

NEIGHBOURS AND KILLERS

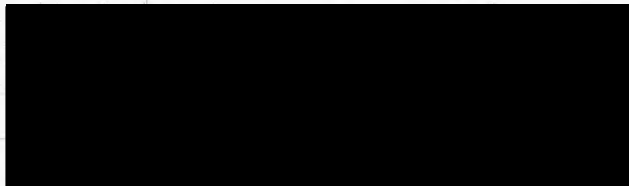
Residence and Dominance among the Hewa of New Guinea

Lyle B. Steadman

Thesis submitted for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the
Australian National University

July 1971

Except where otherwise acknowledged in
the text, this thesis represents my
original research.



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was carried out while I was a Research Scholar at the Australian National University. I am very grateful for the generous help I received from this institution, while preparing for the field and writing my thesis in Canberra, as well as during my fieldwork from October 1966 to December 1967 and from August 1968 to February 1969.

I owe a debt of gratitude to many people who gave me their time, support and advice during my association with the Australian National University. Professor John A. Barnes and Ann Chowning were particularly helpful at the beginning of my project and during my fieldwork. Andrew Strathern I thank for his patience and sound advice during his supervision of my writing, a task which was not always an easy one. Many of my ideas have been inspired by seminars and talks given by Derek Freeman. Bill Clark read the final draft of this thesis and made many valuable suggestions with regard to both content and style.

Among my student colleagues who patiently endured my bouts of inspiration and who in turn challenged me with their own ideas, these deserve my special thanks: Ian Hughes, Charles Modjeska, Alan Rew, Max Rimoldi, Don Tuzin, Michael Walter and Michael Young.

In the field I enjoyed the generosity and hospitality of many, particularly at the start of my work when my lack of experience was great. Eric and Vera Waddell and Bill and Norma Rowe introduced me to the Highlands of New Guinea. Members of the Lutheran Mission gave valuable assistance: Bob Holst let me accompany him on a patrol, enabling me to meet my first Hewa; Ed Bloos helped with transport and supplies to Lake Kopiago. Father Joe Knoebel, the catholic priest at Lake Kopiago, and Frank Carter of the

Apostolic Mission both gave their time and friendly advice. From Sister Gwenda Jenkins my family and I received medical counsel and supplies as well as cheerful companionship.

I greatly benefited from the generous help given to my family and myself by members of the Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. Gordon Brown, then A.D.C. in Lake Kapiago, provided me with a roof over my head when I first arrived and later made labour and materials available for the construction of a house for my family. I will remember his and his late wife's warm hospitality. Bob and Jackie Hallahan and Ian and Rosemary Smalley I thank for their friendship and assistance during the second part of my fieldwork.

Ironically, the people who deserve the greatest share of my gratitude will never read this thesis. Alulu, my host, who was a true friend and comrade, was failing in health when I left the field in 1969. Maybe his descendants, or other Hewa, may some day read this monograph, and I hope they will feel as much admiration for Alulu and his family as I do. Wato was a faithful and reliable companion during my second field trip, and a great part of the knowledge I was able to obtain is due to his intelligence and intuition, as well as his linguistic competence. I also thank his wife Fauma who contributed much information and allowed me to see some of the data from the point of view of a woman. To Thama I owe my knowledge of hunting, for it was he who patiently let me accompany him on many hunting trips, even though my presence must at times have been a nuisance to him. I also want to thank all the Hewa people which I cannot name here - men, women and children - who allowed me to stay and travel among them and gave me their friendship and confidence.

Back in Canberra, Marijke Saltet helped by translating a passage from Dutch. Jan Saltet gave much

x

of his time in advising me about the drafting of the Hewa maps. Without him I could not have produced them. Dorothy Aunela, Pamela Fox and Sandra John deserve special thanks for friendly, efficient assistance which went beyond the call of duty.

To my children Marc, Caroline and Craig I want to express particular appreciation for the enthusiasm and interest they showed during our stay in the field and for patiently enduring the final hectic months in the last stages of this thesis. My thanks go also to my parents who never failed with their assistance and encouragement.

Finally, I warmly thank my wife Suzanne who contributed much to this project. She ingeniously unscrambled my syntax and sometimes my thoughts and assisted efficiently and good-naturedly wherever needed.

Needless to say, even though many people have helped with this thesis, I alone must bear the responsibility for any of its shortcomings.

PREFACE

This study is a monograph on the Hewa, a group of New Guineans in the Western Highlands. When I first arrived at A.N.U. and took up by Research Scholarship, I had plans of studying a group of people who had had no contact with modern societies. My aim was to immerse myself into their culture, free myself from the ties of my own, and reach an understanding of the world from their perspective.

My advisers had their reservations about such an approach and stressed the more proven methods of traditional anthropology. I will describe at the end of Chapter One how I found their skepticism justified.

I first heard about the Hewa from Marie Reay, who knew that I wished to study an uninfluenced group. And uninfluenced they were. Except for a few patrol reports and a mention by Meggitt in 1957 (who had had it reported to him by neighbouring people that the 'Kewa' were cannibals) the name Hewa, as far as I could determine, had not been printed in any book or journal before.¹ Sachiko Hatanaka had attempted to walk into the Hewa in 1965, but did not establish contact with them at that time (personal communication). She subsequently studied the Sisimen, a group of Hewa to the West of the people with whom I was working.)

Therefore, there was no information on any aspect

1

Even by December 7, 1969, the Sunday Times Magazine, London, could print an article by Tony Clifton who wrote of his intention to '...chart the unknown Hewa country...the land of the mysterious Hewa people...and to take a census of its inhabitants.... The Hewas are aggressive cannibals (sic) and only two villages (sic) have ever been contacted.... (However we were) allowed to go no farther because of the danger.' At the time Clifton's observations were made (late 1967) I had already been living in the Hewa for almost a year.

(cont'd on next page)

of Hewa life, and no linguist had at that time determined who were the Hewa's linguistic relatives.

Naive as I was then, I considered all these to be desirable attributes of the subject I was going to investigate, since it promised to guarantee extreme isolation and lack of contact with Europeans.

My initial enthusiasm was slightly dampened by the difficulties I met while trying to start my work in the Hewa. I chose Lake Kapiago as my starting point, since it had an airstrip from where I could walk to the edge of the Hewa area in two days. Without any maps or roads, it was quite a task to reach the first Hewa house. To my astonishment, I found out that the nearest neighbouring house was more than another two hours' walking time away. I will describe in the first chapter how I eventually managed to find a Hewa family who would let me stay with them.

After living a few weeks in the field with this family of eight (in territory No.19, see Map 2), it slowly dawned on me that I had now more 'uncontactedness' and 'aboriginal situation' than I had bargained for. While standing around watching the few members of the family, most of them children, I would have given much to have any previously written literature on these people and to start with an analytical model that someone else had already suggested for the Hewa. Any small wordlist of Hewa words would have been most welcome, for it was extremely difficult to communicate anything that was more complicated than the simple act of pointing at something and eliciting the name in Hewa - and even that took a long while to achieve, for

1 (cont'd from previous page)

On 3rd September 1970 M. Hollingsworth wrote in The Australian that a government patrol had just discovered a group of Hewa, south of the Lagaip, who had not yet seen a European.

the Hewa did not see the sense in naming an object that was so obvious.

The physical environment did not help to dispell my gloom. The Hewa surroundings are harsh and inhospitable: the small piece of cleared ground around the house is bare - and muddy after rains-, while the heavy forest beyond the tiny clearing is thornridden and forbidding. Even though Hewa houses are well built and superior to typical Highland houses, the insides are austere and certainly not intended to simulate a scholar's study.

Another factor added to my initial frustration - ironically the very factor I was so anxious to find in the people I was going to study: isolation. Not only are the Hewa sheltered from any outside influence, they also do not have frequent contact with each other. There was no bustling community life I could study, no regular gatherings which would have given me the opportunity to observe social interaction outside the family I was staying with, no speeches by important men and only infrequent trading activities. Instead, I was stuck with my host, and he was stuck with me, for I followed him diligently wherever he went. In spite of a very good-natured disposition, he could not help but show occasional impatience at having agreed to accept and hence to suffer such an inarticulate, stumbling liability.

At the time I had no alternative: it was even worse for me to hang around the house and garden when the females were alone. Visiting 'neighbours' by myself was out of the question. The closest house was - at my initial speed - about three hours' walk through what appeared to me pathless bush.

Needless to say, my first months in the field were not very productive. After a very slow and painful start,

however, I gradually began to learn about the Hewa and their language. This allowed me to ask simple questions and probe for explanations and comments on behaviour I was observing. The Hewa, too, began to show more interest when they found I was a quite normal human being they could talk to.

This thesis then is an attempt to present the information I was able to record while I was in the Hewa. Subsequent analysis in Canberra and a second field trip allowed me to work out some hypotheses and possible solutions to problems of Hewa behaviour.

I found two problems particularly challenging during the course of this study. The first is the relationship between residence and clanship. Chapter Five is an attempt to deal with this question. In Chapter Six, consequences of the marriage rules are discussed and related to my findings in Chapter Five. The second problem is: Why do the Hewa appear to have such a high killing rate? And why are so many victims described as witches? In Chapter Seven I propose an answer to this question.

* * *

Before concluding this preface, I would like to quote a passage by Evans-Pritchard who expresses perspicuously - in his introduction to the Nuer - observations which come surprisingly close to the conditions I met while doing my research:

I have always considered, and still consider, that an adequate sociological study of the Nuer was impossible in the circumstances in which most of my work was done. The reader must judge what I have accomplished. I would ask him not to judge too harshly, for if my account is sometimes scanty and uneven I would argue that the investigation was carried out in adverse

circumstances; that Nuer social organization is simple and their culture bare; and that what I describe is almost entirely based on direct observation and is not augmented by copious notes taken down from regular informants, of whom, indeed, I had none. (1940:9).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In perhaps the most inaccessible corner of the Western Highlands District of New Guinea, at $5^{\circ} 15'$ south of the equator and $142^{\circ} 25'$ east of Greenwich, in the catchment area of the Lagaip and Om rivers, live approximately fifteen hundred Hewa, the subjects of this study. In an area covered by dense rain forest, cut by swift rivers and sharp mountain ridges, the Hewa build their sturdy, cane-fastened houses at an altitude of about 2,300-2,600 feet above sea level. Their single house homesteads, often containing only one family, are separated from one another by great distances.

The Hewa have as their nearest neighbours in various directions the Paiela, Ipili, and Nere (to the east), the Oksapmin (to the west), various Sepik Hill people (to the north), and (to the south) the Kopiago Duna. Later in this chapter I report what I can of their relations with these.

This study focuses on the approximately 500 people living within the central Hewa area, about 100 square miles. This central area is bounded on the east, north and west by the Pori, Lagaip and Strickland rivers, respectively. The southern boundary is formed by a rocky knot of limestone mountains which separates the Hewa from the linguistically and culturally distinct Kopiago, or Duna, peoples (see Map 1¹).

On the basis of my knowledge of this area, gained by walking across almost every square mile of it, I have drafted a map which indicates the salient geographic and demographic features of the 100 square miles (see Map 2).

1

Maps 1 and 2 are based on my surveys on the ground and confirmed by existing maps and observations from aircraft.

MAP 1.

Scale 1 : 250,000.

N



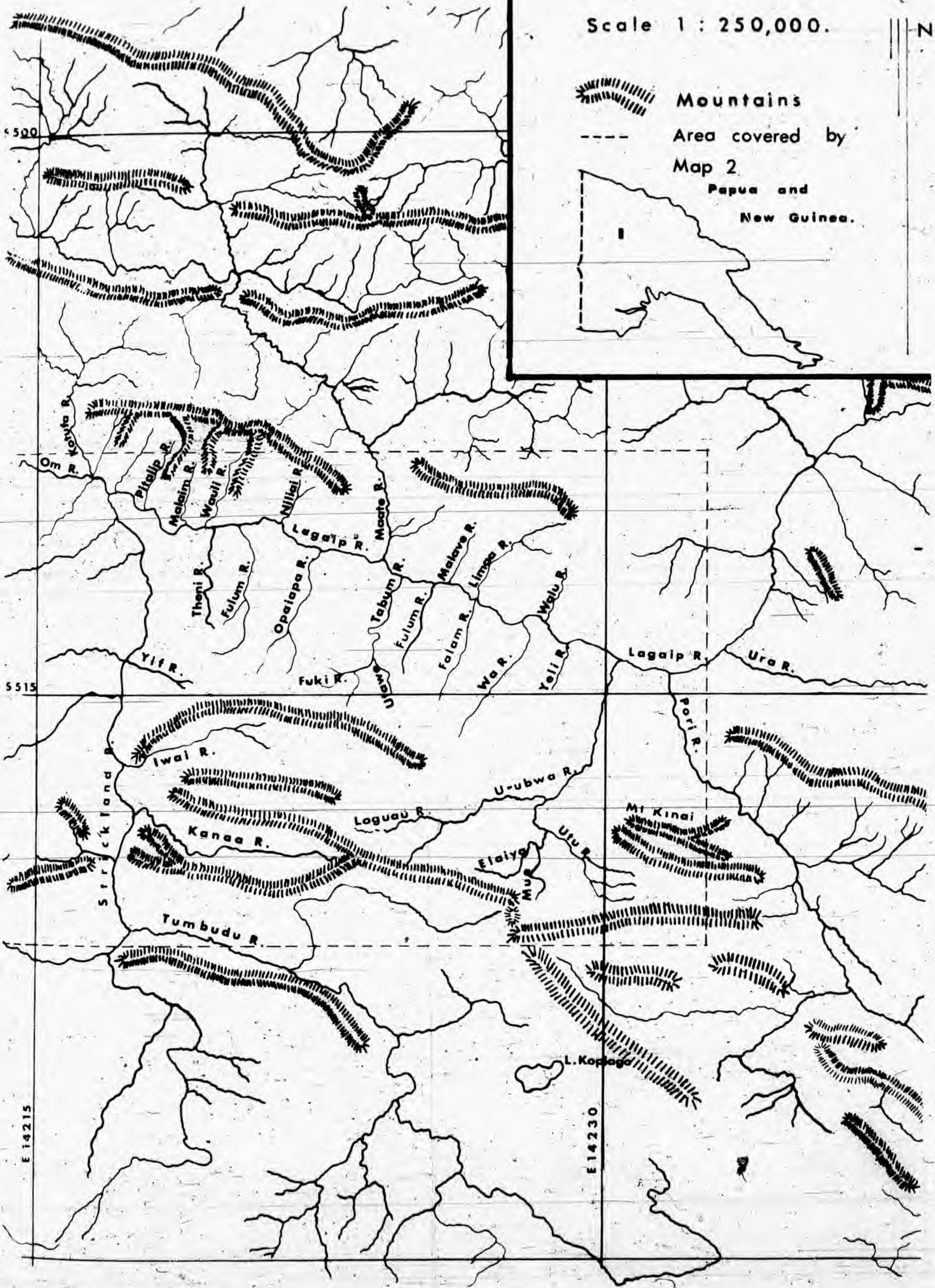
Mountains



Area covered by
Map 2

Papua and

New Guinea.



on this map I marked the location of the 67 Hewa houses occupied in September 1968. By measuring the distance from each house to the house nearest it, I calculated the average distance between neighbouring houses, 'as the crow flies', to be roughly .65 miles, the closest two houses being .25 miles apart, the furthest distance between two neighbouring houses being 1.70 miles. From my experiences in walking with Hewa from one house to the next on the very rough, ill-defined and steep paths, I found that the time taken to cover this average 'crow's flight' distance of .65 miles across the sharply angular terrain is about 1 to 1½ hours; thus, for many Hewa, their closest neighbour is more than 2 hours away. The distances between houses are so great that an elaborate and melodious form of communication by 'singing-out' across wide and deep valleys has been developed in the Hewa.

European Influence

A few Hewa saw a white man in 1939 when Patrol Officer J. R. Black led an exploratory patrol along the east-west spine of New Guinea on his return from Telefomin to Mt Hagen. This patrol passed rapidly through the Hewa area north of the Lagaip River. During the course of this patrol one Hewa was shot and killed.¹

World War II interrupted any further contact with Europeans, and it was not until the 1960s that a government patrol again penetrated the area.² This was

1

The Hagen-Sepik patrol. Personal communication from J. R. Black.

2

In 1958, while leading a patrol up the Strickland River, J. P. Sinclair approached the southern edge of the Hewa area and saw one Hewa house and several Hewa; (1966:164-6).

PLATE 1



Hewa Landscape



Women and children at sing-sing

followed by a few fast moving two-week excursions through portions of the area. All these patrols were brief because the participants, with the exception of the patrol officer and policemen, had to carry their own provisions: the Hewa were too thinly populated to provide food for the 60-80 men who formed the patrols.

The extreme remoteness of the Hewa from one another, as well as from neighbouring peoples, is probably the major factor which has kept the Hewa isolated from European influence. When I entered the Hewa area in 1966, the only sign of European influence was the steel axe. There were not many of them and they were so desired that men would walk for up to a day to borrow one from a friend. Most households had a stone axe (which are hafted as adzes throughout the Hewa), but only rarely did I see stone axes being used, and usually then by children and females. Many of the steel axe heads in the Hewa seem to have come into the area via a traditional stone axe trading route before there was any direct contact between the Hewa and Europeans. The Hewa term for the stone axe is ain, while the term for steel axe is tsino, presumably borrowed from the same people from whom they acquired the steel axe.

The Hewa saw airplanes before they saw white men, with the possible exception of the few Hewa on the north side of the Lagaip who may have seen J. R. Black in 1939. Airplanes were first considered to be large, loud, terrifying birds, but later were identified with the bearers of steel axes and called tsino after these axes.

When white men began to appear, they were also referred to as tsino (or tsino mopi, 'steel axe men'). When I entered the Hewa area in 1966, tsino was still being used to designate white men, but it was

beginning to be replaced by mopi wauma, 'cream coloured men'.

Colour differences between men on a patrol were at first not obvious to the Hewa. All men on a patrol were simply referred to as tsino. When the Hewa began to appreciate the power of the gun, they started to use the term inviai, 'bowmen', to refer to the patrol members. Only later, when they began to perceive the rigid hierarchy of the patrol, did they come to distinguish various categories of men: the commanding white man, followed in status (and usually in walking order) by the rifle-carrying policemen with their distinctive dress, who were followed in turn by the Kopiago carriers in native dress. The guides and translators, who enabled the 'kiap' (Pidgin for Government Officer) and policemen to communicate with the carriers, were rather indistinguishable.

In 1968, when the Hewa were using mopi wauma ('cream coloured men') to refer to white men, a medical assistant at Kopiago, from Manus, who dressed like a European and rode a motorcycle, was referred to as a mopi wauma by Hewa who had accompanied me to Kopiago. Thus behaviour and dress, and not skin colour, were used to categorize people as mopi wauma, despite the term's obvious colour specification.

During my 22 months of fieldwork (from October 1966 to December 1967, and from July 1968 to February 1969) approximately half of the Hewa region remained one of the last two Restricted Areas in New Guinea, that is, it was an area officially designated as uncontrolled from which Europeans, including missionaries, were banned. These areas were not de-restricted until 1971. Despite earlier free access to the non-restricted southern portion

of the Hewa region, there still are neither missionaries nor government officials based in the entire Hewa area. The closest government post, missions, and air strip are at Lake Kopiago (established in 1961 and opened to missionaries in 1964), two days' walk from the nearest Hewa house.

The Lutherans, Catholics, Apostolics and Seventh Day Adventists at Lake Kopiago have all made brief forays into the Hewa area but none has succeeded in establishing relations with the people there. All attribute this failure to the extreme dispersal of the population. Nevertheless, the Hewa remain attractive to many missions: they are distinctive in language and culture, with some unusual features for Western Highlands District, and are one of the last few people in New Guinea not yet under the influence of any mission.

A complaint often heard from both government officers and missionaries at Lake Kopiago, was that the Hewa population was too scattered to be effectively brought under the influence of their respective organisations. It was felt that if the Hewa could only be brought together in a settlement, a patrol post or mission could be established among them. I was regularly asked to suggest to the Hewa that they move together.

It is not the fear of Hewa violence that has kept missionaries and patrol officers out of the Hewa area. Other than a possible attack in 1939 (which may have been provoked by the native policemen on Black's patrol), the Hewa have never threatened Europeans, their policemen, nor their carriers. They are considered friendly and harmless by government officials. They are also terrified of rifles. One of the first acts of 'initial contact' patrols in the Hewa area (and New Guinea

generally) is a demonstration of the patrol officer's power by a display of the effects of the gun, thus guaranteeing the security of the patrol. Evidence supporting this point can be seen in most reports of patrols into areas of minimal contact. One old Hewa told me that all Hewa have been afraid of white men from the first time they saw one and, therefore, would never try to kill one. As we shall see, the Hewa frequently kill; but they kill each other, not strangers.

It is also not just the rugged terrain which has prevented missionaries and administrative officers from establishing themselves in Hewa country. In equally rough terrain (in Chimbu and other places), roads have been successfully built. It is true, however, that such roads have generally gone through areas with a high population density which provided the labour necessary for their construction. But the high population density also provided the reason for the road in the first place: It is the concentrated populations which Europeans want to influence. Even if a road were to be built into the Hewa area, the problem of reaching the individual households in order to influence the Hewa would remain: there are no aggregates of houses to be reached by such a road. Indeed, an officer who led a government patrol into the area in 1962 noted: 'Many of the Hewa settlements are so remote and inaccessible as to be beyond the reach of the average patrol'.¹ Administrative and missionary officers cannot influence people they cannot reach.

Geography and Demography

As can be seen from Map 2 the 100-square-mile

¹
Lake Kapiago Patrol Report, No.4, of 1962/3 by D. F. Permezel.

Hewa area with which we are concerned is dominated by a large mass of limestone mountains. These mountains rise in the south to an altitude of about 8,000 feet a.s.l., forming a natural barrier between the Hewa and the Kopiago/Duna peoples.

There are three tracks connecting the Hewa area with the Kopiago area. One skirts the westernmost flank of the mountain range, following the Strickland River. The second track cuts across the mountain range at 6,600 feet a.s.l., connecting the headwaters of the Urubwa River with the Lake Kopiago basin. The third track goes around the southeastern flank of the range, connecting the headwaters of the Pori with the Lake Kopiago area. These tracks are by no means well-trodden, in places they are almost non-existent, a fact attesting to the minimal and irregular contact between the Hewa and Kopiago peoples.

From the altitude of about 8,000 feet a.s.l., the mountains drop northwards in spurs toward the Lagaip River whose river bed at this point is about 1,500 feet a.s.l. It is on these spurs, separated by small, swift rivers and streams, that the Hewa live and cultivate their gardens at altitudes ranging from 2,300 to 2,600 feet a.s.l. The preference for this quite narrow range of altitude seems to have prevented the Hewa from spreading southwards, up the rising slopes of the mountains.

To the north, across the Lagaip River, the land again rises even more sharply to an altitude of about 10,000 feet a.s.l., forming a segment of the long east-west Central Range, a major watershed of New Guinea. Here again the Hewa houses and gardens are widely dispersed

and built at altitudes of about 2,500 feet.¹

Since the dominating feature of the Hewa landscape is a pronounced slope from the mountain peaks in the north and south to the Lagaip lying between them, almost all the land in the Hewa area is sharply angular - there are few level areas.

* * *

All rivers in the Hewa region flow into the Lagaip, which in turn, after being joined by the Om, becomes the dangerous and turbulent Strickland. Although there is some movement of people across the Lagaip, this river is always dangerous and significantly reduces the contact between people living on its opposite sides. The Pori, the largest tributary of the Lagaip, poses similar limitations.

Of the smaller rivers, only the Urubwa and Tabum are difficult to cross and they are dangerous only following heavy rains. They, like all the smaller rivers, and streams, are crossed by wading. The larger rivers, the Lagaip, Pori and sometimes the Strickland, are crossed by rafts. These are made by wrapping a few short logs together by a vine. They are propelled through the water by a man kicking his legs while clutching the bundle of logs to his chest. Women, children and young pigs are ferried across these dangerous waters while perched terrified on these unsteady craft (see Plate 3). Although most Hewa males can swim,² rivers are seldom crossed

¹ This area, extending along the north side of the Lagaip and the Om, was a Restricted Area until 1971.

² With a frog-like action, never putting their head below the water. However when some Hewa returned to Lake Kapiago with me, they refused to swim in the still water of the lake, insisting that they could only swim in a current.

by swimming.

Another important concern the Hewa have with their water ways is the small, clear streams near which they always build their houses and which supply them with their drinking water. The Hewa, except in times of drought, do not drink water from the larger streams, claiming that they have been contaminated by people drowning and by defecation. This careful separation, for public health, of sources of water for drinking as opposed to other purposes, has been reported elsewhere in the Highlands.

* * *

There are no marked seasons, the closest approximation to a yearly cycle being the time particular plants take to produce their fruit. For example, the time span between the beginnings of two ogal ye seasons (marita, or fruit Pandanus 'times') equals about one year.

There has been no measurement of rainfall in the Hewa area, but it seems to approximate that of Lake Kapiago, which has received an average of 140 inches per year from 1961-1966, spread fairly evenly throughout the year. The longest period without rain, in this five-year period, was three months in 1965 (June, July and August), and this drought forced the Hewa to abandon their gardens and move down to the banks of the larger rivers for drinking water.

It rains, on average, about 3/4 inch every other night. If it does not rain for one week the Hewa will begin discussing the possibility of burning bush that has been cut in preparation for a garden, and after another rainless week, they make use of the dry spell by burning

the now dried brush.

Temperatures usually range between about 65°F at night and 85°F during the day. Thus days are rarely stifling while nights are usually mild.

* * *

Most of the Hewa area is covered by dense rain forest, which presents the hunter or traveller with an almost impenetrable tangle of vines, thorns and roots. The large trees, which sometimes reach a height of more than 200 feet, produce a canopy above the ground, which practically prevents the sunlight from reaching the undergrowth and drying the flatter ground, thus leaving almost eternal seas of mud in some areas.

Most of the forest appears to be of virgin growth; however, it is difficult to distinguish between virgin forest and areas which contained gardens perhaps 60 or 70 years ago. There are a few spots of kunai grass (Imperata cylindrica) which perhaps were once gardens, but the Hewa are uncertain of the origins of the kunai and comment only that they are good areas for hunting wild pigs (which make their 'houses' in the kunai). Near many Hewa houses are areas of secondary forest: none of the larger trees has a diameter of more than six to 12". Often new gardens are built in such forests. However, areas of apparently primary forest are also used for new gardens. In this case, although tree diameters are much larger and hence the trees take longer to cut, there are fewer trees to be felled and often a giant tree will take several smaller ones with it when it falls. Also the undergrowth is less dense and therefore requires less work to clear than in areas of secondary forest.

* * *

While animals are not usually encountered on walks along foot-paths, signs of some animals can often be detected. For example, the tracks and rooting marks of wild pigs are rather frequently seen, and cassowary droppings are sometimes found. Both the cassowary and the wild pig may be heard crashing off through the bush after having been startled. The fauna of the Hewa region is more or less typical of the mountainous areas of New Guinea. The most frequently seen animals include possums, tree kangaroos, wallabies, cuscus, bandicoots, rats. At least 31 species of birds are hunted, the most prominent of which are the hornbill, the black and white cockatoo, the bush turkey, the red bird of paradise and various pigeons. Snakes can sometimes be seen, as well as lizards, some of which are three to four feet long. There are no crocodiles. There are at least two species of fish in the rivers. The Hewa do not make fish traps; instead they catch fish by kicking them out of shallow water during periods of drought. Needless to say, fish are not an important part of the Hewa diet.

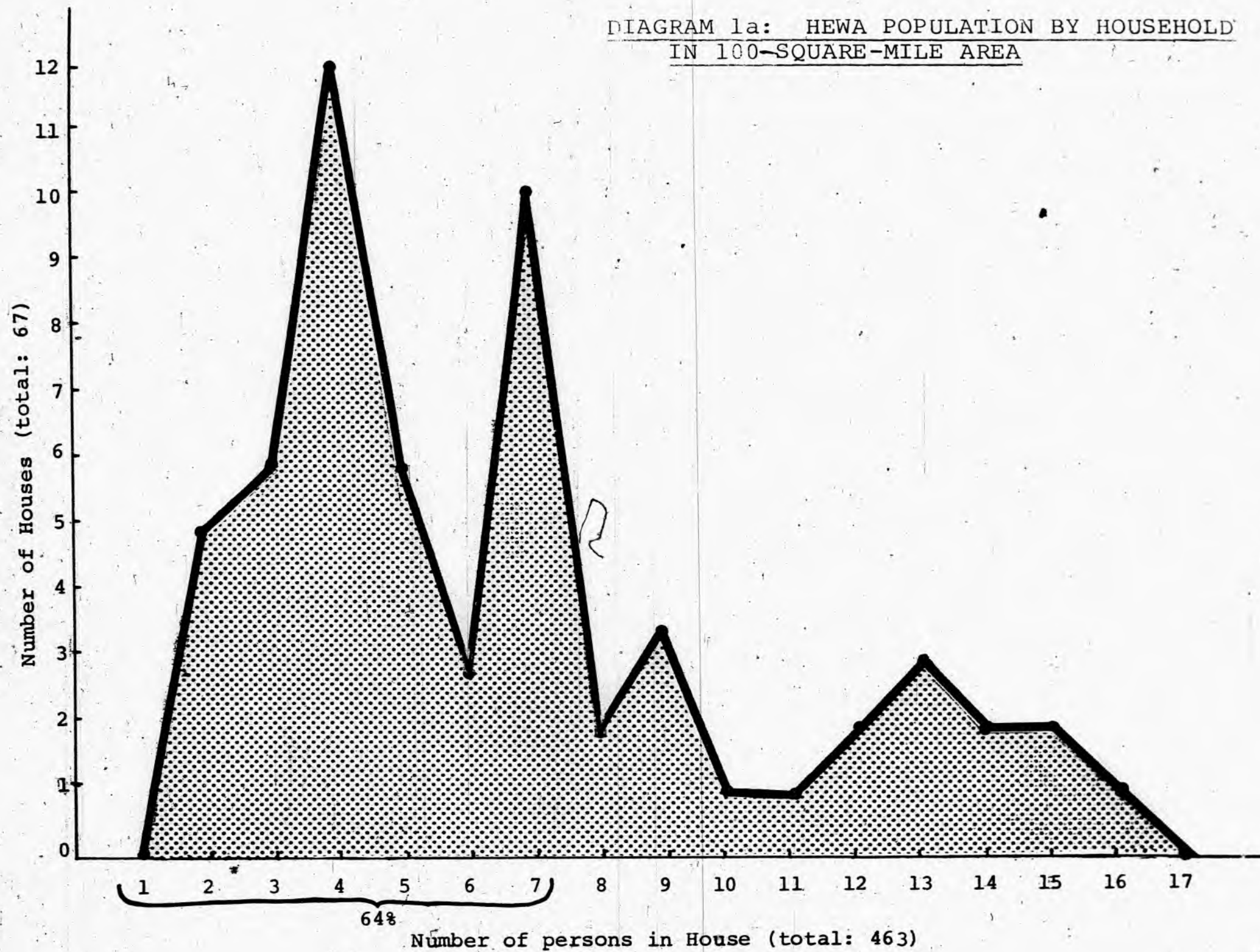
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In September 1968 I took a census of the people living within the area bordered by the Pori, Lagaip and Strickland rivers and the mountain range to the south. In this 100-square-mile area lived 463 people: 255 males and 208 females. They lived in 67 houses which contained on average 6.91 inhabitants. The household size ranged from two to 16 persons, 72 per cent of the houses held less than ten people (see Diagram 1a). If the 100 square miles were flat, the density per square mile would be 4.6 people. However, the land is steeply sloping which increases the surface area and hence decreases the population density.

DIAGRAM 1a: HEWA POPULATION BY HOUSEHOLD
IN 100-SQUARE-MILE AREA



The disparity in the male/female ratio (255:208) approaches the 1 per cent probability level and is thus significant. However, this uneven ratio may not be as significant as the probability level suggests: even though I carefully checked the census data, the information Hewa gave me may have been biased towards a higher male ratio since I would later find that people often failed to mention young children, especially females. Thus the 255/208 ratio needs to be treated with caution. There is no evidence for female infanticide.

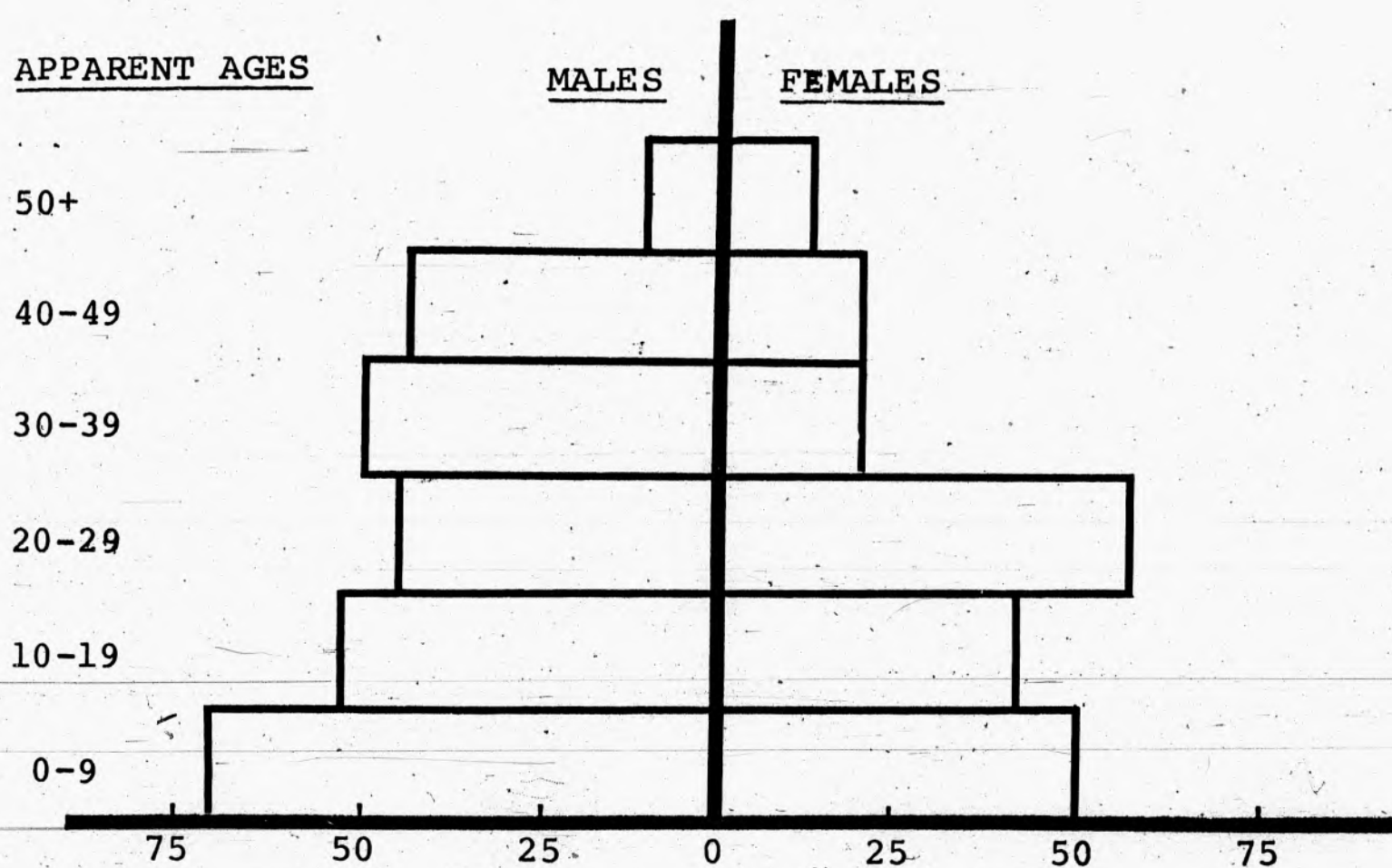
In Diagram 1b, I present an age pyramid of the population by ten year cohorts. Again, the birth data must be treated with caution. There are of course no birth records for the Hewa and consequently the ages given are based on my estimates. There are, however, some external guides which I used and which helped to make the estimates reasonably correct.

Most of the 463 people in our area know rather precisely whether they are younger or older than a given individual within the Hewa area.¹ Thus, using a single scale of relative ages, I was able to establish with some certainty the relative age of many of the 463 people. In estimating the age of children, I checked how many baby teeth or permanent teeth they had. A girl's age could also be estimated by establishing whether she had already started to menstruate or whether she had begun to develop breasts. These last three guidelines give of course only very approximate results, since physical development varies among individuals and populations. Nevertheless,

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Their concern with distinctive relative ages is expressed in the Hewa kinship system which rigidly designates which of two same sex siblings is younger and which older (see Chapter Six).

DIAGRAM 1b : APPARENT AGE PYRAMID OF HEWA POPULATION
SEPTEMBER 1968 IN 100-SQUARE-MILE AREA BY 10 YEAR
COHORTS



Males: 255
 Females: 208
 Total: 463

these guidelines are preferable to mere guesses.

External Influences on the Hewa

Linguistically the Hewa appear to be related to people living to their north, across the Central Range, in the hills and mountains south of the Sepik River (see Map 1). The language family of this widely dispersed category of people has been termed the Sepik Hill Family.¹ Besides vocabulary, there are other similarities between the Hewa and the peoples to their north in dress, equipment and housebuilding techniques (ibid; Townsend, W., 1969). But there are also some interesting and important differences. The most striking difference is that, whereas 'most of the Sepik Hill peoples subsist on (wild) sago (providing more than 80 per cent of the Hewa diet) (Townsend, W., op.cit.:199), supplemented with game, fish and wild greens,'² the Hewa hardly eat it. Almost the only importance of the sago tree to the Hewa is that the leaf provides the principal roofing material. In contrast to their sago-eating cousins to the north, the Hewa cultivate the sweet potato.

This difference in the basic diet has the important consequence that the most serious problem in food production in the Hewa area is the protection of gardens, since in one night a single wild pig can enter a garden and uproot an entire sweet potato crop. The constant threat to their most important food source has led the Hewa to construct elaborate, sturdy, cane-bound garden fences, approximately five feet high. The building and maintenance

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W. Dye, P. Townsend, W. Townsend; 1968:147.

2

Dye, Townsend and Townsend, op.cit.:146.

of these fences require much time and effort. This means that, together with housebuilding, fencing is the most labour-intensive task of the Hewa male.

In addition to the Sepik Hill peoples to the north, across the Central Range, the Hewa are bounded on the east by the Paiela, Ipili and Nere peoples, all speakers of an Enga-like language. To the west, on the west side of the Strickland River, live the Oksapmin people, and to the south the Kopiago Duna. All of these bordering peoples have various trade relations with the Hewa groups living nearest to them. Salt comes from the east, passing through Hewa hands and moves both west, across the Strickland to the Oksapmin, and north, across the Central Range to the Sepik Hill peoples. Stone axes (i.e., adzes) come from the north across the Central Range into the Hewa and radiate outwards, reaching the Oksapmin, Kopiago and eastern Hewa. The strong black palm bows used by the Hewa come mainly from the Oksapmin peoples to the west.

In the extreme north-west corner of our 100-square-mile area are Hewa who claim to be descendants of an Oksapmin male. This category of people, who identify themselves as members of three different Fauip clans (see Map 2), provide the almost sole trading contact with the Oksapmin (termed Nalu in Hewa). Several people living in this northwest corner can, indeed, speak some Nalu, although they are all in fact, by dress, culture, language and kinship ties, fully Hewa. This phenomenon of obvious Hewa clans claimed to have originated from non-Hewa males is not unique to the Fauip clans. Two other clans, the Kanoip clan whose members live near the Fauip, and the Titip clan whose members live in the southeast of our 100 square miles, are both said to descend from males of

Duna/Kopiago¹ clans, the Kanaa and Dilini, respectively. In Chapter Five I briefly offer a possible explanation for assertions of non-Hewa origins of Hewa clans.

Of all these external influences on the Hewa, the major one on the people living in our 100-square-mile area is that of the Kopiago people. As mentioned above, the Hewa have three poorly defined tracks which lead to three Kopiago settlements. These three settlements and their territories are named: Galaga and Karoteki to the west and east, respectively, of the mountains separating the two cultures, and between these two, Tsagaropi which is situated on the Hewa side of the mountain range.² These three-to-five house communities, placed in a sort of no-man's land, would in themselves make a fascinating study which could reveal the kinds of relations that exist between two culturally alien groups (e.g., which rules and customs are followed by whom and in which situation). I will only remark briefly on several of the more apparent features.

These contact communities consist mainly of men who identify themselves by dress, language and assertion as Kopiagos, and their Hewa or part-Hewa spouses and

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There is no inclusive Duna/Kopiago name for the Duna/Kopiago people. Either the name 'Duna' or 'Kopiago' can be used to refer to these people.

2

Because of several deaths in Tsagaropi during the time I was in the Hewa area and the fact that several Kopiagos have abandoned Tsagaropi and moved across the mountain range toward the government station at Lake Kopiago, Tsagaropi is perhaps becoming a Hewa settlement. I have consequently marked the single (Hewa-like) house in Tsagaropi as a Hewa house in my census of September 1968 and included all the 12 people living in it, most of whom have a Hewa mother and some a Hewa father.

children. Their female offspring are often married to full Kopiagos to the south, whereas their male offspring marry either daughters of males also living in one of the three contact communities, or full-Hewa females. The maintenance of these ethnically mixed communities produces some interesting consequences, such as the gradual but steady flow of females from the Hewa to the Kopiagos. The Hewa claim that they do not get Kopiago females because bride price, approximately 16 pigs, is too high. Certainly, the low 'cost' of Hewa females (one or two pigs) is a factor which makes them attractive to Kopiago males. But not any Kopiago male can simply wander into the Hewa and, with one or two pigs, get a wife. The instances of Kopiago males getting Hewa wives occurred only when the males had quite close genealogical ties to some Hewa males. The grooms were thus almost invariably from these contact communities.

Many of the offspring resulting from the unions of such Kopiago males and Hewa females have some knowledge of the Hewa language.¹ In addition, they have ties as sister's children, grandchildren and cross-cousins to full-Hewa males who do not speak the Kopiago language. These male offspring are visited by and sometimes visit their male Hewa relatives and later may ask them to help them find a Hewa wife; thus the contact between the Hewa and the Kopiagos is perpetuated.

When these full-Hewa males visit their half-Hewa relatives they often use the occasion to trade. They may bring possum furs, wild piglets, bird feathers (especially those of the hornbill, the red bird of paradise

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About 40 per cent of the people in these communities speak some Hewa.

and the white cockatoo), net-bag cord, cassowary wing quills as well as cassowary leg-bones and toenails. In return they may get axe-heads and black palm bows which originate in the Oksapmin area, so far as I could determine. In addition, if a Hewa sweet potato crop has been uprooted by wild pigs, the trading Hewa may receive in return a large net-bag load of sweet potatoes. The trading between the men of these communities and their Hewa relatives constitutes virtually the only flow of goods between Hewa and Kopiagos.

As a rule, all the males permanently residing in these three communities identify themselves as Kopiagos, or more precisely, as members of the Kopiago clan of their father. However, if they are still young when their father dies, they may sometimes be taken by their mother to her Hewa area and there be brought up as a Hewa, i.e., they will dress, speak and live like Hewa. Presumably, the several Hewa clans said to be actually Kopiago clans, but with only Hewa speaking members, originated in this way. I will return to this in Chapter Five.

These contact communities look like any other Kopiago community, i.e., the houses are of the typical Highland low, earthen-floor type with separate dwellings for men and women. But sometimes there is an impressive high Hewa house in which both men and women reside together, although each sex is restricted to its own section.

With the exception of the few individual ties between members of the contact communities and Hewa, the relationships between the Hewa and the other Kopiagos are neither friendly nor hostile; they are neither each other's enemy (which implies hatred and hostility), nor friends. And yet they are not neutral. For each is wary of the other. It was difficult for me to obtain Kopiago carriers when I first wanted to walk through the Hewa because the

Kopiagos said they were afraid they would be killed and eaten. And after I had been living with Hewa, it was difficult to get Hewa to accompany me back to Kopiago - they had fears similar to those of the Kopiagos.

When I asked the Hewa why they were afraid of the Kopiagos, the answer was often that the Kopiagos fought with axes and spears, whereas the Hewa fight 'properly' with bows and arrows. I have recorded only a few fights between Kopiagos and Hewa, and these were only between individual Kopiagos of the contact communities and individual Hewa. The cause of such fights was almost always a dispute over a female.'

Fieldwork Situation

My initial contact with Hewa occurred in October, 1966, when I accompanied Robert Holst, a Lutheran missionary, and his Porgera carriers, on an exploratory walk from the Porgera airstrip to the eastern end of the Hewa area, crossing the Lagaip River on the way. We visited a Hewa-like house, built by and for some Nere people who speak a language similar to that of the Enga. Like Hewa houses, it was located by itself on a mountain slope.

The afternoon following our arrival, about ten Hewa males, brightly coloured and barking a staccato 'yip, yip, yip...', made a dramatic entrance, apparently attacking the house and its occupants. They raced fiercely up the hillside snapping their bow-strings against arrow shafts. After this spectacular introduction, they danced and sang, led by a solo drummer, for the next three nights while the large house, standing five to ten feet from the ground, swayed under their stamping feet. During the days we attempted to communicate with them but

were largely unsuccessful. The following day the Hewa left for their own area to the west. Our own group returned southward toward the Porgera airstrip. A week later I flew to Lake Kopiago and began preparations for walking into the center of the Hewa area.

My next contact with Hewa occurred on several two-week patrols through the Hewa area from the Lake Kopiago airstrip with the help of Kopiago carriers and guides. My aim was to establish a base where I could live with and study the Hewa.¹

On my first walk from Kopiago I followed a track along the Strickland River accompanied by 12 Kopiago males, one of whom spoke some Hewa. At each of the Hewa houses we came up to - which were often more than two tough walking hours apart - I asked the apparent household head whether I could live with him and his household. With a friendly smile on his face he would invariably refuse, saying he did not have enough food and that it would be too crowded. When I pointed out to him that I would be staying alone, that all the Kopiagos would return to their own place, he would simply smile again and repeat what he had said.

It was only toward the end of my second two-week walk through the Hewa area that I finally found a man,

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During my first field trip I was accompanied to New Guinea by my wife and three children. My family stayed near the Lake Kopiago airstrip where I visited them for a short time every two months. On these visits I was always accompanied by Hewa. Several Hewa stayed with my wife at Lake Kopiago, enabling her to do some work on the Hewa language. My oldest son visited me briefly in the field in December, 1967. During my second field trip my family remained in Australia.

Alulu, willing to let me stay with him. When I came up to his house he greeted me as if I were an old friend. Only later did I realise the fortuitous event which had led to this enthusiastic reception.

I soon realised that the one way I could be of value to Hewa was by sharing medicine with them which I had brought along for myself and the carriers. During my first walk from Kopiago I had poured penicillin and put bandages on many wounds and given malaria tablets to every person who seemed to be suffering from malaria. Possible benefits of my presence in the Hewa must have begun to be considered shortly after the first results of the medicine became noticeable. Indeed, several Hewa told me later they were at first puzzled and then impressed by my concern for their health and the results of the medicine. Alulu was one of the men to whom I had given malaria tablets on my first trip. He later told me that he had been sick for more than a month and thought he would die. A week after he had taken the tablets, he had recovered. When I saw him again several weeks later, he was strong, healthy, unrecognisable, and overjoyed to see me. Thus when I asked Alulu whether I could stay with him, he readily agreed. Much of my time in the Hewa was spent with Alulu's household, and I soon came to be considered as part of his family.

Alulu's household consisted of himself, his wife, his 17-year-old son, a nine-year-old daughter, a five-year-old daughter and a one-year-old boy. For some time, Alulu's oldest married daughter, who was 13, also lived in his house, together with her husband. The nine-year-old daughter soon left the household because she married and moved to her husband's house.

These six to eight people were for much of the

time my social universe. However, visitors, especially neighbours, would come every few days and we would often visit other people. But since the nearest house was $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours away, each visit would take a full day, and much of our time and energy were spent on hard walking. Frequently we slept one or two nights at a visited house.

The purposes of the visits were mainly:

1. to help roof a new house with sago leaves
2. to help floor a new house with pandanus slats
3. to receive food, which was usually bananas, marita, bread-fruit seeds, and sometimes pork
4. to dance at a sing-sing when a new house had been completed
5. to trade for bows, axes, cowrie shells, salt and other objects of value.

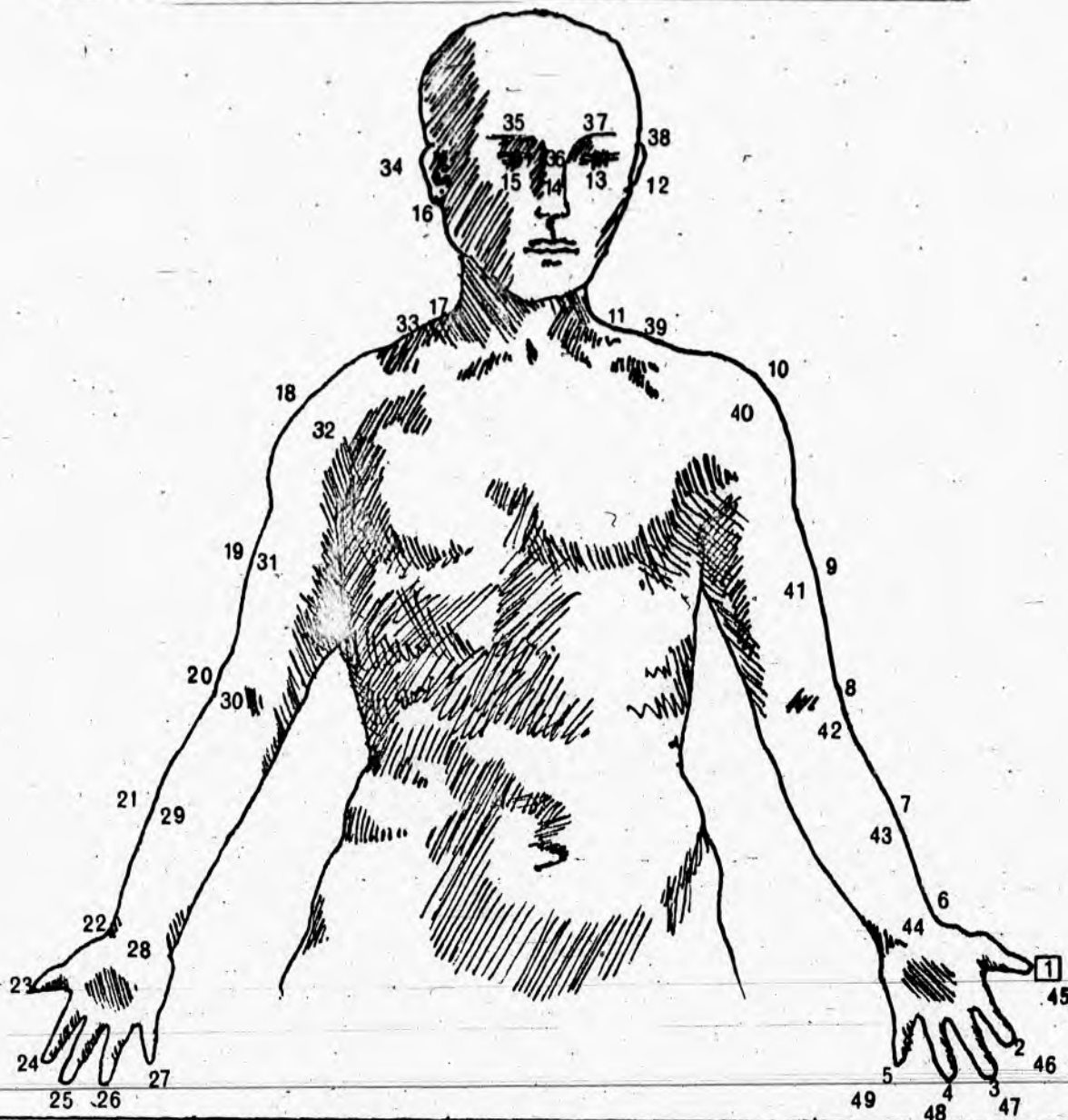
All these events are usually anticipated several weeks in advance. The Hewa have an elaborate number system (see Diagram 1c) whose main use appears to be to specify precisely when such events will take place.

I generally accompanied the males of my household wherever they went.¹ This meant that I took part in their hunting, visiting, trading, house and garden building. Initially, I always was the one who had to follow. Only in the last half of my first field trip was I able to get a male to walk with me to the house I wanted to visit. Despite this, I visited virtually all the 67 houses inside our 100-square-mile area and slept in most of them. My field technique was to live, sleep and eat with the Hewa, to do what they did as well as I could, to observe

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I was not permitted to accompany the females alone.

DIAGRAM 1c : THE HEWA COUNTING SYSTEM



HEWA TERM	FIRST SIDE	SECOND SIDE		FIRST SIDE	TRANSLATION
	NO PREFIX	PREFIX YO-	PREFIX LE A-	PREFIX IN-	
name	1	23		45	thumb
nomalu	2	24		46	1st finger
favlo	3	25		47	2nd finger
kaalu	4	26		48	3rd finger
kele	5	27		49	little finger
maluen	6	22	28	44	wrist
taku	7	21	29	43	forearm
alon	8	20	30	42	elbow
lapin	9	19	31	41	biceps
ale	10	18	32	40	shoulder
la	11	17	33	39	neck
ape	12	16	34	38	ear
ni	13	-fa-15	35	37	eye
kaki	14			36	nose

everything I could, and to constantly ask what they were doing and why they were doing it.

* * *

In the beginning, the language problem was formidable. At the time I began my research, no linguist had yet worked on the Hewa language. Consequently I was in total ignorance with regard to the Hewa tongue. There was not one Hewa who could speak Pidgin. One Kopiago male from one of the contact communities described above claimed he could speak some Hewa. He, however, could not speak Pidgin English. Thus, in order to get any information from the Hewa, I had to first tell the question to a Kopiago who spoke Pidgin. This man then translated the question into Kopiago to the man from the contact community. Then that man translated the question as well as he could into Hewa. The answer to my question had to travel the same tortuous road in the other direction.

This method was intensely laborious and frustrating for all of us involved. Only the most simple queries could be made, and there was no way for me to check that the Hewa at the end of the line was given the question I had asked in the beginning. An additional problem was created by the Kopiago interpreters who were condescending toward the Hewa. This was irritating to the Hewa who were, after all, on their own territory. They also did not enjoy talking in the formal and public atmosphere engendered by the group of at least four men who had always to be present.

Thus, after several months, I decided to send all the Kopiagos back to Lake Kopiago. From then on I struggled on alone in the Hewa language. By the end of my first field trip I could communicate in Hewa fairly



Alfred M. 1909



Alfred M. and his
son Alfred M.

well. During my second field trip to the Hewa, from August 1968 to February 1969, I was able to work with a Hewa who had just returned to Lake Kopiago from the coast. In 1966, he had been the first Hewa to be sent to work on a plantation. He spoke Pidgin fluently and, while my proficiency in the Hewa language continued to improve, whatever I could not express or understand in Hewa was reliably translated by him.

Reason for choice of Hewa

Before I began fieldwork among the Hewa, I was convinced that concepts (religious beliefs, grammatical categories, economic notions, Weltanschauung etc.) strongly influence behaviour - in sum: cultural determinism. A paper I had written in 1965 had been an attempt to demonstrate that a Trobriand semantic system (in this case kinship) was strongly influenced by the belief that males cannot reproduce. In order to appreciate the possible range and type of behaviour influenced by cultural ideas, I tried to locate a group of people virtually uninfluenced by European concepts. One of the few places in the world where this possibility exists is New Guinea. Of the New Guinea societies, the isolated Hewa particularly seem to satisfy this criterion.

During the early part of my fieldwork I gathered data on and examined semantic/conceptual systems. After about a half year of analysing such semantic fields or domains, I began to question the significance of such an approach. Living, travelling, working and hunting with the Hewa, made it clear to me that their basic concerns, the concerns motivating their behaviour, were similar to my own. Among other things, I was greatly impressed by the fact that, despite my initial ignorance of the language, we could understand each other well enough to

live together. This fact of experiencing the world in a similar way became increasingly obvious as I acquired greater proficiency in the language. The apparent conceptual differences between us turned out again and again to be rather unimportant, and usually easily explained. Let me digress for a moment in order to make my position more clear. For example, the Hewa classify the cassowary as a wam, a category which includes the wild pig, the monitor lizard and various possums. The category, wam, is opposed to the category, nuk, meaning birds, but it includes the bat. When I pointed out the bird-like qualities of the cassowary (e.g., lays eggs, no teeth, feathers, two rather than four legs, etc.) Hewa readily agreed that, indeed, the cassowary is more like a bird than a wild pig. But they were puzzled why I took an interest in such esoteric matters. As I will discuss in Chapter Two, the various wam and the various nuk are hunted by two distinctive methods: wam hunting and nuk hunting. These two methods explain the two categories. It is the flesh of these animals and how they are obtained that interest the Hewa, not whether the cassowary is more similar to a hornbill than to a wild pig.

It has been demonstrated that for those people who have one word for something (e.g., a colour) as opposed to a phrase, the thing can be more easily communicated and, perhaps, more easily thought about. That is, 'one's ability to encode an experience and one's ability to recall that experience are related' (Landar et al, 1960:370).

An important question here, however, is: How important are such names? More precisely: What are the kinds of things which can be influenced by the possession of such symbols?

It may be that the mere possession of such symbols does not itself greatly influence behaviour. Rather, it is the use to which such symbols are put that is significant and which has important consequences. The explanation of this use of language must lie outside of language. I suggest that the use to which language is put, as well as the very existence of language, lies in the behavioural motivations of people. It is on the basis of these behavioural dispositions that, in an evolutionary sense, language has come about, and, in a synchronic sense, language is used.

Linguists deal, in general, with the way language is used; more specifically, with the ordering of linguistic signs. Anthropologists, on the other hand, must attempt to explain why language, as well as all other symbolic (i.e., communicative) acts are used. That is, an attempt can be made to answer the question: why do people speak, dance, make objects of art, make attractive, repulsive or intimidating gestures (even involuntarily), decorate themselves etc.? A source of interesting hypotheses concerning such motivations can be found by examining the effects of such symbolic behaviour. It is not enough to describe semantic categories and systems. It is necessary to indicate the use of such categories and to propose hypotheses to explain them. In the following chapters I will propose some tentative explanations for some Hewa behaviour.

The descriptions contained in this thesis are not in any sense a reconstruction based on my belief of what Hewa life was like sometime in the past. They are, rather, a statement of my observations and the recent observations of Hewa people, the past being used only to the extent it supplied additional instances of behaviour already witnessed.

Because of the extremely dispersed residence of the Hewa in their almost inaccessible location, the data, in some respects, may not be as detailed as those presented in ethnographies of people in more accessible (and consequently more influenced) areas. On the other hand, the entire range of Hewa activities I describe, in particular killing and its consequences and the delicate balance of factors influencing residence and its effects, are virtually uninfluenced by any central authority, administrative or missionary. Thus my description provides an example of a wholly functioning, non-centralised society. In this respect, I hope that what is undeniably aboriginal in this thesis will make amends for the sometimes uneven detail.

CHAPTER TWO

THINGS OF VALUE: PRODUCTION

Introduction

In order to build up a picture of Hewa life, it is important, first, to think of small, isolated groups of one to three men living together with their wives and children in a single house, separated from other houses by a walk of one to two hours. Like people everywhere, their primary concerns are for food, security and sex. In order to satisfy these desires, a number of arrangements and techniques have been developed. In this and the following two chapters, I will attempt to describe these arrangements and techniques.

The Hewa are an on-going society and it is difficult to decide at which arbitrary point to break into their behaviour in order to begin its description. I shall begin, first, with the production of things, anything, of value. In Chapter Three I shall describe the distribution of things of value, and in Chapter Four their consumption or use. Wherever appropriate, I will discuss relevant activities surrounding the production, distribution and consumption of things of value.

Note that the 'things of value', which I sometimes refer to as valuables, is a far broader category than those described by many Highland ethnographers (see, for example, Salisbury 1962:90-1). It includes any object desired by people, or, more objectively, any object for which people will give their time and energy.

The focus in this chapter is on matters which take up the greatest amount of the Hewa's time. On the whole, I attempt to apportion the amount of attention and description I give to the various activities roughly according to the amount of time the Hewa spend on them, assuming that the amount of time spent on an activity can be used as a general indicator of the importance to

them of that activity.

In this section I will discuss the growing, gathering and hunting of food, the building of houses, and the making of equipment or objects.

A. Gardening and Gathering

Day after day, the behaviour most frequently observed was that directed towards the production or acquisition of food. Such activity is not only the most commonly seen, it is the most commonly talked about, fought over and dreamed of as well. Of this subsistence activity, the greatest part is taken up by the construction, planting and protection of gardens, the gathering of various tree-grown products and of vegetables, the search for wild animals and the care of domesticated pigs.

Although it is often pointed out that food is not just for eating (Lea, 1968:173-84), it is important to stress that virtually all food eventually ends up in someone's belly, either directly by being eaten, or indirectly, by being given to an animal which is eaten. The nutritive value of food is its fundamental quality, at least for the Hewa.

The Garden and its Crops

Because the garden is the most dependable and by far the major source of food throughout the year, the most prominent activity concerned with getting food, in terms of prior planning and of amount produced, is gardening. Almost every male between the ages of 13 and 50 has a garden or, together with one or two other males, is part-owner of a garden. This necessitates that each man must spend on average from two to three days weekly on the preparation and maintenance (with regard

to the fences) of his garden(s). Females work usually on either their fathers' or their husbands' gardens, or, when first married and living uxorilocally, on both. Females sometimes speak of having their own gardens, but women always require males to cut the trees and build the necessary fences. Thus, the claim of female ownership is sometimes disputed by the husband when the produce is distributed. The women's main gardening duty is helping to clear the undergrowth, fetching the fence-building materials, planting and harvesting the various crops. Occasional weeding is also part of the women's work.

Gardens, usually located on extremely steep mountain slopes, are generally rather small, about 200' by 200', surrounded by a very sturdy lawyer-cane-fastened split-log fence. The fence, which requires much work, is constructed in an attempt to keep out pigs, particularly wild pigs, which are a constant threat to the garden. If a pig manages to penetrate, it can uproot the entire sweet potato crop in one night, a crop which would usually provide the main staple food for a household for two to four months. Most Hewa gardens I have seen had a track beaten around the outside perimeter by pigs searching for a weakness or low spot in the fence.

The Hewa plant a number of crops typical of the Highlands, the most significant being the sweet potato, agwe. A striking difference between the Hewa and most Highlanders, however, is that the Hewa, when planting sweet potato, do not work the soil, build mounds or use trenching techniques. Instead they plant sweet potatoes like bananas and taro: a pointed stick is jabbed into the ground and sweet potato runners, or vines, are simply bent and pushed into the small hole. In spite of this casual technique, Hewa sweet potatoes are in general much larger than the ones grown, for example, in Lake Kapiago,

and may reach a weight of six pounds.

Sweet potato is the only dependable abundant food which can be eaten year round. The Hewa express the importance of their staple food aptly by calling the white cockatoo's main food, a tree growing berry, nuk numa agwe (white cockatoo sweet potato). There are at least 16 kinds of sweet potato recognised by the Hewa.

In addition to the sweet potato, the Hewa also plant bananas and taro in their gardens. Bananas are quite a preferred food, and some gardens consist predominantly of banana trees. I have recorded at least 15 types of bananas. Taro, as well has several varieties.

In addition to the sweet potato, bananas and taro grown in gardens generally, there are various other plants which I have seen planted in many of the gardens. Below is a list of the main plants:

<u>tomai</u>	beans (native)
<u>kolich taiyu</u>	leaves of a green vegetable (Pidgin <u>kumu</u>)
<u>paikwa/me agwe</u>	manioc (several types)
<u>alia</u>	sugar cane (at least 7 types)
<u>pene</u>	cucumber (native)
<u>agwe ta</u>	yam (very rare)
<u>lufa lufa</u>	a green (Pidgin <u>apika</u>)
<u>wat sich</u>	a green (Pidgin <u>kumu</u>)
<u>naku</u>	long pit pit (<u>Saccharum edule</u>)
<u>itsau</u>	short pit pit (<u>Setoria</u> <u>palmifolia</u>)

Choice of Garden Site

The most important consideration in choosing a garden site in the Hewa is its distance from the house, or a producing garden, of the gardeners. Initially a house and garden are built at the same place. However, because the house lasts about two years and the garden (except for banana plants) only one year, the two are often found apart.

Although the location of the residence is the primary consideration (which in turn is based on the kinds of personal and kinship relationships the head of the household has with the neighbouring households), whether the garden or the house is built first depends on other factors. If the new house is to be built a considerable distance from the old house (perhaps a two to three hours' walk) a garden is usually made first in the new location so that the people who are working on the new garden either travel out and back each day from their old house, or sleep in a rock- or temporary timber-and-leaf shelter, casually built near the new garden. The main problem in such an undertaking is the distance from food. Moves to a distance greater than about a three hours' walk are rare and usually made only when there is fear of physical violence.¹ Such long-distance moves are invariably made to a household of a man with whom one has close personal or kinship ties and on whom one can depend for security and subsistence for at least six to eight months - the time it takes for a garden to be made and brought into production.

For the typical move, a distance of half to one hour's walk, either the house is built first or the house and garden are built at the same time. The house requires much more labour than a garden, often three to four months - hence, the importance of an established supply of food nearby.

Garden Sequence

Once the garden site has been determined, the garden is developed in a fixed order, clearly marked by

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E.g., fear of retaliation by a neighbour, after abducting a wife.

Hewa designation.

1. No mopal (ground clearing)

The entire household, men, women and children, works together in clearing the area from undergrowth and small saplings. The debris then is piled in small heaps which, when dry, will be burnt.

No mopal usually takes a week or two, depending on the size of the household and the garden area. The work day is from about 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. with breaks every two hours or so during which men smoke their tobacco wrapped in leaves while the women and children eat some cold sweet potato or other vegetables cooked the night before. The men usually eat some of the cold food as well.

Both stone and steel axes are used; the former is now used only by women and children. A bush knife I had brought into the Hewa was immediately used for no mopal, although the Hewa told me they greatly prefer an axe to the bush knife generally.

2. Me maa ('tree eating', i.e. tree cutting)

After the undergrowth and small trees have been cleared and been heaped into piles, the remaining trees are cut down. This is a task for men and older boys. I have been told that some women do cut down trees, but I have never witnessed this.

Individual males of a household are sometimes helped in the tree-cutting by a neighbour. The neighbour will help for one or two days. When he returns to his own house he will usually receive a large load of vegetables given to him in recompense for his help.

Trees are cut individually. The larger trees are felled from a platform of several crossed saplings. Such a platform, perhaps five feet high, reduces the

cutting diameter of the tree by as much as half and thus a large tree can be cut in a shorter time. Nevertheless, the largest trees which measure up to six feet in diameter, take a man one full day to cut down. The cut trees are not removed but left lying in the prospective garden.

3. Awí yia mu ('garden fire lighting')

After the last tree has been cut, work on the garden ceases and does not begin again until the piles of brush have dried sufficiently to burn. This usually requires a period from one to two weeks without rain. Thus the period of waiting may be as short as one week or as long as a couple of months.

When the piles of vines, branches, leaves and saplings are sufficiently dry, they are burnt. This leaves the garden with a number of small dispersed spots of ashes amidst a chaos of fallen, unburnt trees. The Hewa have now finished the preparation of the soil: the ashes are not spread nor is the soil turned or levelled.

4. Fol metu (fence building)

The task requiring the most work in making a garden is the building of the fence. This is a job for men and boys and, again, they may be helped by a neighbour who receives vegetables in return. The long, thin, lawyer-cane vine, used to bind the split-log fence together, is gathered high in the mountains, wound into great heavy coils by women who walk several hours carrying it to the garden site.

Because gardens are usually built on steep slopes (apparently for better drainage), the heavy five-foot fences are particularly difficult to build.

The stated purpose of fence building is solely to keep pigs, both domestic and wild, away from the sweet potatoes. Hewa say that pigs do not eat banana plants or

taro and hence, just after the brush is burnt, and before the fence is built, the Hewa begin to plant banana shoots and taro. Only when the fence is almost completed do the Hewa plant the sweet potato runners.

In spite of the high fence a very large pig sometimes leaps into the garden. As soon as a person finds the place where the pig crossed the fence, he may plant several spears in the ground which, when the pig leaps in again, will impale it. These garden trapping techniques are designed more to prevent the pig from ruining their staple crop, than to provide animal protein. Hewa assert this and evidence supporting it can be seen in their anger when a pig has both been trapped and ruined a sweet potato crop. Later, in Chapter Four, I will argue that the most valuable food, by far, is meat. But clearly, in spite of this, the Hewa are more interested in their entire sweet potato crop which can feed them for months, than in a pig which can feed them for a few days.

Once the fence is completed and the sweet potato runners planted, very little work remains. After a month or two, work on another garden will be started. The work that does remain in the now established garden is sporadic weeding usually done by females, and frequent inspection of the fence, looking for weak points which might be penetrated by pigs. In addition, the garden is checked every few days to see if a pig has fallen into a fence trap.

The sweet potato can be eaten about four to six months after having been planted and may bear tubers for up to five months after the first harvest. Only one crop is grown, and after it is dug up (a gradual process taking several months), the garden fences are allowed to deteriorate. Domesticated pigs are let into the garden to eat the few remaining tubers. After the sweet potato

crop is finished, the bananas and the taro will be harvested. Depending on the soil, the banana trees can bear fruit up to three seasons and thus may be standing and bearing fruit long after the garden has been abandoned and the fences are broken and rotten. The garden will lie fallow for at least one generation.

A crucial factor influencing the Hewa, a factor in general long since eliminated by Europeans, and therefore perhaps not adequately appreciated even by the Europeans living in primitive areas in New Guinea, is the unpredictability of the food supply. Although in normal times when everything is going well there is adequate food, landslides, drought and the ravages of wild pigs can easily jeopardize the supply.

Because the product of the garden is not storable by any techniques known to the Hewa, tomorrow's meal is always, to some extent, uncertain. Therefore anything or anyone that might influence the food supply, either positively or negatively, becomes important to the Hewa and influences their behaviour.

On the positive side fathers, brothers, sons-in-law, friends with whom one has lived in the past, and to a lesser extent brothers-in-law can often be counted upon to provide food when one's own supply is inadequate.

Conversely, one way to hurt your enemy is to wipe out his sweet potato crop and thus deprive him of his main staple food. Hewa have told me that during hostilities men will break down the garden fences of their enemies, allowing pigs to enter and ruin the sweet potato crop. This act of aggression is frequently committed by a retaliating group who had one of their members killed by the garden owner, or his neighbourhood group.

Gathering

Much of the vegetable food eaten by the Hewa is not grown but gathered. The Hewa supplement their staple diet of sweet potatoes, bananas and taro with a variety of plant foods which they collect in the forest. Most of the gathered foods are seasonal and, although some are greatly desired and, when available, are consumed in large amounts, they can only contribute to the diet for a portion of the year. The most important of these are the red and yellow marita (Pandanus) and the seeds of breadfruit (Artocarpus). The fruit can only be gathered by the owner of the individual trees. The rare sago tree, the leaves of which are used for roofing material, is also individually owned. The owner is generally that person who has seen the growing tree sapling first. If the young tree is too far from the owner's house or garden, he may transplant it and bring it nearer to trees he already owns. I recorded no conflicts which had arisen out of ownership claims while I was in the Hewa.

Second in importance to the breadfruit and marita trees is the large Pangium edule tree which carries a cyanide-containing nut. These nuts are soaked for days in water in order to leach out the cyanide. Later, the paste-like substance, which has the consistency of ripe avocado, undergoes a process of fermentation. This paste is eaten with gusto and considered a great delicacy even though, I must admit, perhaps due to its offensive smell, I could not share the Hewa's enthusiasm. The Pangium edule tree is not owned. This lack of individual ownership may be due to the fact that this tree takes a considerably longer time to mature and bear fruit than the breadfruit and Pandanus trees. The smallest nut-bearing Pangium edule tree which I saw had a trunk of about three feet in diameter and must have been several years old. Thus

the person who first spies the sapling of a Pangium edule in the forest may not be alive when it first bears the savoured nuts.

In addition to these three gathered fruits, there are many plants which are collected by the Hewa which add variety to their diet. Below I will list some of the more frequent ones which I saw while living with the Hewa.

Both Hewa males and females greatly enjoy chewing the lip-numbing betel-nut. They gather the nuts by plucking them from a tree in the bush which a male bends towards the ground. The other two necessary ingredients for betel-nut-chewing, namely a root which when chewed with the nuts becomes a mucus-like substance, and pieces of lime, are collected by the men who keep the crushed lime powder in a small gourd. Before sing-sings, Hewa males decorate their calves by smearing saliva over them which has been reddened through betel-nut-chewing.

The Hewa gather several greens which they cook and eat. The more tender parts of a fern are used for wrapping food while it is being cooked and are often eaten together with their content. A large white mushroom, mikai, is sometimes eaten. The abuai leaf (Lagenaria siceraria) is gathered because it is a necessary ingredient in betel-nut chewing. Tobacco is collected around old home sites: tobacco seeds are scattered in the ashes of an abandoned and burnt house, and tobacco plants grow freely in these places. The gourd (Cucurbitaceae) is also gathered from the sides of streams near old house sites. The Hewa use these natural bottles to carry a personal supply of drinking water. The smaller ones are used to store lime powder and the ends sometimes serve as tobacco pipes.

PLATE 3

Wading across
the Urubwa
River



Rafting across
the Pori



Carrying raft
to the river



B. The Pursuit of Meat

Hunting

The Hewa gain most of their wild animal meat by puliai, hunting. Puliai is an active, intensive, systematic search of a territory to kill live game by bow and arrow. Of the ten hunting 'strategies' proposed by Bulmer (1967: 302-17), puliai would perhaps best fit into that of 'stalking'. However, Bulmer's characterisation of stalking as 'fortuitous' and 'ad hoc' does not seem to apply to puliai.

The activity of puliai is as systematic and patterned as, for example, that of gardening. The fact that the latter may be more reliable than the former is perhaps offset by the value that is placed on meat. It certainly is true that puliai does not always produce favourable results. But neither does gardening in the Hewa if a pig uproots the garden.

It often happens that a man shoots an animal on the way to visit a house. This is indeed ad hoc 'hunting' but not puliai. Nor does puliai include such activities as looking for bird eggs or setting traps.

Puliai consists of two basic strategies: nuk puliai, 'bird hunting' and wam puliai, 'terrestrial/arboreal animal hunting'. The distinction between the two strategies wam puliai and nuk puliai provides an explanation of why the bat is considered a bird (nuk) and the cassowary is not. Because the bat flies it is hunted like a bird and because the cassowary is a large terrestrial animal it is hunted like a wild pig. Thus, whatever is bird-hunted is a nuk, whatever is animal-

hunted is a wam.¹

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Men are the hunters, for hunting is done with a bow and arrow and women do not use the bow. The arrow is the killing weapon: it is used in warfare as well as hunting. Even domesticated pigs are killed with a bow and arrow.

The fact that the bow and arrow is the killing weapon may help to explain why men restrict the bow's use; apparently an arrow-shooting woman would pose too much of a threat to the males' domination over the females.² On the other hand; a hunting woman could increase the meat supply to the household, as does a son. Two factors may explain why the Hewa who are always hungry for meat do not let their women hunt. The major tasks of a woman are childbearing and childcaring. These tasks would prevent her from hunting during most parts of her married life. Secondly, a lone woman in the forest may easily become involved in a sexual affair, an event most husbands, fathers and brothers try to prevent. These reasons are plausible enough for the Hewa. It is of interest to note here however, that in almost all societies, not just the Hewa, females generally do not use killing weapons. Thus, the explanation suggested for the Hewa would not appear to apply universally. There seems

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The domesticated pig which is a terrestrial animal is not hunted and is not a wam. It, like the dog, has its own unique category. Nuk and wam, taken together, would equal 'game' in English. Taken separately they could thus be translated as 'game birds' for nuk and 'game animals' for wam.

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This will be discussed below.

to be a more fundamental, perhaps biological, reason why the female of the human species does not use killing weapons.

The amount of time spent on hunting varies considerably from one male to another. One man, Malo, stayed with his father-in-law, Alulu (my host) at our house for several months. Malo is about 30 years of age, married, without children, and is rather thin and weak. As far as I could determine, he did not hunt once during the six months from June to November, 1967. On the other hand, another male, Thama, the son of my host, about 17 years old, not yet married, when not sick hunted one or two days every week; however, these hunting days were not evenly spaced. This young man was an exceptionally good hunter which was dramatically confirmed when Thama was flown, together with seven other Hewa males, to the Mt Hagen Show in August 1967, attended by 80,000 New Guineans, where he won the archery contest.¹

Another man, Wagapi Kapiap, about aged 30, married, with one child, also was a good hunter who animal-hunted frequently with his hunting dog and killed perhaps five wild pigs per year.

Males under the age of 12 to 14 and over the age of 35 to 40 do not spend much time hunting. At the lower limit, 12-year-old boys are usually not strong enough to draw and steadily aim the stiff bows. By the time a man has reached 40 he is usually married and has children, and often has a younger man (sometimes a son) living with him who hunts for the household. It is also likely that older men lack the energy and enthusiasm of the younger

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A Hewa also won the archery contest in 1969 which indicates the quality of Hewa bowmen generally.

hunters who have not lost their hopes of being successful, while older men have been disillusioned by many fruitless hunts.

There is usually one man in a household who is considered to be the best hunter and who tends to do most of the hunting for the household. He is often the strongest, but equally important, he is a master of all the essential hunting skills which include the sighting and locating of animals and the successful shooting of the prey. The other household members depend on him for their wild meat. In spite of that he may or may not be particularly influential. I have heard a father say several times to his son that he was bird- or animal-hungry and even suggest that his son go hunting. The son then either goes hunting, or, just as likely answers 'an palito' ('I am tired') or simply 'an fao' ('I not') and resumes what he was doing. This is the end of the matter and no more is said of it.

There is some evidence that hunting is not considered a strenuous labour of first importance but has the status of a pleasurable, maybe even leisurely activity. Firstly, the hunter in a family is not necessarily an influential man as might be expected if hunting activities were considered a necessary and everyday task. Secondly, when a Hewa male is angry at his wife for not cooking his food, he will sometimes say 'I was not sitting down and doing nothing, or hunting for wild pig or cassowary; I was building a garden fence (or cutting down trees, or working on the new house etc.)'. Presumably if he had 'only' been hunting instead of 'working' it might be thought he had not done his share of the day's work and he might be expected to cook his own food.

Irrespective of the status which hunting may have in Hewa society, there is no doubt that to an objective observer hunting is indeed hard work. In contrast to a western hunter to whom hunting is a pleasurable sport and whose protein intake does not depend on his hunting abilities, the Hewa would not hunt without expecting success. Their hunting is not a relaxed stroll through gentle countryside where a person may by chance come across an animal. On the contrary: it is an intensive disciplined effort in which a man uses his experience to actively seek game. A man concentrates on hunting almost the entire time he is away from his house. He does not speak and every couple of minutes he stops for ten seconds or so and listens carefully for any sound which might give him a clue to an animal's presence. If he is bird-hunting, (nuk puliai), he will frequently give a bird call which, astonishingly, often brings the bird to within ten or 15 feet of the hunter. Other birds such as the almost non-flying bush turkey (nuk tenia), will respond with their own call, thereby revealing their location.

When a garden is completed or when a man is tired of working on it, or when he is particularly hungry for meat, he may decide to go hunting. Before he leaves his house he decides whether he will bird-hunt or animal-hunt. He will usually announce his intention. If he is animal-hunting he will call his dog and take his bow and an assortment of unfletched arrows. He will keep away from the almost imperceptible human tracks and spend between two and eight hours slipping through dense, thorn-ridden rain forest searching for an animal to kill.

If on the other hand he intends to bird-hunt he will not take his dog along and he will insure he has plenty of the four-pronged bird arrows. While hunting, he will stop every 50 yards or so to scan the trees for

movements and will constantly be listening for any bird calls or noises, such as the thumping flap of the hornbill changing its perch or the cooing of a pigeon. As mentioned before, he will imitate bird calls to attract birds. Once he has seen or heard a bird he will slowly and quietly go directly under the bird's perch, point his arrow straight at the bird, very slowly draw back the bow string, place it on the end of the unfletched arrow, and aim for about five seconds before releasing.

It was difficult to be in a position to witness enough shots by enough males to give a statistical probability of success, but I have often hunted with Hewa and reckon overall a Hewa would have a shot at a large bird, e.g., a pigeon, hornbill or cockatoo about once per hour, and he would hit the bird once in every four or five attempts. Thus, as a very rough average, a full day's hunting might yield two birds. But I have never seen a Hewa hunt until he had three birds in one day: he usually stops hunting after one or perhaps two birds have been shot.

Of course there is no guarantee that the hunting trip will be successful. I have gone hunting with one Hewa for three straight days during which time he shot nothing. Usually no comment is made when a man returns empty-handed: the one that got away is not discussed. However, when the hunter returns with a large bird such as a cockatoo or hornbill slung over his shoulder, everyone grins happily and the children, attracted both by the hunter and his game, run to him shouting kinship terms. Generally, whatever the time of day, an earth oven is immediately prepared and the bird cooked and eaten, distributed sometimes by the hunter, sometimes by the 'house-owner' (wai luais) with the biggest and best

pieces going to the stronger males (physically and politically) and the smallest and boniest to the youngest girl, not unlike a working class family in 19th century England (Burnett, 1968), with the exception that all Hewa do get some of the animal. A young boy usually gets the head and spends much time on it. Any bone that I threw away was later carefully re-examined and re-chewed. The smaller bones are completely eaten (as are egg shells); the larger ones are tossed into the fire. Eventually they will be retrieved from the fire pit by a dog who stealthily gnaws them once more.

Another technique of catching birds is to build a platform in or next to a tree bearing fruit eaten by certain of the larger birds. This tree platform is usually built from 50 to 100 feet above the ground. Although I have never climbed to, nor seen a bird shot from, one of these, I have been told that when the tree is bearing fruit a man hidden behind a blind on such a platform has a good chance of getting a close shot (i.e., about ten or 15 feet). One time I was below such a platform at night (the Hewa do not normally hunt in the dark) when a man shot a bird which flew off with his arrow. At the time I did not speak Hewa and did not recognise the name of the bird. Quite likely it was a bat, an animal the Hewa classify as a bird.

One special technique for shooting pigeons is the building of a circular blind, a nuk yuwili just over a small very clear stream which is frequented by pigeons. (Such streams are called nuk nike ate, lit. 'bird pigeon water'.) The Hewa know that when a pigeon has finished drinking, it often flies to perch on a branch close by. Therefore a branch is placed above the water directly in front of the blind from behind which the bird is easily shot. The nuk yuwili has importance beyond mere pigeon-

hunting: it figures prominently in a ritual of the same name and in several myths.

A further method to catch birds is used by Hewa boys: sometimes boys will chop down a tree holding young birds not yet able to fly.¹ They deduce their existence, mainly in the case of cockatoos and a large black crow-like bird (nuk ke), from their droppings under the tree. The tree is usually large and it may take two or three strong boys almost a day to cut it down. The decision whether the tree felling should be attempted depends not so much on the amount of work required but on the freshness and quantity of droppings which allow an estimate of the size and number of the birds.

While bird-hunting is usually done alone, in animal-hunting two to three males participate, particularly when a hunting dog is used. This difference can be attributed to the fact that if the hunter wants to find and kill a bird, a close approach to the quarry is of supreme importance, and more than one hunter would make too much noise. But in animal-hunting with a dog, stealth is unnecessary and impossible: the only aim of the hunter is to stay as close as possible to the dog, ready for the moment it has flushed an animal from the bush.

In animal-hunting the dog weaves back and forth about 30 yards in front of the hunter. The hunter influences the dog's distance by a low, short whistle every five to ten seconds. When the dog detects an animal - often a rodent, but sometimes a pig, cassowary or possum - it immediately chases it. The man hears the commotion and

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This method, however, does not belong into the category bird-hunting, since the birds are not hunted and shot.

direction taken by the dog as it crashes through the bush and follows as fast as he can. At this point, the swiftness of the hunter is crucial, for if the prey is only small, the dog may have finished devouring it by the time the man arrives. If the man is quick and fortunate, he grabs the dog and tears from its mouth the half-eaten animal. Then, without giving the dog even an affectionate pat, let alone a piece of the catch, the hunter puts the catch into his netbag and he and the dog resume hunting. If the animal is not small, however (say, a wild pig), the dog, which on average weighs about 30lbs, chases it by snapping at its hocks or leaping on its back and biting its neck until the quarry stops and turns. Again, if the man is lucky and swift and is able to come up to about ten or 15 feet of the animal, he will shoot a bamboo-bladed arrow into its side near the heart. This is the most dangerous moment for the hunter, since an attacked, enraged pig will lunge at anyone near him and gore the hunter viciously with its tusks. I have seen many scars from such encounters and twice I have poured penicillin on leg wounds which were open to the bone. Whenever I mentioned the dangers of pig hunting to the Hewa, they did not show interest. The only important concern of the Hewa is whether one gets the pig or not. And indeed, often it gets away. Cassowaries are hunted in a similar way, and again a good hunting dog is essential. Although a lone hunter may come up rather close to a pig rooting and snorting in the bush or a cassowary standing in a clearing without being seen, he seldom gets close enough (20 feet or less) to get a good shot in before it bolts away. A dog's hunting abilities are so important that virtually the sole measure of a dog is whether it is a yao wam (wild-animal dog) or not. When one man was bitten by another man's yao wam, nothing was done about it, for, as the man said 'we eat what it hunts'.

A young dog is trained simply by being taken on hunts with an experienced wam dog. If the dog does not show any hunting potential, it is simply ignored and although tolerated in the house, it is beaten much more readily for trying to steal meat or cooked sweet potato than a wam dog. No dogs are fed, whether they are good hunters or not. Consequently they are always looking for an opportunity to steal food. They also readily cringe, and, baring their teeth, cry like a young child whenever anyone picks up a stick. Their food consists mainly of whatever they catch in the forest or manage to gulp down before their owner wrenches it away from them. In addition, they eat discarded peelings of sweet potato which they cautiously retrieve from the fire-pit, as well as discarded animal bones. The only time a dog may receive some food from its masters is when it is still a puppy. During this time it may be fed small bits of cooked sweet potato. Although of small amount, this may be the critical factor which attaches the dog to man.¹

An important and, as far as I know, unique use of a dog to get meat occurs when a dog, which has been away for a few days, comes back to the house with a full belly. The full belly is soon noticed by the **Hewa** who then know that the dog has been successful in killing an animal. A second dog is quickly carried to the full-bellied one which is now sleeping, and is encouraged to smell the sated dog's snout. The hungry dog, smelling fresh meat, begins to run excitedly back along the trail previously left by the full-bellied dog. The **Hewa** eagerly follow the tracking dog. About half the time the dog

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An important and, as far as I know, unique use of a dog to get meat occurs when a dog, which has been away for a few days, comes back to the house with a full belly. The full belly is soon noticed by the Hewa who then know that the dog has been successful in killing an animal. A second dog is quickly carried to the full-bellied one which is now sleeping, and is encouraged to smell the sated dog's snout. The hungry dog, smelling fresh meat, begins to run excitedly back along the trail previously left by the full-bellied dog. The Hewa eagerly follow the tracking dog. About half the time the dog

¹ Piglets, too, will be given food when small. Again this may be a factor which accounts for the fact that pigs tend to stay with their owners.

loses the trail and the Hewa, ejecting trills of dissatisfaction through their pouted lips, return home. But often the excited dog leads them to a cassowary or pig, killed and half devoured by the dog now sleeping at the house. The Hewa snatch it from their hungry guide, giving it nothing but the meat in its mouth won by being first on the carcass. The animal may have been killed a few days previously, for the dog which hunted the animal usually stays with it for one or two days. Thus often the meat is partly spoilt. If the quarry is a cassowary, however, the meat is still edible after several days and is very savoured. I estimate that perhaps 60-70 per cent of all cassowary meat consumed by Hewa is killed by a dog, independent of humans. This parasitic-like benefit which men receive from dogs helps to explain why the Hewa are attracted to dogs, even the non-wam variety. It also may explain why the Hewa do not eat their 'best friend'.

Trapping

Bow and arrow hunting is not the only method by which Hewa males obtain wild meat. A significant amount comes from traps. The Hewa construct five basic types of traps:

1. wam lio - a vine hoop placed across a wam path and attached to a bent sapling which, when the animal's head or foot is caught, swings the animal into the air.
2. wam amtol - one or two long sharp stakes or spears, whose butt ends stick into the ground, and which are supported by a cross piece and pointed towards an obstacle such as a garden fence, over which a wild pig is expected to leap and impale itself. This method is very successful and can kill the largest pigs.

3. wam integralu - a conical circle of stakes joined together at the base and attached to a garden fence at points where a wild pig is likely to enter or leave the garden. Its design is to trap the pig, snout first, as it leaps over the fence.
4. wam tu ai - a deadfall rat trap into which a piece of sweet potato is placed to lure the rodent under the raised log. Rats are not considered pests but game.
5. another technique is to dig a deep pit on a wild pig or cassowary path, hoping the animal will fall into it before it notices the hole. The only tool is a pointed stake. This trap usually involves a great deal of work and is not built very often.

Women and Game

Women do not puliai, i.e. they do not hunt animals with the bow and arrow. There is one method however, by which females can catch some game: they sometimes trap small animals, especially bandicoots, with their bare hands while walking through the bush. But women do not often walk alone freely in the forest, thus they have a chance to trap animals mainly while accompanying their males on visits, or trips to a sing-sing. On these walks a strict walking order is maintained: everybody walks single file with the women in the front and the bachelors to the rear. The connecting link between the females and unmarried males is invariably a married couple. Now if the women in front of the line detect a bandicoot nest along the path, stop and try to trap its inhabitants, everybody in the file has to stop so that the walking order is not upset.¹ Very frequently, the females are

¹ Several times I unwittingly got into the female section
(cont'd on next page)

unsuccessful in their trapping attempt, and the men often get angry with their women for holding up the whole file. Sometimes, however, they make a catch: I have several times seen a woman with blood running from her bitten finger holding up a squirming rodent and grinning happily. As we shall see later, this is one of the few occasions where the women's animal protein intake does not depend on the males.

Domesticated Pigs

If the term breeding implies human intervention in the propagation of animals, and not simply the perhaps fortuitous reproduction of domesticated animals, the Hewa do not breed pigs. Because of the difficulties and dangers in keeping boars, all male pigs are castrated at about the age of three to four months. Female pigs are served by wild boars in the surrounding forest.

Women generally handle the domesticated pigs. During the day, the pigs roam freely through the forest, foraging for food. In the night, they are let into the house, unless the house is very high and the pig is too large to be helped inside. In this case, it will sleep underneath the house.

Pigs are fed only when there are ample amounts of sweet potato, or when they have recently been acquired from another person, in order to prevent them from running

1 (cont'd from previous page)
of the file. Each time I was quickly put back into my position by married males simply passing me. The walking order is of such importance that each person has a designated position (i.e. first, second, third...last), using the same terms as those which distinguish the birth order of same sex siblings. If there are many people on the walk, they refer to themselves as either first, middle or last.

off in the forest. Piglets are often given a little sweet potato each night, presumably to attach them to the household.

There are far fewer pigs than people, the average household of seven people having only one or two pigs. It is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty the greatest number of pigs owned by any one man, for men are understandably reluctant to expose themselves to the suggestion that they give a pig feast. Men with five to ten pigs will usually have half of them agisted with neighbours who, if they have an adequate supply of sweet potatoes, are usually quite willing to care for the pigs, anticipating a share in the distribution when they are finally killed.

Even though pigs are not often fed, when a pig enters another person's garden, frequently a source of conflict, the accusation is often made that the pig was not fed enough by its owner or guardian, that only very hungry pigs would enter gardens. This claim is then usually countered by the pig-owner who criticizes the garden-owner either for being careless in not chasing his pig away or for letting it get caught in the garden trap.

Wild piglets are often captured in the forest and domesticated - perhaps as many as ten per cent of all domestic pigs were born wild.

C. House Construction

'True Houses'

As indicated before, Hewa houses are not like typical Highland's low dwellings. There are several types of buildings, of which the high house (wai mis, lit. 'long house') is the most spectacular one. It is built both on stilts and lopped-off living trees about

15 to 20 feet above ground. Hewa claim that the purpose of the high house is to protect its inhabitants from attackers. The low house (wai nuti) is usually built against a slope with the back at ground level and the front about five to ten feet above ground. Both the high and the low house are 'true' houses, i.e. they have a center pole (wai wanapu) around which the Hewa perform a sing-sing when the houses are completed and before its inhabitants move into them. They are considered permanent dwellings, which for the Hewa means that they will be used for about two years. About 80 per cent of all the houses built in the Hewa are 'true' houses; 1/3 of these are high and 2/3 are low.

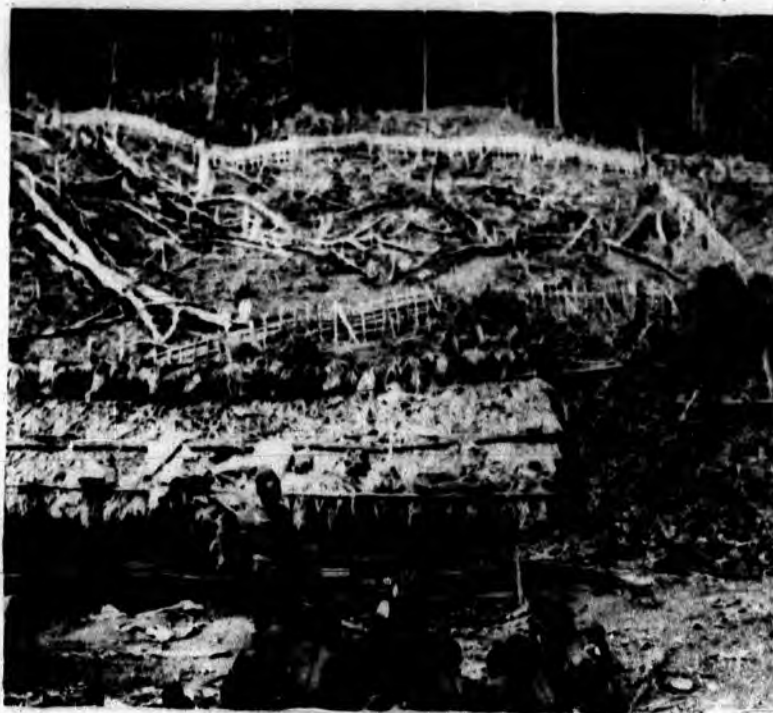
A 'true' house requires much work. One to three men and perhaps the same number of women will work on the construction of the house from three to four months. The men of the household start by clearing the ground and cutting the trees needed for the construction of the frame of the house. The women gather lawyer-cane vine in the mountains and carry it in large coils to the house site. The vine is used to bind the joints of the house together, a task which is done by the men of the household.¹ When the frame of the house is completed, males from the neighbourhood come, on an appointed day, and lay the house floor out of wild Pandanus strips which had been gathered previously by the whole household. Neighbours work for one day. When they return home they will be given a large amount of vegetables. When the house-frame and the flooring are completed, the household members then gather sago leaves which are needed for the roof. Some time later, perhaps three to four weeks, neighbours will come again on a fixed day and roof the house with sago leaves. This help again is rewarded with a handsome gift of food.

1

Sometimes an immediate neighbour will lend a hand with this task

PLATE 4

Newly planted garden.
Temporary house in
foreground.



Alulu after a successful
hunt



Sago leaves are collected and
piled up for the roofing of a
house.

Members of the household do not themselves work on the roof and floor of the new house. They need the assistance of their neighbours for these tasks. When I asked the Hewa why this was so, they, as usual, cited tradition. Certainly, however, this arrangement of interdependence adds to the cohesion and importance of the neighbourhood group.

Plates 5, 6 show some examples of a low house, its interior features, and a frame of a high house to which the sago-leaf roofing is being attached. Behind the firepits in Plate 5 (showing the interior of a low house), is the women's area which takes up approximately one fourth of the living area of the house. Both types of 'true' houses, the high and the low, are quite roomy (about 30' x 30'), all have four firepits, two of which are used to separate the female area from the male area.

Although the separation of the house into a men's side and a women's side is again justified by citing tradition, its purpose, clearly, is to prevent contact between men and women, specifically between the bachelors and the young married women. The only males, other than young boys, permitted to sit, sleep and eat near the firepits on the female side are married men, particularly the household head. They are the only males I have ever seen cross into the female area, quite a surprising action considering how emphatically it had been stated to me that males never go into the female area. The bachelors must always stay on the side of the house opposite to that of the females and can only use the two firepits in the male area for cooking and warming themselves in the night.

In spite of these arrangements which clearly work out for the benefit of the married men, attempts are sometimes made by bachelors to crawl to a girl in the

women's area. If these attempts at illicit romance are discovered, the bachelor and the female concerned may be killed.

Temporary Houses

Besides the 'true' house, there is a range of other types of houses, all rather small and temporary. The simplest is the stone shelter (ba wai) which is used only for one or two nights when fleeing from attackers, for example, or beginning a garden some distance from one's own house or when gathering and husking the tree nut Pangium edule and the breadfruit seed at some distance. The stone house is usually used only briefly. If it is necessary to spend some time in an area (e.g., when building a new garden), a small wooden hut may be built. This may be anything from a lean-to with a circle of stones for a fireplace to almost a 'true' house with four fireplaces and enough head-room to stand upright. The type, size and number of fireplaces in such a house or hut will be determined to some extent by the number of people occupying it. Although some of these smaller houses are technically well executed and evidently superior to the floorless houses of the Highlanders, Hewa do not boast or seem proud of them. Rather, they usually tell me of the large 'true' house they are about to build and in which sing-sings will be held.

Changing of Residence

A 'true' Hewa house lasts for about two years. As mentioned in the first chapter, Hewa prefer to build their houses and gardens at an altitude of 2,300-2,600 feet. The house is usually built looking out over deep valleys. When it is decided that a new house is to be built, the move is usually either parallel to the river or directly across it; the new house is rarely much higher or

lower than the old site. Because the Pori, Lagaip and Strickland are too turbulent to be safely crossed by a whole household with its pigs and other possessions, a move across these bigger rivers is usually only made if a household wants to escape a hostile situation, perhaps caused by an illicit sexual affair of females in the household or witchcraft accusations.

When a new house site is chosen, several factors are considered. The Hewa prefer a house on a hillside because it permits them to communicate, by calling out, with their neighbours across the valley. Secondly, and most importantly, the new house should be near a good garden site, because of the convenience of having a food supply nearby. This means that most houses will be built near gardens, on steep mountain slopes. The house should also be near good drinking water. The Hewa, ideally, want a house that is flanked on both sides by small streams which begin just above the house and run down along both sides of it. Even though clean fresh drinking water is important to the Hewa, they actually use only small amounts of it, and they were amazed by the 'enormous' amounts of water I used for myself, just for cooking, washing and drinking. They have no vessels for cooking or boiling and virtually the only water they consume is that which they drink from their gourds or cut bamboo sections.¹ Washing is done in streams, mainly by males, below the house. Hewa males claim that females do not wash and that they are dirty. Women, however have told me that they do wash each time they finish menstruating and leave the menstrual hut, a small hut built by females within the clearing of the proper house.

1.

A few drops of water are used in the preparation of the Pandanus-nut paste.

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A few drops of water are used in the preparation of the Pandanus-nut paste.

There is no suggestion of ownership of land. One can make a garden or build a house in any unoccupied tract of land. The main consideration, for the choice of a site, is the relationship one has with surrounding households. People will never move into an area surrounded by enemies.

Settlement Patterns

The Hewa houses and households are so obviously isolated from one another that my first question when I entered the Hewa area was, 'why are they so dispersed?'. Because they were peculiar in this respect, I assumed there must be some powerful factor or factors forcing them apart, preventing them from satisfying their presumably gregarious nature.

It was after I began listing the advantages and disadvantages of living apart or together, and finding that the net advantages were on the 'living apart' side, (see Table 2a), that I began to question this assumption of gregariousness. Indeed, I began to wonder why people lived in villages.

There are so many disadvantages to living closely together (e.g., the greatly increased number of contacts and competition between people, any of which can lead to conflict, tension, friction) and so many advantages to living apart (e.g. more wild animals, proximity to gardens, easily available material for houses and fences) that it is reasonable to ask, 'what counter attractions hold people in villages?'.
 .

I will not attempt to answer this, instead just note the following:

There is a considerable variation in population density per square mile in the Western Highlands:

TABLE 2a

Advantages/Disadvantages of Living Close/Apart

<u>LIVING CLOSE</u>		<u>LIVING APART</u>	
<u>Advantages</u>	<u>Disadvantages</u>	<u>Advantages</u>	<u>Disadvantages</u>
Companionship Security Sharing of food if necessary	Pigs ruin gardens Limited wild food for pigs Conflicts over women, pigs, food Greater distance to garden People eating your food Loss of pigs in traps Women harder to control (visiting males) Scarcity of land Housebuilding material not abundant	Pigs can roam freely, gardens are safe No need to feed pigs No conflicts, tensions Garden is close to house Fewer food-consuming visitors Pigs are safe from traps Less sexual temptation for women No competition for land Abundance of materials	Isolation, boredom Exposure to attacks Large distances, if food is scarce

Enga	120 ¹
Melpa	60-100 ²
Huli	18 ³
Duna	13-14 ⁴
Hewa	4.6

Even though the population in density is high in the Enga, people do not live in villages but in dispersed family homesteads. An essential difference between the Enga and the other peoples with respect to their settlement patterns lies in the average distance between homesteads: a short distance separates Enga homesteads, a somewhat greater distance separates most Melpa houses, there is much more space between Duna houses, and the distance between houses in the Hewa is the greatest. Thus there is a distinct continuum of population density, without, however, a pronounced tendency towards village type settlements. It is true that government officials and missionaries encourage the formation of villages, but they are mainly successful only around the stations and missions. I think it would be worthwhile to examine why in the Western Highlands of New Guinea the population has generally not concentrated in villages, even when its density is high.

D. Equipment, Clothing and Decoration

The Hewa make a variety of objects which they use in their everyday life. On the whole, their tools, weapons and ornaments are similar to those fashioned by most Highland peoples. The body ornaments of males, however, are unique for the Highlands (see Plate 2).

1

Meggitt, 1958:256

2

A. Strathern, 1970 (personal communication)

3

Glasse, 1968:37

4

Modjeska, 1971 unpublished paper.

With a few exceptions, the items are produced as needed and from the point of view of trading are not of great value.

Arrows (ina) consist of an arrow tip fitted into an unnotched reed shaft. While the shafts are all of the same type, the tips differ according to the various uses they are put to. There are wam arrows and nuk arrows. Among the wam arrows, there are three types:

1. tsau - bamboo bladed tip; used for pigs and humans
2. wele - black palm, barbed tip; used for cassowaries and larger wam
3. pagan - black palm, smooth tip; used for smaller wam

There are two nuk arrow types:

1. utsale - four black palm prongs; used for birds
2. talap - hard wooden smooth tip; used for larger birds such as the hornbill and bush turkey.

Most of these arrows (except for utsale) are decorated on the arrow tip or on the joining piece (or both), especially the tsau arrow. Geometrical designs are carved into the wood and made prominent with white mud paint and red ochre. Tsau arrows sometimes have a small cowrie shell or a few Job's tears attached to their tip. The arrow tips are fastened to the shafts with a thin vine band usually woven into a symmetrical pattern.

Bows, which are fashioned from special black palm which does not grow in the Hewa, are acquired through trading. However, if a man is unable to get a highly valued palm bow he will make a bow out of local material. That bow is much weaker than the black palm bow and has little trading value. Bow strings for both types of bow are

made out of strips of bamboo.

Axe heads are not quarried in the Hewa and, again, are obtained through trading. The hafting of the axe heads is locally done. Thin lawyer-cane is used for this purpose.

Patches of wild bamboo are frequent and hence bamboo knives are made when needed. They are used for cutting up pig, trimming beards, lancing boils etc. The Hewa sharpen them simply by stripping off a layer with their teeth. Bamboo sections are also used as small water containers.

Small cutting stones are made by hurling chunks of flint against other hard stones and picking up the sharp-edged pieces. These stone pieces are often employed for scraping the wood used in handles of axes and bows, and for cutting small hard objects.

Several objects are made from parts of the cassowary. A gouge used to remove the pith of marita is fashioned from the leg bone. The back feathers of the bird, still attached to the hide, serve as a small decorative cape for males (see Plate 10).

Boar tusks are filed into sharpened points at each end. They are worn by males as an arched nose-piece thrust through the septum, each sharpened end pointing at, and almost touching, an eye. A wing bone of bats is used for weaving and for extracting thorns, often necessary in the thorn-ridden Hewa forest.

Males weave elaborate cane belts with a prominent phallic-like projection in the front (see Plates 2, 9). The Hewa are amused when I suggest that it may represent a phallus. They point out that it forms a pocket which, it is true, is often used to hold small objects. Armbands are woven by both males and females. Segments of yellow bamboo and Job's tears are fashioned into necklaces and strands respectively. The Job's tears bands are often worn bandolier fashion across the chest by both men and women.

Pieces of bark are pounded and used as a tapa-like headpiece by the males who wrap their hair into a pointed cone. It binds the head so tightly that it forces the scalp underneath the cone into convoluted folds. The same tapa-cloth is used as a container for an adult male's private possessions; particularly his sing-sing gear of skirts and bird feathers.

Women, in addition to armbands and necklaces, also make grass skirts and the very important knotted string bags. These string bags, ubiquitous throughout the Highlands, are made in various sizes and are used by both men and women. A head cover for women, sometimes fringed with Job's tears, is fashioned from the same material.

One of the most time-consuming objects made by the Hewa is the drum (wa). A man will work for one to two weeks on it, hollowing out and shaping a suitable log. Over the top of the hollowed-out log a piece of skin from a bird or monitor-lizard is stretched and fastened to the wood by a strip of vine. The mouth of the drum is embellished by carved geometric designs, similar to the ones used on arrow tips. Drums are highly valued, but rarely traded. Each household tries to have at least one, for they are a necessity in a sing-sing.

I have seen two objects in the Hewa which may be called objects of art since their only purpose appeared to be decorative. One is a piece of bark, about 10" x 4" which has white mud and red ochre stripes painted on it. The other is a small slab of slate, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, similarly decorated. These pieces are put on a wall in a house, prior to a sing-sing. I could not discover any religious or magical significance in them. When I showed interest in them, they were casually given to me; they appeared to be of not much value to the Hewa.

CHAPTER THREE

THINGS OF VALUE: DISTRIBUTION

The distribution of things of value - from the father giving his child a sweet potato, to a group of men giving their enemies a number of pigs - is continuous and general throughout the Hewa. There are, of course, many things valued which can be given or exchanged between people. I will start this chapter with a discussion of okatau, a category which comprises the most valuable objects. This is followed by a description of the main forms of distribution.

Okatau Valuables

Okatau is the category of the most important items of trade, items which ideally are of similar value and can be exchanged for one other. There are five valuables which make up the category okatau: domesticated pigs (wipa), bows (inave), a defined quantity of salt (thai), a length of cowrie shells (nafaa) strung together, and axes, both stone and iron (ain and tsino, respectively).

When a large exchange of goods is described, or recalled, the extent of the exchange, i.e. the total value of the goods exchanged, is expressed in okatau. This might suggest that all okatau items are items of similar value. But there are, in fact, considerable differences between such items, even between items of the same type. For example, some bows are larger and stronger than others. Cowrie shells are much the same, but the length of the strings vary. Stone axes, too, differ, depending on how much they have been used and ground down. Even steel axe-heads are distinguished: the small ones (3/4lb) are greatly preferred to the larger ones (1½lb).¹ The native

¹

This preference for smaller axe heads is due to the Hewa
(cont'd on next page)

salt, darkened by bits of charcoal and ash is usually of much the same quality, but the quantity differs. There are indeed three standard amounts, (1) a head- (2) a thigh- and (3) an arm-size (from the shoulder to the elbow). Pigs are reckoned by sex as well as by size.

In spite of the apparently idealised constant value of okatau, the Hewa recognise these differences. Thus they may refuse a pig because it is too small or a bow because it is not strong enough. Hostility and aggression can be the result of okatau items not being equal in value. This demonstrates that the Hewa are concerned with the quality of individual items, in spite of a terminology which suggests an equality of value.

Besides the variation of quality in individual items, there are also differences of desirability in the various types of okatau. It is true that, frequently, a bow is exchanged for a head of salt, or a pig for a line of cowrie shells without hesitation. However, Hewa indicate by various ways that some types of items are more valued than others. For example, a revealing statement was made by a man who had just given a bow to his sister's son, when he rather magnanimously said: 'You do not need to give me back a pig; a line of cowrie shells or a quantity of salt will be alright [to satisfy this debt]'. Such a statement clearly suggests that pigs are both harder to acquire and more desired than lines of cowrie shells and salt. Indeed, no one would ever refuse a pig. A pig can be killed and eaten, or agisted, if its owner cannot

1 (cont'd from previous page)
technique of chopping. They use a short, pointed stick as an axe handle and swing the axe rapidly from side to side while chopping, never striking a tree with their full force. This method is probably a result of using stone axes which, if struck with a full blow, can break.

take care of it. Like the cattle of Homeric Greece ('the measuring stick of worth'¹) and contemporary East Africa, pigs are of supreme value and are universally desired in the New Guinea Highlands. In the Hewa some debts can only be paid if the okatau presented includes at least one pig (as in nale and ai lapi, discussed below). A person's wealth is invariably described by the number of pigs he owns. Another indication of the supreme value of the pig is that of all the okatau items, the pig is the only one which has its own distinctive form of distribution, the wipa u. A recurring theme in Hewa dreams is the distribution, killing and consumption of pig.

One factor which may explain this preference for the pig is that it is the only consumable okatau item. Salt, it is true, will eventually be eaten, but it is considered as having passed more or less unaltered from person to person, even though each owner nibbles it while he has it. Axes and bows are expected to be indestructable, even though they may break occasionally. Shells, too, are considered to last for ever. It might be argued that, because pigs are the supreme value, and because they are 'the measuring stick of worth', the particular trading value of the other four okatau items is determined ultimately by the fact that they can be converted into pork. An examination of the four other okatau items, however, will show the fallacy of this argument.

Axes are valuable because they enable the Hewa to clear forest for gardens, and cut trees up for garden fences, houses and fire-wood. They are an essential tool, and the Hewa could probably not survive without them in the forest. The bow is used to kill game, i.e. to provide animal protein and to provide security against enemies. Again, it is a very important item in Hewa life. Salt satisfies a particular biological need. Thus axes,

¹ Finley, 1959:65.

bows and salt are necessary for Hewa life and must be acquired because of their intrinsic value. People may consequently use these items to obtain pig - if they can afford to, i.e. if they have more than one, but primarily they are acquired because people need them.

Cowrie shells, however, are not necessary for life. The use to which cowrie shell strings are put is display, usually on a man's forehead or turban, and sometimes, as individual shells, in a necklace or on an arrow or bow. The shells clearly increase the attractiveness of their wearer, with their teeth-like brightness. But the attractiveness of cowrie shells which gives them their initial value is surely not great enough to make their value equivalent to that of a pig, bow or axe, all of which are exchangeable for a line of cowrie shells. Various feathers and pig tusks are just as attractive. The explanation of the greater value of cowrie shells must lie elsewhere.

I suggest that cowrie shells, unlike the other okatau items, are used as a temporary and convertible substitute for okatau valuables of intrinsic value. They are easily transported, stored or hidden. Because they are desired for what they can buy and not only for their intrinsic value, they have come to have a use similar to that of gold or other precious metals in many parts of the world. Like gold, they are durable, quite scarce and aesthetically pleasing.

The fact that strings of cowrie shells are divisible into individual shells supports the analogy with gold. It allows for a subdivision into smaller units which can be collected and - when joined - come to have a value equal to the total value of the individual parts. The following example illustrates how this is done in

practice in the Hewa: A common technique for a bachelor to begin his accumulation of wealth is to collect individual cowrie shells from various relatives and neighbours. These shells may either be displayed on his turban, forehead or bows, or may be kept with his treasured possessions in a piece of pounded bark. When the young man has accumulated enough shells to make a line (15-20 feet) he may begin to trade for other items of okatau especially for a small female pig which he can raise and which, in time, may bear some offspring.

Cowrie shells, then, having similar attributes as gold, have come to represent a concentrated value equal to that of a pig, axe, or bow; a value recognised by people, who will accept them in lieu of a pig, bow or salt, knowing that other people will do the same.

Summarizing my discussion I maintain that the apparently equal items which make up the category okatau are not of uniform intrinsic value: Pigs are the most valued items, ultimately because they can be consumed; bows, axes and salt have a similar intrinsic value, but as trade items are not quite as desired as pigs. Cowrie shells, on the other hand - intrinsically not more valuable than a pretty stone - have come to acquire a value beyond their intrinsic worth, a value equal to that of a pig, because they are recognised as eminently exchangeable.

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Besides the fairly clearly defined value of the five okatau items, there are many other trade goods which range in value from the highly desired and seldom-traded drum to the easily obtainable bunch of bananas. Below are some of the most regularly traded items: stringbags, arrows, bird feathers (especially those used in sing-sing

gear), cassowary capes, possum skins, pigs' tusks, cane belts, women's skirts, lime gourds, arm bands, yellow bamboo necklaces, pounded bark cloth.

The Forms of Distribution of Things of Value

I will now give an account of the two types of distribution I observed in the Hewa. One, exchange, is the exchange of goods between individuals or groups of people, and includes: tamkua, anyai, nale, aiyolu, and wipa u. The other, leafenaa, is the presentation of payments and gifts for which a return is not expected.

Exchange

Probably the most frequently practised form of exchange is tamkua, 'barter', or immediate exchange between two people who may be complete strangers. It is generally begun by one person showing interest in acquiring an object from another person. It ends when the two parties are satisfied.

After the first person shows his willingness to engage in tamkua, the second person, if not willing to sell, may ignore the interest shown by the first person, or simply say 'an fao' ('not I', as I was told several times when I tried to buy a bow). If however, the second person is willing to sell, he indicates his willingness by either placing the object(s) desired on the floor in front of the first person, or by saying 'ooooo' which means he is listening. Then the first person begins his bidding by slowly putting on the floor what he is willing to give. When the second person is satisfied, he picks up the first person's object(s) who, in turn, picks up the object(s) he was originally seeking, thus completing the exchange. If the price becomes too high, the first person simply stops bidding and withdraws his offer.

Tamkua is the typical exchange between strangers and is the closest to the westerner's 'bartering': picking out the object of one's choice and usually trying to get it at the lowest cost. According to some Hewa, tamkua is the only 'true' exchange, since the yano (debt) is immediately satisfied. It is also the exchange in which hostility is least likely to occur.

The second type of individual exchange is anyai, the distinctive feature of which is that in the initial offer the objects to be exchanged are clearly specified. Also, anyai is usually a delayed exchange and thus depends on trust. Hence, strangers do not engage in anyai.

'An inave thai anyai', 'I bow salt anyai', is an example of an anyai offer. The speaker offers his bow for a (later) return of salt. Because such an exchange is somewhat risky and can easily lead to hostility, anyai is restricted to people who can trust each other; male affines and neighbours are important anyai partners.

It is bad to refuse an anyai offer (Hewa tell me that no one would refuse), but it is still worse to fail to return the object specified. A completed anyai is said to make the two partners close friends. Anyai is almost invariably offered by a senior to a junior and not the other way round. A young bachelor is quite honoured when a mature married man gives him a bow, obligating him to later return, e.g., a pig.

Nale is the direct exchange of okatau between men hostile to one another who want to re-establish friendly relations. It can involve either two individuals or two groups of men. The groups are almost never clans but a set of neighbours, made up usually of members of several clans. Each group is led by a leader who is referred to

as the ya tu (lit. first born brother).

Below I will give an example of a lain lain nale, the most formal form of nale, and describe the circumstances leading up to it. This description will reveal the sequence of the exchange as well as some other information relevant to my argument. I did not observe this exchange myself; it was told to me by a participant and confirmed point by point by several participants on each side.

Four men were living together on the east side of the upper Pori: Aunian, a married man of Wasip clan, his unmarried half brother (by a different mother), also of Wasip, another unmarried Wasip male (a clan brother), and Aunian's sister's married son, of Mafun clan.

One night they discussed Kana of Yunamip clan, a weak man, pointing out that (1) he had a young daughter and (2) they themselves did not have a wife (in fact two of them did). They decided to obtain the girl for Aunian by simply taking her without permission, a method called lati anima (lit., 'pulled by hand').

Several days later, Kana's daughter and an old woman left their house which was on the west side of the upper Pori. They crossed a bridge over the Pori and went into a garden in order to dig up some sweet potatoes. When they returned with large loads of tubers on their back, they were surprised by the four men, led by Aunian, who stopped them. One of them grabbed the girl while another hit the old woman with the flat edge of an axe. The old woman dropped her net bag and ran yelling across the bridge to her house, where she told an old man of Kana's clan what had happened. He grabbed a spear¹ and

1

He was the only Hewa I have recorded using or possessing a spear. He lived near the Kopiago border, which presumably
(cont'd on next page) -

went across the bridge but failed to find the four men and the girl. He returned to his house and called out for Kana, the girl's father and household head. He was half an hour's walk away cutting trees. When Kana heard of the incident, he went to the house of a neighbour, and asked Watapa, a cross cousin, of Wanakipa clan, to lead a group against the abductors. Watapa agreed, and with his unmarried brother and five other males of Kana's clan, all living in the surrounding area, they went to the bank of the Pori River.

There they prepared for an 'arrow-shooting fight' (aiai inali) by clearing the bush for better visibility.

Shortly afterward they called out to the abductors, challenging them to a fight. The four abductors, with several other males, appeared on the opposite side of the river. Soon arrows were shot from both sides and were whirring across the river until dusk, when it became too dark to aim, and to avoid the in-coming arrows. The men on each side retired to a house for the night. Two men in each group were injured. The next morning the battle was resumed. It lasted for the whole day, the abductors' side suffering three casualties the other side two. At sundown the men in each group again returned to their house.

Next morning, Watapa, the ya tu of the girl's father side, after deliberating with the men on his side, called out to his opponents and suggested a lain lain nale, the exchange of wealth between hostile parties which provides an institutionalised manner for terminating hostilities. The opponents agreed, and a day later the two parties, each man bearing okatau - a pig, an axe, a bow and several strings of cowrie shells - met at the

¹ (cont'd from previous page)

explains the use of the spear, termed by both Hewa and Kapiago tam(u).

bridge. Each man was holding his bow, anticipating that a fight might easily flare up in the tense atmosphere.

Watapa, who it will be remembered was not the father of the abducted girl but the man asked by the father to lead the retaliation, said to the abductors, 'We shot many arrows and some men are close to dying. Now we will distribute some things. Concerning the female we have nothing to say. Later we can straighten out the thing with the female. Now we straighten out this fight.' The other side agreed and said, 'Later we will give something for the female.' Then they began to exchange.

First, a man from each side stuck a freshly cut tree into the ground, about ten feet apart, between the two groups of men. A man from each side then tied a pig to the tree of the opposing side and killed it by shooting it with an arrow.

As each fight leader (i.e. Watapa and Aunian) stood by his tree and watched, each participant of the fight, one at a time, carried the wealth he intended to contribute to his opponent's tree and piled it on the dead pig.

When everything had been given the two ya tu distributed the things to their own group and the men of both sides returned to their own houses. Later, the abducting side gave some valuables as a bride price (luaa to) to Kana, the father of the girl, who in turn distributed most of it to his relatives.

When I asked my informants why the girl's father's side - the wronged side, it would appear - had to contribute to the exchange even though one of their women had been abducted, they pointed out that the purpose of lain lain nale was to allow the two groups to stop fighting, not to punish the abductors. Furthermore, the girl's

father's side was the one who had initiated the fight, therefore it was fair that he and his men should contribute to an exchange which would terminate the hostility. The fact that the prospective husband was willing to pay a bride price made a retaliation for the abduction unnecessary, and thus any obstacle to future friendly relations was removed, at least for the time being.

The exchange just described is one of the most formal nale; there are less formal nale exchanges which take place when the hostilities are not serious and are of a more casual nature. One short example will illustrate this.

One man refused to help his brother carry vegetable food up to their house where they were going to eat it. Because of this, the two brothers fought each other with heavy staves, each helped by several other men. The morning after the fight, there was a nale: One brother gave the other brother a line of cowrie shells who in turn handed an axe to him. In addition, one of the brothers exchanged lines of cowrie shells with one man who had assisted the other brother in the fight, and another participant, a strong man, gave an axe to a young man whom he had injured.

The fights preceding the two nale exchanges described above did not result in any deaths. However, had there been fatalities, the nale would not have taken place. Instead, if the side causing the death wished to overcome the hostility of the side which suffered the loss, a death compensation payment (ai lapi) would have to be made. Ai lapi is not an exchange but a direct payment. It will be discussed in the section on payments.

Aiyolu is the distribution of vegetable food

(particularly sweet potato, taro and banana) at various gatherings of people. It is presented by the owner of the house at which the gathering is held. It carries with it the obligation to reciprocate in kind when the recipient has the opportunity, i.e. when he himself is building a house and requires the help of his neighbours. There are five such gatherings:

<u>wai paga</u>	a house-flooring bee. ¹ The people who are present at the house, whether they work or not, receive a large load of vegetables which they carry home to their own household. In general, the younger boys and bachelors do most of the work while most of the respected males mainly sit around and discuss matters of the moment.
<u>wai nuai</u>	a house-roofing bee, similar to <u>wai paga</u>
<u>wipa u</u>	killing and distribution of domesticated pig (see below)
<u>kene meato</u>	funeral
<u>yap mofau</u>	'sing-sing', held to inaugurate a new house

Aiyolu is not simply a vegetable payment for services rendered. Except for the working bees wai paga and wai nuai, the recipients of the food have not really rendered any service, other than being merely present at the gathering. As mentioned before, the people who contribute most of the work do not get the biggest payment; in fact, the important males who are doing the least work get the biggest pile of food. On the other hand the food given to men for help in cutting down trees for a new

¹
A 'bee' is defined in Webster's dictionary as 'a neighbourly gathering for work or competition'.

garden site is not considered aiyolu because aiyolu implies a formal gathering of people. Thus, rather than a payment for services rendered, the aiyolu is reward for attendance, an incentive to draw the neighbours together. As we shall see later, this face-to-face contact is most important in maintaining the relations fundamental to the local group.

As mentioned before, the domesticated pig wipa is the only okatau valuable which has its own distinctive form of distribution, the wipa u. Pig is the most desired trade object in the Hewa and, unlike the bow, axe and salt, is wanted continuously. Hewa usually do not want to own more than one bow and one axe, but pig, whether alive or as pork, is always in demand and is acquired several times during the year. The wipa u is the gathering at which pigs are killed, cut up and distributed, and provides thus an opportunity for people to obtain pork.

Hewa will remember with astonishing certainty how many pigs were killed at wipa u many years ago, who owned them, how big they were and who attended the gathering.

A wipa u is given when a man decides he has too many pigs, i.e. four to five animals. The problem with having such a quantity of pigs is mainly that they need much food and are likely to root up one's own or one's neighbours' gardens. The wipa u gives important men - and only important men have four or five pigs - the opportunity to appear generous, to attract many people who can be influenced, to cement good relations with members of the local neighbourhood groups as well as forestalling possible future friction with neighbours, which are difficult to avoid if one owns too many pigs.

The organizer of the wipa u will ask a number

of men to help him give the wipa u. He himself will be the ya tu (leader, also fight leader) of the gathering. The men participating in the pig-killing are usually not all of the same clan but are part of the local group. A man may refuse to participate in the wipa u because he is unwilling to contribute pigs, but he will expose himself to criticism, since the wipa u is the time when he can pay back pig debts which he owes to other men.

The individual organisers of the wipa u will invite people to the gathering. These are usually men to whom they owe pig from previous wipa u, and they come from quite far to attend. Only people who have been invited can attend.

Invited men often send their wives and do not attend in person. Hewa say that 'Men are afraid that others may be angry with them' and 'Men are angry at those who have pigs and do not want to kill and distribute them'. These two statements suggest reasons why men do not wish to go: they do not want to display their desire to get pig and thus show their greed. Even though pork is the most desired food (with the possible exception of cassowary), Hewa keep this desire rather hidden. Secondly, they do not want to be criticised for not giving a wipa u themselves.

When the invited people arrive, the pig contributors kill, cut up and distribute the pig. They often ask the individual men to whom they want to give a portion to sit straight in a row in order to avoid missing any of them. Each contributor will give meat to the people he owes pig debts. When he has fulfilled his obligations, he will distribute the remainder to new people who will now owe him pig.

The explicit reason for wipa u is to either

satisfy old pig debts or to establish new pig debts. A gift at such a distribution should always be reciprocated by an equal amount of pig at a later wipa u. Wild pig (wam yasin) will not satisfy this debt. If wild pig is given, it will rather establish a new obligation of the recipient to reciprocate with an equal amount of wild pig. Thus wipa yano (pig debt) is clearly distinguished from wam yasin yano ('wild pig debt'). The physical difference between wild pig meat and domesticated pig meat is attributed to the amount of fat in the two types of meat: wild pig has no fat and is less desirable to the Hewa than domesticated pig. The important social difference is that the time of killing and distributing domesticated pigs is chosen by the pig owner, whereas the availability of wild pigs is fortuitous. There is often an immediacy to the distribution of wild pig which must take place before it decomposes, since the source of wild pig is often an animal caught in a trap or killed by a dog. Thus there is a definite element of 'getting rid of meat' which is lacking in the distribution of domesticated pig at wipa u.

I have recorded details of 11 wipa u. On the average, 13 pigs were killed (range: six to 29), seven people - usually males but sometimes an old woman - contributed pigs (range three to 13), and 14 people attended (range: eight to 21). The average contributor killed and distributed approximately two pigs (range: one to eight). The two reasons usually given for holding particular wipa u were:

1. there were too many pigs in the area
2. the distributors had many pig obligations (wipa yano) because people had given them pig in the past.

There is not much activity other than the actual meat distribution during a wipa u, but as with most gatherings, some tamkua (bartering) takes place. Sometimes the guests will be given vegetable food (aiyolu) during their visit. The meat distributed, however, is not eaten on the spot but taken home to the individual households.

An important feature of wipa u is that it is often a distribution of pig between affines. Some Hewa claim that its purpose is mainly to strengthen ties between naiem ('in-laws' in general, a 'brother-in-law' in particular). It is true that naiem are often invited, but other people also attend.

The wipa u has several important consequences. The most obvious, perhaps, is that by distributing pig to a wider circle of people the frequency and regularity of pig consumed is increased at the expense of quantity. Another consequence is that it strengthens personal relationships between individuals, especially afines.

Leafenaa

Leafenaa is the distribution of wealth which does not carry with it an obligation to reciprocate. It thus concludes rather than begins a transaction. Leafenaa also includes the presentation of wergild (ai lapi) as well as bride price (luaa to).

Leafenaa is most frequently given at funerals (kene meato). Such 'gifts' include the distribution of tane, the estate of the deceased, and also valuables given to the survivors because of debts owed to the deceased.

I will first describe an actual funeral, the distribution of wealth at this funeral, and end with some general comments on funerals and leafenaa. I will then

PLATE 5

'true' house (low)



'True' house
interior (women's
side)

'True' house interior
(men's side). Drum
is hanging from
center pole.



discuss ai lapi (wergild) and luaa to (bride price).

Waliap, an old man of Wanakipa clan, died suddenly in 1968 while visiting a neighbour (at house No. 45 on Map 2). Waliap had been living with his two sons, aged about 11 and 15, in the house (No. 44) of a distant cousin, the household head, who was also of Wanakipa clan and was living with his wife and two small children. The brother of this household head was living nearby in a third house (No. 43) with his wife and two small children. These three households are particularly close in regard to both geography and kinship, the three household heads being two brothers and the third, the husband of their sister. The houses are about one hour and a half walking distance apart and there is frequent contact between the households.

The head of the house in which Waliap died, Alulu, immediately began to 'sing-out' and inform the people living across the Urubwa River of the death, who in turn 'sang-out' to others. In addition to the ten adults (i.e. about 15 years or older) of the three neighbouring households, 43 adults came to be present at the funeral, a total of 53: 31 males and 22 females.

Most of these people came from the Urubwa catchment area, although several (Waliap's daughter and husband and Alulu's daughter and husband) came from beyond the Pori River. Most of the 53 arrived the same day Waliap died; a few came the following day.

The man with whom Waliap had lived and that man's brother, both of whom are of Waliap's clan (and hence had referred to Waliap as a classificatory brother), dug his grave. Hewa say that only relatives (nuaa) dig the grave because if others dug it they would need to be given a lot of okatau.

Waliap's daughter and two sons, however, did

not help. Hewa say that very close relatives of the deceased (nuaa tala) do not work, they cry instead. Waliap's wife had died long ago, but if she were alive she would cover herself with mud 'like a pig'.

The two brothers who dug the grave carried him to it, and placed him sitting upright, legs crossed, into it. While everyone sat around the grave, crying, his close relatives threw earth over the body.

After everyone had cried, men began to talk of leafenaa. Because Waliap was a very old man he did not have much tane: He had no bow, pig, axe or salt. His only possessions had been a beaten bark head-piece (ula), a gourd containing lime used with betel-nut, and a necklace of yellow bamboo-like segments. Waliap's eldest son received the tane and gave his sister (Waliap's daughter) a net-bag and some water gourds. He in turn would later give some of the things to his youngest brother.

After the burial, many men did engage in tamkua (immediate exchange) but tamkua is not considered as part of the funeral.

The following transactions took place. One man gave a line of cowrie shells to a young man who returned a bow. One man gave a long line of cowrie shells to another man who returned a small pig. (Later the pig ran away and the pig giver said he would give another pig.)

Later a man, Wagapu gave three men two lines of cowrie shells and one axe. This was leafenaa for it carried no obligation to reciprocate. Another young married man came up and cried and the man who had just received the axe gave it to the new arrival. (I could not elicit an explanation for this apparently spontaneous gift.) Several Hewa told me that the reason why Wagapu,

the initial giver, gave three okatau¹ was that the deceased was Wagapu's apa luais. Apa means MB and luais, when it is preceded by wai ('house'), means something like 'household head'. Thus apa luais should mean something like 'the head MB'. However, when I asked for its meaning, tala, meaning 'true' or 'actual', was substituted for luais. From other evidence I believe that this substitution was only a rough approximation and that apa luais, in fact, means Ego's most important apa, which may well be determined by Ego's residence with him, perhaps even while he was household head.

Other leafenaa was given. One man, a classificatory Zs of the deceased gave a line of cowrie shells to an old woman who was both a wife of Waliap's brother and a distant classificatory sister.

Another man, a neighbour but not a clan brother, gave a line of cowrie shells to a man 'because [the deceased] owed the man okatau'.

One young man put a line of cowrie shells on the fenced-in pile of wood which formed the 'tombstone' of the grave. Another man picked it up and gave the first man a pig.

One woman, a Zd of the deceased, put a stone axe on the logs as well as a line of cowrie shells. Another man, who had previously given a line of cowrie shells, told the woman that he wanted a steel axe, not a stone axe, and that she should take it away. She took it away.

¹ To the deceased's (Waliap's) household head (wai luais), the head's brother and another neighbour - a fellow clansman.

The funeral lasted four days and nights. On the fifth day the fire was allowed to die and everyone began to leave. (A fire is often used as a symbol to begin or end public gatherings.) During the funeral activities people had been fed from the gardens of the three neighbouring households (43, 44, 45) (aiyolu). If the deceased had been the owner of pigs, these would very likely have been killed, cut up and distributed to the mourners in order to prevent antagonism which often arises from the disposal of this most desired valuable.

The distribution of leafenaa at a funeral seems to accomplish several things: It distributes the estate of the deceased. It is also a payment to important people for attending the funeral, and people who do not attend will not receive leafenaa. It establishes direct, strong, emotional links between the giver and the recipient of goods in a situation charged with feelings, particularly between people linked via the deceased (genealogically, affinally and as friends). A funeral with its emotionally aroused audience permits a person to publicly display his virtues, i.e. his generosity, by giving leafenaa, a gift which does not entail obligations.

During the funeral, as with all public gatherings, the females stay in one area and the males generally stay away from there. The close female relatives cover themselves with mud. Women are expected to cry almost continuously. If they talk, a man may tell them to stop talking and cry. When new arrivals are about to appear, men will say, 'men are coming, you cry'. If the women do not cry, the arriving men may hit them with sticks and say 'you are not crying. Who died - a piglet, a dog? You stop talking and cry'. However, this does not always achieve the desired result; it sometimes leads to fighting among the men who protect their women.

If the deceased is a woman, her tane (estate) is distributed only to females, usually classified as either 'mothers' or 'daughters'. However, if the deceased female had (or at least was part owner of) a pig, the pig is almost always killed and distributed to male mourners, especially to those who were owed something by the deceased. Often very few people come to a female's funeral (sometimes only her offspring), especially if a pig is not killed. A particular gift, kalapi, is given to the widower of a deceased woman. It consists of a line of cowrie shells and is presented by the woman's close relatives, i.e. his in-laws, to 'wash off the mourning mud'. This gift (like the bride price as we shall see later) is usually not consumed or used by the recipient but given to someone else.

If a person dies while he is alone, and is not discovered for several days, he is not buried but simply left alone to decompose. Hewa tell me that a body of several days is 'too rotten', that 'it stinks', and that they are afraid of it. A son who found his dead father in this condition left him where he was and changed his residence. If a person is killed as a witch, the ensuing activities of fighting and retaliation are more important for the Hewa than a proper burial, and the body of the victim is often not buried. Hewa claim that a body punctured by many arrows decomposes very quickly.

Ai lapi is the particular form of leafenaa used to pay wergild, blood debt incurred by a killing. Ai lapi is said to end antagonism and hostility, and hence the likelihood of retaliation. It is the only method available to Hewa killers to remove the high risk of retaliation against them. Because of the great frequency of killing in the Hewa, ai lapi is an important

Hewa payment.

In some cases the killers themselves or someone representing them offer ai lapi. In other cases it is asked for by the relatives of the victim, sometimes by quite distant relatives.

Ai lapi invariably consists of one or more pigs and often includes cowrie shells, axes or bows. The prospects of paying ai lapi is concrete enough to be used as a reason for not accompanying a killing party. One man refused to help kill a woman by saying he had no pig to give as ai lapi.

Ai lapi is given only for death; regardless of the extent of injuries, ai lapi is not paid if the victim does not die. Ai lapi is paid for both intentional and accidental killings.

I will give one example of an ai lapi payment. In Chapter Seven I discuss several killings between people from the Urubwa River area and people living near the Wa River. The penultimate killing in this series, that of the woman Yuwainen, her husband and a boy, was followed, after much retaliatory fighting in which several men were severely wounded, by the payment of ai lapi. The reconciliation took place in the following manner:

Approximately one year after the killing of Yuwainen and the others, an overture was made to give ai lapi. The ya tu of the killing suggested, and others agreed, that ai lapi should be paid. This was discussed with a neighbour, Alulu, who had refused to take part in the killing (but whose son had done so). Soon afterwards Alulu was invited to perform a sing-sing at a new house by the wai luais, the household head, of the house in which the victims had been living. When Alulu and his household went to the sing-sing the ai lapi offer was discussed.

The household head agreed to accept it. The following day the ya tu, and five others, of the killers came to the house and presented six pigs and twice as many lines of cowrie shells to the household head. Then the killers returned to their own houses. After the sing-sing the household head distributed the ai lapi to close relatives and friends of the victims.

When ai lapi has been offered and accepted, the fighting and antagonism are said to have ended. However, there are several series of killings I have recorded which have continued despite ai lapi being paid. Each new killing was justified as a pisai 'witch' killing and not retaliation. This suggests a possible explanation for at least some of the 'witch' killings. That is, by using a witchcraft accusation to win support (both physical and verbal) for a killing, one attempts to preclude the criticism that what is being attempted is a retaliation, which would be unjustified since the receipt of ai lapi has ended the affair.

When a woman is involved in adultery, her brother may kill her. In such a case, no ai lapi is paid, since the brother himself, or his father would normally get the payment.

Leafenaa as Luaa To

An important form of leafenaa is luaa to, bride price. Later, I will discuss marriage. Here I will describe the rather small amount of okatau given after a marriage as a public affirmation of one's responsibilities or obligations to one's in-laws, particularly one's father-in-law. Luaa to is always given publicly and usually consists of no more than one or two pigs together, perhaps, with a bow, or a line of cowrie shells. This

gift is in no sense an exchange for a female. Hewa classify it as leafenaa, a gift to which no obligation (yano) is attached. The father who loses his daughter and receives the luaa to in turn passes it on to a friend or relative; thus neither he nor his family directly benefit from the bride price. While the gift of luaa to is a public affirmation of one's commitment to a father-in-law, or if not alive to the bride's guardian, the acceptance of such a gift also makes a public statement: the father or guardian accepts the groom as a son-in-law and he will help ensure that the female will stay with her husband. The payment of luaa to can also be considered as a demonstration of the groom's maturity, his ability to have acquired the necessary wealth to marry, or to have had enough influence to induce someone to give, or loan him, the luaa to.

On the other hand, the payment required is also a means whereby the older and wealthier men influence the distribution of females: if no luaa to were necessary, young bachelors might get a wife anytime they wanted, with a consequent loss to the older men. Luaa to prevents this: Thus, the requirement of wealth favours the wealthy which invariably are the more mature men.

In spite of the traditional luaa to payments, there is a significant proportion of marriages for which no luaa to is paid (about 15 per cent). Strong men frequently state that they would not pay luaa to, and the two strongest men in the Hewa, Fafa and Nomaia, have wives for which they did not pay the bride price: Fafa has five wives and gave luaa to for one, Nomaia has two and gave luaa to for one. It appears that strong men refuse to subordinate themselves to their father-in-law by paying a luaa to, since, indeed, the presentation of the luaa to is a form of subordination. Hewa claim that many

of these marriages will not last, that anyone might at any time run off with a girl whose father did not receive a luaa to. I have recorded some cases where this was true, but the males who lost their bride in this manner were not strong and important men.

The payment of luaa to usually takes place without the presence of the groom, in the house of a neutral party who lives between the house of the groom and that of the bride's father. Luaa to is not paid for at least one month after the young girl moves to her husband's residence. Several weeks after the payment of luaa to, the father of the bride lets his son-in-law know that they should meet at a specified site between their houses. The father then carries marita to this site in the bush and gives it to the groom who, for the first time, is face-to-face with his father-in-law since the marriage. One or two months later the two meet again in the bush. This time it is the son-in-law who brings the gift, a stalk of favoured bananas. It is said that only after these gifts are exchanged can the groom face the father-in-law without shame.

After the presentation of these gifts the son-in-law dares to visit the house of his in-laws. Soon afterwards, the groom and the bride may take up residence for up to a year in the girl's father's house.

* * *

The salient feature of luaa to is that the father is not selling his daughter. He receives little immediate material benefit from the side of the bridegroom. What he does gain, however, is a son-in-law who, like a son, will support him through thick and thin.

The Distribution of Food Within the Household

There is one type of food distribution which is very common in the Hewa and which I have not mentioned yet. This is the distribution of food within the household or between close relatives. The Hewa have no distinctive term for this type of distribution within the family, nor for the particular exchanges which occur within the household.

Garden produce is collected and carried to the house daily by the females. The food for the household is usually cooked in an earth-oven. Food is shared readily, but its distribution is by no means haphazard. Adult males have control over its allotment. Rarely is there so much food that people can stuff themselves to their satisfaction. In general it is the adult men who receive the most food. I will return to this in the chapter on consumption.

CHAPTER FOUR

THINGS OF VALUE:
CONSUMPTION AND USE

In this chapter I will give an account of my observations of the consumption and use of certain things of value. In the two previous chapters I have already had the occasion to comment on the consumption or use of many valuables - axes, bows and arrows, equipment and clothing. Now I will focus particularly on the consumption of food, with special reference to meat. This is followed by a discussion of some food taboos which direct the flow of meat towards certain categories of people. Before a true house can be used in the Hewa, that is, before the household moves into it, an inaugurating sing-sing must be performed in it. For this reason I will conclude this chapter with a description of the Hewa sing-sing.

The Value of Meat

In a later chapter I will argue that the most important gift between men is a female, a gift which ties men together for life. The most common gift, however, is food.

Food may be given under many circumstances, both formal and casual: at house-roofing and flooring bees, at sing-sings, during preparation for - and following - a killing, during visits between friends, in-laws and genealogical relatives, at funerals, and of course constantly within a household. In a sense all people are obliged to share food when eating in front of others. But despite this obligation, the giver of food carefully determines the amount and quality of food shared. Even with the distribution of vegetable food there is always care taken: it is never casual, and it is never equal. Women and boys receive less than men, and girls receive less still. Among the men, too, one can observe differences in the distribution of food: the more important men receive

food first, and, if not more, often better quality food. (For example, such men will usually eat the few taro, considered a delicacy, available at a feast.) These differences in the distribution of vegetable food are not always obvious; they are almost never explicitly stated, and often the observer must watch carefully to see them.

On the other hand, the distribution of meat, valued far more than vegetable food, is always obviously unequal. If one watches the distribution of meat among a group of people which includes children and adults of both sexes, the inequality is striking. Of course, meat is much less abundant than vegetable food.

Wild pig, domesticated pig and cassowary provide the major portion of animal protein consumed by the Hewa. In addition, various types of marsupials, rats, lizards and some snakes are eaten. Bats, birds, grubs and an infrequent fish or two left stranded in low water complete the Hewa diet of meat. Domesticated pig is the only more or less dependable source of meat in the Hewa but provides only about 20 per cent of all meat consumed.

Although the variety of meat is considerable, the amounts of meat actually consumed are small, in spite of the fact that the Hewa are good bow-and-arrow hunters. The rewards of hunting are not constant and therefore the amount of meat consumed per week is highly variable. Hewa often go for weeks without eating any meat. On the other hand, when a wild pig is caught, a household of perhaps eight people and about 20 to 25 neighbours may eat quite a substantial amount of meat for three or four days. The average meat intake per week is therefore very difficult to determine. However, my observation while living with Hewa is that in ordinary circumstances a man, in the prime of his life, eats about $\frac{1}{2}$ lb of meat per week. His small

son and wife each consume perhaps 1/8lb per week, and his unmarried daughters receive only half as much. The quality of the meat of course differs: the adult males get the better cuts, while the portions for women and children include the intestines, not eaten by the men.

By observing which people eat the best and the most meat and which people are given their share first, one can get an indication of the relative influence of various individuals. The formal presentation of meat in large groups of people is always directly done by males. With the exception of the rare rodent caught and consumed by females, males always cut up and distribute the meat, and it is usually the head of the house (the wai lua) who directs its distribution. Sometimes husbands give portions to their wives, and sometimes the females are given meat by an older female in the household. But males give her the meat to share with the females. Children, especially girls, will usually obtain their meat from their mother's portion.

One of the mechanisms supporting the unequal distribution of meat and certain vegetable foods is the system of taboos which directs the flow, particularly of meat, like an unseen hand, to those with power, i.e., towards the men and away from women and children. I will now discuss these food prohibitions.

Food Taboos

At first glance and by Hewa assertion the category of food forbidden to males, mopi pauwa, lit. 'men not eat', and the category of food forbidden to females, luaa pauwa,¹ lit. 'women not eat', appear

1

I could not determine with certainty whether the Hewa
(cont'd on next page)

roughly equivalent. Only after one begins to be aware of the quality of the foods in the two categories and, particularly, the different frequencies with which the different types of food are encountered, does one begin to appreciate the important differences and it becomes clear that they are only superficially equal. In general, the meats and eggs forbidden to males are not particularly attractive, whereas the meats and eggs forbidden to females are both attractive and plentiful. For example, a land lizard (monitor) is forbidden to females, while a water lizard is forbidden to males. It was some time before I realised that I had rather often seen and eaten the large monitor lizard, whereas I never came across a water lizard. Another example is that of the large brown eggs of the bush-turkey, as well as cassowary eggs, which are forbidden to females, while the big white eggs of another bird are forbidden to the men. Again, bush-turkey and cassowary eggs are often seen, while Hewa could never show me the 'large white eggs', nor even the bird who lays them. (Hence I cannot identify it. I do not doubt, however, that there is such a bird and such a water lizard.)

Each time I asked why the women were not eating land lizard or cassowary eggs, they cheerfully pointed out to me that they were 'luaa pāuwa' ('females do not eat') and that men, in turn were not allowed to eat the 'large white eggs' and the water lizard which were 'mopi pauwa'.

Table 4a, or a reasonable facsimile of it, can be elicited from most Hewa who in general respond to such a request with enthusiasm. This list, thus, represents a

1 (cont'd from previous page)
have one word for 'taboo'. One man claimed 'aleniaa' means 'food prohibitions in general'. Although other Hewa would agree to this when I suggested it, I never heard it used and am therefore not confident of its meaning.

TABLE 4aForbidden FoodsFor Males (mopi pauwa)

large water lizard
(wam nokote)

large white eggs
(nuk tho ka)

1 variety of banana
(kan mat)

For Females (luaa pauwa)
(and often young boys)

large land lizard
(wam tabali)

small green land lizard
(wam thelante)

bush-turkey (nuk tenia)

bush-turkey eggs (brown)
(nuk tenia ka)

cassowary (wam teliam)

cassowary eggs
(wam teliam ka)

possum with prehensile tail
(wam waich)

bird eggs
(nuk wam ka)

parts of wild pigs (wam yasin)
legs, chest, back (near tail),
head, heart and liver

parts of domesticated pig:
(wipa) heart and liver

Pandanus (ogal):
atema - yellow
opaa - red
mapiima - red

bananas (kan):
taali
thok

1 variety of sugar cane
(aliaa pa)

tobacco (apai)

In addition:

1. females should not eat meat
of two birds (nuk falafalai and
nuk ualiap), said to be sexually
stimulating.

Table 4a cont'd

2. one man has forbidden his wives to eat alai (a variety of Pandanus)

3. one man has tried to prohibit breadfruit to women and children because his breadfruit were stolen

Temporary Restrictions for both Males and Females after:

1. eating wild pig

- (a) must not eat Saccharum edule (itsau) for four days
- (b) must not eat mushrooms (mikai) for four days
- (c) must not work on net bags for five days (applies to females)
- (d) must not have sexual intercourse for six days

Penalty: wild pigs will leave the area

2. a new garden has been planted
rats must not be eatenTemporary Restrictions for Males after:

1. killing a person:

- (a) cannot eat Pandanus for three days
- (b) cannot eat two types of bananas (taali, page) for four days
- (c) cannot enter a garden for one month
Penalty: wild pig will ruin garden
- (d) must wash himself every day for five to six days

2. eating monitor lizard or its eggs

must not enter a garden for five days
Penalty: wild pig will ruin garden

3. eating bush-turkey


as above, but restriction lasts for seven days

Table 4a cont'd4. eating Pandanus con. (ogal mapu)

as above, but restriction lasts for one month.¹

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The correctness of this length of time is somewhat doubtful. Some Hewa claim the restriction does not last that long.



cultural fact which on the surface appears to be recognised by everybody. It is only when one begins to probe that exceptions come to light. Before discussing these exceptions I will first describe the taboos surrounding the two most important meat sources: pig and cassowary.

Except for the wild pig, the cassowary is the most important source of wild meat in the Hewa. Cassowary meat is highly esteemed and, in contrast to pork, does not rot quickly: it can be kept for about a week. As we have seen before, a major portion of the meat comes from the carcasses of animals killed and abandoned by dogs. Other meat comes from birds killed by arrows.

The flesh of this delightful fowl is forbidden to females. It is said that the skin of women who have eaten cassowary will become loose, and consequently they will die. The large eggs of the cassowary also are forbidden to females as well as to young boys.

Most children express genuine fear when offered a cooked cassowary egg, and many females staunchly maintain they would never eat the eggs nor the meat of cassowary. But some of the bolder females, after a certain amount of prompting, indicated they would try it if given the opportunity. As we shall see below, there is reason to believe that some would.

The consequences of cassowary-taboo violations also apply to domesticated pigs: Cassowary is always cooked in an earth oven in the garden, in contrast to other foods which can be cooked almost everywhere. When I asked why, Hewa said that the fence surrounding the garden prevents domesticated pigs from entering and eating this great delicacy which, they claim, would cause them to lose their fat and make them waste away and die.

In contrast to cassowary, wild pig is not totally

prohibited to females. They may eat some of the less desired sections. The domesticated pig has no taboos associated with it (except for the heart and the liver, delicacies belonging to the men). Women can eat all parts of it at least in theory. In practice, however, they always get a minor share which always consists partly of intestines. But if they get too little a share, women will complain, and in such cases they are not complaining against the system but against individual males. A man who is too sparing in his distribution will be seen as selfish, something men try hard to avoid.

Before commenting on the Hewa food taboos, I will give several examples of cases where taboos were violated, together with the reaction of the people, men and women, involved. This may provide us with some pertinent insights.

Several years ago two men killed a duck (nuk apu) and a small cassowary (wam teliam) and brought them to the house of a blind man, Pakapi of Katiliap clan. After cooking and eating most of the two birds with their host, they left, leaving the remainder above the men's fireplace. Later, the blind man picked up the cassowary and asked the females living with him whether it was the cassowary or the duck. They lied, telling him it was the duck. He then gave the cassowary to them, thinking it was the duck, and they ate it. Many people know of this incident and know that the females are still alive and well. And yet they nevertheless maintain that if females eat cassowary meat, their skin will become loose and they will die.

About four years ago, two sisters of the Tetanam clan (Tiam and Apo) came across a half-eaten cassowary in the bush. They immediately cooked it and began to consume it. While they were eating, the husband of one came up,

beat them both with a stick and said, 'This is not woman's meat, this is man's meat'. He took the remaining meat back to his house where he shared it with other males. Both of these women are still in good health.

An old man (Naliap of Tamliap clan) and two young married girls (Kiliat and Fauma) were out in the forest and killed a wam waich (a possum prohibited to females). The old man generously said the possum was not a wam waich but a wam nenkaim (a non-prohibited possum) but suggested that they should eat it immediately, for other men might see it and think it was a wam waich. The females did not dispute this assessment and began to prepare the possum for cooking. Later a man, Nenwal of the Utoni-clan, came up with his wife and said angrily that females do not eat wam waich and took it from them. Nenwal (perhaps feeling somewhat guilty) then took a nuk wem ka (a large egg also prohibited to females) which he had found that morning, and gave it to his wife and the other two females who cooked and ate it. Now Hewa claim that females who eat this egg will become insane. Needless to say, these females still are of perfectly normal mental health.

A man and his wife went to trade for a bow at another house. The woman went with the host's wife into the garden to eat some sugar cane. They mistakenly ate aliaa pa, a sugar cane prohibited to females. When their husbands learned of this they were angry and did not let them eat any food at the afternoon/evening meal.

One woman once tried to eat ogal atemaa, yellow marita, but her brother discovered her preparing it in the forest and took it away.

One night, by mistake, because it was dark, several women ate kan taali, to my taste the best of the many delicious varieties of banana in the Hewa. Kan taali

is prohibited to females. When they discovered they were eating kan taali, the oldest women quietly told the other to finish eating it but not to mention it to anyone.

I have discussed these violations of taboo with both males and females. Men insist that the breaking of food taboos would entail tragic consequences. When I point out to them the cases just described and others in which the women did not seem to suffer ill effects, men often admit that they suspect that women frequently, but secretly, eat these forbidden foods. They insist, however, that such women are bad and claim they would beat their wives, sisters or daughters if they discovered them eating prohibited food.

When I asked the women what they thought about the taboos, most stated either 1. they do not know why they cannot eat certain foods, or 2. the tabooed foods have been prohibited by their ancestors. One female, however, after prompting told me that in her opinion the reason why men say women cannot eat certain foods is because they want them for themselves. Certainly, many people have heard of and know women who have eaten cassowary and have lived, and no-one can recall a woman dying as a result of eating cassowary. Nevertheless, most people accept the taboos without question.

The consequences of the food taboos are that women and children are systematically deprived of meat and other desired food. The taboos, with a few exceptions, ensure an unrestricted supply of the available food to the males and a restricted supply to the women and children. The only wild meat the women can eat freely is that which they catch themselves with their hands, a small amount indeed. The main meat supply, however, is under the

control of the men.¹

In spite of the apparent conformity to the taboos, the examples given make it clear that the taboos are in no sense automatic or held up by tradition. Instead they must be consciously enforced generation after generation. Because of this rational act of enforcement, we may look for motivations underlying such taboos by examining their consequences.

Such prohibitions, while appearing not to favour any individual, benefit the category of men as a whole. While men in fact enforce the rule for their own benefit, they are seen at the same time as virtuous, as defenders of the moral order. Hence the great advantage of a taboo is that by not sharing because of a taboo, the restricting individuals, the enforcers, are considered virtuous and quite the opposite of being selfish. Although certain older individuals recognise that this enforced inequality is clearly to the benefit of the adult males, most people simply repeat the food taboo rules when asked, as if they were God's truth. Children, too, recite the rules with enthusiasm and conviction, seemingly unaware that they work to their disadvantage.

If we accept the assertion that food taboo enforcements are a rational attempt by the men to control meat, then we must ask why pork is one of the few, and important, meat sources which is not totally tabooed to the women. I suspect that men would prefer to totally restrict the consumption of pork to males alone, but they

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The Maring food taboos appear to have the opposite effect: 'Children and women who have borne children are, as categories, subject to no taboos whatsoever', whereas 'fight magic men' suffer the most from taboos. (Rappaport, 1968:79)

have not succeeded because of two factors:

The first is that pork does not stay fresh very long. This means that pork, if available, must be consumed within a few days, and in order to avoid waste it is shared with women. The killing of a wild pig, in contrast to domesticated pigs, is unexpected and if the pig is very large, it can be difficult for the friends and relatives of the pig-killer's household to consume it before it becomes inedible. The second factor is probably more important. Despite classifying wild pigs and domesticated pigs as two different animals, wild piglets are rather often found in the forest and raised as domesticated pigs. They are first called 'sons of wild pigs' (wam yasin yen) but later, perhaps after being traded, they are simply called 'pig' (wipa). Thus the wild pig/domesticated pig distinction is not always maintained. Furthermore, as in most New Guinean societies, it is women who look after the pigs. I believe it would be difficult to keep women working with such concern at something they could not hope to benefit from.

Before concluding my discussion on Hewa food taboos, I want to refer to the second part of Table 4a, the temporary restrictions. These minor restrictions which forbid both men and women certain foods, cannot be explained by the same factors as the taboos discussed before. Their main effect is not simply to deprive the women of meat, as do the major taboos, which are always permanent. Therefore, we must look for other explanations.

These temporary restrictions are observed: after someone has killed a person, eaten wild pig and after a new garden has been planted, as well as after the consumption of three favourite foods: monitor lizard and its eggs, bush-turkey and one variety of Pandanus conoideus

(ogal mapu) which is the best and rarest.

Now all these events, particularly the first three ones, are important events in the Hewa. Killing someone and consequently fearing retaliation must cause powerful emotions in the men involved. The killing and eating of wild pig, again, is a significant and exciting occasion since it provides the desired animal protein in relatively large quantities. After the planting of a garden has been completed Hewa know that their most important and most reliable food source has been established and an adequate food supply is practically guaranteed for the coming months. Thus these three events clearly stand out from normal day to day occurrences and are focal points of Hewa life.

I would argue that temporary restrictions, among other things, emphasise the significance of important events, calling attention to them by ritualised deprivation. These particular acts of restriction which invariably follow the occurrence of these important events distinguish the casual and profane from the extraordinary by continually reminding people of their importance.

Generosity and Greed

As we have seen, men have almost exclusive control over the distribution of meat in the Hewa. This control, together with their dominant position over women and children (probably related ultimately to the superior physical strength) and the taboos on food, particularly on meat, permit the men to use the meat in their own interests. One of their most important interests is their relationships with other men.

A critical ingredient in establishing and maintaining relations between men are acts of generosity. Such acts of generosity include 'gifts' of labour, e.g.,

helping a friend, neighbour or relative in a fight, killing or retaliation. However, the most common or frequent acts of generosity are gifts of food, and the most valued food is meat.

— Such gifts of meat not only tie the recipient to the giver but, by the obligation to reciprocate inherent in the gift, ensure a fairly steady consumption of meat for adult men. At the same time, however, because there is an overall scarcity of animal protein available to the Hewa, women, old men and children get very little.

There are many examples of, on the one hand, the generosity of males in sharing meat with other males, and on the other the almost constant unsated desire for meat. Two apparently competing forces exist among the Hewa: their desire to be generous and their greed. The following illustrations will show this.

When a visitor arrives at a house after walking for hours through the bush, he will often carry a wild animal on his back which he has shot on the way. After a warm greeting by the host, the visitor will magnanimously present the shot animal to the household head who will cook it and distribute it for eating. The hunter who has brought the animal will not usually eat of the meat. This is generosity.

On the other hand, I recall instances when Hewa and I walked through the bush to visit someone, shooting birds on the way. Usually the game was carried to the house and given to the visited household head. But several times, at the suggestion of my companion, we cooked the game in the bush, ate it and never mentioned again what we had done (actually, I did once, which earned me a deadpan stare from my friend). There were also several times when game, which was shot during the day, was tied to a tree in

the bush and retrieved the next day, after we spent the night at someone's house.

Another example of hunger for meat is evident in the following example: One day, a man shot a crow-like bird (nuk khe). A young man, mian Thama, who was recovering from a sickness, and was very weak, said he was tired and he would carry the bird back to the house. When we returned later in the day, he was not at the house and did not appear until the following day and then only with a small portion of the bird. Thama said he had stayed the night with an old sick man and had given most of the bird to him. But no-one believed him, not even his father. Thus greed is a recognised phenomenon among Hewa.

* * *

It may be that my analysis of Hewa taboos gives the impression that Hewa males are particularly greedy individuals and that they deprive their women of meat with systematic calculation. This however would be a distortion. Hewa males, individually, are as generous as men in other societies. They are not greedily calculating and manipulating the system in their favour.

It is true that they maintain a system in which they have been brought up and that they are not changing it even though they may be aware of some unfairness. But on the other hand, since the enforcement of these rules makes them virtuous and at the same time provides them with desired meat they always crave, it makes sense why the men are not inclined to change rules which only they could do in the Hewa but which are obviously sensible and perfectly adequate in their view.

The small amount of protein consumed by many

New Guinean Highlanders has been discussed elsewhere,¹ and the Hewa are no exception. What has not often been pointed out, however, is the unequal distribution of protein and its effects within the various societies.²

The maintenance of the Hewa taboos systematically deprives females of meat. This recognised deprivation of meat creates an anxiety, a concern, on the part of the males, that such deprived people may secretly seek to satisfy their hunger for meat. In Chapter Seven I will argue that the possibility that such people will seek to do this by eating people, lies at the basis of the fear of cannibal witches in the Hewa.

Sing-Sings and Adornment

A feature of all public gatherings is that people are on display. When people attend such gatherings, therefore, they often wear body ornaments to enhance their attractiveness. The public gathering in which display is most prominent in the Hewa is the sing-sing, yap mofau. It gives males the opportunity to display their masculinity: their strength, agility and gracefulness of movement, and a powerful voice. These physical attributes are underlined by the use of colourful bird-feathers, bright cowrie shells, deep and sonorous throbs of the drums, and the house-shaking rhythm of the stamping feet. The colours, movements and sounds cannot escape any eye or ear in the audience; they attract the attention to the physical attributes of the performer. The effect of such adornment, clearly, is that it causes

1

Hipsley and Kirk (1965); Ivinskis (1956:147); Bailey (1966).

2

Rappaport's work on the Maring deals with this question. However, he does not clearly indicate how much animal protein the various categories actually consume with respect to one another (ibid:79-81).

the observer to notice the person adorned.

In Chapter One, I gave a short description of the dramatic beginning of a sing-sing and its battle-like qualities. Here I will try to answer the question: Why are sing-sings held?

As mentioned already, one obvious function of the sing-sing gathering is display: dancing and singing are performed by males in front of a fascinated audience of both sexes. A sing-sing gathering will last for several days. The main activity during this gathering is the performance of dancing and singing, the sing-sing proper, which occupies the entire time between sunset and sunrise. The time between the dancing nights is spent resting and sleeping which allows the males to be fit for the next performance.

Women, who accompany their males to the sing-sing, often wear a newly made grass skirt and rub soot on their cheeks. They themselves do not dance, but their presence is essential.

Even I had to rise to the occasion: After walking several days to a sing-sing gathering, my shirt was dirty and wet. When the males who had walked with me were washing and adorning themselves at the stream below the new house, I was told to exchange my own dirty shirt for a clean one I had in my pouch.

A sing-sing gathering is held when a 'true' house (either high or low) is finished. Before the household moves into the house and before the house fires are lit, the household head invites a group of households to perform a sing-sing in the new house, thus inaugurating it. Two groups will be present at the sing-sing, besides the host:

1. the host's group

This group includes the host and his family (on average about seven people) and their close, neighbours (about 15 people). Many of these people have participated in the construction of the house either by working on the house frame or by attending flooring and roofing bees. Members of this group act informally with each other since they are in frequent contact.

2. the performing group

The group performing the sing-sing represents a similar group of Hewa from a different neighbourhood. A sing-sing gathering can be attended by invitation only. This provides the host with the means of selecting only people from groups with which he has good relations and who can be safely shown the location of the new house. (Houses are so scattered in the Hewa and relatively hidden that a hostile group would find it difficult to locate a house which none of them had ever seen.) Thus an invitation to a sing-sing and its acceptance serve as an explicit recognition of friendship between groups. At the same time it also strengthens the bond between two groups. An invitation to a sing-sing may also serve as an indication that the host wants to resume friendly relations with a group after hostilities.

During the days of a sing-sing gathering, members of the two groups eat together, prepare themselves for the dancing, rest together and may do some trading (tamkua). During the night, the sing-sing proper is performed.

The members of the host's group, i.e., the local group, will only be spectators during the performance. The visiting group, however, is the performing group, whose male members display their strength and dancing abilities

to their hosts. There are one or two lead dancers and a corps of from ten to 20 supporting dancers. The leaders are clearly distinguished from the other dancers, and their attire is flamboyant indeed: (see Plate 9) they wear a full length double layered skirt, similar to the shorter ones worn by the women. On their head they carry a huge headpiece made out of a netbag stuffed with leaves. Shafts of bamboo covered with feathers are stuck into the giant wig, pointing upward from the back. The face and shoulders of the men are covered with leaves hanging down from the headpiece. Every leaf and feather shakes up and down and back and forth, accentuating each movement of the dancers. These two giant bird-men lead the other men around the center pole of the new house, regulating the speed of the dance by the rhythmic pounding of their drums. The supporting dancers are decorated too, but they belong to the world of normal humans; they are not exotic creatures from the bird-men world. Each of them carries a bow and arrow, flexes the bow and aims the arrow at an imaginary prey. While the dancers are stamping around the center pole for hours and hours, the leaders alternately sing their own songs, telling about the ways of the animals in the bush and their hunting experiences.

The sing-sing gathering has several functions. One we have discussed already, namely display. Another one is that of defining the performing group in contrast to the host's group. The sing-sing is collective action, and it is one of the few occasions when a group of men behave completely in unison.

The dance after a killing demonstrates this 'unity' function of dancing most clearly. Immediately after killing a person, and frequently during the next few days, the group of killers dance yap pamalu. The Hewa assert that this dance is done to strengthen them and to

make them more resistant to retaliation. Immediately after killing a person the killers all flee to one of the houses and remain there for four or five days for the purpose, as the Hewa assert, of 'dancing yap pamalu'. Whether this wish to dance is the actual cause or not, its effects do indeed make them strong. By emphasising their unity, and necessarily causing them to reside together during the time retaliation is most likely, the dance does indeed make them more able to resist retaliation.

Although all the men of a neighbourhood do not often attend a sing-sing together, a representative number consisting of some people from almost every household in the neighbourhood usually attend. They are invited as a group, travel as a group to the new house in which the sing-sing will be held, and perform together as a group, being led in the performance by the more important males in their neighbourhood. Besides defining the visiting group as a whole, as well as the host's, the sing-sing gathering provides face-to-face contact between people who are friends but who do not live together or in the same neighbourhood.

The most overt purpose of the sing-sing is, of course, the consecration of the new house. The ritualised activity of the dancing serves to embellish and celebrate the completion of the house. Before the house can actually be entered by anybody, a minor ritual is performed by the women: they enter the house through the men's entrance, the only time they will ever be allowed to step into the men's side, and beat a bundle of leaves on the floor, thus 'opening up' the house. Some Hewa claim that the purpose of this ritual is to drive away spirits (nam), others are not sure. Some simply say the beating of leaves is necessary before the first fire of the house can be lit.

In this section I have argued that the purpose of adornment is to attract the attention of the observer to the adorned. This seems to be true for Hewa art generally. Hewa increase the attractiveness of valued things by adding symmetrical patterns of colour and line to important objects. This explains the embellishment of bows, arrows, drums and of houses which are decorated by a plaque of bark or slate.

For some things the activity itself leaves no material traces. This seems to be the case with the sing-sing which adorns a new house. But the sing-sing activity while adorning the house temporarily, also expresses the importance of its completion, an expression which is remembered by the dancers and the audience.

Thus, while colour and line are used to embellish, i.e., to stress the importance of objects, activities are used to stress the importance of events. And just as the temporary food taboos discussed before are activities which stress the importance of eating wild pig, or killing, so too does the activity of the sing-sing underline the importance of the completion of the house.

CHAPTER FIVE

ROPES OF MEN

The importance of residence - as opposed to descent - in the New Guinea Highlands has recently been forcefully argued and carefully documented in the literature of the Highlands by de Lepervanche (1967/1968). de Lepervanche was following arguments made by Barnes (1962) and Brown (1962) who questioned the utility of African unilineal descent models in the analysis of Highland groups, and Langness (1964) who emphasized the structural importance of locality for the groups of the Korofeigu. The data presented in this chapter, in general, support these arguments and interpretations.

I begin this chapter with a Hewa story which brings out the salient features with which we shall deal: the relationship between people, land and residence. This is followed by an analysis of Hewa territoriality, clan territories, clanship and the relationship between clanship and residence.¹ From the results of this analysis implications are drawn to reveal the process by which new Hewa clans emerge.

1

During discussion of clan territories, the reader will find it useful to consult the overlay of Map 2 on page 123.

I

Once a man (un-named but whom I shall call Tama) went hunting for wild pigs with his dog. He travelled far through the forest, so far that he came to an area he had never seen, and he wondered whether he might come to a strange house. He rested while his dog continued to hunt. The dog howled, Tama grabbed his bow and arrows, and following the dog, came up to a wild pig rooting in the ground, which he shot and killed.

When he approached the wild pig he saw that an ear had been cut and that it was fat and he knew then it was not a wild pig (wam yasin) but a pig belonging to a man (wipa). He was afraid and wondered whether its owner would be looking for it, but he carried it to a place with stones to cook it.

He built a fire and in the open flames singed off the pig's bristles. As he cut up the pig and noticed the great amount of fat, he knew for certain it was not a wild pig. He piled stones on the fire and sat down, waiting for the stones to heat. He thought of the pig's owner who he was afraid might come to fight or kill him. When the fire had died and the stones were hot, he placed the pig between leaves and the hot stones and left it to cook.

Then Tama cooked the pig's liver and heart over an open fire. As he sat and ate the cooked liver, a man came up and said: "You killed my pig. Why? It was not a wild pig,¹ it was my pig. This is not your territory (no); you crossed my boundary (nalio). Now the boundary

1

Notice the recognition of the possibility that it was not intentional, but a mistake.

between our two territories is over there. You came to my territory and killed my pig". Then he began to hit Tama who got up and the two fought. The two fought so hard they broke trees. They grabbed sticks and hit each other. They got their bows and shot at each other until they ran out of arrows. Then each cut down a small tree and hit the other with it.

Finally, a woman, the sister of the pig-owner, came up and said: "You two have fought long enough. Now you two shake hands¹ and call each other 'brother' (yain-nomien, 'parallel cousin')." Then the pig-owner and the pig-killer shook hands and the fight was finished. The two went to the earth oven and took out the pig. The pig-owner said: "You eat this pig. Later, when you have a small domesticated pig (wipa) you can give it to me." So Tama carried the pig back to his house and ate it.

Later he called out for the pig-owner to come and he then gave him a large domesticated pig. As the two sat and talked they traded (tamkua), Tama giving the pig-owner a long line of cowrie shells and a bow and the pig-owner giving Tama things like a line of cowrie shells, a bow, a stone axe and some pig. Then the pig-owner said, "You are living alone and that is not good. We two should stay together in one place". Then the two stayed together in one place.²

II

The pig-owner began to build a new house and Tama again went hunting for wild pigs. Deep in the forest he shot a wild pig, prepared it and put it in an earth

¹ Shaking hands is a traditional Hewa custom.

² Whose territory it is is not mentioned.

oven. As he waited for it to cook another man came up and said: "This is not your territory, your territory is in another place. You killed my wild pig (wam yasin).¹" Then he began to hit Tama who got up and, with a faggot, hit the new man on the head and killed him. Tama then went looking for stinging nettles. He returned and placed them under the dead man. He then took out the cooked pig, sat down, and began to eat. As he did so, the dead man began to twist and turn.¹

Tama then got up, went to the 'dead' man and said: "I killed a true wild pig and you fought me. When you hit me I hit you and you died." The 'dead' man got up and said: "This is not your territory, it is my territory and you came and killed a wild pig."² I was angry and fought you. I fought you and you fought me and I died." Then the two shook hands, sat down and ate the pig together. Tama said: "Later you bring a pouch of salt to me and I will give you a bow." Then the two divided up the remaining pig and departed, each going to his own place.

Tama went to the new house built by the pig-owner, and sat down with him and the two ate the wild pig. Then Tama told him of the fight over the wild pig and that the 'dead' man would bring some salt. Then the two slept.

III

The next morning the pig-owner said he would go hunting and left. His sister, who was also living at the house, then came up to Tama and said: "It is always you

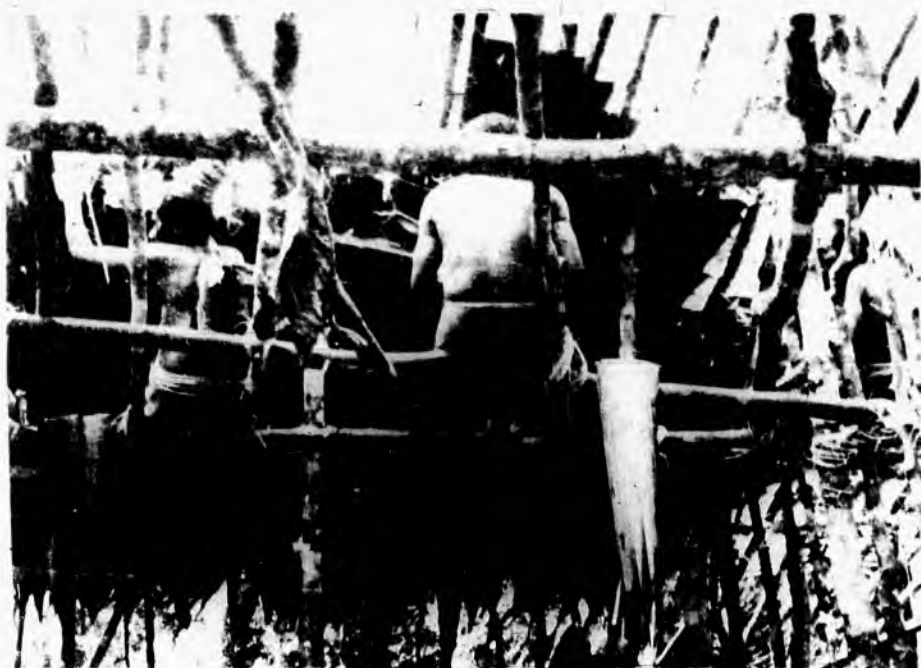
1

Stinging nettles are often rubbed on a painful part of the body to "take away the pain". In this case they seem to have brought the man back to life.

2

Note the possessive is no longer used.

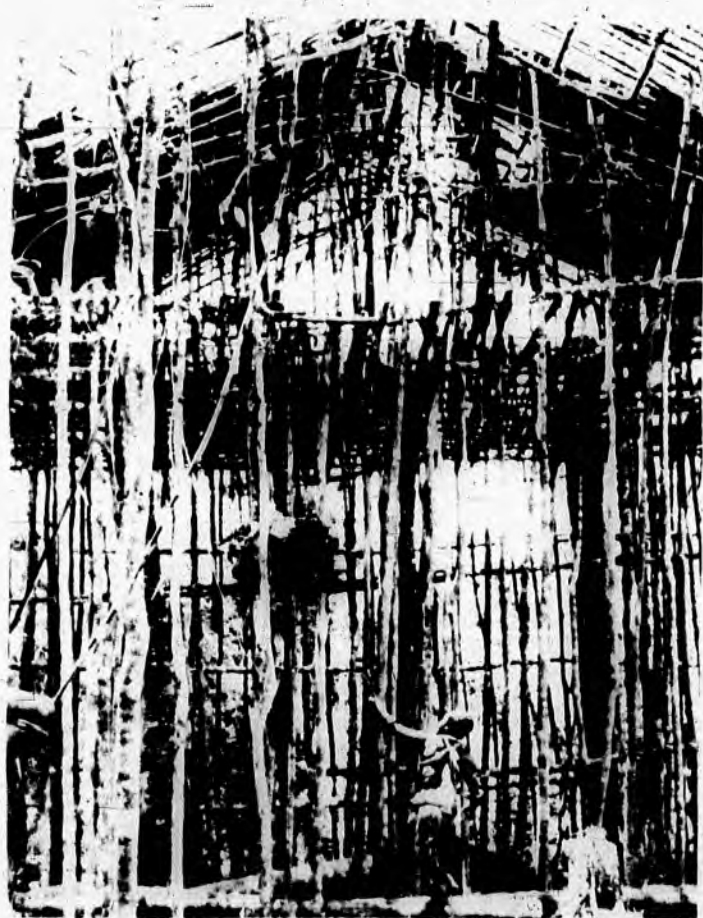
PLATE 6



High house-
flooring bee



High house-
flooring bee



High house frame

two who hunt and I always stay at the house. I am tired of that. Now I will go in the forest and you two stay behind." Tama said: "That's all right, you can go and we two will stay." Then the pig-owner returned and the sister went into the forest to look for eggs, possum and other things.

The sister found many large bird eggs. While carrying them she saw some betelnut, climbed the tree and brought them down. Then she sat down and ate the betelnut and some sweet potato she had cooked that morning. As she sat eating, a stranger came up and said: "This is not your territory, it is my territory, why are you here?" The sister did not respond but instead sat eating her betelnut and sweet potato. The stranger drew his bow and shot at the woman but the arrow did not strike her. He said: "If I shot you, you would die. But I didn't shoot you." He had not really tried to shoot her, he was sorry for her. He only wanted to frighten her.

The man then took the woman to his house and they stayed together as man and wife. But they were not really married. In the meantime the pig-owner and Tama, her brothers,¹ searched and searched for her without finding her. When the two brothers returned, the 'dead' man (the one brought to life by the stinging nettles) came up carrying things like salt, cowrie shells, stone axes. The two brothers each traded a bow and also gave some pig to the 'dead' man.

Then the woman, the sister, came up carrying some cowrie shells, salt, stone axes and pig. The two

¹

From this point on the two men are referred to as 'her brothers'.

brothers asked her where she had been, to which she replied: "I am living with a man." Then the three men sat and ate the side of pig she had brought. Then, as the woman was leaving, she said: "I am returning to my husband now and we are building a house. When we have finished you come and get my bride-price and dance-and-sing in the new house."

Later the two brothers called out to the 'dead' man to come. He came to the brothers' house and they very elaborately decorated themselves for the dance. Then they went to the new house of their sister and her husband who had carefully prepared sweet potato, taro, sugar, and greens. The three men danced and sang all night and the next day they feasted. The following two nights they again danced and sang. The next morning they left for their own houses.

* * *

This story, told by Iwalium of the Waipa clan, was recorded on the 15th of July, 1967. It is a typical Hewa story, neither sacred nor heroic. The Hewa say they learn these stories from their mothers and fathers. The actors have no names, and the Hewa state they do not know whether the events described actually happened. The tales are listened to with great interest; people would sit listening for hours to repetitions of the same story on my tape recorder. They provide a kind of social commentary, a statement of proper and improper, of safe and dangerous, conduct. They act like a history without the uniqueness of people, time or place. They encapsulate the experiences of past dilemmas and provide a guide for their future resolution.

In this chapter I will present an analysis of the relationship between the Hewa people, their territories and their clans. Iwalium's story deals with these

relationships.

The story describes three important concerns of the Hewa:

The shooting of a man's domesticated pig
(Section I)

The attempt to punish a man for shooting a
wild pig (Section II)

Marriage (Section III).

But the theme uniting the three sections is the definition of territorial rights.

The fact of territoriality, the exclusive relationship between men and land, is indisputable, it is asserted without question in each of the three sections of the story. People clearly identify themselves, and are identified, with bounded territory. When they speak of territory they use a grammatical marker which indicates possession. But the point that emerges is that although territoriality is clearly defined and thus important, it does not imply property rights.

In section I, although the hunter has it pointed out to him that he is on another man's territory, the conflict does not arise from having trespassed but from the fact that he has killed a pig belonging to another man, regardless on whose territory the pig was shot. The killing was unintentional and consequently in the story, despite the long and furious fight, neither the hunter nor the pig-owner is seriously harmed. Instead, compensation is paid for the loss of the pig, after which the two men decide to live together as brothers. The ownership of the territory on which they decide to live, whether the hunter's, the pig-owner's, or another man's, is irrelevant.

In order to appreciate the crucial contrast between sections I and II in the story, it is necessary

to understand the sharp distinction drawn by the Hewa between wild and domestic pigs even though they are virtually identical genetically (all males are castrated and females mate only with wild pigs in the forest). The two categories of pigs are distinguished by different linguistic terms, wam yasin and wipa, resp. (The cassowary [wam teliam] is another kind of wam, i.e., large wild animals, all of which are opposed to wipa, 'domesticated pig'.) Because of the great expanse of uninhabited forest surrounding the single, isolated Hewa houses, and because domesticated pigs wander freely in the forest, there is a possibility and hence concern that such pigs may be shot. One of the most serious accusations I have heard against a man was that he killed another man's pig in the forest and secretly ate it.

If a pig follows the tracks of its owner to a dance a great distance away in a foreign territory and enters someone's garden and falls and dies in a trap set to prevent wild pigs from ruining the garden, the pig-owner will be furious and demand, from the owner of the garden, another pig as compensation. Thus, even though this pig intruded into foreign territory, the resident of that territory had no right to shoot or trap that pig, intentionally or not, which belonged to another man.¹

Now, with the important distinction between a wild and domestic pig in mind, we return to Iwalium's story. In section II a man lost his life because he attempted to enforce the claim that wild animals (and presumably by extension anything) were his property by virtue of being on his territory. He was brought back to life by the hunter to permit him (and of course the audience) to recognise

1

Frequently, however, compensation is not willingly paid, particularly if the pig has rooted up the garden before being trapped. Conflict often arises in such circumstances.

this error, and to acknowledge it, by shaking hands with his killer. The point surely is that territoriality does not imply such rights. However, the story explicitly suggests the possibility that people might consider territoriality as more than the identification of people with land, that territoriality may be in fact a legitimate principle on which to base property claims. The story points out this possibility and then punishes the person presuming it, thereby rendering such a claim invalid.

Section III is somewhat ambiguous. The stranger asserts that the territory is his and not the woman's. Her lack of response may imply that, to a female, territoriality is irrelevant. As a female she goes to where her husband lives and is not concerned with whose territory it is.

But if this interpretation is accepted what is the point of this section? Surely not to simply point out that marriage is properly virilocal. This would be irrelevant to the rest of the story.

It seems to me that the point made is that by marrying someone/anyone she does not marry the hunter, Tama. When she enters the story designated as the sister of the 'pig-owner' the possibility immediately arises that she will marry Tama. In most Hewa stories when a man meets a girl not his relative, she becomes his wife, and therefore most Hewa would expect this. But in this story the female suggests that the two men should call each other 'brother'. It is possible they may have already been brothers or parallel cousins, which would explain the sexual taboo. But I don't think so. Tama was clearly in an unknown territory and 'a man' walked up to him.

Thus the point being made in this episode is that two men can become (and act) like brothers and live

together, i.e., occupy the same territory. 'Acting like brothers' precludes sexual relations of Tama with the pig-owner's sister. This explains then why Tama does not marry the female. The story permits two strangers to become 'brothers' and live together regardless on whose territory they reside. Residence thus is not determined by territoriality.

In sum, then, the main points to emerge from the story are:

1. Territoriality seems fundamentally to be a means of identification of men with land and not the basis of property rights.
2. The notion of territoriality itself does not influence residence.
3. Common residence can create bonds of kinship.

Let us now see how the first two important propositions which have emerged from the story contribute to an understanding of the relationship between residence and clan membership as I observed it during the course of my field-work. The third point will be referred to near the end of the chapter.

* * *

The Hewa term I have translated as 'territory' in the story is no. Now no has several meanings, e.g., ground, earth, place, forest (vs. garden), forest (vs. cleared house site), and no twa, 'a great distance' (lit. 'a big ground'), no mo, 'rain'. The two meanings of no I will discuss here are no-site, a small named plot of ground or site with which people may be temporarily identified by residence; and no-territory, a tract of land, on average four square miles, which is unnamed but which is permanently identified with a clan, i.e., it is always a clan territory.

When asked "what is the name of your no", a Hewa usually replies something like, "an no wi X" "my no is named X". From this one knows he is speaking of the 50-acre site on which his house is built, i.e., no-site, for only such no have names (wi). However if asked "what is your no", the usual answer is, "an no, X no", "my no (is) X's no", and X is invariably the name of a clan. Such a no-territory always includes many local no-sites. If I fail to recognise the name of the clan, the speaker will usually elaborate by specifying the main river flowing through such a no-territory. Both no have clearly defined boundaries (nalio) but to the question "where is your boundary?", the reply almost invariably refers to the boundary of a no-territory.

Thus territory and site, although both called no, are sharply distinguished in size and are uniquely referred to, the site having a personal name, the territory identified with a clan. In addition the two no are grammatically distinguished by word order. Thus, Waipa no (i.e. the clan Waipa's no) could not be a site, no Tetiefi (i.e. a no named Tetiefi) could not be a territory.

As was discussed in earlier chapters, the Hewa tend to live in a house for only about two years. Toward the end of this period they begin building a new house and garden in another local site, usually within roughly an hour's walk from their old house. Thus a statement such as an no wi Tetiefi, "my no is called Tetiefi", can only be true for approximately two years, whereas an no, Waipa no, "my no (is) Waipa (clan) no", would be considered eternally true.

Below will be discussed in some detail the composition of territories; for the present let it suffice to note that the average territory contains only 18 people

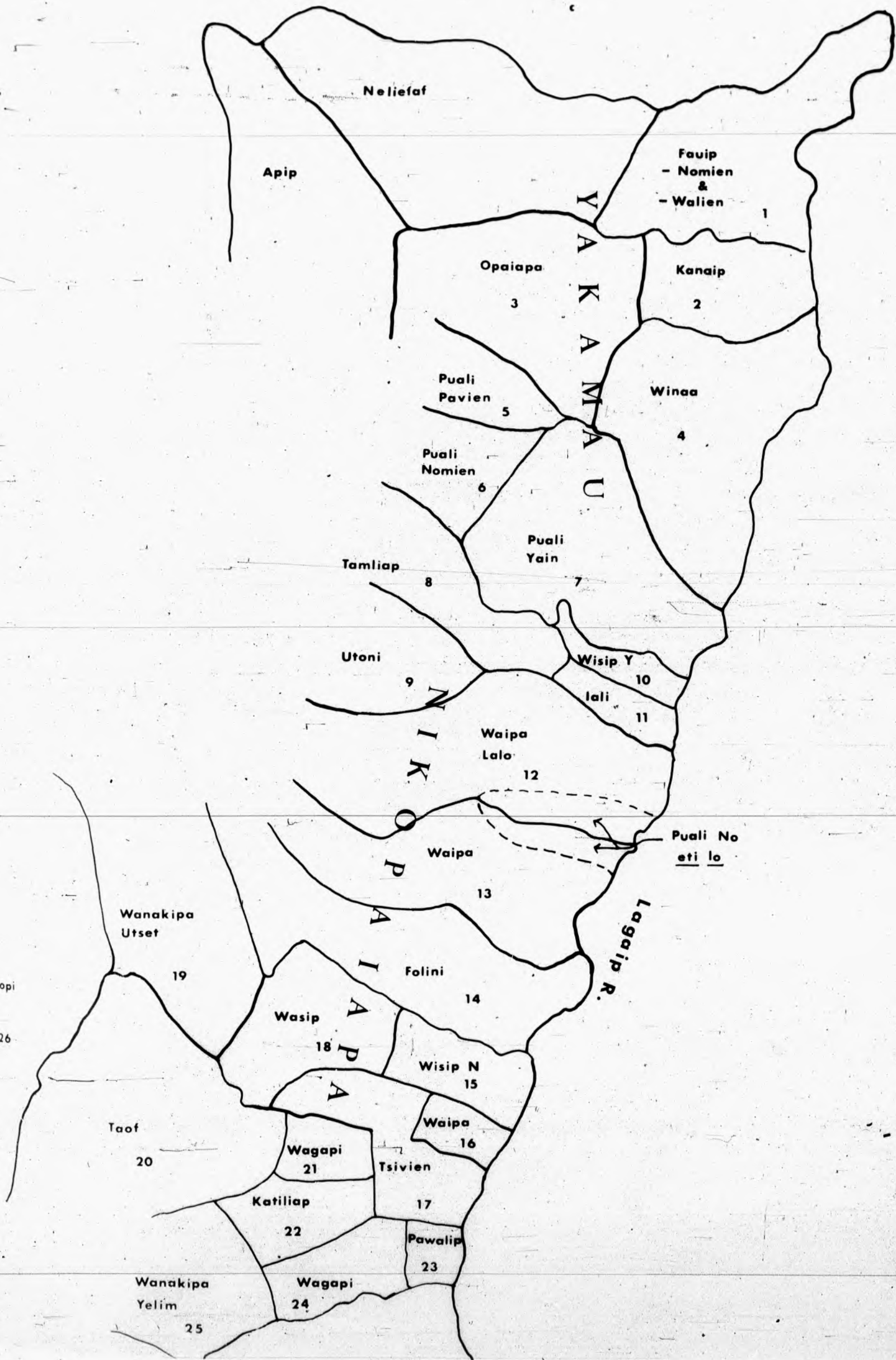
and in two and a half houses. In the 100 square miles chosen as the focus of this study there are 26 occupied clan territories each of which is divided into numerous (20-80) local sites.

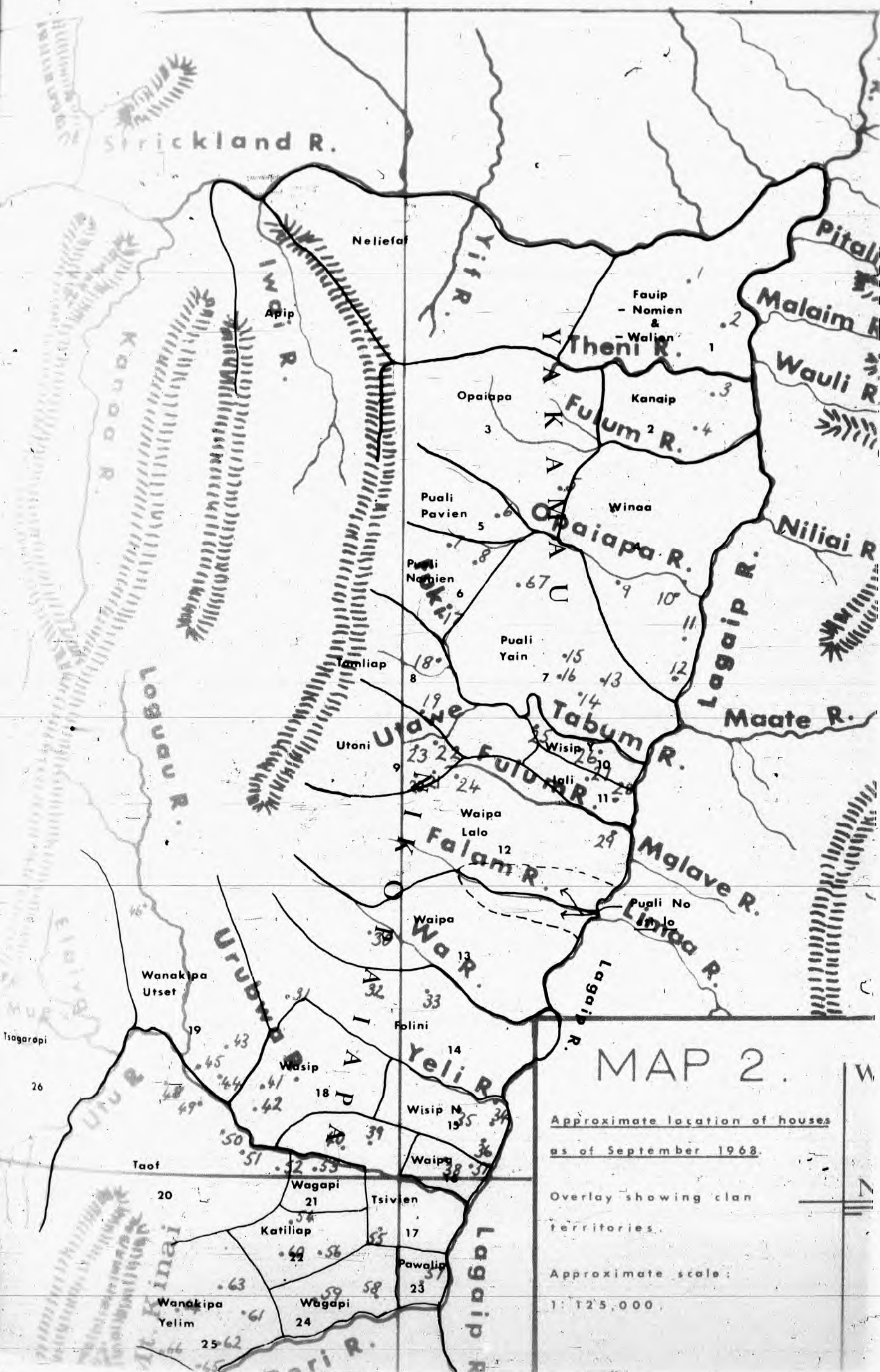
Clan Territories

To an outside observer the Hewa concern with territoriality appears paradoxical. There is no apparent competition for land nor does the exclusive identification of land with people seem to be a factor influencing residence. The primary consideration influencing residence seems to be the relationships one has to people in the surrounding neighbourhood of the intended residence. And these relationships are often either genealogical or affinal.

I have never heard of, nor could I easily imagine, a situation in which a man living on his own clan territory would attempt to force out, or prevent the residence of, a member of another clan simply because he was not identified with that territory. There are many fights and killings in the Hewa some of which we shall examine in detail later, but they are not concerned with territory per se.

It would seem that only when the demand for the use of territory becomes great does the 'ownership' of territory become significant. In the Hewa there is no competition for the use of land and, therefore, for its possession. The use of land and what it bears is not exclusive. Land by itself is not the source of wealth or property. The source of wealth or property is essentially man's labour. And that on which and for which man has laboured has value and is thus considered property. Thus the garden a man has cleared and planted, the garden fences he has built, his houses, pigs, wives, bows, axes, his children (for whom he has provided security and food), the wild nuts he has collected, the fruit of trees he has planted, wild animals he has shot or caught, are all considered





property the expropriation of which he and usually his close relatives will actively resist.

Thus territory for a Hewa is not itself property, it is not an 'owned' possession. He does not have exclusive rights to possess, enjoy or dispose of it.

Our 100-square-mile area is bisected into two halves by the Tabum River which is the boundary between the two largest categories of people in the area: the people to the west of the river are called Yakamau, the people to the east are referred to as Nikopaiapa. Long residence, perhaps from birth, seems to be the sole criterion by which people are so distinguished. The regions are not necessarily identified with particular clan territories. It can be seen on the map of clan territories that one clan territory, Tamliap, straddles the two regions and there is evidence (discussed below) which suggests that the clans of Puali Yain, Puali Nomien and Puali Pavien, now considered Yakamau, were once Nikopaiapa. The two regions and categories are not of much importance and appear to be used mainly to distinguish rather slight cultural differences in such things as pronunciation, dress and various other customs of the people occupying the two regions. There seems to be about as much social contact across the dividing river as within the two regions.

In addition to the two large regions, Yakamau and Nikopaiapa, our 100 square miles is further divided into 28 clan territories, 26 of which are occupied, which in turn include a great many named 'local sites'. The 28 clan territories will be discussed below.

The significance of the local sites is two-fold. They enable the Hewa to designate geographical locations quite precisely and to specify house sites. In general, reference is made to this 'local site mapping' by designating where a particular event will take, or has taken place. Such events include the sighting or killing of animals, a rendezvous, a fight, future gardens, etc.

The size of these local sites is roughly 50 acres which suggests a figure in the vicinity of 50 sites for the average territory of four square miles and about 1,500 for our entire area of 100 square miles. This indicates a ratio of about three such sites to every person. No Hewa would know even a majority of these sites but most know the names of all such sites within three to five miles of every house they have lived in since they were about five years old and the name of most sites occupied by houses they have visited.

As stated above these local sites are referred to by the term no plus their particular name (e.g. no Tetiefi, no Wipaa, no Usatwa). The order of the terms is in contrast to that used when referring to clan territories in which no is also used. Thus Wanakipa no is the territory identified with the Wanakipa clan whereas no Wanakipa would be a 'ground' or site (or even 'region') named Wanakipa.

In addition to these site designations, a house or household can be further distinguished by the immediate stream into which water near the house flows and which is usually the source of drinking water for the household. Thus every house in the Hewa area can be geographically located by the site it occupies, by the immediate stream in whose catchment area it is located, by its region (i.e. in our area either Nikopaiapa or Yakamau), and by the clan identified with that territory. The designation of a particular house, for example, could be no Wipaa (a site named Wipaa), ate Alun (Alun Stream), Wasip no (Wasip clan territory) and Nikopaiapa no (the region south of the Lagaip lying between the Tabum and Strickland Rivers). A clan territory may also be referred to by the name of the main river flowing through it. Thus Tamliap no (Tamliap Clan Territory) is sometimes designated ate Tabum no (Tabum River Territory).

As stated above there are 28 separate clan territories (mopi le no) in our area, of which two, Neliefaf and Apip,

were uninhabited prior to my arrival in the area in 1966 and have no living male representatives in our entire area. These two abandoned territories are located in the extreme south west corner of the Hewa area bordering the Duna area.

The borders defining the clan territories are usually distinctive geographical features such as mountain ridges and rivers but in one case, the border between territories 12 and 13, it is the main east-west footpath.

In the 26 occupied territories there are 67 houses or households giving an average of 2.6 houses per territory. 463 people were living in the area at the time I took a census in September 1968. This yields an average of 17.8 persons per territory and 6.9 persons per house. If the area were flat, the size of the average territory would be four square miles.

Married men tend to live near the area where they were brought up, the area and people with whom they are most familiar, while women, when they marry, tend to go and live with their husband.

Two sorts of facts support a virilocal designation. First, in most marriages of which I have information the female is married at a very early age, perhaps eight to ten years, that is, before she has developed breasts or has begun to menstruate. On marriage the young girl is taken to the house in which her husband resides where she becomes, as the Hewa say, 'like a daughter to her husband's mother'. But, despite this sibling implication, within a few days of her arrival her husband takes her 'into the bush', as the Hewa discreetly refer to sexual intercourse. Although the married couple will return to the wife's

house for visits and may even reside there for up to a year, their residence will usually be with or near people well known to the husband.

The second piece of evidence supporting a virilocal interpretation is that about half ($\frac{56}{109}$) of the married men live on their own clan territory, only a few ($\frac{10}{109}$) live on the territory of a wife and somewhat less than half ($\frac{43}{109}$) live on territory neither their own nor their wife's. On the other hand, of the married women living with their husband, only a few ($\frac{11}{142}$)¹ live on their own clan territory, about half ($\frac{74}{142}$) live on the territory of their husband and somewhat less than half ($\frac{57}{142}$) live on neither their own nor their husband's clan territory.

Thus we can conclude that (a) although nearly half the married men do not live on territory they call their own, they rarely live on their wife's territory, and (b) that despite the fact that only about half the married women live on territory considered their husband's clan territory, they seldom live on their own territory. In sum then, these facts, taken together with the Hewa assertion that wives are taken to live in the house of their husband, make it quite evident that marriage tends strongly to be virilocal.

Clans

The Hewa term for the group I refer to as 'clan' is mopi le, meaning literally 'men (or 'man') -vine(s)', that is, 'rope of men'. Mopi le, however, has a wider range of meaning than clan. It can be used to refer to various sizes of groups or categories of people, the smallest being a man and his offspring and the largest a race of people. I have never heard the term mopi le

¹ One man lives uxorilocally with two wives who are sisters.

used for a woman and her offspring nor have I heard the phrase luaa le, 'female line'. When asked, "what is the 'name' of your mopi le", people would usually answer, "my le is called X" (X being Tamliap, Waipa, or any of the names indicated on the map of clan territories). But sometimes they would say, "my mother's le is X, my father's le is Y", which suggests the possibility of choice. But later I virtually always discovered that the mother's le was the le of her father, thus confirming a patrilineal designation.

Another answer was that their own le was X but that neither their father nor mother were of X. In such cases where I was able to obtain further information it turned out that X was the clan of the males with whom, or on the territory of whom, they were living. In addition, when pointing to houses across a valley and asking who were their occupants, the answer would often be men of one particular named clan (e.g., Wanakipa mopi, or Puali mopi, or Waipa mopi etc.) despite the fact that later I would find that some of the men were members of other clans.

Later we shall see that the relationship between clan and territory is an intimate one, that a territory is basically a large tract of land considered to be permanently occupied by and hence identified with one clan. And hence the tendency to speak of a clan in territorial terms and of the occupants of one territory in terms of one clan. But when I asked an informant to state a person's true clan affiliation and that person's parents' clan affiliation, in virtually all cases the person's clan and the clan of his/her father were the same and both different from his/her mother's clan.

If a boy is raised from an early age by a man of a different clan than the boy's father, the boy might claim he is a member of his 'adopted clan'. But his foster father and others will deny it. I also learned of several cases in which

the adopted son has married his adopted father's brother's daughter, a marriage prohibited to a true son. Thus, although there are many apparent exceptions, it is clear that membership in clans is patrilineal.

One interesting aspect of clanship is the frequent use made of clan names in personal naming. The normal form of address or reference used for a man well-known to the speaker (and listener) is mopi, 'married man' (or epa, if an old man) plus a personal name (e.g., 'mopi Ope'). However, if not all the listeners know the man well, the speaker can specify the name by giving either the name of the clan + mopi + personal name (e.g., 'Utoni mopi Ope'), or simply the name of his clan + personal name (e.g., 'Utoni Ope'). Boys are usually addressed or referred to as mian, 'unmarried male' + personal name, but their clan name may also be used.

For women a similar clan reference is not used. Females are referred to as either yali, 'old woman', luaa, 'married female', or iman, 'unmarried female' + personal name. If one referred to a married woman by a clan name (e.g. Utoni luaa Fauma) it would not mean she is of the Utoni clan but instead that she is a woman married to an Utoni man.

In conversation therefore one constantly hears reference to the clan of adult males, and thus, for males at least, one can assume that clans must be significant and that despite a person's temporary desire to identify with other groups of people, he can neither forget nor change his clan.

A second important aspect of clanship is exogamy. A man, when asked to indicate the females forbidden to him in marriage, will say, for example, Utoni le, Puali le, Wanakipa le, Wasip le, Waipa le, Tsivien le. If I ask why Utoni le? he will say something like, 'because that is the mopi le of my FM'; why Puali le?, 'because that is the le of my F'; Wanakipa le?, 'the le of my FZH' etc. All the females in

such designated clans are prohibited in marriage. Such le are referred to as luaa pane (literally, 'women not-take', i.e., 'non-marriageable') in contrast to all other le termed luaa mane ('women take' i.e., 'marriageable'). Such usage implies that le are bounded entities and that their membership is known.

A third feature of clanship is the identification of territory with clan. All of the 100 square miles of our area are divided into territories uniquely identified with particular clans. Although at times some people, strangers to an area, are uncertain as to which clan claims a particular territory, they insist that it belongs to only one clan. There is one exception. This is the territory (No.1 on map of territories) identified with men of both Fauip Nomien clan and Fauip Walien clan. The distinguishing portion of the name implies a parallel cousin relationship between the two clans (see section on Kinship in following chapter). This territory is the one furthest from the area in which I usually resided and I have spent only about eight days in it. Consequently I have had to rely for most information on informants who were not of that territory. Thus, the exception must be treated cautiously. There is only one Fauip Walien living in our 100 square miles, and that one, named Koropa, is a married male living alone with his Puali wife in the territory adjacent to his own.

At the time I collected this information I did not realise it would be the only territory identified with two clans and hence did not explore this fact until I left the field. I suspect Fauip Walien Koropa would claim that there is not one territory but two separate territories, each identified with a separate clan. But my informants, knowing that Koropa may be the last Walien, that he now resides on 'alien'

territory, that his brother, Nai, was killed without retaliation in 1966 (which might make Koropa an easy target), and not wishing to introduce such complicated matters in our discussion, probably thought (and rightly) that their approximately true answer would be accepted. It is also possible they did not know the boundary between the 'two' territories. Another possibility is that men of the two clans have been changing locations so frequently in the last few generations that a boundary between the two groups of men has not come to be recognized. In any case this is the only territory of the 28 identified with two clans and is thus exceptional.

All other territories are identified with single clans, despite the fact that there is sometimes ignorance as to precisely which one it is. For example, some young people think of Territory No.16, Waipa, as belonging to Tamliap, its present residents, whereas older men claim it is Waipa's. And the territory of Waipa Lalo (12) is said to have within it an area which belonged once to Puali. In sum, all adults know that all land is identified with a clan, and most adults know which territory is identified with which clan within a radius of five to six miles from their territory and, more or less, the boundaries demarcating them.

* * *

Although the group I refer to as a clan is referred to by the Hewa term mopi le, mopi le fundamentally means people patrilineally related, i.e., their patrilineal 'lines' converge on a common ancestor or they are on the same patrilineal descent line. The fundamental mopi le is a man, his offspring and his father. From this basic unit the referent of the term can be extended genealogically outwards to the point where it is

nothing more than a nostalgic assertion of a dimly remembered relationship in the past.

The term mopi le can even be used for a 'race' of men; I was said to be in the mopi le of white men, although for many Hewa using the phrase I was the only observed member of the category. But the mopi le I refer to as clans are those which have a proper name (e.g., Puali Yain, Waipa Lalo, Waipa, etc.) and consist of patrilineally related people who explicitly define themselves, and are defined, by exogamy. I propose that the significance of such a name is that it serves to identify a group of patrilineally related people who claim, despite their present (or 'temporary') residence, the same permanent residence. But as the clan's boundaries are publicly expressed by exogamy, the acceptance of a marriage is the recognition that the immediate patrilineal relatives of each spouse are considered to be permanent residents of different territories.¹ So far as I can determine there is not one existing marriage in which both partners are said to belong to the same territory. If such a marriage is attempted, i.e. a male and female copulate and attempt to reside together, the partners are either forced apart or one (or both) killed. This typically occurs when a female loses her husband by death or divorce and returns to the area and the household in which she was brought up. In such a household there is often a male fellow clansman and, as she is free and available, an 'incestuous' affair may begin. The consequences of such an affair will be discussed in the chapter on killing.

Relations between clans

Up to this point I have discussed clans, their territories, and their membership, and considered them as

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This proposition will be discussed more fully later in the chapter.

distinct exogamous, patrilineal units. However there is also evidence which indicates linkage between clans.

Some clans have a double name (e.g., Puali Yain), one element of which is shared with other clans (e.g., Puali Nomien, Puali Pavien). The terms distinguishing such clans are often parallel cousin terms, e.g., yain, nomien, pavien, fenaien,¹ or geographical terms, e.g., lalo, 'upper', distinguishes Waipa from Waipa Lalo.

However, in addition to these obvious terminological similarities, some clans are said to be the same clan despite being referred to by completely different names. A difficulty for the analyst lies in the fact that people often either disagree or claim ignorance as to which clans are the same. Some Hewa say Talikai is the same as Wasip while others say Yelip is the same as Wasip but not the same as Talikai. Some claim Katiliap and Tsivien are the same while others assert they are not, and so on. An important fact is that marriages occur and are tolerated between all of these exogamous clans, although a few Hewa have indicated that some of these marriages are not desirable.

Thus there is a wide range of asserted relationships between clans. The use of parallel cousin terms may indicate a rather recent division of a clan into two clans which, as generations pass, come to be eventually distinguished by geographical features (e.g., Waipa, Waipa Lalo) and finally solely identified with such features (e.g., Opaiapa clan on the Opaiapa River). It would seem that if the population of such clans as Opaiapa remains stable and no events occur which force or pull clan members permanently away, the clan will last indefinitely. If however the population decreases and

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See chapter four for definition of kinship terms.

non-clansmen come and reside on the territory, eventually part of the former Opaiapa Territory would come to be identified with the newcomers. If on the other hand the population were to increase, spread, and two or more segments come to be identified with distinctive territories, the clan would eventually split and be distinguished terminologically, perhaps at first by cousin terms but later by geographical terms. Eventually the two or more clans would each come to be uniquely identified with their own territory.

A named clan is a clearly recognized exogamous group of patrilineally related people claiming a common territory. Beyond this distinctive unit is a continuum of degrees of alleged relationships between such units which eventually exists only in the uncertain memory of a few old men. Such alleged relations and the use of parallel cousin terms to distinguish certain clans otherwise identically named (e.g., Puali Yain, Puali Pavien) might suggest a hierarchic segmentary system. However this interpretation is not supported by additional data. And by postulating a segmentary hierarchical structure undue prominence would be given to such relations. Rather, the evidence indicates such relations are assertions of historical events, their present significance depending on such personal relations as the amount of trading between their members, females given, killings, fights etc.; in a word the face-to-face contacts between individuals. Such evidence will be discussed below.

Let us now see whether members of historically related clans, more specifically those sharing the same inclusive name, are less likely to kill each other than members of totally unrelated clans, and further, whether members of the same clan show a lower incidence of killing than members of only historically related clans.

Eighty people, 38 males, 42 females, are known to

me to have been killed. Eleven females were killed by at least one of their own clansmen. In addition it is possible but not certain that two males were killed by at least one of their clansmen. Two females were killed by at least one member of a clan sharing a name with their own; three males were killed in this category. Seven females were killed by at least one member of their husband's clan; four males were killed by a member of their wife's clan. Thus:

Clan identification of assailants
in 80 known killings

<u>Clan of at least one</u> <u>of the killers</u>	<u>Male Victim</u>	<u>Female Victim</u>
Clan of victim	2?	11
Clan with shared name	3	2
Clan of spouse	4 ¹	7 ²
All of unrelated clans	30	24
	—	—
Total Victims ³	38	42
	—	—

These figures suggest that men are unlikely to be killed by their own clansmen, that they are more likely to be killed by members of clans with the same inclusive name as their own, and that their assailants come most often from clans that have no particular association with their own. A lower proportion of female victims have been dispatched by men coming from unrelated clans. More than a quarter of the female victims were killed by their own clansmen, and they appear to be more likely to be killed by men of their husbands' clans than by assailants from some clan that shares an inclusive name with

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One of the males was perhaps also killed by one of his own clansmen.

2

Two of these females were also killed by members of their own clan.

3

There are more killers than victims, three victims appear twice: Thus the column Total exceeds the victim Total.

their own natal group. Like their menfolk, however, it would seem that women are more likely to be killed by men in clans unrelated to their own.

The fact that one-fourth of all females killed, and perhaps not one male, were killed by their own clansmen does seem significant and confirms the proposition that clan membership is important. But what is at the root of this importance? I suggest that it is not clanship per se but that which it in fact implies: male clan members tend to reside together and thus have enduring face-to-face relationships.

The average clan has only about four or five married males who often are either brothers or sons of brothers. One can assume that in most cases brothers have been brought up together and, because they tend to live together, or are neighbours, after marriage, their sons also are often brought up together. This is the core of a clan: brothers and their sons. Whether their male descendants will remain members of the same clan depends very much on whether they maintain a common (or neighbouring) residence, i.e., face-to-face contact over long periods of time. If brothers do permanently live in separate territories, it is likely their descendants in the second or third generation will begin to think of themselves as members of two distinct groups, not because of a particular principle requiring clan division after being separated for a number of generations, but because they and their fathers and perhaps their fathers' fathers have not experienced the permanent personal face-to-face contact crucial to Hewa clans. It is this phenomenon which I believe will help us understand the significance of the Hewa clan. Therefore our concern will not be the shifting and uncertain memories of various relations between clans, but residence.

Residence

The range of residence moves tends to be limited,

and is usually confined to moves within the same territory. More rarely people move to entirely new areas a full three days' walk away (10-15 miles distance) provoked by such actions as adultery, wife stealing, killing, fighting, or wife being threatened as a witch.

Most males in the course of their lives tend to live within one territory and the territories adjacent to it, except for the several months to a year spent living with their first wife's father.¹ Four residential histories presented below reveal both actual changes in residence and also common patterns of living together. The first example is typical of an unmarried man (mian tali) whose father has not died or been killed. The second example is of a young man and his mother whose two husbands were killed. The third is of a young married girl and the fourth is of four brothers.

1. Utoni Tai has lived in 11 different houses in three adjacent territories (Nos. 9, 8, 7 on map) for periods between one to three years in each house. Two residential changes occurred after only one year because, as Tai's father said, "there were too many people living close by, coming and talking and eating and were finishing my food too quickly". Tai's first residence was with his father and his family, together with five other married men and their families. Henceforward Tai's residential unit comprised Tai's father, his two wives and their children (including Tai) and one other married couple. It is not unusual that Tai has always lived with his father. Only ten of the 41 bachelors (mian tali, 'not-yet-married-men') living in our 100 square mile area have

¹ By the time a man has a second or third wife, he is usually the head of a household (wai luais, literally '(the) house's husband-father') and not willing to subordinate himself by moving into the house of a father-in-law.

living fathers, but all ten reside with them.

2. Wato of Lueni clan is the son of Kialu and Amo. Kialu (Wato's F), whose father was a Kopiago, as a young man - possibly looking for a wife - went to live with his MBs in the latter's clan territory (No. 3 on map). Probably with this married cross-cousin's help, he married a girl of another clan, Amo, whose F was resident in his own territory (No. 8). She had lived most, if not all, of her ten years with her F in his territory. Kialu and his bride lived with her F for a year or so, then settled with the cross-cousin already mentioned. And here in the clan territory of his FM and F's X-C Wato was born. Later Kialu took his family back to the territory of his WF, after fighting his X-C with heavy cane staves, and stayed there one or two years before returning. The second time Kialu and his family were staying with his X-C, he received an arrow wound in the knee which led to his death. A man of the same clan as Kialu's wife from across the Lagaip River, accompanied by his brother and probably others, had crept up to the house to retaliate for the earlier killing of his own wife by Kialu's X-C and others, and an arrow he shot through a hole in the wall happened to find Kialu. There is no reason to suppose that he intentionally shot Kialu nor that Kialu himself had been involved in the killing of this man's wife.

About six months after Kialu's death, another ostensible Kopiago (whose M was a Hewa) took Wato's mother Amo and went to live in a now abandoned territory above the Iwai River, a small tributary of the Strickland, leaving Wato who was now about the age of seven or eight with his first wife and son (in No. 5). At this time Wato's younger brother stayed with his MB (in No. 8). Some men from the extreme west of our area came and killed the 'Kopiago', saying he was a witch (pisai), though other Hewa disagreed.

Wato's mother fled through the forest and later married the very X-C of her dead husband with whom the family had lived earlier, thus becoming his second wife. Some time later Wato and his brother joined their mother and step-father (actually their FMBs, i.e., a 'father') in his territory (No. 3). After several changes of residence within this territory, the family moved to an adjacent territory (No. 4) where they resided until Wato, with Tai (of our first residential history), left in 1966, to be the first Hewa sent to work on a plantation on the coast. In 1968 they returned from the coast and Wato rejoined his family in his 'father's' territory (No. 3) where, a month later, his mother died. In 1968 Wato was about 20 years of age.

3. Fauma of the Taali clan, a female aged about 15 in 1968, was born outside our area across the Lagaip River in Katiliap territory. Fauma's family, her father, mother, brother and sister (who later drowned in the Lagaip) lived with her mother's two brothers. After several years she and her family moved to her F Taali territory, about two days' walk up the Lagaip. When Fauma could walk but was still being nursed, her mother was accused of being a witch (pisai). Fauma's F was not a fighting man (Fauma can remember him being involved in the killing of only one person), and so, instead of challenging the accuser, he moved his family to another house he built in Taali territory. However, because a wild pig ruined their garden, they soon moved back to live with Fauma's two MB. There they lived for several Pandanus seasons until Fauma was about ten and taken as a wife to live with her husband, Nialuap, of the Waipa Lalo clan.¹ After several months they crossed the Lagaip on rafts into our area and lived in the Iali territory (nr. 11) at a house already built. Fauma did not yet have

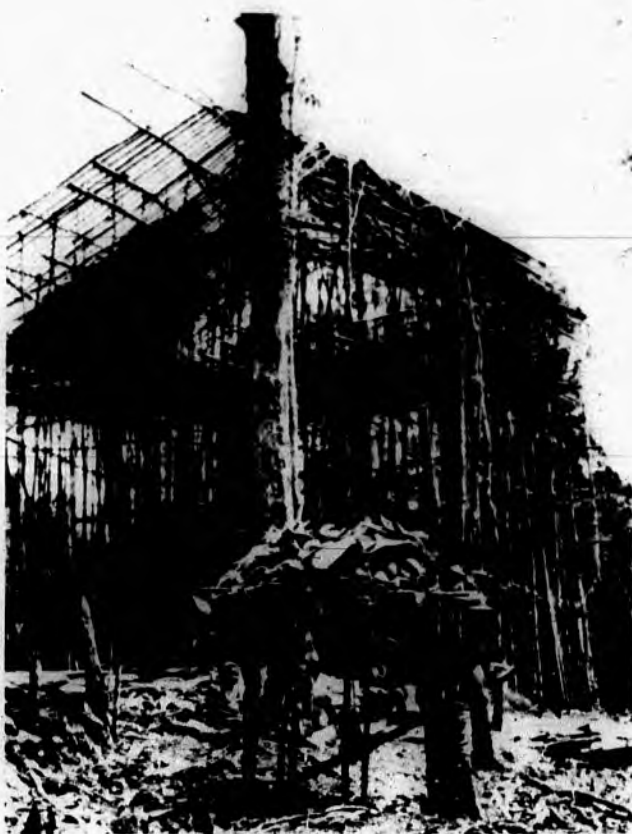
¹
Fauma's F died in January 1969 and his wife was killed as a witch two weeks later.

breasts and only after a period of two years did she begin to menstruate. This was at her next residence, back across the Lagaip, where they lived with an old man (Fauma's MB's father-in-law) and his wife. There they built a house and a garden. But when the old man's son-in-law (Fauma's MB) helped him beat his wife and daughter, they all came back to 'our' side leaving Fauma's MB. And here Fauma and her husband lived with her husband's elder brother. Later these two Waipa Lalo brothers built a new house in Waipa Lalo territory where they still (in 1969) live. It was from this house that Fauma ran off with another young man, Moap of Wisip clan and territory (No. 10), in August 1968. Fauma's husband and his brother immediately killed Moap's mother. And although several men pursued them, Fauma and Moap crossed the Lagaip and travelled some distance to Moap's MB. In the meantime, a Hewa walked for three days to Kopiago and told the Administrative Officer of the killing. A policeman was sent into the Hewa and brought back Moap, Fauma and Nialuap, her husband, all of whom were put in jail for several months, Nialuap the longest because he had killed someone. In summary then, discounting the period spent in jail, Fauma has lived in ten residences in her 14 or 15 years of life, giving an average period per residence of about 1.5 years.

4. Seventeen or 18 years ago, four brothers of the Puali Yain clan (Mino, Fafe, Thome, Kapip, the first three of whom were married) were living together in one house in Puali Yain territory (No. 7). Today three of the brothers live in one house while the fourth brother, Thome, lives alone with his wife in a house nearby, all in the same Puali Yain territory (No. 7). All references made to them in accounts of their fighting, killing, trading, visiting, marriage, etc., indicate they have never resided beyond their own and adjacent territories.

PLATE 7

High house frame with
food to be given as
aiyolu in foreground



Opening up the earth oven
at a house-flooring bee



Preparing marita (fruit Pandanus)

Choice of residence

The Hewa do not live in villages but in extremely isolated single family dwellings. People change residence approximately every two years. It appears that in this rather mobile society there is a certain degree of choice regarding the household in which one lives.

Females, however, do not have much choice. Their residence is determined before marriage by their father's residence and after marriage by their husband's. Widows have a certain degree of freedom, until they remarry, but the state of widowhood is a precarious one for, as we shall later see, widows are the most readily killed category of people in the Hewa.

Males, except as young children, generally have more choice, and the category of males with the greatest freedom of choice is the 'not-yet-married' men, mian tali. Furthermore, mian tali offer many advantages to a household head: they are strong, capable of protecting their host, generally work hard and consume less than they produce, and in addition they have no formal control over people, i.e., they have no wives, sons or daughters. Thus they are clearly in a subordinate position. Most household heads readily express a desire to have mian tali live with them and I know of no case in which mian tali have been sent away. To a great extent, therefore, mian tali can choose to live where they wish. The 41 mian tali living in our area can thus be used to illustrate the frequency, when a choice is available, of not living with one's own clansmen.

Ten of the 41 mian tali have a living father and they all live with him. Of the 31 who

do not have a living father, 20 do not live with married fellow clansmen. Of these 20 mian tali not living with their own clansmen:

4	live(s)	with	a	married	MB
3	"	"	"	"	cross cousin (male)
1	"	"	"	"	step-father
1	"	"	"	"	ex-Br-in-law
11	"	"	"	"	friend or other relation
—					
20					
==					

Of the 11 mian tali with father dead, but living with fellow clansmen:

4	live(s)	with	a	married	brother
4	"	"	"	"	father's brother
1	"	"	"	"	parallel first cousin
2	"	"	"	"	other 'cousin'

These figures thus indicate that about two-thirds of the mian tali, when they cannot reside with their father, choose not to reside with their own clansmen.

* * *

I will now present data which suggest that some of the forty-three married men living on territory said to be neither their own nor their wife's, live on territory which will eventually belong to their descendants, i.e., sons will come to be identified with land which was not previously identified with their fathers. I also intend to show that permanent common residence as well as birth is fundamental to clan membership and that the significance of each rests primarily on a single phenomenon: intimate face-to-face contact over a long period of time not only of years but of generations.

When one examines the data of residence and identification with territory the facts seem straightforward:

- 1) Each person is a member of a named patrilineal

group, i.e., a clan.

2) All land is said to belong to or is identified with such named groups as clan territories.

3) All people reside in houses located in such clan territories.

Thus we can clearly state whether any particular person resides on his own clan territory or not: half the married men live on their own clan territory and half do not. However, when we closely examine the relationship between particular groups of people and the territory on which they reside, interesting aspects emerge.

In general, the Hewa claim that the present clan territories and their boundaries are fixed and have existed more or less forever. However, there are two adjacent clan territories (Nos. 12 and 13 on map) which include within them an area referred to as Puali no eti lo, or 'abandoned Puali territory'. The Hewa state that this area once belonged to Puali but is now divided between Waipa Lalo and Waipa.

Such an assertion demonstrates that the Hewa in fact recognise that at least in one instance the relationship between a group of people and their land was not permanent and that the identification of people with land can change.

Thus, in spite of the general Hewa claim that the relationship between a territory and a clan is immutable, it is clear that such a belief must be an illusion. Given the indisputable facts of the small size of groups, frequent killings, sporadic but devastating epidemics, frequent deaths due to malaria and infection, there are and must have been in the past, extreme demographic fluctuations. This entails a slow but continuous expansion and consequent dispersal

of some clans on the one hand, and a gradual extinction of the less viable clans on the other.

Now, if the above Hewa claim were taken seriously one would expect to find both many abandoned territories and territories with a great concentration of people. However this highly uneven distribution of people is not the case. There are only two abandoned territories in our area, both located in the extreme south-west. They border on Kopiago country, a fact which may explain their unattractiveness. In addition, the two territories are covered mainly by kunai grass, making gardening difficult. Concerning the distribution of the population, the most populous territory contains 34 people, only about twice the number occupying the average territory of four square miles. As can be seen on Map 2, the distribution of the houses is also fairly uniform.

Thus the Hewa claim of immutable relationship between clan and territory does not hold in view of the quite evenly distributed population on the one hand and the extremely uneven death rate in the past on the other.

Evidence such as the territory discussed above which formerly was identified with Puali but is now divided between Waipa (No. 13) and Waipa Lalo (No. 12) indicates that rather than a clear and exclusive notion of identification with land there are in fact degrees of identification with land. Thus it should be possible to place married men on a continuum indicating the degree to which they are identified with the land on which they reside. Analysis of the factors determining their position on the continuum should then reveal the process bringing about these changes of identification with land. Furthermore, because such identification with land is closely related to the identification of people as fellow clansmen, such factors should also

reveal the process of clan emergence. The Hewa assert that members of the same clan are identified with the same land. This implies that to the extent people are identified with a common territory they will be identified as a clan. Conversely, if any two people are identified with different territories they will be considered members of different clans. Let us turn to the empirical situation.

Identification Between Land and Clan

I shall now present data which I believe demonstrate the process by which new territories, and hence clans, are formed. Such evidence has particular significance because it represents the aboriginal residential situation, quite uninfluenced by missionary or administrative activity.

The closest identification a group of people can have with their territory is revealed by the identity in name of both the people and the main river in their territory. There are three examples of such identity: Opaiapa, Waipa and Utoni, where these names stand for both river and clan.

1. Territory No.13 is said to belong to the men of Opaiapa clan and the name of the main river in that territory (or rather bordering it) is the Opaiapa River. There is only one married male Opaiapa living in the Opaiapa territory, with his younger brother, recently widowed. Two other married Opaiapa males live in neighbouring territories. It is important to note at this point that most of the length of the Opaiapa River does not touch the Opaiapa territory but constitutes the border between the territories of Puali

pavien (No. 5) and Puali Nomien (No. 6). I will return to this point shortly.

2. The main river in Territory No. 13, belonging to the Waipa clan, is the Wa, and Hewa assert that the clan name Waipa has come from the name of the river Wa (of course it might be the other way round, but it is the asserted connection between the two that is important here). This connection gains credence by the fact that a synonym for both the name of the Waipa clan and the river is 'Anku'. In September 1968 there was only one married Waipa male living in this territory and he was residing with three married non-Waipa males. There are four young unmarried Waipa males living with them who presumably will continue the clan in their territory.

3. The third example of identity in name of a clan and its river is the Utoni clan, sometimes referred to as Utawe. The Hewa point out that the two names are 'the same'. The main river flowing through the Utoni territory (No. 9) is also called the Utawe (the main tributary of the Tabum).

I believe these three examples reveal the closest and probably longest existing relationship between men and their land in our Hewa area. In order for the memory of such a relationship to be forgotten, either the name of the river or the name of the clan would have to change.

A further example indicating identity in name between clan and river is the Kanaip clan. The clan name implies, and the Hewa assert, that the Kanaip clan (now in No. 2) originally came from the Kanaa River, a tributary of the Strickland (in the Kopiago area in the south-west of our map). Although they speak and act like Hewa, people say they are really 'Kopiago' (or Duna). One can imagine a Kopiago male marrying a Hewa female many generations ago

and living with her near the present Kanaip territory (such examples are not infrequent in this corner of the Hewa, although the reverse - marriage between a Hewa male and a Kopiago female - is extremely rare).¹ Such a hypothetical couple, if they were fortunate in having many male descendants, could explain the current situation. Perhaps in several more generations the Kanaip clan will come to be gradually identified with the river flowing through their present territory, the Fulum.

The following four examples, in contrast to the examples given above, illustrate more tenuous relationships between clans and their territory, and thus suggest the range of such identifications. It may well be that here we are at the crux of the process of clan formation.

1. An example of perhaps the most minimal association of a group with land is the identification discussed above concerning the area within the territories of Waipa Lalo and Waipa (Nos. 12 and 13) known as 'abandoned Puali territory'. Now, in our 100 square miles, bounded by the Pori, Lagaip and Strickland rivers, there is no territory said to belong to the Puali clan.² However, there are three territories adjacent to one another (Nos. 5, 6 and 7) which are identified with, respectively, the clans of Puali Pavien, Puali Nomien and Puali Yain ('pavien', 'nomien', and 'yain' are parallel cousin terms used by the offspring of one man to designate the same sex offspring of that man's brother).

1

See residential history of Wato, above, for examples of the former. Hewa claim that the latter is virtually impossible because of the high bride price (approximately 16 pigs) for Kopiago females.

2

There are two married Puali men in our area but they reside in Winaa territory (No. 4) and claim that their own territory is across the Lagaip to the north.

Many of the men of these three clans, when first asked about their clan affiliation, claimed to be simply Puali. But when I discovered that some of these Puali men had Puali wives, after having been told that such named groups were exogamous, I had it pointed out that these Puali men were in fact members of three exclusive exogamous groups distinguished by cousin terms.

Some Hewa assert a common origin for these three 'Puali' clans by saying that the first Puali man came out of a pu, a small plant. While many members of these three clans state they do not know whether their ancestors once lived in the 'abandoned Puali territory', some claim they did. But not one of these 'Puali' could suggest which clan or clans were the former owners of the three territories they now occupy.

There is one bit of evidence already given which suggests a former owner of some of the territory now occupied by the three Puali clans. It was pointed out above that most of the length of the Opaiapa River, which gave its name to the Opaiapa clan (or vice-versa), runs between the territories of Puali Pavien and Puali Nomien (Nos. 5 and 6). The permanence indicated by the identity in name of the Opaiapa clan and the Opaiapa River suggests that Opaiapa men were once identified with these two territories, now identified with Puali Pavien and Puali Nomien.

Thus the following points emerge from the above discussion:

1. There is an abandoned Puali territory.
2. There are three exclusive Puali clans, distinguished only by parallel cousin terms, and identified with three different territories, approximately eight miles west of the 'abandoned Puali territory'.

3. These three Puali clans are said by some people to have had a common origin and to have once lived in the now abandoned Puali territory.

4. The name of the Opaiapa clan and its territory, now adjacent to only a small section of the Opaiapa River, and the present identification of the territory extending along most of the river with two Puali clans, suggests that these territories were formerly occupied by and identified with the Opaiapa clan.

On the basis of this evidence I postulate that the former inhabitants of the 'abandoned Puali territory' were the ancestors of the present members of the Puali Yain, Puali Pavien and Puali Nomien clans. Further, probably because of an increased Puali population in a territory too small to permit the normal scattered distribution of families, the Puali population gradually, over (probably several) generations, moved toward the area they now occupy.¹ It is likely some Puali remained in their territory but they eventually either died out, or were killed, or, they joined their migrating cousins to the west. Such an expansion of the Puali probably coincided with a less favourable reproduction rate of the Opaiapa (for why else would the Puali move in that direction?). And thus most of the territory formerly occupied by the Opaiapa gradually came to be occupied by the

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As indicated previously, there is no apparent struggle for land. On the other hand, when I asked married Hewa males why they changed their residence, they would sometimes reply, "I moved because there were too many people living around me". Thus, the Hewa seem to have a sense of crowdedness which is difficult for a non-Hewa to appreciate, considering their density of only 4.6 people per square mile. I suggest that this sense of crowdedness is one of the factors underlying the surprisingly uniform distribution of houses throughout the Hewa. (For example, see page 137 for the cause of a residential change as expressed by Tai's father.

puali.¹ A continued increase in the population of the Puali led them to gradually spread out in their new territory which eventually came to be identified with three geographically distinct segments. Such geographical isolation finally led to the emergence of the now three separate Puali clans.²

Demographic evidence supports such an interpretation. The great number of people now occupying the three Puali territories (54 people), most of whom are 'Puali', and the very few living married Opaiapa males (three) indicate a sharp reproductive differential between the Opaiapa and former Puali clan during preceding generations. This is supported by the fact that if all the 'Puali' married men (ten) were considered members of one clan, it would be (with the exception of Wagapi which will be discussed below), the clan with the greatest number of married men. Further, if the three separate Puali territories were combined into one, the number of people occupying that single hypothetical territory would exceed by 20 the territory currently the most populous (Taof, No. 20, with 34 people) and would exceed by a factor of three the population of the average territory. In addition, this territory would be considerably larger than any other territory in our 100 square mile area.

However, there is no such large clan and territory. Instead, there are three separate Puali clans distinguished by cousin terms, each with an average clan population and

1

Considering the few Opaiapa men still living it is probable the process is still going on.

2

If the accompanying map is consulted it will be seen that the abandoned Puali territory is in the region designated as Nikopaiapa whereas the three new Puali clan territories are now located in the Yakamau region. Thus in this residential change the former Puali clan not only changed its clan structure but its regional designation as well. (See page 124 for regional designation.)

identified with an average-sized clan territory. Thus there appears to be a process at work which keeps clan membership and clan territory near an average size.

2. The similarity in name of the Waipa and Waipa Lalo clans (Nos. 12 and 13) immediately suggests a particular relationship between the two. Such a suggestion is strengthened by the fact that the two share a common border. And indeed many Hewa claim that in the past the two must have been one clan. The Hewa word 'lalo' has the same stem as lal, meaning 'upper' or 'headwaters'. As discussed above the word 'Waipa' is said to have been derived from the name of the Wa River. Thus 'Waipa Lalo' means something like 'Waipa (clan) of the upper Wa'. This proposition gains support from the fact that a few Hewa claim that the 'father' of all the Waipa Lalo was himself a Waipa who lived at the Wa headwaters.

The present Waipa Lalo territory runs parallel to the Waipa territory down to the Lagaip River but borders on the upper Wa River. The only two houses containing married Waipa Lalo males are not on the Wa but are nevertheless in 'Lalo' territory, one at the headwaters of the Fulum, the other at its mouth. Today no one lives on the upper Wa but it seems fairly clear that the Waipa Lalo clan did originate from Waipa men who lived on the upper Wa but later moved to their present locations. Of the three married Waipa Lalo males one, Ukapia, is married to a Waipa female, Kilie. Ukapia and his wife live together with a married Waipa male who is married to a Waipa Lalo female. Both of these marriages publicly proclaim that Waipa Lalo and Waipa are indeed separate exogamous clans.

Again we can postulate clan emergence through a process involving the geographical separation of two segments of a clan which has eventually culminated in two separate

exogamous clans.

3. There are indications that the Wagapi clan is now in the process of dividing into three clans. Two separate territories, each occupied by Wagapi men, were identified to me as Wagapi. This situation is unique in that no other clan in our area is identified with two separate territories which are both inhabited by its own clansmen.¹

The larger of the two Wagapi territories (No. 24) is of average size and contains an average-territory population of 17 people. The second Wagapi territory, No. 21, probably the smallest in our entire area, contains only one house with five people, one of whom is a married Wagapi man. This man's married brother does not live with him but with a cousin in an adjacent territory. Since brothers usually live either together, or in the same territory, the fact that these two brothers do not live together may be an indication that this small Wagapi territory already contains close to its optimum number of people.

Although I have not recorded a single marriage between these two Wagapi groups, which would publicly express their independence, the fact that the two groups identify themselves with different territories suggests that an unopposed marriage could occur between them at any time. During my fieldwork I failed to ask whether these two Wagapi groups were terminologically distinguished. However, I have recorded the clan of several females as 'Wagapi Pavien' and

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Territories No. 16 and No. 13 are both identified with the Waipa clan; territory No. 16, however, contains no Waipa males. It contains mainly Tamliap males, and it is interesting to note that the younger people identify this territory with the Tamliap men living on it, although the older Tamliap identify themselves with Tamliap territory, No. 8. Thus, this perhaps is an example of a nascent division of the Tamliap clan.

thus I suspect that, like the 'Pualì' clans discussed above, these two Wagapi groups are also terminologically distinguished.

In addition to the two separate Wagapi groups identified with two separate territories, three Wagapi brothers, with a total of eight wives and 14 children, live in three neighbouring houses¹ at some distance from the Wagapi territory they claim as their own. This 'alien' area they occupy covers the southern ends of two adjacent territories, identified with the Wasip and Folini clans (Nos.18 and 14 on map). There are now no other occupants on the Wasip territory and the only house² containing Folini men on Folini territory is at the end opposite to that occupied by the three brothers. The three brothers claim they came from and are still identified, and will continue to be identified, with the larger of the two Wagapi territories, No.24. There is at present no suggestion that the area in which these three Wagapi men now live is their own, that they will ever be considered its permanent residents. However, if they continue to prosper and multiply (as eight wives and 14 children would suggest) it is likely that in the ensuing generations the area they now occupy will come to be considered a new territory identified with their descendants. Eventually these descendants may even come to be identified with the entire Wasip territory: The last Wasip man living on this territory was killed by arrows when I was there in 1967.

One of the brothers living on the Wasip territory has a wife of the Wasip clan. In addition to these three brothers, there is a fourth brother married to a Pawalip female and living on her territory, No.23, adjacent to his and his brothers' Wagapi homeland. This fourth brother is the only married man living on the Pawalip territory.

It seems significant that not one of these four

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Nos.31, 41, 42 on Map 2.

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No.33 on Map 2.

brothers lives on his own territory. If these four brothers and their families, a total of 30 people, lived on the average-sized territory with which they are identified (No. 24) together with its present occupants, it would contain 47 people, 13 more than the most populous territory (and one of the largest) in our area (Taof, No. 20, with 34 people).

The fact that two of these four brothers live on their wife's territory and the other two near a brother suggests a means by which men come to leave the territory in which they were brought up: It may be that the initial move from the territory is by a man to his wife's territory. Later the man's brothers, with or without families, may join him and live with him.

As we have seen on page 127, a small number of married men have left their own territory to live on the territory of their wife. Nevertheless, this small number may be an important factor in the dispersal of population and the consequent emergence of new clans. I suggest that of those males who do decide to leave the territory on which they were raised and live on their wife's territory, a significant proportion do so because their wife's territory is less densely populated than their own. Again, I am not implying a scarcity of land argument here but accepting the often stated avoidance of 'overcrowding'.

Thus to summarize my findings of the analysis of the Wagapi clan/territory relationships, I conclude that: Even though they may not be distinguished by name and there is no evidence of a marriage between them, the two Wagapi groups occupying the two separate Wagapi territories appear to be two separate clans. Further, the three Wagapi brothers living on alien territory seem to be the founders of a third.

4. Although the Wanakipa often refer to themselves, and are referred to, as simply Wanakipa, there are two

geographically distinct Wanakipa territories (Nos. 19, 25). These two territories and the groups occupying them are distinguished as Wanakipa Utset (cold) and Wanakipa Yelim (hot), referring to the fact that the altitude of one is about 500 feet higher than the other.¹

In about 1958 a woman of the Wanakipa clan from No. 19 was killed while living with a Wanakipa male from Territory No. 25. She was killed by men from her own territory, her 'brothers'. Although some men claim she was killed as a witch because of an accusation made by her first husband whom she had left for another man, most people say they do not know why she was killed.

As I will discuss in chapter six, brothers, classificatory and actual, often feel obligated to, and do, kill their sisters for illicit sexual behaviour. Such behaviour includes sexual relations with clan brothers. It is possible therefore that this killing of a woman by her 'brothers' represents an attempt, perhaps the final attempt, to prevent the division of the formerly single, exogamous, Wanakipa clan into two such clans.

The boundaries of clans are explicitly, publicly, defined by exogamy. Hence a marriage within the clan jeopardizes such boundaries. The killing of this female seems to have been an attempt to prevent the boundary of the Wanakipa clan from being redefined to fit the already present geographical division, to prevent the physical distance from becoming socially decisive.

The endeavour to prevent the division of the

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The lower Wanakipa is also referred to as either Afuaf or Wanageni. One old man pointed out to me that the terms nomien-yain (parallel cousin terms) were also sometimes used to distinguish the two groups of people.

Wanakipa clan was futile: two years later a marriage between a Wanakipa Utset male and a Wanakipa Yelim female was successful. It was successful because neither of the partners was killed and the marriage persisted. The husband has since died but the wife and their daughter are still living, both married to the same man.

In 1967 I witnessed a marriage between two people the mothers of whom were each Wanakipa. At the time I thought this marriage should have been considered illegal. However, it was pointed out to me that the mother of the female came from Wanakipa Utset (No. 19) and the mother of the male from Wanakipa Yelim (No. 25) and that therefore the marriage was quite acceptable. Thus by this time apparently there was no longer any doubt that the former Wanakipa clan was now two completely separate, exogamous clans.

I have no direct evidence to indicate why male members of the Wanakipa clan came to occupy and be identified with two distinct geographical areas. But again I suspect an important factor was a rising population. This is supported by the fact that if the two present Wanakipa clans were combined, the resulting clan would have more married males (a total of 13) than any other.

In sum, such evidence points to the conclusion that, like the Puali and Wagapi clans discussed above, the Wanakipa clan, in contrast to clans like Opaiapa, seems to have grown significantly in the last few generations, eventually resulting in two exogamous clans.

* * *

The evidence presented above suggests the process by which new territories and hence clans are formed.

Every married man not living on his own clan territory is potentially the founder of a new clan. Most of course will not succeed. Success will depend ultimately on how well he and his descendants reproduce. But the process of such clan formation is so gradual that no one person perceives an entire process in his lifetime.

Because the process is slow there is no indication that men ever strive to be such clan founders. The Hewa are concerned with more immediate problems such as food, sex and staying alive. History is not a developed art among the Hewa, it is rare when someone can remember the names of his grandparents. People, whether clan founders or not, are quickly forgotten.

The question then arises: what is the significance of clans? In the following section we shall examine this problem.

Significance of clanship

1. In the chapter on killing, I will discuss the composition and organisation of the group of six to 15 men which goes to kill one person, often a female considered a 'witch' (pisai). For the moment I note only that, although the group is most often referred to as, e.g., men of Opaiapa clan, the men are usually of 2-5 different clans, and that in fact what is being referred to is a local group of men of several clans, the name used to identify them being either the name of the clan identified with that area or the clan of the leader(s) of the group. Thus clans are not killing groups and killing groups are not clans.

2. Nor are clans fighting groups. There are obviously many kinds of fights, but one of the most conventional or formal, the most similar to the large battles of New Guinean Highlanders involving many more fighting

men,¹ is the menalo. This consists of perhaps 15 men on each of two opposing sides usually facing each other across a large stream or river, and firing arrows and obscenities at each other. This may go on for an entire day or until one or more people are wounded, often not severely, as the arrows are seen in flight and usually avoided. The participants in such fights seem invariably to stay on their own side of the river. I have not seen such a fight but in descriptions I have not yet found a side consisting solely of one clan (in the first place there is no clan with 15 married males and it would be rare to find 15 fighting-age males of one clan living together even as neighbours). Thus the fighting group, like the killing group, is a neighbourhood group. And as in the case of the killing group, when it is referred to, the name of a clan is similarly used. A clan name, in fact, is almost the only way the Hewa have of referring to particular groups of people (thus mopi wauma le, the 'clan' of white men). The individuals in such groups, however, can always be clearly identified by their patrilineal clan.

3. Fellow clansmen who have never lived together or in the same area, and who have never established an enduring face-to-face relationship, will treat each other no differently than any two people who share a remote common ancestor, a feature characterizing many people in the Hewa.

Evidence for this proposition comes from adoption. A boy whose father has died and whose mother remarries a man of a different clan and area (a frequent occurrence in the Hewa) retains the clan designation of his true father. But if such a boy lives most of his early life with his step-father and that step-father fights a fellow-clansman of the boy, the boy will almost invariably fight on the side of his step-father.

¹ See for example L. Pospisil, 1963:53f and K. Heider, 1970

4. There is no apparent discrimination against members of different clans; a person does not suffer disadvantages simply because he is of an alien clan. Like the two strangers who became brothers in the Hewa story at the beginning of the chapter, non-clansmen may live together as amiably as clansmen, the significance of their relationship in both cases being based not on clanship but on common residence. Common residents will protect each other against people attacking them, whether fellow clansmen or not. On the other hand fellow clansmen who have not permanently resided together or near one another will not go out of their way to protect one another.

People will certainly give food to fellow clansmen from remote areas, but then they will share food with virtually anyone not hostile. Men sometimes justified to me (and presumably to each other) their aid to other men in terms of their being fellow clansmen. But I believe they would have aided these men despite their clan affiliation and would, if they were not fellow clansmen, simply use a different justification, e.g., a remote kin connection.

People help each other in many different ways as neighbours, as close kinsmen, as immediate affines, as partners in trade, but in no obvious way as fellow clansmen. There appears no moral imperative to 'help one's fellow clansmen'. The fact that fellow clansmen usually help each other is because of other considerations, particularly intimate face-to-face contact over long periods.

5. Clanship is thus an expression, an idiom, a way of talking about people who consider themselves as permanently residing together despite their present residence.

The genealogical idiom of clanship is used because of the statistical and recognised tendency of patrilineal relatives in the Hewa to live together. The genealogical facts of life, that children live with their parents, that brothers are thus raised together, and often continue living together after marriage, explain the prominence given to this Hewa idiom. Clanship is not itself a determinant but rather is simply correlated with significant face-to-face relationships between people. The fact that, without such relationships between people clanship is virtually irrelevant, demonstrates the weakness of clanship as a behavioural determinant.

* * *

What is the fundamental significance of the Hewa clan? Like the family name in English, it indicates patrilineal relationship. Basically such relationship is that between offspring and father. In addition however, this relationship is extended along patrilineal lines to the descendants of a male ancestor; that is, to a group of patrilineally related people.

It is possible that all, or almost all, the 463 people in our area, if they could state their ancestry sufficiently, might be found to have one common patrilineal ancestor. It would follow then that these Hewa should identify themselves as one large group, the Hewa. This however is not the case: As we have seen the Hewa are in fact grouped into many small, exclusive, patrilineal clans. It is apparent therefore that there is a process which divides people into exclusive clans. I have suggested, and I believe the data I have presented demonstrates, that the process underlying such division is the exclusive identification of people with the territory on which they permanently reside. Thus, unlike the English family name, the Hewa clan's

function is to refer to distinct territorial boundaries. Such boundaries are determined fundamentally by permanent common residence, the permanence expressed by exogamy.

Central to the argument put forward here is the assumption that although there are consequences of laws or rules, laws and rules themselves are consequences of behaviour. The behaviour which I believe is fundamental to Hewa clans is enduring personal relationships which in the Hewa almost invariably imply common residence. The introduction of new members to house and hence neighbourhood groups is usually by birth. Hence the genealogical idiom. But the idiom of genealogy, i.e., the conventional way of talking about enduring personal relationships does not itself produce them. The idiom is not a principle or law but merely a representation of what usually leads to enduring personal relationships. When the cause of such relations is other than genealogy, the genealogical idiom is sometimes casually extended to them. Thus, on the one hand, males in an enduring personal relationship, not originating by birth, act as if they were genealogically related. On the other hand, people patrilineally related but without an enduring personal relationship act as if they were not 'genealogically' related even though they retain a common clan identity.

* * *

Up to this point I have avoided using the terms 'descent' and 'filiation' and terms identified with unilineal segmentary systems generally. Their meaning is often controversial and they are sometimes used as explanations ex-cathedra for the kinds of activities and indigenous assertions described in this chapter. My intent in this chapter has been to offer another explanation for such activities and, in addition, to account for the Hewa

use of the patrilineal idiom. In the words of Langness, it was an attempt '...to see the type of system in terms of its own inherent qualities and tendencies rather than as an aberrant example of a certain type.' (1964:164). Further, I have proposed an answer to the 'question...: why the unilineal principle exists and/or survives at all in groups like Bena Bena,' (*ibid*:181) in which common residence, as in the Hewa, is the crucial factor determining groups.¹ To summarise the argument:

Frequent face-to-face contact, a consequence of common residence, is the necessary condition of the local group. It is the condition which permits a collection of people to be a group, which has an internal structure and a potential for behaving in unison. The local group is the basic fighting or vengeance group which implies that it is a decision-making group: leaders, or at least certain people who initiate action, are recognised, there is a willingness to be influenced by certain members of the group, and a consensus for action can be achieved. With some important exceptions, the introduction of new members to this group is by birth. Because males prefer to live with or live near males with whom they are brought up, marriage is virilocal. The great majority of married males, thus, live in the neighbourhood of their father's residence.²

¹ 'In the Bena the local group is the significant unit for analysis', *op.cit.*:179.

² Although I do not know the residence of the father of every male, the residential histories I do have suggest that most married men live in the area in which they were brought up - far more than the 50 per cent of married males occupying their strictly patrilineal, or agnatic, territory. In addition, the fact that married females do not live on their own agnatic territory supports this estimate: they are living with their husband in the area in which he was brought up.

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The Hewa, with the knowledge of this pronounced statistical tendency, describe the nature of local groups, the only important groups in the Hewa, by the patrilineal idiom, not as a principle, but as the most convenient way of talking about them and their membership.

CHAPTER SIX

MARRIAGE AND KINSHIP

'If all lovers were to marry',
said Don Quixote, 'Parents
would lose their right of
marrying their children when
and to whom they choose....'

Cervantes

In this chapter I shall discuss relationships established through marriage. I will then explore the implications held in two ideal Hewa marriage rules - one positive, the other negative. Finally, I will relate some logical consequences of these rules to the kinship system.

Marriage

Birth is the most common event leading to significant relationships between persons. Birth establishes the fundamental relationships between parents and children and, through common parents, siblings - and, by the extension of these relationships, all blood relatives. The second most important mechanism establishing relationships between people is through the control and distribution of females, i.e., marriage.

In the Hewa a man initially gains control over a female by obtaining her from another man, usually her father, if he is living. By this acquisition, he obliges himself to her father and, through her father, to her father's close relatives. This tie of obligation will usually endure for as long as the two parties to the marriage agreement (the man and his father-in-law) live and the marriage endures.

The basic attractions of a wife which lead a man to undertake these life-long obligations are:

1. Sexual services
2. Reproduction
3. Labour

That is, a man's wife provides for, among other things: sexual enjoyment, the bearing and raising of children, work on gardens, care of pigs, some cooking of food, and the transporting of food from the garden and bush and vines for building fences and houses, etc. For these benefits men oblige themselves to other men and thereby

establish the most important non-genealogical linkage between men in the Hewa.

Although the relationship between a man and his father-in-law consists of many elements, the most fundamental is that of subordination. As the Hewa put it, a man 'listens' to his father-in-law. If the father-in-law is short of food, he asks his son-in-law to bring him some. If a man wishes to kill someone, his son-in-law will often accompany him. The Hewa claim, and I have no example to the contrary, that the two men a man will never kill are his father and his father-in-law. Thus, the most important relationship willingly entered into by men is that established through the gift of a female. But the gift of a female implies control over females. Of what does this control consist?

Initially, children are totally dependent on their parents for nourishment and security; at first, primarily on their mother, later, more on their father. A girl is given to a man at the young age of about nine or ten years, when she is said to be able to garden and look after pigs. She has no breasts and is yet to menstruate. At this age she is too young to voice much complaint. (The Hewa assert that the best wife is the one who 'listens to her husband'.) At the house of her husband, she quickly finds herself in a subordinate position vis à vis the older females. If she dislikes her position enough to run away, she usually has two immediate problems. If she lives at some distance from her parents' house, she may not be able to find her way back through the heavy bush and poor paths. If she does manage to locate her house, her father will probably beat her and immediately send her back to her husband. Alternatively, when she is older she may lure a young man into running away with her. They will usually go to the house of his parents, his MB, or another close

relative. But there is a strong likelihood that one or both of the lovers will be killed, usually by the girl's brothers. Because of these bleak prospects, a female usually stays with her husband.

As for the male who has received the female, and obliged himself thereby for 'life' to his father-in-law, he has become an owner of a person. This new status is immediately reflected by the use of the term 'mopi', 'man', which now precedes his name. Before marriage, a male is called 'mian', 'boy', and if he does not obtain a wife, he will continue to be called 'mian', until he becomes an old man - epama, a term which no longer distinguishes a bachelor from a non-bachelor.

As an 'owner' of a person, a man's importance is immediately enhanced. For the first time in his life there exists a person who is expected to be, and usually is, dependent on him. And in most arguments and fights he will be supported, at least vocally and sometimes physically, by this female. In addition, this female will support him by her labour. After a few years this 'dependent supporter' will normally bear his children, his dependents. He will eventually give his daughters to other men, and thereby increase his own importance and power by obliging these men to him.

The term for wife is luaa, one of the two kinship terms in Hewa which cannot be used in an extended sense and, as an luaa, 'my wife/wives', it refers only to those females over whom I, as husband, have exclusive rights of sexual access. Following from this exclusive category, an yen/inai tala (lit., 'my son(s)/daughter(s) true') refers only to the offspring of an luaa. The only other kinship term in Hewa which has no extended referent is lu, 'husband', signifying the only man who has rights of sexual access to Ego.

The Hewa describe four methods of acquiring a wife. The first, ifaa anima, the usual method, implies the consent of the female's father, or, if he is not living, her guardian (perhaps a MB or elder brother). In such marriages, the bride price is paid. The second method is literally 'arm pulling', lati anima; the third, 'wife stealing' (eti fanema); and the fourth, 'widow getting' (wain/kale anima). (Widows almost always remarry.) No bride price is paid in these latter three marriages. Two of these four methods are considered 'good', two are not. Divided another way: two are ways of obtaining a young un-married female (i.e., an iman, 'girl') and two are ways of obtaining females who have been, or are, married. They can be shown thus:

TABLE 6a

Types of Hewa Marriages

	'GOOD'	'NOT GOOD'
FEMALE NEVER-MARRIED	<u>ifaa anima</u> (with father's consent)	<u>lati anima</u> (without father's consent)
FEMALE MARRIED AT LEAST ONCE	<u>wain anima</u> (no consent but her own necessary)	<u>eti fanema</u> (without husband's consent)

'Good' wife-getting is explained by the Hewa primarily in terms of the probable stability of the marriage, i.e., the chances of the woman remaining with her new husband. If the woman has been taken by 'arm pulling' or 'wife stealing', there is a fair possibility she will run off with another male, since she knows that if she does elope, the impropriety of her marriage becomes then particularly salient and her brother will not come to kill her. This is

in contrast to 'good' marriages in which the woman's brother will be expected to kill his sister if she has an adulterous affair.¹

Although a 'good' marriage invariably implies a permanent sexual gift whose obligation ideally does not cease until the death of one of the partners, an important question is the extent to which rights to, or control over, the future offspring of the female are included with the gift of the bride.

In the Hewa, where a man, to some extent, is his father's representative and assumes the position of the father when he becomes old, and where that man may retain control over the offspring of his daughter, the MB is usually important and can wield some influence over his sister's children, particularly the male children.

If the marriage is 'good', i.e. the obligation to the father-in-law is recognised by the son-in-law, the tie to the MB is usually fairly strong. The Zs often visits his MB, and it is the MB who may start a boy off on his economic growth by giving him or 'lending' him an object to trade (anyai), or by presenting him with a small pig to raise. Boys will often carry gifts of food, for example, large bunches of bananas, to the house of their MB. A Zs, when living near his MB, often helps him make a garden. And a young man can expect his MB to help him to find a bride. A MB may also influence the choice of the man who will receive his Zd in marriage, especially if he lives near to her father's house.

¹ Of the five females I have recorded as having been killed for sexual misconduct, three were killed by their true brothers, one by a classificatory brother (a first cousin), and the fifth by unidentified men 'a long way off'.

Certain kinship terms reflect the relationship between a MB and Zch. The only two kinship terms restricted to a male Ego's use (other than luaa 'wife') are the terms for his sister's children: yenem (male) and inaiem (female). yen means 'son' and inai 'daughter'; hence the Zs is a special kind of son and Zd a special kind of daughter. A female Ego, on the other hand, has no term exclusive to her use, other than lu 'husband'. She simply refers to her brother's (and sister's) children by the same term she uses for her own children: yen and inai. The restriction of these two terms to a male Ego for his Zch reflect the special relationship he often has with them.

The term used for MB itself, apa, is also distinctive. It is used only for those men to whom one's mother refers to as 'brother' (nomota), whereas the term for FZ (in a sense a logical equivalent to MB) is similar to and sometimes replaced by the term for 'father' (aitsiali and aita resp.).

Another important factor in the relationship between the MB and his Zch is the distance between their houses. If a couple lives in the wife's territory, particularly with her brothers, the latter may be as dominant or authoritarian over her offspring as her husband, and hence may gain control over the disposition of their sister's daughters in marriage. This situation does not arise at the time her daughter is marriageable, but begins only if her husband moves his family to his wife's territory. This decision may be influenced by a variety of factors, as for example, when a man's wife is accused of being a witch (as in the case of Fauma's father, described in Chapter Five). The consequence of the move into one's wife's own household is often one of subordination to the males of her household. This constant subordination of a man to his male in-laws often leads to a prominent role played by his brother-in-law

in: (1) deciding who will get the man's daughter (i.e., the brother-in-law's Zd) and (2) the distribution of the bride price.

If the married couple resides virilocally, however, which is the usual case, the MB's importance is diminished and the dominant influence over the daughter and over her disposition in marriage, and hence over her husband, will be that of her father, not her MB.

'Bad' marriages, however, have very different consequences. If the son-in-law does not come to recognise his obligation to his father-in-law, and if the marriage lasts, it is unlikely that his children will accept the influence of, or feel close to, their father's in-laws (their own MB and MF). Instead, the son-in-law will almost always live at some distance from his in-laws, and there will be little contact between the two households. In this case, the role of the MB is almost negligible.

* * *

Before discussing the Hewa marriage rules, I will briefly comment on the status of Hewa women.

So far I have given the impression that women, as a group, are under total control of the men who dominate them and who use their offspring, not for direct material benefit, but as a means of establishing a network of relationships with other men. This is essentially a true picture: men have the power in the Hewa, power secured by a system of institutions which run to their benefit.

On the other hand, I want to stress here that women, even though they are dominated, are a most valued possession because of their sexuality. When a man acquires a young wife, his main interest is not that in the future he will reap benefits through her offspring. Rather, he wants

a wife because she will give him sexual satisfaction. This is the strongest impetus for men to marry. Thus individually, because of their sexual attraction, women are not necessarily just chattels, and some of them may use their power to make men do what they want. For example, several women have lured men into running off with them, an action which can entail grave consequences for the two lovers. Other women, because of physical strength combined with intelligence, achieve positions of influence not unlike that of some men. One mature, robust woman was influential in re-establishing good relations with another group by initiating ai lapi negotiations and inducing her own group to pay a pig to the other group. It was noted by many Hewa that she dominated her husband, not least because of her superior physical strength.

I have recorded many incidents where wives rebelled against the dominance of their husbands. One is of Tauti, a mature woman whose husband had recently acquired a young second wife. One day, the younger wife and her husband, Ainam, disappeared into the bush together. When the two returned, Tauti was angry and asked them what they had done, whether they had 'copulated or something? Now, when you two come back, Katowim [the young wife] doesn't cook sweet potato for Ainam. I myself cook for Ainam. Ainam doesn't like me now, I am old and you two go to the bush and copulate. I wait at the house and cook sweet potato for you.' Enraged, she then picked up an axe and tried to hit Katowim with the flat of the blade. The young woman ran out of the house and Ainam got up and began kicking Tauti. She resisted and he fell. Beside herself with anger she took off her skirt (a most rebellious action which denies the man's dominance) and wrapped it around his face. He struggled, tore the grass skirt away from his face, and got up. He picked up a large stick and beat Tauti until

she fell, bleeding. Later, Tauti went to look for the young wife but failed to find her. She returned to the house, followed sometime later by Katowim. There was no more fighting.

This incident shows that women do attempt to assert themselves and fight in a situation which is intolerable to them. In most cases, however, the men, because of their superior physical strength, subdue the rebelling women, usually by beating them with a stick. The women then re-accept the dominance of the men and life returns to normal.

Marriage Rules

Hewa make many different statements regarding who can and who cannot marry. The application of sanctions against improper sexual unions and marriages is varied and depends on many factors including personal and group strength, willingness to use aggression, past experiences with the males involved.

In principle, two marriage statements stand out - one positive, the other negative. Many Hewa will say, and almost all adult Hewa will agree, that:

1. An acceptable marriage for a male is always with a female of the clan of a true mother's brother's wife, and
2. A male must not marry a female of the clan of his four true grandparents.

Now, it is certainly true that 1) most men do not in fact marry a female of the clan of their MBW and 2) some men do indeed marry a female of one of their four grandparent clans. And yet these same Hewa will confirm that the first statement is always true and that the second should be followed.

I shall now attempt to make sense of these two

statements, by examining their implications and consequences, even though the Hewa themselves do not always follow them.

Hewa males over the age of 15 state that the females of the four patri-clans of their grandparents (FF, FM, MF, MM) are forbidden to them, whereas Hewa females do not include clansmen of their FM with those males forbidden to them. In addition, it is asserted that no one should marry into a clan which has a member married to Ego's MZ or FZ. These forbidden individuals, on Ego's generation, are referred to by (male or female) Ego as either 'nomota' ('opposite sex sibling') or 'aum' ('X Cou'), depending on whether their linking parents are of the same sex, in which case Ego uses the term 'nomota', or are of different sex, in which case Ego uses 'aum'. Hewa claim they do not marry nomota or aum because they are nuaa ('relatives').

Because there are always four grandparents, there are always at least four clans whose females are prohibited to a Hewa male. He may or may not have FZ or MZ and they may or may not be married into clans other than those of Ego's four grandparents. Therefore, in order for male Ego to marry, there must always be a fifth clan.

The only positive marriage principle which I found, and which was confirmed by virtually everyone I asked, is that a man may always marry a female of the clan of MBW. This clan is considered by male Ego 'nuaa fao' ('not related'); it is luaa mane ('marriageable'), literally 'women take'; in opposition to the other clans mentioned above termed luaa pane ('women not-take', i.e., 'unmarriageable').

Diagram 6a presents a model of the minimal system necessary if every male were to follow this guideline and married a female of the line of his MBW. The most likely female in this line on his own generation is his MBWBd. This minimal system resulting from this positive statement, like

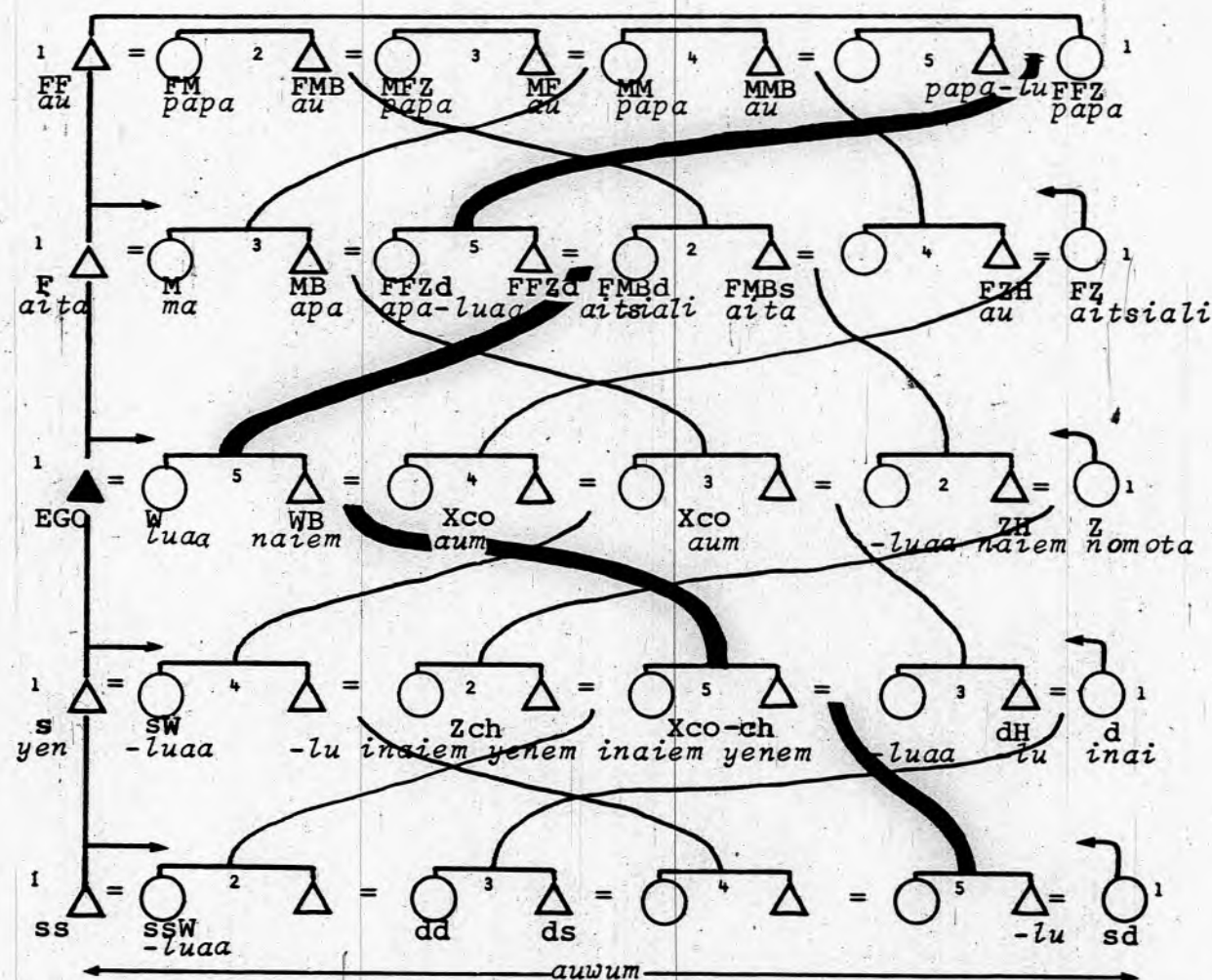
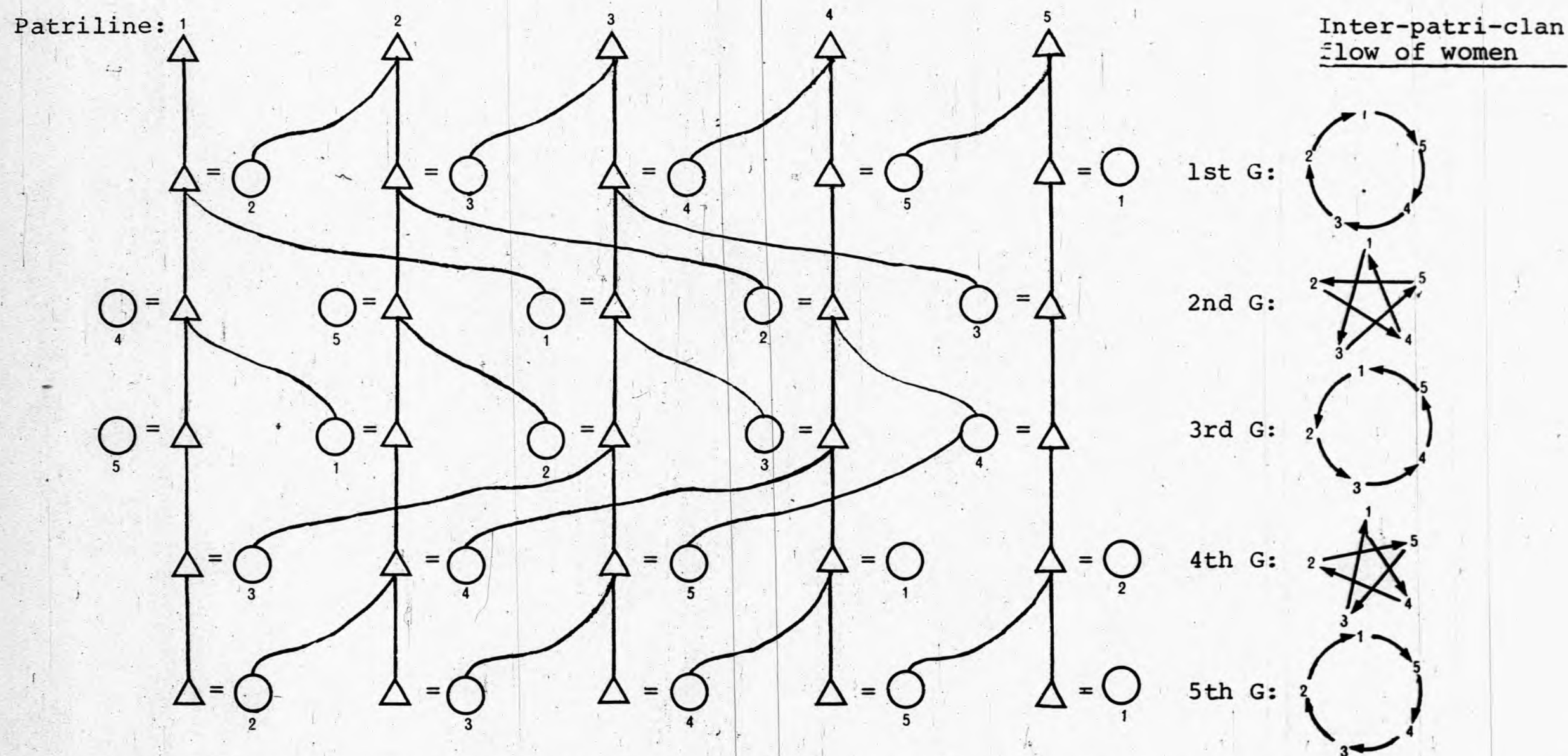


DIAGRAM 6a: HEWA MINIMAL MARRIAGE SYSTEM
FIVE PATRI-CLANS

1. Every male marries his MBWBd and never a MBd or FZd nor a female of his four grandparents' lines.
2. Each of the five patrilineal lines are numbered.
3. -lu/-luaa = term for spouse + -lu/-luaa

DIAGRAM 6b : ABSTRACT MODEL OF HEWA MINIMAL MARRIAGE SYSTEM



Showing flow of women between five patri-clans (cycle completed in four generations)

Note: The 'Exchange' of women is completed only in the 3rd generation.

PLATE 8

Women and children



Old woman receiving
her share of food

Woman working on
a string-bag



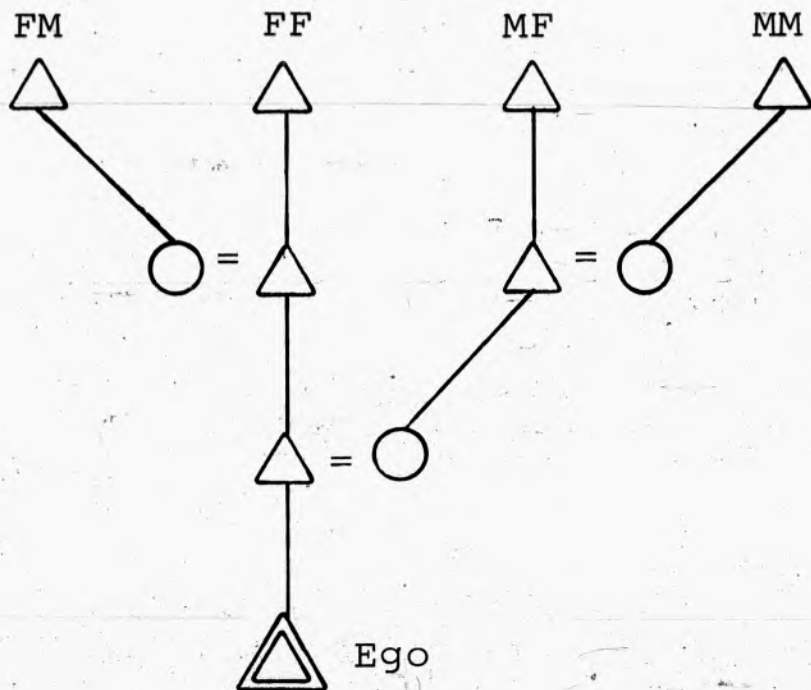
that of the rule prohibiting the four grandparent clans, is also one of five patri-lines. If we consider these lines as patrilineal exogamous groups (specified as 1-5 in the diagram) then Diagram 6a also indicates the minimal system necessary to satisfy the prohibition for every male of the females of his four grandparent clans. Thus, both the positive suggestion and the negative prohibition may be pointing toward the same thing.

Although there is no specific prohibition against sister exchange, Hewa claim there is no exception to the rule that a man can always marry any female of the clan of his MBW. Thus sister exchange would be precluded by the fact that in the generation following a sister exchange, Ego's MBW would be his FZ, and this woman's brother's daughter would be Ego's own sister (i.e. MBWBd = Z) and hence unmarriageable. I have recorded no examples of sister exchange among the Hewa.

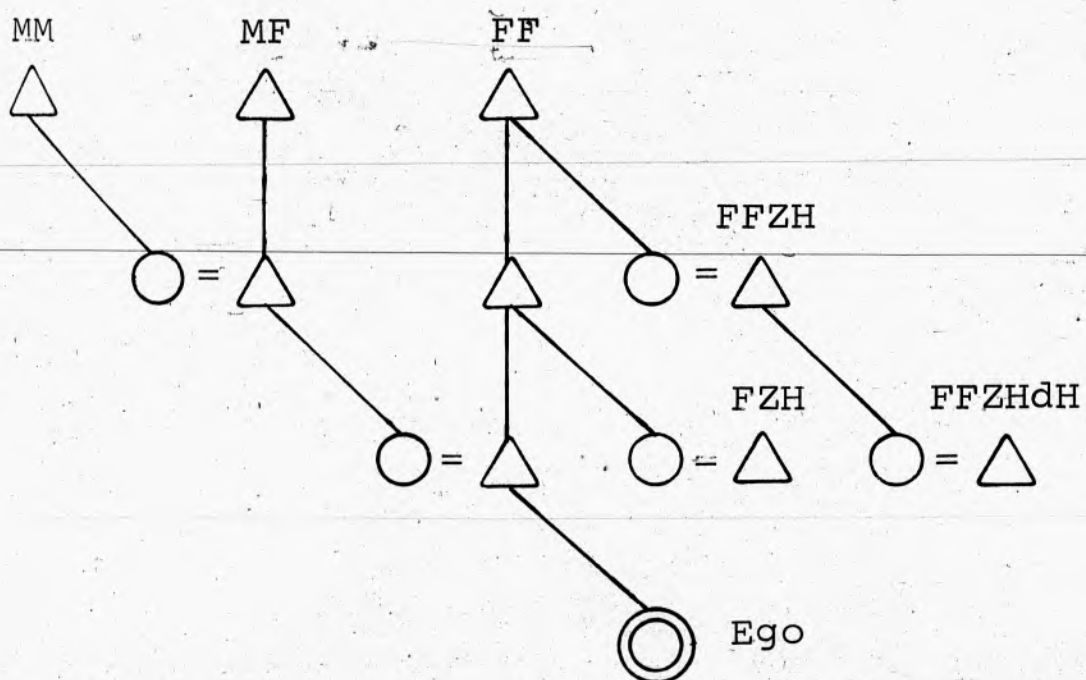
In Diagram 6a the wife of every male in the model is of the one clan not prohibited to him by virtue of being one of his four grandparents' clans. The females in the diagram, on the other hand, marry a male of the clan of their FM, the one clan of their four grandparents' clans which is not prohibited to them.

The rule that a male may marry a female of his MBW's clan seems not to be stated in the reverse, that is from a female's point of view. As stated, the clan of MBW is not only considered nuaa fao ('not related') but luaa mane ('marriageable women') as opposed to prohibited clans labelled luaa pane ('women not marriageable'). Clans are not described by women as mopi mane ('men take') or pane, but only as luaa mane or pane. This male bias can be illustrated when the prohibited 'lines' are drawn from a female's point of view.

A male Ego's four prohibited clans are easily shown to be symmetrical:



For a female Ego, however, they appear definitely skewed:



1. female Ego's FM line is marriageable
2. female Ego's MM line may be (as indicated in Diagram 6a) her FZH line and thus prohibited

The two Hewa marriage statements, the one negative precluding females of Ego's four grandparents' clans, the other positive: Ego marrying his MBWBd, complement each other. If the individuals in the population are to marry properly, a minimum of five unilineal exogamous marriage groups is required.

Note also that in Diagram 6a every male marries his FFZsd. Now this marriage rule is the only prescriptive marriage rule among the Manga, the Kuma and the Maring, Highland groups 150 miles to the east of the Hewa.¹ Although there are additional rules which influence the marriage arrangements for these four groups of people, one is tempted to speculate whether these rules may not be an attempt to achieve something similar to what the Hewa rules seem to imply - a minimal system of five exogamous groups.

Of the Kuma, Reay writes:

....if Ego is anxious to marry, his mother's brother is more likely to give him a woman he has received from a brother-in-law belonging to another clan (1959:67).

It seems likely that the brother-in-law would give a female of his own clan, perhaps even his own daughter. This would be identical to the 'positive' marriage rule of the Hewa - that a male can always marry his MBWBd. According to Reay, marriage to a MBWBd is quite acceptable to the Kuma (personal communication).

Meggitt states that the Enga have no marriage prescriptions (except for widows) but include in their prohibitions the clan of Ego's FF and the sub-clans of Ego's three other grandparents (FM, MF, MM) (1964:191).

¹

Cook, 1969:109; Rappaport, 1969:126.

A. and M. Strathern indicate that the Melpa also lack marriage prescriptions but

...it is expected that after three or four generations a marriage is forgotten, as are the cognatic ties issuing from it. Inter-marriage thus becomes possible.

Excluded from marriage also are 'immediate mother's clansmen' (i.e., MF clan) and the sub-clan of the 'grandmother' (i.e., MM subclan) (1969:141). Presumably therefore, as with the Enga, the females of the clan or subclan of each of Ego's four grandparents are prohibited.

The data presented above suggest that the ideal minimal marriage system may be structurally similar in various Highland areas. However, there are additional data which appear to distinguish the Hewa rather sharply from the Manga, Kuma and Maring. Both Reay (personal communication) and Cook (1969:111) state that a man may properly marry his FMBsd, a marriage prohibited for a Hewa, an Enga or a Melpa. For a Hewa female, however, such a marriage is legitimate (i.e. her FMBss, see Diagram 6a). Rappaport does not specifically exclude the FM's clan for a Maring and, therefore, presumably a man could marry his FMBsd.

Another difference lies in sister exchange. For the Maring this is the '...ideal way to obtain a wife' (Rappaport, 1969:127). For the Manga it '...is the most common method of wife acquisition' (Cook, 1969:101) and for the Kuma it is legitimate but rare in succeeding generations (Reay, 1959:66). Sister exchange would violate the positive marriage principle of the Hewa and is explicitly prohibited among the Melpa (Strathern, 1969:141) and the Enga (Meggitt, 1964:192). The closest approximation to an acceptable sister exchange among the Hewa would be:

fact the opposite rule would equally hold for his model, i.e., a man must give his daughter to the line which received his FZ. Without discussing this apparent contradiction Cook states simply in a footnote that a female's FFZss (for a male: a FMBsd) is a 'correct mate' (1969: 111). As Cook rightly points out, sister exchange is 'the immediate reciprocation of a woman' (1969:104). But he fails to note the possible contradiction this holds for the patri-lateral marriage rule which prescribes that the exchange be completed only in the second descending generation. It may be that the contradiction is only apparent, that the Manga see the marriages (in the model) not as sister exchanges but in all cases as the presentation of a daughter to satisfy a debt incurred in the ascending generation. Cook makes a passing reference to one woman being acquired both by the rule and also as an object of sister exchange (1969:100), but it would have been illuminating if he had discussed directly the possible anomaly of sister exchange with the marriage rule. Reay states simply that, for the Kuma, sister exchange is incompatible with FZsd marriage, the Kuma form of this rule (personal communication). It seems that there is less congruence between sister exchange and the Manga prescriptive rule than Cook's article suggests. If this is true, it might prove fruitful to examine possible mechanisms which lead on the one hand to sister exchange and on the other to its prohibition.

In sum, the Enga, Melpa and Hewa are remarkably alike concerning the minimal number of groups required by their marriage rules. By the marriage prohibition of sub-clans or clans of male Ego's grandparents, a fifth sub-clan or clan is required. The Enga and Melpa explicitly prohibit sister exchange and marriage with a cross cousin. The minimum system necessary to satisfy these three

conditions is one of five exogamous unilineal groups. The Hewa statement that a man can always marry his MBWBd similarly demands a minimum of five. And the models of the three systems based on these three categories of rules are identical. That is, if any one of the three following rules are followed, the identical minimal five group system results (with each marriage as shown in Diagram 6a).

1. Marriage prohibited with the 'line' of male Ego's four grandparents. (stated by the Enga, Melpa and Hewa).
2. Neither sister exchange nor cross cousin marriage permitted. (stated by the Enga and Melpa).
3. The 'closest' acceptable marriage is with MBWBd, which of course precludes marriage with a cross cousin. (stated by the Hewa).

In the case of the Kuma, Manga and Maring the one prescriptive marriage rule stated is in accordance with the marriage shown in the model of the five group system (Diagram 6a) which satisfies the conditions stated by the Hewa, Enga and Melpa. And all six societies forbid cross cousin marriage. The fact that sister exchange is permitted in the Kuma, Manga and Maring seems to counteract their prescriptive rule which seems to imply a minimum of five groups.

This comparative picture merits a much deeper analysis than I am able to undertake here, where the kinship system is not the central concern of this work. By the use I make of the minimal marriage model I do not wish to imply that it is in any sense an ideal of the Hewa, that the Hewa somehow, subconsciously perhaps, seek to achieve such a society. I do not perceive any change toward, nor have I heard any expressed desire for, such an elegant five-group structure. As I see it, the

model merely expresses the tightest or smallest endogamous system acceptable to the Hewa: by expressing their two rules they are rejecting a minimal system of four.

But why would people wish to require that the minimal endogamous unit acceptable be one of five exogamous groups and not four or three or two? The answer would seem to lie in the answer to the more general question, why do all people require at least two exogamous groups (required by the basic incest prohibition applying to siblings) as their minimal endogamous system rather than one, or three rather than two, etc? The Kamano, Jate, Usurufa and Fore, all of the Eastern Highlands, are apparently satisfied with a minimum of two. Cross cousin marriage, in our terms, marriage with the patriline of MF for both male and female Ego, is permitted (the patriline of FF is the only grandparent line prohibited) (Berndt, 1955:32). Thus the Kamano, Jate, Usurufa and Fore would permit the concentration of marriages between two unilineal groups; the Kuma, Manga and Maring between four groups; the Enga, Melpa and Hewa between five.

If one accepts the proposition that the fundamental mechanism for establishing social relationships (other than genealogical connection) in most of the world's societies is through affinity, it follows that the minimal endogamous unit acceptable is in a sense the minimal society acceptable: When a Hewa states that a person must not marry a female of the clans of his four grandparents, he is in effect saying five exogamous groups are sufficient to form a society, i.e., five intermarrying groups can isolate themselves from the rest of humanity.

Why would people in some societies demand (even to the point of killing people) a minimum of five intermarrying exogamous groups while people in other societies accept two? It is not the aim of this thesis to solve this problem. I

will do no more here than approach this question by examining some consequences of the rules establishing such a minimal system.

One likely consequence of a rule requiring marriage beyond four groups rather than three (or two or one) is that, if all other things remained equal (particularly the size and distribution of such groups), the average distance to where one obtained a wife would be greater.

This assumes that marriages tend to occur within the minimal distance permitted by the rules. In the Hewa, evidence clearly indicates that a person will get a wife from wherever he can: as one Hewa succinctly put it when I questioned him about desirable attributes in a wife, 'who would refuse (the offer of) any wife'. Because the population is low and because strong men tend to have two or even more spouses, wives are difficult to obtain. Given that:

1. the Hewa have a normal sexual desire
2. there is a lack of evidence, and expressed repugnance, for homosexuality
3. because of the control over virtually all sexually mature females by their husbands, there is seldom an opportunity for a sexual affair

there is a strong and unsatisfied demand for females.

One Hewa, when I asked him why he did not have a wife, responded by asking me where he could get one. I suggested one young unmarried girl three days' walk away. He replied by asking rhetorically why should her father give him his daughter when he doesn't even know him. This statement points to a basic ethnographic fact of the Hewa: Men get their wives from or through men they know. A typical approach to getting a wife is to mention to one's MB that one would like a wife. He in turn will ask someone

with whom he has a personal relationship, perhaps a brother-in-law, whether he is willing to let his daughter marry the MB's Zs.

Thus, wives are obtained through already existing personal relationships. It goes without saying that such personal relationships are usually between neighbours or people living in the same general area, and seldom exist between people living at distances of two, three or more days' walk away. In this respect Brown writes of the Chimbu: 'The frequency of marriage between neighbouring clans clearly reflects their social interconnections.' (1969:82).

Another important assumption is that the exogamous clans of the Hewa tend to be localised. It is true that only slightly more than half of the married men live on their own (strictly speaking) clan territory. It is also true, however, that, as we saw in the previous chapter, brothers tend to live with brothers, sons with fathers, and males generally tend to live for most of their life in the area in which they were brought up. Almost all married females live with their husbands on territory other than their own. It was also pointed out that the 'alien' territory lived on by many of the married men would gradually come to be associated with their descendants. Thus clans tend to be localised.

Now we can return to the question: Can it be demonstrated that a society with a rule prohibiting marriage within four groups will tend to have marriages between people living at a greater distance from one another than a society requiring, only, that marriages take place beyond the third (or second or first) group?

In order to examine this possibility I used the following procedure. On Map 2 I marked the physical mid-

point of each clan territory. I then measured the distance from the mid-point of each territory to the mid-points of the five closest territories to it. Table 6b presents the results.

The most obvious fact to emerge from Table 6b is that it is indeed true that marriages would tend to occur over a smaller distance if the Hewa would permit a male to marry a female from one of the four territories closest to him. The average decrease would be .38 mile. (This .38 mile is 'as the crow flies' and ignores physical barriers such as rivers, cliffs, steep slopes, pathless forest.)

My analysis also demonstrates that with every additional group prohibited in marriage (beginning with the first), the average distance to a marriageable female would increase. An interesting and unexpected finding is that, although the distance of the average marriage increases with each group prohibited, the extra distance gained decreases with each additional group prohibited. That is, if the Hewa prohibited only one clan (their own), the average closest marriageable clan territory would be 1.29 miles away. If they prohibited two clans, the average closest marriageable clan territory would be 1.87 miles away, an extra distance of .58 mile. If the Hewa prohibited three clans, the closest marriageable territory would be 2.41 miles away, an extra distance of .54 mile. And if four clans are prohibited, as is presently true for the Hewa, the closest marriageable clan territory would be only an additional .38 mile away. If five were prohibited, the closest territory would be only .34 mile further away. Thus the benefits in terms of greater distances decreases as more clans are prohibited. The distance gain between the ninth and twentieth, for example, would be almost negligible. Such a fact may help to explain why there are not many societies which prohibit more than five groups.

TABLE 6b

The Distance in Miles to the 1st, 2nd etc. Closest Clan Territories for Each Territory¹

Clan Territory	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
1. Fauip. N. & W.	1.4	3.2	4.1	4.4	4.8
2. Kanaip	1.4	1.8	2.7	3.2	3.2
3. Opaiapa	.9	1.6	1.8	2.3	3.1
4. Winaa	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.5
5. Puali Pavien	.8	.9	2.5	2.6	3.5
6. Puali Nomien	.8	1.6	2.2	2.8	3.1
7. Puali Yain	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.4	2.6
8. Tamliap	1.0	1.4	2.5	2.5	2.6
9. Utoni	1.4	2.4	2.8	3.3	3.5
10. Wisip Y (West)	.6	1.9	2.0	2.5	3.3
11. Iali	.6	1.5	2.6	3.0	3.3
12. Waipa Lalo	1.5	1.8	1.9	2.6	2.8
13. Waipa (West)	1.0	1.8	1.9	3.0	3.7
14. Folini	1.0	1.2	2.2	2.6	2.6
15. Wisip N (East)	1.4	2.2	2.5	3.0	3.0
16. Waipa (East)	1.2	1.4	2.0	2.1	2.5
17. Tsivien	.9	1.2	1.6	1.9	2.5
18. Wasip	1.2	1.9	2.1	2.2	2.5
19. Wanakipa U (West)	2.4	2.5	3.7	4.3	4.4
20. Taof	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.5
21. Wagapi (West)	.9	1.0	1.7	2.2	2.2
22. Katiliap	.9	1.0	1.6	1.9	2.3
23. Pawalip	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.3	2.5
24. Wagapi (East)	.9	1.6	1.7	1.9	2.4
25. Wanakipa Y (East)	1.9	2.2	2.4	2.5	3.4
26. Tsagaropi	2.5	4.3	5.6	6.1	6.5
Totals:	33.4	48.8	62.9	72.6	81.3
Averages:	1.29	1.87	2.41	2.79	3.13

average difference between the 1st and 2nd closest territory: .58 mile²
" " " " 2nd " 3rd " " : .54 mile
" " " " 3rd " 4th " " : .38 mile
" " " " 4th " 5th " " : .34 mile

¹ Measured by a straight line between the mid-points of each territory.

² Note that the difference decreases as one compares the more distant territories.

In addition, if many clans are prohibited, the more difficult, presumably, would it be to enforce such prohibitions. Thus it seems that the two following factors reinforce each other to limit the number of groups prohibited:

1. Distance benefits decrease as more groups are prohibited.
2. Enforcement problems increase as more groups are prohibited.

From the point of view of Ego: As the average minimal distance increases, so, too, do the difficulties in locating accessible women.

In sum, if everything but the marriage rules remained constant, and if these rules were changed to reduce the minimal endogamous unit to four groups rather than the present five, and given that people tend to marry the closest accessible partners, the average distance between groom and bride should decrease by .38 mile.

What would be the benefits of having personal contacts spread over greater distances? In order to garden and hunt (and even to fight) efficiently, the Hewa need axes and strong black palm bows, both of which, as well as salt, are traded in from some distance. As mentioned before, the bows come from the Oksapmin peoples across the Strickland but seem to circulate north via Hewa-speaking peoples north of the Om, then east along the Lagaip and finally south across the Lagaip to the Hewa among whom I lived.

All Hewa stone axe heads seem to have been quarried in one place, near the headwaters of the Leonard Schultze River,¹ a tributary of the Sepik, and have been

¹ Ian Hughes (personal communication), Department of Human Geography, The Australian National University. His assessment is based on style and a petrological analysis of axes by R. J. Ryburn, the Bureau of Mineral Resources, Canberra.

traded in across the high Central Range by Hewa-speaking peoples living on the south side of the Lagaip. From there the bulk of the axes passed east along the Lagaip. Steel axes were so rare when I first arrived in the Hewa that I met men willing to walk one day to borrow one, use it the following day and return it the third. One man offered me an enormous pig for a small steel axe head and told me he had raised the pig from a piglet in hopes he could someday trade it for an axe with the first white man he would see.

Perhaps the most important source of trade goods is through affines. The relationships through which trade is often carried out are brothers-in-law, other affines and MB-Zs. Males often learn to trade when visiting their MB who gives them valuables to trade with someone else. When a man acquires brothers-in-law, his trading activities usually increase.

There are no individuals in the Hewa with the power to force men to marry women from particularly favourable localities. As we have seen above, the rule prohibiting Ego from marrying a female of his grandparents' clans, in effect, tends to force him, when he does marry, to marry a female from a great distance. According to Table 6b, the closest acceptable clan territory would be on average almost three miles away. The closest acceptable clan territory with an available female would likely tend to be much further away.

Paula Brown notes that, for the Chimbu, '...between certain neighbouring groups...marriage is very rare'. However, '...between some border groups...marriage is favoured...because of trade advantages'.¹ For the Hewa I

posit a similar intention, achieved, at least to some extent, by the marriage rule which tends to force marriages to occur over great distances. The Hewa marriage rule in effect increases the opportunity for families to obtain desirable (virtually required) trade goods. This is one important consequence of the marriage rule, despite it being phrased in genealogical rather than geographical terms.

The significance of face-to-face contact as the basis of the only effective groups in the Hewa, the household and the set of surrounding neighbours, has been discussed in Chapter Five. Another important consequence of the rule prohibiting marriage to a female of Ego's four grandparent clans - beside the establishment of trade-links over a larger area - is that it creates new personal contacts over great distances, in this case to a set of in-laws. One can be expected to already have close personal relations with people in one's own and the three surrounding clan territories which would tend to be of one's four grandparent clans, maintained by frequent visiting, trading etc. By marrying a member of a fifth group, the network of relationships will cover an even larger area. The personal contacts originating from marriage, based initially on the important gift of a female, are maintained through such actions as gifts of food and support and are significantly increased by way of the genealogical relationship between one's children and one's in-laws, leading to still closer personal ties between the two sets of people related through the marriage. Affinal relations at great distances from Ego provide also a safe haven when fleeing from the consequences of certain actions in one's own group. As we shall see in the next chapter, this is an important point.

It appears then that the rule which forces marriages to occur over greater distances is crucial in

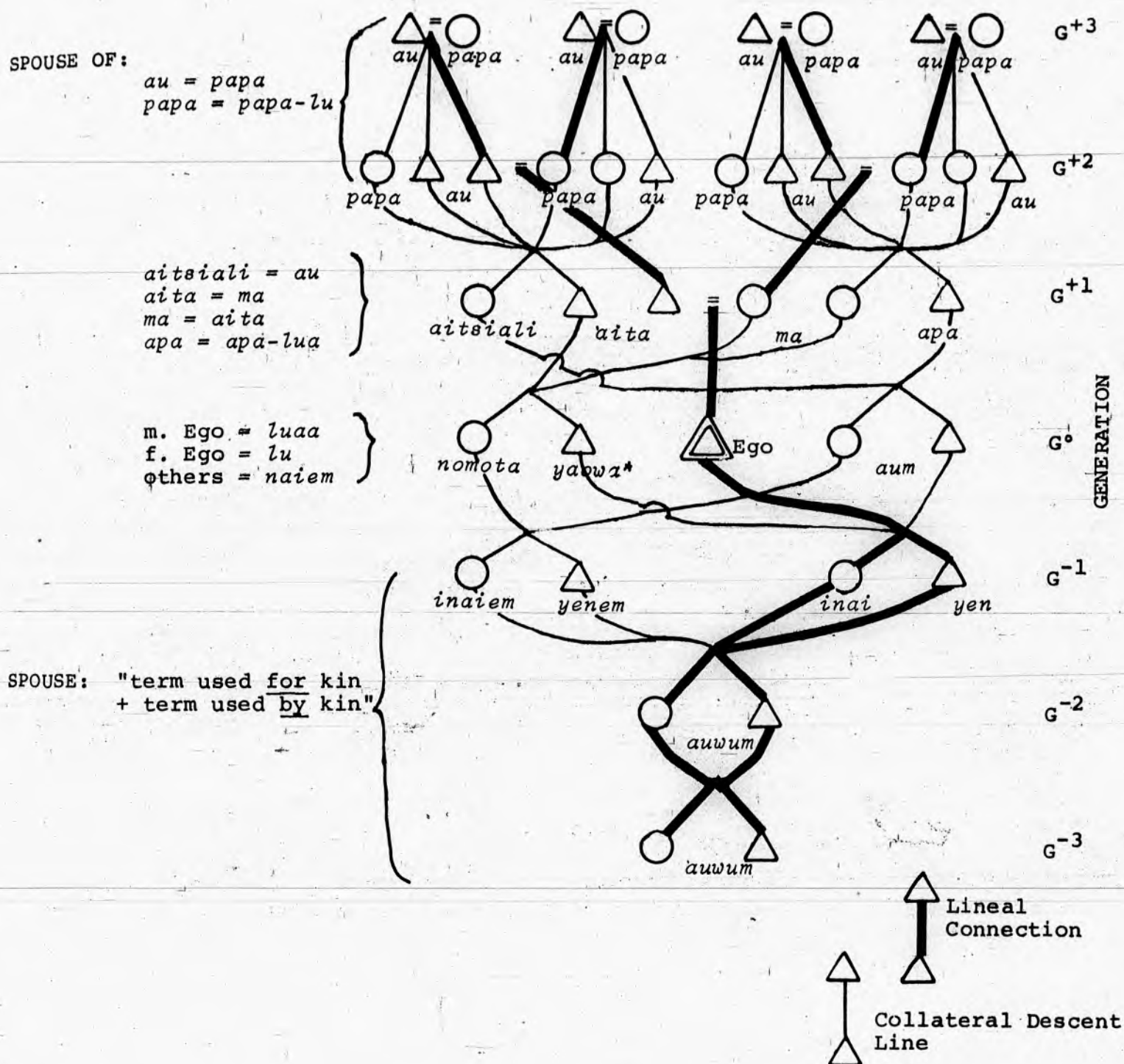
interlocking individuals of different groups over great distances and thus provides a network of interlocked groups more or less right across the Hewa area. Thus the benefits in security gained may even outweigh the benefits to trade discussed above.

The sharp demographic contrast between the Hewa with about 4.6 persons per square mile and the Enga with 120 (Meggitt, 1958:256) and Melpa with 60-100+ (A. Strathern, personal communication) would suggest that demographic conditions as such may not be particularly relevant for understanding reasons underlying (or at least consequences of) particular marriage rules. If the desire for trade is an important factor, could it be the case that the Melpa, Enga and Hewa desire, or depend on, trade more than, for example, the Maring, Manga and Kuma with their system permitting four intermarrying groups? And all of them more than the Kamano, Usurufa, Jate and Fore? This question is beyond the scope of this thesis but it could prove a fruitful inquiry.

Kinship Terminology

The Hewa kinship system would be labelled by Murdock 'Iroquois' with '...FaSiDa and MoBrDa called by the same term but terminologically differentiated from parallel cousins as well as from sisters....' (1949:223). The following is a list of the kinship terms grouped by generation and defined genealogically and affinally. If the reader refers to the accompanying kinship diagram (Diagram 6c) while reading the text, the definitions should be easier to follow. The genealogical and affinal specifications enclosed in () following a Hewa term refer to the closest genealogical or affinal relative covered by the Hewa term and are specified in Hewa by the term tala ('true').

DIAGRAM 6c : HEWA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY



FOR FEMALE EGO:

1. Reverse Sex in G⁰
2. Change *yenem/inaiem* to *yen/inai* in G⁻¹
3. Change *auwum* to *papum* in G^{-2,-3}

EGO'S SPOUSE'S KIN:

- on Spouse's Gen: *naiem*
- on other Gen: term used for spouse + term used by spouse

* See text for the many categories of *yaowa*

(G⁺²) Grandparent Generation

This generation consists of two sets of 'grandparents', a matrilineal set (FF and FM and their siblings) and a patrilineal set (MF and MM and their siblings). This distinction is terminologically relevant only to the parent generation (G⁺¹).

au (GF) - males
 wives: papa ('GM')
papa (GM) - females
 husbands: papa-lu (lit. 'GMH')

(G⁺¹) Parent Generation

Offspring of patrilineal au (FF) and papa (FM):

aita (F) - males
 wives: ma ('M')
aitsiali (FZ) - females
 husbands: au (lit. 'GF')

Offspring of matrilineal au (MF) and papa (MM):

apa (MB) - males
 wives: apa-luaa (lit. 'MBW')
ma (M) - females
 husbands: aita ('F')

(G⁰) Ego's Generation

aum (X Cou) - offspring of apa (MB) or
 aitsiali (FZ)
nomota (op. sex - opposite sex offspring of ma
 sibling) (M) or aita (F)
niaip (twin) - same sex twin offspring of
 ma (M) or aita (F)

yaowa (same sex - same sex offspring of ma (M)
sibling) or aita (F)

Yaowa (same sex sibling) may be further distinguished:

- ya - 1st born, or elder, sibling
- ya pauap - 2nd born elder sibling
- ya fenai - 3rd born elder sibling
- ya wale - 4th born elder sibling
- ya am - 'another' (i.e. 5th +) elder sibling
- nom - younger sibling
- nom pauap - 2nd born younger sibling
- nom fenai - 3rd born younger sibling
- nom wale - 4th born younger sibling
- nom am - 'another' (i.e. 5th +) younger sibling
- nom paten - youngest sibling
- yain - the offspring of true parents' true eldest same sex sibling
- pavien/
fenaien/
walien - the offspring of true parents' true elder same sex: 2nd born sibling, 3rd born sibling, 4th born sibling, respectively
- nomien - the offspring of true parents' true same sex siblings

Affines of Ego's generation:

- naiem - the spouse of all the above in Ego's generation
- lu (H)/
luaa (W) - male/female spouse of Ego

Kin of Ego's spouse:

- naiem - spouse's kin on spouse's generation

Spouse's kin on other generations are referred to descriptively: i.e., term used for spouse + term used by spouse.

(G⁻¹) Children Generation

- yen (s) - male speaking: male offspring of all males on Ego's generation
female speaking: male offspring of Ego's generation

wives: yen-luaa (lit. 'sW')

- inai (d) - male speaking: female offspring of all males on Ego's generation
female speaking: female offspring of Ego's generation

husbands: inai-lu (lit. 'dH')

- yenem (Zs) - male speaking: male offspring of all females (i.e. nomota and female aum) on Ego's generation

wives: yenem-luaa (lit. 'ZsW')

- inaiem (Zd) - male speaking: female offspring of all females on Ego's generation

husbands: inaiem-lu (lit. 'ZdH')

(G⁻²) Grandchildren Generation

- auwum (GCh) - male speaking: offspring of children's generation

- papum (GCh) - female speaking: offspring of children's generation

Term for spouse is descriptive:

auwum-lu/-luaa (lit. 'GCh-H/-W')

papum-lu/-luaa (lit. 'GCh-H/-W')

Half Siblings

Siblings sharing the same mother but different fathers are distinguished from one another only by the clan designation of their respective fathers. The kin terms used to refer to one another are identical to those used between full siblings.

Siblings sharing the same father but different mothers refer to one another as either:

- ye - if the one so called is the offspring of F and his W whom he married after Ego's mother, or
- isa - if the one so called is the offspring of F and his W whom he married before Ego's mother

(note: if such a half-sibling is of the opposite sex, the opposite sex sibling term, nomota, can be used preceding the terms ye or isa)

Step-Parents

- ma ('M') - wife of father
- aita ('F') - female speaking: husband of mother
- ya ('elder same sex sibling') - male speaking: husband of mother

Step-Children

- inai ('d') - daughter of wife or husband
- yen ('s') - female speaking: son of husband
- nom ('younger same sex sibling') - male speaking: son of wife (sometimes when the boy is very young 'yen' is used)

Kinship Synonyms

- aita (F) / tai
- apa (MB) / yaiyem
- aum (X-Cou) / laim
- pauap (2nd born sibling) / popa
- nomota (op. sex sibling) / nati
- aitsiali (FZ) is sometimes referred to as aita (but aita [F] is never referred to as aitsiali)

General Comments

1. Note that all affines in the two descending generations (G^{-1}) (G^{-2}) are descriptively referred to, while on Ego's generation (G^0) they are referred to as naiem, the only distinctively affinal term (other than lu [H] or luaa [W]) in Hewa. In the parent generation (G^{+1}) the spouses of aita (F) and ma (M) are simply ma and aita respectively but the husband of aitsiali (FZ) is au ('GF') and the wife of apa (MB) is descriptively referred to as apa-luaa (lit. 'MB-W'). In the grandparent generation (G^{+2}) the wives of au (GF) are termed papa (GM) whereas the husbands of papa are not termed au (GF) but are also descriptively referred to as papa-lu (lit. 'GM-H').

Spouse's kin in other than spouse's generation (where they are referred to as naiem) are simply referred to descriptively (i.e., term used for spouse + term used by spouse) and the reciprocal is similarly descriptive.

2. The kin terms ending in -em/-im suggest such markers mean something like 'cross-relative'. This would fit all the consanguineal terms, i.e.,

yaiyem (MB)
yenem (Zs)
inaiem (Zd)
laim (X Cou)

If the above suggestion is correct, yenem would mean 'a cross-relative son' (yen = son) and inaiem, 'a cross-relative daughter' (inai = daughter). Following this argument yaiyem could be a contracted form of yaita-em, 'a cross-relative father' (aita = father). At the beginning of this chapter I showed that MB sometimes, indeed, acts like a father. 'Lai-' might be derived from 'laipen', meaning 'the side (of a river)'. 'Laim' would then mean 'a cross-relative of the side'.

I have superimposed the kinship terminology (given fully in Diagram 6c) onto the model of the minimal marriage system (Diagram 6a) indicating the primary referents of all kin categories, except same sex sibling. This makes it possible to perceive the significance of certain terms used - particularly the affinal.

For example, in the grandparental generation the husband of FFZ is not referred to as au (GF) but by a descriptive affinal term meaning simply 'grandmother's husband' (papa-lu). And in the parent generation, where the wives of all genealogical aita (F) are ma ('M') and the husbands of all genealogical ma (F) are aita ('F'), the wives of apa (MB) are referred to by a descriptive affinal term, literally 'wife of MB' (apa-luaa).

Now, as stated above, MBW is nuaa fao, 'not a relative', and Ego may marry her brother's daughter. The fact that MBW can therefore also be WFZ apparently explains why MBW is the only affine on Ego's parental generation referred to distinctively as an affine. And presumably the reason why Ego refers to the husband of his FFZ (on G^{+2}) by a distinctive affinal term (lit. 'GM's H') is that this man, as shown in the model, can be the true grandfather of Ego's wife.

But why is FZH referred to as au (lit. 'GF')? Although FZH is not considered a non-relative as is his counterpart MBW, he nevertheless is pushed to the fringe of kinship. I suggest the reason for the terminological removal of FZH to the most distant generation is that this man's Zs may marry Ego's sister (as indicated in the marriage model). The man would then be the MB of ZH. And the husband of Ego's Z would of course consider Ego's FZ a non-relative, she is his MBW.

On Ego's generation the offspring of FZ are termed aum (X Cou), the spouses of whom are naiem. If WB, also referred to as naiem, marries FZd (indicated in the model) the term referring to his new affinal position has thus been anticipated.

It will also be noted in the model that the son of Ego's FZ and the daughter of Ego's MB marry. The terms used for their offspring present difficulties. The offspring of Ego's male cross cousins are yen (s) and inai (d) but the offspring of Ego's female cross cousins are yenem (Zs) and inaiem (Zd). In the model, as these offspring of FZs and MBd are married to Ego's son and Zd, they are simply referred to affinally. However, were they not married I could not predict whether Ego would refer to them as s/d or Zs/Zd. This is one point therefore where the terminology does not fit the marriage requirements. Another is that in the model Ego's wife is his FFZsd, as well as his MBWBd, and therefore a nomota - a 'sister'.

But as anyone connected, or presumed to be connected, genealogically is considered kin (nuaa) and is easily categorised by a term, one must almost invariably break the commandment 'thou shalt not marry kin' when marrying. This paradox perhaps explains the attraction of, and the certainty and eagerness in, stating almost by proclamation that 'MBW's clansmen are not relatives' (apa-luaa le, nuaa fao), that it is a luaa mane ('marriageable') clan, and that it is 'good' to marry them. And the Hewa claim there is no exception to this principle. In the uncertain sea of surrounding kinsmen one lonely beacon stands out, 'a man can always marry a female of his MBW's clan'.

When asked who would help a male get a wife, the answer is often the person's MB. One reason for this may

be the fact that Ego can hope to marry his MBWBd, or any female of her clan, and hence Ego's MB would be a fulcrum of that relationship. Ego's MB would be the logical person to negotiate with his brother-in-law for the latter's daughter. Perhaps a significant incentive from the brother-in-law's point of view is that, for his own son, he can hope to get a daughter of Ego's FZ (see Diagram 6a) or at least a female of FZH's clan.

Now in no way do I wish to suggest that this rule or principle is in any sense a prescription or preference. Nor am I suggesting that men frequently marry into the clan of their MBW, nor even that closer marriages do not occur. Rather it seems to me that the 'rule' simply indicates the closest acceptable marriage. Any closer marriage would be considered incestuous. This rule would thus be equivalent to an English speaking person saying he can marry his second cousin. He is emphasising the fact that he must not marry his first cousin. Both the English and the Hewa 'rules' serve to define the boundary of incest. I believe the significance of this single positive Hewa statement lies in its effects, that it demands a minimum of five intermarrying exogamous unilineal groups.

* * *

We have seen in Chapter Five that common residence, which provides the necessary intensive and prolonged face-to-face contact, is the basis of the group. Because members of such groups tend to be patrilineally related and members tend to be introduced into this group by direct descent from a male member, patrilineal descent is the idiom used to describe such groups. In the same way kinship terms, which tend to reflect the actual relationships within a household and neighbourhood group, are used to designate all the relationships between members in households and

2. Neighbourhood groups, despite the knowledge that: (1) such members are not necessarily true relatives, nuaa (indicated by the distinguishing term tala, 'true', and (2) that true relatives may not necessarily live together. Thus, while common residence does not determine true kinship relationships, and true kinship relationships do not necessarily determine residence, kinship terms are used between common residents as a convenient way of describing their kin-like relationships, i.e., relationships similar to those which usually, but not always, exist between true kinsmen. Thus kinship terms, like clanship designations, can be distinguished as 'true' to designate true biological relationships - the former bilateral and the latter patrilineal. But kinship terms and clanship designations are also used to designate significant social relationships because they tend to be correlated with significant relationships originating in biological relationships. Such terms and designations, thus, reflect social relationships, they do not determine them.

In the same way that groups are described by the Hewa (to some extent almost invariably incorrectly) as descent groups, and non-kinsmen described by kinship terms, marriage rules themselves are described by genealogical criteria. This, I maintain, is also due to the tendency of male agnates to live together. To the extent they do live together, the marriage prohibitions refer to local groups. And the effects of following such prohibitions is that marriages do not occur within a specified distance. That is, marriage prohibitions will result in marriages beyond a minimal distance.

If it is true that marriage rules are actually aimed at local groups, then a reasonable question is, 'why do marriage rules refer to patrilineal categories, i.e., clans, and not local groups?'

I would argue that the reason for the use of descent categories lies in (1) the ease in which such categories are specified and (2) the difficulty in specifying precisely the membership of local groups. I will deal with the difficulty for both myself and the Hewa of specifying the boundary and hence the composition of local groups in Chapter Seven. Here, I will only point out some of the more obvious difficulties if marriage rules were to refer directly to local groups. For example, would the marriage rule apply to a visitor staying the night? And if so, would it apply only while he was visiting? If such marriage rules would not apply to visitors, then how many days, weeks, months or years of residence would be necessary before a person ceased being a visitor and became subject to the attendant marriage restrictions? And would his residence need to be continuous?

Modern nations with their sophisticated techniques of censuses, migration control and precise time designations still have problems in clearly defining membership by residence. I would argue that the designation of individual relationships by kinship terms, and of groups and marriage rules by descent categories, is the most convenient way for the Hewa to talk about them, even if it is not always accurate. For this same reason I myself - and I believe other anthropologists at times - also categorise people according to descent categories.

CHAPTER SEVEN

KILLING AND WITCHES

In this chapter I will discuss killing in the Hewa. First I describe the victims of violence. Then I give an account of the Hewa killing rate. Before comparing this rate with rates in other societies, I present an analysis of the different groupings in the Hewa and support this with a description of a series of killings. From the findings gained I then propose an explanation for the apparently high killing rate in the Hewa. In the final sections of this chapter I discuss the Hewa belief in witches and compare it with some similar witchcraft beliefs in other societies.

Introduction

The Hewa differentiate between two categories of dying: miniam 'died', and manam 'killed'.

Miniam is used when people die of sickness or old age, i.e., what in English would be called 'death by natural causes'. Also, however, death attributed to a killing by a witch, pisai mai ('witch eaten'), is considered a subcategory of miniam. That death caused by witchcraft is grouped with deaths caused by sickness and old age throws light on the nature of Hewa beliefs in the power of witchcraft, a subject that will be discussed later.

Both drowning and suicide by drowning are called ate ime ('water went') and are considered a form of miniam. It appears that drowning is the only form of suicide practiced by the Hewa. I have recorded four deaths caused by self-intended drowning. These suicides occurred from 1969 to as far back in time as the memory of my informants allowed. A fifth suicide was committed by a part-Hewa female from one of the contact communities. She ended her life by hanging herself. The Hewa call this method le au ('rope head') and consider it to be a Kapiago custom. When

a Hewa decides to commit suicide, he simply hangs his net-bag with his valuables on a tree branch near a river bank before entering the water which sweeps him downstream to his death. If a net-bag is thus found near a river, people assume that the owner of the bag has decided to take his life.

Manam ('killed') refers to death caused by external violence. If a pig kills a hunter, manam is used. If the source of violence is another person, the form of death is specified as mopi manam 'man killed'. Thus manam is the result of intentional violence, mainly by another human being, but also by an animal. As we shall see presently, manam is a common sort of death in the Hewa.

In order to gain knowledge about killing in the Hewa, I asked as many people as possible whether they knew or had heard of anybody who had been killed. I tried to obtain the names of the victim and killers, the approximate date of the killing, the place of the killing and, most importantly, the motive for the killing, both from the point of view of people on the killers' side as well as from people on the victim's side. In many cases I was able to build up a detailed description of the killing and subsequent events such as immediate or delayed retaliation, and to record whether wergild, (ai lapi) had been paid. This information came from many different people, usually including actual participants in the killings. Descriptions of the same event by different people were used as a cross-check. People spoke with almost complete candour once I had detailed information of several killings. Until this was achieved, however, it was extremely difficult to get the information I wanted. When I started my first probings into the occurrence of killings, I had no idea that killings were even then taking place.

A crucial advance in my investigations occurred when a woman was killed in a house I had visited the night before. During the subsequent retaliation, one of her killers was shot in the groin with two arrows. Mortally wounded, he was carried to my house for medical aid. He died, however, before he reached my house (Appendix 8 gives details of this killing). Being almost directly involved in these deaths allowed me to record many facts on the spot. Furthermore, people were now no more so reluctant to talk about killings.

Once I was fore-armed with first-hand knowledge of two killings, people soon were ready to provide me with more information. To my initial question of whom they had killed, men would often reply either 'none' or that they could not remember. But when I was able to jog their memory with names, places and circumstances of some of their own killings, the frequent response was surprise followed by a willingness to give any information they had on these killings, on others they had participated in or led, and on killings committed by others.

One of my most surprising findings was that I could not find a man (i.e., a male older than about 16-18 years) who had not been involved in at least one killing, and who had not actually shot an arrow into a victim himself. I frequently asked for an example of such a man and, although initially various men were suggested, invariably other people would recall by name, place and motivation victims killed by the man in question. However, since killing in the Hewa is almost invariably a group action there are many more killers than victims.

Once I had accumulated a certain body of information on killings, it was like tracing out a genealogy. The various participants/kinsmen could be cross-checked by



Preparing the lead dancer
for the sing-sing



Working on the lead
dancer's head-dress



On the way to a sing-sing

many different Ego's. Furthermore, with each new piece of information, it became easier to deal with subsequent information. From the point of view of the informant, it became more and more like talking with a confidant. The informant and the investigator began to understand each other. I want to point out, however, that no Hewa ever was proud of any killing or boasted about it. The name of the victim was often uttered with a mixture of reluctance and fear. Killing and the consequences of killing are no trifling matter in the Hewa, even though most males have killed. To the Hewa, it is the most dangerous behaviour.

The Victims

My investigations yielded a total of 80 killings. In Appendix 1 I list the 80 victims by name (where possible), together with other information I was able to obtain for each killing. Appendix 2 gives details of victims killed as witches. Tables 7a, 7b, 7c, 7d, 7e present additional data.

Forty-two of the 80 victims are female; 38 are male. As we shall see, this somewhat balanced sexual ratio is misleading since women, in general, are selected as individuals and killed with intention, whereas men, although sometimes killed as individuals, are just as often killed in retaliatory fights where individuals are not sought out but can be considered as members of a side.

Of the 38 male victims, 11 were alleged by at least one person to have been witches and killed as witches. Twelve were killed while fighting during or after the killing of another person. Nine were killed for reasons unknown to my informants. These three categories account for 32 of the male victims. The alleged motives for the remaining six male victims are given in Table 7b.

Of the 42 female victims, only one was a non-

TABLE 7a

Victims - by Place and Time of Killing

Time Killed	KILLED INSIDE			KILLED OUTSIDE			KILLED - PLACE UNKNOWN			ALL VICTIMS		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Unknown				2		2	3		3	5		5
Pre-1959	5	7	12	1	3	4				6	10	16
1959	3	3	6							3	3	6
1960	2	4	6	5	1	6				7	5	12
1961		3	3	1		1				1	3	4
1962	4	1	5	1	2	3				5	3	8
1963	1		1		1	1				1	1	2
1964		3	3	2	2	4				2	5	7
1965	2	3	5					1	1	2	4	6
1966	2	1	3							2	1	3
1967	1	2	3							1	2	3
1968		1	1	1	1	2		1	1	1	3	4
1969				2	2	4				2	2	4
SUB-TOTAL (1959-1969)	15	21	36	12	9	21		2	2	27	32	59
TOTAL	20	28	48	15	12	27	3	2	5	38	42	80

Table 7a: Victims - by Place and Time of Killing

TABLE 7b

Killings According to Alleged Motive

	ALL VICTIMS						INSIDE VICTIMS, 1959-1968						ALL VICTIMS - 'UNKNOWN' OMITTED		
	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%	%	%
<u>Pisai</u>	11	29	31	74	42	53	3	20	16	76	19	53	38	78	61
Fight or Retaliation	12	32	1	2	13	16	6	40			6	17	41	3	19
Adultery or 'Incest'	2	5	5	12	7	8	2	13	3	14	5	14	7	13	10
Intentional but not <u>Pisai</u> or Adultery	2	5	2	5	4	5			1	5	1	3	7	5	6
Not Main Victim, e.g., Child Killed With Mother	2	5	1	2	3	4	2	13	1	5	3	8	7	3	4
Unknown	9	24	2	5	11	14	2	13			2	6			
TOTAL	38	100	42	100	80	100	15	100	21	100	36	100	100	100	100

selected killing. This occurred during a retaliation. Thus, only one woman died as a member of a side or group and not as an individual. Five women were explicitly killed for sexual misconduct, either adultery or clan incest. Five women were killed for various other reasons which can be seen from Table 7b. The remaining 31 female victims were individually selected and killed by groups of males who claimed the women were witches - vile cannibalistic monsters, who should be destroyed.

Nine of these 31 witches killed were widows (see Table 7e). Two never married, and five had 'very old' husbands. Thus 16, more than half, of the witches were not protected by a husband. The spouses of the 15 remaining witches tended to be weak individuals. Female witches, thus, are women who tend to lack the protection of strong men.

The descriptions of the 11 male witches, too, suggest that these men were generally older, weak and non-influential, and they lacked close, strong relatives. It appears then that witches, both female and male, tend to be vulnerable individuals who lack support.

There are some indications that the high incidence of witch killing may be exaggerated. While it is probably true that in each of these witch killings there was a rumour present that the victim was a witch, it is also true that these accusations are slung around quite freely, and there are not many females who have never been accused by anyone. Thus witchcraft accusations do not always lead to killings, and conversely, a witchcraft accusation alone may not be a sufficient motive for a killing. Some of the witches then may have been killed for different motives, even though the post mortem consensus given by the killers and others is that they were witches.

As we have seen, the second most frequent motive

TABLE 7c

ALL WITCHES

Type of Accusation Immediately Prior to the Killing of Witches

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Deathbed	5	45	15	48	20	48
Death of son	1	9	4	13	5	12
At Funeral	1	9	2	6	3	7
Unknown	4	36	7	23	11	26
Running away from Husband			1	3	1	2
By Husband			1	3	1	2
Immediate Revenge			1	3	1	2
TOTAL	11	100	31	100	42	100

25 = 60%

If the 'Unknown' Accusations are Omitted:

Deathbed	5	71	15	63	20	65
Death of son	1	14	4	17	5	16
At Funeral	1	14	2	12	3	9
Other			3	8	3	9
	7	100	24	100	31	100

25 = 81%

given for killing females is punishment for sexual misconduct. The killers of the victim usually include a brother of the female. These killings do not entail retaliatory fighting and can be considered a form of social control. When I asked the Hewa why brothers kill their sisters for sexual misconduct, the usual answer was that it prevented their other sisters and daughters from behaving promiscuously. If the husband, and not the brother, killed his adulterous wife, he might be suspected of having provoked the action, or even of killing his wife for reasons other than adultery. Fathers have told me that if their own adulterous daughters were not killed, the husbands of their other 'daughters' (classificatory) would be angry with them. Fathers, however, do not kill their own true daughters, because, as they frequently said, they could not - it would hurt their heart (inap). Instead, their sons do the killing for them.

One man was allegedly killed for the sexual misconduct of his wife: a husband had permitted, and allegedly encouraged, a man living with him to have sexual intercourse with his wife. When the wife and her lover became fond of each other, they decided to run off together. The brothers of the wife then came and killed the husband she had deserted.

The Hewa Killing Rate

In order to estimate the incidence of killing in the Hewa, I placed into one category all the victims killed within our 100-square-mile area. As will be remembered, this area in September 1968 contained 463 people. Forty-eight of the 80 victims fell into this 'Killed-Inside' category. The remaining 32 victims were either killed outside of this area or in a location unknown to me. I concentrated on the 'inside' killings for the calculation of the killing rate because I had no way of determining the

population of the outside area. Although I know many of the people living to the north of the Lagaip, I was not permitted to enter this last Restricted Area and hence was unable to census the area and to pursue details of many of the killings which took place there.

In order to calculate the killing frequency per year, I used the number of victims killed 'inside' during the past decade: A total of 36 of the 48 'inside' victims were killed between 1959 and 1968 (the remaining 12 were killed prior to 1959) (see Table 7a).

Of the killings which took place within our area, a few were committed by men from outside the area. Approximately the same number of 'outside' victims were killed by men residing in the 100 square miles. Thus the incidence of killing within the defined population of 463 remains unaffected.

I assume that the population of 463 has been more or less stable during the decade 1959-1968. There is no indication of any significant migration, apart from two or three households which moved back and forth across the Lagaip several times. I found no evidence for a major epidemic or any other significant population increase or decrease during the period of which I have information.

The assumption of a non-migratory population is supported by residential histories of various households. As I indicated in a previous chapter, most males tend to reside within the clan territory or near the territory in which they were brought up. My records indicate that while some of the 'inside' females marry outside our area, about the same number of 'outside' females marry inside our area, thus cancelling any net loss.

Thirty-six killings in ten years or 3.6 killings per year yields an incidence per thousand population of

TABLE 7d

'Inside' Victims (Killed 1959-1968) by Social Category

<p><u>Males</u> - total: 15 (or 42% of the 'inside' victims)</p>	<p><u>Females</u> total: 21 (or 58% of the 'inside' victims)</p>
<p><u>mopi</u>, 'married males' = 13 or 87% of male 'inside' victims '<u>pisai</u>', witch, statement given at least once as reason for the killing: three or 23% of these 13 victims</p>	<p><u>luaa</u>, 'married females' = 12 or 57% of female 'inside' victims '<u>pisai</u>', witch, statement given at least once as reason for the killing: nine or 75% of these 12 victims</p>
	<p><u>wain</u>, 'widows' = seven or 33% of female victims '<u>pisai</u>' justification: six or 86%</p>
<p><u>epama</u>, 'old men' = 0</p>	<p><u>yali</u>, 'old women' = one or 5% (<u>pisai</u>)</p>
<p><u>mian</u>, 'boys' = two or 13% (no <u>pisai</u>)</p>	<p><u>iman</u>, 'girls' = one or 5% (no <u>pisai</u>)</p>

TABLE 7e

Total Victims by Social Category

<p><u>Males - total: 38</u> (or 47½% of all the victims)</p>	<p><u>Females - total: 42</u> (or 52½% of all the victims)</p>
<p><u>mopi</u>, 'married males' = 34 or 89% of male victims '<u>pisai</u>', witch, statement given at least once as reason for the killing: ten or 29% of these 34 victims</p>	<p><u>luaa</u>, 'married females' = 27 or 64% of female victims. '<u>pisai</u>', witch, statement given at least once as reason for the killing: 19 or 70% of these 27 victims</p>
	<p><u>wain</u>, 'widows' = 11 or 26% of female victims '<u>pisai</u>' justification: nine or 82%</p>
<p><u>epama</u>, 'old men' = one or 3% (<u>pisai</u>)</p>	<p><u>yali</u>, 'old women' = two or 5% (both <u>pisai</u>)</p>
<p><u>mian</u>, 'boys' = three or 8% (no <u>pisai</u>)</p>	<p><u>iman</u>, 'girls' = two or 5% (one <u>pisai</u>)</p>

7.78 or .78 per cent. As indicated this figure is based only on the victims known to me to have been killed within the last ten years and within the 100-square-mile area.

There is no doubt that the figure of 7.78 per thousand is an underestimate of the true killing incidence of the Hewa. I am reasonably certain I have recorded all, or almost all, the 'inside' killings within the last five years (1964-1968), but, because of the time elapsed, probably not all the 'inside' killings in the five years immediately preceding these (1959-1963) were reported to me.

There is another factor which suggests that the killing rate of 7.78 per thousand per annum does not reflect the normal, i.e., the pre-contact, rate. If we examine Table 7a showing the location and approximate time of the 80 killings, we can see a gradually decreasing killing frequency inside our area from 1959 to 1968. For example, in the first five years of this period 21 people were killed; in the second five years, 15 were killed. Although the average number of killings per year for the ten years is 3.6, the average for the last three years is only 2.3 per year.

This reduction in the killing rate beginning in 1966 is probably due primarily to government intervention and punishment. However, it is also possible that my presence played a role in the reduction of killings, although I was never in a position to influence anyone in this regard.

Late in 1965, before I started my fieldwork in the Hewa, government officers caught and jailed several men, for killing a woman (Yuwainen), her husband (Kopaiyo) and a boy. Reports of the killings had reached the patrol post at Lake Kopiago. In June 1966, three Hewa men walked for several days into Lake Kopiago where they confessed to the killing of a man (Nai) and his wife. They were jailed

for riotous behaviour for a period of six to eight months. Other killings have occurred since then, but no other Hewa have turned themselves in. They did, however, walk into Kopiago and report cases of adultery or killing to the patrol post. During the next two years, several more Hewa males were jailed for killing, while one Hewa was jailed for adultery with the wife of a Hewa already in jail. Toward the middle of 1968, the first Hewa female was jailed for adultery, along with the young man with whom she had run off, and her husband, who had killed the mother of his wife's lover. Except for a few months in early 1967, there have been some Hewa in jail continuously for killing since early 1966.

It is inevitable that punishment by jail sentences will have an effect on Hewa behaviour. While the males are in jail, no gardens are built, and the maintenance of the fences is neglected. This leaves the people remaining in these depleted households with very little to eat until the men come back and life returns to normal. Furthermore, Hewa males are always reluctant to leave their females behind. Thus long absences from the household are likely to be avoided in the future. The Hewa are beginning to report killings more frequently to the administration officers at Lake Kopiago, killings which would normally have been dealt with by retaliation. A patrol officer is then sent into the area and the 'culprits' are tried and sentenced in Kopiago. There is no doubt that the establishment of a central authority will considerably reduce the Hewa killing rate.

Having established the Hewa killing rate from 1959-1968 as 7.78 per thousand per year, we can now attempt to compare that rate with others recorded in different societies. However, there is a paucity of detailed studies available which show the number of people killed within a population over a sufficiently long period of time.

Bohannan notes that various Uganda tribes range from 0.011 homicides to 0.116 per thousand per annum, that the United States has a rate of 0.063, and that Britain's is 0.005.¹ If we compare the Hewa killing rate of 7.78 with these homicide figures, the Hewa seem to kill about 70 times more frequently than the highest number given by Bohannan.

For the moment I will not comment on this. I will resume the discussion of comparative killing rates in a later section. In order to analyse Hewa killings, it is first necessary to describe the Hewa groups, since men kill as members of groups and killings are avenged by members of groups.

Hewa Groups

I argued in Chapter Five that common residence, not clanship, is that which ties people together. I have also tried to show that people who have regular face-to-face contact can be considered as members of groups who do things together. The groups I have been able to discover are not nests of segmentary groups. They are simply the household, the neighbourhood group, and a larger group-like entity I shall be discussing below.

The Household

The smallest, most easily defined, and certainly the most important group to individual Hewa is the household. It is a group which eats and gardens together and sleeps under one roof. It consists of an average of seven people (range: 2-16), hierarchically arranged in a fairly clear authority structure. There is usually one dominant man

¹

1960:238. The figures are adjusted from Bohannan's per 100,000 rate.

(the wai luais), his wife and children, together perhaps with his younger brother or another young man (possibly with his own young family) and an old man or woman. A household always contains at least one man and his wife.¹ By its nature, the household is a transitional group: when young females marry they usually leave the household, males bring wives to it, and parents die - all of which causes important changes in its composition. However, at any particular moment its membership is clearly defined. The strongest loyalty of any Hewa will always be to members of his household. Although fights happen within a household and can lead to members leaving it, such fights usually occur between members who are in a more or less equally subordinate position. (E.g., between wives and between sons.) Although fighting is not unusual, killing within a household is extremely rare. Of the 80 killings I have recorded, only one (No.20, see Appendix 1) may have occurred within a household and this is controversial. (Some men claim that in this 'killing' a man drowned his wife as he ferried her across the Lagaip, but he and others deny it, saying the drowning was an accident.)

The attachment to the household within which one sleeps and eats is so strong that a visitor, too, will defend that household against an attack by an outsider, even if one of the attackers is that visitor's brother.

The Neighbourhood Group

The second type of group, which I now term the neighbourhood group, is characterised by certain relations between the members of several (usually two to four) neighbouring households, often occupying the same or adjacent clan territories. These immediate neighbours have frequent contact, usually several times per week, and generally act informally towards each other. Wives with their young children may occasionally walk alone through

¹ For details of the composition of households see Appendix 3

the forest to visit households within this group, although they do not work in the gardens of these households. Such members are almost always within a two hours' walk of each other. Despite the house location being changed every two years or so, the spatial relationship between these houses tends to remain about the same. Thus such groups are fairly stable. They are usually referred to by both outsiders and members of the group by either the clan name of the majority of its members or that of the clan whose territory they occupy. These neighbourhood groups, containing on average about 20 members (which include the men, their wives and children), are the most stable groups in the Hewa and may last for several generations. Brothers, if not residing in the same household, usually reside in the same neighbourhood group. The incidence of killing within such a group is very low. Other than the possible killing mentioned above, I have recorded only one killing (No.7) within a neighbourhood group. (A man killed an old, probably unwanted, woman who had informed her husband that the man was eating sugar cane in her husband's garden. Her husband and his younger wife promptly beat her. Later, when the man heard of this and saw her lying on the floor of her house, he angrily struck her with an axe and killed her. She had no close relatives and her death passed almost without comment.)

Important behavioural features of the neighbourhood group include:

1. Men help to cut trees in each other's gardens.
2. Fights are not rare but minor, i.e., with hands, feet and sometimes sticks.
3. There is frequent food sharing, both vegetable and animal, between members, and they often consume the food together.
4. Food trees (marita and breadfruit) are sometimes owned in common with the male members of a neighbourhood group. This

is usually a result of prior ownership by an immediate male ancestor of the group's members and the inheritance passing to the descendants living near the trees.

5. Direct communication is frequent via the yodelling-like 'singing-out' from ridge-top to ridge-top.
6. To some extent members help each other with the construction of their houses (its framework) but they usually do not roof or floor each other's houses. This is a task performed by neighbours at a greater distance.
7. They are spectators - almost co-hosts - not performers, at each other's sing-sings.

The Largest Group

The last group, to which I will sometimes refer as the 'autonomous group', is the most difficult to define. On the one hand, members within this group have relations with each other which warrant its designation as a group. On the other hand, there are difficulties associated with such a designation. We shall first examine the positive features.

Firstly, there is very little killing within this group - fighting is usually done with sticks, not bows and arrows.

Secondly, there is a marked tendency of its members, particularly those of adjacent neighbourhood groups, to come together to retaliate for an attack made by outsiders against a fellow member. Thus its members to some extent are mutually dependent on one another for security. Thirdly, while not every member of the group may have frequent contact with all other members of the group, many members do, particularly the important men. The face-to-face contact between these important men is, it

appears, what lies at the core of this largest group. Members of this group meet at flooring and roofing bees. Although everybody in the group does not attend or help in any single roofing or flooring bee within this larger group, people meet virtually everyone in the group at the various bees they do attend. In addition to this personal contact through common work, people in this group tend to share pig meat, both domestic and wild. The sing-sing is only rarely performed by households within this larger group, and then only with the more distant households.

Thus, there is behavioural evidence for the existence of this largest group. I shall now turn to the difficulties associated with defining this category as a group.

This largest group does not have easily defined boundaries, particularly between members of adjacent groups not hostile to one another. Instead, there is a continuum of gradually decreasing contact in certain directions. In addition, there is no name for the area occupied by such a group nor even a name for the group itself recognised by its own members. It is usually referred to by outsiders either by the clan name of some of its members or by a river running through its area. There is no suggestion that group members are descended from a common ancestor. There is also no evidence of anything that might be termed a ritual of this largest group.

The main difference between this group and the neighbourhood group lies in the intensity of face-to-face contact between its members. While group members are willing to retaliate for attacks against other members, regular face-to-face contact is missing. Consequently, there is somewhat more formality and less casual behaviour between those group members who do not have the opportunity to see

each other very often.

* * *

The question arises: how do individuals become members and fit into these three levels of groupings?

Individuals are usually introduced into all three groups by birth to members of the group. In the first years of life a person has no individual relationships beyond the household. As the females near maturity, they are usually lost to the group - at least to the household and neighbourhood group - by marriage. The males, as they mature, establish relationships first with members in the immediate neighbourhood group and then with neighbours further away. They thus only gradually fit into the existing relationships between the individuals constituting the group. As they grow older, some will come to play an influential role in the group and be a major force behind the decision to kill someone, to retaliate for a killing, to accept or give ai lapi, when to hold a pig feast, when and where to build a house. Their 'fathers' in the meantime, will become older and will gradually lose interest in the affairs of the community. They will withdraw into their own households where even there they will lose their dominant position. Such men are then given the appellation, epama (or epa), 'old men', signifying that they are no longer socially significant. They receive vegetable food from the gardens of their household and eat meat about as rarely as females. They spend most of their time sitting or sleeping around a fire in the house.

Thus the relations between the members of these groups, and hence the groups themselves, are slowly but inexorably changing. At any particular moment the group can be defined by its potential to act together, based on

knowledge of the behaviour of its members in the past.

Fights do occur within the three groups. But they are usually of a minor nature and generally do not involve bow-and-arrow fights. Thus factions within the groups, particularly the largest group, may be temporarily hostile to one another. In general, discord within the household appears to erupt more easily but is also more easily resolved than in the larger groups.

Killing Between the 'Folini' and 'Wanakipa'

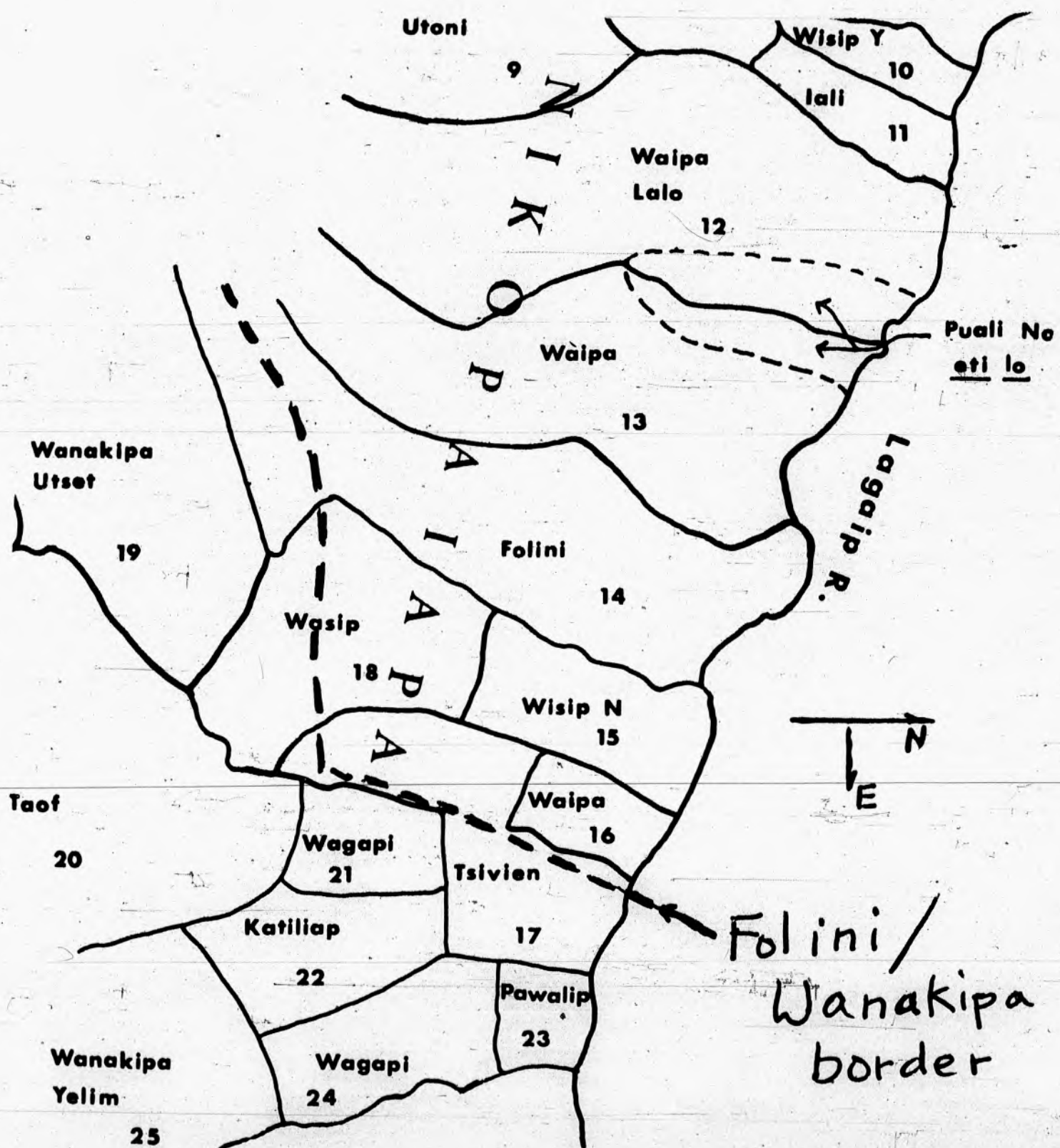
I shall now attempt to demonstrate the reality of the largest group by an analysis of a series of killings which took place predominantly between two such groups. The first I shall call the 'Folini' which includes members residing on the clan territories of Folini, Wasip and Waipa (Nos.13, 14 and 18).. The second group I shall call 'Wanakipa' which includes residents of the two Wanakipa territories (19 and 25), Taof (20), Wagapi (21) and Katiliap (22) (see Map 3). These two autonomous groups have engaged in hostilities for a considerable time before I entered the Hewa. When I left, the situation remained unchanged.

In order to get the picture of continued animosity between these two groups, it is necessary to describe in detail some hostile events between them which were related to me and which throw light on the relations between them. (For a more detailed description of some of these killings see Appendices 7 and 8).

The Killing of Ifaiem

In 1964 an influential man, Ope of the Utoni clan, living in territory No.9, claimed that a woman, Ifaiem of the Waipa clan, living in Waipa territory No.13, was a witch (pisai) and should be killed. (The Utoni

MAP 3 : CLAN TERRITORIES OF 'FOLINI' AND
'WANAKIPA'



clan territory is not within the postulated 'Wanakipa' territory, but Ope has close kinship relationships with certain Wanakipa males.)

This was not the first time Ifaiem had been accused of being a witch. Previously, she had been sent away by her Folini husband (now dead) for being a witch. Ope told me that her husband had seen a tell-tale finger bone in his house and therefore was convinced that Ifaiem had eaten human flesh and was therefore a witch.¹

When Ifaiem was sent away, she returned to the house of a clan brother in her own Waipa territory. While there she began to have a sexual affair with her apparently true brother, Iwalium,² who was married. The two left the large house, the brother deserting his wife and child, and went to live alone in a small, previously deserted house.

Meanwhile, the influential man Ope had made his accusation that Ifaiem was a witch. Several months after this 'witch talk' had spread, on an appointed day, 16 males gathered at Ope's house. Two of these males were his matrilinear half-brothers and one his half-sister's son, all three from 'Wanakipa' (No.19). The remaining 13 males, three of whom were of the same clan as Ifaiem, (Waipa), resided in three adjacent territories (Pauli Nomien No.6, Tamliap No.8 and Utoni No.9). The 16 males were of 11 different clans. None of the 16 males was from 'Folini' (i.e., territories Nos.13, 14 and 18).

¹ One man told me that Ope himself had seen Ifaiem eating a child, but Ope denies this.

² Iwalium, however, did not indicate that Ifaiem was his sister when he gave me his genealogy. I did not get another chance to see him after I had been told by 'Wanakipa' men that Ifaiem was indeed the sister of Iwalium.

Shortly after dawn one morning, the 16 males, led by Utoni Ope, waited on a path near the small house and shot and killed Ifaiem. Her brother/lover ran off through the forest because (as he later said) 'there were too many men'.¹

The killers then ran off to Ope's house where they danced yap pamalu for five days before leaving for their own houses. As the three males from 'Wanakipa' were returning home, one Waipa male attacked them, but they fought back and shot him in the abdomen. There was no other retaliation.

The Killing of Yuwainen

In December 1965, the young son of one of the five most influential and feared men in the 100-square-mile area died.² The father, Fafa of Taof clan, claimed that his son was eaten by the witch Yuwainen, and that he would kill her. Two weeks later, Yuwainen, living in Waipa territory No.13, was killed, together with her husband and a boy who was also living in their household. In this killing all the killers came from the 'Wanakipa' area (from territories Nos.19, 20 and 25).

Now Yuwainen had been accused of witchcraft before. She had been married to a Wagapi who on his deathbed allegedly accused her of eating him. She returned as a widow to her own clan territory and later began living alone with a clan brother, Kopaiyo, in a small house. When she became pregnant, some men, including some Waipa, spoke

1

Courage does not appear to be Iwalium's main virtue. He is, however, a superb story teller. The story in Chapter Five was told by him.

2

The other four most influential men: Folini Ainam in No.14, Puali Yain Mino in No.7, Waipa Nomaia in No.6 and Fauip Nomien Aliaa in No.1. Their locations are more or less evenly spaced across our area. All four men have several younger men or brothers and several wives living with them.

against them, saying they were nuaa, genealogically related. A rather influential Waipa male, Malfe, however, said they were not nomota, 'brother-sister', (meaning presumably not true nomota) and that the two could live together.

A man of Taof clan (living in territory No.20) declared that if the two were copulating, Yuwainen must be a pisai. People remembered that many years ago, his father, (a notorious pisai accuser) had also called Yuwainen a witch.

About six months before the killing of Yuwainen, her husband (and clan brother) had accused a Wanakipa man of being a witch and of eating an old Waipa Lalo man, causing his death. He said this at a house he was visiting. Also visiting this house were two men from 'Wanakipa' who immediately got up and, joined by the wife of one, began hitting the accuser with burning faggots until he fell bleeding. Later, when Yuwainen's husband returned home, he asked several of his fellow group members, two Waipa and a Wasip living in 'Folini', to help him fight the 'Wanakipa'. They refused, saying that he himself had caused the fight by his witchcraft accusation. The witchcraft accusation against that Wanakipa male was not made again. Six months later, Yuwainen of the 'Folini' area was killed by men of 'Wanakipa'.

After the killing the 'Folini' men retaliated three times. The first retaliation was provoked directly by the killing of Yuwainen, the second, when the young Waipa boy died several days later of the wound he had received at the time Yuwainen was shot, and the third, when Kopaiyo, the husband of Yuwainen, died still later from his injuries. In all, ten males took part in the various 'Folini' retaliations. Three were of the Waipa clan, four Folini, one Katiliap, one Wasip and one Puali.

All resided in the 'Folini' territories Nos.13, 14 and 18. In addition, five males - three Tamliap and two Waipa, all living in territory No.16 - made a sham attack against the 'Wanakipa' as they fled back through the forest after the killing. I cannot determine whether these five males intended to shoot the killers. They threatened them by shooting arrows at them which missed. They then said, 'you go ahead, we are only playing (tsinalu)'.

Many men on both sides had suffered injuries during the killing and the subsequent retaliations. The fighting was stopped when a patrol officer from Lake Kopiago entered the Hewa area and apprehended some of the men involved in the killing and retaliation and later jailed them for some months at Kopiago. These Hewa, the first to be jailed, returned to their area some months before my arrival in 1966. In about October 1966, the 'Wanakipa' paid wergild to the 'Folini'.

The Killing of Kao

Six months later, just before dawn on the 12th of April 1967, seven 'Folini' males entered the menstrual hut of the woman Kao, living in 'Wanakipa' area (No.20) and began firing arrows at her. The seven killers, led by Orlau of Wasip clan, belonged to four clans (three of Folini, two of Waipa, one of Wasip, one of Tenip), and lived in three different but adjacent territories (Nos.13, 14 and 18). Three of the six were mopi, 'married men', the other three were 16 to 18 years old. The motive given by these killers for the killing of Kao was that the wives of two 'Folini' men had recently died as a result of having been eaten by the pisai Kao. The first wife had become ill, perhaps with malaria, and had claimed she had seen Kao in the garden. One of the killers told me that the wife had said she had been struck with a digging stick by

Kao, looking like a pisai. But apparently she did not say that Kao had eaten her; this was simply assumed by the killers.

Long before this, however, the rumour had spread that Kao was a pisai. Kao's first husband was killed as a pisai (victim No.73) and some people had claimed that she had helped him eat his victims. In about 1964, this husband, of the Kenialip clan, and his elder brother had taken their families to stay on Kao's territory, just opposite the mouth of the Urubwa. The two brothers had left their own area because they had been accused of being pisai by men of Taali clan living near them. Several months later the two brothers were killed as pisai by 13 men living in the 'Wanakipa' area (Nos.19, 20, 21). One of these killers took Kao as his wife.

After the death of the first 'Folini' woman, Orlau, the husband, let his neighbours know that there was going to be a burial. Nine men (Folini, Waipa, Puali and one Wanakipa - all living in the 'Folini' area) attended the funeral with their families the same day. The following day, families from territories No.11 and 12 arrived. Among them was a brother of the deceased, an Iali, who declared that the female who was being buried, his sister, had been eaten by a witch and that Orlau and the men around him were luaa-mopi (weaklings) because they were doing nothing about it. When Orlau heard this, he simply stated that he was not a luaa-mopi.

Shortly afterwards, the second woman died suddenly after a short illness. The day after she was buried Orlau took his bow and walked towards the house of Kao, followed by six males of 'Folini'. Up to this point, apparently no one had mentioned Kao as the pisai; yet several of the killers later told me that everyone knew it was her who had

eaten the two women.

After the killing of Kao, the killers returned to Orlau's house where they danced yap pamalu and awaited retaliation.

Twelve males, led by the husband of Kao, retaliated the day following her killing. Seven of the 12 resided in 'Wanakipa' (Nos. 20, 21, 22). The remaining five were of the Wisip clan (clan brothers of the victim Kao), and came from the north side of the Lagaip, opposite the mouth of the Urubwa. During the ensuing fight, a number of men were wounded, including Orlau who died three days later while being carried to my house (see Plate 10).

* * *

An analysis of these three intentional killings and the 'accidental' deaths following them reveals the following points, points which generally agree with the details I have recorded about many of the remaining 80 killings:

1. Killings are committed not by men acting as individuals but by small groups of men. Women do not kill.
2. The killing of females is intentional. Males are usually killed not as individuals but as members of a side; they are mainly battle fatalities.
3. About the same number of men and women are killed, even though only the females are selected as victims. This implies that killing witches is a dangerous undertaking, since the unintentional victims may equal the intentional victims.
4. Victims are selected from groups with which one already has hostile relations.
5. Witches are killed at a distance, not in one's neighbourhood or group.

6. A possible factor in the killing of both Yuwainen and Ifaiem was incest. In each case it was the female who was punished by death. The explicit reason for these killings, however, was that the women were cannibalistic, dangerous witches, not that they had committed incest.
7. Killing is not an immediate response to a witchcraft accusation. In all three killings a witchcraft accusation had been broadcast previously and had been known by many people.
8. An accusation of witchcraft directed towards a person or his family is a test of power and the courage to use that power. Three choices are open to an accused:
 - (a) challenge the accuser by fighting him. If successful, the accusation will be withdrawn.
 - (b) change of residence away from the accuser.
 - (c) take no action. This is the most dangerous choice because it means living under a sentence of death which may be executed at any time.
9. Clanship does not determine the killing and retaliation group. Groups who kill and retaliate as groups tend to live on the same territory.
10. Alleged motives given for killings:
 - (a) witchcraft, sometimes with possibilities of sexual misconduct. (However, if it is a case of undisputed sexual misconduct, the offending woman will be killed by her brother. In this case there is no retaliation.)
 - (b) retaliation.
11. We can accept that accusations of sexual misconduct may reflect actual behaviour. A witchcraft accusation, on the other hand, accuses a person of a supernatural deed of which there is no necessary reality. This is aptly underlined linguistically by the use of miniam (natural death) to describe the death.



Ready for the sing-sing



The body of Orlau after being shot during retaliation.

of victims who allegedly died because a witch ate them. Thus some scepticism may be warranted as to how firmly the Hewa actually believe in their witchcraft accusations. The uncertain status of witchcraft beliefs is further suggested by the killer who took Kao as his wife, after she had been accused of helping her former husband eat his victims. This killer, like most Hewa husbands, denied that his wife Kao had been a witch. But he had heard of the accusation before he had taken her as a wife.

12. Much of what is alleged to have been a witchcraft killing may be in fact delayed retaliation. The idiom of witchcraft may thus be a means by which the obstacle of having previously accepted ai lapi (wergild) may be overcome, and any previously resolved hostility can be resumed through a witchcraft accusation.
13. Killing groups follow a leader who has indicated that a particular person should be killed. Not everyone can gain the support necessary for a killing. (E.g., the husband of Yuwainen.) In general, influential men only can initiate a killing.
14. Series of killings occur between two hostile groups. In the case of the first killing the hostile groups were 'Folini' and 'Utoni' supported by some 'Wanakipa'; the latter two killings were between the 'Folini' and the 'Wanakipa'.

Fighting Groups and Leaders

This last point requires some clarification. I must emphasise that not one of the three groups show exclusive, stable membership. Furthermore, men were fighting within these groups who were not residents of these three autonomous groups. In some instances, some men fought on a side further away from them than the group against which they were fighting. The reason for such an

alliance of men with groups well beyond their own group seems to be based almost solely on affinal or close matrilineal relationships.

Thus the fighting group does not only consist of members of the largest group. It has a core which consists of a group of men who are usually living in the same geographical area and who are influenced by and who tend to follow an important man. This man may decide when hostile acts should take place. The fact that one or two strong individuals may attract loyalty from men around them and possibly from men affinally or matrilineally related to them, helps partly to explain why the largest Hewa groupings are so difficult to define. Firstly, a strong man is only influential for a limited time, perhaps ten to 15 years. Secondly, his residence within his territory changes every two years or so which - even though individual moves may not be over great distances - may, in time, modify the relations existing between neighbours.

Thus the largest group is a reality only at a given point in time while one or several men are regarded as leaders among neighbouring men who are ready to follow their advice.

By the time a leader is about 40 or 45 years old, he will be less active and gradually begin to lose his influence. Younger men will make decisions and become important. A few of them may secure the loyalty of their neighbours, thereby creating a new core of a group whose boundaries will not necessarily coincide with the former group even though a majority of men in the new group will live on the old group territory. Since the new leader has relations with different sets of neighbours and affines, his interests will most likely not be the same as the former leader's. Friendships and hostilities between previous

neighbourhood groups will be subsequently modified. This is an important factor contributing to the instability of the largest group and may explain the difficulty of defining its composition through time.

The question arises: Of what does the power of an influential man consist? A man has power to the extent he can influence other men. - Such influence depends considerably on the willingness of other men to accept his authority, to follow his advice and to support him in proposed action.

Willingness of several men to accept a man's authority implies a structure of power - a group. Group members who recognise a strong man and give him their support, in turn, benefit by the implicit assurance that the leader will not use his power against them and will assist in their protection against outsiders. Another important element which enters here is generosity. We have seen in Chapter Four that men strive to be considered generous by sharing food - especially meat - with other men. Even though a gift of meat implies a later return, that man who can afford the most generous gifts will tend to be listened to by other men - especially if they still owe him a return gift of meat. Thus the man who can give many wipa u will be an important man, a man people are willing to listen to. It is not surprising then that a dominant man in the Hewa usually owns more pigs than his neighbours.

Fafa is a good example of an influential man. He may be called the leader of the 'Wanakipa' group which does not mean, however, that he is the leader in every big action that takes place in that group. Hewa leaders cannot be that clearly defined, they simply are men who tend to be the organisers in a majority of events. Now

Fafa has about ten pigs, most of which he has agisted with neighbours. He is also the only man who has five wives, two more than any other man in our entire area. (For details of the astounding marital career of Fafa see Appendix 6).

Fafa, you will recall, led the group which killed Yuwainen, Kopaiyo and the young Waipa boy (for which he was sent to jail in 1966). Before that, he participated in the killing of at least three other people accused of witchcraft (Nos. 11, 43, 56). Fafa's wealth in wives and pigs, as well as his power over other men, probably is based on an aggressive personality, ability to handle people and, most likely, a certain degree of ruthlessness - in short, he is an alpha male.

His leadership, at present, is not openly challenged by anyone. He is not, however, a well-liked man, and people have told me of their dislike of Fafa. Since a leader depends on the full support of his followers, it will be interesting to see how long Fafa will continue to be the strong man in the 'Wanakipa' group.

Relationships Within Groups

It would be a simplification and a distortion to present the relationships between a leader and the other group members as if there was a circle of followers focusing on one leader at the center. The followers themselves are not equal in influence: they differ in age and maturity, in intelligence and physical strength, and in the degree to which they are willing to subordinate themselves to the leader. For example, a man with three younger brothers is a force to be reckoned with, much more than a man without brothers. Thus, every man brings with him a set of relationships he has in his household, on the

one hand, and within his neighbourhood group, on the other.

The largest group incorporates the intricate network of all these relationships. Various influential men have gradually adjusted themselves, on the basis of their past experiences with one another, to an ordering at the highest level (i.e., within the autonomous group) in which each man recognises his and the others' position. More precisely: each man recognises the men whose authority he is ready to accept, and those men whom he can expect to directly influence.

* * *

I will now attempt to explain why members within the autonomous group, who have established defined relationships towards each other, tend not to kill each other, while members of different autonomous groups exhibit such a strong tendency of hostility toward each other.

In order to approach this question it is necessary to digress briefly. Let us see what determines aggression and control of hostility in another type of society, namely a group of rhesus monkeys.

Freeman (1970), discussing Southwick's (1969) systematic study of the aggressive interaction in rhesus groups in India, notes that it confirms '...the now well established conclusion that crowding tends to cause an increase in aggressive behaviour.' However, Freeman (1970: 12-13) goes on to note that Southwick's experimental studies carried out on a captive rhesus population in a cage of 1,000 square feet also revealed that, 'social change in a group may increase aggressive behaviour to a much greater extent than changes in the physical environment.'

Thus, when the area of the cage in which Southwick's captive rhesus colony had been established was halved, the incidence of agonistic interaction increased by about 70 per cent; whereas when 'social strangers

were introduced to the group agonistic interaction increased four to ten fold' - the attack initiative being led by 'the sex and age group corresponding to that of the newcomer'.

Freeman (1970:13) continues,

Observations show that aggressive behaviour is commonly released in contention situations, that is when the behavioural intentions of two or more animals (in respect of food, territory, sexual objects and the like) come into conflict; and, among social animals, aggression is functionally related to the establishment of dominance orders which, by their very existence, markedly restrict the incidence of overt fighting.

Now we have seen that in the largest group - as well as in the neighbourhood and household - people live together, work together, share food together. I propose that this prolonged personal contact has led to the establishment of these dominance orders which '...by their very existence, markedly restrict the incidence of overt fighting.' Such a proposition would explain why the killing rate within the autonomous group is low, while that between such groups is high: Men only markedly restrict their aggressive behaviour when they are in contact with fellow members of a dominance order.

Now the household group, as we have seen, is the group with the maximum amount of face-to-face contact. Because of this frequent face-to-face contact, it has the most rigid and easily defined dominance order. Just as Southwick's monkeys showed less agonistic behaviour in the absence of strangers, that is, with every member already in his established place in the dominance order, so too do the Hewa not kill within the household. The neighbourhood group whose members certainly have less face-to-face contact than members of a household, but sufficient contact to maintain a clear dominance order, also exhibits a very low

incidence of killing. The largest Hewa group has even less face-to-face contact among its members. But nevertheless, the contact between its more influential members is frequent enough to have established a dominance order, to the degree of only rarely killing each other and defending its members against outside aggression.

Comparison of Killing Rates

Let us now return to the Hewa killing rate I presented at the beginning of this chapter - 7.78 per thousand per annum, a rate which at first sight appears very high.

As we have seen, most killings included in this rate were due to aggression between members of different autonomous groups, not within the same dominance order. It becomes evident now that it is no longer appropriate to compare the Hewa killing rate with the homicide rates in Great Britain, the U.S.A. or Uganda. These homicide rates indicate only the killing which has occurred within a dominance order by members of that same dominance order. The Hewa killing rate, however, reflects killings between people who are not in the same dominance order. If we want to compare the Hewa killing rate with that of another society, we must compare it with the total killing rate suffered by that society from outside aggression, i.e., war. I suggest that a modern nation can be considered to be functionally equivalent - in a sense - to the largest group of the Hewa, since both are autonomous dominance orders. With the larger dominance orders, of course, personal-contact between most group members no longer occurs. Instead, a central authority inhibits inter-group violence. However, it may be that the personal contact between the members and their leaders (or representatives), and these leaders themselves, is a critical element in the operation of such centralised

authorities, in a way not completely dissimilar to the autonomous groups of the Hewa.

What can be compared then, on the one hand, are homicide rates (i.e., the killing incidence in a population in which both the killers and the victims are members of the same autonomous group, and, on the other hand, the total killings suffered by a population, which include deaths due to attackers from outside the group.

As we have seen, the homicide rate of the Hewa thus defined, i.e., within household, neighbourhood and the largest group, is low, perhaps as low as in most modern nations. Thus, in this respect, the Hewa may no longer be so outstanding.

I will now argue that a comparison of the 7.78 rate of the total Hewa killings with the rate of other populations, both modern and primitive, who have engaged in hostilities outside their dominance structure, may reveal that the Hewa killing incidence, again, is not so astonishing as it first appeared, and that, in fact, it may fall within a range that might be called a normal killing rate of man.

Killing Rates in Modern Nations

It is not difficult to find modern nations which have not recently suffered a high rate of killing. It is also easy to find nations which have. Since the beginning of this century, many European nations have suffered a rate of total killings not so strikingly different from that of the Hewa. Germany, for example, during the five-year period from 1940 to 1944 suffered a loss of seven million people,¹ giving a total rate of 20.9 per thousand per annum,

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Land and People, 1961.

a figure about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times higher than that of the Hewa.

European countries, of course, have also suffered significant losses through war in previous centuries. For example, during the Thirty Years War, from 1618 to 1648, Wedgwood estimates that with a population in 1618 of 21 million and in 1648 of $13\frac{1}{2}$ million, Germany lost half of her population in the countryside and $\frac{2}{5}$ in her towns (1964:515-6). With an average of between seven million and 8.75 million, the rate of loss during these war years would be between 13.3 and 16.7 per thousand per annum. Napoleon's Grande Armée in 1812 alone lost 380,000 men in its retreat from Russia (Orlandi, 1967:56). Without doubt, individual nations have lost considerable numbers of people through repeated and intensive warfare.

It might be argued, however, that in modern societies warfare is exceptional and only temporary, while in some primitive societies warfare is endemic, and represents the normal state of a society. Following this argument, the Hewa killing rate should thus not be compared with rates that include 'temporary' war deaths.

On the other hand, if the figures were available, an examination of all the wars in modern history might show that warfare among modern nations is no more temporary, exceptional, aberrant and external than it is in primitive societies if a sufficiently long period of time is taken into account. Modern nations may not engage in open aggression as constantly as primitive groups, and their ideology may give an impression of being non violent. But when modern nations do engage in warfare, the slaughter is so intensive that it raises the incidence of killing to a level not unlike that of the apparently more violent primitive groups."

Killing Rates in Groups Which are not Under a Centralised Control

If we look at autonomous groups, other than the Hewa, not yet under the control of a centralised administration, we get a similar picture of a high killing rate in inter-group fighting. Hasluck, for example, offers no figures, but her article on the blood feud in Albania suggests a high incidence of killing prior to World War I. And,

Till after the 1914-18 war communications in Albania were so bad, government centers so few, the gendarmerie so ill-organised that communities were largely self-governing. These communities consisted in the narrower sense of the family, and in the wider sense of the tribe. (1967:381)

There are not many figures available for primitive societies not under the control of a centralised administration. But reports from several areas of West Irian suggest an incidence of killing between autonomous groups comparable to that of the Hewa.

After a detailed description of the victims of killings of Sjurru, an Asmat village near the Digul River, West Irian, by people from other villages between 1945. and December 1947, Zegwaard comments on inter-group violence:

In 2½ years time (perhaps even two years), 61 people from Sjurru died a violent death. Fifty-six were eaten. Their numbers decreased from 675 to 610, an absolute population decrease of almost ten per cent in 2½ years or almost four per cent per year. This percentage is probably rather high. I calculated the percentage for Sjurru, Ewer, Ajam, Amborap, Warse (villages in the region of Sjurru) together for the same 2½ years and found 1.75 per cent per year, but then again this is too low because I did not have the complete figures for these other villages. (1954:9)¹

Zegwaard concludes a description of the killings between November 1952 and November 1953 with:

¹ (on next page)

Thus during the last year, 83 cases of manslaughter and murder...were known to me within a distance of about 50 kilometers east, north and west of Flamingo Bay.... I believe I have made a convincing case that at least one per cent to two per cent of the population dies per year because of these savage customs. (ibid:11)

Heider (1970:231), writing of the Dani of the Baliem Valley, West Irian, estimates that .48 per cent (or 4.8 per thousand) of the population were killed yearly by outsiders. In addition, on the basis of genealogical data obtained, 'Of 350 deceased males, just 100, or 28.5 per cent, were reported to have been killed in war....'. In June 1966, during an attack, 6.25 per cent of 2,000 people were killed in one morning.

Heider cites a personal communication from Pater Nikko Verhaien,

...that in two consecutive days of battle in 1959, 34 of the 434 people living in the 12 compounds of Musatfak, in the Western Grand Valley, were killed. (ibid:129, 231)

Heider quotes Bromley (1962:23) as having

estimated that between 1954 and 1956, the Aso Logobal Confederation of the Southern Grand Valley lost one per cent of the population per year through war. (idem)

The range of .48 per cent to two per cent per year indicated in these West Irian areas accommodates the Hewa killing incidence of .78 per cent. However, because of the paucity of figures for other societies uncontrolled by an administration or centralised authority, the quoted rates can only suggest that this range may be typical.

1 (from previous page)

I am indebted to Mrs A. M. Saltet for the translation of this article from the Dutch.

of such societies.

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Thus, while there are no detailed figures available at present which allow a statistically significant comparison of the killing rates of the Hewa, modern nations and other autonomous groups not yet under the centralised control of an administration, there are indications that man, in general, does not kill frequently within his own dominance order. The killing rate outside an established dominance order, be it a group, a tribe or a nation, however, is significantly higher in most societies and may fall within a certain range for all groups of men if a sufficiently long period of time is considered.

* * *

Before concluding this discussion, I must answer the question: What leads to competition in the Hewa? My investigations have shown that competition and aggression may arise from many different sources, many of which are quite unimportant and trivial at the surface. Such sources include fights over the distribution of food, the refusal of a father to give his daughter in marriage to a particular man, the shooting of a domesticated pig, the rejection of a group caused by not being invited to a sing-sing, abduction of wives and daughters, the refusal to admit a mistake and pay for it.

Now all these potential sources of conflict are present within the household, the neighbourhood group and within the largest group. But each of these three groups represents a dominance order where hostility is controlled and aggression is markedly restricted. Thus, within these groups, such disputes do not lead to killing. However,

when disputes arise between individuals not in a single dominance order, they may often lead to overt aggression which may result in killing, the most extreme form of competition.

One final word about crowding. As we have seen, the Hewa have a very low population density - 4.6 people per square mile. Southwick (see page 235) observed that crowding increases aggression. So on the one hand, aggression should be almost absent in the Hewa. This is certainly true with regard to everyday Hewa behaviour and interaction within their groupings. They are remarkably amiable and easygoing and lack the toughness of some other, more densely populated, Highland societies (like for example the Enga). This unguardedness and friendliness with regard to one's neighbours is very likely due to a freedom of movement and lack of friction caused by crowding.

On the other hand, because the Hewa are so isolated, they are in regular contact only with relatively few people: members of the household, the neighbourhood group and - to a limited extent - the autonomous group. Within these groups, behaviour is controlled by the established dominance order. Outside these groups, however, there is no authority structure which inhibits uncontrolled aggression. Hewa killing, then, is the result of competition between people who come in contact with each other but who do not have enough experiences together to lead to the establishment of a dominance order and hence a restriction of aggression.

This proposition offers an explanation for killing in the Hewa which is consistent with the data I have collected. We have seen, however, that more than half of the Hewa killings are witch killings, and about three quarters of the witches killed are women. If killing

in the Hewa is due to inter-group competition, why are many people killed because, allegedly, they are witches? In the following section I will attempt to account for the use of the witchcraft idiom in the Hewa.

The Killing of Witches

We have seen that most of the intentionally selected victims of killings are said to have been witches and, further, that in most, if not all, of these witch killings, other factors are involved. Vulnerability is obviously central - females and weak men are more easily killed, and with less dire consequences, than strong men. Accusations of incest, prior hostility (including prior killings) between the groups involved in a killing, commitments of loyalty to a killing leader, are all important considerations influencing the decision to kill a person. But these factors themselves do not explain the killing of witches. That is, they do not provide an explanation for the fear of witchcraft, cited as the explicit motive for such killings. If the motives do in fact consist of such elements as those indicated above, and not of fear of witchcraft, why is the witchcraft idiom used?

A possible answer to this question is that accusations of witchcraft may be seen as an indication of moral concern. Thus, when one person accuses another of being a witch, he is accusing that person of being a general threat to mankind, not simply a threat to himself.

Thus, people who wish to kill a person for various reasons attract supporters by using a moral idiom. By displaying a concern for the welfare of others, a man can gain their support, support necessary for him to carry out his own personal goal of domination. Such an explanation could fit many of the intentional Hewa killings.

A second explanation has been suggested earlier. We have seen that a witch killing is often the beginning of a new series of hostilities which previously had been settled by the payment and acceptance of ai lapi, wergild. A witchcraft accusation may thus be a means by which the reluctance of men to engage in further retaliation against a group of people from whom they have accepted ai lapi can be overcome. Again, the use of the witchcraft idiom gives men an ethical justification for an unethical act, and the opportunity to appear moral. Since witchcraft killings of weak women and men in most cases follow previous fighting, it seems quite certain that in some instances a witchcraft accusation was simply a pretext for the resumption of killing between hostile groups.

The explanation that the accusation of witchcraft is either a political stratagem or an attempt to overcome ethics may cover most killings in the Hewa. What it does not account for, however, is witchcraft itself. That is, why are the Hewa attracted to this particular idiom, and why do so many people seem to fear witches and indeed appear relieved when such an apparent threat to life is exterminated?

Hence we are left with the problem of the belief in witches, both in general, as a proposition that witches do exist and, in particular, as a fear of certain individuals said to be witches, and who should be destroyed.

Is it legitimate, or convincing, to simply treat such a belief as an explanation for the significant and dangerous act of killing a person? One task of anthropology is surely to propose explanations of such beliefs. It is not enough merely to assert them and then use them in turn as explanation. Following this proposition, I will now argue that the witchcraft idiom used as a justification for killing

certain individuals has, underlying it, a critical element of reality - that in a sense there are some real witches, and that these real witches pose a real threat.

Before attempting to do this let us first see why Hewa witches are such abominable creatures.

The Hewa Witch (pisai)

Witches may be identified in many ways. A typical example of a witch is a person standing outside a house and staring into it at people who are eating. The person ignores their belated invitation to join them and finally walks off. Besides this hostility towards people who are satisfying their hunger, witches may be characterised by almost any sort of unusual behaviour. This may sound quite a vague characterisation of these dangerous creatures, but if we take into account that most women in the Hewa will be accused of being a witch at least once during their life, the requirements for joining the witches league must be quite flexible.

Incestuous behaviour is sometimes linked with witchcraft accusations. It may be used to support the accusation, as in the killings of Yuwainen and Ifaiem. But incestuous behaviour is not necessarily witchcraft behaviour. One man was shot for copulating with his sister, but to my knowledge he has never been accused of being a witch.

Even though different Hewa will assert various features which indicate a witch, all agree that the one critical trait of a witch is that he or she eats humans, either openly or surreptitiously. Some witches may consume human flesh without leaving any external sign on their victim. Others may do it openly and carelessly and, as we have seen with Ifaiem, even let the bones of their victims lie around. The Hewa admit that they don't know

how a person comes to be a witch, and they are not sure how the witch can sometimes eat a victim without leaving visible marks. But the point on which they all are adamant is that there are some people who somehow eat other people - sometimes by killing their victim through eating them, sometimes by secretly consuming recently buried corpses. And because of this cannibalism these people are witches and are feared. All Hewa will agree that they are afraid of witches not because they stare or because of their strange whistling at night or other odd behaviour. These features merely help to identify witches. What is feared is that their presence is a threat to everyone - a threat of being eaten.

A witch has a peculiar relationship with worms: only witches have worms - they are infested with them. Appropriately enough, only humans who eat people are themselves eaten by worms.¹

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Let us for the moment leave that factor aside which in the eyes of the Hewa is the necessary and sufficient condition for a witch, namely the desire to satisfy a cannibalistic appetite, and let us examine what - to an objective observer - characterises a witch and his or her

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Because of this relationship between worms and witches, Hewa are disgusted by earthworms. I had brought fish-hooks with me and had tried to teach Hewa to fish. I was unable, however, for a long time, to persuade them to look for worms and use them for bait. In spite of their appreciation of the potential new meat source, it was difficult for them to overcome their disgust and touch the sluggish creatures. One man finally came upon a compromise: he ordered his womenfolk to find and handle the necessary worms. Since the women were consequently allowed to eat the fish and even to catch them themselves, they soon took enthusiastically to this new meat-procuring method.

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killing. The following points seem relevant:

1. Witches tend to be vulnerable individuals: women - often widows - and weak or older men. They are vulnerable in two ways: their lack of physical strength makes it easy for a few able-bodied men to dispatch them, since they are not likely to put up much resistance. They also lack the protection of strong relatives who will support them, both verbally and physically, when a witchcraft accusation is made.
2. Witches sometimes have been accused of clan incest.
3. By killing someone as a witch, one destroys a valuable of a hostile group.

We have seen that point 2 is not crucial and that, in fact, incest alone is not sufficient to warrant a witchcraft execution. Indeed, clan incest is used to strengthen a witchcraft accusation rather than to initiate it.

Point 3, together with point 1, is consistent with a pattern of aggression between hostile groups, where one side attempts to damage the other side with the least risk possible.

But again, these points do not explain why the witchcraft idiom is used, and why Hewa people respond to it, even though a witch killing often results in the deaths of people who were not witches themselves. There must be another factor which accounts for the fact that some Hewa are willing to fight and risk dying because of a putative witch, even though they might never have seen any evidence themselves that there are human monsters who eat other people.

Let us now return to the critical witch characteristic, i.e., hunger for human flesh, and ask why Hewa assume that some people, namely witches, would want to consume their fellow men.

Women and older men, the most likely victims of witchcraft accusations, are those people who are weak, both physically and socially. But, as we have seen in Chapter Four, women and older men are precisely those people who are consistently deprived of animal protein - females, as we have seen in Chapter Four, because of the Hewa taboo system, and older males because they are socially insignificant. Clearly, here is a connection between objective reality and an accusation of supernatural activity: people who eat human flesh have a reason to do so, since there are very few occasions when they can satisfy their meat hunger. Given that the hunger for meat is present - and recognised as being present - in all Hewa individuals, those who satisfy it (the men) know that others (women and weak men) don't, and the sated ones must be plagued by underlying fears that the deprived ones might themselves try to still their meat hunger. Since they cannot do it openly (because of the taboo system and their lack of physical and social strength), they must do it secretly or supernaturally. And the most available meat around them is their fellow man.

The fear of man that others might eat him is quite plausible in principle. There are enough instances of cannibalism in extreme circumstances among members of technologically advanced societies to suggest that the potential for cannibalism exists in all men. The Mormons at Donner Pass, California (Stewart, 1960), the residents of Leningrad during the two-and-a-half-year blockade by the Germans in World War II (H. Salisbury, 1969), escaped convicts from Tasmanian jails,¹ and various newspaper reports of stranded crews of downed aircraft provide examples of men stilling their hunger by eating man. In certain

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T. Prior, B. Wannan and H. Nunn, 1968:19.

situations cannibalism may be seen as the only means of survival. But cannibalism is dangerous because everyone - including oneself - immediately becomes a potential meal. This point is aptly illustrated in Berndt's Excess and Restraint (1962) as well as by Young's concluding remarks on famine in Goodenough Island, which can lead to 'that terrible symbol of cultural suicide, the eating of children' (1969:252).

* * *

I have no evidence which suggests that cannibalism is, or was in the past, practiced in Hewa society. The Hewa would claim that it was - but by pisai. But the question whether Hewa witches do in fact eat their fellow men or not is irrelevant to my explanation of the Hewa use of the witchcraft idiom, since the idiom is based on the fear that they might. And that fear is rational enough, given that women and older men are not allowed to satisfy their meat hunger. This rational fear then may be compounded and intensified by feelings of guilt of the men who are immediately responsible for the meat deprivations, since they are the enforcers of the meat taboos.

Cannibal Witches in Other Societies

Cannibal witches are not unique to the Hewa and have been reported elsewhere in Melanesia.

Trobriand flying witches, mulukwausi, usually eat only dead bodies. 'But sometimes they get hold of his organs and then the man dies' (Malinowski, *Argonauts...*, 1961:242).

Dobuan witches apparently eat only the spirit of their victims (Fortune, 1963:150), whereas sorcerers may remove entrails, heart and lungs from their victims (op.cit.:162-3).

Huli witches kill people and consume the flesh of corpses (Glasse, 1965:36).

Of the Siane, Salisbury writes that kumo, 'which appear(s) to be like simple witchcraft', is a means of influencing spirits. It can cause death. 'There is evidence that ritual cannibalism was the previous kumo technique.' (1965:58).

The Kuma witch kills people, eats human flesh, 'walks in the burial ground at night to steal human meat' (Reay, 1959:136-7) and hungers for flesh (Reay, 1968:199). Witchcraft was the only offense judged serious enough to warrant the death penalty (Reay, 1959:123). 'Angry spirits are blamed for most deaths, but the death of an eminent man is always attributed to witchcraft.' (op.cit.:138). The only example given of an accused witch in The Kuma is 'a 12-year-old girl who was generally disliked, probably on account of her undisguised selfishness and greed' (op.cit.: 136, 196).

Rappaport argues that accusations of witchcraft (koimp) are 'a factor in maintaining social and economic egalitarianism of the Maring society' (1968:121, 131-2). But he does not indicate the behaviour of the witches which makes them feared.

I have often heard Duna or Kopiagos talking about and expressing their fear of sangguma, usually women but sometimes men, who secretly eat people. In 1968 a handful of people from near the Strickland River admitted to the administration officer at Lake Kopiago that they had indeed eaten a person. Burnt human bones were found near their house. Kopiagos pointed out to me that these people were sangguma. Thus the Kopiago meaning of the pidgin English term sangguma - like the Hewa term pisai - includes actual cannibalism as well as the more surreptitious or supernatural

consumption of humans.

Cannibal witches have also been reported in many East African societies.

'...human flesh is the delicacy (the Amba witches) prefer above all else' (Winter, 1963:290).

The Gisu witch '...commits incest and feasts on human flesh' (La Fontaine, 1963:214).

'(The) pleasure (of the Ukaguru witch) in incest and their love of human meat cannot be renounced...' (Beidelman, 1963:62).

'The Bunyoro are peasant cultivators (Beattie, 1963:27) ...(who) recognise the existence of a fearsome category of people called basezi, who disinter and eat corpses...' (op.cit.:29).

'It is said that (Lugbara) witches commit incest and cannibalism' (Middleton, 1963:263). 'Lugbara land is densely populated.... Their traditional economy (is)... millet and sorghum growing...' (op.cit.:257)... '(There is) considerable overcrowding in the central area. In these areas Lugbara say that witchcraft and sorcery have both increased in intensity in recent years...' (op.cit.:274).

Thus, a number of societies have cannibal witches. I would argue that the belief in cannibal witches implies a concern with and fear of 'meat-hungry people. In those societies then, in which people fear cannibal witches, I would hypothesise that: (1) a significant category of people are systematically deprived of (or at least do not receive) animal protein and (2) that witchcraft accusations will tend to be levelled against members of that category of protein-hungry people. The authors of the writings cited above have not dealt directly with the relationship between meat-hunger and cannibalism. However, Monica Wilson has.

Witches and Meat-Hunger

Wilson (1970) focuses directly on the connection between protein scarcity and the belief in cannibal witches. She compares the Nyakyusa and Pondo in Africa and argues that meat hunger is not sufficient to explain the belief in cannibal witches. According to her, the Pondo live on a low protein diet and lack flesh-eating witches (Pondo witches, instead, lust for sexual intercourse with humans), whereas the Nyakyusa have apparently an adequate animal protein diet - though not much meat - and they fear cannibal witches. She accounts for these differences in witchcraft belief by differences in social structure.

Wilson, however, states that a century ago the Pondo had ample meat supplies and asserts that 'if meat hunger really produces the idea that witches kill to get flesh, then it would have appeared among the Pondo long before this' (257). She does not suggest the necessary time span that would be required for this development. In any case, this point, i.e., treating belief in cannibal witches as a necessary result of protein deficiency, does not enter into my argument. Rather, I maintain that the concern with and fear of cannibal witches would not arise in a society where there is no concern with meat hunger.

With regard to the Nyakyusa, Wilson writes that they live in age-villages, not kinship villages, and that they emphasise the virtue of feeding village neighbours.

Cattle, the main form of wealth [and of course the source of meat and milk.-L.S.] are controlled by kinship groups. Jealousy of a neighbour's wealth is common enough, but it is peculiarly keen among the Nyakyusa because non-relatives live close together in villages and the poor cannot help being aware when the rich feast on good food (my emphasis). Our Nyakyusa friends spoke of witches smelling meat roasting or smelling milk. (259).

Thus Wilson herself recognises that a deprived category of people are at the root of the belief in cannibal witches. She does not indicate from what category of people witches are selected. I suggest that Nyakyusa witches, like Hewa witches, would tend to be drawn from just this category of deprived people. That is, the people accused as witches should tend to be the envious, poor who, like the witches, cannot help but smell the milk and roasted meat of their richer neighbours as they feast on good food.

Evans-Pritchard's study of witchcraft among the Azande (1937) made a profound impact on anthropology and contributed the basic definition of witchcraft used today. During the same period in which he did his fieldwork among the Azande, he also worked among the Nuer (1937:vii and 1940:11). And yet so far as I can tell, in his writings on the Nuer, he not once mentioned the word 'witch' or 'witchcraft'.

As is well known, the Nuer are pre-eminently cattle herders and have a diet rich in protein. 'They do not raise herds for slaughter, but sheep and oxen are frequently sacrificed at ceremonies' (1940:26). 'Milk and millet are the staple foods of the Nuer' (op.cit.:21). 'Whilst Nuer normally do not kill their stock for food, the end of every beast is, in fact, the pot, so that they obtain sufficient meat to satisfy their craving and have no pressing need to hunt wild animals, an activity in which they engage little' (op.cit.:28). As well as milk, blood and beef, 'fish...are[also] an indispensable article of food' (op.cit.:69-70).

Concerning the distribution of the meat: '...when an ox is sacrificed or a wild animal is killed the meat is always, in one way or another, widely distributed'; there is a 'habit of share and share alike' (op.cit.:85). In

villages, '...especially in the smaller villages, there is much co-operation in labour and sharing of food' (op.cit.: 92). 'Cattle are everywhere evenly distributed. Hardly any one is entirely without them, and no one is very rich' (op.cit.:20).

The status-conscious Azande, on the other hand, are either commoners or noblemen. The former '...are so used to authority that they are docile', whereas 'the royal class...are contemptuous of their subjects...' (1937:13).

'Azande have no knowledge of cattle.... They live by cultivating the soil, by killing animals and fish, and by collecting wild fruits, roots, and insects' (op.cit.: 17). In the past, they have '...had the reputation among their neighbours of being cannibals...' (Wilson, 1970:257). 'The drum call' of Azande witches is 'human flesh, human flesh, human flesh'. They cook and eat the flesh of their victims (Evans-Pritchard, 1937:35). 'Death is due to witchcraft and must be avenged...sometimes [in pre-European days] by the slaughter of a witch...' (op.cit.:26). 'The rich and powerful [even commoners] are immune as a rule from accusations of witchcraft...' (op.cit.:33). Like the Hewa witch: '...if maggots come out of the apertures of a dead man's body before burial it is a sign that he was a witch' (op.cit.:23).

Thus, it appears that the egalitarian Nuer, with their protein rich diet, have neither a meat deprived category of people nor cannibal witches. The Azande, on the other hand, like the Hewa, seem to have both.

The few examples discussed here of course do not demonstrate the proposition that where there is a fear of cannibal witches, there will also be a concern with meat hunger. This would probably require fieldwork with this proposition in mind. But the evidence presented does suggest

an approach to the analysis of witchcraft.

Because witches are (or are manifested in) real people, real people must bear the consequences of witchcraft. Important consequences are the accusations and killings of witches and the retaliations against such accusations and killings. A central question concerning witchcraft then is: What is it about the witch that is feared - feared so much that people are willing to run the risk of killing people as witches? What or who is endangered by the witch? Once this has been clearly established, it can be hypothesised that such a threat represents a real concern of the people who fear the witches. The basis for such a concern can then be sought in the objective situation of the people.

The Hewa fear that they may be devoured by flesh-hungry people, called pisai. In this chapter I have argued that this fear of pisai is an expression of their knowledge, guilt and fear of a meat-deprived and hence meat-hungry category of people. These meat-hungry people, who don't have the power to cause meat to be more evenly distributed, cannot hope to still their meat-hunger openly. Instead, they must (or so it is believed) resort to surreptitious (or 'supernatural') means of satisfying their craving.

Primarily witchcraft accusations tend to be directed against those individuals who have a reason to consume flesh secretly, i.e., the deprived ones. This gives the belief in witches a rational foundation. Once the witchcraft idiom has been established, it may then be extended to individuals who are not in the category of deprived people but who - for other reasons - are selected to be killed. A witchcraft accusation is the most plausible reason for a killing.

This explanation accounts for the fact that in the Hewa, mainly women and older men are killed as witches, but that some younger men as well may also be included among the witches.

The witchcraft idiom has another effect: since alleged witches are punished by death, not many people would want to procure their meat supply in a fashion that - if discovered - would entail a similar punishment. Thus, on the one hand, the witchcraft idiom will actually inhibit the desire to satisfy meat hunger by cannibalism, no matter how hungry people are. On the other hand, people will tend to behave in such a way that they are not likely to be accused of being a witch, i.e., they will not show their greed, in particular, for meat. The women - who are likely to be the most hungry for meat since they receive the least - will not readily express their meat hunger nor complain against the taboo system. Thus, the punishment for alleged witches secures the stability of the taboo system which, in turn, maintains the conditions which foster the fear of cannibal witches.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

In essence this thesis has been an ethnography of the social behaviour of the Hewa. In the first chapter I described the isolation of the Hewa - not only from Europeans and surrounding peoples, but also from each other - and showed that this scattered population lives in small households high above the tributaries of the Lagaip, sharing some cultural elements, particularly sweet potato cultivation and its consequent gardening and pig controlling entailments, with the Highlanders living to their south and west. The Hewa, however, have many important traits in common with their sago-eating linguistic cousins to the north, beyond the Central Range. The most significant of these non-Highlands' traits are: the men's dress, the adze, house-style, and residence of the whole family under one roof. Because of these features the Hewa cannot be considered a typical Highlands group.

In the second, third and fourth chapters, I used the framework of production, distribution and consumption of things of value to examine the mundane - but very important - everyday activities of the Hewa and focused particularly on those activities which involved more than one person. Central to this examination were the various categories of groups of people involved in the different stages of garden and house production, the various forms of giving and receiving of things of value, the people involved in the pursuit, distribution and consumption of meat, and the groups which perform and those which host the sing-sing.

In Chapter Five, beginning with Iwalium's story, I attempted to bring out the important relationship between the clan and the group, and the connection each has with land. I argued that patrilineal clanship is the most convenient way of talking about Hewa groups because its members tend to be agnatically related. But clanship

is not itself a behavioural determinant. Rather, it provides a permanent, systematic idiom for describing the Hewa groups, groups whose membership and the relationships between its members are gradually but constantly shifting.

Clans, which are exclusive categories of people patrilineally related - not groups -, are claimed to have an exclusive relationship with a tract of land: a clan territory. The problem is: of what does this relationship consist? Because there is no scarcity of gardening or hunting land, land by itself has no economic value. Anyone, so long as he can get along with his neighbours - a very important consideration -, can live on and use any land he chooses (except of course the actual land already occupied by a house or garden). Thus, land is not property - a clan does not own land. Land for the Hewa is something like air: it is essential for sustaining life, but because it is so readily available, there is no competition for it. Thus, there is no concern with rights of access.

Nor does a clan necessarily reside on its own clan territory. As we have seen, half of the married males and most females do not reside on their own clan land. Thus a clan has neither exclusive economic nor residential rights to its territory. And yet a clan is exclusively identified with a territory.

Hiatt (1968) faced a similar problem in his analysis of Australian aboriginal groups. Once he had demonstrated the likelihood that Radcliffe-Brown had erred in characterising the horde (or local group) as simply a patriclan of males with their wives and children, he had the difficult task of explaining the relationship between a somewhat dispersed clan and the estate or territory it is said to own. For Radcliffe-Brown the ownership, use and control over this economic and residential 'property' was one of the clan's

main interests - a critical element of its corporateness. But Hiatt no longer could argue, as had Radcliffe-Brown, that because a horde consisted of a patriclan of married males and their families, it owned a territory which was simply the land it occupied, exploited and controlled - even to the point of spearing trespassers. Hiatt demonstrates convincingly that the horde, or the 'community' as he calls it, almost always contained married men of more than one clan (seven reports since 1930 indicate a range of from two to 12 patriclans represented in the more or less stable local groups seen). Thus, the territories of some of the married men in the groups were not the territories they were exploiting. Hiatt presents additional evidence (such as eight reports of unrestricted movement of food-seekers over broad regions that included the totemic sites of many patriclans) to challenge Radcliffe-Brown's '...unverified assumption that an acknowledged ritual relationship between a patriclan and its estate implied an exclusive economic and residential connection as well' (Hiatt, 1968:100).

The problem for Hiatt then was to offer an alternative explanation for the relationship between an exclusive patriclan which is not a local group and its exclusive territory (or estate).

After giving details of one patriclan and its estate (to which he sometimes refers as its 'homeland'), Hiatt concludes:

Ritual responsibility was undoubtedly a factor (in maintaining the exclusive relationship between a patriclan and its estate), but another component was an emotional bond with the land itself. The source of this emotion is not clear (1968:102).

The only relevant facts I can bring forward (to account for the strength of their emotional attachment) are that members of a Gidjingali clan thought of their estate as their birthplace

(...though further questioning often indicated that they were not certain...) and the birth-place of their forefathers...; and as a home to which they periodically wished to return. The evidence is clearly against the existence in aboriginal clansmen of an instinct to occupy and defend their territory (1968:101).

I would argue, however, that it is just this ritual responsibility and emotional bond which needs to be explained.

Hiatt uses the word 'home' and 'homeland' in reference to a clan's territory, and I think that is significant. It appears to me that Hiatt's choice of these words implies something more than a ritual or emotional attachment to a locality. The first and common meaning of 'home' given in Webster's dictionary is that it is an 'abode of one's family'; another meaning: 'the abiding place of the affections, especially domesticated affections'; and another: 'the social unit or center formed by a family living together'. 'Home' thus implies a social relationship, often of affection. It may be that if Hiatt's Gidjingali sometimes assert that they were born in their clan territory, their homeland, even though it is not true, they are in fact referring to close family attachments implied by birth.

I suggest that a reasonable hypothesis to account for the ritual and emotional attachment to a piece of land is that the assertion of a clan territory implies an intimate face-to-face relationship between the fellow clansmen. Thus a Gidjingali clan territory, like 'home' in English, would refer to social relationships, not man-to-land or man-to-house relationships.

For the Hewa, the term for clan (mopi le) is the only term used for 'group' in the Hewa. Therefore, when people assert that X and Y are members of the same clan, they are claiming that X and Y are of the same group, even though, as we have seen, X and Y are not necessarily members

of the same group. Because the basis of the only actual groups in the Hewa is common residence, an assertion that X and Y are fellow clansmen not only implies that X and Y are members of the same group - it also implies that X and Y have experienced the common residence necessary to be members of that group.

Now common residence means the common occupation of a piece of ground. That piece of ground, I would argue, is what is referred to as a clan territory. A clan territory, thus, designates the area in which the alleged common residence of the clan members took place, the common residence which led to the formation of the group implied by the reference to a category of people as a clan.

A clan territory, then, is the piece of land which held its clan members when they were a group. Thus, when people assert that their clan territory is their true territory, they are identifying themselves with that group - not with that piece of land - and, by extension, with all the clan members.

In Chapter Six I analysed the Hewa marriage rules and then compared them to rules in other Highlands' societies. Certain structural similarities were pointed out. I also noted that the effect of the Hewa marriage rules may be to create trading contacts over large areas. Further, they may lead to a wide network of relationships which ensure friendly relatives and in-laws to which one can turn for assistance when necessary. I pointed out in the chapter on Killing and Witches that an ally in a territory away from one's own group may be an important asset.

In Chapter Seven we saw that when the Hewa killing rate is compared with the homicide rate in modern societies, the Hewa appear to kill frequently indeed. We have also seen, however, that the killing rate within Hewa groups is

almost negligible. Such a finding is supported by Freeman's statement that dominance orders markedly restrict the incidence of overt aggression among their members. Hewa groups - the household, the neighbourhood group, and a wider group of neighbours - can be characterised as dominance orders. Hence Freeman's statement offers an explanation of why there is very little killing within such groups.

We have found in Chapter Five that face-to-face contact is the basis of a group. In Chapter Seven I showed that this same face-to-face contact to some extent determines who kills whom, since Hewa only kill people with whom they do not have regular face-to-face contact.

Although the Hewa killing rate between people not in an autonomous dominance order appears high, it was suggested that if the Hewa killing rate were compared with the total killings suffered by other populations, either modern or primitive, over a sufficient span of time, these populations may show a rate of being killed (and of course of killing) not too dissimilar to that of the Hewa. Indeed, a few figures cited from Europe suggest that the killing rate between neighbouring peoples not in the same dominance order may be considerably higher than one might initially expect. This suggests that despite the fact that war is usually considered aberrant and temporary, killing rates over long periods of time may be quite high and stable. It would be worthwhile to attempt to determine a general killing rate for man. Only detailed historical studies could reveal the range of such a rate.

One finding that has emerged from the analysis of Hewa killings is that the victim who is individually selected prior to the killing is almost always accused of being a witch. It is clear that in many, if not most, of these killings, other considerations are involved. But

these other considerations do not explain the alleged belief in witchcraft.

Witches are real people who may or may not have supernatural qualities. What they do have in common, however, is a desire for human flesh. And this desire for human flesh is what constitutes their threat to people anywhere. The people killed as witches tend to belong to that category of people who pose very little direct threat to anyone. That is, they are not powerful, physically or socially. But this category of people is also the category of adults most systematically deprived of meat. The fear that these deprived people may seek to satisfy their hunger by eating the people who deprive them, gives the witchcraft belief a rational foundation and explains why Hewa are willing to kill - and be killed - to rid the world of these flesh-eating menaces.

* * *

Before concluding this thesis I want to comment briefly on Hewa rituals and beliefs in the supernatural. The reader will have noted that my description of Hewa life did not give much information in this respect. My account of the Hewa in general reflects what I observed in the field, and I did not find often indications of a Hewa system of belief in supernatural entities. There are, however, some points that need to be mentioned.

Some attempts are made to influence various spirits (faniau or nam) to help the Hewa in different circumstances. Some have already been described. Others include the sacrifice of a small piece of pork-fat to please the spirit controlling wild pigs and to ensure a good hunt. Pork-fat can also be thrown into still water to help the hunting prospects. When pigs are killed, they are shot

in the garden, after a request to the 'mother' of sweet potato to ensure a plentiful crop. A pig may be killed to influence a spirit that made a person sick.

There is some sorcery, particularly anti-garden sorcery, but it is also rare and rather peripheral.

In general, however, such rituals and spells are relatively unimportant and not very different from rituals already described for other areas in the Highlands and New Guinea generally.

There is a ritual called nuk yuwili which figures in some Hewa myths. I never witnessed it myself, but I have been told it is sometimes performed when the walls of a new house are joined together.

We have seen that the sing-sing is always danced at important occasions and its stylised performance and the meticulous preparation for it clearly suggest an importance which goes beyond that of the minor rituals described above. There are three types of sing-sing, each performed at a specific occasion: yap yolapo, the mock attack on a completed house, yap mofau where men dance and sing to an audience in a usually, but not always, new house, and yap pamalu the energy restoring ritual dance after a killing which infuses the killers with courage to face retaliation. (The water drinking ritual ate pinapio has a similar function, particularly for the young males who have not killed before.)

These sing-sings deserve a deeper analysis than I was able to give here. It may be that - even though I found no evidence that particular rituals are associated with particular groups - a specific study of these group dances may present a more precise formulation about the reality of the group who kills together and defends its members against attacks from outsiders.

APPENDICES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX 1

Master List of Victims, as of February 1969
(Total: 80; Males: 38, Females: 42)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Clan</u>	<u>Approx. Year Killed</u>	<u>Alleged Motive</u>	<u>Leading Killer</u>	<u>Killer's Clan</u>	<u>Retaliation</u>
1	mopi		Winip	***	<u>pisai</u>	Waliap	Wanakipa	
2	mopi					Napiau	Wisip	
3	luaa		Tapauan	***	<u>pisai</u>	Waliap	Wanakipa	
4	mian paten			1969	retaliation	Tain	Taali	
5	luaa	Afuai	Iali	1963	<u>pisai</u>	Leyo	Puali	no
6**	luaa	Agama	Tamliap	1959	<u>pisai</u>	Owanich	Iali	no
7**	luaa	Aito	Apip	1967	anger	Natiliap	Puali Pav.	pig
8	wain	Alaum	Kenialip	1962		Otai	Wagapi	
9**	mopi	Aniau	Wisip	1962	<u>pisai</u>	Aliaa	Fauip N.	
10**	mopi	Anviaa	Fauip Nom.	1962	retaliation	Tham	Tamliap	no
11**	luaa	Apaa	Wanakipa	1961	<u>pisai</u>	Alulu	Titip	pig
12**	mopi	Aula	Pawalip	1962	<u>pisai</u>	Oiyeli	Tsivien	yes; pig r'd
13	mopi	Aupainap				Wamiamia	Winaa	
14**	wain	Falam	Winip	1960	<u>pisai</u>	Maiapa	Taof	
15**	mian tali	Fau	Urani	1959		Kikiap	Tsivien	yes

(cont'd)

16	luaa	Fenam	Wasip	1964			Asapa, Paiya + Tuali	
17	mopi	Fiwau	Kenialip	1968				
18	iman	Fowam	Waipa	***	<u>pisai?</u> + greedy	P. Mipi	Puali	no; pig r'd
19**	luaa	Ifaiem	Waipa	1964	<u>pisai</u>	Ope	Utoni	yes
20	luaa	Ifalum	Iali	1968		T. Mipi	Tamliap	no
21*	luaa	Illum	Waipa	***	<u>pisai?</u>	Kuma	Wagapi	
22**	yali	Inaip	Puali	1968	<u>pisai</u> + revenge	Keap + Nialuap	Waipa Lalo	no
23**	mopi	Inap	Opaa	1962	retaliation	Opiu	Puali	
24**	wain	Ipapim	Winaa	1960	<u>pisai</u>	Aniau	Tamliap	
25**	wain	Itom	Wagapi	1961	<u>pisai</u>	Tsaugwa + Tagfum	Tamliap	yes
26**	wain	Itsauan	Puali	1959	<u>pisai</u>	Kikiap	Tsivien	no; pig r'd
27**	wain	Kakap	Waipa	1965	incest	Thome	Puali	no
28*	luaa	Kala pi	Winip	***	<u>pisai</u>	Nati	Tenip	no; pig r'd
29	luaa	Kakifuai	Wisip	1964	<u>pisai</u>	Keme	Wisip	no
30**	luaa	Kao	Wisip	1967	<u>pisai</u>	W. Orlau	Wasip	yes
31	mopi	Khepi	Wisip	1961		Inap	Opaa	yes
32*	mopi	Kialu	Urani	***	retaliation	Arupwa	Tamliap	yes
33*	luaa	Kiesipa	Wanakipa	***	adultery	Waliap	Wanakipa	no
34*	mopi	Kiliap	Winip	***	retaliation	Talupiap	Tamliap	

(cont'd)									
35**	mopi	Kopaiyo	Waipa	1965		Fafa	Taof	yes	
36**	wain	Lam	Iali	1966	<u>pisai</u>	K. Orlau + Fenaiauf	Kanaip	no	
37	mopi	Letiap	Malip	1960	adultery	Loat + Logo	Taali	no	
38*	mopi	Lulu	Urani	***	<u>pisai</u>	Aliaa	Fauip N.	no	
39	luaa	Meya		***	<u>pisai</u>	Inapim	Opaiapa	yes	
41**	mopi	Nai	Fauip W.	1966	<u>pisai</u>	Orlau + Fenaiauf	Kanaip	no	
42	luaa	Naluaa	Wisip	1965	<u>pisai</u>	Aniau	Tamliap		
43	luaa	Nanaam	Atelmip	***	<u>pisai</u>	Agwati	Folini	no	
44**	luaa	Napem	Opaiapa	1964	<u>pisai</u>	Yelipo	Puali N.	yes	
45	yali	Naue	Opaiapa	1962	<u>pisai</u>	Luluan	Tamliap	yes; girl taken	
46	mopi	Niamfuai	Kenialip	1964	<u>pisai</u>	Alulu	Titip		
47**	luaa	Nopaa	Opaiapa	1964	<u>pisai</u>	Wamiam	Winaa	yes	
48	mopi	Opaiantaga	Opiliap	1960	<u>pisai</u>	Yelipo + Opiat?	Puali N.		
49**	mopi	Orlau	Wasip	1967	retaliation	Maiapa	Taof	no; pig r'd	
50**	luaa	Otakaka	Puali P.	1959	adultery?		Puali + Tamliap	yes	
51**	mopi	Otaliap	Utoni	1959	adultery		Puali + Tamliap	no	
52**	mopi	Pagalaum	Wasip	1959	fight	Inapim	Opaiapa	no	

(cont'd)

53**	mopi	Pagas	Fauip F.	1960		Aliaa	Fauip N.	
54	mopi	Pakialu	Palomif	1969	<u>pisai</u>	Moliap	Iali	
55**	luaa	Penai	Opaiapa	1964	adultery	Uapia	Opaiapa	no
56	epa	Pilai	Menapip	1960	<u>pisai</u>	Alulu	Titip	
57**	mopi	Pogotu	Fauip F.	1960		Aliaa	Fauip N.	
58**	luaa	Tapi	Fauip Fen.	1962	<u>pisai</u>	Atamaa	Kanaip	
59**	wain/ yali	Tel	Wisip	1960	<u>pisai</u>	Ope	Puali N.	yes
60*	mopi	Tetafuan	Apip	***	fight	Mau	Neliaipap	
61	mopi	Thopan	Wisip			Fisu	Utoni	
62	mopi	Tip	Menapip	1960	<u>pisai</u>	Wamiama	Winaa	no
63	mopi	Tok		1960	fight	Letiap	Malip	no
64	wain	Tsagame	Tsivien	1968	<u>pisai</u>	Miwalip	Talikai	yes
65	mopi	Tsaloa	Opiaipa			Aliaa	Fauip N.	
66	mopi	Tsenia	Opiaipa			Aliaa	Fauip N.	
67**	mopi	Tsipiama	Pawalip	1962	retaliation	Tain	Taali	
68	luaa			1969	retaliation	Tain	Taali	
69**	mian	Uagatau	Waipa	1965		Fafa	Taof	yes
70	wain	Waitapagal	Puali	***	<u>pisai?</u>			
71	mopi	Wapuat	Katiliap	1962		Atogu	Taali	yes
72	luaa	We	Wasip	***	<u>pisai</u>	Fisu	Utoni	no; pig r'd
73	mopi	Wetip	Kenialip	1964	<u>pisai</u>	Alulu	Titip	

(cont'd)

74	wain	Wiau	Wasip	1969	<u>pisai</u>	Iluapi	Wagapi	
75**	luaa	Yalake	Yatelip	1961	<u>pisai</u>	Ope	Puali N.	no
76	luaa	Yaliap	Taali	1960	adultery	Loat + Logo	Taali	no
77**	mopi	Yamiaa	Fauip W.	1966		Matsum	Wialu	
78	luaa	Yata	Iali	***	adultery <u>pisai?</u>	Lulufuan	Iali	no
79**	iman	Yogwi	Urani	1960		Kikiap	Tsivien	
80	mopi	Yokato	Kanaip	***	'Fuangelat'		Kanaip	no
81**	luaa	Yuwainen	Waipa	1965	<u>pisai</u>	Fafa	Taof	yes

LEGEND:

<u>epa</u>	old man
<u>iman</u>	unmarried female
<u>luaa</u>	woman
<u>mian</u>	unmarried male
<u>mian paten</u>	very young boy
<u>mian tali</u>	bachelor
<u>mopi</u>	man
<u>wain</u>	widow
<u>yali</u>	old woman

*	killed inside our area
**	killed between 1959 and 1968 in our area
***	killed before 1959

APPENDIX 2

Victims Accused of Being Pisai

(Total: 42, M: 11, F: 31)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Accuser</u>	<u>Type of Accusation</u>	<u>Prior Accusation</u>
1				
3		Wana Wapiaipi	deathbed	
5	Puali Ope	<u>luaa</u> Fenam	death of son	by husband
6	Puali Opiat	<u>yali</u> Nikonalu	deathbed	husband saw her eat daughter
9		F.N. Aliaa	at funeral	
11	Taof Yafai Wana. Auaa	Taof Yafai	running from husband	often accused
12		Tsivien Kelipiap	deathbed	
14	Puali Atipiap Winaa Atefeni	Waip. Lalo Keap		' <u>luaa pua</u> ' (bad woman)
18		Father: Waipa Fuya	greedy, stole food	mother killed as <u>pisai</u>
19	Folini Aila	husband		Aila saw finger-bone in house
21	Pawalip Yuich			
22	Wisip Napiau			by <u>luaa</u> Amo + Puali Mu
24	Waipa Oap	Utoni <u>mian</u> Kholuf	deathbed	

(cont'd)

25	Wagapi Ipiap	Tsivien Yufaf	deathbed	
26	Urani Mopi	<u>luaa</u> Malen Tampliap	deathbed	by <u>luaa</u> Tauti when her son died
28	Waip Fuya	Puali Tsivien	deathbed	by many people; her fa.+ da. killed as <u>pisai</u>
29	Talikai <u>epa</u> Wiliat	Wisip Keme	death of son	by <u>mopi</u> Tsagaiap, <u>luaa</u> Iali
30	Taof Maiapa	Orlau's wife		by <u>luaa</u> Omaiya, wife of Iwalium
36	Tamliap Tham	Tham	deathbed	
38		F.N. Aliaa	walked around all night	
39	Tamliap Arupwa			
41		Tamliap Tham	deathbed	
42	Utoni Aiyolu	Iali Kondai	deathbed	victim's sister just killed as <u>pisai</u>
43	Yunamip Taliau	Wana. Tsagala	deathbed	suspected by Wana. Asapa
44	Kanaip Ipitian	<u>luaa</u> Tap, Puali Yain	deathbed	by Opaiapa Kelipian
45	Wasip Y. Piwe	<u>luaa</u> Faiko, Iali	deathbed	by accuser's husband + Wasip N. Inualu
46		Taali men		
47	Waipa Nomaia	Winaa Wamiam	death of son ('eaten')	
48		'a dying man'	deathbed	walked around at night, had earthworms inside him

(cont'd)

54		Iali Moliap	son 'eaten'	
56			deathbed	
58	Utoni Pafum	Fauip N. Thomam	deathbed, funeral	son just killed as <u>pisai</u> by many people
59	Puali Kolai	Puali Fen. Fumia	deathbed	by many; Iali Ikiliap's son 'eaten'
62		Winaa Atefeni	deathbed	
64		<u>luaa</u> Aiape, Wagapi	deathbed	
70				
72		Kanaip Tama	at funeral	after death of husband accused of 'eating' her brother
73		Taali men		
74		Taali Loat		accused of 'eating' Loat's pig; three men died prior to her killing
75	Tamliap <u>epa</u> Meke	Puali Waluap + Utoni Luluat	man 'eaten'	husband had fled into alien territory because of talk perhaps incest
78	Puali Kilai			
81	living w/Waipa Kopaiyo	Wanakipa Fafa	son 'eaten'	by Taof Yafai, also by first and second husband (Kelian + Kopaiyo)

APPENDIX 3Composition of Houses and TerritoriesComposition of Houses (total 67)

<u>Per House</u>	<u>Total</u>
6.91 people	463
3.8 males	255
3.1 females	208
4.15 people married at least once	278
2.84 people never married	190
.55 old people (<u>epa</u> + <u>yali</u>)	37
4.79 adults (<u>epa</u> , <u>mopi</u> , <u>mian tali</u> , <u>yali</u> , <u>luaa</u>)	321
2.12 children (<u>mian</u> + <u>iman</u>)	142
.76 never married females	51
2.0 never married males	134
1.7 eligible bachelors (non-married <u>mopi</u> + <u>mian tali</u>)	114
1.8 at least once married males	121
2.34 at least once married females	157
1.63 married men (husbands)	109
2.12 married females (wives)	142

Composition of Territories (total 26)

<u>Per Territory</u>	
17.81 people	463
2.57 houses	67
9.81 males	255
8.0 females	208
6.31 adult males	164
6.04 at least once married females	157
4.65 at least once married males	121
5.46 wives	142
4.19 husbands	109
.58 ex-married females	15
.46 ex-married males	12
4.38 eligible bachelors (ex-married <u>mopi</u> + <u>mian tali</u>)	114
1.58 eligible bachelors who have never married	41
4.0 square miles (average)	100
8.15 unmarried people	212
5.61 unmarried males	146

(cont'd)

2.53 unmarried females	66
5.15 never married males	134
1.96 never married females	51

Other

1.3 wives per husband	142
4.63 people per square mile	463

every house has a married couple!

APPENDIX 4Distribution of Married People by Clan Membership
in our 100-square-mile Area

<u>Married Male Members</u>			<u>Married Female Members</u>		
1.	Wagapi	- 12	1.	Puali	- 17
2.	Waipa	- 10	2.	Tamliap	- 11
3.	Tamliap	- 8	3.	Waipa	- 11
4.	Wanakipa Afuaf	- 8	4.	Utoni	- 9
5.	Folini	- 6	5.	Wasip	- 9
6.	Wanakipa Utset	- 5	6.	Wanakipa	- 7
7.	Taof	- 5	7.	Opaiapa	- 7
8.	Utoni	- 5	8.	Wagapi	- 7
9.	Puali Yain	- 5	9.	Iali	- 7
10.	Wisip	- 4	10.	Tsivien	- 6
11.	Kanaip	- 4	11.	Folini	- 5
12.	Iali	- 3	*12.	Opiliap	- 4
13.	Opaiapa	- 3	13.	Wisip	- 4
14.	Katiliap	- 3	14.	Fauip Nomien	- 3
15.	Puali Nomien	- 3	15.	Itsunumip	- 3
16.	Waipa Lalo	- 3	16.	Tetenam	- 3
17.	Puali	- 2	17.	Winaa	- 2
18.	Pawalip	- 2	18.	Kanaip	- 2
19.	Fauip Nomien	- 2	*19.	Tenip	- 2
20.	Puali Pavien	- 2	20.	Taof	- 2
21.	Tetenam	- 2	21.	Waipa Lalo	- 2
22.	Tsivien	- 2	22.	Puali Nomien	- 2
23.	Winaa	- 2	*23.	Apip	- 1
*24.	Puali Fenaïen	- 2	*24.	Ateip	- 1
25.	Itsunumip	- 1	25.	Katiliap	- 1
*26.	Malua	- 1	26.	Pawalip	- 1
*27.	Fauip Walien	- 1	*27.	Amtalip	- 1
28.	Titip	- 1	28.	Puali Pavien	- 1
29.	Wasip	- 1	*29.	Taali	- 1
30.	clan unknown	- 1	30.	Titip	- 1
			31.	Puali Yain	- 1
			*32.	Wagapi Pavien	- 1
			33.	clan unknown	- 7
Total Husbands: 109			Total Wives: 142		

Three 'husband' clans not represented by 'wife' clans (indicated by *). Seven 'wife' clans not represented by 'husband' clans. Only 21 clans represented by both married sexes. Of these all but one (Titip) claim land in the 100-square-mile area.

APPENDIX 5Breakdown of Total Population (463)

By Sex, Social Category, Present Marriage Status
(Based on Census Taken September 1968)

males:

<u>epa</u> (old men)	9	} 164 male adults
<u>mopi</u> (married men)	114	
<u>mian tali</u> (bachelors)	41	
<u>mian</u> (boys)	91	
Total males	<u>255</u>	

females:

<u>yali</u> (widows)	28	} 157 female adults
<u>luaa</u> (married women)	129	
<u>iman</u> (girls)	51	
Total females	<u>208</u>	

'old ones' <u>37</u>	'adults' <u>321</u>	'children' <u>142</u>
(<u>epa</u> + <u>yali</u>)	(all but <u>mian</u> + <u>iman</u>)	(<u>mian</u> + <u>iman</u>)

married males	109	unmarried males	146
married females	<u>142</u>	unmarried females	<u>66</u>
Total married	<u>251</u>	Total unmarried	<u>212</u>

males married at least once	121
females married at least once	<u>157</u>
	<u>278</u>

APPENDIX 6

Fafa and His Wives

Fafa, of Taof clan, and the strongest man in the Wanakipa area is the only man who has five wives, two more than any other man in our 100-square-mile area. Fafa paid bride price for his first wife (of Puali clan), thus this marriage was ifaa anima (see Chapter Six). The second wife (of Wanakipa) was a widow for whom no bride price was paid (wain anima). This widow brought a daughter into the marriage who - as we shall presently see - became wife No.5. Before this happened, however, Fafa stole a wife (of Wanakipa) from a Waipa man living on the west side of the Urubwa (eti fanema). Fafa's fourth wife (of Itsunumip clan) was obtained with her father's permission (ifaa anima), but without paying a bride price.

Fafa's fifth wife, as mentioned, was the daughter of his second. There was no agreement as to what this marriage should be called. Fafa called it ifaa anima ('with father's consent'), whereas other men called it lati anima ('without father's consent'). Although I have recorded two other instances of a man marrying both a widow and later her daughter, most men claim such marriages are bad.

Besides these five present wives, Fafa had married two more females previously who have since died. One was a Folini and one a Yunamip. I have no information regarding the Folini wife. The guardian of the Yunamip wife had not been given bride price. It appears that there was an eighth woman who had left her husband and had come to stay with her brothers in the house closest to Fafa's. While she was there, she and Fafa often 'went into the bush' together. Later, her husband came and took her back. He did not voice any complaints against Fafa.

APPENDIX 7

The Killing of Yuwainen

One year after the slaying of Ifaiem (see Chapter Seven), Yuwainen, of Waipa clan, living near Orlau's house in territory No.13 was killed as a witch by Fafa, Maiapa and others. The important people in this killing are: Yuwainen (the victim), Kopaiyo (her husband and clan brother who died after trying to protect his wife), Fafa (the accuser and one of the leading killers), and Maiapa (the second leading killer and the husband of Kao, who was subsequently killed as a witch by men of 'Folini' [see Appendix 8]).

Below I will list several incidents which took place before the killing and which may have contributed to the selection and death of the woman Yuwainen.

1. Two months before the killing of Yuwainen, Folini Ainam invited Taof Maiapa and others living near him (in territories Nos.20 and 21) to come and give a sing-sing at his new house (in territory No.14). After dancing one night, another group of males led by Fafa of Taof (all six from territories Nos.20 and 19) arrived uninvited, singing yap yolapo, the mock threatening 'yip, yip, yip...' dance which initiates a sing-sing at a new house. The uninvited entrance antagonised Folini Ainam and those staying with him, and only after an exchange of strong words did the sing-sing continue. Two months later, Fafa's son died, and Fafa then accused Yuwainen of having eaten him [the son]. With Maiapa and others of and near territories Nos.20 and 19, he initiated her killing.

It is possible that Fafa was trying to prevent a friendly alliance of Taof Maiapa and Folini Ainam which the latter wanted to initiate by inviting the 'Wanakipa'

man Maiapa to his 'Folini' territory. Fafa, the purported leader of 'Wanakipa', prevented this by first disturbing the sing-sing which had been intended as a start to friendly relations, and by subsequently involving Maiapa in a hostile action against the 'Folini', namely the killing of Yuwainen. Fafa thoroughly succeeded in alienating members of 'Folini' and Maiapa, for Maiapa's wife Kao was killed by 'Folini' in 1966, very likely as a retaliation for the killing of Yuwainen.

2. About six months before Yuwainen's death, some Wasip men had said that Yuwainen had eaten two Wasip men. When Yuwainen's husband Kopaiyo heard this, he talked with his brother Iwalium (the brother/lover of Ifaiem, another witch victim) and another clan brother. They decided to take no action against the accusation.

3. Yuwainen's husband Kopaiyo accused Wanakipa Fupi of being a pisai and eating an old Waipa Lalo man who had just died. He did this while visiting a house in which two clan brothers of Fupi were also sleeping. When they heard this accusation, they attacked Kopaiyo with burning sticks. Iwalium, who had accompanied Kopaiyo, took the action he usually takes in these situations: he fled. As Kopaiyo lay on the floor, the wife of one of the men who had hit him joined the fight and also beat him with a stick.

The next morning, the Wanakipa returned to their house, expecting a retaliation from the Waipa. Kopaiyo had indeed asked Wasip Orlau and Iwalium and other Wasip and Waipa men to help him fight the Wanakipa who had beaten him. They refused, however, saying that he had caused the trouble himself by accusing Wanakipa Fupi of being a pisai.

4. It had been alleged that Kopaiyo himself had accused his wife of being a pisai. According to a Wanakipa

male, Kopaiyo had said he saw his wife eating a recently deceased Waipa Lalo man 'like sweet potato'. This rumour spread quickly, and soon after Fafa of Taof heard this, his son died.

5. As we have seen in Chapter Seven, Yuwainen had been married to a Wagapi who, on his deathbed, apparently had accused Yuwainen of eating him. Because of this incident, everybody had heard that she was a witch. After her husband's death, Yuwainen returned to Folini territory (No.14) where she began to live with her clan brother Kopaiyo. Kopaiyo was her nomota, and some men, including Waipa, talked against them, saying the two were nuaa, genealogically related. But when Malfe, a rather influential Waipa in the area, heard this, he said they were not nomota (presumably meaning not true nomota) and that the two could live together.

6. When Maiapa heard that Yuwainen was expecting a baby, he said that she and Kopaiyo were brothers and sisters and that if they copulated, then Yuwainen must be a pisai. Maiapa was married to Yuwainen's younger sister who also accused Yuwainen of being a pisai. Is it possible that Maiapa expected Yuwainen to come to him as a widow? Not infrequently, a man has two sisters as his wives.

*

*

*

During the funeral of Fafa's son, Fafa declared that the witch Yuwainen had killed his son and that she must be killed. He told those who wished to help him in the killing to meet at a Wanakipa house across the Urubwa. Seventeen males of six clans followed his call. All these males resided in three adjacent territories (Nos.19, 20, 25). Eight were of Wanakipa clan, three of Taof clan (including Fafa), three of Tetenam clan, two of Folini

clan, and one each of Waipa and Wagapi clan.

The men in the killing party walked to the empty house of Wasip Orlau (in territory No.18), about two hours' walk, where they slept. Orlau was visiting some Folini men at the time. Four of the younger males went on ahead to determine where Yuwainen was sleeping. They found out she was staying together with an old woman in a menstrual hut at the side of Waipa Malfe's house. During the moonlit night, the others joined the four and surrounded the house. Just before dawn, one of the unmarried Folini males, like the big bad wolf, mimicked the old woman's daughter-in-law and asked the old woman to open the door. As she did, the young man pulled her out, grabbed Yuwainen and threw her outside where all the men began firing arrows into her.

As Yuwainen screamed, her husband Kopaiyo came running out of the house with his bow drawn. He was immediately shot in the chest and suffered a wound from which he died several days later. A young Puali, living in the house, was the next one out. He shot one arrow but missed. Then, with Yuwainen dying, the killers fled, chased by three Waipa males. One of these, a young man, was injured by an arrow and also died several days later (victim No.69).

Later, as the killers rested at a garden, Wasip Orlau, four Folini males and the pursuers from Malfe's house called out for the killers to wait, telling them that they wanted to 'try them'. When the two groups were confronting each other, arrows were shot from both sides. Two of the killers were hit, one in the arm and the other in the leg. The latter then wounded one man from the other side.

Then the killers ran off again. But on the path there were three Tamliap and two Waipa (all living in

territory No.16) waiting for them. They shot arrows at the killers but failed to hit anybody. 'One said, 'we are lying to you [or playing with you], you can go ahead'. The killers did so, to the house of one Wanakipa male. Orlau, still following them, came up to the house, shot several arrows at the door and left. The next morning, the killers left the house, crossed the Urubwa River, and went to the house of Fafa, where they danced yap pamalu. By this time the young Waipa, who had been wounded seriously, died. The Folini and Waipa returned to the Wanakipa area. They burnt down a house and broke the garden fence adjoining it, enabling wild pigs to ruin the crop. Two days later, when Kopaiyo died from his wound, they returned again and burnt another Wanakipa house. When the Wanakipa came to look at the smoking ruins, one Wanakipa was shot by a Folini. A Katiliap, from the 'Folini' side, was then shot. As the 'Folini' retreated, two more of their men were wounded. The 'Wanakipa' then returned to the house of Fafa, where, two days later, a patrol officer caught some of them. These were the first Hewa to be caught and jailed. They spent eight months in jail and were released in 1966, two months before I entered the Hewa. Fafa and Maiapa were among the prisoners.

About one year after the killing, ai lapi (wergild) consisting of 15 items (mainly pigs and lines of cowrie shells) was given by Fafa and his side to the Waipa and Folini. This ai lapi had been arranged when four of the killers' side went, by invitation, to a sing-sing at Malfe's house. Living with Malfe at the time was a Wanakipa man. On the second day of the sing-sing, Fafa and the others arrived with the ai lapi. It was given to Malfe who later distributed it to the Folini and Waipa. The ai lapi payment put only a temporary halt to the hostilities between the 'Folini' and the 'Wanakipa'. One year later, the 'Folini' killed the witch Kao, the wife of Maiapa (see Appendix 8).

APPENDIX 8The Killing of Kao.

At sunrise on the 12th of April, 1967, seven males, after waiting in the surrounding forest during the night, entered the menstrual hut in which Kao was sleeping and began firing arrows at her. She screamed and staggered outside into the garden. As two of the males held her struggling husband, Maiapa, who had run outside from the main house in which he had been sleeping, the others pursued Kao, continuing to shoot arrows into her until she fell. After each of the attackers had shot at least one arrow into her, one man gave her the final blow by swinging an axe into her neck. The killers then fled back into the forest toward their house, a half day's walk away.

Two days prior to this killing I had been staying at a house nearby where a pig and a line of cowrie shells had been given as bride price for a girl recently married. While returning from this house we stopped and visited the people in the house in which the killing was to take place the next morning (in territory No.20). We then continued walking another three hours to our house across the valley. The next morning at 6 a.m. we awoke to the faint cry from across the valley informing us that Kao had just been killed by seven men of 'Folini'.

I was told that Kao had been killed because she was a witch! Allegedly she had eaten the wife of Orlau, the killing leader. However, this was not the first time she had been accused. Long before the death of Orlau's wife, a rumour had spread that Kao was a pisai. Kao's first husband had been killed as a pisai, and some people claim she had helped this husband eat his victims. In about 1964, this husband and his elder brother, of the Kenialip clan, were living up and across the Lagaip, east

of our area. Men of the Taali clan accused them of being witches and they fled to our area, taking their wives with them. Some months later the two brothers were killed as pisai by 13 men living along the Urubwa river. One of these killers was Maiapa, who then took Kao, who was now a widow, as his own wife.

When I asked how they knew the two brothers were pisai, several of the killers told me that after the two were killed, an earthworm was seen crawling out of the penis of one of them. Since witches are infested with worms, this was sufficient proof, at least for one of the brothers. The other brother was said to have come down the river sometime earlier to kill and eat a Fauip Nomien man. But when he saw the cassowary-wing quills sticking through the person's nose - as they are sometimes worn in our area - he became frightened and ran away. (Men, however, deny that such quills are worn to frighten off pisai. In this case they simply laughed when they told me the incident, apparently thinking the brother was naive and easily frightened.)

Several months before Kao was killed, Orlau, who was to become the leader of Kao's killing, the killing ya tu, was building a new house. Staying with him and helping him work on the house were the six males who, too, later were involved in the killing of Kao. Orlau was a member of the Wasip clan, living on Wasip territory (No.18). Of the six males, three were Folini (two of whom were brothers), two were Waipa (brothers), and one Tenip (a half-brother of the Folini brothers). Three of the six were married. While they were working on the new house, Orlau's wife became ill and soon died. Before her death she said that she had been struck with a digging stick by Kao, who was looking like a pisai. She had previously expressed her dislike for Kao, but did not accuse Kao of having eaten her.

After his wife's death, Orlau called out to his neighbours and told them of his loss. The next day nine men (Folini, Waipa, Puali and one Wanakipa living near Orlau), their wives and children, all living within a two to three hours' walk of Orlau's house, came to help bury Orlau's wife and to 'cry'. Orlau's wife was buried the next day. The following day people from territories Nos. 11 and 12 arrived, one of whom, an Iali, was the brother of the deceased. Before these latter had left their houses they had discussed the cause of their 'sister's' death. 'We gave our sister to Orlau. When she died, Orlau and those staying with him were luaa-mopi ('weaklings'), they were afraid; they did not kill the pisai who ate her.' An old woman heard this and when they arrived at Orlau's house, she repeated this to Orlau. He replied only that he was not a luaa-mopi, but did nothing else.

As is usual at Hewa funerals, five days after the burial, the mourners returned to their own houses. Meanwhile, however, a female of the Taof clan (the same clan as Maiapa), the wife of one of the killers-to-be, had begun her menstrual period during the funeral. She left the funeral and returned to her own (i.e., her husband's) house. While she was there, a Folini who was a classificatory brother (one who also was to kill Kao) came up. When he found her in the house, and not in the menstrual hut (where she belonged!), he kicked her and chased her out of the house. She ran into the forest and spent a rainy night under a tree. She soon became sick and a few weeks later, died. Orlau with her husband and others buried her the following day. Immediately afterwards Orlau took his bow and walked toward the path leading to the house of Kao. The other six males followed. Up to this point no one had specifically mentioned Kao as the pisai. There was no deathbed accusation as is frequently the case with

witchcraft accusations. And yet several killers told me that everyone knew that Kao was the pisai, it was not necessary to expressly mention it.

After the death of Kao, the killers fled to Orlau's house where they danced and sang yap pamalu, the slow, drawn-out, singing which they claim increases strength and is always danced and sung after a killing. During the night a guard sat near the path coming from Maiapa's house, but sometime after dawn, the young man returned to the house. After singing and dancing all night, the men were tired and came out of the house to rest in the sunshine. As they lay in the clearing, Maiapa, the husband of Kao, and 13 others quietly came up and began shooting arrows at them. Orlau and the others jumped up and shot a few arrows in return, hitting one man, but then ran into the bush. Five of the seven men were wounded. One man was hit with seven arrows, another one, Orlau, had two mortal arrow wounds in the groin.

Maiapa and his men then burned Orlau's house down, did yap yolapo, a fast 'yip, yip, yip, yip', identical to the initial sham attack beginning a sing-sing at a new house, and returned to their houses, ending the fighting.

Two days later, while trying to establish contact with Orlau's group, I came across Orlau, lying on the ground, with a pathetic little group of one man, two women, and one boy; all dirty, hungry and frightened. They had been carrying Orlau slowly through the bush for two days, and were afraid they would be attacked at any moment. Orlau died the next day while being carried to my house where I intended to give him a shot of penicillin.

APPENDIX 9Victim No.80 (fuangelat)

Victim No.80, Yokato, was said to have been killed about 20 years ago by Hewa of the Kanaip clan. He allegedly was a 'Kopiago' of the Kanaip clan. Some Hewa claim 'Yokato' means Yokana to, i.e., the to (brideprice) of Yokana. Yokana is a Kopiago community near the Hewa border.

This victim may in fact be a mythological figure. He allegedly killed and ate men. Inside a house he looked like an ordinary person. Outside, however, he had long arrow-like spines protruding from his body and made throbbing cassowary calls as he walked. Like witches, he had supernatural qualities. Even though many Hewa told me of his existence many years ago and his subsequent death, nobody could give me the name of his assailants.

His name 'brideprice of Yokana' combined with his terrifying attributes may reflect a concern of the Hewa about giving their daughters to Yokana, i.e., to non-Hewa, Kopiago people.

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