology adopted here will be discussed in the chapter on The Ceremonial Cycle and Segmentary Structure.
2. There is no native concept for what I have termed a "Domestic Unit".
3. The importance of the female as a nexus in the formation of Domestic Units has been noted by Davenport, "A household is unalterably associated with a woman..." (1964: 68).
4. This is in contra-distinction to the situation in the Kaugel Valley of Highland New Guinea where bachelorhood is extensive and there are great individual differences in access to good agricultural land (Bowers 1964).

## V

1. A pronominal paradigm with the terms of reference for "son", wari; "mother", mana; and for "wife", Ngmana, is entered here. Other kinship terms decline in a similar manner.

	<u>Pronoun</u>	<u>son</u>	<u>mother**</u>	<u>wife</u>
1st sing.	na	warina	mana	Ngmana
2nd sing.	ni	warin	man	Ngman
3rd sing.	ere*	wariye	maye	Ngmaye
1st plur.	no	warina	mana	Ngmana
2nd plur.	ye	wariye	maye	Ngmaye
3rd plur.	ene	wariye	maye	Ngmaye

duals = pronoun + -ke, e.g. nake, nike, yeke, eneke.

\* This presentation omits the variant "joa" described by Wurm (1962: 112) for the 3rd person singular. The nearest morpheme to this in Narak is yua which I gloss as "man".

\*\* Morphemically, the stem may be said to consist of ma. However, whereas wari may be used in address, ma is never so used but rather mana is used in both reference and address. The same applies to Ngmana. Alone, the morpheme ma is an interrogative.

2. Livingston also delivers, by fiat, the following startling statement, "Perhaps one of the most serious barriers to the understanding of primitive social organization is the concept of 'kinship' itself, since the terms studied under that heading are not in fact expressions of kinship" (1964:56). This unexplained and unanalyzed statement seems to reflect his position vis-a-vis the continuing debate on the 'content of kinship' which has been carried on now for some years by Gellner, Needham, Barnes, Beattie, and Schneider.
3. As noted in the reference by Maybury-Lewis, Salisbury has altered his published position on the presence or absence of marriage rules among the Siane.
4. This does not include one ENgeyka Clan-moiety woman who married a man from the Wahgi valley while both were being treated at the Hansenide colony at Togoba south of Mt. Hagen.
5. These cases are listed in Appendix X, Brothers marrying Sisters.
6. In terms of clan-moiety divisions, female  $A^2$  of zero generation may marry neither  $B_1$  males, since that is her mother's clan-moiety; nor  $A^2$  males, since these are her own clan brothers.

It may also be noted that of the four kintypes in this cell only two are correct mates, the FMBss and the FFSss. In order to analytically exclude the remaining two second cousin types in this cell it would be necessary to construct an eight section system. It may be that the ultimate infra-structure, or one of the possible protostructures, of this system might exhibit definite parallels to such a system. This possibility is not germane to the course of the current argument. Since the Manga prescriptive rule is only applied through two males who are cross cousins in the first ascending generation from the female ego, the kintypes MMBds and MFSds would automatically be excluded.

7. I also offer the following as further support for the congruence of the Manga Marriage Model with the kinship terminological system. In the affinal terminology for a male propositus I noted in the text the following terminological equivalences: WSH, BWSH, WSHB, BWSHB = B; WSHS = S; SHBW, BWBW = "parent-in-law"; and for a female propositus, HBW, HBWS: SHBW, SHBWS = S; BWSH = B; and HBWB, HSHB = "parent-in-law". Given the prescriptive marriage rule and direct sister exchange as depicted in the model, the following equivalences to the above terms may be traced:

1. Male propositus (G <sup>0</sup> male B <sup>2</sup> )	WHS	=	B (G <sup>0</sup> male B <sup>1</sup> )
	BWSH	=	Ego
	WSHB	=	Ego
	BWSHB	=	B (G <sup>0</sup> male B <sup>1</sup> )
	WSHS	=	S (G <sup>0</sup> female B <sup>1</sup> )
2. Female propositus (G <sup>0</sup> female A <sup>2</sup> )	SHBW	=	S (G <sup>0</sup> female B <sup>1</sup> )
	BWBW	=	S (G <sup>0</sup> female B <sup>1</sup> )
	HBW	=	S (G <sup>0</sup> female A <sup>1</sup> )
	HBWS	=	Ego
	SHBW	=	Ego
	SHBWS	=	S (G <sup>0</sup> female A <sup>1</sup> )
	BWSH	=	B (G <sup>0</sup> male A <sup>1</sup> )
	HBWB	=	B (G <sup>0</sup> male A <sup>1</sup> )
	HSWB	=	B (G <sup>0</sup> male A <sup>1</sup> )

Thus, with the exception of the two recursive types for each propositus, all of the kintypes can be transformed from affinals to alternate consanguineals in the model. This portion of the kinship terminology also validates the general congruence of the model with reality.

8. The crucial example concerns the female NA-34 and the male AL-4. NA-34 has had a complex marital history and has no living children. She was originally sent in marriage to the Aglika Clan of the Kaman Phratry at Bubgile. When her husband died of an unknown illness, she returned to her natal residence and was subsequently sent in marriage to a man of the Yagitsika clan of the Kaulaga Phratry. When he too died of an unknown illness she again returned to her natal residence. There is a local suspicion that both deaths were precipitated by sorcery activity on the part of NA-34's mother, NA-32-W. Her mother had, during the limited course of both marriages, visited her daughter's husbands and had been quite critical of their niggardly hospitality. After NA-34's second return she was acquired as a wife for the third time by AL-4, an action which caused AL-4's removal from the community. Since both NA-34 and AL-4 were peer co-residents of the same exogamous clan, continued post-marital co-residence would have signaled a violation of the incest rules. It became necessary, therefore, to find some rationale by which the marriage would be permissible. Though both are genealogically non-agnatic members of the clan, NA-34 being a FFSds to her peers and AL-4 being a FFSss to his peers, they had by the second descending generation come to be considered as full members of the Clan. Resolution of the possible incest violation could not proceed by declaring NA-34 a non-agnate because she had already been given away twice in marriage as a Clan sister would be. As a result, AL-4 returned to the natal residence of his

father's father. It is significant, in this connection, that he did so in direct violation of his deceased father's wishes (see Historical Notes for Aliyaumo) and also that his full brother, AL-6 has continued his residence at Kwlop.

9. The genealogies only record those persons who survived past the naming ceremony. Infanticide is practiced on unnamed individuals and therefore its extent can only be inferred from the genealogies of the living.
10. In Marie Reay's Kuma (1959), she mentions the following general marriage preferences, "The only cognates with whom a union can be contracted are the descendants of cross-cousins, too distantly related to be considered part of the kindred at all. Sometimes a man says that he would like to give his sister or his daughter to the clan that gave his mother, but that he has to give her instead to some other clan that has already provided a wife for himself or his son. Occasionally, a man may acquire a wife from his father's mother's clan as part of an extended exchange over the generations, if his own clan has given the father's sister in exchange for her mother" (1959: 57).

When I was returning from New Guinea to the United States, I stopped in Canberra and discussed these preferences with Professor Reay. At that time I mentioned that for the Manga there existed a prescription on the father's eldest daughter. Prof. Reay has just recently concluded (1964-5) an additional period of field work among the Kuma and in a manuscript which she has been kind enough to permit me to read (and from which I do not have permission to quote) she finds that the Kuma also have the same prescriptive marriage rule. On page 26 of the manuscript she notes that half of the men who have daughters succeed in giving them back to their mother's Sub-clan but, coupled with female infanticide, she finds that there are about 20% of Kuma males who are unable to marry a FSsd because they have none.

## VI

1. The proposal put forward by Befu and Plotnicov concerning functional correlates and size and spatial arrangement of a group (1962) with reference to the corporateness of unilineal descent groups is not particularly valid here for several reasons. The major problem is that their division of settlement types into minimal, local and dispersed, is inadequate in terms of both the cycling nature of Manga settlement and the number of levels of segmentation within the social organization.
2. Note that the Yuomban were the major source of wives for men of KulakaeNgeyka Clan outside of the Manga Phratry and in spite of the ideology of sister exchange, very few KulakaeNgeyka women were given in return. This imbalance undoubtedly contributed to the general ill-feeling between the two Phratries.
3. Baby pigs will adapt to a new territory but adult pigs will not. So the adult pigs are killed and cooked and the piglets are taken with them when they move.
4. A "Calendar of Events" for the Manga Pig Festival of 1961-62 is presented as Appendix XIII. At no time during the Festival is there anything approximating the male initiation rites of other New Guinea Highland groups. The Manga consistently denied that there were now or ever had been any form of initiation ceremonies for boys, and in spite of my not having observed or heard of anything that could be called this, I remain suspicious.
5. In trying to record flute music, I discovered that the players could not, in fact, play without walking. Walking apparently provides a metronomic function.
6. Black palms used to be planted in these cemeteries and when a man required a new spear he would retire to the cemetery and make it there. Such spears were not general warfare spears but were expressly made for revenge of the killing of a male Sub-clan member.
7. The gross weight of each of the four sows that were killed was, respectively, 92 lbs., 136 lbs., 141 lbs. (including 9 foetal pigs), and 164 lbs. (including 7 foetal pigs). This was the only effort I made to weigh pigs since it was somewhat of a job carrying the scales up and down mountains, along with the camera and tape recorder, and then having to lash together a tripod of poles and then getting everybody to stop what they were doing so I could weigh the pigs.



8. At no other time did I witness pandanus being cooked with pork.
9. In the event that the Manga had not been able to return to their own territory, that is, if they had remained dispersed, it would have been at this point in the next Yuomban Phratry Pig Festival that the Yuomban could have laid a legal claim to the Manga territory. Thus, natives are quite correct in stating that wars are not fought to acquire land since at the time land may be claimed it is legally unoccupied.
10. Sometimes the attempt to acquire wealth does not meet with the sort of success and recognition envisioned. For example, between EM-54 and his younger brother, EM-52, there had been a sister, EM-53. She had been sent in marriage to a man of the Okona Phratry at Koriom and had had one son and was pregnant with a second child when she died. No bride-price had been paid and since there was a state of hostility between the Okona and the Manga, no death payment had been made either (as it would have been impossible to eat an enemy's food). EM-52 decided that this should be rectified and so took it upon himself to inform the leading men of the Okona Phratry that the Patrol Officer had demanded their presence at the Patrol Post at Tabibuga in order to settle the case. Legal disputes involving grievances which occurred prior to the advent of the Pax Australiana may be settled by the Patrol Officer in accordance with native precedence. However, before the arrival of the Okona at the Post several days later, EM-52 managed to transgress and Administration's law himself and ended up in jail. It was with some measure of surprise to the Patrol Officer when, a few days later, an Okona delegation appeared and insisted that one of the prisoners had told them to present themselves. The case was duly heard and EM-52 received a payment of 5 Bird-of-Paradise plumes, 3 forehead shells, 4 goldlip shells, 3 steel axes and three pounds Australian in cash. EM-52 entrusted this largess to his relatives at Warames pending his release from jail. Upon the completion of his sentence, he returned to Kwio only to be told that he could not bring the valuables paid to him by the Okona to Kwio since they were undoubtedly permeated with unknown spells and would inevitably cause much sickness and death among the Manga.
11. My data on these points are weak since neither the Kulaka nor ENgeyka Clan-moieties had these stones any longer. When they had abandoned the village after being defeated in war, the stones were removed. The Kulaka set was carried to Kwima and buried in the bush somewhere near

there. When they went to retrieve the stone in 1961 they were unable to locate it and stated to me that the stone had "run away". As a result, construction of the Kulaka nimpomba was never completed or used for its designated purpose. The ENgeyka set of stones was buried somewhere in the bush above the current village of Epi by the former custodian and after the Manga had been restored to their land by the Administration he said that there would be no need now for the stones since the firearms of the Administration precluded the conduct of warfare. He later died without having told anyone where he had buried the stones.

12. The side of the inner compound which was not fenced is a small cliff face. Gururumba ceremonial villages, "also contain a fenced enclosure...having religious significance" (Newman 1965: 19).
13. Those who have been ancestor representatives may not participate again. It is not strictly true that each Sub-clan will be represented. Kunakaikale Sub-clan had no representative because there were no men old enough. Kobunga Sub-clan's representative would have been KQ-20 but he was unavailable at the time due to his employment with the anthropologist R. A. Rappaport at Fembaga in the Simbai Valley. For the remaining six Sub-clans, representatives were as follows: PE-6, AL-6, MB-63, EK-17, EM-54, NA-28, MB-34 and NA-37. The two largest Sub-clans, Nanbekale and Mbalegale, each had two ancestor representatives. This may be indicative of impending fission of the sub-clan.
14. I was informed that the terminal pig killing could not commence until PE-5 had caught 5 eels. I never did discover what the significance of 5 eels is and, as it turned out, the pig killing commenced before he had caught that many.
15. This style is the common one among the Kamam, a Phratry neighboring the Manga. The Kamam are also the westernmost people in the Jimi to wear the ancestor-commemorative head boards called gerua, or geru (Salisbury 1962: 17, Reay 1959: 95).
16. I was never able to get a satisfactory native statement as to the meaning of this phrase in connection with pig killing. I can imagine several possible answers both psychological and sociological. KambAkaukolo refers to completely covering a ripening stalk of bananas with a leaf package so that the rain, it is believed, will not get to them and cause them to spoil. Bananas are a 'hot' food planted and owned solely by men. Rain, being cold water, would have the effect of dissipating their 'heat', i.e. lose their strength. It is conceiv-

able that this is analogously extended to the spirits of ancestral warriors whose bones have been re-deposited in the burial trees as mentioned previously and that 'covering up the bananas' refers to putting the shields back in place. However, no informant could confirm this line of reasoning.

17. When asked why this was done, informants responded that damage to the eel skull made the eel tough and inedible.
18. There is an obvious psycho-sexual interpretation of this ceremony but this is not the place to develop its implications.
19. During the entire period of my residence at Kwiop only three pregnant women were observed, one as a result of pre-marital intercourse.
20. On the many occasions of conversations with the ancestors that occurred during the Pig Festival, I felt that a note of chiding and truculence entered due to the fact that the Manga had lost the last war in which they had been engaged and therefore rightly felt that the ancestors were not perhaps expending their best efforts on behalf of the living.
21. In Plate 31 you may notice that the feeding and salting of the war ally is not being conducted at the hole in the fence as reported in the text. A few KulakaeNgeyka Clan members came outside to do this since they discovered that there really wasn't room enough to do it all with the involved parties being on opposite sides of the fence. In Plate 30, the ally on the left was paid 8 plumes, 3 kina, 2 axes, and 1 non. These ceremonies do not always go smoothly. One member of the Morokai Phratry who had expected to be paid was not. This so incensed him and his brother they charged the fence and started to chop it down. A serious altercation was avoided by the KulakaeNgeyka who immediately produced the major aggressor's wife (a KulakaeNgeyka "sister") decorated with the return portion of the bride price payment having been deferred to this time. Because this is a not infrequent occurrence, the Clan women are also gathered inside the inner compound during these ceremonies in order to safeguard them from their brothers who may become incensed at some real or imagined slight.
22. No survey of Phratries in the Maring language area was undertaken by myself since the same task was being undertaken by the Columbia University project. A statement of the preliminary results of these joint surveys has already been published (Vayda and Cook 1964). The survey was conducted in a period of two and a half

weeks. No more than two days were spent in the territory of each Phratry, the additional time being consumed in walking from one place to the next. The Patrol Officer at that time, Mr. Mark Sage, 'loaned' me two policemen to assist.

23. The total population of the Yuomban Phratry, the traditional enemy of the Manga, was 750, more than double the population of the Manga.
24. The extent to which the developmental history of a real named segment is semantically imbedded in the name of the segment is a problem which I shall be treating elsewhere.
25. The median size of KulakaeNgeyka Sub-clans is 23. See Appendix III for the population distributions by age and sex of each Sub-clan.
26. The maximal population size for a Kuma Clan prior to fission into separate autonomous clans is within the range of 700 to 1,700 individuals which is three to five times larger than for Narak Clans.
27. Meggitt similarly recognizes size as an important factor in the developmental process (1962: 160, 1965: 81).

## VII

1. For a non-analytical survey of variant definitions of flexibility, see Cook 1966.
2. The term kam, literally means spatially distant; aga means "close". One of their metaphorical usages is in the sense cited in the text. For a further analysis of similar terms see Cook n.d., "Preliminary Analysis of The Semantics of Narak Spatial Diexis" MS.
3. I have the garden maps for all 39 domestic units but they have not been included at this time. On the basis of <sup>these</sup> ~~their~~ data it would be possible to distinguish a separate class of gardening unit.
4. I have not applied the analytical constructs of social and societal structure to all of the ethnographic data presented in this dissertation for reasons of conciseness. However, the concepts are applicable to such social categories as ambaNa, that set of individuals possessing the same name as Ego and with whom there is a joking relationship. The concepts can also be applied to the sets of individuals segregated on the basis of relative age which was discussed in Chapter IV.

### Genealogical Chart of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan

The traditional names of the members of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan are as follows: KA-1, KA-2, KA-3, KA-4, KA-5, KA-6, KA-7, KA-8, KA-9, KA-10, KA-11, KA-12, KA-13, KA-14, KA-15, KA-16, KA-17, KA-18, KA-19, KA-20, KA-21, KA-22, KA-23, KA-24, KA-25, KA-26, KA-27, KA-28, KA-29, KA-30, KA-31, KA-32, KA-33, KA-34, KA-35, KA-36, KA-37, KA-38, KA-39, KA-40, KA-41, KA-42, KA-43, KA-44, KA-45, KA-46, KA-47, KA-48, KA-49, KA-50, KA-51, KA-52, KA-53, KA-54, KA-55, KA-56, KA-57, KA-58, KA-59, KA-60, KA-61, KA-62, KA-63, KA-64, KA-65, KA-66, KA-67, KA-68, KA-69, KA-70, KA-71, KA-72, KA-73, KA-74, KA-75, KA-76, KA-77, KA-78, KA-79, KA-80, KA-81, KA-82, KA-83, KA-84, KA-85, KA-86, KA-87, KA-88, KA-89, KA-90, KA-91, KA-92, KA-93, KA-94, KA-95, KA-96, KA-97, KA-98, KA-99, KA-100.

In the year 1800 (18), KA-1 produced four sons (KA-2, KA-3, KA-4, and KA-5) and one, possibly three, daughters (KA-6, KA-7, and KA-8). KA-2's father's name, and KA-3's mother's name, KA-4 produced only two sons (KA-9 and KA-10) and one daughter, KA-11. KA-10's father's name is KA-12. KA-12 produced two sons (KA-13 and KA-14) and one daughter, KA-15. KA-15's father's name is KA-16. KA-16 produced two sons (KA-17 and KA-18) and one daughter, KA-19. KA-19's father's name is KA-20. KA-20 produced two sons (KA-21 and KA-22) and one daughter, KA-23. KA-23's father's name is KA-24. KA-24 produced two sons (KA-25 and KA-26) and one daughter, KA-27. KA-27's father's name is KA-28. KA-28 produced two sons (KA-29 and KA-30) and one daughter, KA-31. KA-31's father's name is KA-32. KA-32 produced two sons (KA-33 and KA-34) and one daughter, KA-35. KA-35's father's name is KA-36. KA-36 produced two sons (KA-37 and KA-38) and one daughter, KA-39. KA-39's father's name is KA-40. KA-40 produced two sons (KA-41 and KA-42) and one daughter, KA-43. KA-43's father's name is KA-44. KA-44 produced two sons (KA-45 and KA-46) and one daughter, KA-47. KA-47's father's name is KA-48. KA-48 produced two sons (KA-49 and KA-50) and one daughter, KA-51. KA-51's father's name is KA-52. KA-52 produced two sons (KA-53 and KA-54) and one daughter, KA-55. KA-55's father's name is KA-56. KA-56 produced two sons (KA-57 and KA-58) and one daughter, KA-59. KA-59's father's name is KA-60. KA-60 produced two sons (KA-61 and KA-62) and one daughter, KA-63. KA-63's father's name is KA-64. KA-64 produced two sons (KA-65 and KA-66) and one daughter, KA-67. KA-67's father's name is KA-68. KA-68 produced two sons (KA-69 and KA-70) and one daughter, KA-71. KA-71's father's name is KA-72. KA-72 produced two sons (KA-73 and KA-74) and one daughter, KA-75. KA-75's father's name is KA-76. KA-76 produced two sons (KA-77 and KA-78) and one daughter, KA-79. KA-79's father's name is KA-80. KA-80 produced two sons (KA-81 and KA-82) and one daughter, KA-83. KA-83's father's name is KA-84. KA-84 produced two sons (KA-85 and KA-86) and one daughter, KA-87. KA-87's father's name is KA-88. KA-88 produced two sons (KA-89 and KA-90) and one daughter, KA-91. KA-91's father's name is KA-92. KA-92 produced two sons (KA-93 and KA-94) and one daughter, KA-95. KA-95's father's name is KA-96. KA-96 produced two sons (KA-97 and KA-98) and one daughter, KA-99. KA-99's father's name is KA-100.

### APPENDIX I

#### Genealogies of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan

KA-1, KA-2, KA-3, KA-4, KA-5, KA-6, KA-7, KA-8, KA-9, KA-10, KA-11, KA-12, KA-13, KA-14, KA-15, KA-16, KA-17, KA-18, KA-19, KA-20, KA-21, KA-22, KA-23, KA-24, KA-25, KA-26, KA-27, KA-28, KA-29, KA-30, KA-31, KA-32, KA-33, KA-34, KA-35, KA-36, KA-37, KA-38, KA-39, KA-40, KA-41, KA-42, KA-43, KA-44, KA-45, KA-46, KA-47, KA-48, KA-49, KA-50, KA-51, KA-52, KA-53, KA-54, KA-55, KA-56, KA-57, KA-58, KA-59, KA-60, KA-61, KA-62, KA-63, KA-64, KA-65, KA-66, KA-67, KA-68, KA-69, KA-70, KA-71, KA-72, KA-73, KA-74, KA-75, KA-76, KA-77, KA-78, KA-79, KA-80, KA-81, KA-82, KA-83, KA-84, KA-85, KA-86, KA-87, KA-88, KA-89, KA-90, KA-91, KA-92, KA-93, KA-94, KA-95, KA-96, KA-97, KA-98, KA-99, KA-100.

KA-1's descendants, only KA-2 and his property remain as members of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan. KA-2 died, KA-3 returned to her natal home with her one living son KA-4. KA-5 died shortly after the birth of KA-6. KA-6 subsequently married into the KulakaeNgeyka Clan and had her eldest son with her. It was after this that her classificatory sisters, KA-7 and KA-8, were married into the KulakaeNgeyka Clan.

Nanmbekale Historical Notes

The patrilineal members of Nanmbekale are all descendants of the two brothers NA-2 and NA-3. It is their sister, NA-1 from whom the Peymbankales are descended.

In the next generation (B), NA-2 produced four sons (NA-4, NA-5, NA-7, and NA-8) and one, possibly three, daughters (NA-6, and allegedly, NA-28W1's father's mother, and NA-32-WH's mother) while NA-3 produced only two sons (NA-9 and NA-10) and, allegedly, no daughters. None of NA-10's subsequent descendants remain as full members of Nanmbekale. The most recent was NA-73-W who, following a relatively long period of widowhood during which she remained under the care of NA-64 and her son NA-74, is now married to MB-49. This marriage occurred in December, 1962. The membership status of her children, NA-74, NA-75, and NA-76 is, at this time, indeterminate, though NA-74 will probably remain a Nanmbekale partly due to his age and continuing dependence on NA-64, his FFBS, and partly out of embarrassment concerning MB-49 his mother's husband who is generally regarded as the ugliest man among the KulakaeNgeyka.

Of NA-9's descendants, only NA-64 and his progeny remain as members of Nanmbekale. When NA-59 died, NA-59-W returned to her natal home with her one living son NA-61. NA-65 died shortly after the birth of NA-72. NA-65-W subsequently married into Moluma-Nimphga and took her infant son with her. It was after this that her classificatory sisters, NA-43-W1 and MB-72-W married into the Kulaka Clan-moiety.

NA-64 was appointed a Tultul by the Administration and is generally ineffective in the administration of his duties. There are only three really influential Kulaka men: NA-11 who is now too old for really active participation; NA-64, the Tultul, and NA-43. NA-11's power has been hampered by his lack of progeny and NA-64 is simply not very intelligent. NA-43 was the war leader and the most powerful single figure in this Clan-moiety but he was somewhat hampered by his kinship position which due to his age made those whom he called 'brother' about a generation younger than he was. Also, NA-64 was NA-43's classificatory father. NA-43 died about a year after I left the field though this death has not been recorded in the genealogies here.

When NA-6 died, NA-7-W returned to her natal home with their son, NA-39, and herself died shortly thereafter. No Manga has seen or heard of NA-39 in many years though it is generally believed that he is still alive.

NA-8 has three children, NA-40 who died a bachelor, NA-42 who was sent to the Kamam phratry in marriage, and NA-56 and NA-41. It is not known whether NA-5-W was instrumental in arranging the marriages of NA-42 and NA-56. NA-43 and NA-44 are the children of NA-41. NA-44 was sent to the Yuomban under agreement for sister exchange but the exchange was never forthcoming. Further, she has not yet been paid for and her two daughters are approaching marriageable age. In late 1962 she visited NA-43, her brother, and told him that he could have the

two daughters to dispose of in marriage as he saw fit since they had never been 'purchased' nor, given the history of the Yuomban-Manga conflict, did it appear likely that they ever would be paid for.

When NA-56-H died, his wife, NA-56, returned to Kwiop with her two children and her husband's much younger brother, NA-56-HB. NA-43 assumed care for all of them and when grown, NA-56-HB married EK-10 and is now essentially duolocal. During genealogical inquiry, NA-56-HB steadfastly maintained that his Kaman relatives were totally unknown to him and that the reason he accompanied NA-56 to Kwiop was that both of his parents were blind and he had no one else to care for him.

NA-5's descendants include his two sons, NA-20 and NA-32; and his two daughters, NA-31 and NA-35. When NA-35-H died, NA-35 returned to Kwiop. She subsequently married a man named Yinj (Manga phratry, Timbamaruwaga Clan, Maruwaga Clan-moiety, Kobungeyka Sub-clan, and Arikaikale Sub-sub-clan). Her two sons, NA-36 and NA-37, however, remained with Nanmbekale. NA-36 married his own MHWHD, a woman who could have been considered as a classificatory "sister" had he chosen to do so. NA-37 was obligated to NA-43 since it was the latter who arranged for the acquisition of both NA-37-W1 (later killed by the Yuomban) and NA-37-W2. In the latter case, the contract was negotiated by NA-43 who killed one pig and presented it to NA-37-W2's father.

NA-32 acquired his wife NA-32-W through the levirate. NA-32-W's first husband, HA-32-WH, was a non-agnatic member of



Nanbekale by right of his mother's return to Kwiop, her natal home, when he was about 1 year old. Unfortunately for the ethnographer, no one could recall just who his mother was. NA-34 has had a complex marital history. Her two previous husband's deaths are attributed to the sorcery of her mother. Marriage to her third husband, AL-4, occasioned a legal dispute which is covered under the historical notes for Aliyaumo Sub-clan.

NA-31 was given to Timbamaruwaga Clan of the Manga phratry in marriage. Her bride-price has been paid and she is now deceased.

NA-20 was a famous warrior and a prolific husband, siring eight living children. NA-20-W1 attests that she has lost no children in death. NA-27 was exchanged for NA-26-W1 but the latter became ill, returned to her natal home in 1960 and has not yet come back to her legal husband who has, in the interim, acquired NA-26-W2 as a second wife. NA-28, a polygynist as were both his father and younger brother NA-26, acquired his first wife, NA-28-W1 as a result of negotiations conducted by NA-43 in adherence to the marriage rule since NA-28-W1's father's mother was also a Nanmbekale, though the exact genealogical connection as well as her name are no longer remembered. NA-28's second wife was acquired both under the marriage rule (NA-28-W2's father's mother was NA-6) and as one of the women sent from the Yuomban to the Manga under the auspices of the Administration after the Yuomban-Manga war.

NA-25's two wives were acquired serially. He first en-

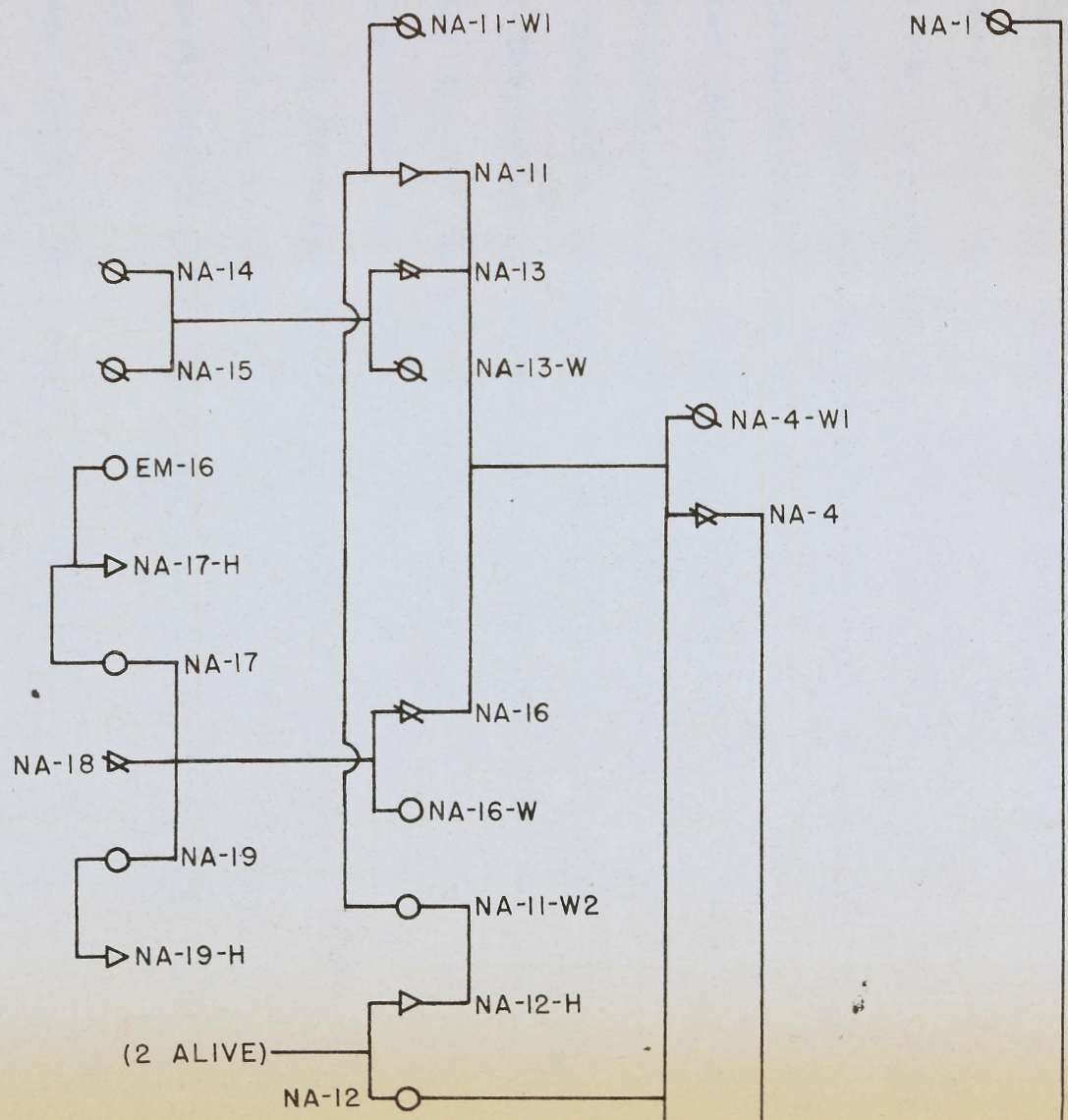
gaged in courtship with NA-24-W1 and after a period of several months broke off with her and began courting her classificatory sister, NA-24-W2. During the ensuing legal proceedings prior to either marriage, NA-24-W2's father declined to permit the marriage on the grounds that it violated the marriage rule under which she was consigned to the opposite Clan-moiety of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan. NA-24 sought and received a disclaimer from the men of the proper Sub-clan of the ENgeyka Clan-moiety but her father could not be shifted from his argument. It was during the course of the trial that a pregnant NA-24-W1 was introduced by her brothers as the proper spouse for NA-24 on the grounds that he was responsible for her "condition" and as a result NA-24 was forced to acquire her as a wife. NA-25 was probably a victim of infanticide, for after the birth, NA-24-W1 returned to her natal home and NA-24 acquired NA-24-W2 as his wife.

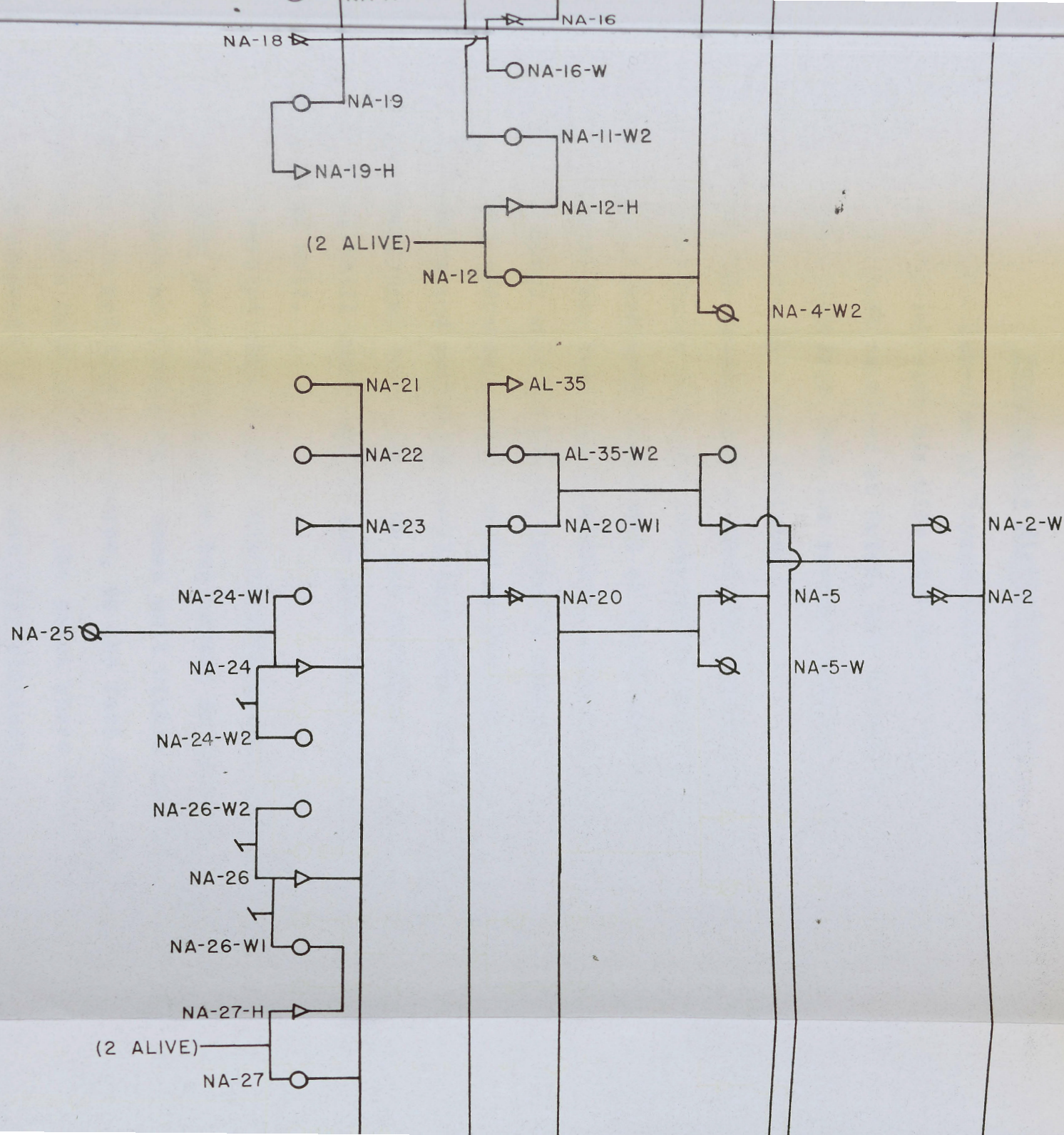
Of NA-4's four children, only two remain alive and they are both aged. NA-11 obtained his first wife (NA-11-W1 or PE-3, this being the same individual) through exercise of the marriage rule, and his second wife, NA-11-W2, through sister-exchange. NA-13's wife, NA-13-W, had two infant girls who both died. NA-13 was killed by the Yuomban and his wife died shortly thereafter.

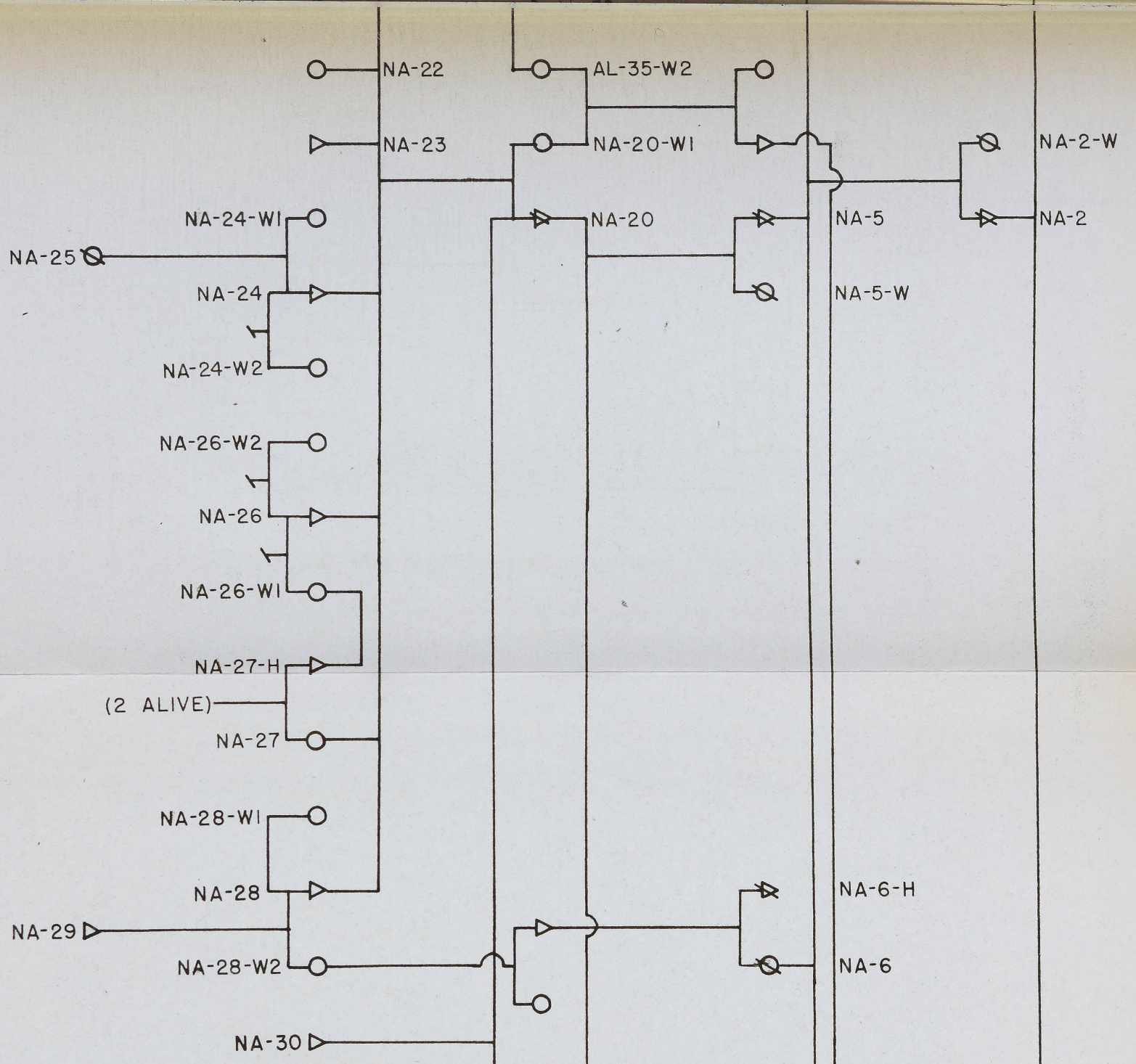
When NA-17 married a man at Warames (Morokai Phratry), her then unmarried sister NA-19 would visit her periodically. It was at Warames that she was acquired by NA-19-H, an interpreter

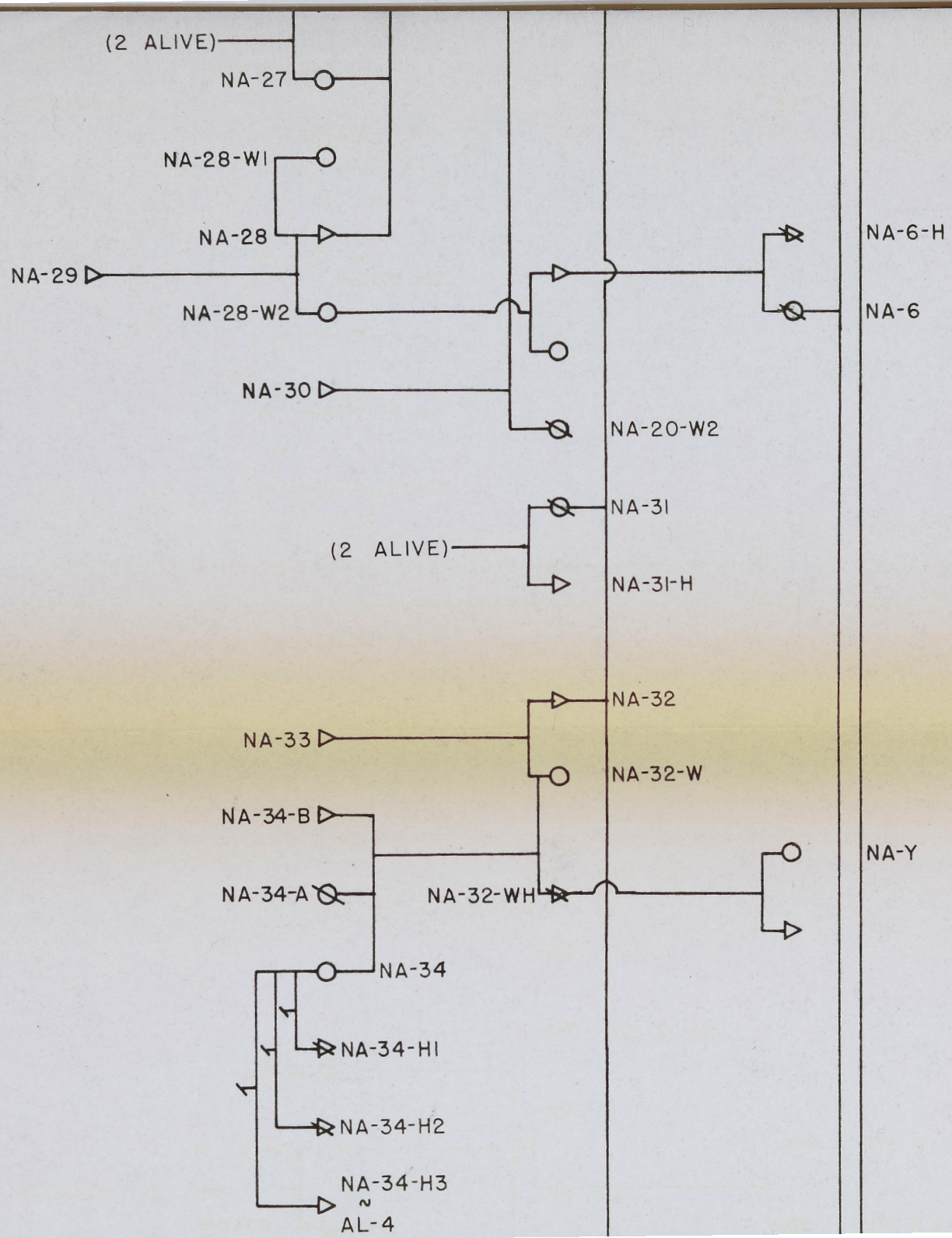
employed by the Administration at Tabibuga and originally from Olna in the Upper Jimi.

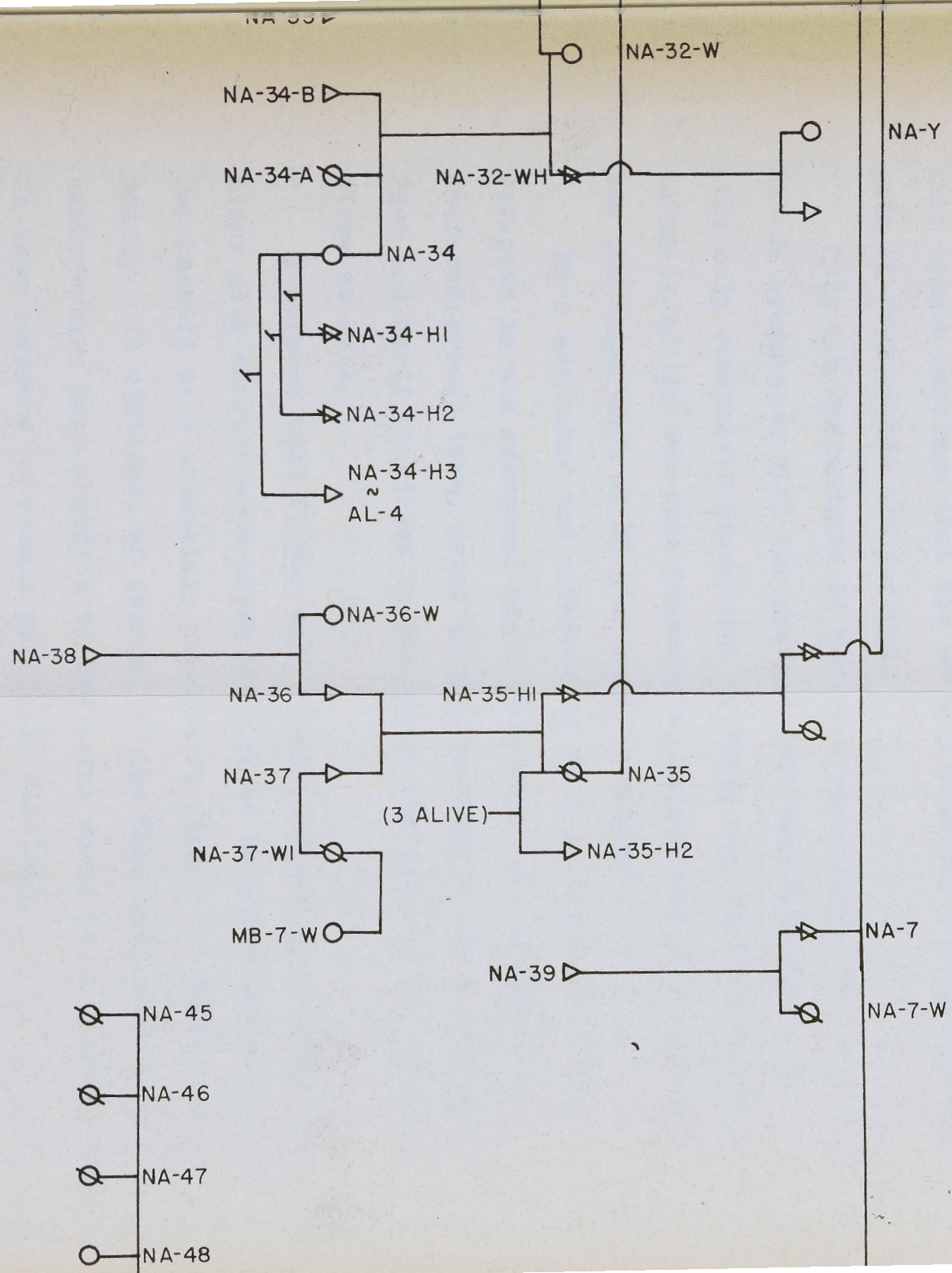
NANMBEKALE



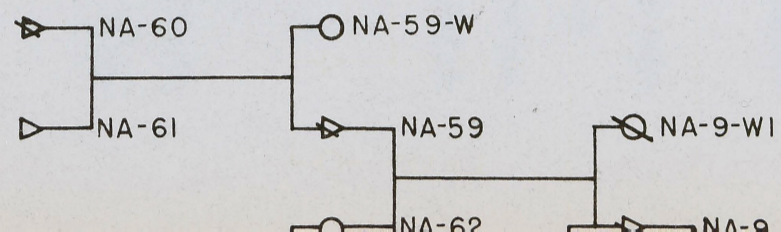
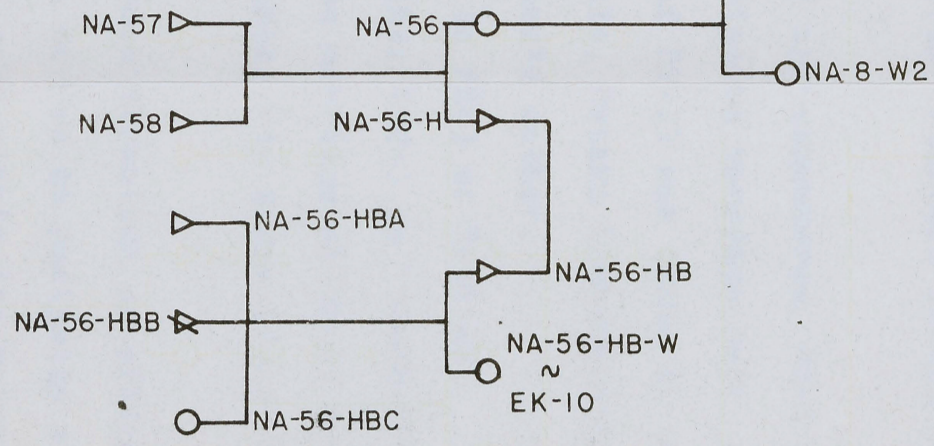
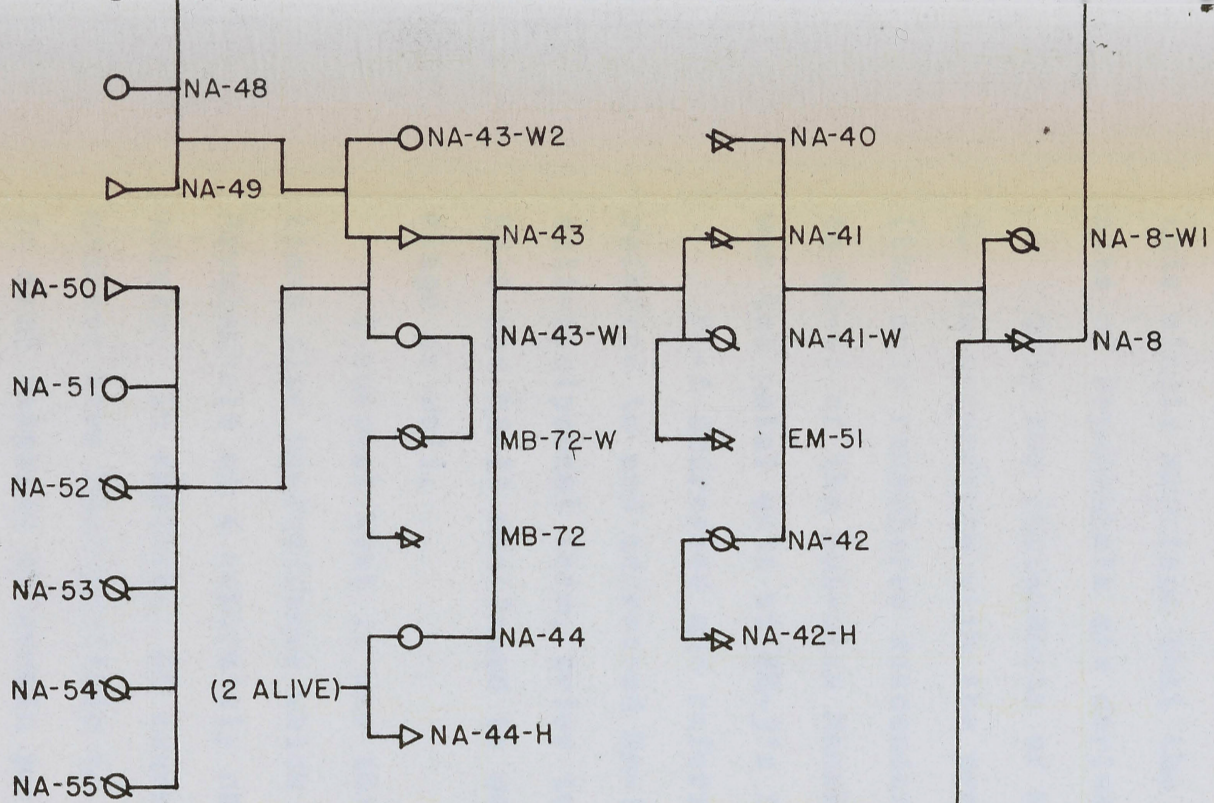


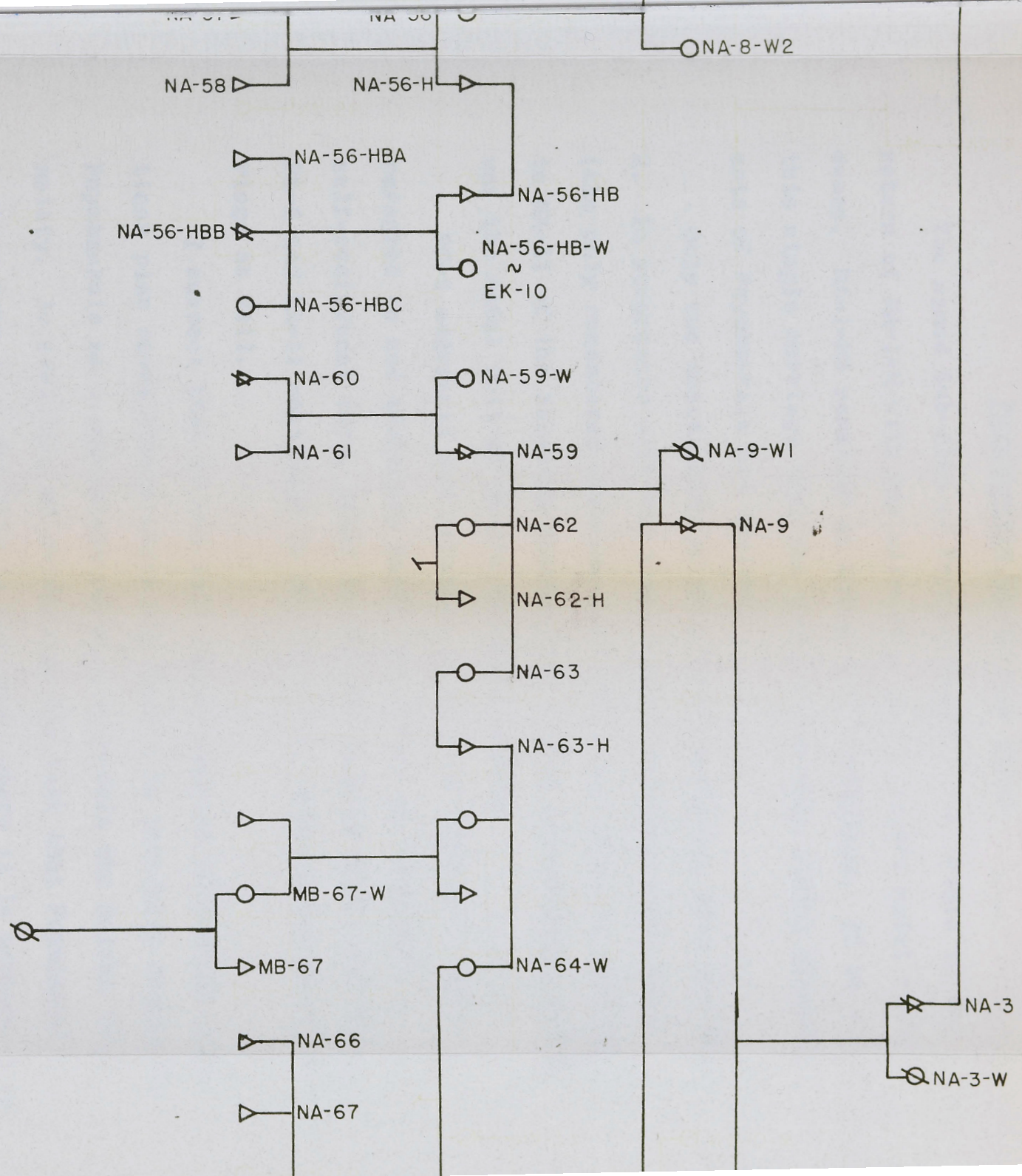


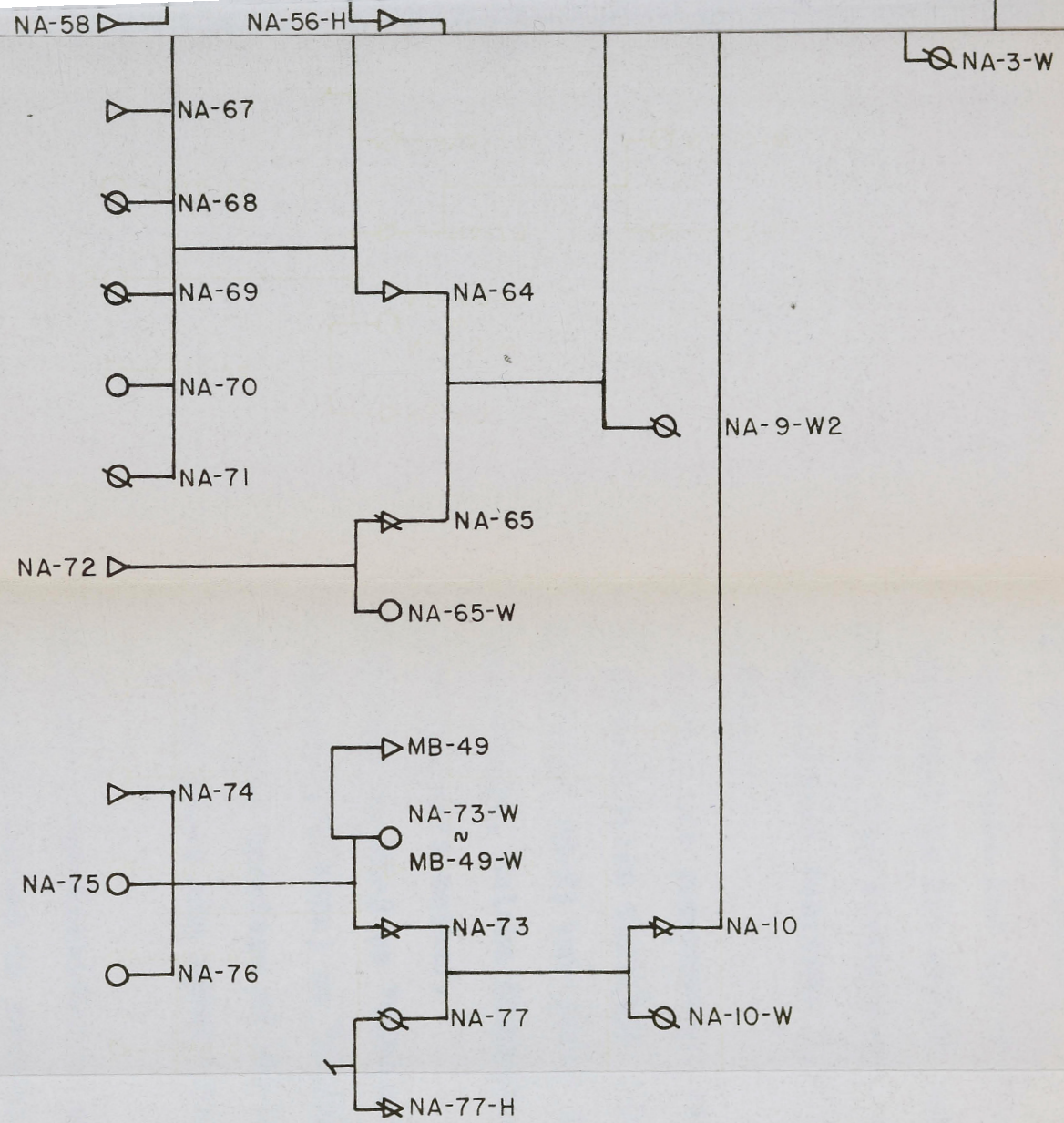












Peymbankale Historical Notes

The named Sub-clan of Peymbankale had its origin in the return of NA-1-H with his wife NA-1 to his wife's natal residence. NA-1-HB remained at Kwima, his birthplace. It is from this single marriage that the current fourteen living descendants of Peymbankale are derived.

Only two descendants of NA-1 are remembered, PE-1 and PE-2. In accordance with the prescriptive marriage rule, PE-3 (the only remembered descendant of PE-2) was given in marriage to NA-11 of the Sub-clan Nanmbekale, Kulaka Clan-moiety, which was the natal unit of PE-3's father's mother.

PE-5 addressed and referred to PE-3 as "sister". PE-5 referred to and addressed NA-11 (his FMBs) as "brother", a self-reciprocal term, prior to the marriage of NA-11 and PE-3. PE-5 and NA-11 continued to use these kin terms after the marriage as well.

I suspect that it was this re-affirmation of affinal relations plus co-residence which has served to partially segregate Peymbankale as a separately named unit within the Kulaka Clan-moiety. In addition, of course, to the fact that Peymbankale members have been prolific to the point where it is advantageous in some respects to remain partially distinct.

Only four descendants of PE-1 are recalled. The single female PE-4 was sent in marriage to the Tukma phratry at Kwima by her father, PE-1, but not to her father's father's Sub-clan. PE-16 died of an unknown illness. The remaining two brothers,

PE-5 and PE-21, are the nuclei around which the remaining members are congregated. PE-5 is one of the leading diviners and sorcerers. PE-21 is the Government appointed Luluai for the Manga.

PE-5's first wife, PE-5-W1, was killed by the Yuomban in a sneak raid. PE-5-W1's house was located at an isolated place in the bush. At that time, PE-6 was a small baby still being carried in his mother's net carrying bag. His mother had hung up the bag containing him in the house as she went about her tasks. The Yuomban appeared suddenly, killed her and shot an arrow (nime njaga type) into her son's back. Her bride-price had not yet been paid. Her mother came to Kwiop and assisted in her burial. Though no one thought the child would survive, his grandmother returned with him to Warames where he remained until about age 15 at which time, and of his own volition (he says), he returned to Kwiop.

PE-5-W2 Tun was obtained by arrangement through PE-1-W, also an Okona of Koriom, though both women belong to different segments within the phratry. PE-5-W2 died about two years after the birth of PE-9 and he and his brother PE-10 were remanded to the care of PE-5-W3, their mother's co-wife. PE-5's fourth wife was acquired upon the demise of his brother PE-16 and is now PE-5's only living spouse. Though the exact means whereby many wives were acquired is unknown, I would note that in many instances there will be some demonstrable connection with the Manga. Thus, PE-4-W4's mother was a female agnate of the Manga Phratry,

Timbamaruwaga Clan and upon returning to Kwiop with her daughter at intervals to visit, the daughter was acquired as a wife by PE-16.

PE-5's eldest son, PE-6, acquired as a wife PE-6-W, a Yismban woman of Ndega. She is, therefore, a classificatory MBd (PE-6's FBW PE-21-W1 is also a Yismban) and though a man ought not to marry into his mother's Sub-clan, PE-6's position as a result of only taking up residence with his father after age 15 was regarded as sufficiently peripheral for the marriage to be permitted. Further, there are no known genealogical linkages between PE-21-W1 and PE-6-W.

There are only two living sons of PE-5-W2, PE-9 and PE-10. PE-9 spent two years on a copra plantation near Rabaul and only returned to Kwiop in mid-1962. He joined with the other returnees in the construction of the house K-10 and still resides there. PE-10 had just acquired a wife prior to my departure and in my haste I neglected to note her name or natal residence.

PE-13's wife PE-13-W, though also a Yismban, is of a different Sub-clan than any of the other in-marrying Yismban spouses.

PE-17's wife PE-17-W1 was acquired as repayment to Peymbankale for the death of PE-5-W1, a productive female, at the hands of the Yuomban. She is one of the three women acquired by Patrol Officer Barry Griffin from the Yuomban at the conclusion of the Yuomban-Manga war for presentation to the Manga as war reparations. PE-17-W1's natal origin is Yismban.

She was originally sent in marriage to Yuomban-Areyka and though her husband died shortly thereafter, she had remained with the Yuomban. PE-17-W1 and PE-6-W1 are half-sisters, sharing the same father.

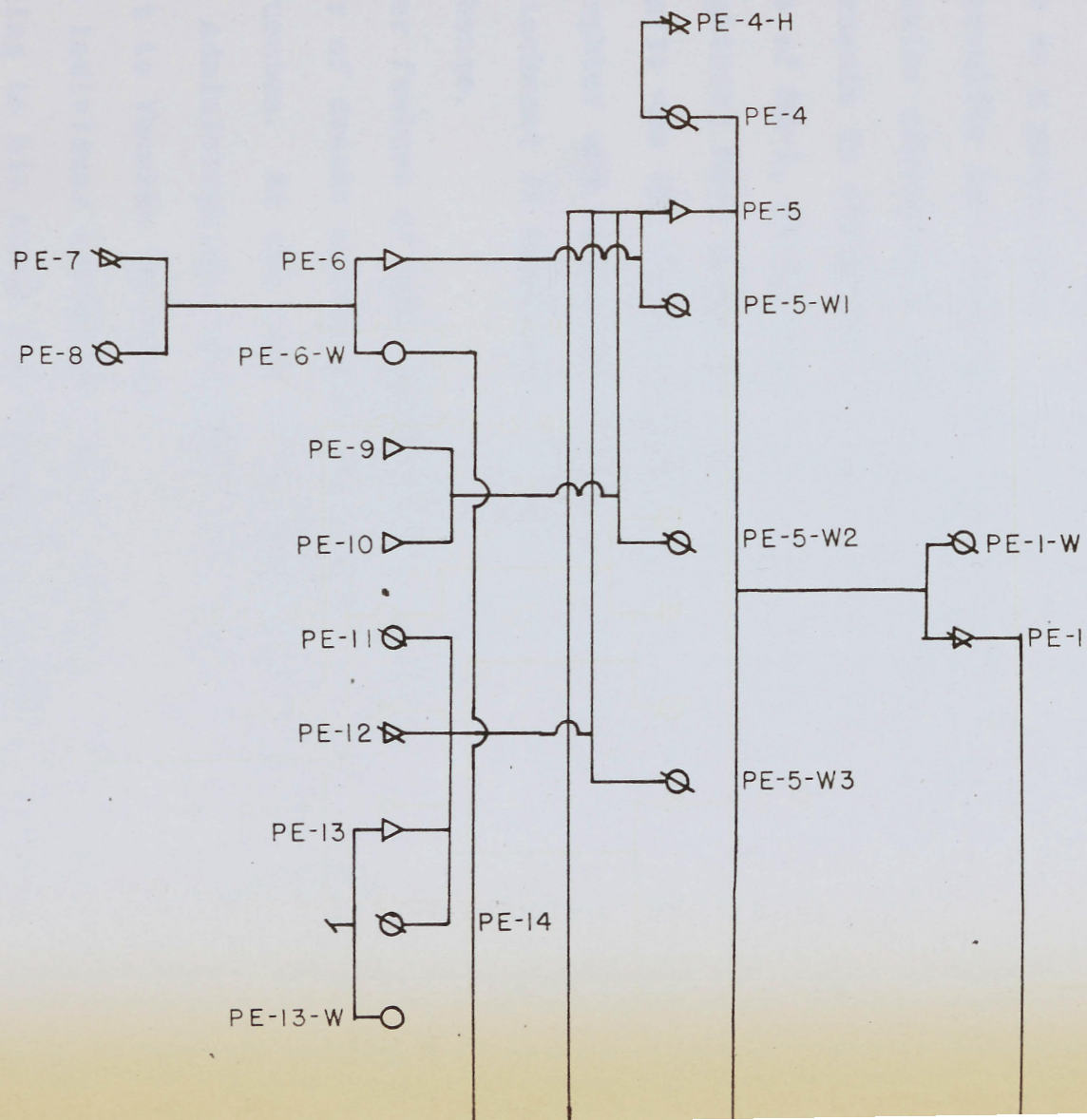
PE-17-W2 was obtained by exchanging PE-26 with PE-26-H. It was the female child of PE-26 who died in the arms of AL-4-W1 who was herself subsequently killed by PE-26-H.

PE-21's wife, PE-21-W1, was obtained through standard courtship but his second wife, PE-21-W2, came to him after a ceremonial pig festival at which time she abandoned a former husband to do so.

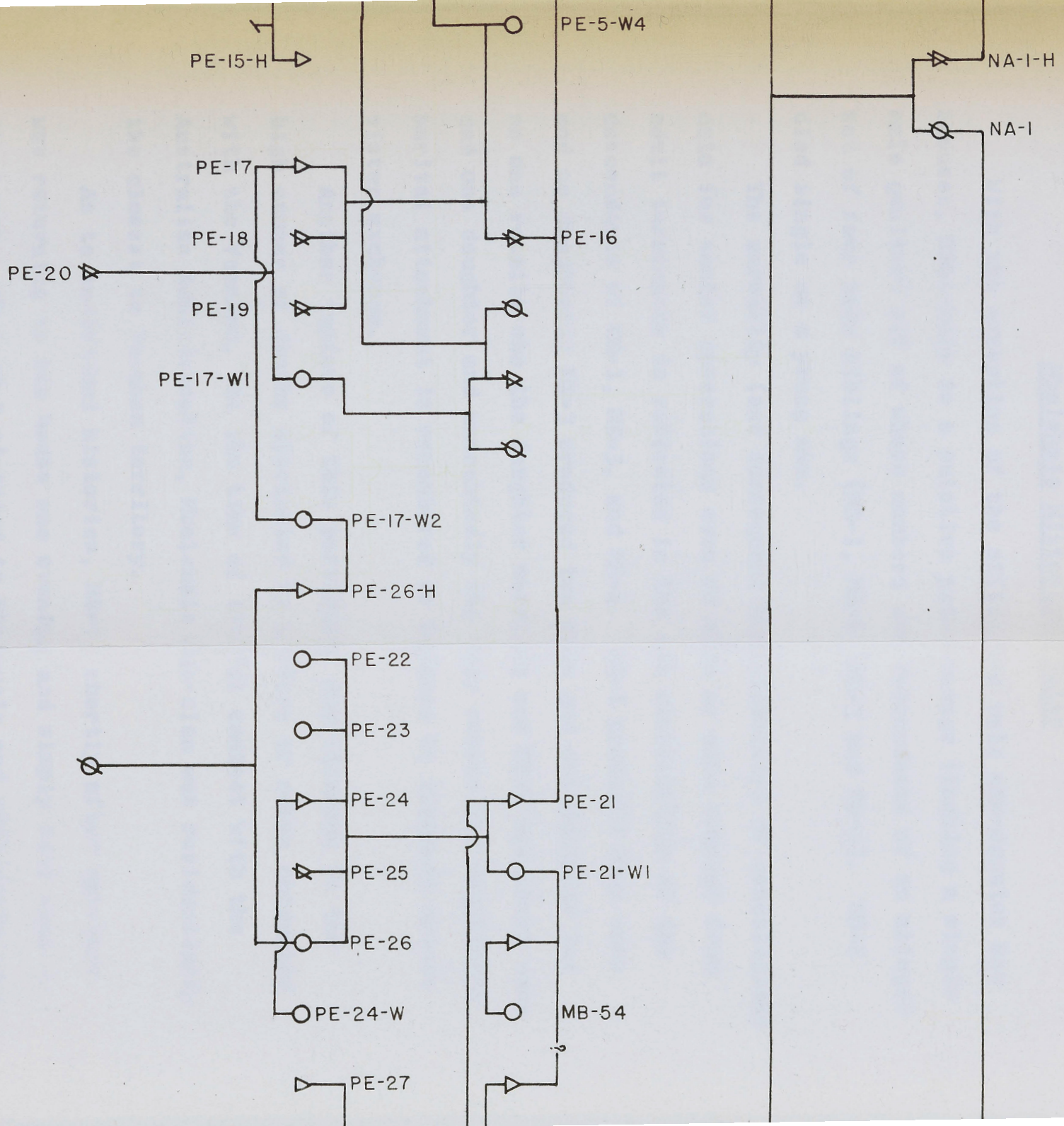
PE-24 also acquired his wife PE-24-W as a result of courtship and was the defendant in minor litigation instituted by her brother.

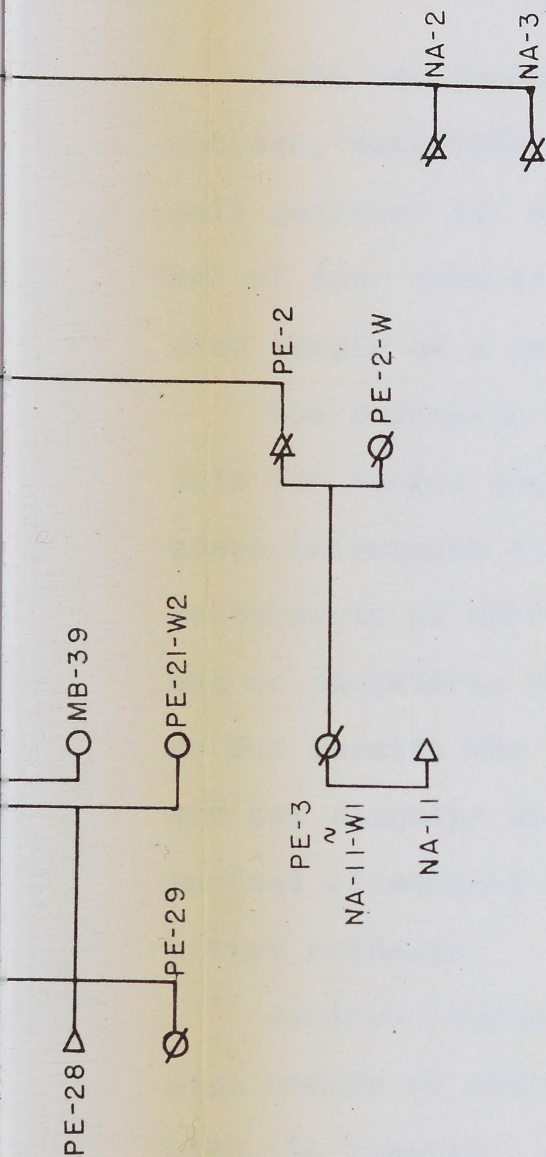
Of five Peymbankale males married prior to 1960 (PE-5, PE-6, PE-13, PE-17, and PE-21) who have now or have had in sum a total of ten wives, four of these women have been female agnates of the Yisban Phratry. The significance of affine 'roads' in acquiring women is apparent.

PEYMBANKALE









### Notes

ed male non-agnates and lineage (lacking a single descendants of an alleged MB-3 and MB-4). MB-2

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Mbalekale Historical Notes

With the exception of the affiliated male non-agnates and spouses, Mbalekale is a putative patrilineage (lacking a single male genitor) off of whose members are descendants of an alleged set of four male siblings (MB-1, MB-2, MB-3 and MB-4). MB-2 died single as a young man.

The unreality (and consequent unreliability) of genealogical data for senior generations even so much as once removed from adult informants is reflected in the sex distribution of the descendants of MB-1, MB-3, and MB-4. MB-1 produced four sons and no daughters; MB-3 produced two sons and one daughter but no one recalls who the daughter married; and MB-4 had three sons and one daughter and undoubtedly the only reason the daughter's marital attachment is remembered is because it involved direct sister exchange.

Another feature of this particular patrilineage is the high number of deaths attributed to warfare or raids conducted with the Yuomban. At the time of initial contact with the Australian Administration, Mbalekale Sub-clan was residentially the closest to Yuomban territory.

As to individual histories, MB-7, shortly after marriage was returning to his house one evening and simply fell dead in the track. MB-6-W2-B migrated to Mbalekale and affiliated with his SH, MB-6. He subsequently married and his descendants are still co-resident with the lineage. MB-19 is in danger of being identified as a sorcerer as he has allegedly been walking

around outdoors at night and has been seen by several young girls while doing this. MB-20 returned to the Kamam Phratry at Bubgile and now works for the Mission station there. MB-21 was exchanged by MB-19 for a wife for himself. MB-11 is a taciturn and untalkative individual who lives by himself with his family down by the Ngole river. During the concluding ceremonies of the pig festival he conducted his own pork distribution quite separately and at his own symbolic fence. His entire family was wiped out in a Yuomban garden raid.

When MB-12 and his daughters MB-17 and MB-18 were killed by the Yuomban, MB-12-W and her son MB-16 ran away into the bush and remained for several days. After the hostilities had ceased, MB-12-W married MB-34 who had also lost his entire family the same raid, but shortly thereafter she, too, died. After her death, her son MB-16 affiliated with MB-66 since MB-16 no longer had anyone from whom he could acquire food, i.e. a "mother".

When MB-26's husband died, she refused suitors but as an object of completed sister exchange she is obliged to remain co-resident with her husband's Sub-clan agnates though she also maintains some small gardens in her natal territory and cares for some of her brother MB-72's pigs.

MB-27 returned with her child to Kwiop for a visit and both became ill and died, so I was told.

MB-34's family was eradicated in a garden raid by the Yuomban, as noted above, and after remarriage and the death of his

second wife, he is now single and partially dependent upon his "brother's" wives for sustenance.

MB-41 returned to Kwiop from Banz during the pig festival. As a child, his father MB-40, had migrated from the Tsembaga Phratry in the Simbai River to the Tukma Phratry at Kwima which was MB-41's mother's natal residence. Both the father and mother died and the child was then brought to Kwiop by MB-34, MB-41's mother's sister's husband. He was then raised at Kwiop and was old enough to lend an able hand in the Yuomban-Manga war of 1956. After the war he was sent to Banz to school, though he never did attend, and he did not return to Kwiop until the pig festival of 1961-1962.

When MB-56 was killed during the Yuomban-Manga war, his wife then returned to the Yuomban who dispatched her to the Yisban. No other member of the Kulaka Clan-moiety wanted her as it was generally held that MB-56's death was somehow hastened by a marriage to a female agnate of an enemy phratry.

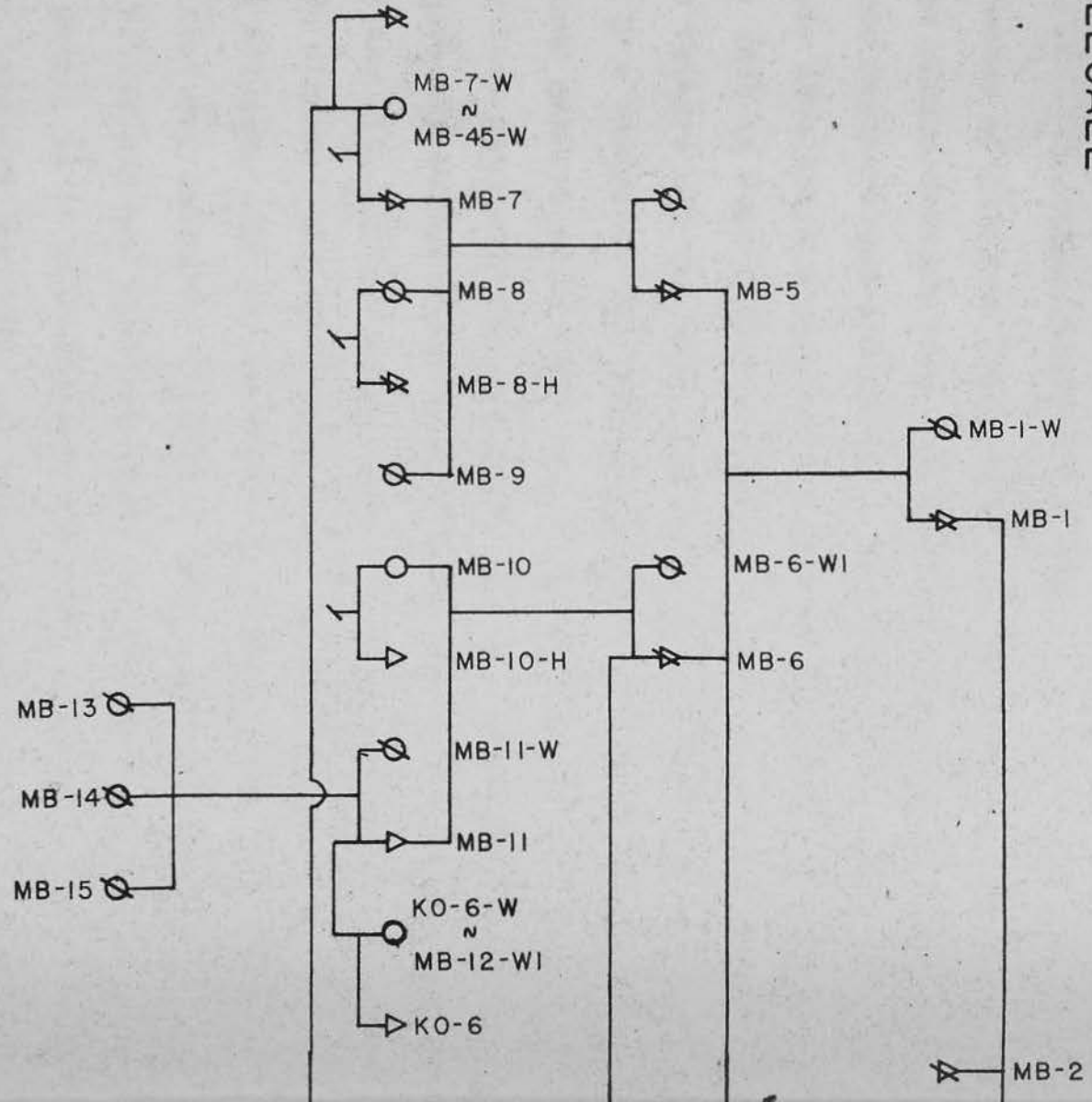
When MB-60 was killed by the Yuomban, MB-66 assumed responsibility for his children, MB-62 and MB-63. MB-66 negotiated an exchange of his own daughter, MB-69, for MB-63-W whom he gave to MB-63 for a wife.

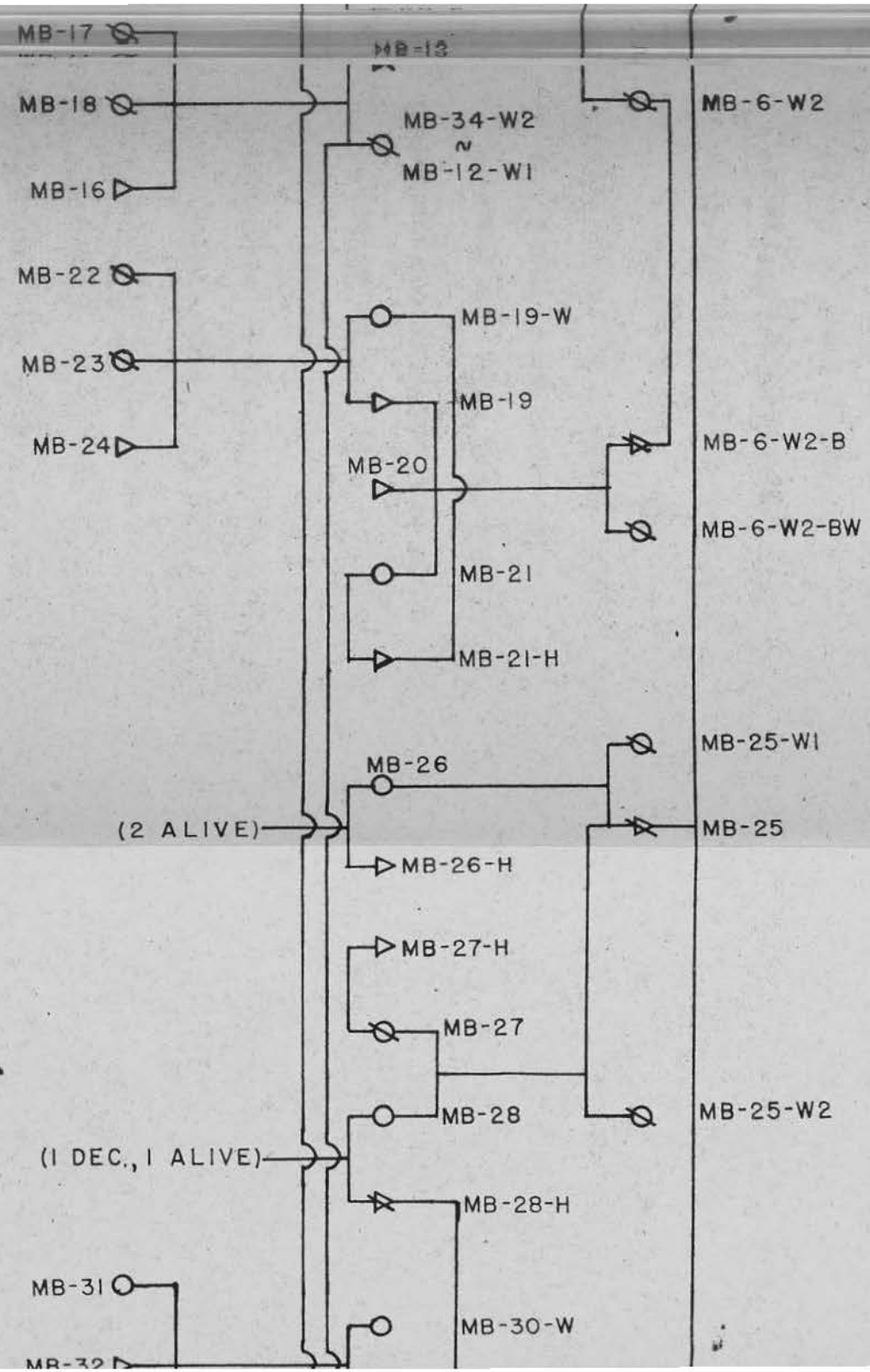
MB-65 returned to Kwiop when her husband, MB-65-H, died and raised her two children at Kwiop with MB-66, her brother, assisting her. She was subsequently killed by the Yuomban and when Patrol Officer Barry Griffin sent the Yuomban women to Kwiop as war reparations, one of them was given to MB-67 as a

wife in payment for the loss of his mother, MB-66's sister.

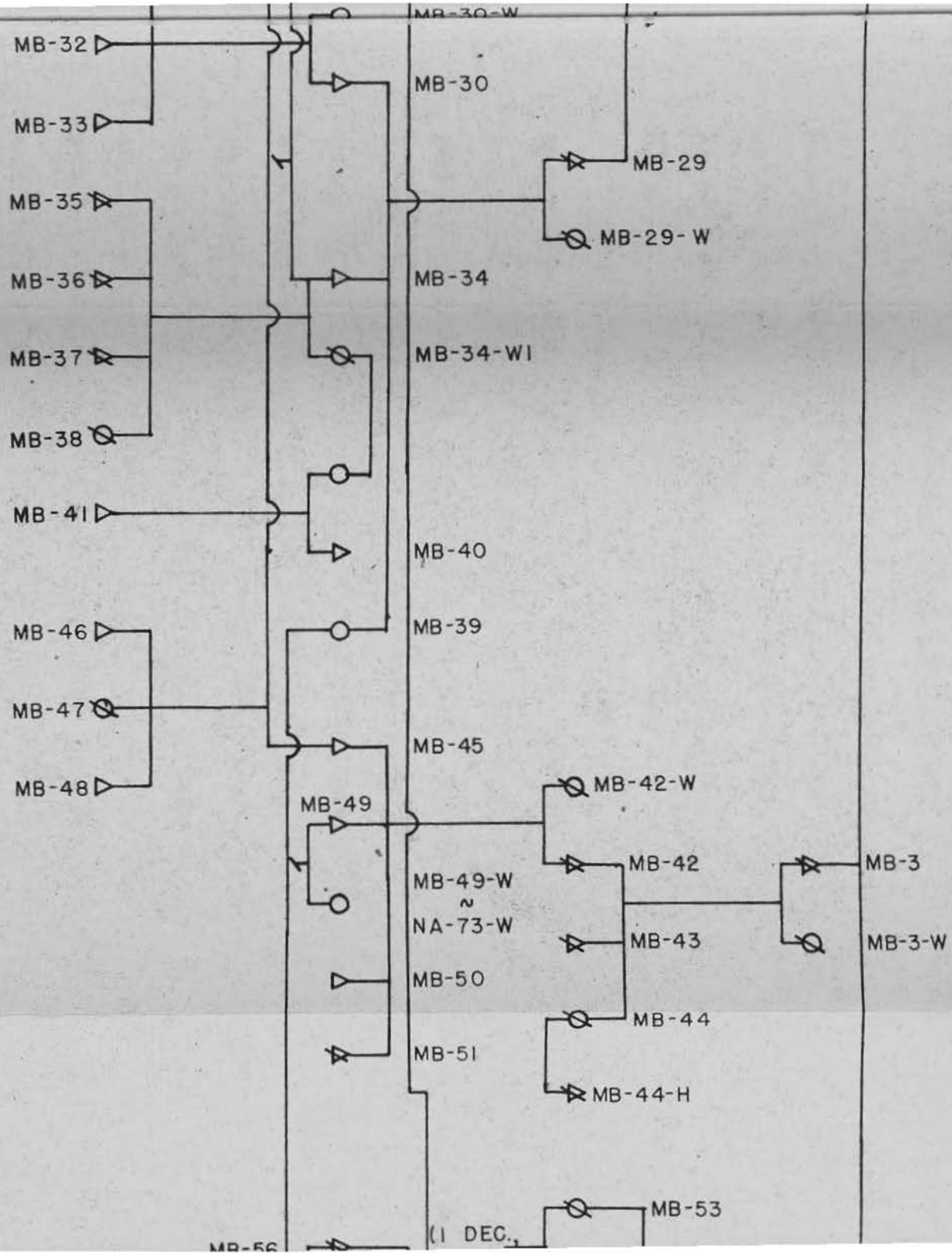
MB-72-W came on a visit to Kwiop and remained. She died prior to the birth of any living children and MB-72 turned to his classificatory sister, MB-28, for assistance. MB-72 himself died on June 21, 1962 and was buried outside his former house at Timank (house number 70) by his brother, MB-66.

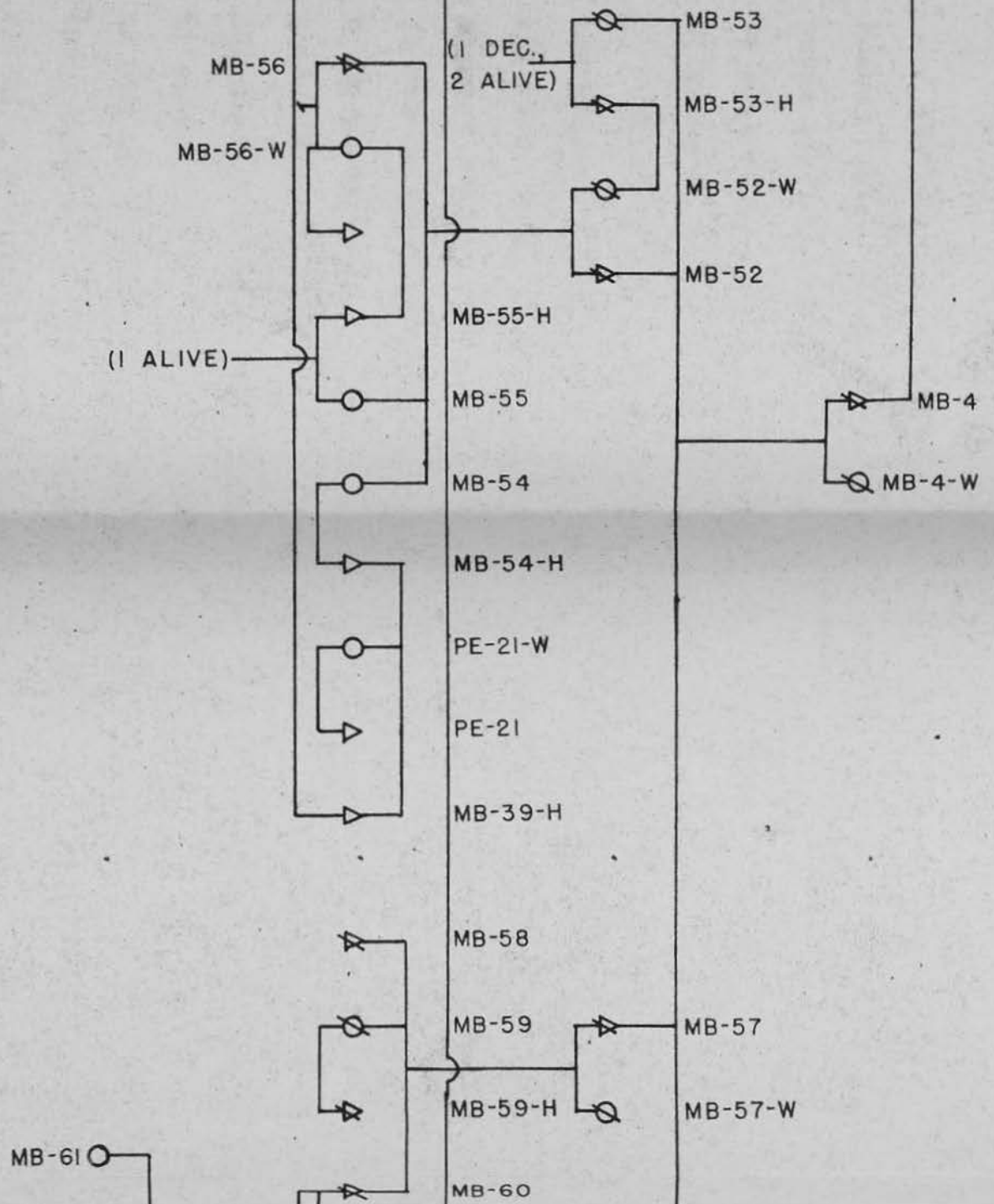
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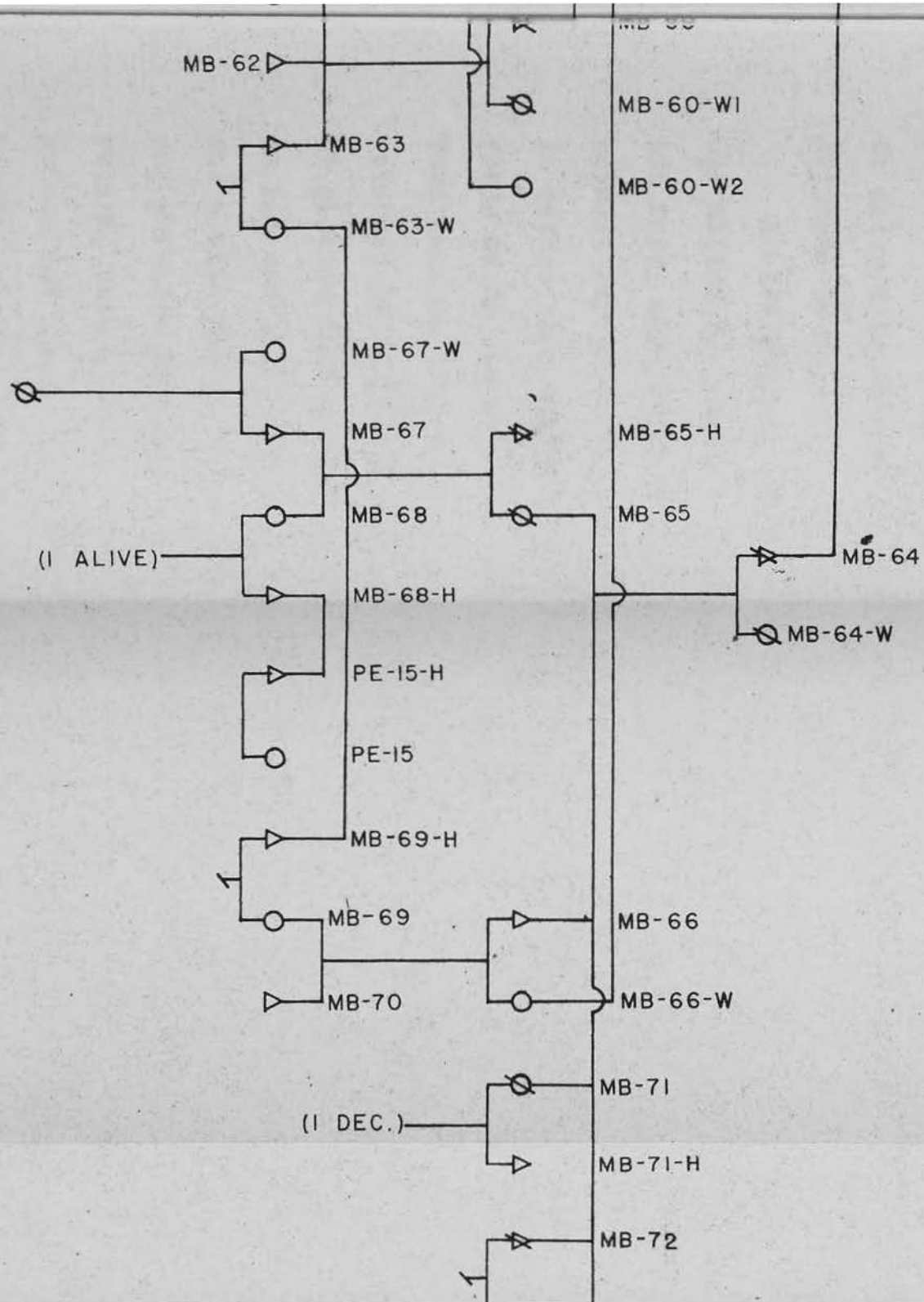


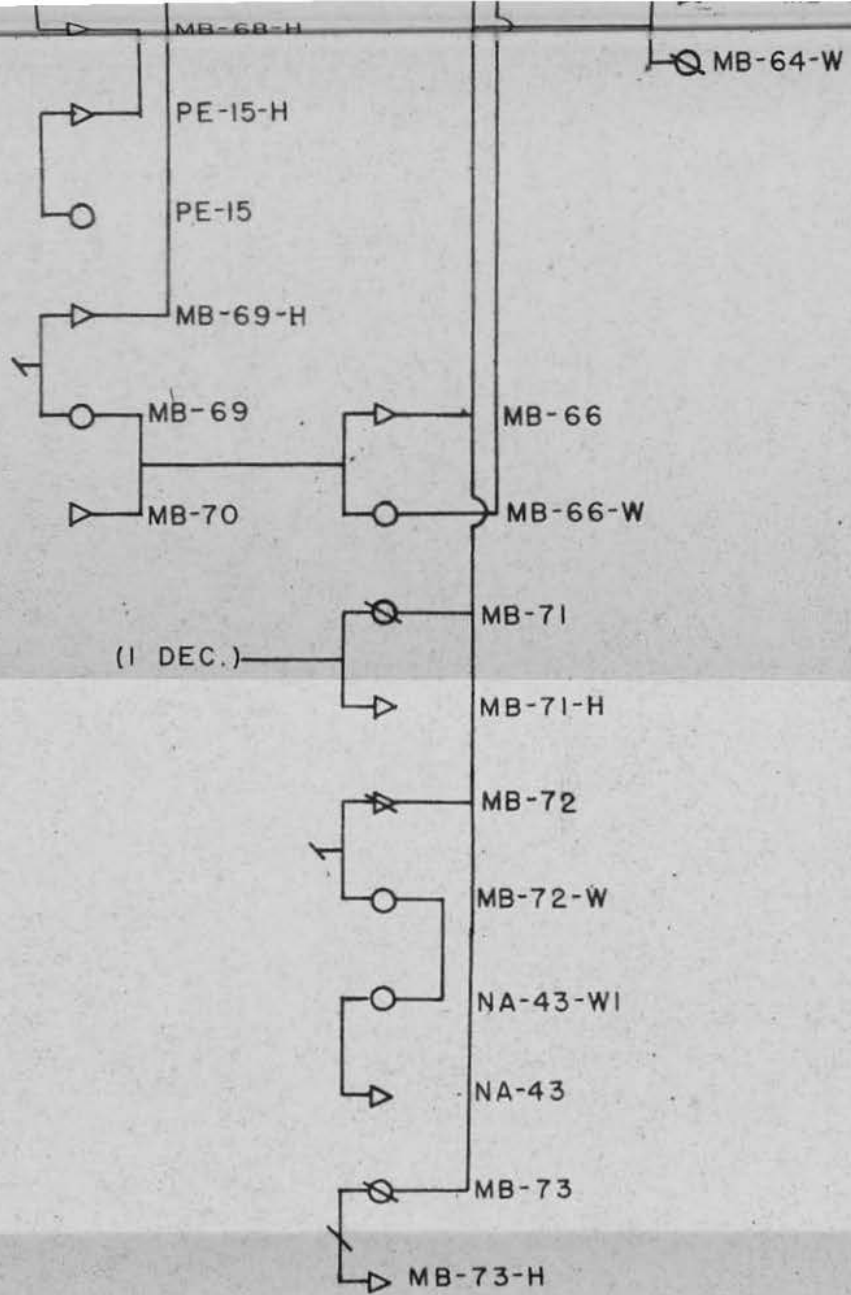












Aliyaumo Historical Notes

The members of Aliyaumo (the meaning of this name is unknown) claim common descent from a putative sibling set composed of four brothers and one sister. This set of siblings is alleged to have had a single set of parents but no one in Aliyaumo is able to name either of them.

AL-1's father, who was not a member of this Clan-moiety, was killed by a member of the Yuomban phratry. In an independent raid, some members of Aliyaumo killed AL-1's slayer and in payment for this AL-1 gave his daughter, AL-30-W to AL-30 who in return gave his sister AL-29 to AL-1 to dispose of in marriage as he saw fit. It was after this that AL-1 died from some unknown sickness and AL-1-W1, a female agnate of Aliyaumo, returned to Aliyaumo with her two sons, AL-2 and AL-9. AL-1-W1 claimed that her husband's "brothers" had practiced sorcery on him and killed him and that she would not continue to live there with them. It is also possible that her bride-price had not yet been paid and that this was the primary reason for her return, though no one could actually recall whether this was or was not true. Since AL-1-W2 remained with her deceased husband's Sub-clan agnates, we may assume that her bride-price had been paid.

Of AL-1-W1's two sons, AL-2 preceded his brother AL-9 in death and just before he died he told his own sons, AL-4 and AL-6 never to move out of Aliyaumo or they would cause displeasure to his spirit. As these boys were still youths, their

father's brother, AL-9, cared for them until they were able to establish their own households.

AL-4's wife, AL-4-W1, was obtained as a 'gift' from PE-6 who had obtained her through his Tukma kinsmen. In September of 1961 she was killed by PE-26-H for having killed PE-26's child through sorcery. AL-4's second wife is the young widow AL-4-W2 also of the Kulaka Clan-moiety and a member of Nanmbekale Sub-clan. Their desire to establish this marital union led to a court trial on the grounds that such a marriage would be incestuous. It was decided, however, that AL-4 was 'really' a member of the Eimbamaruwaga Clan (the natal clan of his father's father) and that if he again took up residence there the marriage would be considered as permissible. The child, AL-5, was given by his father, AL-4, to his brother, AL-6, in whose care he now remains.

Of AL-9's two sons, AL-10 obtained his wife from the Yisban phratry at Ndega. Their son, AL-11, died on May 18, 1962. The death of this infant was attributed to evil feelings on the part of AL-4 because when AL-4's brother, AL-3, had died, AL-4 asked AL-10 to assist in the burial and the latter refused to do so. At that time AL-4 said that he wouldn't be surprised if AL-11 also died.

AL-12 left Kwiop for a period of two years and served as a truck driver on a copra plantation. He returned in July of 1962 to learn that the girl whom he had thought was going to marry him (KuluN of the Timbaga Sub-clan) had been promised to some-

one else by her father. During the pig festival the young girl Kanila of the Maruwaga Sub-clan repeatedly came to live with him and he was equally insistent on not accepting her as a spouse on the grounds that she was too short in stature.

Of AL-10 and AL-12's two younger sisters, AL-13 and AL-14, marriage disposal rights in AL-13 have been sold to Kwiaga, an elderly male (40-50 years old) of the Morokai Phratry, Kimbagalemboga Clan. No obligations for AL-14 have been made to date.

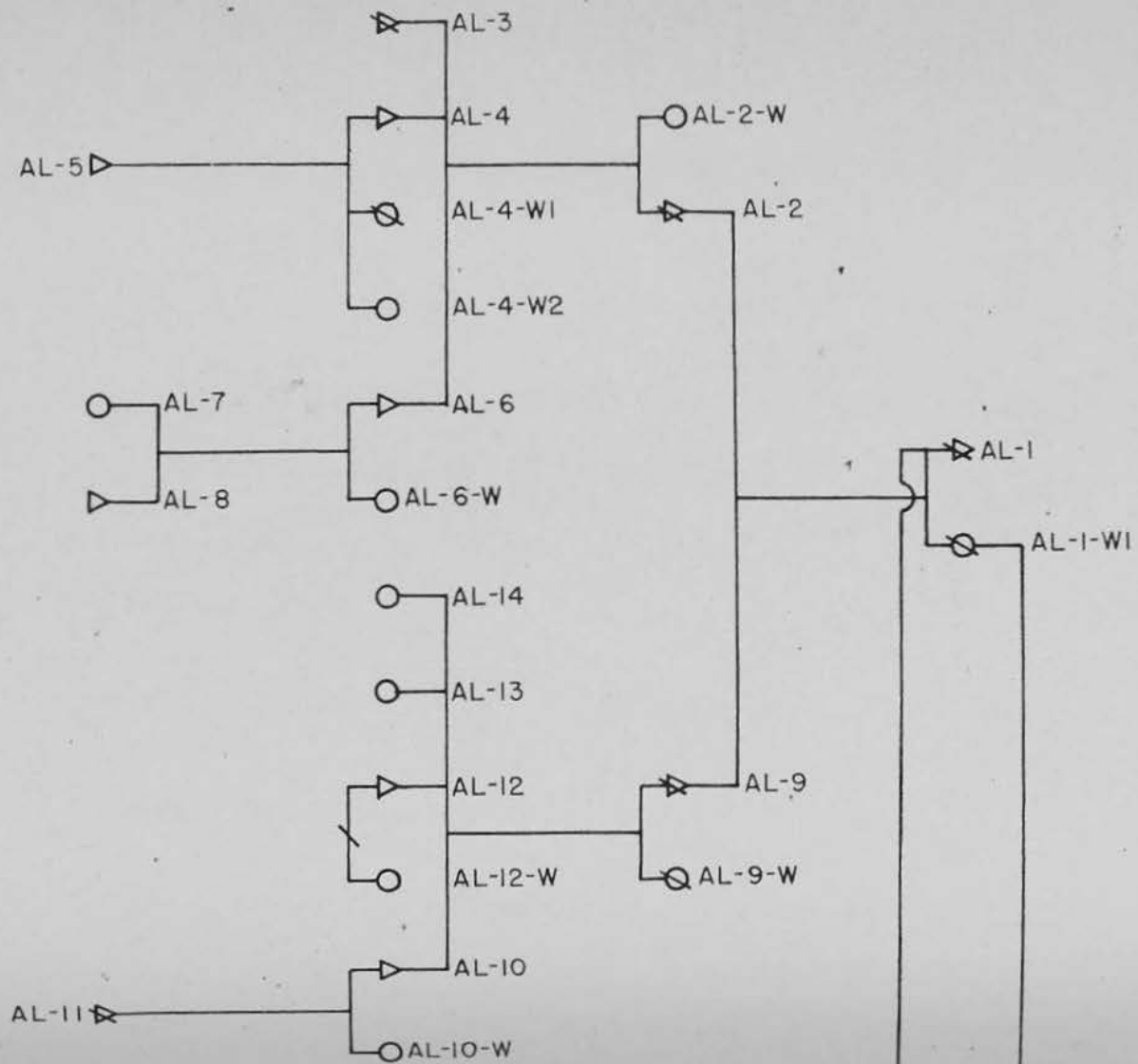
To return to the senior generation (B), very little is known of the brothers AL-15 and AL-25, AL-26 and AL-28. AL-25 died without descendants. AL-26 and his wife AL-26-W had only the single daughter, AL-27, and they were all killed by the Yuomban at various times.

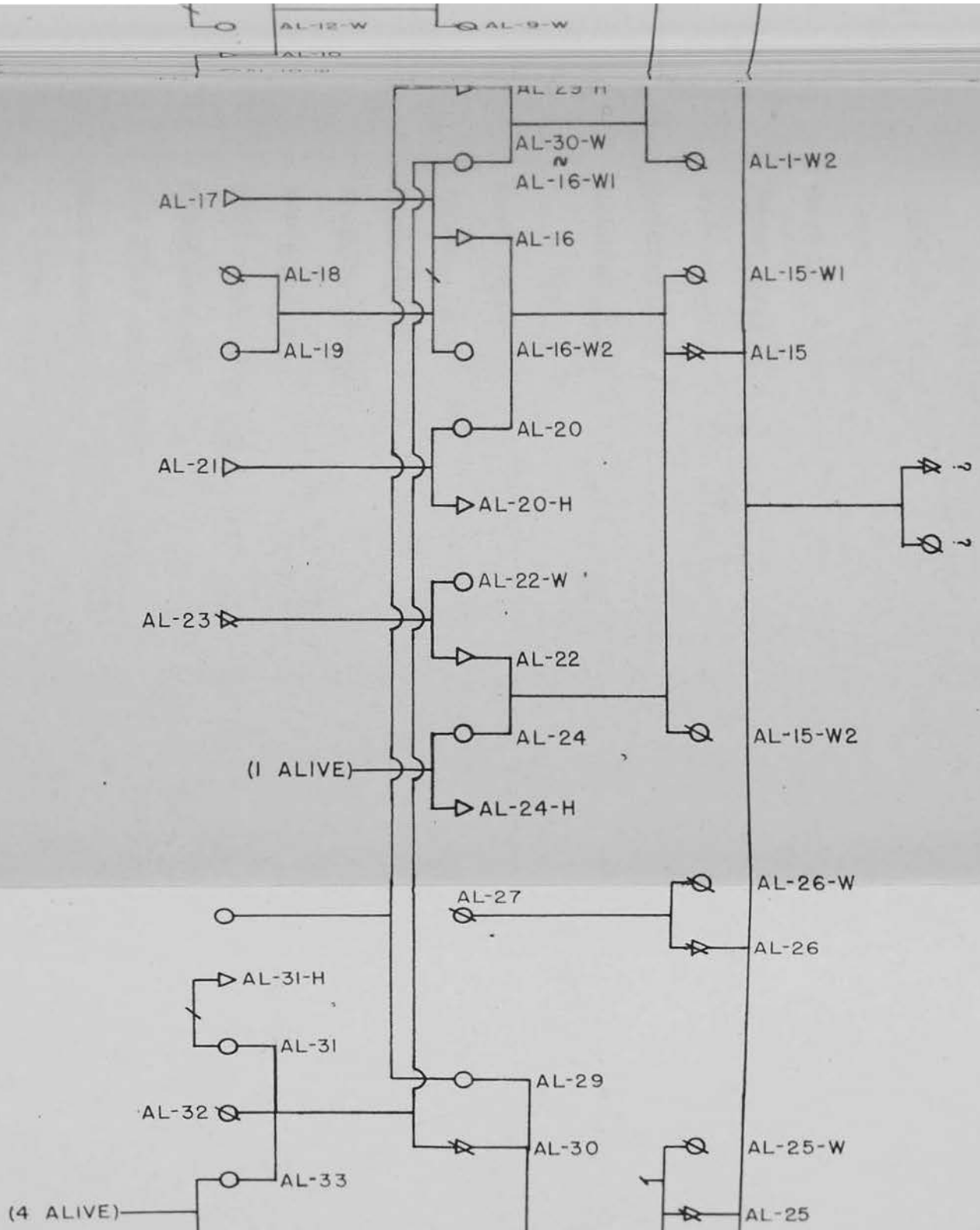
AL-16, a fairly unattractive man with bad sinuses, was first married to AL-16-W2 and secondly acquired AL-16-W1 when her husband, AL-30, died. Shortly after this, AL-16-W2, whose bride price had already been paid, refused to continue as his wife and AL-6 assumed her care. She is a classificatory mother of AL-6's. AL-19, her daughter, has not yet been promised to any particular party in marriage.

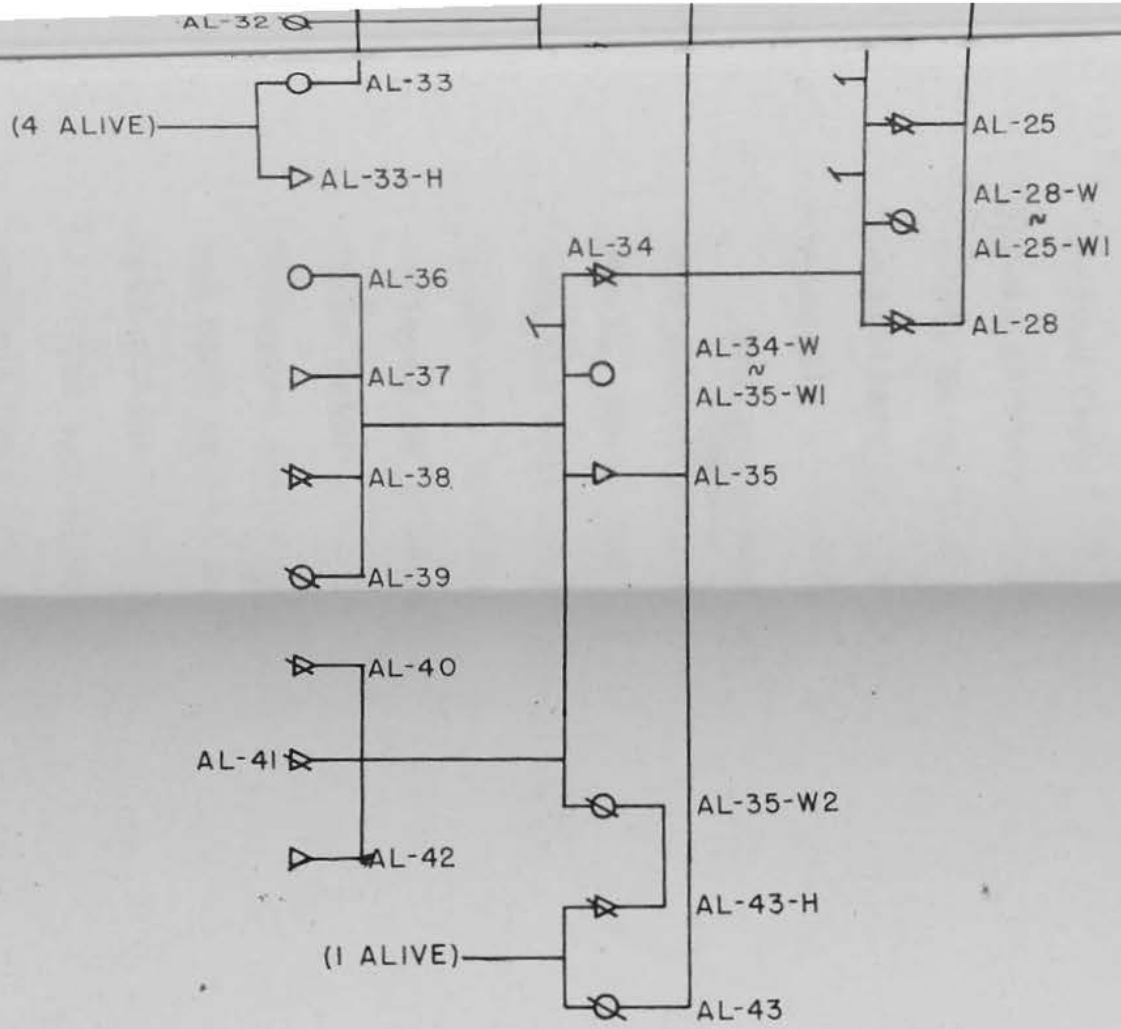
AL-30-W's first marriage was to AL-30 and her eldest daughter, AL-33, was sent in marriage to an influential man of the Kamam phratry at Bubgile, AL-33-H. AL-31 Njeo is currently unmarried. A legal case erupted over her elopement and she was reclaimed by Aliyaumo men.

AL-28 arranged the sister exchange whereby AL-35, his eldest son, acquired as a wife AL-35-W2, in exchange for AL-43, both of whom are now deceased. Through the levirate, AL-35 is now married to his younger brother's former wife, AL-34-W. The causes of death of AL-38 and AL-39 are unknown but there is some suspicion that they may be attributed to the jealousy of the deceased AL-34. AL-40 and AL-41 both died the day after the Yuomban were defeated by the Administration and their deaths are attributed to vengeance on the part of the spirits of the deceased Yuomban warriors.









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Kobunga Historical Notes

Though the genealogical depth does not extend further than one generation senior to the oldest living informant, there is a belief that the name of the unit, 'Kobunga', is derived from a female named "KobuN" who was a woman of the Kamam phratry from Bubgile and was given to the Kulaka Clan-moiety as partial payment in war reparations. The number of generations ago that this event occurred is unknown but it is generally agreed to have been several more than two.

The problems of genealogical inquiry within this 'lineage' were exacerbated by the fact that of the three adult males (KO-14, KO-7, and KO-20), two were absent most of the time from the area during the time of my residence. Both KO-7 and KO-20 were involved in the Highlands Labour Scheme and were employed on a coastal copra plantation until late 1962. Upon their return, KO-20 was almost immediately employed by Roy A. Rappaport (Anthropologist, Columbia University) in another area and KO-7 proved to be an extremely truculent informant. The most extensively knowledgeable informant proved to be KO-17-W.

The existence of Kobunga as a patrilineage is entirely dependent upon the putative sibling link of KO-1 and KO-11 though no informant was able to tell me who the parents of these two persons were.

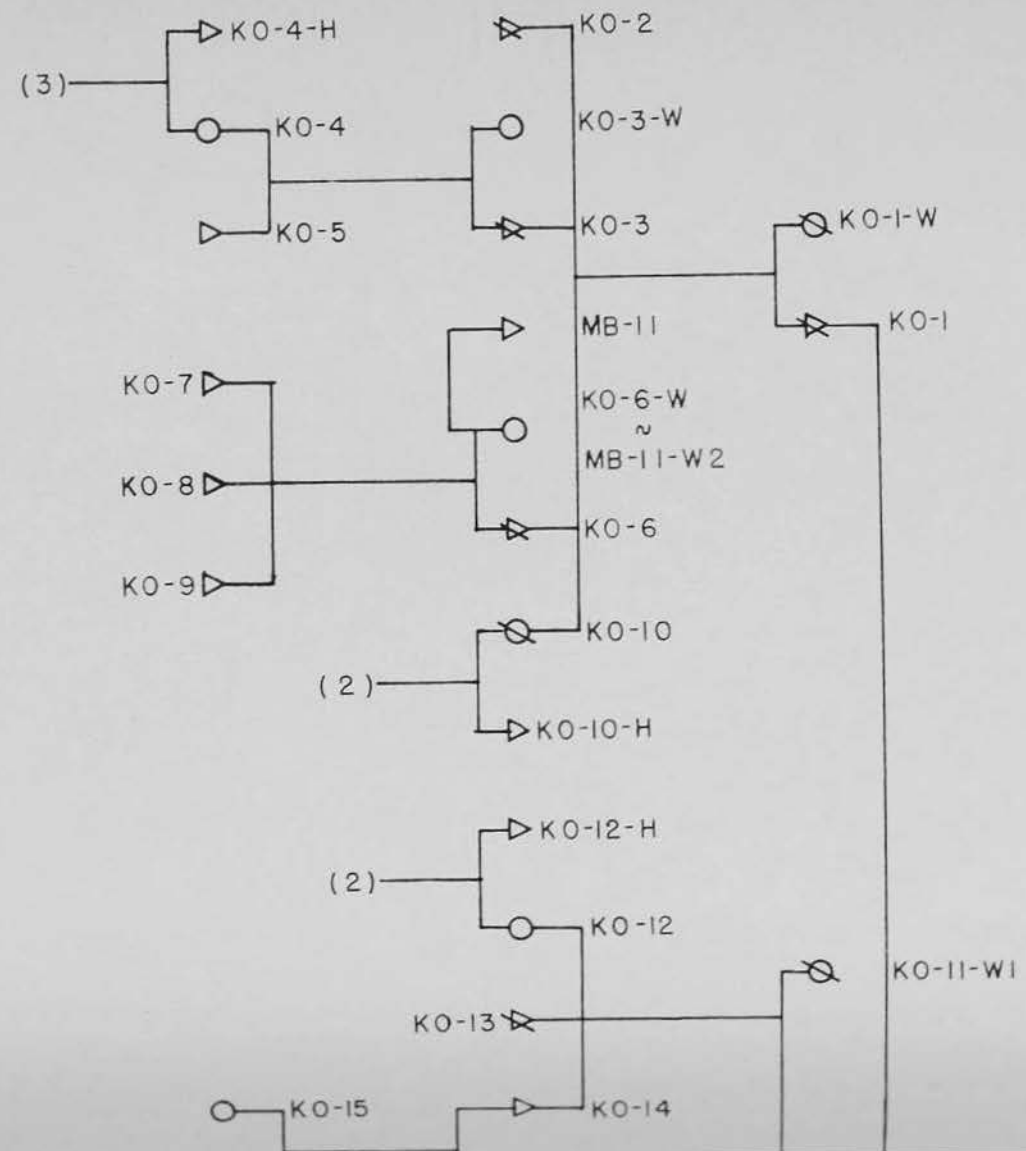
It will be seen from the residence chart that Kobunga, as a residential unit, does not exist at all. This dispersal is due primarily to two factors:

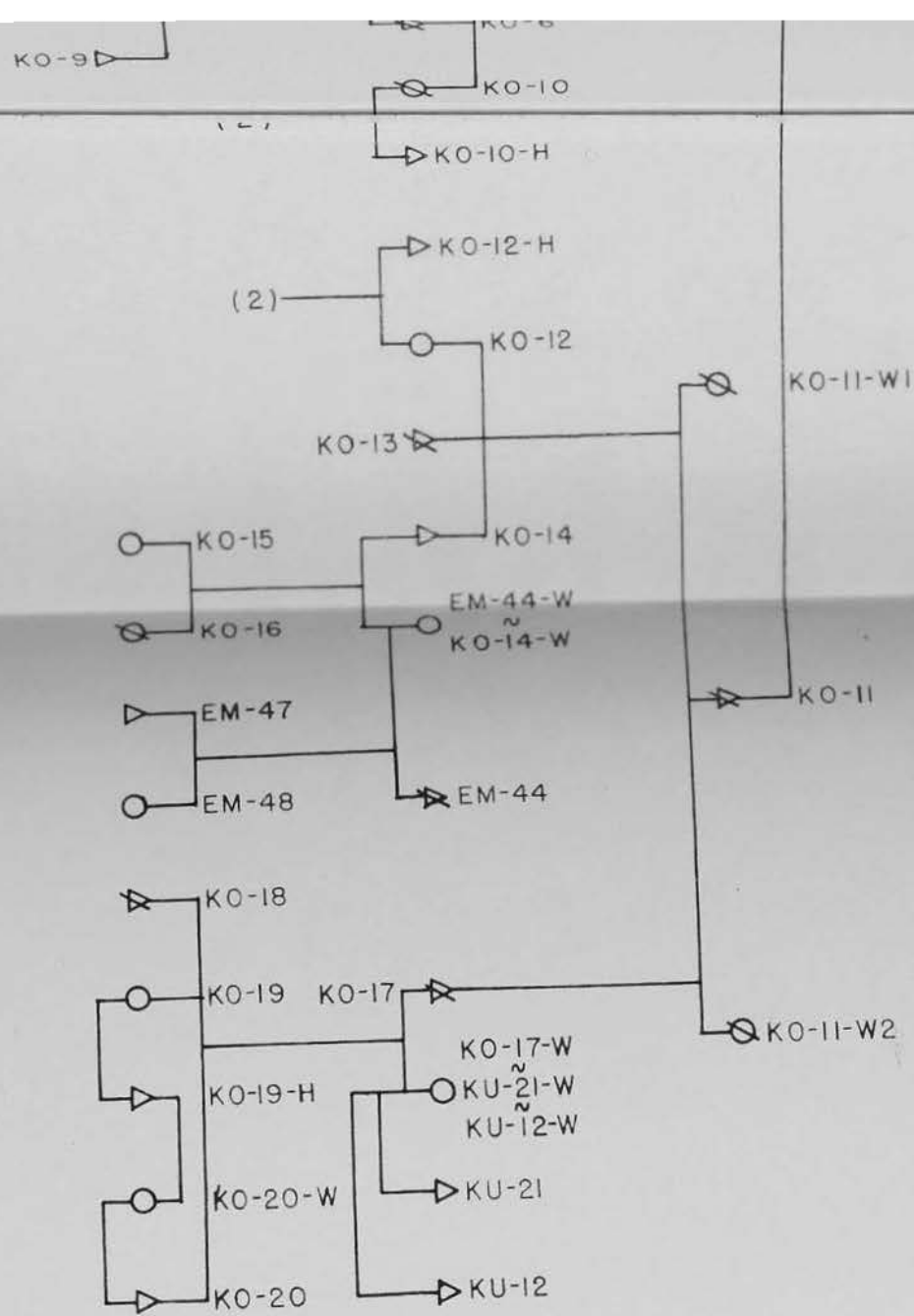
1. The death of KO-6. KO-6 was accused of employing death sorcery against a male member of the Sub-clan Kunakaikale and was subsequently killed by KU-26. KU-26 was in turn killed by NA-43 and AL-6. KO-6-W then married MB-11 and took her three children (KO-7, KO-8, and KO-9) with her though shortly thereafter, KO-7 left the area as noted above.

2. KO-5 went to live with his sister KO-4 and will not return. KO-14 moved to Epi and affiliates residually with ENgeyka. KO-17-W had married KU-21 when KO-17 died, this being prior to the death of KO-6 and may have attributed to the accusations resulting in the deaths of KO-6 and KU-26.

The case of sister exchange involving KO-19 and KO-20 was arranged by KO-14 and KO-17. KO-20-W was returned to Kobunga in 1962 when KO-20 had returned from his period of labour on the coast. When KO-20 left for the coast, he consigned his mother (KO-17-W) to the care of NA-43 which explains her residence at Ngonome and the subsequent residence of KO-20-W there with her.

KOBUNGA





Kunakaikale Historical Notes

Kunakaikale is composed of a single patrilineage, descended from KU-1 whose name no one recalls but who was allegedly married to a woman of the Morokai phratry. This contradicts their origin myth which states that they are descended from a woman named Kunakai who was a female agnate of the Kamam phratry of Bubgile and who was given to Kulaka Clan-moiety along with Kobun (of Kobunga Sub-clan) as part-payment of war reparations.

KU-1 allegedly had three sons, KU-2, KU-3 and KU-4. There are no living descendants of the latter two brothers. KU-21 is the most recently deceased. KU-23 died when a rock, loosened by someone or something on a trail above, crashed down upon her as she was watching a frog in the Nam River.

As a Sub-clan, Kunakaikale was a segment of Kulaka Clan-moiety until about ten years ago. They are now affiliated with the opposite Clan-moiety (ENgeyka) within the same Clan. The event which precipitated this transfer of association was the death of KU-26. He had been accused of killing KO-6 by sorcery and so was ambushed by AL-6 and NA-43 one day as he was returning to his men's house with a load of firewood. KU-11-W, the only senior female resident, agitated for a break with the Kulaka Clan-moiety and persuaded her own family (KU-12 and his descendants) to affiliate with ENgeyka. KU-5 did not wish to move and so remained with Kulaka. Since he is aged and single now, his eventual death will permanently sever co-residential ties be-

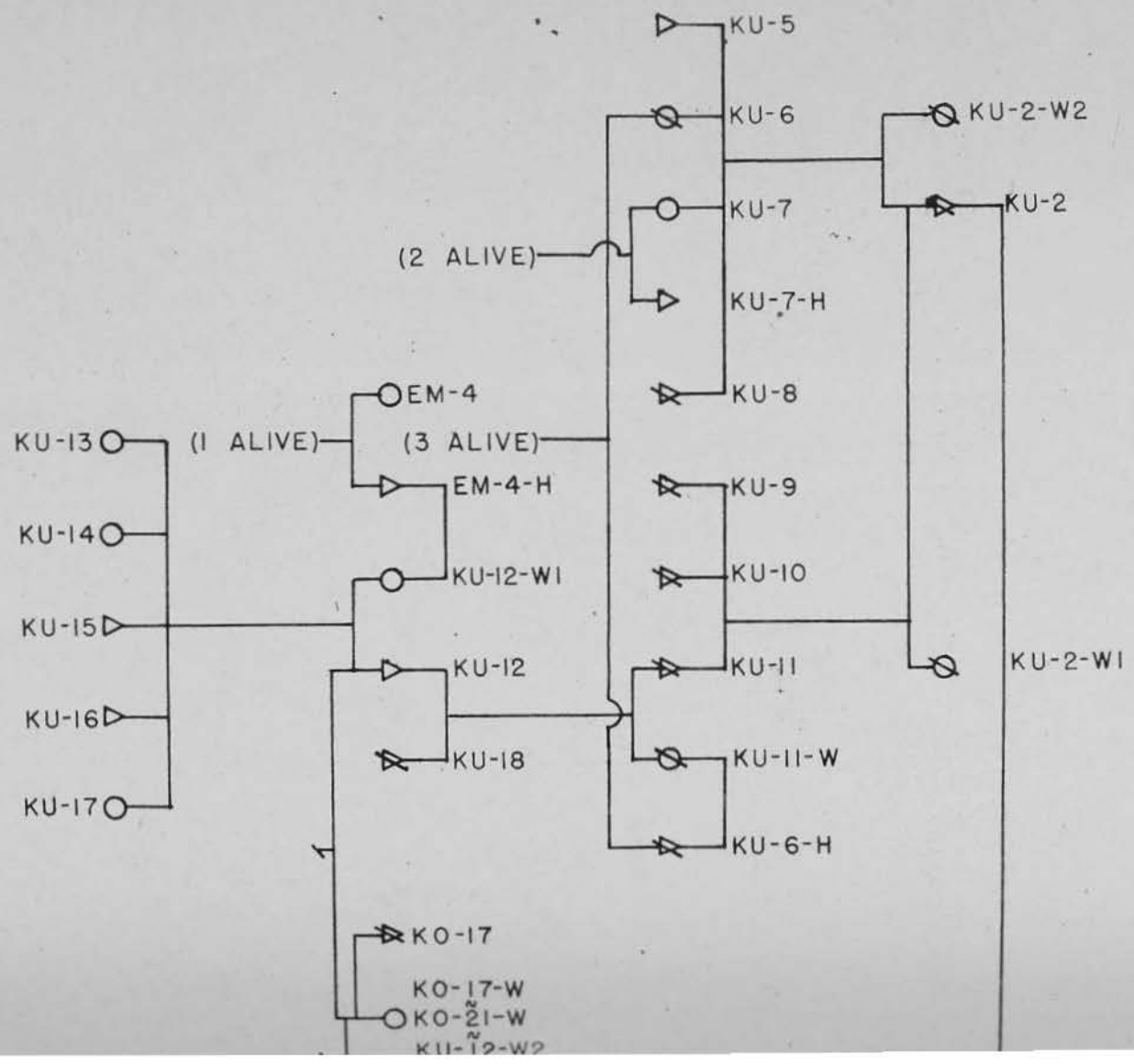


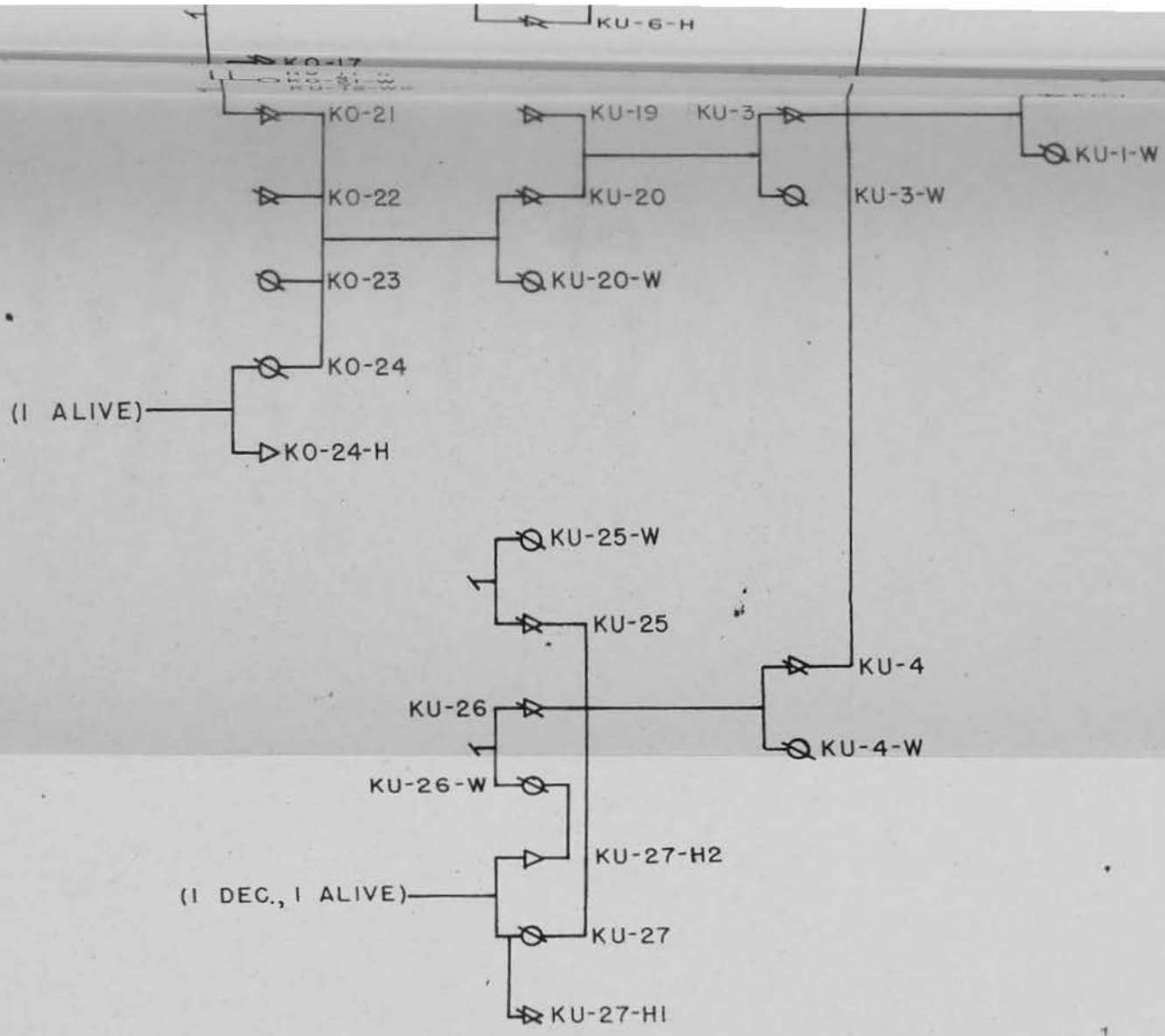
tween Kunakaikale members and the rest of Kulaka. KU-12 himself is badly crippled due to an accident several years ago. While chopping down a tree, he slipped and got in the way of the falling log and as a result his hip was broken and it did not mend properly.

KU-12's second wife, KU-12-W2, divorced him after their brief marriage and now lives by herself. His first wife was given to him by PE-21.

KU-26-W was first married to a man of the Tukma phratry and when he died she returned to the Manga and was acquired in exchange for KU-27. The latter died shortly after the birth of her daughter.

KUNAKAIKALE





379

Karakambo Historical Notes

There is no traceable genealogical linkage for all the members of the Karakambo Sub-clan nor is there any myth of their past descent from a common ancestor though there is the general belief that all of their "fathers" were "brothers". Given this latter belief, Karakambo may be considered to be composed of four lineage 'segments'.

Of these four segments, there is some doubt as to whether EK-1 is an agnatic descendant of an Karakambo forebear. It is possible that he was actually an agnatic member of the Yuomban phratry while it was his mother who was a member of Karakambo. But no one knows for certain and only two informants could even remember EK-1. These two are EK-5 and EK-17. EK-5 is senile and EK-17 is much too far removed in time from EK-1 (EK-1 is EK-17's putative father's father's father) to be a reliable informant. If this segment is an illustration of the incorporation of non-agnates, then the process must now be regarded as complete.

EK-1 allegedly had two sons, EK-2 and EK-3, which is a standard form of genealogical recital. EK-2, in turn, also had but two sons, one of whom, EK-5, is still living though he is hard of hearing, slightly incoherent in speech and his mind wanders. He spends his days around the men's house doing small tasks and caring for a single pig of his own. His sons reside with him. His first wife, EK-5-W1 returned to her home for a visit shortly after they had been married, became ill, and died

there.

EK-17 is the second most influential man in Karakambo. He has access to three women who assist him in pig rearing; his father's sister, EK-9, his sister, and his own wife, EK-17-W. EK-9 has promised EK-17 the marital disposition rights in her youngest daughter, Nngan, who spends part of her time with EK-17-W and part with her own mother, EK-9. EK-24 is a close associate of EK-17. When EK-8 died, EK-17 took over the care of EK-24 and EK-8-W. EK-24-W died in July of 1962 and her only child, EK-25, had died the preceding January of the same year. EK-24 addresses and refers to EK-17 as "father" because of this, though they are genealogical brothers.

EK-6 was killed by EK-9-H, his brother-in-law. EK-62 avenged EK-6's death by killing a man named Koima who was a member of the same Sub-clan as was EK-9-H.

The second lineage 'segment' was allegedly founded by three male siblings, EK-26, EK-44, and EK-45. With the exception of EK-48, EK-44 has left no other descendants. When his son, EK-47 was about to die, he said to EM-13 and EM-54 that they could receive the forthcoming bride-price for EK-54, who had been under his care since the death of EK-45 and his wife EK-45-W; and he said that EK-17 could receive the bride-price for EK-48. Both payments have been made; the first by EK-54-H-2 to EM-13, and the latter by EK-48-H to EK-17 in September, 1962.

EK-45's only other living descendant is EK-54 who still

maintains some gardens within ENgeyka territory on the ridge top at Kwiop.

EK-49 was killed by EK-17 for sorcerizing EK-17's brother, EK-23. EK-47 then cared for the two children, EK-50 and EK-51 but forced them to sleep out of doors and they both died, probably from pneumonia.

In the other portion of this same lineage segment, EK-29's son, EK-30, was born at Warames, grew up there and married EK-30-W there. EK-30-W deserted him and ran away to a man at Kwivun in the territory of the Moluma phratry and so EK-30 took their daughter and went to Kwiop to live with his cross-cousins, EK-32 and EK-39. EK-30-W had deserted her husband because, "His hands and feet were no good." (He had leprosy.) Since she had been sent in exchange, her male agnatic kinsmen returned her to the Morokai phratry and she then married another man.

EK-30 remained at Kwiop and reared his daughter, EK-31 (or EM-15-W) there. See MbaNkale Historical Notes for a continuation of this case but note that EM-15 is a classificatory FMBss of EK-31.

EK-32-W was considered as a Yismban phratry woman though her father's father was a Yuomban phratry man. When he had died, her father's mother returned to Ndega (a Yismban phratry village) with her father who was at that time an infant. Since the death of EK-32-W, her husband, EK-32, has become largely dependent on his eldest daughter, EK-37, who is married and with

whom the rest of his children reside.

EK-39 maintains a separate residence at Ngoglamoro on the side of the Kwiop ridge facing Tabibuga. His wife, EK-39-W, died on January 8, 1962 and he is now left with no 'dependent' adult female to care for the family.

The fourth lineage 'segment' has at its apex a sibling set of four brothers: EK-55, EK-56, EK-57, and EK-59. EK-56 went insane as a young man and died. EK-57 was killed by the Yuomban and his daughter's husband, EK-58-H was killed in an inter-Maruwaga Clan-moiety fight (KobuNgeka vs. Wamgaga). EK-59's two sons, EK-60 and EK-61, both had severe cases of yaws and died. Their legs were curved so badly that they were unable to acquire wives.

EK-71 was originally sent to the Yisban in marriage but when her husband died without having paid the bride-price, she returned with her three children. She was then sent, without the children, to EK-71-H2 as repayment for EK-62-W1 by her brother, EK-62. This second marriage did not work out and EK-71-H2 sent her back to her brother with whom she is now co-resident.

EK-62 is the leading man of Karakambo and the leading sorcerer. He is, or was, in charge of the sacred stones, having inherited this position from EK-55. As can be seen in the genealogies, he has access to the services of four women, his two wives and his two sisters.

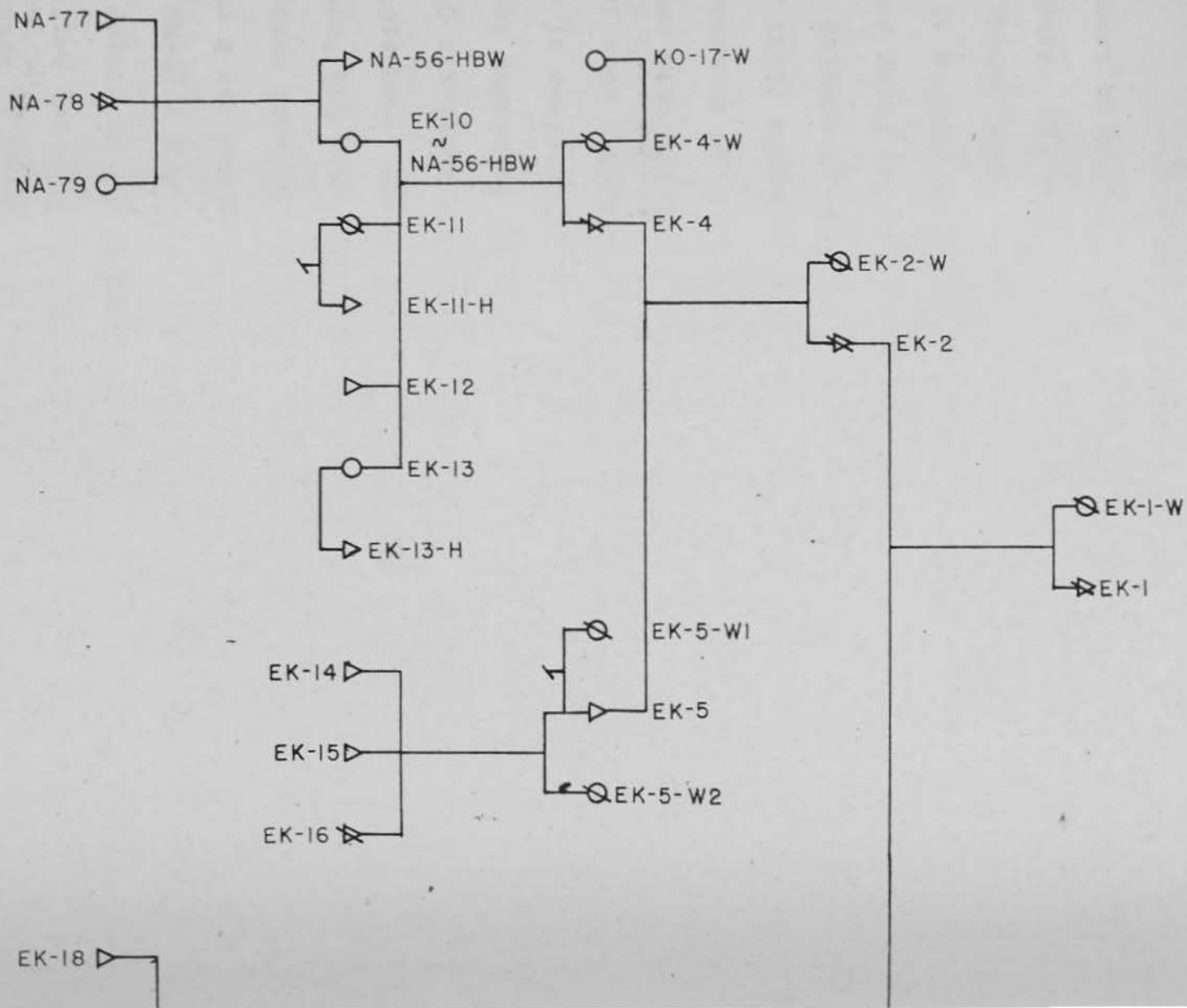
Some especially interesting facts are to be noted in the 'out' marriages of Karakambo. Of the eight women who have mar-

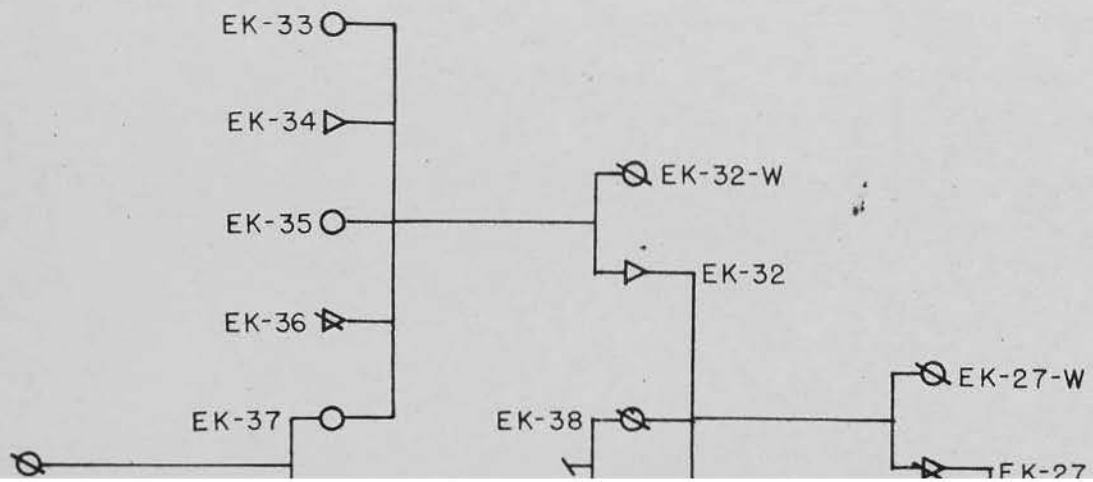
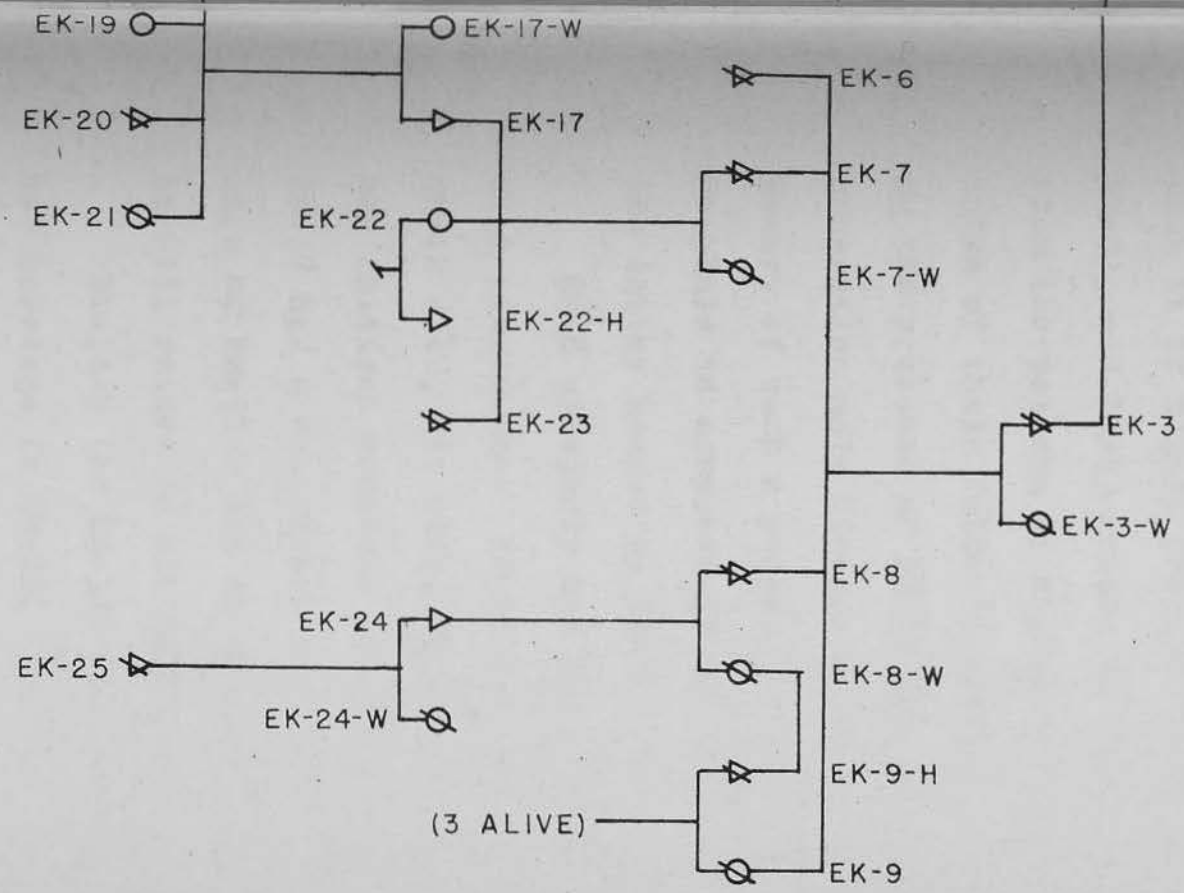
ried out in generations D and E, four are in general accordance with the marriage rule.

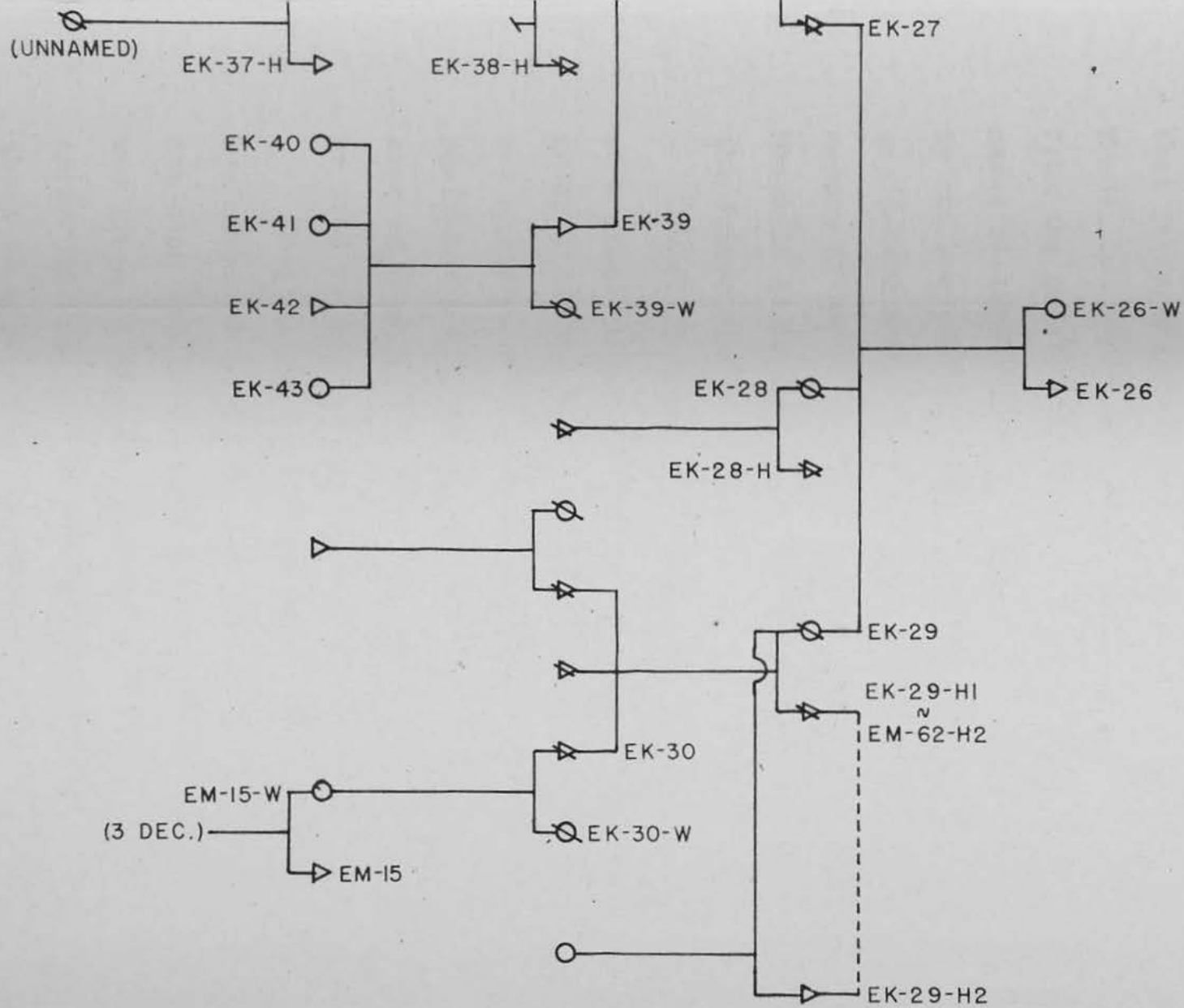
1. EK-37 was sent back to her father's mother's patrilineage by her father, EK-32. EK-27, who was EK-32's mother, was originally received through sister exchange.
2. EK-32's father was equally observant of the rule in sending his daughter, EK-38, back to her father's mother's patrilineage. There is no record of sister-exchange in either of these two marriages.
3. EK-62 sent EK-22, a classificatory "daughter" of his back to his own mother's (EK-55-W) patrilineage. EK-17, EK-22's brother, is the probable heir to EK-62's sorcery knowledge and position of leadership within Karakambo.
4. EK-31 was a co-resident non-agnate for whom EM-15 gave his own sister. EK-31's marriage to EM-15 is phrased as in accordance with the marriage rule and while this is true in a classificatory sense, i.e. that male members of the same Clan-moiety (ENgeyka) are "brothers", they were actually regarded as unrelated prior to marriage, whereas her male Karakambo peers regarded her as their "sister", i.e. co-resident female descendant of father's cross-cousin and therefore someone whom they had disposal rights over in marriage.



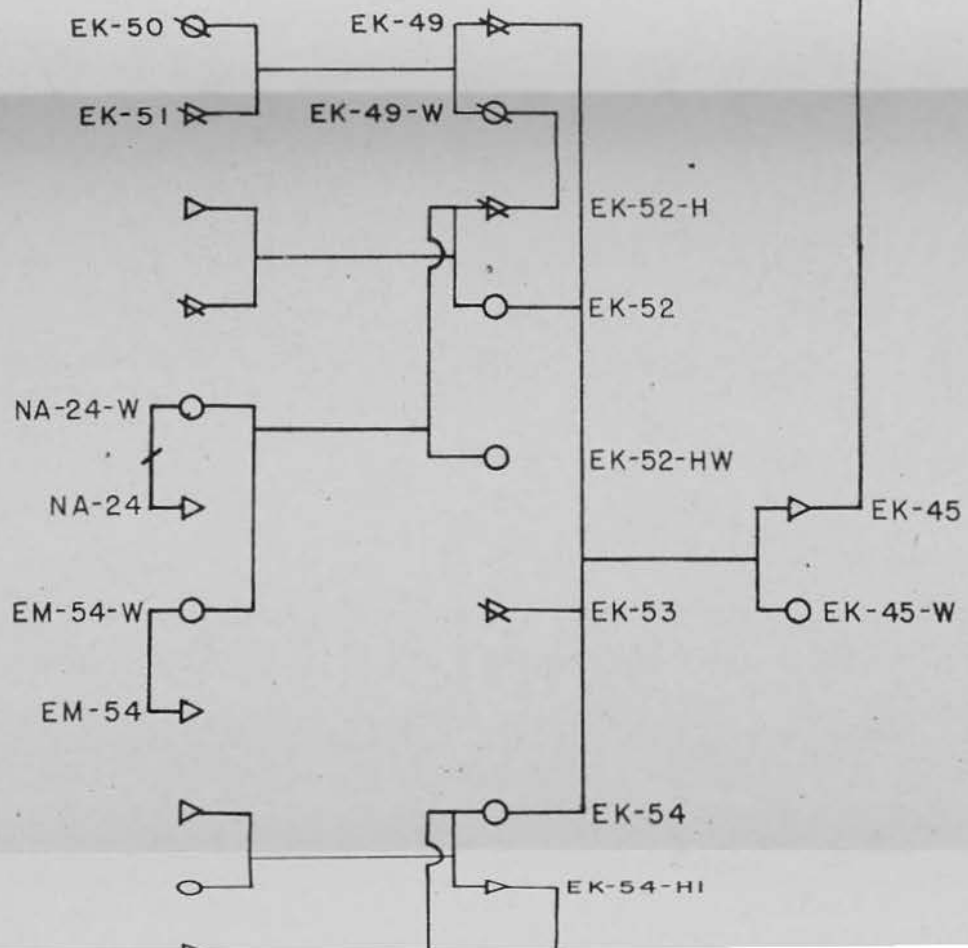
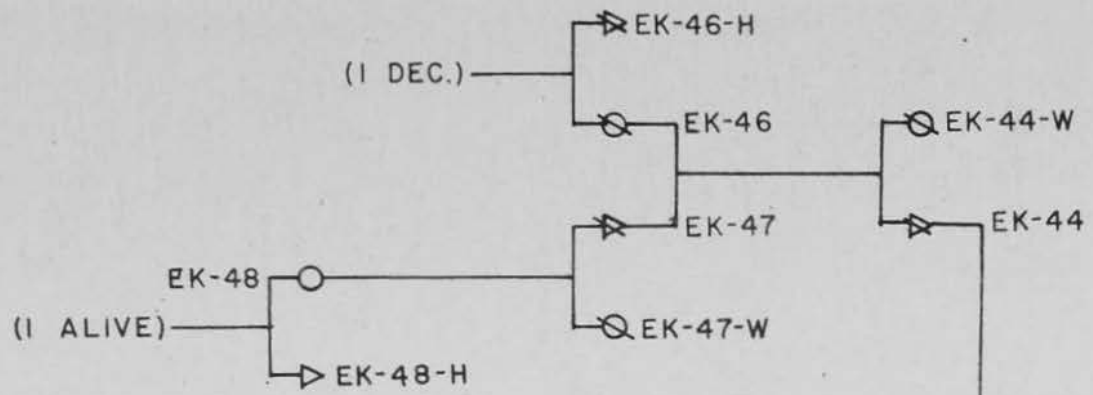
KARAKAMBO

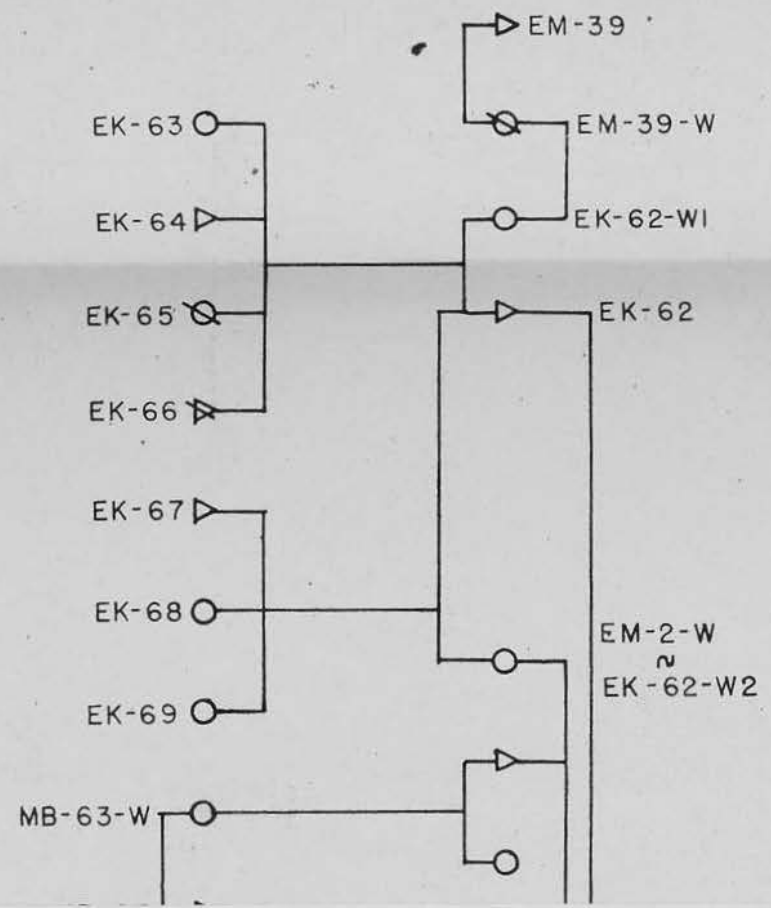
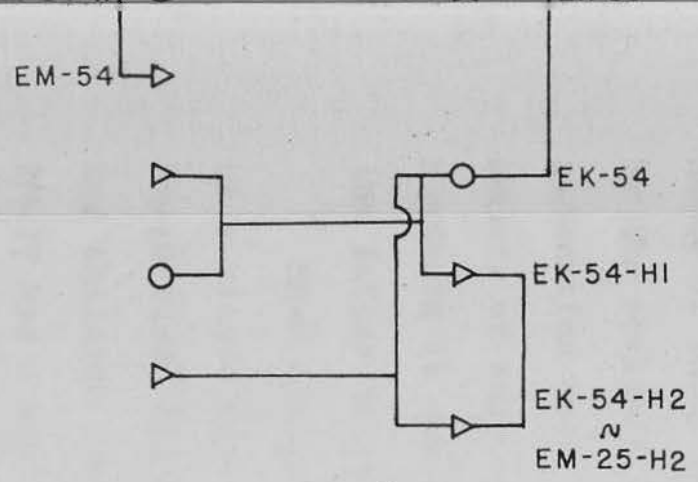


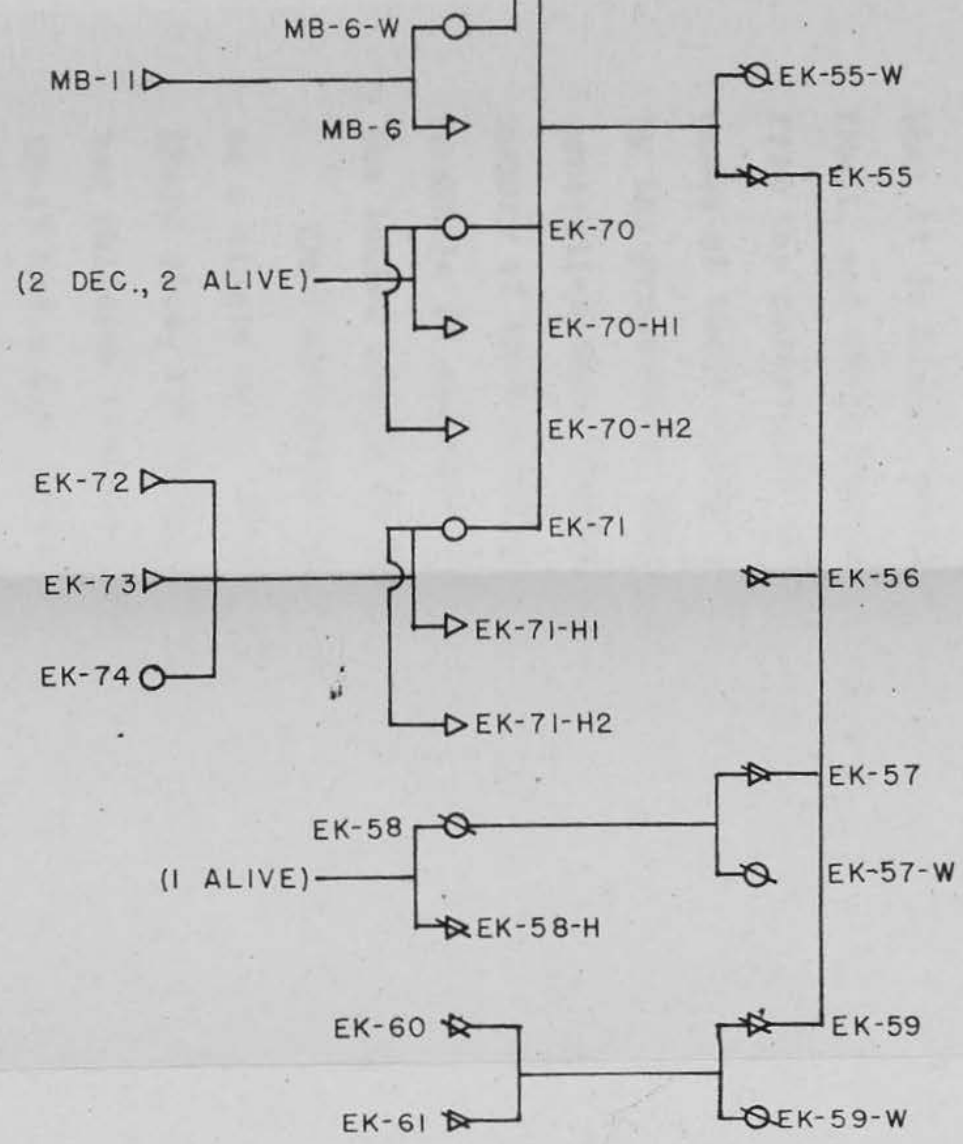




EK-46-H   
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383

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MbaNkale Historical Notes

Members of MbaNkale have no real or putative common lineage ancestor. MbaNkale is composed of five genealogical segments. Though there is no memory of actual linkages, I believe that it is highly probable that the segments headed by EM-8, EM-81, and EM-43 should be linked together. This belief stems from the pattern of naming in which sons are often given the names of their father's brothers. This is further supported by the presence of EM-11 and EM-33 which indicates a senior generation male kinsman of the same name though there is no memory of such a person. If we grant these assumptions, then MbaNkale is composed of two large segments and one smaller, the latter headed by EM-24.

EM-8 allegedly had three sons and no daughters. EM-9 died as a single man. EM-10 had two sons, EM-12 and EM-13. When EM-12 died, his wife, EM-12-W returned to her natal home but her children remained with MbaNkale under the care of EM-13. EM-17 had a son before she died and this child is now in the care of EM-12-W but it is generally agreed that when he matures he will return to his father's Sub-clan.

EM-15-W (or EK-31) was co-resident with Karakambo prior to her marriage to EM-15. She was given to EM-15 of the opposite Sub-clan within the same Clan-moiety in exchange for EM-16 who was given to EK-31's patrilineal kinsmen. EM-15-W has had three children and in view of her personal adulterous history there is good reason to suspect infanticide in all three cases.

EM-21 was sent in marriage to Kol in the Upper Jimi by EM-13, her father. The occasional marriage at greatly removed distances is largely due to either the promise of receiving an exorbitant bride-price (by local standards) for the out-marrying sister. <sup>or what?</sup> The occasional long-distance marriage in the opposite direction is often considered on the grounds that the bride-price payment for the in-coming spouse will be small. No marriage of parties this far removed spatially has been found to be accompanied by sister exchange.

EM-11 had but the single daughter, EM-14. She was sent in marriage in accordance with the marriage rule but ran away and returned home. She was returned to her husband but persisted in running away again and again. On her third effort to remain at home, her patrilineal kinsmen allegedly killed her, cut off her head, mounted it on a sharply pointed stick and presented that to her husband. Thus, they say, an honorable solution was achieved.

In the "segment" headed by EM-24, all four of the living descendants, EM-26c, EM-28, EM-29, and EM-31, are now under the care of men who were not of this segment. The common link in these transfers has been the mother. EM-13-W1, the mother of EM-26c, EM-28, and EM-29, subsequently married EM-13. Similarly, the mother of EM-31, EM-30-W, subsequently married EM-35.

In the "segment" headed by EM-81, the first descending generation was composed of two sons and one daughter. The death of EM-34 came about in the following manner. A man named



AndAvaN (of the Timbaga Clan-moiety) took up residence with his sister, AL-26-W, because he had been accused of sorcery. One day shortly thereafter, a small group of men from the Timbamaruwaga Clan came to the territory of AL-26 and he and other members of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan thought they had come to kill AndAvaN. In the heated argument which followed, one man of Timbamaruwaga was killed. Sometime later, EM-34 was returning from a trip to Bubgile (some informants say he had gone to Warames) when some Timbamaruwaga men ambushed and killed him in retaliation. When this happened, EM-34-W took her then infant son, EM-39, and returned to her natal Sub-clan, Wamgaga. EM-39 still resides with the Wamgaga but has stated that his son, EM-40, is to be considered as an MbaNkale member as a replacement for himself. EM-39's first wife, EM-39-W1 is a member of the Sub-clan KobuNgeyka and therefore Mbokon was and is considered, in relation to the Timbamaruwaga Clan, as a member of the KulakaeNgeyka clan, else the marriage would have constituted a violation of clan exogamy. EM-39-W2's full sister is EK-62-W1. Here is another instance illustrative of the notion that the prohibition of marriage between "sisters" and "brothers" is with reference to the smallest named unit.

EM-35's only child, EM-36, simply dropped dead while playing in front of her house on August 1, 1962 at the age of about 8. She did not appear to be ill from anything. The ethnographer had passed her and seen her playing there not an hour before she died.

In the segment headed by EM-43, EM-46 is thought to be still alive but since there has been virtually no communication since 1956, no one is really certain.

The largest lineage segment has at its apex a sibling set composed of four brothers and one sister, EM-1, EM-50, EM-82, EM-67 and EM-68.

EM-1 had one son and one daughter. His daughter, EM-3, was killed by EM-2, his son, for prostitution. EM-2 died of pneumonia and his wife, EM-2-W, then married EK-62. EM-6 was sent by the Administration to the leper colony at Togoba in the Western Highlands District where she married EM-6-H, also a leper. On several occasions, EM-5, her brother, requested that the ethnographer pay for his plane fare so that he might visit her.

The marriage of EM-2-W again represents the prohibition against "sisters" marrying "brothers" since her sister, MB-6-W is married into Mbalekale, a co-ordinate Sub-clan within the same Clan.

EM-5-W died and now EM-5 has the sole care of his son. He is assisted in this task by his mother, EM-62-W2.

EM-54's first wife, EM-54-W1, was killed by the Yuomban. EM-54-W2 is a classificatory MBd to her husband EM-54 since both she and EM-12-W are members of the same Sub-sub-clan. There is further indication of a closer genealogical relation between these two women since EM-54-W2's sister is also named Kopi though no one could recall the exact linkages.

EM-52-W's marriage to EM-52 is in direct violation of the prohibition against "brothers" marrying "sisters" since EM-54-W and EM-52-W belong to the same Sub-sub-clan.

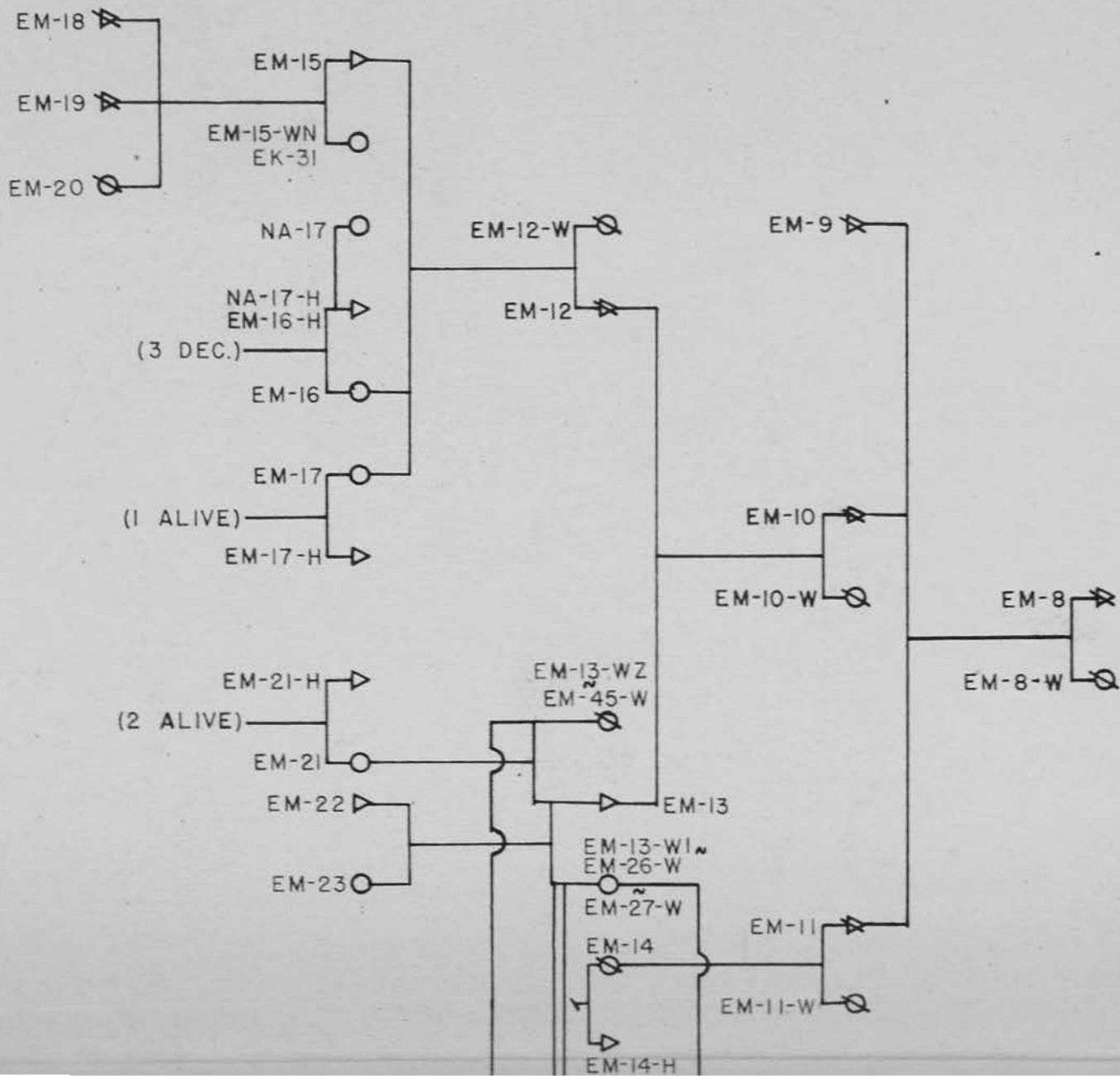
Upon the death of EM-59-H, EM-59 returned to Kwiop with her three children, one of whom, EM-60, was subsequently killed by the Yuomban. Her daughter, EM-62, was sent to EM-62-H as the first part of an expected sister-exchange though no woman has as yet been returned.

EM-63 was killed by the Okona shortly after his marriage and his wife returned to her natal phratry, Tukma.

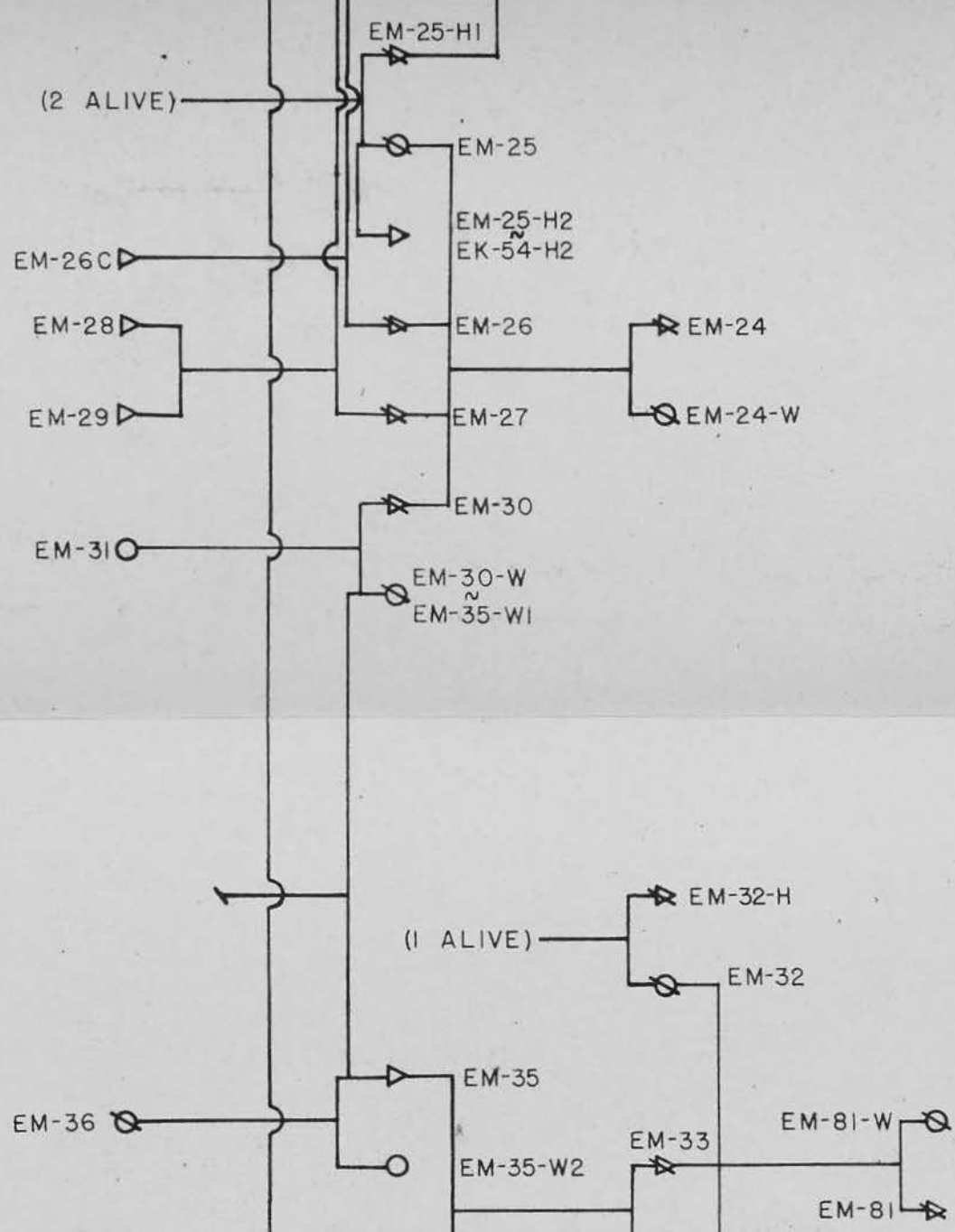
EM-68 was sent to the Morokai phratry in marriage. When her brother, EM-67, was accused of sorcery he fled to his brother-in-law, EM-68-H at Warames. I estimate that this occurred around 1920. Later, when EM-69 was an adult and the Administration had first censused the Morokai (around 1953) he believed that he and his brothers and their descendants were no longer free to return to Kwiop as they had been <sup>c</sup>vounted as "Morokai" members by the Administration. Actually, I believe that this "reason" is a rationalization since they probably would not have returned under any circumstances.

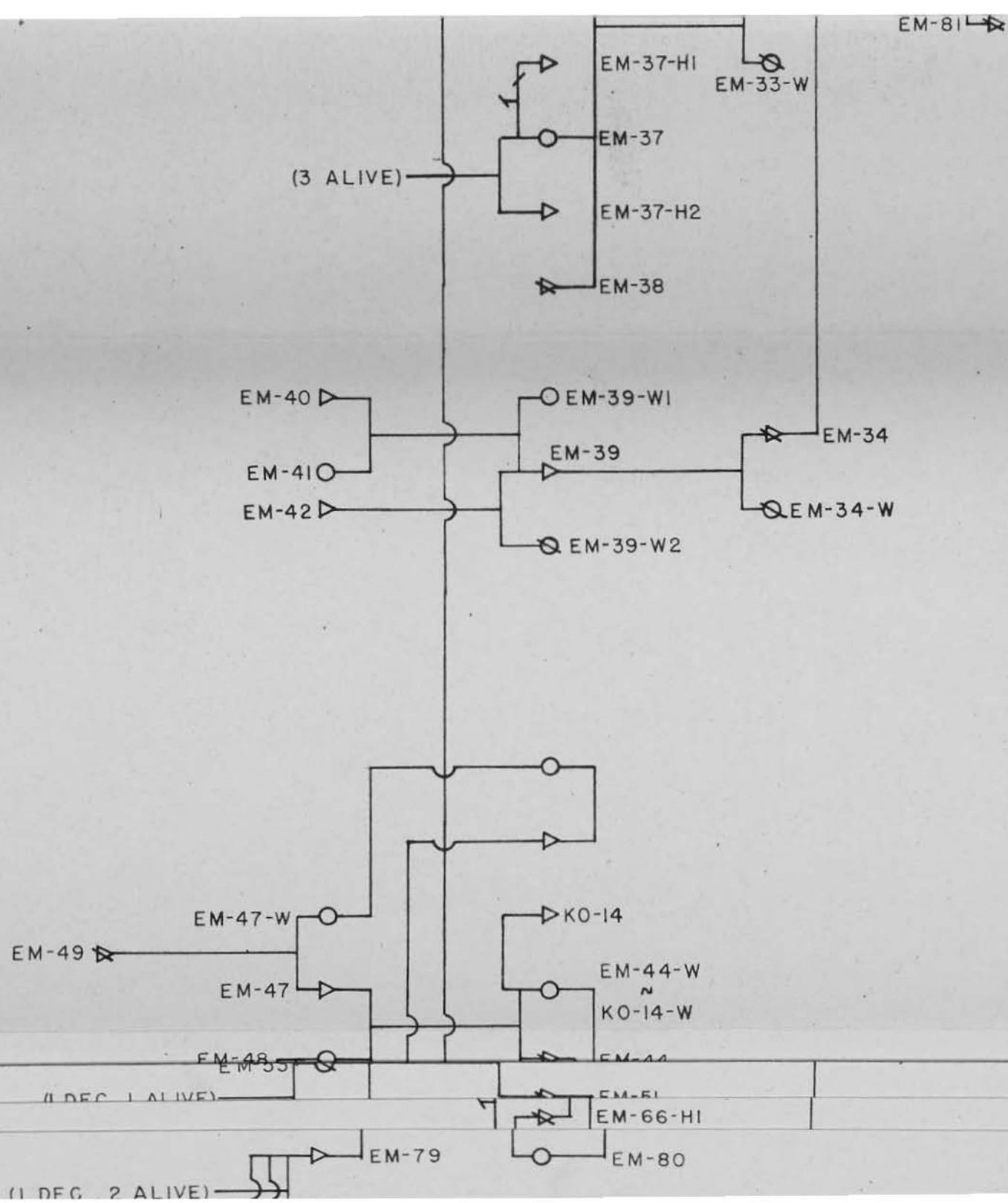
The relative separateness of these last two collateral segments is seen in the following incident. On August 8, 1962, EM-54, who was on a trading expedition, saw the father of EM-70-W2 at Kwima. He told EM-54 that EM-70-W1 (at that time pregnant) had chased EM-70-W2 and her son away from EM-70 by sorcery and that another man at Warames had married her. EM-54 figured

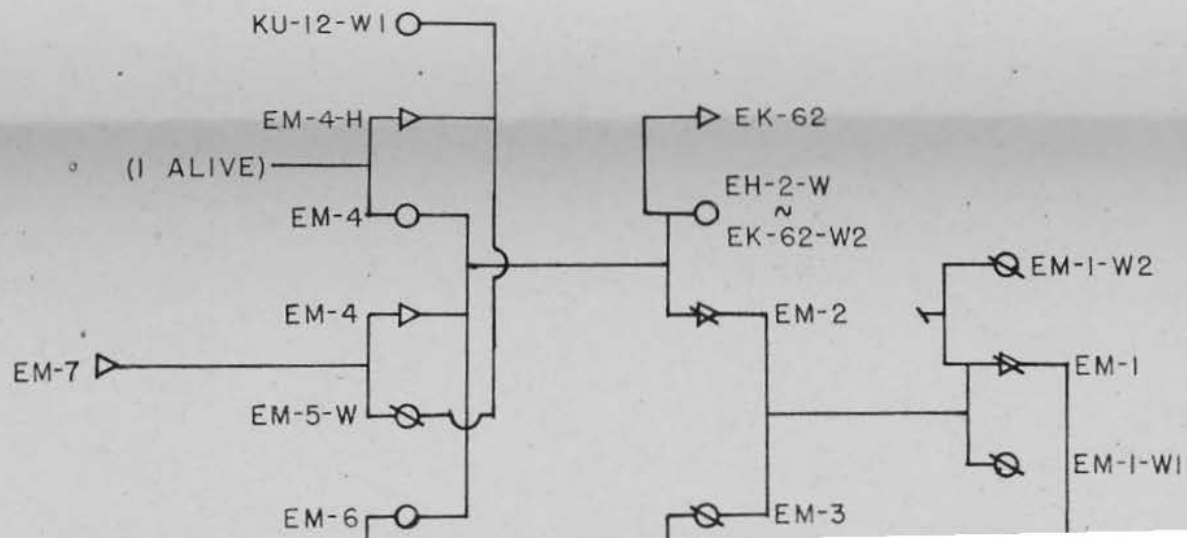
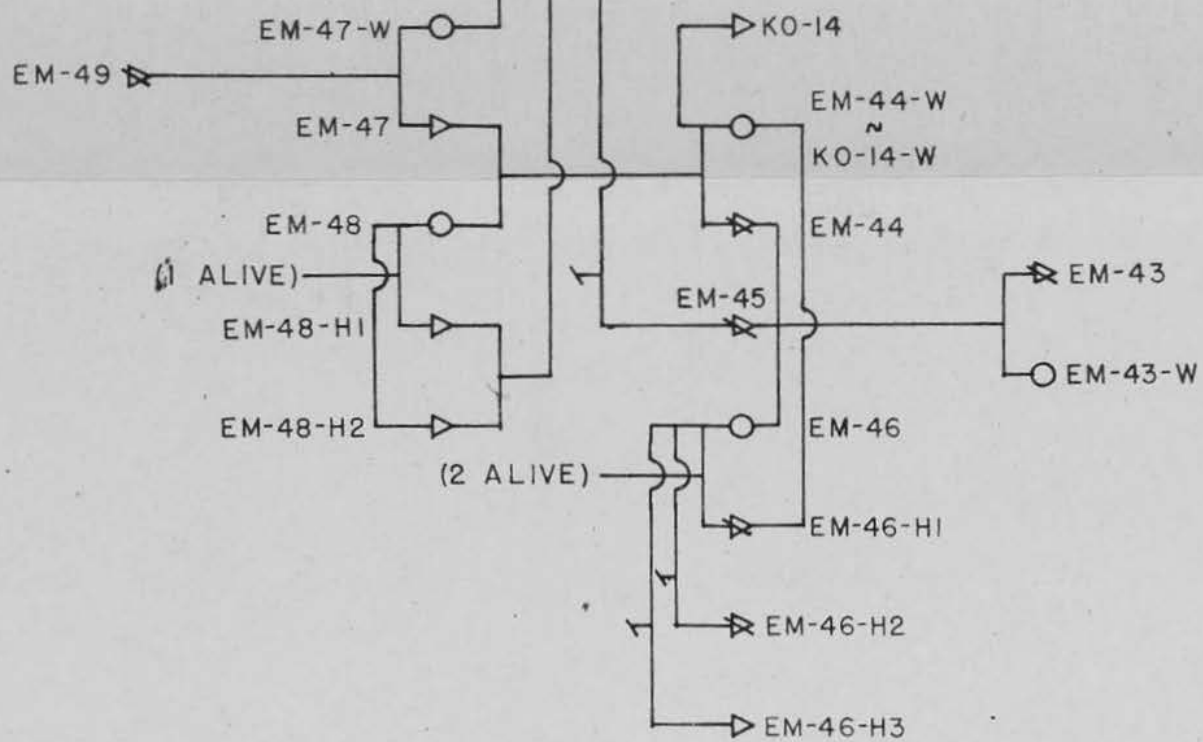
that he had a claim to her as a wife for himself; first, on the grounds that no exchange female had as yet been sent for EM-62 and, second, since EM-70-W2's second husband is not even a classificatory brother of EM-54 while EM-70 is, then the second husband could not be a kamena (spouse of a sibling of the same sex for a male ego and the term is self-reciprocal) of EM-70-W2's though she was kamena to EM-54. Nothing at all came of this, however, and EM-54 did not demand action on his claim. The claim did, however, serve to precipitate and somewhat enlarge the bride-price paid for EM-62 later that same year.



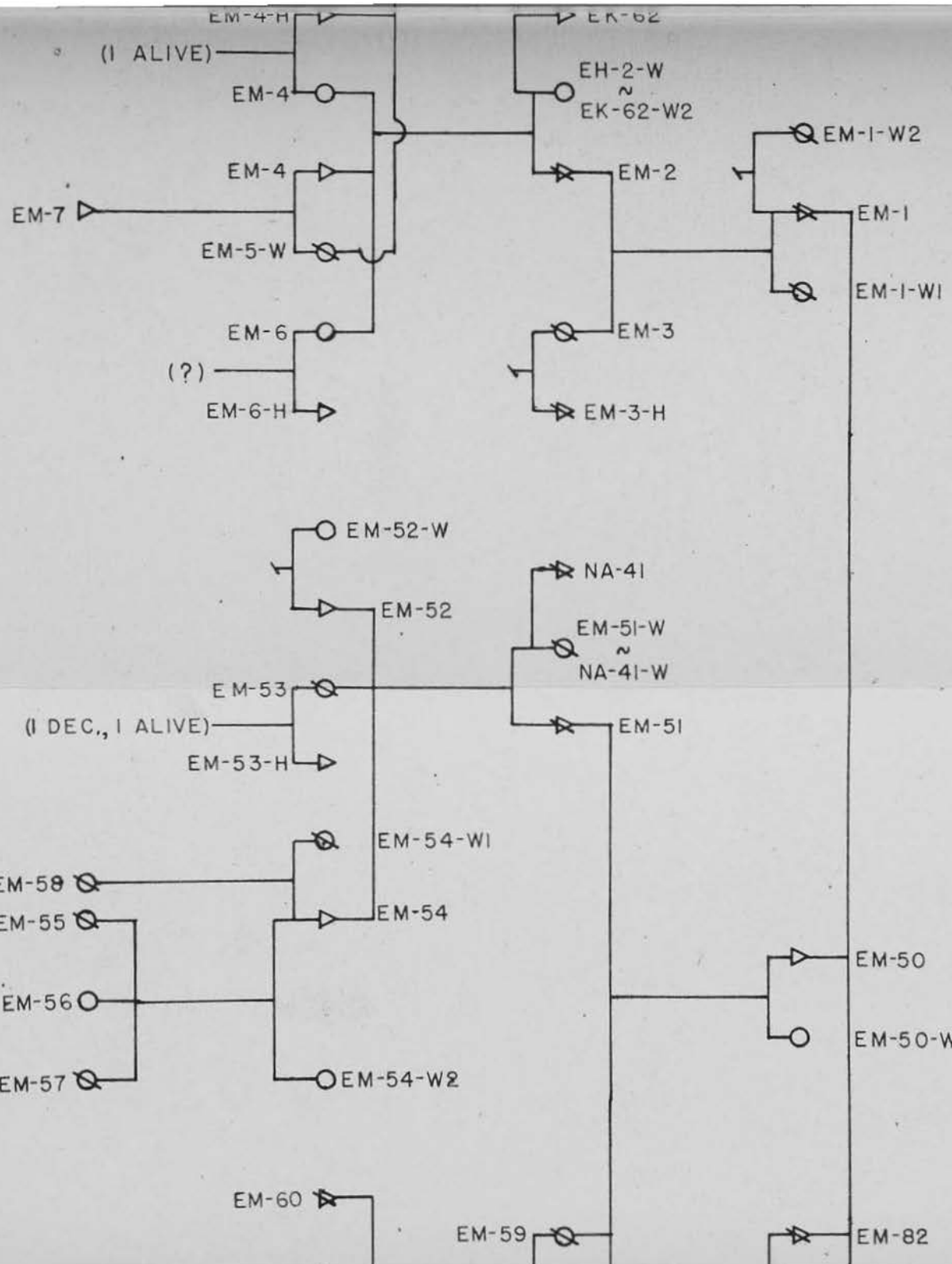
MBANKALE

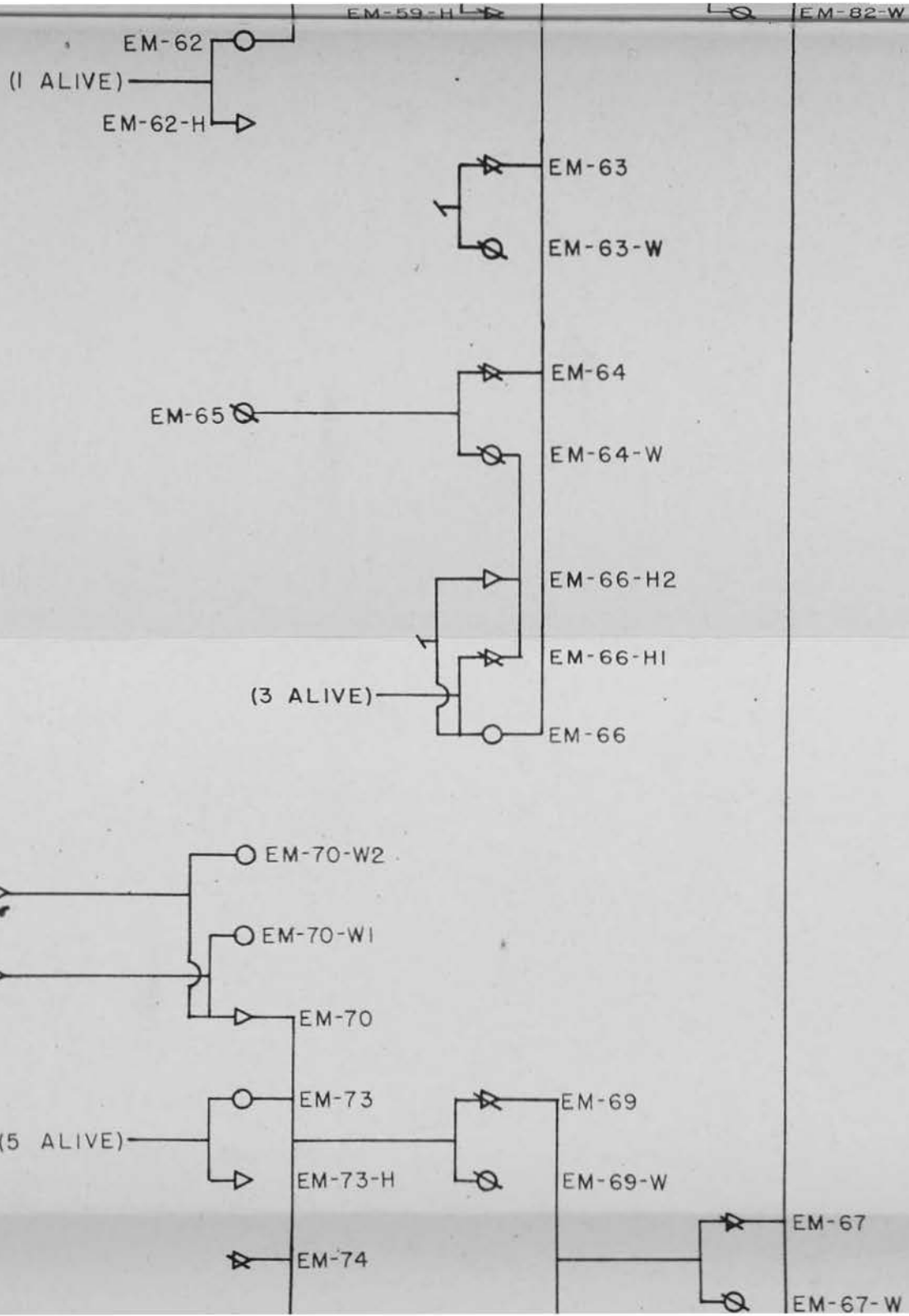


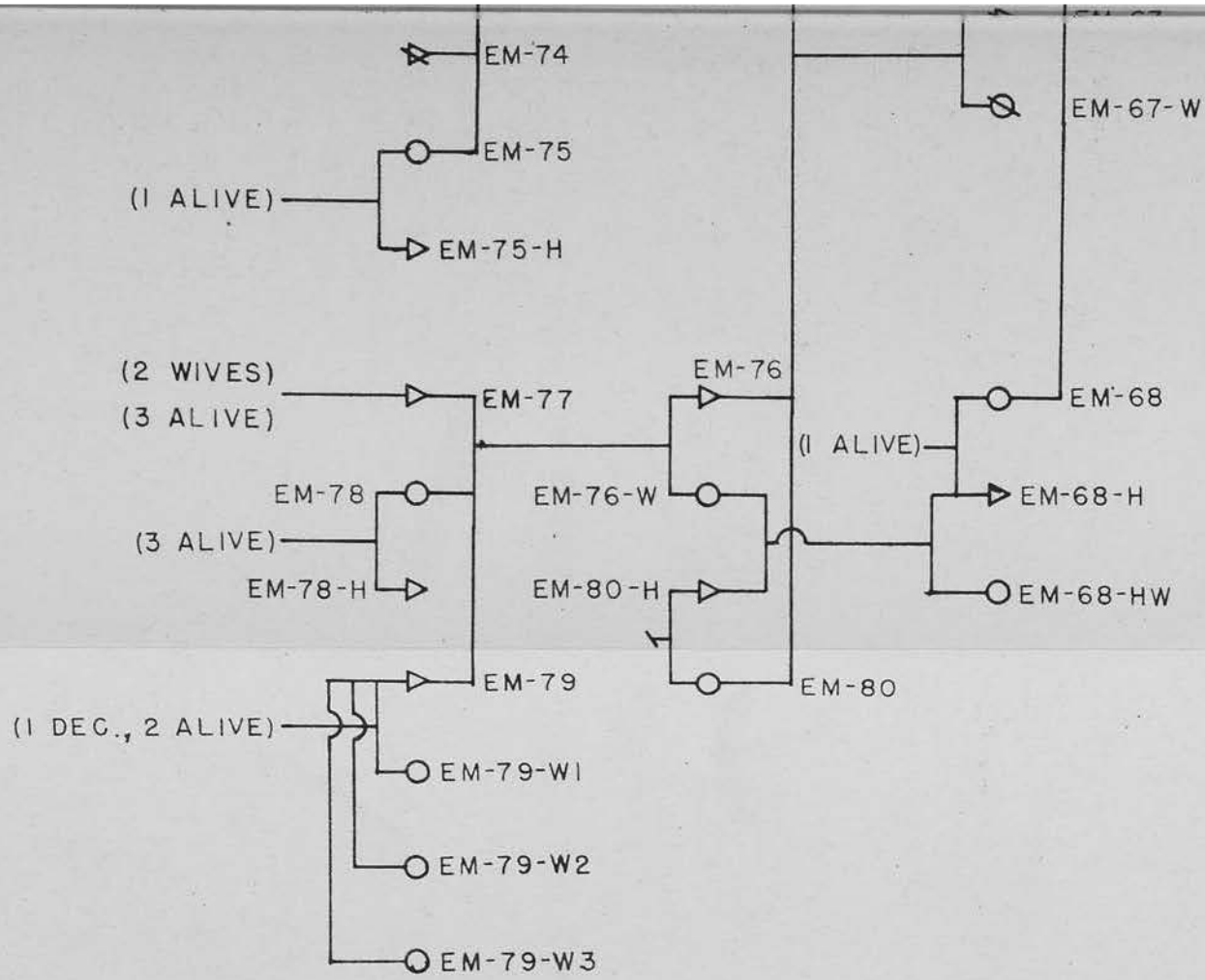












392

APPENDIX I

Alphabetical Listing of Names

Case Number	Name	Case Number
10-1	...	10-1
10-2	...	10-2
10-3	...	10-3
10-4	...	10-4
10-5	...	10-5
10-6	...	10-6
10-7	...	10-7
10-8	...	10-8
10-9	...	10-9
10-10	...	10-10
10-11	...	10-11
10-12	...	10-12
10-13	...	10-13
10-14	...	10-14
10-15	...	10-15
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10-28	...	10-28
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10-30	...	10-30
10-31	...	10-31
10-32	...	10-32
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10-36	...	10-36
10-37	...	10-37
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10-90	...	10-90
10-91	...	10-91
10-92	...	10-92
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10-97	...	10-97
10-98	...	10-98
10-99	...	10-99
10-100	...	10-100

APPENDIX II

Alphabetical Listing of Names

Case Number	Name	Case Number
10-101	...	10-101
10-102	...	10-102
10-103	...	10-103
10-104	...	10-104
10-105	...	10-105
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10-142	...	10-142
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10-194	...	10-194
10-195	...	10-195
10-196	...	10-196
10-197	...	10-197
10-198	...	10-198
10-199	...	10-199
10-200	...	10-200

## APPENDIX II

Alphabetical Listing of Names

<u>Name</u>	<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Code Number</u>
Aina	NA-48	Kanjo	PE-23
Aindem	MB-16	Kaph	MB-19-W
AiNGA	EM-35	Karaka	NA-43-W2
AmbaN	AL-35	Kena	PE-24-W
Ambiam	NA-34,AL-4-W	Kende-Tsapinde	KU-5
Amgoi	EM-52	Kent-Emp	NA-11
Ank	EK-43	Kent-Men	NA-57
Andf-TotsiNam	MB-19	Kere	AL-7
Andoi	NA-32-W	Kewale	EM-13-W1, EM-27-W, EM-26-W
ANda	EK-12		
ANGloyua-KipuNGa	EM-13	Kif-Tova	NA-49
Arai	AL-2-W	Kilagi	EK-34
Atsambale	NA-75	Kilevo	MB-70
Emp-Kent	NA-11	KiliNam	KU-15
Emven	MB-49	Kilua	AL-4
Goblom	EK-24	Kimi	NA-23
Kagmbo	NA-67	KinbA-ObIA	PE-10
Kaikoma	AL-16-W2	Kinjan	NA-28
Kaim	EM-47	KipuNGa-ANGlo- yua	EM-13
Kaimo-Kukuwele-Kwima	MB-34	KipuNGa-Kipwai	EK-14
Kaimph	AL-10-W	KipuNGa- HbAnkane	MB-50
KaiNal-YoNgAwai	MB-30	KipuNGa- Nimphbele	PE-24
Kalna	NA-43-W1	Kipwai- KipuNGa	EK-14
Kamga-Wando	NA-34b	Kis	NA-50
Kamp-Ndowa	EK-33	Kis	NA-64
KaNa	AL-36	Kimbon	KO-8
KandA	AL-16-W1, AL-30-W	Kobla	EK-62-W1
KandJam	AL-19	Kolen	MB-67
KaNgf	EM-56		
Kanjikai	NA-28-W2		

<u>Name</u>	<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Code Number</u>
KoLiNa-Nimbla	EK-64	Lo	NA-28-W1
KoLiP	EK-62	Maga	PE-5-W4, PE-16-W
KoLiP-Mauna	PE-27	Magma	KO-9
KoLu-Tom	MB-33	Mai	AL-12
KombaNgu	EK-72	Maima	AL-6
Kombk	NA-26	Mamga	EK-35
Kombla	EH-5	Masis	EK-42
Koment	MB-41	Mauna-KoLiP	PE-27
Kompiai	NA-70	Mauwi- Kutsawei	PE-5
KoNa	NA-26-W2	MbaNkane- KipuNga	MB-50
KoNgAvea	PE-6-W	MbNn	EK-19
Kopi	AL-17	MbonoN	NA-38
Korai	KU-14	Mbopo	EK-63
Kotsbka	NA-22	Mbopo	EK-74
Kotsa-Walevo	PE-28	Meko	MB-46
Kotsbka	KO-17-W, KU-21-W, KU-12-W	Membe-Nimbutsa	NA-58
Kovana	PE-17-W1	Men-Kent	NA-57
Kowi	PE-13	Men	KO-20
Kubl-ToliNen	AL-10	Men	NA-66
Kuk	NA-29	Minji	EM-47-W
Kula	AL-13	Misin	NA-32
Kulank	HB-66-W	Mitsi	EM-54-W2
Kulnmba	KU-12-W1	Miyen	MB-11-W1
Kuluwele-Kaimo-Kwima	MB-34	Mki	AL-22
Kum	EM-52-W	MNa	EM-35-W1, EM-30-W
Kum	NA-37	MolA	MB-31
Kumonts	NA-64-W	Molo	AL-6-W
Kutsawei-Manwi	PE-5	Molo	NA-51
Kumonts-WurA	MB-67-W	Mon	EM-61
Kutsina	PE-21-W1	Monts	KO-15
Kuvn	KO-20-W	MoN1	AL-16
Kwima-Kuluwele-Kaimo	MB-34	Moru	EK-31, EM-15-W
LO	KO-14-W, EM-44-W		

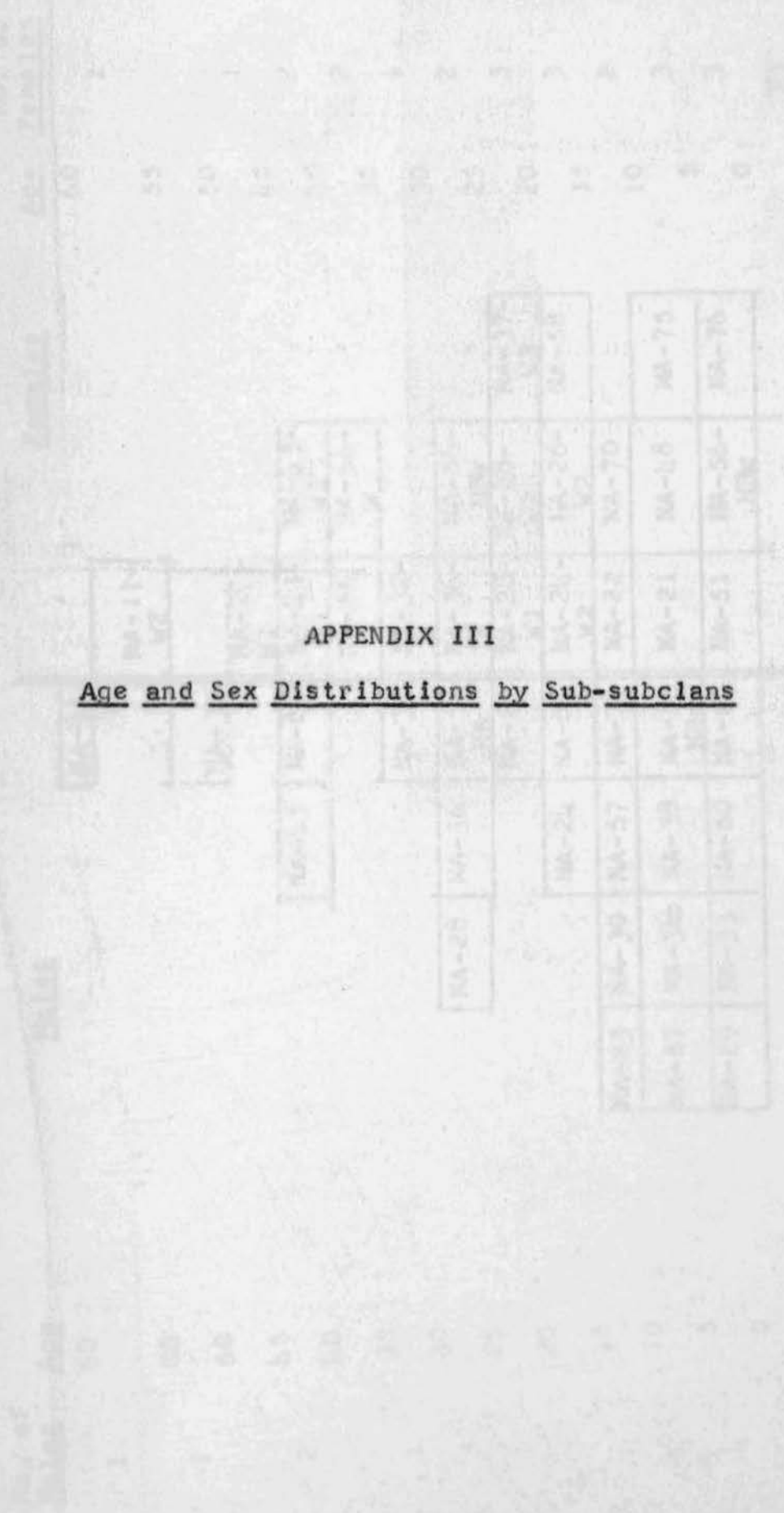
<u>Name</u>	<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Code Number</u>
Munda	EM-15	Njimbon	EK-67
Munda-Yamboga	EM-28	Nimbutsa-Membe	NA-58
Nano	MB-45	Nombon	NA-21
Ndala	NA-56-HBc	NoNgiam	AL-42
Nde	MB-11-W2, KO-6-W	OblA-Kinba	PE-10
Ndegumba	KO-7	Paganawei-Wova	MB-62
Ndeymani	NA-30	Ponme	EK-62-W2, EM-2-W
Ndikai	NA-24	Puru	MB-30-W
Ndora	AL-37	Taiya	MB-63
Ndowa-Kamp	EK-33	Tamo	NA-36
Ndowa	AL-14	TaN	EK-40
Ndowa	EM-26c	TaN	KU-17
Ndowa	AL-35-W1, AL-34-W	Tavia	MB-32
Ndre	PE-22	Tavia	NA-56-HB
Nduwai	EM-22	Tmba	MB-48
Nemph	MB-49-W, NA-73-W	Tolinen-Kubl	AL-10
Ngama	EM-31	Tom-Kolu	MB-33
Ngarin	EK-18	ToNgo	KO-14
Ngele-Tova	PE-6	TotsiNam-Andf	MB-19
Ngelim	MB-45-W, MB-7-W	Tova-Kif	NA-49
Nguage	EM-29	Tova-Ngele	PE-6
Nguluvi	EK-5	Tsapinde	EM-54
Ngunma	EK-68	Tsapinde-Kende	KU-5
Ngunma	EK-31, NA-56-HB-W	Tsena	EM-7
Ngwinda	PE-17-W2	Tsena	KU-12
NimblA-Kolina	EK-64	TsiNe	PE-9
Nima-Wavia	MB-24	Tserimph	NA-74
Ninna	EK-32	Tunt	AL-22-W
Nimphbele-KipuNga	PE-24	Wabi	PE-21
Njeo	AL-31	Waina	EK-39
		Waina	NA-56-HBa
		WaiyaN	EK-41

<u>Name</u>	<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Code Number</u>
WaiyaN	EM-23	Wova-Paganawei	MB-62
WaiyaN	EK-17-W	Wur	AL-5
Wak	EK-69	Wur	NA-24-W2
Wak	EM-71	WurA	NA-33
Wale	NA-76	WurA-Kumonts	MB-67-W
Wale	PE-13-W	WurA-Wandoa	MB-66
Walevo-Kotsa	PE-28	Yamba	EK-15
Wan	AL-8	Yamboga-Munda	EM-28
Wan	EK-17	YaNai	NA-20-W1
Wando	NA-43	Yava	NA-56
Wando-Kamga	NA-34b	Yib1A	MB-11
Warapola	PE-17	Yindu	EK-73
Wavia	KU-16	Yoma	NA-36-W
Wavia-Nima	MB-24	Yomp	NA-11-W2
Wolun	NA-37-W2	YoNgAwai-KaiNai	MB-30
Woula	MB-63-W	Yuam	KU-13
Woula	PE-21-W2		



APPENDIX III

Age and Sex Distributions by Sub-subclans



Nanmbekale Sub-subclan

Total: 46

<u>No. of Males</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Males</u>				<u>Females</u>			<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Females</u>
1	60			NA-11				60	1	
1	55					NA-11- W2		55		
	50			NA-32				50		
	45					NA-20- W1		45	1	
2	40		NA-43	NA-64	NA-43- W1	NA-43- W2		40	2	
	35					NA-56	NA-64- W	35	2	
1	30			NA-37	NA-32- W			30	1	
3	25	NA-28	NA-36	NA-56- HB	NA-36- W	NA-56- HBW		25	2	
1	20			NA-26	NA-28- W1	NA-28- W2	NA-37- W2	20	3	
2	15		NA-24	NA-49	NA-24- W2	NA-26- W2	NA-58	15	3	
4	10	NA-23	NA-30	NA-57	NA-74	NA-22	NA-70	10	2	
4	5	NA-67	NA-34b	NA-38	NA-56 HBa	NA-21	NA-48	5	3	
4	0	NA-29	NA-33	NA-50	NA-66	NA-51	NA-56- HBc	0	3	
<u>23</u>									<u>23</u>	

Peymbankale Sub-subclan

Total: 20

<u>No. of Males</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Females</u>
	60		PE-5	60	
1	55		PE-21	55	1
	50		PE-5-W1	50	
	45		PE-21-W1	45	2
	45		PE-21-W2	45	
	40			40	
	35			35	
1	30		PE-6	30	
2	25	PE-13	PE-17	PE-17-W1	1
2	20	PE-10	PE-24	PE-6-W	2
1	15		PE-9	PE-13-W	2
	15			PE-24-W	
	10			PE-23	1
1	5		PE-27	PE-22	1
1	0		PE-28		
<u>10</u>					<u>10</u>

Mbalekale Sub-subclan

Total: 29

<u>No. of Males</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>				<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Females</u>	
	60							60		
	55							55		
	50							50		
	45							45		
1	40			MB-30				40		
4	35	MB-66	MB-45	MB-34	MB-11	MB-11- W2	MB-30- W	MB-45- W	MB-49- W	4
2	30			MB-49	MB-19	MB-11- W1	MB-19- W	MB-66- W		3
1	25					MB-50				25
2	20			MB-67	MB-63	MB-67- W				20
4	15	MB-70	MB-62	MB-41	MB-33	MB-63- W				15
3	10		MB-48	MB-32	MB-16					10
1	5				MB-24	MB-31				5
1	0				MB-46					0
<u>19</u>										<u>10</u>

Aliyaumo Sub-subclan

Total: 24

<u>No. of Males</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Females</u>
	60			60	
	55			55	
	50		AL-2-W	50	1
1	45	AL-16	AL-16-W1	45	1
1	40	AL-22	AL-22-W	40	1
1	35	AL-35	AL-16-W2	35	1
1	30	AL-6	AL-35-W1	30	1
1	25	AL-10		25	
1	20	AL-12	AL-6-W   AL-10-W	20	2
1	15	AL-42	AL-31	15	1
2	10	AL-17   AL-37   AL-13   AL-14   AL-19   AL-36		10	4
1	5	AL-5	AL-7	5	1
1	0	AL-8		0	
<u>11</u>					<u>13</u>

Kobunga Sub-subclan

Total: 9

<u>No. of Males</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Females</u>
	60			60	
	55			55	
	50			50	
	45			45	
	40		KO-17-W	40	1
1	35			35	
	30	KO-14	KO-14-W	30	1
2	25			25	
	20	KO-20	KO-7	20	
1	15		KO-8	15	1
	15		KO-20-W	15	
1	10		KO-9	10	1
	10		KO-15	10	
	5			5	
	0			0	
<hr/> 5					<hr/> 4

Kunakaikale Sub-subclan

Total: 8

<u>No. of Males</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Females</u>
	60			60	
1	55	KU-5		55	
	50			50	
1	45			45	
	40	KU-12		40	
	35		KU-12-W1	35	1
	30			30	
	25			25	
1	20			20	
1	15	KU-16		15	
	10	KU-15	KU-17	10	1
	5		KU-14	5	1
	0		KU-13	0	1
<hr/> 4					<hr/> 4

Karakambo Sub-subclan

Total: 30

<u>No. of Males</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Males</u>										<u>Females</u>										<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Females</u>		
1	60																						60		
	55																							55	
	50																							50	
1	45																							45	
1	40																							40	
1	35																							35	1
1	30																							30	3
	25																							25	
1	20																							20	
3	15																							15	1
5	10																							10	3
2	5																							5	6
	0																							0	
																									14



MbaNkale Sub-subclan

Total: 22

<u>No. of Males</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Males</u>						<u>Females</u>			<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Females</u>
	60									60		
	55									55		
1	50									50		
	45				EM-13					45		
	40						EM-13- W1			40	1	
1	35				EM-35					35		
	30									30		
3	25	EM-15	EM-47	EM-54	EM-15- W	EM-35- W2	EM-54- W2			25	3	
2	20		EM-5	EM-61	EM-47- W					20	1	
1	15				EM-52	EM-52- W				15	1	
3	10	EM-29	EM-28	EM-26						10		
	5					EM-23	EM-31	EM-56		5	3	
2	0		EM-7	EM-22						0		
<u>13</u>											<u>9</u>	

Genealogical Summary

Genealogical Summary

	1910		1920		1930	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
A. ...	17	17	22	22	25	25
B. ...	1	1	7	7	9	9
C. ...	2	2	1	1	3	3
D. ...					1	1
E. ...			17	17	18	18
F. ...			2	2	5	7
Total	19	19	23	23	23	23

APPENDIX IV

Genealogical Summaries by Sub-Subclan

Nanmbekale Sub-subclan

## Genealogical Summary

	I Males		II Females			
	a) dead	b) alive	a) dead	b) Alive		
A. Agnates	17	19	21	15	72	+
B. Agnatic Emigrants	1	3	7	8	19	-
C. Immigrants	1	1	3	1	6	+
D. Immigrants	2	6	1	3	12	+
E. Emigrant Immigrants				1	1	-
F. Wives Incoming			17	18	35	+
G. Wives Leaving			2	5	7	-
	19	23	33	23	98	

Peymbankale Sub-subcian

## Genealogical Summary

	I Males		II Females			
	a) dead	b) alive	a) dead	b) alive		
A. Agnates						+
B. Agnatic Emigrants						-
C. Immigrants						+
D. Immigrants	9	10	6	4	29	+
E. Emigrant Immigrants			2	2	4	-
F. Wives Incoming			5	8	13	+
G. Wives Leaving						-
	9	10	9	10	38	

Mbalekale Sub-subclan

## Genealogical Summary

	I Males		II Females			
	a) dead	b) alive	a) dead	b) alive		
A. Agnates	23	15	17	8	63	+
B. Agnatic Emigrants			8	7	15	-
C. Immigrants	1	1	1		3	+
D. Immigrants		4	3	2	9	+
E. Emigrant Immigrants		1		2	3	-
F. Wives Incoming			19	10	29	+
G. Wives Leaving				1	1	-
	24	19	32	10	85	

Aliyaumo Sub-subclan

## Genealogical Summary

	I Males		II Females			
	a) dead	b) alive	a) dead	b) alive		
A. Agnates	10	6	6	7	29	+
B. Agnatic Emigrants			2	5	7	-
C. Immigrants	1		1	1	3	+
D. Immigrants	4	6		3	13	+
E. Emigrant Immigrants		1			1	-
F. Wives incoming			8	9	17	+
G. Wives leaving				2	2	-
	15	11	13	13	52	

KobuNga Sub-subclan

## Genealogical Summary

	I Males		II Females			
	a) dead	b) alive	a) dead	b) alive		
A. Agnates	8	6	2	4	20	+
B. Agnatic Emigrants		1	1	3	5	-
C. Immigrants						+
D. Immigrants						+
E. Emigrant Immigrants						-
F. Wives Incoming			4	4	8	+
G. Wives Leaving				1	1	-
	8	5	5	4	22	

Kunakaikale Sub-subclan

## Genealogical Summary

	I Males		II Females			
	a) dead	b) alive	a) dead	b) alive		
A. Agnates	15	4	4	4	27	+
B. Agnatic Emigrants			3	1	4	-
C. Immigrants						+
D. Immigrants						+
E. Emigrant Immigrants						-
F. Wives incoming			8	2	10	+
G. Wives leaving				1	1	-
	15	4	9	4	32	



Karakambo Sub-subclan  
Genealogical Summary

	I Males		II Females			
	a) dead	b) alive	a) dead	b) alive		
A. Agnates	27	14	9	19	69	+
B. Agnatic Emigrants			6	10	16	-
C. Immigrants	1			1	2	+
D. Immigrants		2		2	4	+
E. Emigrant Immigrants				1	1	-
F. Wives incoming			21	3	24	+
G. Wives leaving						-
	28	16	24	14	82	

MbaNkale Sub-subclan

## Genealogical Summary

	I Males		II Females			
	a) dead	b) alive	a) dead	b) alive		
A. Agnates	28	20	15	15	78	+
B. Agnatic Emigrants	4	8	9	12	33	-
C. Immigrants			1		1	+
D. Immigrants	1	1		1	3	+
E. Emigrant Immigrants				1	1	-
F. Wives incoming			20	9	29	+
G. Wives leaving			3	3	6	-
	25	13	24	9	71	

1942

Transcription of genealogical or other records relating to names

1. Genealogical (Transcription)

19-19-19	1919
19-20	1920
19-21	1921
19-22	1922
19-23	1923
19-24	1924
19-25	1925
19-26	1926
19-27	1927
19-28	1928
19-29	1929
19-30	1930
19-31	1931
19-32	1932
19-33	1933
19-34	1934
19-35	1935
19-36	1936
19-37	1937
19-38	1938
19-39	1939
19-40	1940
19-41	1941
19-42	1942

APPENDIX V

KulakaeNgeyka Houses and Their Occupants

19-43	1943
19-44	1944
19-45	1945
19-46	1946
19-47	1947
19-48	1948
19-49	1949
19-50	1950
19-51	1951
19-52	1952
19-53	1953
19-54	1954
19-55	1955
19-56	1956
19-57	1957
19-58	1958
19-59	1959
19-60	1960
19-61	1961
19-62	1962
19-63	1963
19-64	1964
19-65	1965
19-66	1966
19-67	1967
19-68	1968
19-69	1969
19-70	1970
19-71	1971
19-72	1972
19-73	1973
19-74	1974
19-75	1975
19-76	1976
19-77	1977
19-78	1978
19-79	1979
19-80	1980
19-81	1981
19-82	1982
19-83	1983
19-84	1984
19-85	1985
19-86	1986
19-87	1987
19-88	1988
19-89	1989
19-90	1990
19-91	1991
19-92	1992
19-93	1993
19-94	1994
19-95	1995
19-96	1996
19-97	1997
19-98	1998
19-99	1999
19-100	2000

KwiopTraceable Genealogical  
or classificatory re-  
lationship to owner1 Owner (EM-54 Tsapinde)

EM-54-W2 Mitsi	W
EM-56 Kanf	d
EM-52-W Kum	BW
EM-47-W Minji	"BW"
EM-15-W or EK-31 Moru	"BW"
EM-35 W2 MNa	"M"
EM-31 Ngama	"S"

2 Owner (KU-12 Tsena)

KU-12-W1 Kulnmba	W
KU-13 Yuam	d
KU-14 Korai	d
KU-17 TaN	d
EK-17-W WaiyaN	"sW"
EK-19 MbnN	"sd"
EK-40 TaN	"Bd"
EK-41 WaiyaN	"Bd"
EK-43 Amk	"Bd"
EK-62-W1 Kobla	"BW"
EK-62-W2 or EM-2-W Ponme	"BW"
EK-63 Mbopo	"Bd"
EK-68 Ngunma	"Bd"
EK-69 Wak	"Bd"

3 Owner (EM-13 KipuNga-ANgloyua)

EM-13-W1 or EM-27-W or EM-26-W Kewale	W
EM-22 Nduwai	s
EM-23 WaiyaN	d
EK-71 Wak	"BW"
EK-74 Mbopo	"Bwd"

## 4 Owner EM-54 Tsapinde

EM-15 Munda	"B"
EM-5 Kombia	"B"
EM-7 Tsena	"Bs"
EM-35 AiNgA	"F"
EM-47 Kaim	"B"
EM-52 Amgoi	B
EM-61 Mon	FSS

## 5 Owner EK-62 Kolip Men's House

EK-32 Nimna	"B"
KU-12 Tsena	"B"
KU-15 KiliNam	"Bs"
KU-16 Wavia	"Bs"
EM-13 KipuNga-ANgloyua	"B"
EM-28 Munda-Yamboga	"Bs"
EK-12 ANda	"Bs"
EK-14 KipuNga-Kipwai	"Bs"
EK-15 Yamba	"Bs"
EK-17 Wan	"Bs"
EK-18 Ngarin	"Bss"

## 5 (cont'd.)

EK-24 Goblom	"Bs"
EK-39 Waina	"B"
EK-42 Masis	"Bs"
EK-73 Yindu	"Ss"
EK-64 NimbiA-KoliNa	s
EK-67 Njimbon	s

## 6 ENgeyka Sacred Stone House

## 7 Owner NA-64 Kis

NA-26 Kombk	FFBsss
NA-36 Tamo	FFBsds
NA-38 MbonoN	FFBsds

## 8 Owner NA-43 Wando

NA-49 Tova-Kif	s
NA-37 Kum	FFBds
NA-56-HB Tavia	FFWdHB
KU-5 Tsapinde-Kende	"F"
NA-57 Kent-Men	FSs
NA-23 Kimi	FFBss
NA-32 Misin	FFBs

## 9 Kulaka Sacred Stone House

10 Owners: PE-9 Tsine  
 2 MB-63 Taiya  
 NA-28 Kinjan

## 10 (cont.)

PE-24 KipuNga-Nimphbele

MB-50 KipuNga-MbaNkane

AL-12 Mai

KO-7 Ndegumba

KO-20 Men

## 11 Owner MB-11 Yib1A

(MB-11-W2 or KO-6-W Nde)

W

KO-8 Kmbon

Ws

KO-9 Magma

Ws

## 12 Owner (PE-21 Wabi)

PE-21-W1 Kutsina

W

PE-21-W2 Woula

W

PE-22 Ndre

d

PE-23 Kanjo

d

PE-24-W Kena

sw

PE-27 Mauna-Kolip

s

PE-28 Walevo-Kotsa

s

PE-17-W1 Kovana

Bsw

PE-17-W2 Ngwinda

Bsw

PE-13-W Wale

Bsw

PE-5-W4 or PE-16-W Maga

BW

PE-6-W KoNgAvea

Bsw

## 13 Owner (MB-50 KipuNga-MbaNkane)

This house was never completely finished.

14	Owner PE-21 Wabi	
	PE-5 Mauwi	B
	PE-6 Tova-Ngele	Bs
	PE-10 Ob1A-Kinba	Bs
	PE-13 Kowi	Bs
	PE-17 Warapola	Bs
15	Owner MB-66 WurA-Wandoa	
	MB-16 Aindem	FFBsss
	MB-62 Wova-Paganawei	FBss
	MB-63 Taiya	FBss
	MB-67 Kolen	Ss
	MB-70 Kilevo	s
16	Owner Anthropologist	
	NA-24 Ndikai	"s"
	NA-30 Ndeyman	"s"
	EM-52 Amgoi	"s"
	EK-72 Kombangu	"s"
	AL-6 Maima	"B"
17	Owner Anthropologist	
	Nancy M. Cook	W
18	Owner (NA-64 Kis)	
	NA-64-W Kumonts	W
	NA-66 Men	s
	NA-67 Kagmbo	s
	NA-70 Kompiai	d



- 19 Owner (AL-6 Maima)  
 AL-2-W Arai M  
 AL-5 Wur Bs
- 20 Owner MB-19 Andf-TotsiNam  
 (MB-19-W Kap) W  
 MB-24 Wavia-Nima s
- 21 Owner (NA-43 Wando)  
 NA-43-W1 Kalna W  
 NA-43-W2 Karaka W  
 NA-48 Aina d  
 NA-50 Kis s  
 NA-51 Molo d  
 NA-56 Yaba FS  
 NA-58 Nimbutsa FSd
- 22 Owner MB-30 KaiNai-YoNgAwai  
 MB-32 Tavia s  
 MB-33 Tom-Kolu s  
 MB-34 Kuluwele-Kaimo-Kwima B  
 MB-41 Koment BWSs  
 MB-45 Nano FFBss  
 MB-48 Tmba FFBsss  
 MB-49 Emven FFBss
- 23 Owner (AL-16 MoN1)  
 AL-6-W Molo FSssW  
 AL-7 Kere FSssd

## 23 (Cont'd.)

AL-8 Wan	FSsss
AL-16-W1 or AL-30-W Kanda	W
AL-16-W2 Kaikoma	ex-W
KO-14-W or EM-44-W Lo	"BW"
KO-15 Monts	"BWd"
AL-22-W Tunt	BW

## 24 Owner AL-16 MoN1

AL-6 Maima	FSss
AL-10 Kubi-Tohyen	
AL-17-Kopi	s
AL-22 Kopi	FWs
AL-35 AmbaN	FBs
AL-37 Ndora	FBss
AL-42 NoNgiam	FBss
KO-14 ToNgo	"B"

## 25 Owner (Al-10 Kubi-ToliNen)

AL-10-W Kaimph	W
AL-13 Kula	S
AL-14 Ndowa	S
AL-19 Kandjam	FMBsd
AL-36 KaNa	FMBsd
AL-31 Njeo	FMBsd

## 26 Owner NA-11 Kent

NA-30 NdeyMaN	FBss
---------------	------

27 Owner NA-43 Wando  
 NA-49 Tova-Kif s  
 NA-56-HB Tavia FFwdHB

28 Owner (NA-56-HB Tavia)  
 NA-56-HBW Ngunma W  
 NA-56-HBa Waina s  
 NA-56-HBc Ndala d

TagaimbaNo

29 Owner KU-5 Tsapinde-Kende  
 AL-22 Mki "B"

30 Owner (PE-13 Kowi)  
 PE-13-W Wale W

31 Owner PE-5 Mauwi  
 PE-21 Wavi B  
 PE-6 Tova Ngele s  
 PE-10 OblA-Kinba s  
 PE-13 Kowi s  
 PE-17 Warapola Bs

32 Owner NA-64 Kis  
 NA-26 Kombk FFBsss  
 NA-32 Misim FFBss  
 NA-34b Wando-Kamga FFBdss  
 AL-10 Kubl-Tolinen "s"

33	Owner (PE-17 Warapola)	
	PE-17-W1 Kovana	W
34	Owner (AL-6 Maima)	
	AL-16-W2 Kaikoma (divorced)	FMBsW
	AL-19 Kandjam	FBMsD
35	Owner (NA-43 Wando)	
	NA-56 Yaba	FFWd
	NA-57 Kent-Men	FFWds
	NA-58 Nimbutsa-Membe	FFWdd
36	Owner (NA-43 Wando)	
	NA-43-W1 Kalna	W
	NA-50 Kis	s
	NA-51 Molo	d
37	Owner AL-35 AmbaN	
	AL-37 Ndora	s
	AL-42 NoNgiam	s
38	Owner (AL-35 AmbaN)	
	AL-35-W1 or AL-34-W Ndowa	W
	AL-36 KaNa	d
39	Owner (NA-64 Kis)	
	NA-64-W Kumonts	W
	NA-66 Men	s
	NA-67 Kagmbo	s
	NA-70 Kompiai	d

- 40 Owner (AL-10 Kubl-Tolinen)  
 AL-10-W Kaimph W  
 AL-13 Kula S  
 AL-14 Ndowa S
- 41 Owner (AL-22 Mki)  
 AL-22-W Tunt W
- 42 Owner (MB-30 KaiNai-YoNgAwai)  
 MB-30-W Puru W  
 MB-31 Mola d
- 43 Owner (NA-36 Tamo)  
 NA-36-W Yoma W  
 NA-37-W2 Wolun BW  
 NA-38 MbonoN s
- 44 Owner (MB-63 Taiya)  
 MB-63-W Woula W
- 45 Owner (NA-32 Misin)  
 NA-32-W Andoi W  
 NA-33 Wura s  
 NA-34b Wando-Kamga Ws or FSss
- 73 Owner (PE-17 Warapola)  
 PE-17-W2 Ngwinda W
- 74 Owner (PE-5 Mauwi)  
 PE-5-W4 or PE-16-W Maga W  
 PE-6-W KoNgAvea sW

75 Owner (KO-20 Men)

KO-17-W or KU-21-W or  
KU-12-W Kotsbka

M

KO-20-W Kuvn

W (temporary)

Ngonome

57 Owner (PE-21 Wabi)

PE-21-W2 Woula

W

PE-27 Mauna-Kolip

s

PE-28 Walevo-Kotsa

s

58 Owner (PE-21 Wavi)

PE-21-W1 Kutsina

W

PE-22 Ndre

d

PE-23 Kanjo

d

PE-24-W Kena

sw (temporary)

59 Owner (MB-11 Yibia)

MB-11-W2 or KO-6-W Nde

W

KO-8 Kmbon

Ws

KO-9 Magma

Ws

60 Owner (NA-43 Wando)

NA-43-W2 Karaka

W

NA-48 Aina

d

61 Owner (MB-66 WurA-Wandoa)

MB-66-W Kulank

W

## 62 Owner (NA-28 Kinjan)

NA-28-W1 Lo	W
NA-20-W1 YaNai	M
NA-21 Nombon	S
NA-23 Kimi	B
NA-26-W2 KoNa	BW
NA-29 Kuk	s

## 63 Owner (NA-28 Kinjan)

NA-28-W2 Kanjikai	W
NA-22 Kotsbka	S
NA-24-W2 Wur	BW (temporary)

## 64 Owner (MB-19 Andf-TotsiNam)

MB-19-W Kaph	W
MB-24 Wavia-Nima	s

Timank

## 65 Owner (MB-67 Kolen)

MB-67-W Kumonts-WurA	W
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## 66 Owner MB-30 KaiNai-YoNgAwai

MB-34 Kuluwele-Kaimo-Kwima	B
MB-41 Kument	BWSs
MB-45 Nano	FFBss
MB-48 Tmba	FFBss
MB-49 Emven	FFBss
MB-32 Tavia	s
MB-33 Tom-Kolu	s

67	Owner (KU-12 Tsena)	
	KU-12-W1 Kulnmba	W
	KU-13 Yuam	d
	KU-14 Korai	d
	KU-15 KiliNam	s
	KU-17 TaN	d
68	Owner KU-12 Tsena	
	KU-15 KiliNam	s
	KU-16 Wavia	s
69	Owner NA-74 Tserimph	
	MB-49-W or NA-73-W Nemp	M
	NA-75 Atsambale	S
	NA-76 Wale	B
70	Owner MB-66 Wura-Wandoa	
	MB-16 Aindem	FFBsss
	MB-62 Wova-Paganawei	FBss
	MB-63 Taiya	FBss
	MB-67 Kolen	Ss
	MB-70 Kilevo	s
71	Owner (AL-16 MoN1)	
	AL-16-W1 or AL-30-W Kanda	W
	AL-17 Kopi	s
	AL-31 Njeo	FBsd



72 Owner (MB-45 Nano)

MB-45-W or MB-7-W Ngelim

W

MB-46 Meko

s

MB-48 Tmba

s

Mbinjim:

76 Owner AL-6 Maima

77 Owner (AL-6 Maima)

AL-2-W Arai

M

AL-5 Wur

Bs

78 Owner (AL-6 Maima)

AL-6-W Molo

W

AL-7 Kere

d

AL-8 Wan

s

Ngole:

79 Owner MB-11 Yibia

80 Owner (MB-11 Yibia)

MB-11-W1 Miyen

W

Nginji:

81 Owner (NA-11 Kent)

NA-11-W2 Yomp

W

Epi:

46 Owner (EK-62 Kolip)

- EK-62-W2 or EM-2-W Ponme W
- EK-67 Njimbon s
- EK-68 Ngunma d
- EK-69 Wak d
- EM-7 Tsena Wss

47 Owner (EM-35 AINGA)

- EM-35-W2 MNa W
- EM-31 Ngama Wd (by
- EM-35-W1 N EM-30-W mban)

48 Owner (KO-14 ToNGo)

- KO-14-W or EM-44-W Lo W
- KO-15 Monts d
- EM-47-W Minji Wsw

49 OWNER (EK-62 Kolip)

- EK-71 Wak S
- EK-72 KombaNgu Ss
- EK-73 Yindu Ss
- EK-74 Mbopo Sd

50 Owner (EK-62 Kolip)

- EK-62-W1 Kobla W
- EK-63 Mbopo d
- EK-64 NimbiA-KoliNa s

## 51 Owner EM-13 KipuNga-ANgloyua

EM-26c Ndowa	Ws
EM-28 Munda-Yamboga	Ws
EM-29 Nguage	Ws
EM-35 AiNgA	"B"
KO-14 ToNgo	"B"

## 52 Owner EK-17 Wan

EK-18 Ngarin	s
EK-24 Goblom	FBs
EM-5 Kombia	"B"
EM-47 Kaim	"B"

## 53 Owner EK-5 Nguluvi

EK-12 ANda	s
EK-14 KipuNga-Kipwai	s
EK-15 Yamba	s
EK-62 Kolip	"B"
EK-64 NimblA-KoliNa	"Bs"
EK-67 Njimbon	"Bs"
EK-73 Yindu	"Ss"

## 54 Owner (EK-17 Wan)

EK-17-W WaiyaN	W
EK-18 Ngarin	s
EK-19 MbnN	d

## 55 Owner (NA-56-HB Tavia)

EK-10 or NA-56-HB-W Ngunma	W
NA-56-HBa Waina	s
NA-56-HBc Ndala	d

## 56 Owner (EM-13 KipuNga-ANgloyua)

EM-13-W1 or EM-27-W or EM-26-W Kewale	W
EM-22 Nduwai	s
EM-23 WaiyaN	d
EM-29 Nguage	Ws

NgogIAmoro:

## 82 Owner EK-39 Waina

EK-42 Masis	s
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## 83 Owner (EK-39 Waina)

EK-40 TaN	d
EK-41 WaiyaN	d
EK-43 Amk	d

NduNgAravo:

## 84 Owner EM-15 Munda

EM-15-W or EK-31 Moru	W
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Mbaura:

## 85 Owner (EM-54 Tsapinde)

EM-54-W2 Mitsi	W
EM-56 KaNgf	d
EM-52-W Kum	BS (temporary)

APPENDIX VI

Domestic Units

Listing of units in by order of membership of the head of the unit.

APPENDIX VI  
Domestic Units

APPENDIX VI  
Domestic Units

Listing of units is by sub-clan membership of the head of the unit.  
 NR= N-Resident in KulakeNgeyka clan territory.

<u>Domestic Head</u>	<u>Additional Adult Males</u>	<u>Adult Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>House Location and Number</u>
<b>A. Nanbekale:</b>				
1.NA-11 Kent-Emp		NA-11-W2 Yomp (W)	<sup>1</sup> NA-30 Ndeyman (FBss)	KW-26 Nginji 81 KW-16, KW-26
-----				
2.NA-28 Kinjan		<sup>2</sup> NA-20-W1 YaNai (M)	NA-23 Kimi (B) NA-21 Nombon (S)	KW-10 NG-62 NG-62, KW-8 NG-62
		NA-28-W1 Lo (W)	NA-29 Kuk (s)	NG-62 NG-62
		NA-28-W2 Kanjikai (W)	NA-22 Kotsbka (S)	KW-7, TA-32 NG-62
-----				
3.NA-26 Kombk		NA-26-W2 KoNa (W)		NG-63 NG-62
-----				
4.NA-24 Ndikai		NA-24-W2 Wur (W)		KW-16 NG-63
-----				

Appendix VI (Contd.)

<u>Domestic Head</u>	<u>Additional Adult Males</u>	<u>Adult Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>House Location and Number</u>
5.NA-32 Misin		NA-32-W Andoi (W)	NA-33 WurA (s) NA-34b Wando-Kamga (FSss)	KW-8, TA-32 TA-45 TA-45 TA-32, TA-45
-----				
6.NA-36 Tamo		NA-36-W Yoma (W)	NA-38 MbonoN (s)	KW-7 TA-43 KW-7, TA-43 KW-8, Mission TA-43
	NA-37 Kum (B)	<sup>3</sup> NA-37-W2 Wolun (BW)		
-----				
7.NA-43 Wando		NA-43-W1 Kalna (W)	NA-50 Kis (s) NA-51 Molo (d)	KW-8, KW-27 KW-21, TA-36 KW-21, TA-36 KW-21, TA-36
		NA-43-W2 Karaka(W)	NA-48 Aina (d) NA-49 Tova-Kif (s)	KW-21, NG-60 KW-21, NG-60 KW-8, KW-27
		NA-56 YavA (FS) or (FFWd)	NA-57 Kent-Men (FSs) NA-58 Nimbutsa- Membe (FSd)	KW-21, TA-35 KW-8, TA-35 KW-21, TA-35
-----				

Appendix VI (Contd.)

<u>Domestic Head</u>	<u>Additional Adult Males</u>	<u>Adult Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>House Location and Number</u>
8.NA-56-HB Tavia		NA-56-HB-W or EK-31 Ngunma		KW-8, KW-27
	EK-5 Nguluvi (WF)		NA-56-HBa Waina (s)	KW-28, EPI-55
	EK-12 ANda (WFs)		NA-56-HBc Nda1A (d)	KW-28, EPI-55
	EK-14 KipuNga-Kipwai (WFs)			KW-28, EPI-55
	EK-15 Yamba (WFs)			EPI-53
-----				
9.NA-64 Kis		NA-64-W Kumonts (W)		KW-7, TA-32
			NA-66 Men (s)	KW-18, TA-39
			NA-67 Kagmbo (s)	KW-18, TA-39
			NA-70 Kompiai (d)	KW-18, TA-39
-----				
B. <u>Peymbankale:</u>				
10.PE-5 Mauwi-Kutsawei		PE-5-W4 or PE-16-W Maga (W)		KW-14, TA-31
	PE-9 TsiNe (s)			KW-12, TA-74
	PE-10 Ob1A-Kinba (s)			KW-10
				KW-14, TA-31
-----				
11.PE-6 Tova-Ngele		PE-6-W KoNgAvea (W)		KW-14, TA-31
				KW-12, TA-74
-----				
12.PE-13 Kowi		PE-13-W Wale (W)		KW-14, TA-31
				KW-12, TA-30
-----				



## Appendix VI (Contd.)

<u>Domestic Head</u>	<u>Additional Adult Males</u>	<u>Adult Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>House Location and Number</u>
13. PE-17 Warapola		PE-17-W1 Kovana (W)		KW-14, TA-31 KW-12, TA-33
		PE-17-W2 Ngwinda (W)		KW-12, TA-73
14. PE-21 Wavi		PE-21-W1 Kutsina (W)		KW-14, TA-31 KW-12, NG-58
			PE-22 Ndre (d)	KW-12, NG-58
			PE-23 Kanjo (d)	KW-12, NG-58
		PE-21-W2 Woula (W)		KW-12, NG-57
			PE-27 Mauna-Kolip(s)	KW-12, NG-57
			PE-28 Walevo-Kotsa (s)	KW-12, NG-57
15. PE-24 KipuNga-Nimphmbele		4 PE-24-W Kena (W)		KW-10 KW-12, NG-58
C. Mbalekale:				
16. MB-11 Yibla		MB-11-W1 Miyen (W)		KW-11, Ngole-1 KW-11, Ngole-1
		MB-11-W2 or KO-6-W Nde (W)		KW-11, NG-59
		KO-7 Ndegumba (Ws)		KW-10
			KO-8 Kmbon (Ws)	KW-11, NG-59
			KO-9 Magma (Ws)	KW-11, NG-59

Appendix VI (Contd.)

<u>Domestic Head</u>	<u>Additional Adult Males</u>	<u>Adult Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>House Location and Number</u>
17. MB-19 Andfa-TotsiNam		MB-19-W Kaph (W)	MB-24 Wavia-Nima(s)	KW-20 KW-20, NG-64 KW-20, NG-64
-----				
18. MB-30 KaiNal-YoNgAwai		MB-30-W Puru (W)	MB-31 Mola (d) MB-32 Tavia (s) MB-33 Tom-Kolu (s)	KW-22, TI-66 TA-42 TA-42 KW-22, TI-66 KW-22, TI-66
	MB-34 Kuluwele- Kaimo-Kwima (B) MB-41 Koment (BWSs)			KW-22, TI-66 KW-22, TI-66
-----				
19. MB-45 Nano		MB-45-W or MB-7-W Ngelim (W)	MB-46 Meko (s) MB-48 Tmba (s)	KW-22, TI-66 TI-72 TI-72 KW-22, TI-66, TI-72 KW-13, KW-10
	MB-50 KipuNga-MbaNkane (B)			
-----				
20. MB-49 Emven		MB-49-W or NA-73-W Nemph (W)	NA-74 Tserimph(Ws) NA-75 Atsambale(Wd) NA-76 Wale (Wd)	KW-22, TI-66 TI-69 TI-69 TI-69 TI-69
-----				
21. MB-63 Taiya		MB-63-W Woula (W)		KW-10, KW-15, TI-70 TA-44
-----				

## Appendix VI (Contd.)

<u>Domestic Head</u>	<u>Additional Adult Males</u>	<u>Adult Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>House Location and Number</u>
22. MB-66 Wura-Wandoa		MB-66-W Kulank (W)		KW-15, TI-70 NG-61
			MB-70 Kilevo (s)	KW-15, TI-70
	MB-62 Wova-Paganawei (FBss)			KW-15, TI-70
	MB-16 Aindem (FFBsss)			KW-15, TI-70
-----				
23. MB-67 Kolen		MB-67-W Kumonts-Wura		KW-15, TI-66 TI-65
-----				
D. <u>Aliyaumo</u>				
24. AL-6 Maima		AL-6-W Molo (W)		KW-16, KW-24, Mbinjim 1
			AL-7 Kere (d)	KW-23, Mbinjim-3
			AL-8 Wan (s)	KW-23, Mbinjim-3
		AL-2-W Arai (M)		KW-23, Mbinjim-3
			AL-5 Wur (Bs)	KW-19, Mbinjim-2 KW-19, Mbinjim-2
		AL-16-W2 Kaikoma (B ex-W)		KW-19, Mbinjim-2
			AL-19 Kandjam (BWd)	KW-23, TA-34 KW-25, TA-34
-----				
25. AL-10 Kubl-Tolinen		AL-10-W Kaimph (W)		KW-24, TA-32
			AL-13 Kula (S)	KW-25, TA-40
			AL-14 Ndowa (S)	KW-25, TA-40
	AL-12 Mai (B)			KW-25, TA-40 KW-10
-----				

## Appendix VI (Contd.)

<u>Domestic Head</u>	<u>Additional Adult Males</u>	<u>Adult Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>House Location and Number</u>
26. AL-16 MoN1		AL-16-W1 or AL-30-W Kanda (W)	AL-17 Kopi (s) AL-31 Njeo (FBsd)(Wd)	KW-24 KW-23, TI-71 KW-21, TI-71 KW-25, TI-71
27. AL-22 Mki	KU-5 Tsapinde- Kende ("B")	AL-22-W Tunt (W)		KW-24, TA-29 KW-23, TA-41 KW-8, TA-29
28. AL-35 AmbaN		AL-35-W1 or AL- 34-[ (Ndowa (W)	AL-36 KaNa (d) AL-37 Ndora (s) AL-42 NoNgiam (s)	KW-24, TA-37 TA-38 TA-38 KW-24, TA-37 KW-24, TA-37
E. KobuNga:				
29. KO-14 ToNgo		KO-14-W or EM-44-W Lo (W)	KO-15 Monts (d)	KW-24, EPI-51 KW-23, EPI-48 KW-23, EPI-48
	EM-47 Kaim (Ws)	EM-47-W Minji (Wsw)		KW-4, EPI-47 KW-4, EPI-48
30. KO-20 Men		KO-20-W Kuvn		KW-10 TA-75
		KO-17-W or KU-21-W or KU-12-W Kotsbuka (M)		TA-75

## Appendix VI (Contd.)

<u>Domestic Head</u>	<u>Additional Adult Males</u>	<u>Adult Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Houses</u>
<u>F. Kunakaikale:</u>				
31. KU-12 Tsena		KU-12-W1 Kulnmba		KW-5, TI-68
			KU-13 Yuam (d)	KW-2, TI-67
			KU-14 Korai (d)	KW-2, TI-67
			KU-15 KiliNam (s)	KW-5, TI-68
			KU-16 Wavia (s)	KW-5, TI-68
			KU-17 TaN (d)	KW-2, TI-67
-----				
<u>G. Karakambo:</u>				
32. EK-17 Wan		EK-17-W Waiyan (W)		KW-5, EPI-52
			EK-18 Ngarin (s)	KW-2, EPI-54
			EK-19 MbnN (d)	KW-5, EPI-52
	EK-24 Goblom (FBs)			KW-2, EPI-54
				KW-5, EPI-52
-----				
33. EK-32 Nimna <sup>5</sup>				KW-5
			EK-33 Ndowa-Kamp (d)	NR (Ngaogalu)
			EK-34 Kilagi (s)	NR Ngaogalu
			EK-35 Mamba (d)	NR Ngaogalu
-----				
34. EK-39 Waina				KW-5, NgogIAmoro-1
			EK-40 TaN (d)	KW-2, NgogIAmoro-2
			EK-41 Waiyan (d)	KW-2, NgogIAmoro-2
			EK-42 Masis (s)	KW-5, NgogIAmoro-1
			EK-43 Amk (d)	KW-2, NgogIAmoro-2
-----				
35. EK-62 Kolip		EK-62-W1 Kobla (W)		KW-5, EPI-53
				KW-2, EPI-50
			EK-63 Mbopo (d)	KW-2, EPI-50
			EK-64 Nimbla-KoliNa	KW-5, EPI-53,
			(s)	EPI-50

Appendix VI (Contd.)

<u>Domestic Head</u>	<u>Additional Adult Males</u>	<u>Adult Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Houses</u>
		EK-62-W2 or EM-w-W Ponme (W)		KW-2, EPI-46
			EK-67 Njimbon (s)	KW-5, EPI-53, EPI-46
			EK-68 Ngunma (d)	KW-2, EPI-46
			EK-69 Wak (d)	KW-2, EPI-46
	EM-5 Komba (Ws)			KW-4, EPI-52
			EM-7 Tsena (Wss)	KW-4, EPI-46
		EK-71 Wak (S)		KW-2, EPI-49
			EK-72 KombaNgu (Ss)	KW-16, EPI-49
			EK-73 Yindu (Ss)	KW-5, EPI-49, EPI-53
			EK-74 Mbopo (Sd)	KW-2, EPI-49
-----				
H. <u>MbaNkale:</u>				
36. EM-13 KipuNga-ANgloyua		EM-13-W1 or EM- 27-W or EM-26-W	Kewale (W)	KW-5, EPI-51
			EM-22 Nduwai (s)	KW-3, EPI-56
			EM-23 WaiyaN (d)	KW-3, EPI-56
			EM-26c Ndowa (Ws)	KW-5, EPI-51
			EM-28 Munda-Yamboga (Ws)	KW-5, EPI-51
			EM-29 Nguage (Ws)	KW-5, EPI-51, EPI-56
-----				
37. EM-15 Munda		EM-15-W or EK-31 Moru		KW-4, NR-Eimokufu, nduygaraBo
				KW-1, NR-Eimokufu, nduygaraBo
-----				

Appendix VI (Contd.)

<u>Domestic Head</u>	<u>Additional Adult Males</u>	<u>Adult Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Houses</u>
38. EM-35 AiNgA		EM-35-W1 or EM-30-W MNa (W)	EM-31 Ngama (Wd)	KW-4, EPI-51 KW-1, EPI-47 KW-1, EPI-47
-----				
39. EM-54 Tsapinde		EM-54-W2 Mitsi	EM-56 KaNgf	KW-4 KW-1, Mbaura KW-1, Mbaura
	EM-52 Amgoi (B)	<sup>6</sup> EM-52-W Kum (BW)		KW-4, KW-16 KW-1, Mbaura
	EM-61 Mon (FSs)			KW-4
-----				

NOTES:

- <sup>1</sup> NA-30 Ndeymay an "adopted" biological orphan of the deceased NA-20 Kuk and NA-20-W2
- <sup>2</sup> NA-20-W1 Yayai = temporary household resident in Ng-62 as is also NA-26-W2 KoNa also in Ng-62 and NA-24-W2 Wur in Ng-63.
- <sup>3</sup> NA-37-W2 Wolun, the wife of NA-37 Kum is co-resident with NA-36-W Yoma since NA-37 is principally employed in a wage capacity by the Anglica mission and during this period his brother NA-36 Tamo prepared her garden land.
- <sup>4</sup> PE-24-W Kena, wife of PE-24 Kipuygga-Nimphbele is temporarily co-resident with his mother, PE-21-W1 Kutsina.
- <sup>5</sup> EK-32 Nubna and family are dependent largely upon EK-37 Mots, EK-32's eldest son who is married, and resident at Andalamo and Konyif. EK-33, EK-34 and EK-35 are co-resident with EK-32 Mots.
- <sup>6</sup> EM-52-W Kum is in temporary residence with her HBW em-54-W2 Mitsi. This is primarily due

to the fact that EM-52 Amgoi just recently acquired his wife and secondarily to the fact that he was an employee of the anthropologist.



Appendix VII

Some Common Nominals and Their Meanings

A. Francis Nominals

Alon	where, what
Amos	a type of tree with scible leaves
Amosoh	native medicinal remedy
Amo	big ear
Amohok	fall (tree of settlement)
Amoh	a type of fish
Amo	four, sharp
Amo	big
Amo	cat
Amo	market
Amohok	a type of chimney-vent placed on ground
Amo	step

APPENDIX VII

Some Common Nominals and Their Meanings

B. Other Nominals

Amo	cup, vase, vessel
Amohok	the larger kind of Amosoh
Amoh	the trunk of an animal or man
Amo	medicine
Amo	white shell
Amohok	see
Amohok	a type of bird
Amo	hand, foot
Amo	depression (from AM)
Amo	glass
Amo	flower
Amo	animal (from AM)
Amo	river (from AM for elevated)

## Appendix VII

Some Common Nominals and Their MeaningsA. Female Nominals

Aina	where, what
Ambiam	a type of tree with edible leaves
Atsambale	native medicinal sorcery
EiplA	big war
Kalabu#	jail (from NM calaboose)
Kaimale	a type of fish
KandA	fear, shame
Kena	dog
Koi	rat
Kora	one-half
Kotsamba	a type of flowering weed placed on graves
Kova	wind
Kua	sky
Mots	pubescent girl
Ndowa	generic term for marsupials
Non	small shells sewn to bark strips worn as headbands
Wamga	ashes from a fire

B. Male Nominals

Ka	bird, rope, vine, 'lineage'
Kabala	The Lesser Bird of Paradise
KaiNal	the track of an animal or man
Komba	pandanus
Kina	goldlip shell
Kinjan	New
Kitsiba	a type of bird
Kont	road, trail
Kopla	Corporal (from NM)
Kubl	cloud
Kuk	flower
Masis	matches (from NM)
Mbatos	balus (from NM for airplane)

## Names (cont.)

Meko	a type of bird with long black tail feathers
Mki	red (in southern dialect of Narak)
Mon	a decorative mark on a material manufacture
Nano	I have eaten
Ngot	God
Ngulago	mouth
Nime	bamboo
Okola	snake
Taiya	The Greater Bird of Paradise
Tavia	type of tree from which shields are made
Tmba	a type of bird
Tom	fought
ToNgo	to fight almost unto death
Tena	a type of cooking vessel
Tun	Cowry shells strung on a fiber rope
Wan	yam
Wandoa	travelor
Walevo	a type of bird
Yikowe	a true tree, in the sense of being large

Men's and Women's names:

Kulank	spear
Kum	sorcery
Mia	cassowary

Appendix VIII

Patterning in Nominals

1. Male

A. 12 males named after one of their Father's Brothers.

1. MA-72 Aoda named after his FFB, MA-79 Aoda.
2. MA-13 Naha named after his FFB, MA-13 Naha.
3. MA-26 Naha named after his FB, MA-26 Naha.
4. MA-29 Naha named after his FFB, MA-29 Naha.
5. MA-30 Naha named after his FB, MA-30 Naha.
6. MA-31 Naha named after a classificatory FB, MA-22 Naha.
7. MA-32 Naha named after his FFB, MA-32 Naha.
8. MA-33 Naha named after his FFB, MA-33 Naha.
9. MA-34 Naha named after his FFB, MA-34 Naha.
10. MA-35 Naha named after his FFB, MA-35 Naha.
11. MA-36 Naha named after his FFB, MA-36 Naha.
12. MA-37 Naha named after his FFB, MA-37 Naha.

B. 12 males named after one of their Father's Brothers.

APPENDIX VIII

Patterning in Nominals

1. MA-11 Naha named after his FB, MA-11 Naha.
2. MA-12 Naha named after his FB, MA-12 Naha.
3. MA-13 Naha named after his FB, MA-13 Naha.
4. MA-14 Naha named after his FB, MA-14 Naha.
5. MA-15 Naha named after his FB, MA-15 Naha.
6. MA-16 Naha named after his FB, MA-16 Naha.
7. MA-17 Naha named after his FB, MA-17 Naha.
8. MA-18 Naha named after his FB, MA-18 Naha.
9. MA-19 Naha named after his FB, MA-19 Naha.
10. MA-20 Naha named after his FB, MA-20 Naha.
11. MA-21 Naha named after his FB, MA-21 Naha.
12. MA-22 Naha named after his FB, MA-22 Naha.

C. 3 males named after one of their Father's Sister's Brothers.

1. MA-62 Naha named after his FFB, MA-62 Naha.
2. MA-63 Naha named after his FFB, MA-63 Naha.
3. MA-64 Naha named after his FFB, MA-64 Naha.

D. 10 males named after one of their Father's Fathers.

1. MA-10 Naha named after his FF, MA-10 Naha.
2. MA-11 Naha named after his FF, MA-11 Naha.
3. MA-12 Naha named after his FFB, MA-12 Naha.
4. MA-13 Naha named after his FF, MA-13 Naha.
5. MA-14 Naha named after his FF, MA-14 Naha.
6. MA-15 Naha named after his FF, MA-15 Naha.
7. MA-16 Naha named after his FF, MA-16 Naha.
8. MA-17 Naha named after his FF, MA-17 Naha.
9. MA-18 Naha named after his FF, MA-18 Naha.
10. MA-19 Naha named after his FF, MA-19 Naha.

## Appendix VIII

Patterning in NominalsI. Males:

## A. 12 males named after one of their Father's Brothers.

1. EM-72 Anda named after his FFBS, EM-79 Anda.
2. KO-18 Kinim named after his FFWS, KO-13 Kinim.
3. EM-38 KitsbA named after his FB, EM-34 KitsbA.
4. NA-20 Kuk named after his FFBS, NA-9 Kuk.
5. NA-32 Misin named after his FB, NA-8 Misin.
6. AL-38 Mki named after a classif. FB, AL-22 Mki.
7. KO-5 Palma named after his FFBS, KO-17 Palma.
8. AL-8 Wan named after EK-17 Wan, a classificatory FB.
9. AL-41 Wando named after a classificatory FB, NA-43 Wando.
10. MB-72 Tsmbna named after his FFBS, MB-6 Tsmbna
11. EK-23 Wamil named after his FFBS, EK-4 Wamil.
12. MB-11 YibIA named after his FFBS, MB-64 YibIA.

## B. 5 males named after one of their Mother's Brothers.

1. NA-12 Ndowa named her son Emp after her Brother (i.e. the son's Mother's Brother) NA-11 Emp.
2. AL-16 Kopi named after his MB, AL-9.
3. AL-21 MoN1 named after his MB, AL-16.
4. EM-60 Njem named after his MB, EM-41 Njem.
5. EK-18 Ngarin named after his classificatory MB by EK-17 Wan, his father.

## C. 3 males named after one of their Father's Sister's Husbands.

1. NA-67 Kagmbo named after his FSH, NA-62-H Kagmbo.
2. PE-5-W3 Ndre's brother's son was given the name of PE-5 Mauwi, her husband.
3. NA-43 Wando is named after his FSH, NA-42-H Wando.

## D. 10 males named after one of their Father's Fathers.

1. MB-58 Emf named after his FF, MB-4 Emf.
2. AL-11 Kopi named after his FF, AL-9 Kopi.
3. NA-50 Kis named after his FFFFBss, NA-64 Kis.
4. NA-29 Kuk named after his FF, NA-20 Kuk.
5. NA-60 Kuk named after his FF, NA-9 Kuk.
6. AL-6 Maima's MBs is also named Maima, but after the latter's FF rather than AL-6 Maima.
7. NA-38 MbonoN named after his FF, NA-35-H1 MbonoN.
8. Tspma-Manda, son of NA-63-H is named after his FF, Tspma-Manda.
9. EM-70 Ngwinda named after his FF, EM-67 Ngwinda.
10. NA-49 Tova named after his FF, NA-41 Tova.

E. 4 males named after one of their Mother's Fathers.

1. NA-23 Kimi named after his MF, the father of NA-20-W1.
2. NA-27 WaiyaN's son Kuk is named after his MF, NA-20.
3. AL-6 Maima named after his MF, the father of AL-2-W Arai.
4. PE-28 Walevo named after his MF, the father of PE-21-W2.

F. 3 males named after one of their Father's Father's Brothers

1. KU-22 Kitsba named after his FFB, KU-2 Kitsba
2. EM-15 Munda named after his classificatory FFB, EM-24 Munda.
3. PE-20 Wavia named after his FFB, PE-21 Wavia.

II. Females:

A. 11 females named after one of their Father's Sisters.

1. NA-71 Kawa named after her FFBd, NA-74 Kawa.
2. PE-29 Kogan named after her FFBd, PE-3 Kogan.
3. MB-15 KoromuN named after her FFBd, MB-26 KoromuN.
4. EM-36 KuliyeM named after her FS, EM-37 KoromuN.
5. EK-50 Mbopo named after her classificatory FS, EK-70 Mbopo.
6. EK-63 Mbopo named after her FS, EK-70 Mbopo.
7. NA-44 Membe named after her FS, NA-42 Membe.
8. EM-65 Tsagis named after her FS, EM-59 Tsagis.
9. MB-14 Tsawan named after her FFFBsd, MB-65.
10. EK-69 Wak named after her FS, EK-71 Wak.
11. KU-13 Yuam named after her classificatory FS, KU-7 Yuam.

B. 3 females named after one of their Mother's Sisters.

1. NA-48 Aina is named after her MS who is NA-43-W2's full Sister, Aina.
2. EM-37 KuliyeM named after her classificatory MS, EM-50-W KuliyeM.
3. Wale, Daughter of NA-63, is named after her MS, NA-62 Wale.

C. 7 females named after one of their Father's Mothers.

1. NA-46 Kogan named after her FFFBsw, her classificatory FM, NA-11-W1 Kogan who is also her FFFFSSd.
2. NA-70 Kompiai named after her FM, NA-9-W2 Kompiai.
3. MB-8 Kotsamba named after her FM, MB-1-W Kotsamba.
4. MB-17 Kum named after her FM, MB-6-W2 Kum.
5. EK-37 Mots named after her FM, EK-27-W Mots.

6. EM-4 TaN named after her FM, EM-1-W1 TaN.
7. NA-27 WaiyaN named after her FM, NA-5-W WaiyaN.

D. 2 females named after one of their Father's Father's Sisters.

1. EK-56 KaNgf named after her FFS, EM-66 KaNgf.
2. NA-55 Yap is named after her FFFWd, NA-56 Yap.

## Appendix IX

### Some Additional Terms of Personnel Nomenclature

With reference to a genealogical tree, these additional terms of personnel nomenclature refer to either vertical (lineally segregated) or horizontal (generationally segregated) sets of kinship for a male speaker.

#### I. Vertical sets.

- A. *father* = father and father's father.
- B. *son* = father and father's son.
- C. *relatives* = patrilineal cross relatives.

In the vertical sets there are no comparable terms for matrilineal cross-relatives. This is a further reflection of the asymmetrical recognition of kinship noted in Chapter V.

#### II. Horizontal sets.

### APPENDIX IX

### Some Additional Terms of Personnel Nomenclature

- A. *grandfather* = grandfather and grandmother).
- B. *grandmother* = grandmother (father and mother).
- C. *grandchildren* = grandchildren, first ascending generation.
- D. *grandson* = matrilineal kinship, first ascending generation.
- E. *granddaughter* = matrilineal kinship, first ascending generation.
- F. *children* = children (not differentiated).
- G. *relatives* = family spouses of patrilineal relatives.

In the horizontal sets there is a division between the first three terms referring to familial kin sets and the remaining terms which are more broadly inclusive. The meanings are in the last column and the meanings are indicated in "and". Kinship related by marriage are collectively referred to as *the people of the hall*, which reflects actual fact during some affines as is explicitly expressed by the formal feeding of affines at bride prices.



## Appendix IX

Some Additional Terms of Personnel Nomenclature

With reference to a genealogical tree, these additional terms of personnel nomenclature refer to either vertical (lineally segregated) or horizontal (generationally segregated) sets of kinsmen for a male speaker.

## I. Vertical sets.

- A. anakoga = father and father's father.
- B. nayewaye = father and father's son.
- C. mbapowambe = matrilateral cross relatives.

In the vertical sets there are no comparable terms for patrilateral cross-relatives. This is a further reflection of the asymmetrical recognition of kinsmen noted in Chapter V.

## II. Horizontal sets.

- A. kogapona = grandparents (grandfathers and grandmothers).
- B. anamana = parents (father and mother).
- C. wariambo = children (son and girl).
- D. nakene = patrilateral kinsmen, first ascending generation.
- E. makene = matrilateral kinsmen, first ascending generation.
- F. Ngorenakene = male "siblings".
- G. ombakene = children (sex not differentiated).
- H. aNgake = female spouses of patrilineal males.

In the horizontal sets there is a division between the first three terms referring to familial kin sets and the remaining terms which are more broadly inclusive. The morpheme -ke is the dual marker and the morpheme -ne I translate as "and". Kinsmen related by marriage are collectively referred to as wuna kmba, "people of the belly", which reflects mutual food sharing among affines as is explicitly expressed by the formal feeding of affines at bride prices.

APPENDIX X

Brothers Marrying Sisters

1. Mr. [Name] and Mrs. [Name] of [Location] are the parents of [Name] and [Name].
2. Mr. [Name] and Mrs. [Name] of [Location] are the parents of [Name] and [Name].
3. Mr. [Name] and Mrs. [Name] of [Location] are the parents of [Name] and [Name].
4. Mr. [Name] and Mrs. [Name] of [Location] are the parents of [Name] and [Name].

## Appendix X

## Brothers Marrying Sisters

1. PE-15 and MB-68 married two men who are biological half-brothers. The two women are members of the same Clan-moiety but different Sub-clans.
2. NA-24-W1 and EM-54-W2 are biological sisters and have married NA-24 and EM-54 respectively. The two men are of different Sub-clans and Clan-moieties, but of the same clan.
3. EM-39-W2 and EK-62-W1, biological sisters, are married to EM-39 and EK-62. The two men are of different Sub-clans of the same Clan-moiety.
4. EK-4-W and KO-17-W, biological sisters, and their half-sister, EM-26-W, married EK-4, KO-17, and EM-26 respectively. The three men are all of different Sub-clans within the same Clan.
5. MB-6-W and EM-2-W, biological sisters, married MB-6 and EM-2, two men of different Sub-clans within the same Clan.
6. NA-56 and EK-10, two women of different Sub-clans within the same Manga Clan, married two men who are biological brothers within the Kamam phratry.
7. NA-36-W and EM-52-W, biological half-sisters, married NA-36 and EM-52, men of different Sub-clans within the same Clan.
8. AL-35-W1 and NA-20-W, biological sisters, married AL-35 and NA-20 who are men of different Sub-clans within the same Clan-moiety.
9. MB-72-W and NA-43-W, biological sisters, married MB-72 and NA-43, men of different Sub-clans within the same Clan-moiety.
10. NA-37-W1 and MB-7-W, biological sisters, married NA-37 and MB-7, men of different Sub-clans within the same Clan-moiety.





## Appendix XI (Cont.)

Distribution of Marriages of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan by Sub-clansSummary:

<u>Phratry (or locale)</u>	<u>Total In-marriages</u>	<u>Total Out-marriages</u>	<u>KulakaeNgeyka Balance</u>
(Banz)	-	1	- 1
Kamam (Bubgile)	11	8	+ 3
Kaulaga (Mogini)	7	7	-
Koatse (Kompiai)	1	3	- 2
(Koinambe)	1	-	+ 1
Korika (Wanku)	1	-	+ 1
Maika (Tsenga)	1	-	+ 1
Manga-KulakaeNgeyka	3	2	+ 1
Timbamaruwaga	39	22	+ 17
Moluma (Kwivun)	7	2	+ 5
Morokai (Warames)	14	13	+ 1
Okona (Koriom)	8	4	+ 4
Palau (Olna)	-	2	- 2
Tukma (Kwima)	21	7	+ 14
Unjika (Amboga)	-	1	- 1
Watsamban (Ngunts)	1	-	+ 1
Yismban (Ndega)	7	8	- 1
Yuomban (Togban)	29	7	+ 22
Unknown	8	1	+ 7
	<u>159</u>	<u>88*</u>	<u>+ 71</u>

\* 86 women were sent outside the clan, 2 married within the clan.

Appendix XII

Bride-Price Payments

In the listing, I have indiscriminately lumped all types of bird plumes. The great majority of these plumes are from the Greater and Lesser Birds of Paradise. Kina are the goldlip shells, maindma are oval white shells worn on the forehead, and non are the bands of small shells sewn on bark cloth and worn about the head. "Tins" may be either cans of beef drippings, horse mackerel or bully beef.

Summary of the cases:

1. EM-54 paid Timbamaruwaga Clan of the Manga phratry for EM-54-W2 on 8 August 1962. EM-54-W2 had borne three children of which only one female was living. EM-28 was used as a surrogate male child.
2. Payment for EK-48 was made by Nemphkani Clan members of the Kaulaga Phratry to EK-17, September 1962. EK-48 has one living female child. Repayment was made at the close of the pig festival.
3. Payment for EM-62 was made by NivAparaka Clan members of the Morokai phratry to EM-61, October 1962. EM-62 has one living female child. Repayment was made at the close of the pig festival.
4. MB-30 paid Aglika Clan of the Kamam Phratry for MB-30-W, 13 November 1962. MB-30-W has 3 living children, the eldest of which is a male and the youngest a female.
5. PE-21 paid Korika Clan for PE-21-W2, 18 December 1962. PE-21-W2 has borne 3 children, the eldest, a female, died in infancy.
6. NA-64 paid for his children NA-70 and NA-67 (his wife had been 'paid' for through sister exchange) and AL-10 paid for his wife AL-10-W. Both payments were made on a single payment banner, yiko moNgoi poga, to the Yismban Clan. AL-10-W has borne one male child who died in infancy.
7. Payment for NA-56-HB-W (EK-31) was made by NA-56-HB to EK-62 and EK-39, 6 March 1962. NA-56-HB is an uxori-local affine affiliated with Nanmbekale Sub-clan of the same Clan-moiety as his wife. NA-56-HB-W has borne 3 children, the eldest a male and the youngest a female. The middle child, a male, died in infancy.
8. Payment for AL-6-W to NA-43 was made by AL-6 on 2 March 1962. AL-6-W has two children, a boy and a girl. The girl is the elder.



Case 1. EM-54 Bride-price for EM-54-W2, 2 August 1962

<u>Contributors</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pigs</u>	<u>Plumes</u>	<u>Axes</u>	<u>Knives</u>	<u>Kina</u>	<u>Maindma</u>	<u>Non</u>	<u>Fur</u>	<u>Tins</u>	<u>Other</u>
EM-54	44	3 <sup>3</sup>	11	3	2	10	4	5		2	4 <sup>2</sup>
EM-52	9	1 <sup>3</sup>	1	2			1			4	
EM-79	4		2			1	1				
EM-5	2		1	1							
EM-61 <sup>1</sup>	3		1	1					1		
EM-13	1						1				
EK-14	1		1								
KU-15	1				1						
KU-12	1				1						
AL-10	8		1	1						6	
MB-67	1			1							
PE-21	6		2	1		1		2			
NA-43	4		2			2					
<u>Anthropologist</u>	<u>6</u>			<u>1</u>				<u>2</u>		<u>2</u>	<u>1</u> <sup>4</sup>
Total given	91	4	22	11	4	14	7	9	1	14	5
<u>Recipients</u>											
CAPITAL	22		3	1		2	1	1	2		12 <sup>5</sup>
EM-54	8	2								6	
EM-52	4		2			1			1		
EM-79	4		2			1	1				
EM-61	1		1								
EM-28	3		2						1		
EK-14	2		2								
EK-26c	1		1								
EK-24	1		1								
KU-15	3		1		1	1					
KU-12	1		1								
NA-43	4		3		1						
<u>Anthropologist</u>	<u>2</u>		<u>1</u>					<u>1</u>			
Total received	56	2	20	1	2	5	2	2	4	6	12

1. EM-54 Bride-price for EM-54-W2, 2 August 1962

Notes:

1. Co-resident with EM-54.
2. 1 enamel washpan, 2 spoons, 1 storage box (wood).
3. This pig is part-payment from EM-52 to his WM.
4. 1 blanket.
5. 3 net bags of cooked vegetables, 6 strings of beads, 2 green beetle headbands, 1 red handkerchief.

EM-54 stated that he would not return any payment to AL-10 and MB-67 at this time as they have not yet paid for their own wives. PE-21's contribution was in payment of a debt to EM-54.

Case 2. For repayment only on EK-48 by EK-17.

<u>Contributors</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pigs</u>	<u>Plumes</u>	<u>Axes</u>	<u>Knives</u>	<u>Kina</u>	<u>Maindma</u>	<u>Non</u>	<u>Fur</u>	<u>Tins</u>
EK-17	4		3						1	
EK-24	1		1							
EK-14	1		1							
EM-5	2		1						1	
EM-26c	1		1							
EM-47	1		1							
KU-16	1		1							
NA-43	3		2			1				2
	<u>14</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>11</u>			<u>1</u>			<u>2</u>	

Case 3. Bride-price received by EM-61 for EM-62, 23 October 1962.

<u>Recipients</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pigs</u>	<u>Plumes</u>	<u>Axes</u>	<u>Knives</u>	<u>Kina</u>	<u>Maindma</u>	<u>Non</u>	<u>Fur</u>	<u>Tins</u>	<u>Other</u>
EM-61	14.7	1	3	1		4	2	2		1	.7(EA 2/2/-)
EM-52	10.3		3			3	2	1		1	.3(EA -/13/-)
EM-54	10		3	1	1	3	1			1	
EM-15	4		1			1		1		1	
EM-5	7		1	1		1	1	2		1	
EK-39	1					1					
EK-14	1									1	
EK-72	1					1					
KU-16	2		1			1					
NA-43	9		2	1		3	1	2			
Anthropologist	1					1					
	61	1	14	4	1	19	7	8		6	1

Contributors:

EM-61	12		6						6		
EM-52	2		2								
EM-54	14		13			1					
EM-26c	2		2								
EM-5	3		2						1		
	33		25			1			7		

Case 4. Bride-price paid for MB-30-W by MB-30, 13 November 1962

<u>Contributors</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pigs</u>	<u>Plumes</u>	<u>Axes</u>	<u>Knives</u>	<u>Kina</u>	<u>Maindma</u>	<u>Non</u>	<u>Fur</u>	<u>Tins</u>	<u>Other</u>
MB-30	27	4	4	3	1	7	1		1	6	
MB-33	1		1								
MB-34	4		2			1					
MB-66	5		4	1							
MB-41	1									1	
MB-50	1			1							
MB-63	3		3								
Cross-cousin	2		2								
AL-16	1					1					
AL-35	2		1						1		
AL-6	2		1			1					
EM-35	2		2								
PE-21	4		2				1		1		
Anthropologist	4					1	1	2			
	59	4	22	5	1	11	3	3	3	7	
<u>Recipients:</u>											
Capital	8		5	2		1					
MB-30	1	1									
MB-33	6					4	2				
MB-34	1		1								
MB-66	2			1		1					
MB-63	3		3								
MB-19	1					1					
MB-62	1		1								
AL-16	1					1					
AL-35	1								1		
AL-6	2		1			1					
KO-7	1		1								
PE-21	3		2				1				
Anthropologist	2					1		1			
	33	1	14	3		10	3	1	1		

Case 5. Bride-price paid for PE-21-W2 by PE-21, 18 December 1962.

<u>Contributors:</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pigs</u>	<u>Plumes</u>	<u>Axes</u>	<u>Knives</u>	<u>Kina</u>	<u>Maindma</u>	<u>Non</u>	<u>Fur</u>	<u>Tins</u>	<u>Other</u>
PE-21	29	3	10	5	2	7			3	1	1 (EA -/15/-)
PE-5	3		1	1			1				
PE-9	1		1								
PE-10	1					1					
PE-13	2		1			1					
PE-24	1		1								
NA-64	2		1			1					
NA-66	1		1								
MB-50	1			1							
AL-6	1					1					
	42	3	16	7	2	11	1		3	1	1

Case 6A. Child payment made by NA-64 for his children NA-70 and NA-67

<u>Contributors:</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pigs</u>	<u>Plumes</u>	<u>Axes</u>	<u>Knives</u>	<u>Kinas</u>	<u>Maindmas</u>	<u>Non Fur</u>	<u>Tins</u>	<u>Other</u>
NA-64	12	1	6	1	1	3				
NA-24	2		1			1				
AL-10	3		2						1	
AL-16	2			1				1		
KO-14	4		2		1	1				
PE-24	2		1			1				
Anthropologist	1						1			
	26	1	12	2	2	6	1	1	1	

Case 6B. Bride-price paid for AL-10-W by AL-10 on 19 December 1962

<u>Contributors:</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pigs</u>	<u>Plumes</u>	<u>Axes</u>	<u>Knives</u>	<u>Kinas</u>	<u>Maindmas</u>	<u>Non</u>	<u>Fur</u>	<u>Tins</u>	<u>Other</u>
AL-10	25		4	3	1	8		4		5	
AL-16	1					1					
AL-6	2		2								
AL-12	3		3								
AL-22	1		1								
NA-24	1		1								
NA-64	2		2								
PE-9	1			1							
PE-24	2		1			1					
KO-20	2		1			1					
EM-52	1				1						
Anthropologist	1							1			
	42		15	4	2	11		5		5	



Case 7. Bride-price paid for EK-31(NA-56-HB-W) by NA-56-HB to ENgeyka-Karakambo<sup>1</sup> Sub-clan,  
6 March 1962

<u>Recipients (BP)<sup>2</sup>:</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pigs</u>	<u>Plumes</u>	<u>Axes</u>	<u>Knives</u>	<u>Kinas</u>	<u>Maindmas</u>	<u>Non</u>	<u>Fur</u>	<u>Tins</u>	<u>Other</u>
Capital <sup>3</sup>	33		10	5	1	4	6	6	1		
EK-39-W	1										1
EK-24	1										1
EK-39	6	1	1	1		1	1				1
EK-35	2		1			1					
EK-62	5	1	1			1	2				
EM-54	1					1					
EM-5	2					1					1
EM-61	3		1			1		1			
EM-35	3		1			1		1			
EM-15	1		1								
EM-52	1		1								
EM-13	1				1						
	60	2	17	6	2	11	9	8	1	4	
<u>Recipients (RP):</u>											
NA-56-HB	4	1	1						2		
NA-37	1					1					
NA-43	4		1			1	1		1 <sup>4</sup>		
NA-11	2		1				1				
NA-26	1			1							
NA-58	1		1								
NA-64	1						1				
PE-21	2		1			1					
PE-13	1			1							
AL-6	1		1								
AL-10	1				1 <sup>5</sup>						
MB-34	1		1								
MB-66	1					1					
Anthropologist	1		1 <sup>6</sup>								
Anthropologist-W	1								1		
	23	1	8	2	1	4	3		4		

## Case 7

Notes:

1. EK-17 was supposed to be the principal recipient but he refused to accept on the grounds that he had been offended by EK-31 who had accused him of consuming pig-feces.
2. A list of the contributors was impossible to obtain in this case.
3. Capital retained collectively by EK-12, EK-14, and EK-24.
4. NA-43 in turn gave this item to the anthropologist.
5. NA-56-HB was originally intending this item for MB-19 but gave it to another person saying that he would repay MB-19 when the latter paid for his own wife.
6. This plume of the Lesser Bird of Paradise was originally given to ENgeyka by men of Yismban Phratry. It was designated as exchange for a shovel. They were unable to obtain a shovel so passed the plume on to Kulaka with the same stipulation. At the redistribution, I said that I would obtain a shovel, so I was given the plume. The shovel was obtained by gift from the Patrol Officer, Mr. Jack Edwards, and the plume was then carried from Kwiop in a bamboo tube by Dr. Peter Kunstatter of Princeton, to the Museum at Port Moresby.

Case 8. Bride-price paid for AL-6-W by AL-6 to NA-43<sup>1</sup> on 2 March 1962

<u>Recipients (BP)</u> <sup>3</sup> :	<u>Total</u>	<u>Pigs</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>Plumes</u>	<u>Axes</u>	<u>Knives</u>	<u>Kinas</u>	<u>Maindma</u>	<u>Non</u>	<u>Fur</u>	<u>Tins</u>	<u>Other</u>
Group A:											
Capital	12		4	2		3	2	1			
NA-43-W1	7		4			2		1			
Group B:											
NA-43	6	2	1	1		1					1
NA-11	1		1								
NA-51	1					1					
NA-56-HB	2		1			1					
NA-26	1			1							
NA-37	1			1							
NA-57	1		1								
NA-49	6		1	1		1	1	1			1
NA-64	2		2								
MB-46	1				1						
PE-21	2		1			1					
Group C:											
EM-54	10		2	1	1	2	1	1			2
EM-52	2		2								
EM-61	5		2	1		1		1			
EM-5	2		1			1					
KU-16	1					1					
	65	2	23	8	2	15	4	5		4	

Notes:

1. Normally, this payment should have gone from AL-6 to his wife's patrilineage. However, since his wife is a Yuomban female agnate, this was impossible. Also, NA-43's sister had been married into the Yuomban but for the same reason her bride-price had not been paid. The payment was considered, therefore, as a surrogate payment both by the contributor and the recipient.

2. Actually, 1 pig and 1 cassowary.

3. At the distribution, the total payment was broken into three lots. Group A constituted that portion of the bride-price donated to AL-6 by his genealogical brothers of the Maruwaga Clan-moiety. The remainder was equally divided for distribution by NA-43 between himself

Notes (contd.)

(Group B) and EM-54 (Group C). NA-43's father acquired EM-54's mother through the levirate after EM-54's father had died.

4. EM-52 turns and gives one plume to NA-24.



## September 27, 1962 Appendix XIII Molima Phratry arrive to

## Calendar of Events, Manga Pig-Festival

Part I:

- ca. September 1961 Flute playing commences. New gardens made.
- January 1962 Song learning and decoration manufacturing during second and third weeks in January.
- January 22-26, 1962 Killing pigs in Cemeteries at river's edge.
- January 25-26, 1962 Uprooting the om, cordyline terminalia. Timbamaruwage Clan on the 25th, KulakaeNgeyka Clan on the 26th. Early morning and evening singing and dancing commences.
- January 30, 1962 Commencing at this time and continuing intermittently for several months, the dance grounds are cleaned of vegetation and evil influences.
- May 13, 1962 Magic extraction and removal ceremony against the Yuomban Phratry.
- July 19, 1962 Men of the Molima Phratry arrive to dance at the Timbamaruwage Clan dance grounds. KulakaeNgeyka Clan joins them. KulakaeNgeyka men are collectively protected from sickness.
- July 27, 1962 ENgeyka nimpomba dedicated.
- August 3, 1962 Kulaka nimpomba dedicated.
- August 4, 1962 Daylight singing and dancing rehearsal.
- August 5, 1962 Torchlight ceremony.

Part II:

- August 21, 1962 Men of the Tukma Phratry arrive to dance.
- September 6, 1962 Men of the Korika Phratry arrive to dance.

September 25, 1962	Men of the Unjika Phratry arrive to dance.
October 11, 1962	Men of the Morokai Phratry arrive to dance.
October 19, 1962	Men of the Kaulaga Phratry arrive to dance.
November 8, 1962	Men of the Yismban Phratry arrive to dance.
November 9, 1962	Men of the Tukma Phratry arrive to dance.
November 23, 1962	<u>Fapey</u> and food storehouses being built.
November 29, 1962	Begin wig-making.
December 2, 1962	Begin eel trapping.
December 4, 1962	Wigmen 'presented'.
December 11, 1962	Meeting to decide when to conclude the festival.
December 12-14, 1962	<u>KambAkaukolo</u> pigs killed.
December 14-16, 1962	Cemeteries being cleaned.
December 16-17, 1962	<u>KoNgAmabla</u> pigs killed
December 18, 1962	<u>KoNgAauwi</u> pigs killed.
December 19, 1962	Terminal aspects of festival. "Ladies day".
December 21, 1962	Wigs removed.

Appendix XIV

Pig Ownership and Disposition

<u>Age of Male Owner</u>	<u>Total in the Male Sex</u>	<u>Sample size for "pigs owned"</u>	<u>Sample size for both "owned" and "disposed"</u>
Over 50	6	3	-
20 to 50	45	17	20
10 to 20	23	8	1
0 to 10	27	1	1
	101	31	21

There are 51 individuals represented here, owning 172 pigs. For those individuals underlined, the distribution of pork is also known.

Persons owning:

A. 25 pigs each: Jack

B. 13 pigs each: FE-21

C. 12 pigs each: AL-1 APPENDIX XIV

D. 11 pigs each: Pig Ownership and Disposition:

E. 10 pigs each: NA-26, Jack

F. 9 pigs each: ND-77

G. 8 pigs each: SE-11, ME-22

H. 7 pigs each: ME-24, ME-20, AL-10, SE-24, SE-11, NA-37

I. 6 pigs each: ME-25, ME-19, ME-23, ME-27, ME-13, ME-21

J. 5 pigs each: ME-12, ME-16

K. 4 pigs each: ME-7, ME-17, ME-20-25, ME-23, ME-27, ME-21, ME-24, ME-2

L. 3 pigs each: AL-15, SE-11, SE-73, ME-22

M. 2 pigs each: FE-6, FE-19, ME-21, FE-5, ME-16, EX-5, ME-1, ME-25

N. 1 pig each: FE-10, ME-22, NA-74, ME-15

O. 0 pigs each: FE-9, FE-24, ME-20



## Appendix XIV

Pig Ownership and Disposition:

<u>Age of Male Owners</u>	<u>Total in the Male Pop.</u>	<u>Sample Size for "pigs owned"</u>	<u>Sample size for both "owned" and "distributed"</u>
Over 50	6	3	-
20 to 50	<u>44</u>	39	20
10 to 20	33	8	1
0 to 10	<u>37</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	101	51	22

There are 51 individuals represented here, owning 272 pigs. For those individuals underlined, the distribution of pork is also known.

Persons owning:

- A. 26 pigs each: NA-43
- B. 13 pigs each: PE-21
- C. 12 pigs each: AL-6, PE-17, EK-17
- D. 11 pigs each: none
- E. 10 pigs each: NA-26, NA-64
- F. 9 pigs each: MB-72
- G. 8 pigs each: MB-11, EK-32
- H. 7 pigs each: NA-36, MB-30, AL-10, EM-54, EM-61, NA-37
- I. 6 pigs each: NA-28, MB-19, MB-45, MB-67, EM-13, EM-47
- J. 5 pigs each: KU-12, MB-66
- K. 4 pigs each: EM-5, NA-32, NA-56-HB, MB-63, AL-22, EK-24, EK-62, KU-5
- L. 3 pigs each: AL-16, EK-72, EK-73, EM-52
- M. 2 pigs each: PE-6, PE-10, EM-35, PE-5, MB-16, EK-5, EK-14, EM-26c
- N. 1 pig each: PE-13, MB-49, NA-74, KU-16
- O. 0 pigs each: PE-9, PE-24, MB-50

Excluding the three individuals in the sample who own no pigs, the average number of pigs owned is 5.66 per individual owner, though the median is only 4. The top ten individuals own 120 pigs, that is, about one-fifth of the sample owns almost one-half of the total pigs. On the basis of these figures and the distribution of pigs by age of owners I would estimate that the pre-festival pig population of the KulakaeNgeyka Clan did not exceed 400 or approximately 2.1 pigs per living person.

Age Group	Total No. Pigs	Owned by School	Owned by Other	Total No. Owners	Average Pigs per Owner
1.0-15	20	1	1	2	10
16-25	20	1	1	2	10
26-35	20	1	1	2	10
36-45	20	1	1	2	10
46-55	20	1	1	2	10
56-65	20	1	1	2	10
66-75	20	1	1	2	10
76-85	20	1	1	2	10
86-95	20	1	1	2	10
96-100	20	1	1	2	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>10</b>

Individual	His Age	Total Pigs Owned	Killed 1/26/62	Killed Other <sup>1</sup>	Killed as KambAkaukolo, KoNgAmabiA, or KoNgAauwi pigs	Intra-Clan		Distribution <sup>2</sup>		Phratry
						Amt.	Indiv.	Amt.	Extra-Clan Reason <sup>4</sup> and Relationship <sup>5</sup>	
1.NA-28	26	6	(absent) <sup>3</sup>		3	1	NA-43 <sup>8</sup>	1	1 BWM	Tukma
2.NA-36	27	7	(absent)		4			1	2a "B"	Unjika
3.NA-43	44	26	2	1	14	1	Anthro. <sup>9</sup>			
								1	2a FSH	Unjika
								1	2a FFSss	Unjika
								1	1 FBd	Morokai
								1	2b FFBss	Morokai
								1	1 FMBs	Tukma
								1	1 FSS	Kamam
								1	1 dH	Kamam
								1	1 "B"	Kaulaga
4.NA-64	41	10	1	1	7			2	1 SH	Unjika
								1	1 SH	Yismban
								1	2b WB	Yismban
								1	1 "B"	Kamam
5.NA-74	12	1			1	1/2	NA-64 <sup>6</sup>			
6.PE-10	22	2			1			1/2	1 "B"	Tukma
7.PE-17	28	12	2		2			1	1 SH	Morokai
8.PE-21	50	13	4	3	6			1	2a dH	Tukma
								1	1 "B"	Kamam
								1	1 "B"	Kamam
								1	2b "B"	Morokai

<u>Individual</u>	<u>His Age</u>	<u>Total Pigs Owned</u>	<u>Killed 1/26/62</u>	<u>Killed Other<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>Killed as KambAkaukolo, KoNgAmabla, or KoNgAauwi pigs</u>	<u>Intra-Clan Amt. Individ.</u>	<u>Distribution<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Phratry</u>
							<u>Extra-Clan Amt.</u>	<u>Reason<sup>4</sup> and Relationship<sup>5</sup></u>	
9.MB-11	35	8	1		5		1 1 SH 1/2 1 WBs 1/2 2a "SH" 1 1 SH 1 2b WB	Manga Kaulaga Yismban Tukma Kaulaga	
10.MB-30	41	7	1		3		1 2a MBs 1/2 2a WSdH	Morokai Morokai	
11.MB-49	34	1			1		1/2 2a "B"	Morokai	
12.AL-6	26	12	1	1	7	1 Anthro. <sup>9</sup>	1 2a MB 1 2a MBs 1 2a FSs 1 2b FSs	Kaulaga Kaulaga Kaulaga Morokai	
13.AL-10	25	7	1	1	2		1 1 MB	Kamam	
14.AL-22	43	4	1		1		1/2 2a "B"	Unjika'	
15.KU-12	42	5	1		3	1 PE-21 <sup>7</sup>	1 1 WB 1/2 2a "B"	Kalauga Morokai	
16.EK-32	41	8	2		3		2 2a "B"	Morokai	
17.EM-5	21	4	1		2		1/2 2b "B" 1/2 1 SH 1 1 SH	Morokai Tukma Kaulaga	

<u>Individual</u>	<u>His Age</u>	<u>Total Pigs Owned</u>	<u>Killed 1/26/62</u>	<u>Killed Other<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>Killed as KambAkaukolo, KoNgAmabia, or KoNgAauwi pigs</u>	<u>Intra-Clan Amt. Individ.</u>	<u>Distribution<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>Phratry</u>
							<u>Extra-Clan Amt.</u>	<u>Reason<sup>4</sup> Relationship<sup>5</sup></u>	
18.EM-54	26	7	1		3		1 2b "B"	Yisban	
							1/2 1 "FB"	Morokai	
							1/2 1 PS	Morokai	
19.EM-61	21	7			5		1 1 SH	Morokai	
							1 1 FSS	Morokai	
							1 2a FSS		
20.EM-47	25	6	1		2		1 1 WF	Morokai	
21.EM-35	35	2	1		1		1 2a SHB	Kaulaga	
22.EK-72	8	3			2	1/2 EK-17 <sup>6</sup>			
						1/2 EK-62 <sup>6</sup>			

Notes:

1. Pits noted here are those killed in conjunction with sickness, bride-prices, death payments, and other occurrences not directly related to the pig-festival. For instance, EK-24 (not listed here) had a pre-festival total of four mature pigs. One he killed on 1/26/62, but a few months later, his wife died and the pigs given as part of the death payment depleted his herd to a single sow which he elected not to kill at the concluding ceremonies of the Pig-festival.
2. The pork recorded as "Distributed", concerns the distribution of only those pigs which were not consumed by either the domestic group of the pig owner (Appendix VI) or the men's house unit of the pig owner (Appendix V), or the recipients of pigs killed and noted in the column, "Killed, Other."
3. Several members of the Clan did not return from the coast where they had been employed as laborers until mid-1962.

4. The reasons for which pork is given vary greatly but in general may be summarized under:
  1. Continuing exchange of pork for either pork or valuables previously given to the pig owner.
  2. Payment of a warfare debt for providing either
    - A. Refuge
    - B. Assistance during the war. (2A may usually be considered as pre-supposing 2B).
5. Kin term designata in quotes signify application of the proper term for that designatum but no traceable genealogical linkage.
6. While young boys may occasionally own pigs, they do not control the disposition of the animals as fully as mature married men. Young boys who do kill pigs during these festivals most frequently are those who have lost their biological fathers but who are still caring for their mothers. They will distribute pork to senior men of their own Sub-clan. There are two such cases included in this sample. In the second case, EK-72's mother, EK-71, is a woman twice married and twice divorced. She cared for the 6 pigs of her two sons, EK-72 and EK-73. EK-72 made gifts of 1/2 pig each to EK-17 and EK-62, both senior men of the Karakambo Sub-clan, ENgeyka Clan-moiety, and classificatory "fathers" of EK-72 and EK-73.
7. KU-12 pays PE-21 for the latter's assistance in acquiring a wife for KU-12.
8. NA-28 and NA-43, classificatory "brothers" simply swapped pigs as a mark of good friendship.
9. Exchange payment for trade goods previously given to AL-6 and NA-43. At the time the goods were given, AL-6 and NA-43 informed me that they would reciprocate in pork at the close of the pig-festival.

APPENDIX XV

Segmentation of Narak Phratries

Appendix XV, Segmentation of Narak Phratries.<sup>1</sup>

(dec) = all members deceased.

<u>Phratry</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Clan-Moiety</u>	<u>Sub-Clan</u>	<u>Sub-subclan</u>
A. Morokai	I. Ndeymayka	a. Ndeyka	1. Timbaga	
			2. Nanjikmba	
		b. Mayka	1. Miyka	a) Mitsukleyka b) Kukutsika
			2. Wutameyka	a) Nanbekani b) Kumakani
	II. Kimbagalemboga	a. Kimbaga	1. Kuma	a) Mbaleyka b) Undupka
			2. Kεtka	a) Molumakani b) Nimpkhaikani
			3. Komunka	
			4. Mandakaikale	
			5. Aglika	
			6. Nimpkhaikani	
	b. Ngalemboga	1. Nanbekani 2. Mbaleyka		
III. NivAparaka	a. NivAka	1. MbanKani		
		2. Nanbekani		
		3. Komnika		
		4. Aglika		
		5. NivAka		
		6. KulinambaN (dec.)		



		b. Paraka	1. Tmbom 2. MaNakale	
B.	I. Unjika	a. Komunka	1. MbaNkani	a) Ngomaomba b) Unjiomba c) Avaomba
			2. Nanbekale	
		b. Aglika	1. Wankani 2. KimbaNanjey 3. Mno'mba	
C.	I. Korika	a. Wimbaofoka	1. Wimbaga	a) MbaNkani b) Ngeuwikani
			2. Oifoka	a) Walevokani b) Motomo
		b. KanagIA	1. Kanka	a) Mbalega b) Nanbeka
			2. Aglika	a) MbNkani b) Klmanakani
D. Okona	I. Pubichkondo	a. Pubuka	1. Nanbekale 2. MbaNkani 3. Yokleyka 4. Areyka 5. Mbomaga 6. Ndiwa·umo	

- b. Chkondoka 1. Chkondoka  
2. Magmpala

II. TumpNgraNa

- a. Tumpka 1. Tump (dec.)  
2. NaNno  
3. Kinduai a) Kumagumbe  
b) Tsaweygumbe
- b. NgraNaka

E. Kaulaga

I. (unnamed)

- a. Nemphkani 1. MbaNkani  
2. Nanbekani  
3. PINGokani

- b. Aglika 1. MbaNkani  
2. Nanbekani

II. Yagitiika

- a. Penikamaiya 1. Penika a) Nanbekani  
b) MbaNkani  
2. Amaiya a) Amaiyaka  
b) Tukika

- b. LombanataNna 1. Lombana a) Kontsomba  
b) Lombanaomba  
2. TaNna

- c. Mbroga 1. Mbroga  
2. Nendomba

F. Moluma

I. Nimpgharikai

- a. Nimpghai 1. Toimayka  
2. Komunka  
3. Aglika  
4. Ndukaka (dec.)  
5. Kalavaga (dec.)

6. MeyNgaga (dec.)
7. PuNjikai (dec.)

b. Arikai

1. Kumakale
2. Alankale

II. Toleymaypka

a. Toleyka

1. Njipnjiptsamakale a) Oifokale  
b) Tmbomagai (dec.)

2. Kinaimbarkale
3. MaNakale (dec.)

b. Maypka

1. MndiandabaN a) Mndikale  
b) Kombndan  
c) AndavaNkale

III. Tukmayokleyka

a. Tukma

1. Meyvakale a) Mbalauga  
b) Mbeygaka

2. Taimakale
3. Tukmamei (dec.)
4. Nondukma (dec.)
5. Korokai (dec.)

b. Yokleyka

1. Timbagai
2. Tukakai
3. Avakai
4. ANgiakai (dec.)

IV. PaNareyka

a. PaNeyka

1. PondAgai
2. MoNgAkai
3. Mndika (dec.)

b. Areyka

1. Nanbekale a) Tukikale  
b) Avekale
2. MbaNkani a) Yimiaveomba  
b) Toleykai

V. Mambragai  
a. Mambragai  
b. Okonakale

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G. Manga

I. KulakaeNgeyka

a. Kulaka

1. Paymbankale
2. Nanbekale
3. Kobunga
4. Aliyaumo
5. Mbalegale

b. ENgeyka

1. Kunakaikale
2. Karakambo
3. MbaNkale

II. Timbamaruwaga

a. Maruwaga

1. KobuNgeyka
2. Wamgaga

a) Arikaikale  
b) Atsambankale

a) Nanbekale  
b) MbaNkani  
c) Manjakaikale

b. Timbaga

1. Nimagamf
2. Ndegale
3. Dambalogane

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Notes:

1. The Manga phratry is included here so that the notational system used in the text may be used for the Manga as well. This notational system is as follows: any named segment in any of the seven phratries may be identified by the series of letters and numbers used in the above outlines. Thus GIIBI is the notation for Nimagamf sub-clan of Timbaga clan-moiety of Timbamaruwaga clan of Manga phratry.

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