

T h e    K a m a n u k u

( The Culture of the Chimbu Tribes )

A   M o n o g r a p h

By W. Bergmann





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i n   4   V o l u m e s

Volume I. General Remarks

By. W. Bergmann



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## Preface

During my stay in Newguinea of 40 years (1928 -1968) with the exception of the years of last world war, and twice on leave to the homeland, I lived in the Chimbu area from 1934 to 1968, as Missionary of the Lutheran Mission. During this time I had plenty of time and occasion to learn to know the customs of the natives of this area. Even if it was not my main task to be active in this direction, yet every Missionary needs to learn and to know of the native customs as much as possible.

During the years I have made notes and written down what I observed and now I have tried to put these notes in order, and write them down. Most of what I write here, I wrote already several years ago, but I never duplicated it. But now, living in retirement I intend to duplicate this material and put it at the disposal of my coworkers, who still live in Newguinea, but who will find many things changed, because time changes also the customs of the people. However, by reading this, they will be able to compare the times today with the customs which existed nearly 40 years ago.

This work I have divided into the following parts:

- Volume I: General Remarks
- Volume II: The Material Culture
- Volume III: Legends and Fairy Tales
- Volume IV : Religious Conceptions and Social Structure  
(Geistige Kultur)

The Kamanuku live near the Chimbu River. The Chimbu River comes from the Bismarck Ranges (Mt. Wilhelm) and is a tributary of the Waghi River (called Nera by the natives) and flows into this river a little below Egá (Mission Station) and Kundiawa (Government station). and then changes direction several times. It ultimately flows south into the sea and is part of the Purari river.

Kamanuku is the name of a tribe. The costumes of the neighbouring tribes differ to some extent, but in most cases they are very similar or identical to the costumes of the Kamanuku. It is not possible to record each little difference but occasionally I may mention some differences. Therefore I have confined this monograph to the Kamanuku only, at least most of the time.

I want to express my sincere thanks to Karl and Laurel Bergmann for reading this translation and making correction where necessary.

I also want to express my deep appreciation to Gerhard and Bernice Bergmann for all their help especially for the binding of these volumes.

The drawings of the pictures in volume II have been partly done by Hilda and Noel Schmoecker. Many thanks !

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1. Some Remarks Regarding the Discovery of the  
Inland of Newguinea.

Many people have lived for a long time under the misconception that the Island of Newguinea was well populated only near the coasts and that the Island with its enormous masses of mountain ranges would have hardly any inhabitants. That must, without doubt, have been the impression if one looked from the coast, or from a ship toward the inland of Newguinea. But it was found later that, near the rivers, especially near the springs of the rivers, very often a large population existed, even if the rivers came from the high mountains of the Inland. That was not only the case with the rivers which flow into the Huonggolf, but it was also true with the Waria river, near Morobe; at the middle and upper part of the Markham river (Azera people). This observation was later also verified in regard to the rivers in the inland, eg. the upper Ramu, the Waghi river and the Chimbu river etc. Similar observations can be made in West Irian.

As may be known, the Lutheran Mission started mission work near Finschhafen and a sister mission started work in the Madang area in 1886 and the following years. Both missions penetrated the adjacent inland (hinterland) in the course of the years. World war I delayed this trend, but even then some progress could be made.

In the course of the years all of the Huonggolf peninsula was penetrated. Also the mountains near Lae and Salamaua and also the upper Waria area, but of the real inland of Newguinea nobody had a true conception.

The real motive and incentive for further exploration was, that the congregations were looking for new mission fields. In the near hinterland (of Finschhafen, Lae, Malalo: M<sub>o</sub>robe) no undiscovered tribes were left and the whole area was covered by mission workers (mostly natives of the Christian congregations). Missionaries in company with their native evangelists made a number of exploring trips into the mountains, eg. into the upper Leron river, into the Ngarowaing river etc. The Missionaries Oertel, Keysser, Lehner and others took part in these exploring trips. Peoples were discovered nearly everywhere and evangelists were stationed, but no stations for Europeans were founded, because the responsible men were convinced that the connections with these people could be kept by the stationing of the evangelists and by occasional visits of the white missionaries. Besides that, there was no possibility of transportation to warrant the founding of European stations. Aeroplanes were unknown at that time in Newguinea.

Further to the west, into the mountains north of the Markham valley, into the tributaries of this river, some exploring trips were made, and also more to the west into the tributaries of the Ramu river. Here also some population was discovered but of the vast number of people in the highland nobody had an idea.

In the earlier twenties (1920) connections were made with some tribes in the border mountains south of the Markham valley (south of the mission station Kajabit). The Azera people had some connections with the Binemarian. The missionaries agreed to utilize these connections. In January 1920 the first trip into this area was made. Three white missionaries took part in this trip: F. Oertel, G. Pilhofer and J. Stoessel.

They arrived with their evangelists and carriers at the villages of the Binemarian. These were at the upper tributaries of a small creek, which flows into the Wanton river, which flows into the Markham. They were met very amicably by the inhabitants. The goal of their trip was the Pundeo (by the Azera they are called: Puntebaža, they themselves called themselves: Puntewateno). When they arrived near their villages a few days later, the Pundeo people met them with hostility. They had to turn back and the trip had to be abandoned.

In the year 1921 missionary L. Fliers, who was at that time missionary in charge of the mission station at Sattelberg, paid another visit to this area. He visited the area, where the Wampur people live. He visited also several other villages. He mentions: Merir, Omeshuan and others. In 1922 several evangelists were sent to the Binemarian. They built the first houses, but had some difficulties and had to leave the place for longer or shorter periods and retreated to Wampur. This station was firmly established in the year 1923.

In 1924 another trip was made into this area and it was found that a number of houses had been built and the contact with the people was good. From Wampur connections were made with the Arau tribe (also called: Ambesia) and with several others.

In the year 1925 another trip was made. Starting at Wampur, the Merir, the Baroken and the Arau people were visited, and then they crossed the mountains into the Ngarowaing valley and from there they came back into the Markham valley.

In the year 1926 missionary L. Flierl penetrated further into the inland. This time he followed the Ramu valley further down to Garamari, then crossed the river and went into the mountains south of the river, to establish connections with the people living there. He was successful in doing this.

On an altitude of about 1000 meters, they met with a group of people. These lived in several villages. Their number may have been about 800. The people were very friendly and were willing to have some evangelists stationed there. Soon the first houses were built. At that time nobody could have had any idea of the far-reaching consequences of the founding of this station. The place was called Lihona. The population in and around Lihona was fairly numerous, but nobody had any idea that they were only a splinter of the population the other side of the mountain ranges. And nobody had any idea, that these people and the many thousands on the other side of the mountains had the same language.

In the middle of the year 1927 the first penetration of the inland proper was made. Up to now only the border mountains had been visited, however important that may have been. On this trip the missionaries L. Flierl and W. Saueracker were the two men who made the trip with their evangelists and carriers. They went from Kajabit (in the Markham valley) to Garamari and from there to Lihona. Then they crossed the mountain ranges, which are about 2000 meters high, many higher, and then went down the other side of the divide and came into the river valley of the Wagarina. The missionaries thought to be in the Ramu river system, and only years later we could say with certainty, that these rivers belong to the Purari river system.

This penetration of the inland was, as far as I know, the first one that was ever made by white people. They very soon met with a very numerous population. The river valleys were without forest but covered with grass and the mountainous terrain was thickly populated. The population always reached up to the forest, up to 1600 and 1800 meters.

The visitors, who were soon discovered, were greeted with much joy. They had heard of them before, because they had connections with the Lihona people. It was also discovered, that they spoke the same language. The evangelists had already learned a good bit of the language, while living in Lihona.



Therefore they had only little or no difficulty talking to the people. The language they called the: kafe language. (Kumano today). I shall now briefly mention some villages and/or tribe names of the people with whom they came in contact on this trip: All names and dates are taken from the book: "Unter Wilden (amongst wild ones) by L. Flierl, published in 1932 by: Diakonissenanstalt Neuendettelsau, Bayern, Germany.

They 27<sup>th</sup> of July the travellers were in Wayanofira. They followed the river down stream until they arrived at the confluence with the Yufurina. They followed the river further down and then crossed it and ascended to the left onto the mountains. They headed for the prominent rock called: Shunebiga. In the vicinity of this rock they stayed several days. Near and around the rock were a number of villages. They made contact with the people living there. Then they went on in an easterly direction and came to the Tebenofira. They stayed over night in a village called: Fulinka (1 - 2 Aug.), and the next day they reached the Maapa people. Next day they were with the Punano (3.8.27) (Tuta). On the 4<sup>th</sup> of Aug. they arrived at Aspui (also called: Barora). Here the evangelists had already built a small house (coming from the other side, the Pundeo). The 5<sup>th</sup> of Aug. they came to the Apinakeno (4 villages) and the Yaunkeno. Aug. 6<sup>th</sup> they crossed the middle Ramu river and arrived at Arauna. L. Flierl mentions that he stayed there once before, over night, 4 years earlier. I suppose he made a short trip to this place from the Ramu valley. The 7<sup>th</sup> of Aug. they were at Baunamun and from there they went down into the Ramu valley to Amari.

During this trip they had discovered a wide stretch of the inland and had made contact with many thousands of people. Many tribes, which they saw but could not visit, are not mentioned here. ea. the Kainantu etc. They estimated the population which they had contacted to be between 8 and 10 000 people. That was a very conservative estimate, as was discovered several years later. Concerning the river system they were not clear. Only several years later we made measurements and found out, that all the rivers they had seen before coming to the Ramu, belonged to the Purary river system.

I think it is just and correct to say that missionary L. Flierl and the men who accompanied him, are the discoverers of the inland, at least of this part of the inland. Other white people, gold miners etc. who came in a little later, made only short forays into the area from the mountains or the fringes of the area, but did not come in contact with the population, nor had they any intention to discover the areas. Also at the same time a few government officers came to the fringe of the inland and its population.

In the following year (1928) another trip was made by L. Flierl. This time he was accompanied by K. Wacke. This time they started at Wampur and went from there into the area of the middle and/or upper Ramu river.

The 20th of July of that year they were with the Sasaura people. Not far away the Kundana people lived. The Afunakeno villages they could see. The Omaura lived towards the west. To visit them was their next goal. They were with them the 26th of July. They made contact with the Bera population and went on the 27th of July to Barabuna. From there they proceeded to the Noraidora. July 29th they were with the Tairora and on the 30th of July they arrived at Apaera. On the 31st of July they arrived at the Kainantu villages. The 1st of Aug. they walked through the Kainantu area and arrived the 2nd of Aug. at Aspui. Then they decided to cross over to Omaura and see the population between Aspui and Omaura. On the 4th of Aug. they were with the Apinakeno and the 5th of Aug. with the Isonteno and the 6th of Aug. at Apinapa. On the 7th of Aug. they arrived at the Afunakeno villages and were back in Omaura on the 8th of Aug. From there they came back via Arau and Wampur.

On this trip a good part of the Pundeo people was discovered and contact was made with them. The connection with the area which had been discovered the previous year, was also made.

The Pundeo people were far more numerous than they had expected. The Kainantu did not belong directly to them, but their languages are related. The Tairora people belong to the Wampur and Arau, and also the Binemarian people, at least their languages are closely related.

This was the last trip missionary L.Flierl was able to make. Sad to say, he was a sick man and had to leave Newguinea at the end of the year 1928 or beginning of 1929. He was suffering from pernicious anaemia. The cause of that sickness was discovered about that time and he recovered at home and lived until 1971. I was privileged to learn to know him even if only for a short time in Newguinea. I lived for a while in the same house as he did and learned quite a bit from him. We have to commend him for his zeal and untiring activity, and thanks to his trips our mission came in contact with the people in the inland (or: Central highlands) at such an early stage.

### My first trip through the Inland

I arrived in Newguinea in the year 1928. It was not very long after the missionaries had made their big discoveries. I lived the first months after my arrival at Heldsbach in the same house as Senio Flierl and his nephew L.Flierl lived. I was there to "acclimatize", to learn to know land and people and to get fluent in a native language, which I had started to study at the Seminar for Africa and South sea Languages at the University at Hamburg. At that time I had many occasion to learn about the trips through the highlands. At that time I had not the faintest notion that I should live most of my life in the inland of Newguinea. But even at that time missionary L.Flierl handed over to me some of the work there, even if very small, namely, to see to it, that the evangelists, stationed at the various places in the far inland, should get from time to time some goods, to barter with ( tradegoods to buy food).)

Middle of the year 1929 it was again time to pay another visit to the inland, to visit the evangelists, who were stationed there, and to explore more country, if possible. At that time evangelists were stationed at: Wampur, Binemarian, Arau, Aspui, Lihona and Wayanofira. Missionary G.Pilhofer was the leader of the expedition, an elderly and very experienced missionary, who had made many trips through unknown country. I was privileged to accompany him.

As always, these trips were started from Finshhafen, because the Sattelberg congregation sent the evangelists and was supporting this work. With our boat we went to Lae and from there we had to walk through the Markham valley to Kajabit. From there we went on for two more days through the Markham and then the Ramu valley, crossed the Ramu and went south up to Lihona. This trip lasted from the 6th of Aug. to the 5th of October 1929.

We left Lihona and crossed the mountain range, and arrived at Wayanofira. From there we followed the Wagarina river and followed it for several hours. Then we went up the mountain range west of the river and arrived at Rabana. This place is situated on the mountain range and is the divide between the headwaters of the Dunantina river (called that way after the Wagarina and Yufurina have joined) and the Benabena and the Garfuga (Goroka) valley. We had a magnificent view from that place, especially toward south and west. There we could see several mountain ranges, eg. the Bismarck Bismarck ranges, with Mt. Wilhelm; and further south the Kubor ranges with Mt. Michael (named later) and also towards the east we had the Kraetke ranges clear in sight. Toward the west we could overlook a good part of the Benabena river system and the Garfuga (Goroka) valley with their river systems, which join further down (south) with the Dunantina and other rivers. All these rivers are head waters of the Purari river.

We left Rabana and kept a little more south, not the route our predecessors had gone, but about 10 km in a more southerly direction and then headed in an easterly direction. The river we followed was called: Kamomontina and flows into the Dunantina. We followed the river for some time, passed a number of villages, and then turned south and went up a mountain called Yankutega. From there we went to Maapa, not very far from the place where the Kainantu station is today.

Then we went to Barora(Aspui) and then crossed the upper Ramu valley toward the Sasaura, but we did not quite arrive at their place, but went to a group of the Punde people, who lived near the foot of a forest(mountain) and are called Mameraing(Wameraing).Next we visited the evangelist stations, mentioned in the report of the previous year.

On this trip we had made contact with more than 10 000 people. In part we had walked through already known country, in part we visited people in areas which had never before visited by any white people (Rabane, Witebe and the many tribes around the Mene-finka rock and the area west of Kainantu, where the Mission stations Raipinka and Onelunka are situated today.)

#### My second Trip through the Inland

My second trip through the inland was in the following year(1930) .This time another experienced missionary

W.Flierl, was the leader of the expedition.(W.Flierl was the eldest son of Senior Flierl).The trip lasted from the beginning of Aug. to the beginning of Sept. The 5th of Aug. we were at Wampur. Our task was mainly to visit the established stations of the evangelists, but from Rabana we made a little excursion into the Benabena valley.We went down to the river and followed its course southward. Going down from Rabana we came over a flat area, where the Rintebe school is located today. By measuring the altitudes we established for certain that all the rivers in this area are tributaries of the Purari( as the rivers in this area are lower than the Ramu and its tributaries). To the ~~w~~est of Mt. Michael they brake through the ranges and flow in a southerly direction.

New areas were not visited on our trips in the years 1931 and 1932, but I would like to mention that some missionaries from the Madang mission together with me made a trip from Lihona through the Benabena gap and then down the Benabena river valley. We left Lihona



and went westward into the mountains. There we visited a number of villages on the slopes toward the Ramu, then crossed the Benabena gap and followed the river until we arrived at Rabana. This area had never been visited before, as far as I know.

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In the meantime we had left the Finschhafen area and had established the station Kambaidam in the beginning of the year 1931. As Kambaidam was meant to be only a temporary station we went further inland in 1933 and started the station Onelunka.

In the middle of this year (1933) Missionary G. Pilhofer and I made another trip. From Rabana we went to the Benabena river, crossed the valley and then the Garfuga (Asaro) river and went up into the mountains south of the Garfuga (Goroka) valley. We stayed in that area only for two days and then turned eastward toward Mr. Michael, and came near the foot of that mountain. Then we went to the Witebe and to the Tairora people. From there we went south and came into a region with a moderate population, but plenty of forest. When we had waded through a swampy area we suddenly found the water (river) flowing in a different direction (so far we had been in the area of the tributaries of the Ramu). We did not know at first where this water was going to, but we came to the conclusion, that we were in the area of the headwaters of the Lamari.

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In the middle of this year the big expedition of the government (J. Taylor and the Leahy brothers) took place and they went through the Waghi valley westward to Mt. Hagen. Our mission headquarters resolved then that our mission should take up contact with these people (area) further inland also.

The 23rd of Oct. of the year 1933 we made a reconnoitering trip over the area, which we intended to penetrate. This flight was made in a small biplane (Foxmoth) and beside the pilot, missionary Foege from America and myself were the passengers. We started at the Kainantu airstrip at 9 o'clock in the morning and flew for 3 hours over the country. We soon arrived over the Goroka valley (so far known country to me) then we flew over the mountains, not far from the Elimbalim mountain (northward of it) and soon were in the Waghi valley. We followed this valley up to Mt. Hagen. There we turned to the right

( northward) and flew over the Yimi river system (formerly called Doerferfluss). Then we turned east and shortly before Mt. Wilhelm we crossed over to the Waghi valley again. Then we returned to Kainantu.

Now we had a good idea of the extent of the inland and the task that lay before us. A good part of the Central Highlands we had seen from the air. Also we had a fair conception of the population. Even if we could not see all the houses of the people, we could see quite clearly the gardens, and they too give a good indication of the population.

The exploratory trip into the western inland  
in the year 1934.

After a short time mission headquarters asked me, together with the missionaries J. Herrlinger and M. Lechner, to make an exploratory trip through the western highlands. ( It is called "highland" because the altitude is mostly over 1500 meters (5000 feet) up to 3000 meters, as far as the population lives) The Lutheran Mission in Madang were also to send 3 white people with the necessary carriers. In Rabana we were to meet. From Madang arrived the missionaries F. Schoettler and Foege and Dr. med. T. Braun.

As I knew that the first months of the year would be the rainy season, and this could have brought quite a few difficulties, such as rivers in flood (no bridges), very difficult marching for the carriers etc. we decided to make the trip not before the beginning of May.

First we had to make the necessary preparations. We had to get trustworthy carriers. We had to buy enough trade goods and provisions and whatever else is necessary for such a trip. But by the beginning of May everything was ready and the missionaries M. Lechner and J. Herrlinger arrived with their line of carriers over land at Onelunka. Also carriers from Sattelberg and observers from there, they brought along for me. Now we could start. We traveled at first through an area well known to me and at the 13 th of May late in the evening we met with the people from Madang at Rabana.

We were now 6 white people and had 110 carriers. The so-called "observers", elders of the home congregation had also to carry a load each. At that time we had to get permission to travel in uncontrolled areas and certain conditions had to be met, such as: injections against several contagious diseases (Typhoid etc), and we had to have 10 rifles (or shutguns).

Our trip lasted 43 days. We had some difficulties. Not that we met with hostilities, but some of our carriers got sick and we had to carry them besides the other cargo (one hurt his foot badly and another had pneumonia). We could leave nobody behind and there was no way to send them back. The natives were mostly friendly, but sometimes they showed mistrust. I have found that it is always easier to be the first one in a new area, than to come second or third. One never knows what might have happened before. One has to be the more careful if others have already been there.

We went from Rabana down to the Benabena river and then crossed the Garfuga (Goroka) valley and a few days later, about the middle of the valley we crossed the river and climbed up the mountain range. Two days later we were at the springs of the Maili river (also called: Marifutikatika). Here we met a large population. Perhaps we



noticed it the more, because their villages were all built on the mountains slopes, so they can be seen from a far distance. The mountains we crossed were about 2000 meters high and were populated nearly to the top of the mountains. The villages were not fortified with big fences, as they were in the eastern highlands. Villages had often 60 and more houses.

We followed the river downstream. The valley is very narrow and the mountain slopes reach down near to the river. Where the population is not dense the mountain slopes are covered with forest. After two days we left the valley and went westward into the mountains. We could proceed only very slowly. Two days later we crossed the mountains and had the big Waghi valley in front of us. A magnificent view.

We went down into the valley. We found a large population in this area. One day more brought us to the Chimbu river. We arrived there the 22nd of May. Already from the top of the divide we had looked out for a flat piece of land and we discovered one not far from the westbank of the river. We needed some flat land to build an airstrip, for it was clear to us, that without an airstrip and a plane the transportation would not be possible. In the vicinity of the flat ground, which proved to be suitable for an airstrip, we found also a suitable place to erect the first station for white missionaries.

We followed now the Waghi river valley in a westerly direction and the next day we met some missionaries of the Roman Catholic mission from Madang. They had arrived a few weeks earlier, coming over land from Madang and had just finished the first temporary houses.

We noticed already, before we came to the Chimbu river, that the people no longer lived in "villages" but only in hamlets. It was that way all the way to Mt. Hagen.

Not far from Minj we came to the Wagh river. A fairly good vine bridge was over the river, here about 60 meters wide. The bridge was ingeniously built, especially for primitive natives. We crossed the bridge and we went to the other side of the river (the south side) and went up stream and a few days later our party split up, the Madang people turned to the right, we turned to the left (to the south). The day after we stayed at a new settlement of the brothers Leahy, who were goldmining.

From there we departed and went for 4 days in a south-easterly direction. We hoped to turn left and come back to our route but we found that impossible. We were in the river system of the Nebidl and Kawudl. These flow south of the Kubor ranges and join later into the Waghi (Purari). The Yalibu mountain we had for several days at our right hand and at some distance was the massive Mt. Kuluwer. The population became sparse, as we went on, and we came into an area of primeval forest, so we were forced to turn back. In the main we followed the route we had come.

We had traveled through a big stretch of country and had seen plenty of people. We estimated the population of a least 150 - 200 000, but in reality there were many more. At least double the number are living in that area. But we did not see all the tributaries and side vallies and we did not come into contact with all the people. The big question for us was now how to occupy this vast area.

#### The founding of Eqa Missionstation

We had reported about our findings to our Mission head quarters and our mission in consultation with the sister mission in Madang made the decision to start 3 mission stations in the newly discovered area. Stations in between could be started later. One of the most important problems to be solved was transportation. We were all convinced that without an aeroplane the problem could not be solved. So an appeal was launched to the supporting home churches and the reaction was spontaneous and very favourable. At the beginning of the following year a Junkers transport plane could be put into service.

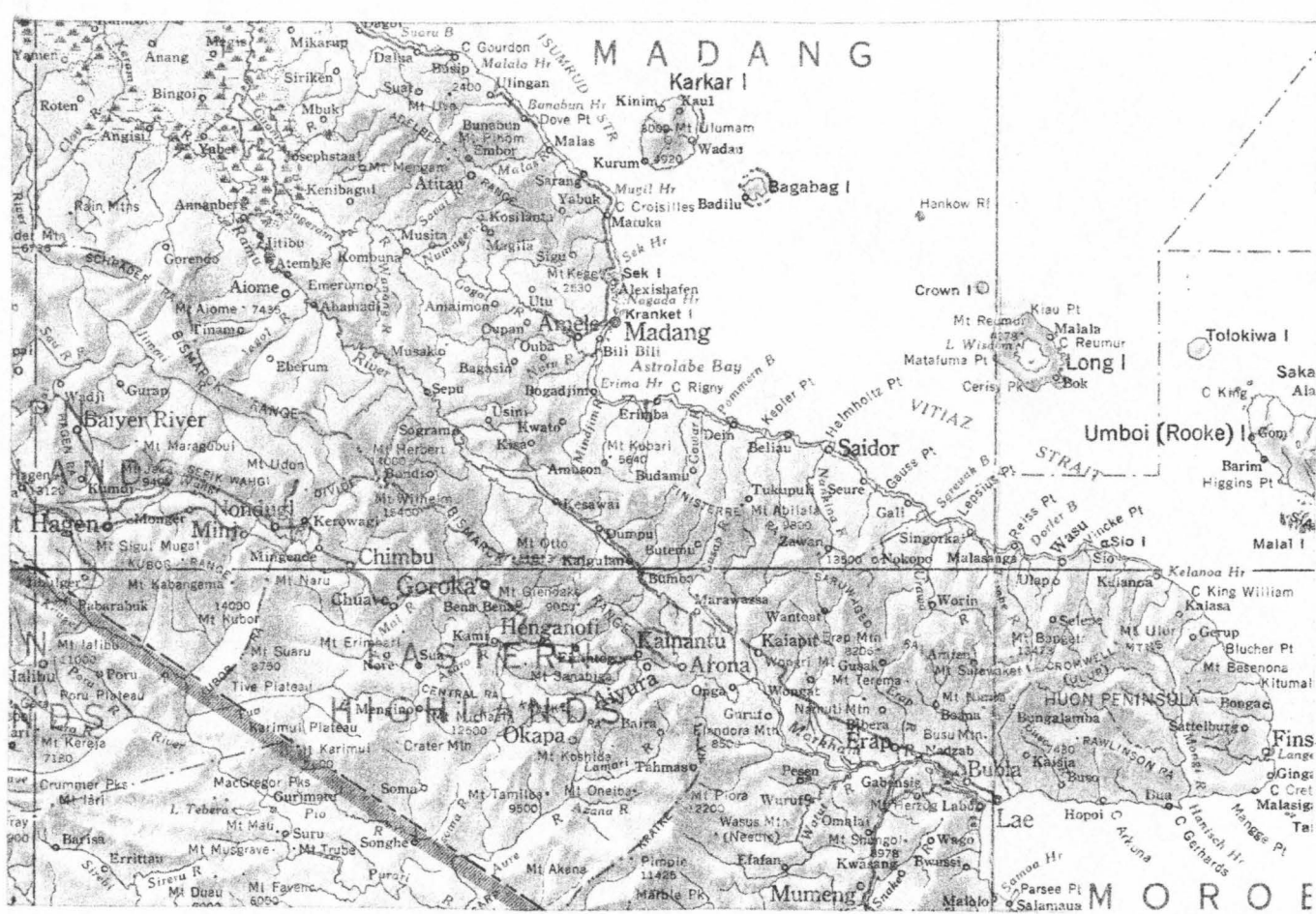
The necessary preparations for the founding of a new station were made until the beginning of, Sept. (1934). In the first days of this month we left Onelunka. The missionaries G. Vicedom and G. Horrolt had arrived to go with me. They were to help to start the station at the Chimbu river and then proceed to Mt. Hagen. For Chimbu Missionary Helbig would come later. Our carriers were mainly evangelists, 60 young and willing men. We did not have to send them back. In the evening of the 12th of Sept. we arrived at our destination. We called the place Ega. The next day we started to build the first houses, but just as important was to build an airstrip, which we started within a week. A suitable piece of flat ground we had found near the station, only about 300 meters away. The 13th of Sept. we count as the foundation day of this station.

#### The founding of Ogelbeng

I want to mention here only in brief that the missionaries from Madang come walking into the inland the same time as we did, only a couple of days later, and started to build the station Kerowagi, about 25 km west of Ega.

Nov. 13 th 1934 we left Ega ( Vicedom, Horrolt and I ) and proceeded west to start the second station. I went along because the road was known to me. Nov. 18th we arrived at the old Mt. Hagen airstrip and camped there. For two days we walked through the area and on the evening of the 20 th of Nov. G. Vicedom thought he had found the correct place for an airstrip. We brought our tents and supplies to that place and started to build houses and the airstrip. The station was named: Ogelbeng. I stayed there until the 13th of December. On that day I could fly back (after having waited for more than a week) from Mogeï ( a small air strip several km away) to Ega.





MADANG

Karkar I

Madang

Sidor

Umboi (Rooke) I

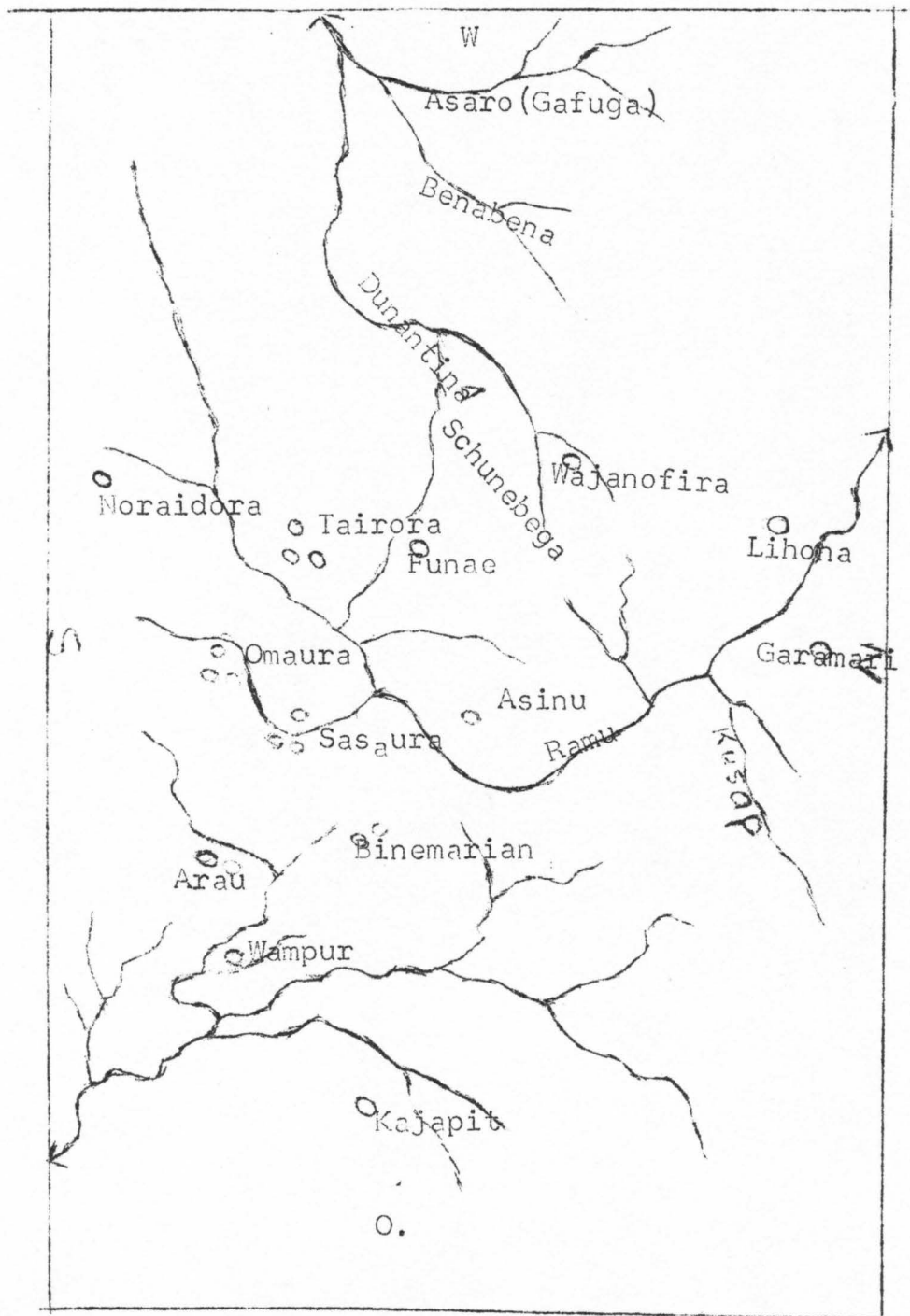
MOROUE

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Scetch, Trips of L. Flierl, taken from: "Unter Wilden"  
published 1932, Neuendettelsau, Germany.

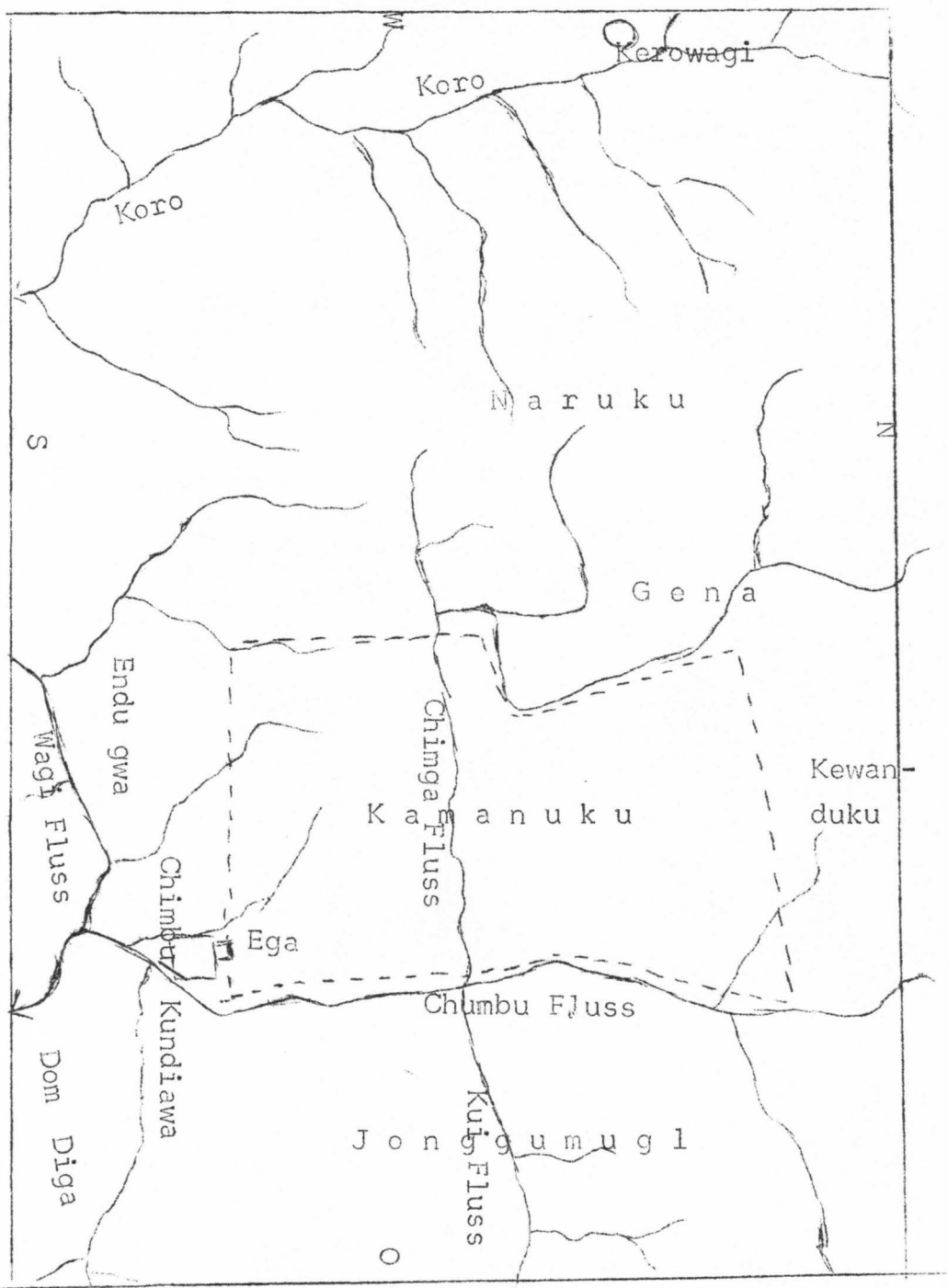






Area of the Kamanuku

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## 2. General Remarks

### 1. Geographical remarks.

The area which is populated by the Kamanuku is situated south of the Bismarck ranges, about south of the highest mountain of this range, Mt. Wilhelm. (The different peaks of this range are named after the names of Bismarck's children, as is well known). The distance between the top of the dividing ranges and the area where the Kamanuku live may be in a direct line about 40 km., but if one follows the road the distance will be at least 70 km. The Bismarck ranges, again are only part of the central ranges which run through all Newguinea in an east-westerly direction. The Bismarck ranges are south of Madang and can be seen from there, and were also named from there (from cruising ships).

If you look from Madang toward the inland you see first the mountain ranges between the coast and the Ramu valley, which are not very high, and then the other side of the Ramu valley the mountain mass of the central ranges. If one says the central ranges form one unit then one has to say also that in this unit there are many length and side valleys, more or less big, long or wide. If one supposed that Newguinea in former times existed of two islands then the Markham-Ramu valley was an arm of the ocean (sea). The northerly island would then have its own ranges which run in the same direction as the central ranges on the southerly and bigger Island. The river valleys which I have mentioned, form in the southern half the central highlands. On the northern part there is not such a central highland (table-land or elevated plain). But I do not want to write a geography of Newguinea. Therefore I restrict myself to saying a few words of that part in which the Kamanuku live. The Kamanuku are only a small tribe, living in the region of the Chimbu river.

The previously mentioned Mt. Wilhelm, the highest mountain of the Bismarck ranges and also the highest mountain of the Territory, is at the same time a prominent divide between three river systems, namely, to the north the rivers flow into the Ramu (whose springs are found in the eastern highlands), toward the west the rivers flow into the Sepik, and toward south the waters flow into the Purari. The springs of the Chimbu, a tributary of the Purari, come direct from Mt. Wilhelm.

If you look northward from Ega mission station you will find three mountains stretch out west - east before the highest range of the Bismarcks. One could call these mountains also spurs of the Bismarck ranges. The Rivers flow mostly in a southerly direction (Chimbu river) and the tributaries come from east, and west. About 3 km south of Ega the Chimbu joins the Waghi river (Nera), which comes from the area of Mt. Hagen.

The Kamanuku tribe lives near the lower part of the Chimbu river, but only at the western side. As the mountains run in a east - west direction, they were a barrier for the main river, but about 2 km north of Ega, the Chimbu river has cut through the mountains and in the course of many thousand years has made its way through the mountains towards the south. There mighty rocks line each side of the river, and the formation is limestone. South of the Waghi river is again a high mountain range, which is called the Kubor-ranges and between these two ranges is the big Waghi valley. On old maps you will not find these ranges marked (as they were not known). As the highest peak of the Bismarck ranges is nearly 4.500 m the highest peak of the Kubor ranges will be about 500 m lower. The highest mountains of the Bismarck-ranges are covered with grass and/or only naked rocks, far above the tree line. Not infrequently one can see these mountains covered with snow and ice, but by about 9 o'clock in the mornings this snow disappears.

The rivers of this whole area are springs or tributaries of the Purari river, the Chimbu with its tributaries, the Waghi river (Nera) with all its many tributaries on both sides, also the next river towards the east, the Maili river, and then further east the rivers in the Goroka valley and eastward, nearly to Kainantu, all these rivers join and form the headwaters (or at least part thereof) of the Purari river which flows south into Papua and then into the sea. I want also to mention that rivers south of Mt. Hagen, which flow south of the Kubor-ranges, belong to the same river system down to Erawe and also the river-system down south of Mt. Michael, the rivers of the Lamary - system.

The country in which the Kamanuku live is, as already said, near the Chimbu river and at a few tributaries of the Chimbu river. The Kamanuku live (viewed from Ega) in front of and behind of the first mountain north of Ega, mostly in the valley between the first and the second mountain. Their land reaches, at least in part, down to the Chimbu river. The land just north of Ega has been disputed, because the Endugwa have been the owners of this part of the land. But now the Kamanuku have been in possession of it for more than 40 years.

The Kamanuku live on the westside of the Chimbu river. Their land is all hilly or mountainous, mostly the slopes of the mountains, as there is very little or no flat land between the mountains. Towards the Chimbu river they are very steep and rugged with precipitous slopes, because the Chimbu has made its way through these mountains. If one stands <sup>on top</sup> of the first mountain at some distance one has the impression, that the mountains on both side of the river are one.

But the water broke through, the precipitous rocks are witness thereof.

The first and partly also the second range of mountains north of Ega have lime-stone formation. Further north in the Chimbu valley none of this formation is found anymore, but the mountains towards east and also the ones to the south are also of limestone up toward the south of the Goroka valley and farther. Toward the west this formation is only found about 10 km west of Ega and from then on there is hardly any lime-stone in the whole Waghi-valley, at least not on the north side of the valley, as far as I know.

About 2 km north of Ega, where the Chimbu river has broken through the mountains, you will find a "natural" bridge, big rocks which have fallen down and settled over the river and so form a bridge. The river is far below the rocks at least by normal waterlevel about 15 - 20 meters.

The Chimbu river is about 30 to 40 m wide, and has a waterlevel of about 1 meter, but in flood it has often water up to 4 meters and higher and then the current is very strong. Where mountains or rocks are near the river, it is narrower but the current is more swift.

Everywhere where one finds lime stone formation there are also many caves to be found. Dozens of them are big enough so that people could use them as hiding places. Some caves run for hundreds of meters into the mountains. Some were used as burial places. In some rivers disappear. In some caves you will find some kinds of stalactites. One day's walk southward, there are some salt springs. This salt water trickles from below the limestone rocks and is caught by the people who work it into salt, which is then used for their own use and also for trade.

On the mountains which are inhabited by the Kamanuku, there is hardly any primeval forest left. At the slopes of the mountains there is some forest, but not much. But further north (of the Kamanuku) there

is still quite a bit of primeval forest. Even if there is no primeval forest left in the area where the Kamanuku live, the region does not give the impression of being destitute of forest. Certainly there are quite a number of grasshills especially towards the "valley" and in the valley, but there one finds also well wooded areas. The reason for that is that the people (the Kamanuku as well as the neighbouring tribes) used to plant trees in their gardens as well as vegetables, which then later could be used for timber and fences. This useful custom of planting trees is at least several hundred years old.

Closer to the valley one sees many grasshills without any trees, especially in the areas which are not, or are sparsely populated, or where the land is in dispute by wars etc. One can also make the observation that the population nearer to the mountains, or nearer to the forest, is denser than in the middle of the "valley". One may say correctly that the population has followed the existence of forest. In the areas, where the valley is wider (further west) eg. toward Mt. Hagen or the middle Waghi, one finds very little population, but then one finds a lot of swamp in the valley, sometimes many km long and wide. Further towards the north, where the mountains are higher and where the population is less dense, there is still a lot of primeval forest. The same is true south of the Waghi river, or for the slopes of the Kubor ranges. The population lives up to an altitude of 2.500 meters, some higher. But there it is cold and the vegetation is slow. Therefore it takes double the time and more for the food to grow, and the people need far more garden space for their sustenance. Ega is about 1.500 meters high, but that is about the lowest altitude in the highlands, except near the Maili river (Chuave) and further south.



### The Climate

Notwithstanding the fact that this area is close to the equator, the climate is, for Europeans as well, quite agreeable. The explanation for that is the high altitude. The highlands of Newguinea mostly have an altitude between 1.500 and 2.500 meters, as far as the people live.; seldom do they live higher than 3.000 meters. So the climate is similar to the summer months in some parts of Europe. At night the temperature is often between 10 and 15 % celsius, at places with high altitudes accordingly lower, and the day temperature is seldom higher than 30 % celsius. On clear nights the temperature is often quite chilly, especially in the mornings when the sun rises and the wind comes from a northerly direction. Rainy season and dry season make little difference in the temperature, but the coldest nights are when there is clear sky. The humidity is of course different in the rainy and/or dry season.

There is each year a rainy and a dry season, but they are not always the same. There are dry seasons where it is so dry, that nearly all vegetation ceases; but there are also so-called dry seasons where there is only little less rain than in the rainy season. In the rainy season it rains mostly in the afternoons, seldom a whole day or more days continuously. The rainy season in this area is in the months Jan. to April. August and Sept. are called by some "the little rainy season". But the dates are not exact, sometimes the rainy season may be 6 weeks earlier or later in the year. Sometimes in the rainy season there are heavy falls up to 10 or 12 cm in a day or within a few hours. But normally there are also quite a few nice days during the rainy season without any rain. During the dry season there are often showers and storms. Some "rainy seasons" bring only light rain. The rainfall at Ega is normally about 220 cm per year but in other areas and especially closer to the mountains, the rainfall is far higher, up to 500 and to 700 cm and more.



There are often cloudy and overcast days, especially in the rainy season, but there is seldom fog, except the morning fog, when the fog rises from the rivers, but about 9 o'clock or 10 o'clock the fog has mostly lifted or disappeared.

Compared with other areas in Newguinea the humidity is fairly low in this area. The sea does not influence the climate too much in the highlands. The air currents from the sea seldom penetrate over the high mountain ranges, therefore a good part of the humidity is kept away from the highlands.

Strong winds seldom occur except when combined with thunderstorms. However now and again storms uproot trees and blow a few houses over. In the dry season there is more wind than in the rainy season. Mostly the wind starts about 10 o'clock in the morning and ceases in the afternoon around 4 o'clock. At night there is very seldom any strong wind, except in a late thunderstorm, which are mostly also only in the afternoons.

Now and again some hail falls, mostly combined with electrical storms. In most cases there is little or no damage done, but I have observed hailstorms so severe that hardly a leaf was left on pawpaw and other trees, and vegetables in the gardens were flattened. Several times I could observe that the hail covered the ground for about 5 cm, but it does not last long before it is melted.

Earthquakes are fairly frequent, but in most cases they are not severe and do little damage. But there again, sometimes they are severe, up to strength 6 or 7. Volcanic eruptions have happened in this area in earlier days, but as long as people can remember nothing in this line has happened. In other parts of the Island there are still eruptions and even active volcanos (north of Madang) and volcanic eruptions have happened several times during my stay in Newguinea, such as the eruption at Rabaul and later the eruption at Mt. Lamington. In our area we felt both, but only as an earthquake.

The vegetation is generally prolific. The soil is mostly very porous so the water can quickly disappear, but on the other hand it dries out very quickly. Because there is more rain in the mountain areas, and it is also cooler, the humidity is also greater. The sweetpotatoes, the staple food in this area, need near Ega about 5 - 6 months to mature, but in an altitude of 1000 méter higher it takes at least 9 months to mature. Because the soil is very porous it needs a lot of rain. But there is one disadvantage, namely the soil is drained and impoverished very quickly and fertilizer which is put on is very often just washed away. A good shower of rain and most of the fertilizer is gone.

The flora is, as mentioned, exuberant, but not in the way that all the year around everything is in full bloom. There are of course many kinds and varieties of flowers, but there is also plenty of weeds. All is growing pell mell (or gaudily mixed). Also there are many kinds and species of trees, hundreds of them of which we white people normally learn to differentiate only a few.

The flora is exuberant, I said, but the fauna is scanty. In the grasshills there is scarcely any game worthwhile mentioning either animals or birds. The hawk is easily the biggest bird in this area and perhaps the wild mountain duck near the rivers. Of the animals mostly only different kinds of rats can be found.

In forest area it is a bit better. The biggest bird here is the cassowary and the biggest animals will be the tree kangaroos. Wild pigs do not live in this area, but people know them as they live on the mountain slopes towards the Ramu river on the other side of the divide. Whether the wild pig has been extinguished by the numerous population, or if it never penetrated into the highlands, I could not say. The fact is that none are here. Of the smaller animals most belong to the marsupials or semi marsupials.

Small animals and birds are there in fairly big numbers, all serve as nourishment for human beings. There is hardly anything which is not hunted and/or eaten, even lizards, beetles, spiders etc. Beside the meat the feathers of the birds are desired for decoration and also the skins of animals. Also hair of many animals is used to work together with fibre in strings, string skirts (aprons) etc. Larger animals such as: pigs, dogs etc. were not originally in New Guinea but have been imported, some perhaps many hundred of years ago, but they are all domesticated. Vermin (noxious insects) is plentiful.

Various kinds of snakes are known in this area, but there is hardly one poisonous. At least I have never heard of a case where somebody has been bitten by a snake and has died in all the years I lived in that area. That is of course different in other parts of New Guinea. People here talk also of pythons, really big ones. The first years of our stay here I often heard people talking about that, but I never saw one in this area. Further south in the forest areas, there are some pythons. In the stories the people have to tell, these big snakes are often mentioned.

The rivers are poor in regard to fish. Except for some catfish and a few eels, there are only very small varieties, hardly worth mentioning for human consumption, but still they are caught and eaten. Often they are only 5 to 8 cm long. There are also crabs, frogs etc. But as we are not used eating them, we seldom see any of them unless someone wants to collect them and asks for them.

Not much time is spent catching fish. Very often if one tries to catch fish, one is unsuccessful except at special times when the fish wander upstream, as for example the catfish seems to do in the dry season (spawning time?).

But to go hunting, especially into the forest area to the north, men liked to do often. Then they stayed away for several days, slept in huts, built for this purpose, and ate what they had bagged. Today not many go hunting anymore, because there is other work to be done, and money is earned and good meat for cheap prices can be bought, much more easily than catching it by hunting. Only the people who live near the forest still go hunting. In regards to animal food some changes have taken place. Many items which were eaten before are detested today. Often only little children still hunt and eat the "little animals" (beetles, spiders, caterpillars etc.).

## 2. The Settlements

I intended to write more in detail about houses etc. in volume II, so I would like to make only a few short remarks. The Kamanuku live in hamlets and not in villages. But the tribes toward the east, only about 10 km to the east, live in villages. The Chimbu area is the borderline between village settlements and hamlets. Right from the coast to here, coming from Lae or from Madang, people live in villages more or less differently shaped and situated (hidden in valleys near the rivers, or built on mountain slopes). In the Markham valley the villages are on the plain often near small creeks, in the eastern highlands often hidden near rivers (creeks) and in small valleys. Then the Maili river area, all of a sudden, on mountain ridges and slopes. In the eastern highland villages were mostly very heavily fortified by strong fences and especially the entrances to the villages, but in the area where the villages are built on the ridges and slopes there are no such fortifications. The open position seems to have given them enough protection against a sudden attack of the enemy. As mentioned, east of the Chimbu river the hamlet system begins. And the same kind of settlement goes through the highlands to Mt. Hagen (and further?). Mostly one finds groups of houses, 3 - 6 houses, which are built fairly close together.

Why all of a sudden the village settlements cease and the hamlet settlements start, for that I have no explanation to offer. According to custom and language the people belong to the same group. One can observe that people living in hamlets are "individualistic" to a certain extent, but which is primary and which is consequence, or what is cause and what is sequence (event?).

As a new-comer one can be easily misled, if one comes to these people during the time of preparation for a big pig festival, because at such a time they build many houses close together, for the whole clan and tribe, and also for the expected visitors. These festivals always take place where the tribe has its ancestral seat. Only if a tribe or a clan splits into parts will a new place be selected. The houses serve only for the duration of the festivals and afterward decay very quickly. These are the festival villages and not settlements for living in.

I like to mention at this point, that in the area here, where the Kamanuku live, I noticed a number of places which are very similar to the known dancing places at Mt. Hagen. The whole set-out of such a place, near the spot where they bury their deads, the planting of the trees around the places etc. reminded me very much of the Mt. Hagen dancing places (cult places). Only the houses for valuables I did not notice. In neighbouring tribes of the Chimbu area there are little houses at such places in which stones, used for cultic purposes, are kept, stones thought to be loaded with magic power. What influences or connections exist here, I can not say, but I know that today these places are out of use and have never been used for the last 50 years. Would this be influences from the west, or were there similar customs here which have been abandoned? The people I questioned about this could not give any explanation, and they themselves did not know the meaning of these places.



About housebuilding, clothing, gardens, weapons etc. I shall report more in volume II of this monograph. Of the gardens I want only to say that they are, if the area is flat enough, made in chessboard pattern, not only gardens for single persons and single families, but normally gardens for the whole group or clan. The gardens are fenced in, mainly to keep out the pigs, which roam around free, and then also to protect them against theft.

### 3. Remarks concerning the Prehistory

To say or to discover anything of the prehistory of the Chimbu people (and also of other people in Newguinea) is very difficult. One can presume, but anything certain is hard to say because there are no written reports or documents. Houses etc. were always made of material that does not last long (wood and grass), and after a while nothing is left. Findings in caves are sometimes claimed to have been made, but it was found later, that they were all of later dates. Also legends and fairy tales do not give much information.

Questions such as: How did the now existing population come into this area? Which way did they come? How long has the now existing population been here? Has there been any population before them which has vanished somehow? Such and similar questions arise from time to time but until now nobody has found a certain and conclusive answer to such questions. One can hardly doubt that the now existing population has been here for many hundreds of years, apart from little migration or displacements. But from where did they originally come? It is a fact that the most populated areas in Newguinea are often found at the upper courses of rivers, but not all upper courses of rivers are densely populated. That holds true in the Finschhafen area, the Finisterre mountains, the Balim valley in West Irian etc. Why that is,

and why some rivers have a big population and others have next to none, or are at least sparsely populated, I cannot answer. Is it only coincidence that none have come to the empty valleys? Sometimes climatic conditions may be the cause (malaria etc) but not always.

From where the present-day population has immigrated, this question I have to leave open. Did they come from east, or from the south or from the north? It is possible that they came from any of these directions, but if they came from south, it is hardly understandable why wide areas to the south are sparsely populated or not at all. One finds further south also a population that has little relation with the Chimbu people, in regard to living customs, house-building, making gardens, in language etc. Also there are very few trade connections with the area farther south. Also the other directions have their pros and cons. Later movements, which can be traced, have mostly taken place from east to west, as far as I could find out. Some people still know that their grandparents or great grandparents have migrated from such and such a place. But this affects only small groups of dozens or several hundred people. A certain movement one may also notice in the way that the population followed the forest (cut more down and made gardens etc). And when they made gardens the settlements were often also changed.

Has there been a population here before the present one? There are indications of that. There are for example the many mortars and pestles, stone clubs etc. which are found everywhere in the highlands. But such findings are not restricted to this area, as similar findings have been recorded for example around Finschhafen; in the Markham valley etc. But it is striking that such stones are found so numerously in many areas of the central highlands.



I have seen quite a number of these mortars and other stone implements from other parts of Newguinea, but no-where in such numbers as in the central highlands. Stones, which have most probably served as weapons, such as different kinds of clubs, eg. starclubs, disk-clubs, pineapple-clubs etc. or mortars and pestles with many decorations have been found in the whole inland, and also in the Chimbu area. Today one sees not many of them anymore. - That these stone implements were made by human hands and that they were used once upon a time, should be without any doubt, even if the natives are convinced and assert that the ancestors made them and sent them down to earth. That only shows that nobody of them today knows who used them and for what purpose they were made. Today such implements are used by a number of tribes only for magic purposes. But all the people, even the quite old ones which I questioned about the stones, asserted that they did not know who made them, but were convinced that they were of supernatural origin.

But if we say that another group of people has lived here before the present-day people came into the area, how is it to be explained, that nothing of the culture of this old people has survived, that nothing has come to the next group of population? Normally it happens, even if most males are killed in warfar that some men, and especially women and children, should have survived and kept at least some of their old culture. It seems as if here is an absolute gap. Who made these stone implements and for what purpose have these mortars and pestels been used?

As far as I know only the tribes of the so-called Kukakukastill have the stone clubs etc. as weapons. And they are in some respect neighbouring tribes of the people in the eastern highlands. But only these are known to me of the people who live in the vicinity

not of the Kamanuku, but not to far away from the tribes south of Kainantu. The Kamanuku did not venerate these stones but people of neighbouring tribes did, such as the Sinesina, Dom Diga etc. They are convinced that they are full of magic power, perhaps because they believe that the spirits of the ancestors have made them and sent them down to earth. Later in volume IV I intend to say a few words more about these stones.

It is true at some places in this area and far more towards the west, not far from Mt. Hagen, even today stones are worked into tools, especially into stone axes. These stone axes, or the blades of them are still made today, but most of them were for decorative purposes, at least the better ones, and were carried on the occasion of dances and festivals. They could of course be used in fights too. But I have never heard of anybody who has ever made mortars and pestles. Also stone clubs were never used in this area as far as people do remember.

To say anything final in these directions is impossible, as no evidence is at hand to prove it. Everything is still in the dark and seems to stay there. At best one can make a hypothetical assertion.

#### 4 The Kamanuku Tribe

Kamanuku is the name of the tribe whose culture I intend to describe in this monograph. Here and again I may make a glance into the culture of neighbouring tribes. They have very much in common with the Kamanuku, but in single customs they may differ. The tribe is a unit, above which no unit exists. Each tribe is divided into several groups, which I intend to call clans. In the Kamanuku language these units are called tambuno or ombuno. These clans are again subdivided into families.

The Kamanuku tribe comprises about 3000 people. It is only a small tribe. The area which is inhabited by them would hardly be more than 20 qkm.

The Kamanuku live north of our station Ega. The land on which the station was built belonged formerly to the Endugwa tribe. But already when we arrived here in the year 1934 the Kamanuku had the Endugwa beaten and chased from their ground here, and taken it into possession. The Endugwa did not give up their claim for this land and about some areas north of Ega, even now, after 40 years, there are some disputes about the land (not about the station, as that is bought by the government and we have it as a lease), but the Kamanuku have always been in possession of this area ever since. In reality this land (station) was more or less "no-man's-land", as the parties were still fighting now and again at that time. The Kamanuku had made gardens, especially on the place of the first airstrip but they had no houses here. There were only two or three houses at the edge of the airstrip today but only a few old people lived in them and that were perhaps "in-between" people. The Endugwa had been displaced and were living at Mirani.

Perhaps there was also another reason for the "no-man's-land". We were told that this land was "spirit-land" and if anyone should sleep here he would get sick and soon had to die. That was perhaps one of the reasons why they were only too willing to let us have the land. The real reason for this was, that we found anopheles (mosquitoes) and soon discovered that malaria was here already before we came, but only in the low lying areas.

The land, which is inhabited by the Kamanuku is mountainland, and more or less high hills. There are two mountains in their region and in between is a valley. The mountain north of Ega has still some trees near the top, but at the northside there is only grass (gardens). The mountains run in an east-west direction and are spurs of the Bismarck ranges. Between the two mountains is the Chimga river, which flows into the Chimbu river. The mountains are about 500 to 700 meters higher than our station is.

The Kamanuku tribe can be subdivided at first into two groups, the Umbaneku and the Sumbaiku. The name Umbaneku one hears seldom but the more the other name, Sumbaiku. These two groups are subdivided into the following clans:

Ambaneku	Sumbaiku
Okondie	Uglokane
Awakane	Uruwaglkane
Endugakane	Gawamo
Bomaikane	
Siambugla	

These 5 clans of the Umbaneku form a certain unity or in other words are more closely related to each other, and on the other hand the three clans of the Sumbaiku.

The clans are again subdivided as follows:

Okondie:	Garuwaikane M <sub>i</sub> tnandekane
Awakane:	Pakaku Kimaku
Endugakane:	Moglbakawamo Awaukakane Tomungoka
Bomaikane:	Oltokane Domkane Murumbakane
Siambugla:	Dakekane M <sub>i</sub> tnandekane Endugakane

The Sumbaiku with their three clans have the following subdivision:

Uglokane:	Pandenakane Embiramekane Genakane
Urumakane:	Koinmandaku Kuglamebaundonem
Gawamo:	Konodukukane Kurumbayounem

Each of these groups consists of several families. Each of these small group may have its own menhouse, or even more than one, according to the number of the families who belong to them, but several groups may also have only one menhouse, or people of different groups may partly live in this, partly in that menhouse, together with men of other groups, eg. of group A some may live with group B and others with group C. Also not everyone of these small groups has a place of their own for the pig festivals, but mostly several groups together. So the Okondie have their pig festivals at Uru-Pare. Of the Endugakane some go to Kurumuku and others to Wagl. The Awakane have their place at Singere together with the Kimaku Pakeku etc.

These clans deem themselves more or less closely related. That comes into the open at marriages. Basically the rule is exogamie, not for the tribe, but for the clan. People of the same clan cannot marry each other, but they may marry somebody of the same tribe. Here the relation to the tribe is decisive and not "blood-relationship" in our sense. A blood relationship amongst the partners who marry each other

hardly ever exists, ,seldom even that two girls are married into the same clan from the same place within a short time. That a man married two sisters of the same clan I have never observed.

Also some clans are more closely related to each other than others. Of the Okondie nobody may marry a girl of the Awakane clan and vice versa, but to marry women of the other clans is permitted. What is the rule for the Okondie and the Awakane is also true of the Endugakane and the Bomaikane. With all the other clans of the same tribe women and/or girls may be exchanged for marriage, or in other words: With them marriages were not prohibited.

This close relationship between the clans can also be observed in other respects, eg. How disputes or quarrels are dealt with. Because these clans feel more or less their close relationship and because this unity almost always takes into consideration the manpower (fighting men), and as disputes and quarrels happen not only in their own clan but also in their own families, these disputes were normally settled in bloodless ways, or, if it came to a fight, then seldom people were killed, but only wounded and then soon the differences were settled by exchange of presents of one party to the other.

In such fights usually no bows and arrows were used nor spears and axes, but they took sticks and cudgels (Spanish reed) or fence posts. It was more difficult to settle if disputes and quarrels were between clans who were not so "closely" related, eg. between the Okondie and the Sumbaiku. If they had a dispute

it counted more heavily and not infrequently a war had to settle the dispute, which could last for weeks and months. But even here the relationship was felt so strongly that after a while both sides asked for peace. They were people of the same tribe and they knew that, and acted accordingly. Enmity between people of other tribes lasted nearly for ever, which does not mean that they were always fighting.

But not only women and girls of the neighbouring clans were married, but also from other tribes in the neighbourhood. It is true there were often fights of one tribe with the other, but by the women of the tribes there was also mostly a connection with them, and when the connection was broken, these women were the ones who made the first steps for a new and friendly relation. But not only for this reason were women sought in marriage, but especially for good trade relations with other people. The more women of the other tribes, the more connection was between them. In the case of a fight the women of the other tribes were in no danger and no suspicion was thrown upon them. They belonged by marriage to the clan of the husbands, but they had always some connections with the clan or tribe in which they had grown up.

Some of the women of the Okondie are from: Endugwa, Naruku, Gená, Kewanduku, Yongumugl, Dika, Siambuka, Waugla and others.

Of the Sumbaiku I wrote down the names of the married men to see from where they had married their women. Of 46 men 19 had married girls of the Kamanuku tribe and 27 women were from other tribes. It would be about the same ratio with the other clans or tribes. One may say that about half of the women are from other tribes.



The Kamanuku live in hamlets and have there their family houses, namely houses for their women and children (and pigs), but the men have besides the family houses also their men-houses. It may be mentioned here that if a man had more than one wife, he had the family houses never at the same place, but mostly far apart, for each wife a separate house. In the menhouses the men sleep and also the bigger boys. The women with their children and growing girls (and their pigs) live in the family houses. Each one of the before mentioned clans have several menhouses for example the:

Okondie have 7 menhouses, the  
Awakane have 4 menhouses, the  
Endugakane have 7 menhouses, the  
Bomaikane have 7 menhouses, and the  
Siambugla have 5 menhouses.

The subdivision of the Sumbaiku have altogether 16 menhouses. The bordertribes of the Kamanuku are:

The Endugwa, they live south of them. The  
Naruku, they live farther west in the Waghi  
valley. The  
Gena, they live north and northwest near the  
mountains, The  
Kewanduku, they live east, the other side of  
the Chimbu. The  
Yoŋgumugl, they live east, the other side  
of the Chimbu river and in the  
next valley north, in the Kui river  
valley, a tributary of the Chimbu.

And then close behind the Endugwa toward south live the  
Dom - Diga.

All these tribes and many other are very similar to the Kamanuku in their customs and manner of life. Also the language of some of them is like the Kamanuku language (Kuman), others have dialectic differences.

All these just mentioned tribes are also subdivided in clans etc. I just want to mention that, not to give much more details, but only one example and that may suffice:

The Endugwa:            Tonggiaku  
                          Tanggiglku  
                          Guandi  
                          Eglku etc.

And some subdivisions:

                          Taiku  
                          Karawaglku  
                          Guandi akai  
                          Gegengi kogl sungwa  
                          Buruglku  
                          Mandaglku etc.

If you ask a Kamanuku man he is able to give you all the details. He knows all that. Perhaps because his mother came from there or because his father or uncle has trade relations with them, or because of a dispute or a fight, or there are still some claims to be made, or because he visited pig festivals and has still some obligations to some of the men in that tribe etc.

As already mentioned, all these neighbouring tribes were most of the time in a state of war with the Kamanuku (and not only with them). At least they were enemies and could not be trusted. That did not exclude some trade from going on, from one side to the other, especially in times, when no open fighting was going on. But even then everyone was cautious and seldom did one man go alone, but they always went in groups, always heavily armed. And then they met on a previously agreed upon place some distance away from the villages, a place which could be reached by both sides and mostly in open terrain to be safe against surprises. The women could normally go from tribe to tribe, even in times of war, and they often were the "go-between-people", for the two fighting parties.

The Kamanuku were known as especially warlike. They themselves said: " We are only a small tribe (in comparison with neighbouring tribes) the others are big". Therefore the ideal of the Kamanuku was said to be: Many women and many children, so the tribe would get strong. And then to be always on the attack. They have increased in the few decades I could observe them and they had fights with the Endugwa, Naruku, Gena, Kewanduku and Yongumugl in the time I could observe their lives, and they were successful in displacing some of them from their possessions.

As I said, the Kamanuku have increased in the last decades, but I would not call it an explosion of the population, but a good and healthy increase. Statistics from the years between 1930 and 1945 are not at hand, because they were lost during the war. But I noticed and observed that in most of the tribes there were more men than women. I had expected the opposite, because of the wars, in which more men lose their lives than women, and then also for the reason that many men lived in poligamy, so that one expected there to be a surplus of women. But that was not the case. Therefore there were always quite a number of men who could never marry. They were poor, the havenots, the servants of the richer ones.

According to government statistics of the year 1953 the Kamanuku population consisted of 1719 men ( including male children) and 1599 persons of the female sex. The whole population was then 3318 and of them were 120 more males than females.

In the census of 1963, 10 years later there were 1946 males and 1896 females. So the population had increased to 3842 and the surplus of male population was still 50. The increase in 10 years was 524 persons.

According to my observations the male population compared with the females, was far greater in the time when we arrived than it is now. I made some countings in the earlier days and found that far more males were in the different clans than there are today ( compared with the women). A reason for that I cannot offer.

One is often surprised to see how pell mell the people of the different clans have their houses and their gardens. The reason, or at least one reason for that would be that all feel, they belong to the same tribe, all the different groups of the subdivision. So one finds menhouses comparatively close together, even if the people belong to different clans. Also the borders of the land for gardens seem not to be absolutely fixed. It seems the borders between clan and clan are not so decisive, but it is different with the borders of the tribe. Also the borders in regard to the Sumbaiku are fixed borders. Otherwise there are no fixed and absolute borderlines. For father or grandfather had once some gardens on the ground that is normally claimed by another clan, he had planted some trees there or lived there for a while. All that and other reasons, give him a certain right of ownership for that land, where he had gardens etc. So maybe a man of the Okondie has his gardens in the middle of the Endugakane etc. He may live with them. The reason may be, that he has good friends amongst them, his wife may be from there, or a man has a wife closely related to him or to his wife etc. For that reason he may have his gardens with them. If one were to make a map and show the owners of the gardens according to their relations to the different clans, that would give a mixed or mottled appearance.

But it is quite different in regard to the people of the neighbouring tribes. Here they know fixed and firm boundaries. They have been firm for many hundreds of years. But even then, it may happen that a man from them lives with the Kamanuku (only seldom) and have his gardens there, in this case relationship with one of the women is normally the reason, but he can never be or become the real owner of that piece of land he lives on or where he has his garden.

These boundaries between the tribes are zealously observed and respected. And only by wars and full defeat may they be changed, but even then mostly only for a time, for the defeated and chased away tribe will try to get its land back with all means at its disposal. They may come to an agreement, they may try to buy allies and have a new war and try to chase the intruders off. If they are not in a possession to do this, then they will wait for the day of revenge. That may take years and decades, but it will never be forgotten. I have observed such cases for 40 years. The government has tried to bring the two tribes to an agreement, sometimes with success, but only if the sides really agree to the settlement. However if they are more or less urged or pressed to the agreement, they may say "yes" for the moment, but the case is not settled.

#### 5. Somatic remarks

I have taken some measurements. On the next pages I shall give the measurements of 30 men and 20 women. The height, shoulder height, pelvis height (upper rim) length of pace (inner length of leg) height of knee, circumference of chest, waist, hip, length of upper arm and lower arm and circumference of head, all given in cm. The measurements of the head such as: width of head (above the ears), width of temples and length of head and of the face are given in mm. The last measurements were made with a calliper compass. When you find two names given (women) then the second name indicates the tribe from which she has come (if she is not from the Kamanuku tribe.).

a) men		Kawagle Okondie	Kagl Bomaikane	Baundo Endugakane	Goie Awakane	44 Paglau	Okondie	Kapa Endugwakane	Tokia Endugakane	Kiglkamo Okondie	Tokoi Okondie	Ambane Awakane
Age		35	30	35	40	50	45	65	65	20	20	
Hight		159	149	165	158	158	161	161	152	158	163	
Shoulder hight		136	135	141	130	135	148	139	137	138	136	
Pelvis height		99	99	104	95	96	100	99	90	96	99	
Pace manner		78	74	80	65	71	75	77	79	71	70	
Knee hight		50	48	51	45	47	48	46	43	47	48	
Chest circu.,		91	90	93	95	86	85	85	82	84	88	
Waist c.		80	80	83	90	81	80	80	78	79	83	
Hip circ.		98	91	90	98	94	93	86	89	96	100	
Upper arm length		32	32	33	33	33	34	33	32	32	33	
Lower arm		31	28	28	29	27	28	28	28	27	28	
Head circ.		59	60	59	61	57	55	59	59	61	59	
head width		144	146	149	145	145	135	148	147	147	150	
Cheek bone width		145	138	137	135	144	134	141	130	130	135	
Temple width		120	125	118	114	116	114	120	118	119	123	
Head length		192	194	180	201	175	180	196	190	190	185	
Face length		130	123	128	125	118	136	141	132	118	129	

Name and village	Gende Endugakane	Yomba Endugakane	Boi Awakane	Wau Endugakane	Gena Okondie	Endikan Okondie	Giai Awakane	Konma Endugakane	Kereंगा Sumbaiku		
Age	55	45	65	40	35	40	35	30	65	55	
Hight	162	146	165	157	155	158	161	159	153	145	
Shoulder hight	140	131	131	134	132	131	139	132	128	129	
Pelvis hight	102	102	101	98	92	95	96	85	90	95	
Pace inner	76	73	73	74	65	72	75	74	70	70	
Knee hight	47	45	47	46	46	45	46	45	43	44	
Chest circ.	86	85	89	95	92	88	87	89	88	85	
Waist circ.	84	82	85	87	87	78	79	83	83	83	
Hip circ.	97	96	93	96	100	92	94	92	88	92	
Upper arm	35	31	33	32	31	32	34	32	31	30	
Lower arm	28	26	29	28	28	26	28	28	28	25	
Head circ.	55	57	59	60	65	57	59	60	58	56	
Head width	147	150	140	153	149	145	145	141	155	146	
Cheek bone width	135	134	134	145	146	140	140	135	135	136	
Temple width	125	113	120	128	118	120	114	112	115	120	
Head length	175	187	193	185	196	184	195	194	180	172	
Face length	134	138	140	135	136	142	140	134	133	130	



Name and clan	Yagikumugl	Endugwa	Kimbe Okondie	Nondo Okondie	Banga Okondie	Ako Okondie	46	Daya Okondie	Korugl Awakane	Teine Okondie	Waim Awakane	Wenekomba Endugwa
Age	30	60	25	30	40	40	30	55	30	25		
Height	151	160	156	154	150	161	166	170	163	163		
Shoulder height	134	135	130	129	125	135	140	145	137	140		
Pelvis height	96	100	86	95	95	100	101	105	101	102		
Face inner leg	73	75	71	76	70	84	76	78	79	77		
Knee h.	46	46	47	46	45	50	48	50	50	47		
Chest circ.	86	88	88	84	89	83	91	97	94	89		
Waist circ.	82	83	78	82	79	73	87	91	87	79		
Hip circ.	94	97	94	90	93	86	97	103	104	96		
Upper arm	30	32	32	30	32	30	30	33	33	32		
Lower arm	26	27	26	27	26	26	28	28	29	28		
Head circ.	60	60	60	60	59	59	59	63	61	63		
Head width	150	144	156	148	150	140	140	146	150	145		
Cheek bone w.	150	136	145	132	135	134	126	142	140	140		
Temple w.	124	111	127	116	114	110	118	130	124	124		
Head length	200	200	190	186	190	190	187	200	195	189		
Face length	130	142	134	129	125	122	124	145	140	126		

b. Women

Name and clan	Toka	Endugwakane	Epema Awakane	Wagla Awakane	Kai Awakane	Guru Awakane	Buglandi Endug./Kogo	Boql Okondie/Gena	Gundo Sumbaiku	Mogлтаupe Awakane/Endugwa	Kiglku Awak/Kangaglkwa
Age	30	60	40	25	45	30	50	50	30	60	
Hight	154	149	150	159	152	162	149	150	140	148	
Shoulder hight	129	126	126	132	127	139	125	125	110	126	
Pelvis h.	97	91	90	97	92	101	89	89	86	94	
Pace length	69	68	71	71	71	76	78	77	66	75	
Knee h.	47	41	42	46	43	47	45	43	40	45	
Chest circ.	83	83	83	85	88	82	84	80	75	82	
Waist circ.	76	86	80	77	85	81	82	80	75	86	
Hip circ.	95	99	94	98	94	98	96	96	94	91	
Upper arm	31	28	28	30	31	32	31	30	27	30	
Lower arm	25	25	25	28	25	29	25	25	23	26	
Head width	133	147	139	143	140	135	137	147	131	132	
Cheek bone w.	130	135	132	135	135	126	134	136	118	132	
Temple w.	111	119	111	125	115	112	120	115	115	111	
Head lenth	187	176	176	186	190	185	188	184	170	176	
Face length	125	125	120	118	137	118	125	120	115	131	

Name and clan	Wowo Okondie/Barengigl	Kiake Awakane/Damaku	Kondaugl Awak./Yongomugl	Ian Awak./Gogmei	Garigl Okondie/Gogmei	Akum Okondie	Watna Okond./Endugwa	Nerá Awak./Endugwa	Yani Ok./Endugwa	Miri Ok./Yongumugl
Age	55	50	25	30	20	22	35	40	25	40
Height	150	150	142	150	152	148	155	154	148	157
Shoulder height	125	125	121	127	128	122	133	128	128	134
Pelvis height	92	92	86	89	97	91	97	95	90	99
Knee height	44	44	44	46	45	45	46	46	41	49
Pace length	73	71	69	70	70	65	71	74	69	74
Chest circ.	78	84	84	83	81	85	81	79	82	82
-Waist c.	76	81	88	76	78	80	82	79	79	79
Hip c.	88	95	95	96	94	98	88	100	97	97
Upper arm	31	31	29	29	28	31	31	31	29	31
Lower arm	25	24	25	25	27	26	26	26	24	26
Head circ.	56	57	58	57	53	58	56	57	56	56
Head width	140	145	135	135	140	147	140	135	135	140
Cheek bone w.	127	130	128	130	128	135	126	127	130	125
Temple w.	110	111	117	110	114	125	119	117	112	112
Head length	185	186	188	173	170	185	185	181	182	180
Face length	133	122	115	118	126	121	122	108	111	127

The measurements given on the previous pages are of 30 men and 20 women. Then I took the average and came to the following results:

The measurements for the men give:

In cm. Men

	smallest	largest	average
Hight	142	165	155.03
Shoulder.h.	121	148	132.73
Pelvis.h.	85	104	95.03
Pace l.	65	80	73.27
Knee h.	41	51	45.90
Chest circ.	78	95	86.07
Waist "	78	90	84.30
Hip "	86	100	94.10
Upper arm l.	28	37	31.73
Lower arm l.	24	31	27.00
Head circ.	53	65	57.63

in mm

Head width	135	147	143.97
bone			
Cheek/width	126	146	134.73
Temple width	110	128	117.37
Head length	170	201	183.70
Face length	111	142	128.70

Women

in cm

	smallest	largest	average
Hight	140	157	150.09
Shoulder hight	119	140	131.40
Pelvis h.	86	105	92.70
Pace l.	66	84	71.40
Knee h.	40	50	45.70
Chest circ.	75	91	86.07
Waist "	73	91	81.70
Hip "	86	104	95.50
Upper arm lenth	27	35	30.70
Lower arm l.	23	29	26.35
Head circ.	53	63	56.65

in mm

Head width	131	156	142.65
Cheek bone width	126	145	134.65
Temple width	110	127	117.60
Head length	170	200	181.75
Face "	115	142	127.55

I want to add a few remarks, which can be partly seen in the measurements given on the previous pages, but partly cannot be given simply by numbers.

As can be easily seen the Kamanuku are of middle height. The body and limbs are as a rule well proportioned. The Kamanuku are, generally speaking, of robust constitution and strong physique, the muscles are well developed, especially with young men. When someone is in poor condition then he is sick. The young people of both sexes are normally in good condition, but fat people can very seldom be seen. Also children are mostly well nourished except if the mother has not enough milk for the baby. The weaning age is always critical for the child when the mother has not enough milk anymore and when the digestive organs of the child are not as yet strong enough to digest the rough food of the grown ups, or when they cannot eat the quantity which they would need to live on and grow. Milk from animals was not available, therefore small children had to eat sweet-potatoes etc. as the grown people do. But they cannot eat the quantity which they would need as the sweet-potatoes are not very rich in protein etc. So one will observe that many children in the age of 1 - 5 years are retarded in their development. But it is not very often that a mother has not enough milk for her baby. If it happens, or if a mother is sick and has no food for the baby for a while, then other women may help out and feed the baby. If that is not possible then the child will die. Because of this (if the mother cannot feed her baby and it will die) a natural selection has taken place in the course of years.

In most cases the mother nurses the child for several years. If she cannot do this for one reason or another (for example if she expects another baby) then the child has to suffer. Undernourished children can be seen now and again.

If one lives with the people he will also observe that they grow old fairly quickly, especially the women, but also some of the men. For the women there is, besides the other work they have to do, pregnancy and nourishment of the children, which puts extra strain upon them. There is normally plenty of food available, the quantity is not lacking, but the quality is. It is easily understandable that the body cannot take the quantity of food, which it would need and so it suffers. Sweetpotatoes, which are the staple food, are low in protein, but by eating different types of vegetables, of which there is a good variety and of which a good quantity is grown in the gardens, this is partly compensated for. Meat is eaten from time to time, but then often in such enormous quantities, that it does not do much good for nourishment. Meat was not eaten regularly except small life such as beetles, lizards etc. If then the body has to work hard, or if the teeth decay etc. it is no wonder that the nourishment of the body is not as it should be and people grow old, even if they are still young in years.

Then one has also to take into consideration that there are times where sweetpotatoes and vegetables are scarce. The cause may be a long dry season, or a wet and rainy season, plagues of beetles and caterpillars may destroy the gardens, there may be war and no time is spent on making gardens, or some other cause. One can understand then that nourishment is not as it should be.

The colour of skin of the Kamanuku I would call a middbrown. There is of course some variety, some are lighter, some darker, but only to a certain extent. A lighter colour is regarded as beauty. Very dark coloured people (as for example the Buka from new Britain) do not exist here. Small children when they are born are fairly light-coloured but the skin darkens soon. In about 3 to 6 weeks they are nearly as dark as their parents. When they live in the houses, or when they have covered their skin (with wearing apparels) that has some influence on the colour of their skin, for the parts which are covered and are not exposed to the light (sun) are always lighter coloured than the rest.



Nearly everywhere in Newguinea, almost in every tribe, there are some so-called albinos. Amongst the Kamanuku and the surrounding tribes there are also a few of them living, but not very many. The skin of these people is quite light coloured, nearly a reddish white. Also the eyes have less pigment and are sensitive against light. The colour of them varies, some are very light, others are only a bit light. The hair is mostly red or reddish white. The skin is mostly full of freckles. Because the eyes have not enough pigment they cannot have their eyes open in bright sunlight. They have their eyes then mostly almost closed and/or they blink. The very light ones, which I would call the real albinos, are not very numerous. As this is inherited, much depends on the parents. Often only one of them is of light skin. The children of albino parents (both) are normally also albinos. But it will be different if only one of the parents is an albino. Then the children may be light coloured, or they may be dark coloured as other people, or some may be light and others dark coloured. Or they may be pigmented somewhat in between. Each tribe knows that such people are there and find it quite normal. They call them: kuruo, which we must translate with: white or yellow white or yellow red. The same name is used for the white people.

The children of the albino are estimated a little less in value than the normal brown children. That shows later, when they reach marriage age. A young man with albino skin has to pay more for a girl with brown skin, if he wants to marry a girl of that type, and a girl with albino skin will cost less in bride-price when she marries, than a normal coloured girl. It also may happen that a boy refuses to marry an albino girl or a girl may refuse to marry an albino boy.

The hair of the Kamanuku is (as with nearly all people in NG) dark brown, not black, and nearly always very curly (crinkled). Straight hair with children happens now and again, but seldom. The body is only sparsely covered with hair and mostly very short, but there are exceptions. The hair of the beards grows well with most men, but these

hairs are not stronger than the hairs on the heads, (as they are mostly with white people). The beards have also the same colour as the hair on the heads, not different as with many white people. Also the eyebrows, the hair in the armpits, the hair near the genital parts, are all of the same colour and strength and all are curly. The forehead is middling-high and free from hair. Bald heads one sees now and again, but not often. The beards were very often wrapped up in one or two strands (skeins), especially the older men did that, probably to stretch the hair, for long beards was a sign of beauty as well as authority.

The forehead is middling high and fairly steep and not flat or receding. The skull is middling large and most people have a "round skull". More details may be seen in the measurements.

The position of the eyes is hardly different from that of the white people. The colour of the eyes is always a dark brown, nearly black, perhaps a little darker than the colour of their skin. Light coloured or blue eyes I have never observed. The albinos have, as already said, lighter coloured eyes. Very protruding (or goggle) eyes are very rare and the same can be said of very deep set eyes.

The face mostly gives a round impression, but there are many varieties, smallface, long face etc. The face was nearly always tattooed, at least with all the women and girls. The men on the contrary did not have their faces tattooed, but their shoulders and backs instead.

The nose is middling long and the bridge of the nose is mostly straight, and middling high. Now and again one can notice a nose of "semitic type" or a hook nose (eagle nose). The main difference, if you compare their noses with the noses of the white race, would be the bases of their noses, as they are

a bit wider than with the white race (the base, just over the lips, or the wings of the nose, are wider). But it is not very much, normally the difference will be a few mm.

The septum of the nose of all men is perforated. That has religious significance and is done when the boys are still fairly small. A second reason for this custom is that they can put decorations into the nose, nose-sticks of boar tusks, pieces of gold-lipshells etc. The wings of the noses on both sides are also perforated, at least 4 to 5 holes on each side. Sometimes they make also a hole into the tip of the nose, but that is not customary with the Kamakuku. The tribes north of the Bismarck ranges, also many in the eastern highlands have these holes in their nosetips, especially the women (seldom a man). They carry a bone in these hole, a bone of the flying fox wings. It looks like a kind of feeler. All these holes, in septum, nose wings etc. are mostly made to decorate the nose.

The mouth is well proportioned. The lips may be a fraction fuller than the lips of the European races, but one can see very small lips also. Now and again one observes also thick and blubber lips (negro lips). The mouth is mostly not very wide. Too wide a mouth is regarded as unlovely or ugly.

The teeth are mostly well developed. Missformations, especially of the front teeth are not very numerous. The teeth always look clean. The reason for that would be, at least partly, that the people do not chew beetlenuts, but they eat nearly daily some sugar cane. By doing this they "clean" their teeth at the same time. But the presumption that the people have only healthy teeth is not correct. I am inclined to say that decayed teeth are fairly numerous, even with young people. At the time, when there was nobody here

who could do anything for their teeth(extracting etc.) in other words,when there was no medical care in any way, and that was all the time up to the first world war, many people came to our station and complained about tooth ache.So I had occasion not only to see many bad or decayed teeth,but I could also give some help for the sufferers by extracting the bad teeth.

The cheekbones(zygomatic bones) are mostly a bit protruding, but there are also faces which are very small.

The ears are middling large. Wide outsticking ears are rare.Earlobes are not developed, the cartilage of the ears is joined with the skin of the head without forming lobes. The lower part of the ear is always perforated.Here pieces of ornaments can be put in, or pieces of charms such as rat tail/etc.(hunting charm).Sometimes one notices that the lower part of the ear is slit.That has been done as a sign of mourning.

The body is mostly well proportioned.Somé people are slender and long, others short and stout.In short: All shades from thick to thin, from slim to stout may be observed. The measurements will give more details.

The women are as an average a little smaller than the men.The breasts of the women(mamae) are as a rule well developed. Abnormal breast are seldom. Young girls have mostly round or "ball" breasts.Pointed (tapered) breasts or "bottle" breasts are not seen so often.But even young unmarried girls already have very often"hanging"(pendulous) breasts, especially if they are about 20 years and over. Old women have nearly all hanging breasts.Women with childlike habitus are very rare.

Sometimes one will notice that with young men and grown up boys also the breasts(mamae) are developed more than usual. This is looked upon as unlovely or unattractive.

Legs and arms of the Kamanuku people are well proportioned and middle long and muscular. The muscles of arms and legs, especially with young men, are well developed. Spindle legs are seldom seen unless the person is sick. The calf muscles are often strongly developed (bulging) especially with young men. Hands and feet are usually fairly wide. All people are flat footed, not as a sickness but as a normal formation. The wide feet are perhaps caused by the feet never having been hemmed into anything (shoes etc). Because they are flatfooted the whole foot (sole) touches the ground from toe to heel. When they walk the position of the foot is toes turned in a little. That one notices especially when they climb mountains. At least that seems to be the position which they like most.

Deformation of body and limbs can be observed. People may have been deformed when born, but others have gotten that way through sickness, accidents, wounds in fights and wars, or even by mutilating themselves. That happens when one of the close relatives dies (cutting off fingers, cutting (slitting) ears etc. Also various sicknesses can cause mutilations such as framboesia (yaws). I have observed that noses had been eaten away by framboesia, and leprosy destroys fingers and hands, toes and feet. Here and there some seem to have become crippled by infantile paralysis. Deformations caused by sicknesses are rarer today, as nearly everywhere medical care is available. Often one could also see men with only one eye. The other one had been lost in warfare, namely mostly the right eye, because they peep around the edge of the shield to the right side (shield is carried with left arm and hand). Lefthanded people one can also observe. They use weapon and tools just the opposite way as the others do. There are also blind people, deaf, and deaf and dumb people etc.

## 6. Sicknesses and Native Medicine

I do not intend to make a detailed report about sicknesses etc., since I am not qualified to do so, but in the first years of our stay until after the first world war, we were the only white people who knew a little about sicknesses and therefore tried to give some help where possible. Luckily I had had some training especially in tropical medicine in Tuebingen as well as at the University at Hamburg. Also my wife had some experience, as she had worked for several years in a hospital as nurse. Besides that we could always consult our doctors who were working in the hospitals in Finschhafen and Madang.

People were suffering from all kinds of sicknesses. One would be correct to say: Nearly all sicknesses known at home are also found here, besides the many tropical diseases.

To be sure, people give the impression of being very healthy, but that does not mean that they do not suffer from sicknesses. Normally one does not see the sick people for they are living in the houses or even in isolation. One must add that in regard to sicknesses they are more or less quite helpless. They neither know the causes of the sicknesses nor do they know a way to heal them. And medical help as we understand it, was not available, at least not until after the war (1946-47). In many cases we could give help and soon we had many patients who visited our station daily.

In regard to some sicknesses people had developed treatments, especially with wound etc. contracted in fights etc. I intend now on the following pages to give a little insight in the diverse sufferings of the people and also to mention the kinds of remedies or treatments which they used and had developed.

Broken bones, caused by falling (from trees etc) falls, hits etc. were treated by putting the broken limbs into splints of wood, which were put around the broken part and then the limb was rapped up. Split treebark, just fitting for arm or leg, pieces of wood etc. were used.



I have several times inspect@d such "dressings" and have to say, that they had been done so efficiently, with the primitive materials they had at their disposal, that I could not have done it better. On the other hand one saw also broken bones which had been treated in such a way that they had grown together crooked and bent.- If it happened to be a compound fracture, then they did not know what to do and mostly the patients contracted sepsis and died after some time. They wrapped the broken limb up and soon it inflamed and puss developed and then sepsis.

If people were wounded (hurt) in fights in wartime then several surgical treatments were known and performed. If a man was injured by an arrow or by a spear, deep incisions were made below the place where the person was hit, even the abdominal cavity was opened to take out broken arrow points etc. They did know that if such foreign bodies should stay, the life of the man was probably lost. For example, if one got an arrow into his shoulder or upper arm close to the shoulder, then they made the incision lower down either under the arm or in the armpit, to let blood and fluit run out (drain off). If they did that, they claimed, the patient had a chance of living, if not then the patient would most probably die. That was correctly observed, for only too often inflammation and sepsis did follow such injuries. If an arrow had penetrated into the abdomen, an incision just above the groins was made. If the foreign matter was still in, they tried to get it out with their hands or fingers. From the incision blood and fluit could run out and the sick one had to lie on the side of the incision. Often a kind of drainage was applied. Bambu pipes or rolled leaves were inserted into the wounds and by them the fluids could drain off. These operations were made with stone knives or stone splinters (di gotne). Any anaesthetics were of course unknown, but they knew how to prevent too much bleeding,



for example, if an arm and/or leg was hurt and a big blood vessel was hurt and bleeding. But on the other hand that was also very dangerous as they did not know how long they might leave the rope (string) on and only too often it happened, that it was too long and the limb died off and the patient died. One is surprised, that in such surgical operations people did not all die, as they had of course no idea of any sterilizing treatment. On the other hand the patients could stand a lot and their bodies also, for white people would often hardly have survived. I have seen healed wounds, where a spear had pierced and penetrated the chest, from front to back, and the man said that the spear protruded a long way out the back. He was of course sick for a long time, but he had recovered and was a leading man later. If such surgical incisions were made near the chest they called them: dangigl bendingwa, and when they were made in the abdomen they were called: keruwa sendingwa.

In the following I want to mention only a few of the many sicknesses, and if remedies were used against such a sickness, I also want to mention them.

1. Pneumonia, here called: boromai boglkwa, was a sickness well known. Rain, cold winds, cause colds, and if they are not careful it often develops into pneumonia. If they then had a temperature they liked to sit in the cold wind, or sit down in cold water for a while. Otherwise they did not know what to do. That pneumonia very easily could be fatal, that they knew very well. If a patient did not improve, people went to the magician and asked him for help. They had not to wait long. He arrived, grotesquely decorated and tried to cast the sickness out by enchantments. (to throw out the evil spirit). A boiled rat he brought along and ate a little bit of it and also offered small bits of it to the patient. They ate it, he a little then the patient a little bit of it etc. These small bits he plucked off with his fingers. Then the magician took flowers and put them on the patient, especially dense where the place of the sickness was. Then he murmured his enchantment or incantation. By touching the body of the patient and by the murmuring of the enchantment the sickness should go into the flowers and leaves (they thought). After a while

the magician blew and with his hand brushed all the leaves and flowers carefully into a heap and took them into his hands. Then he bundled them and went away a short distance and dug them into the ground, about 20 to 30 meters away. . . . By that action the evil spirits should leave the body of the patient and soon he should recover. Of course, the magician had to be paid for, mostly it costs a pig (which was to be killed and prepared, while he was working). In this way I saw the magician work.

2. Coughs and ordinary colds were not taken very seriously. Mostly nothing was done. They knew that after a few days it would all be over, and the patient would be healthy again. If the cough was severe then they had some remedies. They took gene (kind of ginger) and nigl gagagl (plant growing near the creeks) and gou kane (a kind of vine), chopped everything to very small pieces and put it into a bambu pipe, added water and put the pipe onto the fire to be boiled. After a while salt was added and then the content of the bambu pipe was poured onto leaves. When it was cool enough the pulp or mush was given to the patient to eat. This pappy or pulpy stuff was called: endi nuglo koglkwa.

### 3. Swollen Spleen

The cause for this sickness was unknown. But as malaria was already here and was increasing this certainly was the cause in most cases. The sickness was called: Wamga moglkwa. As a remedy against this sickness dagera leaves were used. These are small leaves of a plant that grows as a parasite on trees. It is a plant similar to a big bulb but the skin is very rough. In these plants live many ants. The leaves of this plant and leaves of a thorny vine (runner or tendril) kewan they gathered and also bugla bogl kugl, a small weed that grows on the ground and smells very strongly. Then they chopped the whole lot, put salt to it and gave that the patient to eat. They asserted, that it helped.

4. Cirrhosis. Another sickness that occurs fairly frequently is a kind of liver sickness (cirrhosis). That sickness, or one very similar, is also known with white people, but there the cause is mostly attributed to alcohol and then mostly with old people. But alcohol in any form was not known here and the sickness is found not only with old people, but also with young people, even children. This sickness was feared and correctly so, as no remedy was known (and so far is not known in medicine). They tried to help by giving some emetics (to make the patient vomit) but without lasting effect. If the patient became seriously ill, they isolated them. They had to live in a house by themselves. Nearly everyone stayed away from them for fear of being infected. If such a patient had died, they did not bury him themselves, but asked people of another clan or tribe to do this. They thought the sickness would be infectious only for the relatives. Sometimes the bodies were thrown into caves, or they buried them at a place where no people lived nearby, or they threw the bodies into the river, so that they were taken away by the water. With the body also the sickness would disappear, as the soul (spirit) is thought always to be near the body, also after death.

In recent years many physicians have made research work and tried to find a remedy, but as far as I know nothing definite has been found as yet. (This sickness is commonly called: cancer of the liver).

5. Framboesia (Yaws) is a tropical disease and was known all over Newguinea. We found it also in the Central Highlands. Hundreds of cases were around our place and it was easy to see all stages of this sickness. People also had a notion that this sickness was in some ways contagious, therefore the sick people were mostly isolated, especially in the second stage of the sickness, but only until the pustulus (like raspberries but yellow) were healed.

These pustules may cover the whole body from head to foot, but they may also be only at certain parts of the body, such as face, or the head as far as hair grows etc. The first infection, mostly a pustule on the edge of the foot, were not deemed dangerous. Only when the many pustules on the body appeared, which occurs several weeks later, were the sick people isolated until these soars were healed again. The third and most dangerous stage of this sickness was not recognised at all. Here most people believed that evil spirits were the cause of the sickness. If the patients died their bodies were disposed of as said under 4.

Luckily we were in a position not only to give relief but we had means to cure the sickness. After a single injection of neosalvasan within 3 or 4 days the pustules healed and the patients felt better. But it was necessary to give them a second and if possible a third injection to be fully healed. However it was not easy to get the people back for that, because they saw no necessity for it, because they felt well. When it became known that this sickness could be healed in such a short time and with such an easy method people came in dozens each day and wanted to get an injection, not only for this sickness, but for any other ailment. The government was always very helpful and supplied the bulk of the medicaments, we only had to keep track of the people who were injected.

In recent years one hardly ever sees a case of yaws. New medicaments such as penicillin etc. have eradicated this sickness to a great extent.

(I have often wondered why not more cases of syphilis were found in NG. Should the Yaws and syphilis exclude each other? The spirochetes of both sicknesses are very similar.)

6. Dysentery. Amoebic dysentery was wide spread. The other type which is caused by bacillus was observed sporadically and was mostly "imported" by people from other areas. There was a very severe outbreak of this kind of dysentery in the beginning of last war and

several hundred people died of this epidemic. But quick action of government officers could confine it to a comparatively small area.

Whether diarrhoea is caused by bacillus or by amoebics the natives cannot know. Against these types of sicknesses they used as remedy a special type (kind) of banana, the kiunambu and another, the taemba. These bananas were roasted in hot ashes and with skin and all (carbon) eaten. Also green and ripe guavas and also the leaves of the guava trees are said to be a remedy against these sicknesses. The fruits are eaten as taken from the trees and the leaves are boiled and then a kind of "tea" from them is drunk.

7. An other kind of Diarrhoea has been known for many decades, but only in recent years have physicians done some research work. This type of sickness the natives call de membigl. The full expression they use is: de membigl ere geglkws (they get diarrhoea and die). This kind of diarrhoea is mostly connected with the big pig festivals and is not contagious. The cause seems to be eating of pig meat in excess, especially if the meat is not fresh anymore, perhaps 3 or 4 days old. The medical term for this sickness is: enteritis necroticans. If the infection is only light, the patient may overcome the sickness but in more severe cases it is always fatal. In recent years the lives of a number of patients could be saved by removing the infected intestines.

8. Boils, by the natives called umun ungwa or moi nongwa, are quite frequent in this area, but the so-called tropical ulcers are rare, at least compared with many areas at the coast. Today boils of all kinds are effectively dealt with by injections (nipped in the bud before they develop to full size).



In former times boils of all kinds were treated by the natives. They took the sap of the kogla tree, which is white and resinlike, mixed it with ashes and then put this type of ointment on the affected place and wrapped tree leaves and strings around. Another remedy was: Certain tree leaves such as oglkawo etc. were chewed, or they took overripe bananas, wrapped them as they were or mashed them and put them in leaves, warmed the pulp on a fire and put that on the boils. Also the juice of pandanus and other things were used to treat the boils and wounds.

9. Scabies, here called andembugl sungwa, was in this area before we arrived. It seems to have been "imported" by trade relations with the north. The body part most affected are: the hands and the hips or waist, namely the parts of the body where the belts are fastened. This seems to irritate the skin which is then more easily affected by scabies.

That scabies is contacted by touching and by dirty wearing apparels was not known to the people. More frequent communications and visits of the people amongst themselves, the living close together of children in schools etc. have increased scabies to a large proportion. Even with modern remedies available one can see a lot of scabies around, mostly people don't care, as the sickness causes only minor inconvenience.

They themselves have some remedies, or at least they claim to have. The effected parts of the body are frequently rubbed with lard or pandanus "fat" (juice). They also chewed mekirimba leaves and put the mush on the affected parts of the skin. There it dried and stayed. They claimed that underneath it healed off.

10. Malaria. That Malaria was already here when we arrived, I have already mentioned. I think it is correct to say that it has been brought into this area by trade connections with the people in the north, especially with the people of the other side of the Bismarck ranges, where they live in lower altitudes, and suffer a lot of malaria. At our first visit, we found the anopheles mosquito here.  
( Dr. med. T. Braun. ).

But malaria here was only in the very low lying places. It is a fact, that malaria since then spread to a far wider area, reasons for that may be, amongst others: more frequent communications, the coming of many people from the coast, who were infected before they came here, but also the anopheles will have acclimatized to the higher altitudes and for that reason malaria also has spread to the higher altitudes. But still today there is a limit and the places in high altitudes are not affected. The natives did not know the sickness and had no remedy. The white people were able to help and many lives could be saved, especially of small children. Cerebral malaria was fairly frequent.

11. Leprosy here called kaglande, one can find in all the areas of the Chimbu and the adjacent Central Highlands. If one is here only for a short visit, he may not see any people affected by leprosy. We did not see any at first either. But when they hoped leprosy could be healed by a single injection then people suffering from leprosy came in by the dozen. With-  
in the Kamanuku the number affected is not very high, but there are areas where 3 - 5 % are affected. And further south, the percentage is even said to be as high as 10 %.

In the beginning of the sickness it is not taken very seriously. In most cases the patients feel no pain. The sickness and the progress of it was fairly well known by the people. In the advanced state the affected people were isolated, that is, they were not permitted to stay with the other people in the villages or hamlets. They or other people built for them small huts somewhere in the vicinity of the other houses. There they had to live and make their gardens, if they were still able to do that. But when they were too sick to make gardens and then tried to help themselves from other gardens to appease the pangs of hunger, they were often killed, not because they were sick, but for theft.



In the advanced state fingers and toes, even most of hands and feet fall off. When they saw themselves in this pitiable state, quite a number of them despaired and sprang into the rivers, or hanged themselves. In that way they ended their sorrowful lives. There are many kinds of leprosy, but we cannot go into detail here.

If such people who were suffering from leprosy died a natural death, then their bodies were buried somewhere apart from the other burial places, or their bodies were thrown into the river.

12. Other diseases. There were besides the mentioned diseases a lot more, such as bad eyes and ears, especially infection of the middle ear etc. That many suffered from decayed teeth I already said. Also inflammation of the groins were frequent. Other sicknesses such as you find at the coast eg. ringworm (*tinea imbricata*) I did not observe and when people from the coast came in who had ringworm, they mostly healed without treatment. But on all these sicknesses we cannot say any here.

13. Sicknesses of the children. I mean here such as are epidemic, occur from time to time, such as: chicken pox, diphtheria, hooping cough, mumps etc, but most of them have only appeared in later years and then very often adults also are affected by them, which indicates that they were not here before. If adults are infected then these sicknesses are often serious and even fatal (for example with mumps). But today medical care has made good advances and against most of these sicknesses the children get prophylactic injections. There are always from time to time single cases, but they are endemic and not epidemic.

14. Other epidemic sicknesses occur from time to time as for example the 'flue (influenza). Before there was contact with the white people most of these sicknesses were unknown. They have been brought into the country from outside, without any doubt. In the beginning of the thirtieth (1930) there was a very severe 'flue epidemic which went through the whole highlands and many people died as a result. I could gather evidence, especially of the eastern highlands which only were known to me at that time, that single villages often lost more than 20 people by death. In later epidemics the result has not been quite so severe any more, probably because the natives now have a certain immunity against the sickness. But with every new occurrence they suffer much, as just recently with the so-called "Hongkong 'flue", where several thousand died, notwithstanding effective and quick action of the government.

15. Proper venereal diseases were hardly known in the old days. Syphilis and yaws may exclude each other, that means people who have had yaws may be immune against syphilis (the spirochetes are very similar) and gonorrhoea was also seldom, and if it occurred it was brought in from outside. But within the last years this has changed very much. There are some localities where all girls and women are sterile for ever, especially such places which are near the traffic routes. A treatment is sought mostly only when it is too late for full recovery.

There was an epidemic of some kind of a venereal disease in the middle thirtieth. It was brought in by coastal people. As the affected people reacted on neo-salvarsan, it was my opinion, that it could have been a kind of yaws and contacted by sexual intercourse, but I may be wrong in that.

16. Worm sicknesses there are quite a number. The feared hookworm sickness (ancilostomiasis) does appear in the highlands, especially at places with low altitudes, but not in the same proportion as this sickness is known at the coast. Here near our station there were some cases of hookworm and when we could get hold of them, we could treat and heal them.

Pain in the abdomen people ascribe very often to worms of some kind. As remedy the blood of some other person was recommended. To get the blood the person was shot lightly into the arm with a small arrow, which is called: ongono kimbiri singwa (shoot the arm with arrows). The blood was then mixed with lard and salt was added and several kinds of herbs, then the lot was boiled and the patient had to eat the thick soup.

17. Cancer. It was thought in the earlier days that cancer was not found amongst the natives, but that is incorrect. Perhaps the conviction came from the fact that such people (who had cancer) were very seldom seen by white people: or, because there were only a few physicians, most of the cases were never recognised. Today it is certain that besides the already mentioned cirrhosis of the liver, there are several other kinds of cancer, but I think it is correct to say, in proportion to the cases amongst the white people, there are fewer cases of this sickness in the native population.

18. Another sickness, which they call: yombuglo gire dungwa (to grow lean or thin) could have different causes. The treatment for such sick persons was: Different herbs were collected and then chewed. If they were fine enough the mush was spread (by mouth) over pig meat and at the same time an incantation was murmured (orugl pagl) and then the treated meat was given to the patient to eat.

19. Tuberculosis (T.B.) was hardly known in the Highlands. The few cases which did appear may have originated from somewhere else (mostly by contact with people from other areas). But in later years there have been a few more cases, probably contracted from coastal people who have come in and live here. Already about 15 years ago the government vaccinated the population of a good part of the Central Highlands, namely all the people with negative reaction were vaccinated against T.B. But this campaign has never been repeated since.

20. Poison. Poisoning from food does not appear except by eating rotten meat. There are some plants which are poisonous but people did not use them and I have never heard that somebody tried to kill another by using poisonous plants. Also snake bites with fatal consequences hardly ever appear.

But there were some fatal cases, when people ate a certain kind of beans ( a kind similar to the lima beans), which had been imported by some-body from the coast. Only ignorance of the people must be blamed for these fatal cases, as the beans grow wild and they did not know that they were poisonous.

21. Mental diseases. Now and again one can observe a child which is an imbecile. I have never noticed an adult in such a state. The eldest child in such a state, which I know, is now about 15 years old. In the old days they were either killed or neglected so that they died.

Mental disturbances with adults happen now and again. Sometimes it is only temporary, sometimes it is for life. There are men and also women who have been abnormal for many years. With some the abnormal behaviour lasts only for a few weeks, and after that they react normally again. Such people are as a rule harmless and wander from village to village. They seem to be restless. Often one sees them clothed with all possible decorations, in the old days with leaves and grass, today with tin lids and empty tins etc. Because they act calmly and are harmless they let them do as they like. They give them some food and let them have their own way. Children often follow them in big groups and have fun with them.

If it happened that such mentally abnormal people got dangerous and if they attacked other people, even killed them, then they were killed quickly (in the old days), today they are brought before the court.

Another type of mental disturbance happened in the old days from time to time. The victims then took a knife or an axe and chased other people, sometimes for hours. Aglagle kiglkwa, they called them ( they have gone mad) and this disturbance happened only in a special time of the year which indicates that the cause may have been something in their food, perhaps the eating of unroasted pandanus. Sometimes a whole group of people was affected and acted abnormally for a few days. I have observed quite a number of them and treated some. I suppose auto suggestion played a good part in that, especially when whole groups acted in that way.

But it seems to be without doubt that some people were mentally disturbed temporarily. I was able to observe a number of them in the first years of our stay here. This madness lasted for about 36 - 48 hours. They claimed later that they were fully deaf during this time and did not remember anything what had happened. They did not react to anything, what only affirms what they said. Some of them ate uneatable things such as earth, faeces etc. Their eyes were unsteady and they did not react to anything. They did not eat nor drink and also not sleep. Even to pain they did not react. But others, who were lighter cases or seemed to be under autosuggestive influences, knew quite well what they were doing. The severe cases reacted mostly within 24 hours favourable on injections with chinin (quinin). But then they felt weak and tired. It is possible that cerebral malaria had some influence in this type of mental disturbance. But these cases are many years back and I have not observed any of them in the last 10 or 15 years.

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It would be easily possible to add a lot more about the sicknesses and sufferings, or of the treatments which they applied. But this may be enough. In most cases the natives are more or less helpless, or they may do things which have no connection with the sickness, at least not according to our logic. Certainly they have tried to find some remedies and some may help, at least to a certain extent. If they treat pain with rubbing of stinging nettles, they act according to the saying that: heat must expell heat. Whether some of the remedies they used are really helpful or not one may doubt. But if they helped, well and good, if not then they went to the magic doctor for help. He of course asserted that he could help. If then a sick man got better after his treatment, then of course his manipulations and his incantations were strong enough to expell the evil spirits: if not, then the evil spirits were blamed, who were stronger than his incantations. If nothing helped the patient had to die. (Most of the sick people were very apathetic and did not care at all anyhow. This lead in many cases without doubt also to worsening his or her



condition). Mostly the patient had no willpower whatsoever for recovery. Many of them just pined away.

Many readers of these pages, especially people who know Newguinea and NG conditions, will be surprised that I have never mentioned black magic or death sorcery as a cause of sickness. In other parts of NG it is very often done, but the Chimbu people, at least a good part of them, and the Kamanuku are here included, do not believe that such magic is the cause of sickness. Black magic or death sorcery in this form is not known, or at least not practiced by these people (At other places of this monograph I shall write more about this, see volume IV under Kumo.)

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### 7. Hygiene

To take a bath or to have a good wash, in short to have a good clean up from time to time, all that was not too much appreciated. In that respect there was little difference compared with other tribes in NG, even if the idea that by touching the cold water, they themselves could get "cold", namely loose strength and power by that, did not come to much into consideration. But notwithstanding, the Chimbu tribes in General, including the Kamanuku, appeared clean, compared with other tribes. But there were also really dirty fellows, who had such a crust of dirt on their skins, that one could be convinced that year in year out no water had ever touched their skin. But still one has to admit that the majority of them had a clean up from time to time. That could be done in one of the following ways:

1. To go into the water (river, creek etc.) and have a wash, which may have been seldom enough. But if one was very dirty and just passed some water, or if he had to wade through, then he took the opportunity and washed at least the thickest dirt off.
2. Otherwise a little bit of water was taken in one hand, or even in two hands and then one rubbed his skin, so the dirt softened. It was more a smear than a wash. But that did not matter, the dirt became soft and loose and then one took some grass or leaves and rubbed the skin clean and dry (grass and/or leaves were the towels).
3. Or they rubbed their skins with grass and/or leaves without having softened the dirt previously with water. For this purpose a certain kind of ornamental shrub was used (the leaves), namely of the dondon kilen.
4. But all this was not the important thing. The real care of the skin consisted in rubbing the skin with fat. Each single one of them did that and if possible as often as he could afford it. That was the most commonly used way of keeping the skin clean. Especially if the weather was cold and wet they liked to do that. And without any question it is a good means of protecting the body against cold and wet.  
The skin had to shine. Otherwise it looked like ashes, they said, and that was not only ugly, but also a sign of sickness and of not being well. People who could rub their skin often with fat were considered rich, and the ones, who had no fat (or pandanus fat or oil) were considered poor. The more the skin shone, the better the health, they thought, and they were partly correct in that.  
They also said that the greasing of the skin would give them protection against many sicknesses. If the fat (animal) was rancid,



that did not make any difference and if swarms of blowflies bussed around them, they did not care. For greasing the skin, fresh fats (mostly lard) were used or old ones which were conserved in special "bottles". Besides lard and fat of other animals, mostly the juice of pandanus was used.

The lard etc. was preserved in flasks or bottles: diri mingi, made out of gourds, and if such were not available also bambu pipes were used for this purpose. When they put the hot fat into these containers they took diglimbi (treebark) strips, dipped that into the fat and then pressed it out over the containers.

5. At the occasion of dances, marriages etc. special care was taken to be very clean and shining. Then the skin was first "washed", which mostly consisted in rubbing it clean with leaves. Instead of water, they took also sugar cane juice, which was chewed first then the sap used. After this prewash the skin was rubbed with diverse leaves and herbs so it became "highglossy". This last was achieved by greasing the skin with lard or other fat. Especially the bride was always prepared in this way for marriage, in regard to the groom very little was done.
6. Swimming was more or less unknown in the old time. They were very surprised when they saw us swimming through the rivers, even if it was flood time. Therefore they never dared to cross rivers, when the water was higher up than their thighs. The rivers are of course mostly rapid flowing (strong current). If they had to wade through rivers they took their aprons in their hands and held them over their heads and waded through naked. That was done by men and women alike, but the latter ones sometimes took a handful of grass or a few leaves and put that under their belts. Arriving at the other side, they threw it (grass etc) away and put their aprons on again. So they kept nice and dry.

If the water was shallow and did not reach to the hips, the women pulled the front string aprons through between their legs and connected them with the diglimbi (wearing apparels behind). But only if the rivers or creeks were not deep, otherwise they did as said before.

### Care of the Hair

The hair(head) of the Kamanuku is, as with other tribes in NG, nearly always of exuberant growth and fully curly. Normally the Kamanuku had their hair braided in many small plaits(or braids). The hair was normally never cut, therefore it mats very easily. From time to time the braids were undone and the hair cleaned and braided anew. If there was too much vermin(lice etc) in the braids and they could not be cleaned they took sometimes just a bambu knife and cut off the braid and threw it away. The braiding of the hair of the men was done by their wives. When they did so the men put their heads on the lap of the women and let them do the work. To loose the braids, little daggers of wood or bones, or a kind of needle were used. The women unbraided and braided each other's hair. Because there was a big number of braids on each head, sometimes up to a hundred or so, this procedure lasted several days. When the hair was braided it was greased and then it lasted for several weeks or months.

The men had in olden times beards, long beards. Men who had no beards or not yet a beard, were not counted as fully grown. Often the beards were divided in two parts and each part was wrapped in strings of tree bark. It seems that was done with the purpose of stretching the hair to make the beard longer, at least that was the result. To shave, which was seldom done, but when they removed some unwanted hair, it was done in this way: Little stones or coarse sand was taken between thumb and the first two fingers. Then one put the

fingers to the cheek and made a twisting or twirling motion to get the hairs around the stones, and then pulled them out (hairs which one wanted to remove, perhaps to close to the eyes and so on.)

The hair of children was often cut, but not that of the adults. If they cut the hair of the children then this was done while incantations were said with the message that the children should grow well and develop quickly. Sometimes they cut the hair of a "loose" woman. That was a punishment for her. - But if the hair was not cut sometimes the tips of the hair were cut off (trimmed) especially at festivals and when making ready for dances, and then especially if someone had the hair unbraided, what some people preferred to do.

Hair in the armpits and at the genital parts were sometimes pulled out, especially if too much lice were found in them. Lice on the heads and in the beards were very common. Therefore one could often see and observe several people sitting one behind the other and picking lice from one another. Women especially did that to each other, or mothers with their children. Sometimes you may even see that today, but most of them have their hair cut nowadays. Also most of the beards have disappeared and people shave with razor blades. The lice and nits are killed (squashed) between the two thumbnails, or sometimes they put them between the teeth and squash them, but spit them out afterwards. This method was perhaps the safer one. Lice are called numan (in the language here).

Fleas were also numerous, not only in the houses, but also on the village place and in the wearing apparels, as sparse as it was. If one sat or stood between them one could easily get some of them. If one had been for a while in their houses one had normally several dozen of them picked up. On the village place one sees often men, when they sit around, put one hand under their apron and with the other hand hit the apron on top, and surely mostly they have some in their hand that is under the apron. Then they quickly grab and kill them.

The houses are built on the ground, that means the ground is the floor. The walls are dense to give protection against the cold at night. On the ground some grass and leaves are spread, and then there is a fire burning all night to give warmth. All that makes an ideal breeding place for fleas. They are called: tolzi.

As we have mentioned lice and fleas, we may also add that bugs (bedbugs) are also numerous. They call them mim kambu. A remedy against bugs are wai, leaves which they brake off and strew them into the houses. They claim that bugs are driven away by them. If too many bugs are in the mats especially in the seams, they are taken out of the houses and put into fresh air. Sometimes they put them out when it rains and let them get wet, but let them dry again before they put them back into the house.

There is more vermin in the houses, for example: cockroaches, which they call gunange, and there are plenty of them; but this may suffice in regard to vermin.

The fingernails they liked to let grow as long as possible. They were cut only when they hindered them in their work, or when they were split and hurt. If they grew very long they bit a piece off. The nails on thumb and forefinger were especially taken care of, as they were used to peel the sweetpotatoes, when they were roasted or steamed.

As the fingernails so also the toenails they let grow long. But if they were so long that they hindered them in walking, then they cut them with a bambu knife. Dirt under finger nails, much less under toenails, was seldom, if ever, removed.

The hands were seldom washed before meals, If they were too dirty they wiped them with some grass or leaves or just wiped them on their thighs. That sufficed.

Also, the utensils, if such were used, were seldom washed. Mostly leaves were used to serve sweetpotatoes and vegetables, and they were put into the mouth with hands and fingers. The leaves were then thrown away. If they had any kind of broth, this was served in wooden bowls (dishes). The leaves were often offered to the dogs and they licked them before they were thrown away. A kind of wooden spoon was known, just a flat piece of wood, or they took a leaf, bent that to a form of spoon and ate with these instruments out of the dishes. Then the dishes were mostly clean enough and did not need any more washing. But if they had a meal mixed with pandanus juice, then the dishes had to be cleaned with water, grass or leaves.

Also the houses were cleaned from time to time. The grass and leaves, when they were old and dirty, were taken and thrown away, then they took new migl-grass and gembe-leaves, also mondo and nenge-leaves and dire kore leaves, some took also banana leaves and put them into the houses.

When they were old and dirty the whole floor was cleaned and the old grass etc. was put on the rubbish heap, where it would rot, or sometimes they burnt it too, probably to be sure that the vermin was killed.

Then they put the new grass and leaves in, which they had already gathered before they took the old ones out. Then they had a brand new floor.

To urinate the men usually went outside the house, but there were some men who did it in the house. For bowl movement there was outside not far from the house a place where they went to. Often they had put a piece of wood, a crossbar, at these places, where they could sit on.

But just as often there was nothing. Also the women went outside the house to relieve themselves, not far from the houses. To urinate was done in a squatting position (sitting on the heels), women as well as men. As the houses of the families were built at some distance from each other, and then only a few were in the vicinity, there were no common places set aside for privacy (closets), where all could have gone, but each house had its own place which they used. Pigs and dogs then took care of it that the place was cleaned again.

Little children were permitted to urinate in the houses. If they dirtied the place the mother took grass or a handful of leaves, took the faeces and threw it away. The dogs would then take care of it.

Holes for latrines or special houses were not known in the old days. In the areas where these were used there they were not used for hygienic purposes, but so that nobody could get hold of the excrements while it was still warm (for black magic). But as no fear existed in this area in this respect, there was no need for them. (as for example the tribes near Kainantu and in the Goroka area do).

The houses and also the village places were kept clean. If the dogs and pigs dirtied the place, or if children did, the women and/or the mothers had to see to it that it was soon cleaned again.

The cooking of the food <sup>was done</sup> either in the first room of the family house, or in a specially built hut, the cook house, or in the open air. Usually a big wooden pot served as cooking pot. When meals had to be prepared for a larger group, or if they were preparing a meal for several families, then the pits in the ground were used to cook the food.



Sweetpotatoes and other tuberous food (taro, yams) were always washed before cooking, but not always peeled. As often as not they were prepared with the skin still on. The washing of the food was done by the women, normally when they brought the food from the gardens on the way home, when they passed a creek or some other water. The peeling also was done by the women, just before the cooking, with bambu knives. If they were boiled in the skin then the skin was peeled off by the one who ate them, not with a knife but with the fingernails. Thumb and forefinger were used for peeling. One peels always as much as one can bite off at a time.

When sugar cane was eaten, the outer skin was bitten off by the teeth and then the cane chewed. Sap and sugar was the swallowed and the remaining pulp was spit out. When one has finished eating then it is good manner to collect pulp and skin and throw it away to some place beside the village place. Pigs will chew it again and eat most of it, otherwise beetles and flies, rats and other vermin will live on it, or on the rest. If people were to let everything lie where it fell to the ground, flies and rats etc. would increase still more than they do now. Besides pigs and dogs, fowls also eat a lot of refuse, and are to a certain extent helpful for hygiene.

If meat is served and it is very tough, then they take small bambu knives and cut small pieces off always as much as they can put into the mouth. People whose teeth have fallen out, or are partly decayed, do that also.

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### 8 Physiological and psychological remarks

Here I want to record some remarks which are based on my observations. The headings are partly taken from a booklet "guidance for investigators" or from other sources or chosen by myself. All the details are observations as I have made them in the course of years.

Beauty. A body in good proportion, a fresh and lively appearance, shining and fresh (lively) eyes, a not to light and not to dark colour of skin (the lighter colour seems to be preferred), not too slim, but middling strong, not too fat (which is very seldom), a good development of the muscles, especially with the men, a shining skin; with girls: well developed breasts; dense head of hair, a body with not too much hair, a full beard (with men) - - - that would be some characteristics for the judgement of beauty.

For the contrary the following would be decisive factors: Too dark colour of skin, too fat, grey and ashlike skin, albino, a very wide mouth, very thick (negro) lips, malformation of one or more limbs, bent or curved legs, crosseyed, full of body hair, especially with women (with men to be hairy is not so ugly). These and other characteristics will be decisive in judging whether a person is beautiful or not.

Besides the physical attributes the psychical attributes have to be taken into consideration. Some of them are the following: Pleasant and fluent speech, quick wittedness, friendliness, complaisance, civility, generosity, tender-heartedness, bravery, fearlessness in fight etc. The attributes for the contrary I do not need to enumerate.

Bearing of the body. In heathen times a man never went from his house or home without having in his hands bow and arrows and a stoneaxe, put under his belt with the handle, either from the top down or from down up, or carrying it over his shoulder. The bearing of his body is straight upright.

The walk or movement is easy. Nothing hinders, neither clothes nor shoes. The women always have a net-bag over their heads, hanging down the back, full or empty, but seldom empty. Perhaps only a mat is in it, or a little child, when she goes into the garden, but it is always full when she comes back. Mostly they have also material for making netbags along, and when they have to wait for some reason or another, they sit down making netbags. - The women walk, carrying the heavy netbags, mostly a bit stooped. They are used to carry heavy loads from childhood on. Very often they are able to carry heavier loads for a longer time than the men, but if the goods are fastened to a carrying pole, then the men can carry more and better. (These poles are carried over the shoulders, mostly 2 men, but often 4 men and more, according to the weight). Wood for building purposes and also fenceposts are carried by the men over their shoulders, not on head or back, as the women are used to carry their loads. Besides food from the gardens the women also have to carry firewood, small pieces they find in the gardens or in the forests (where tree stand). The heavier sticks and trees are carried by the men. And besides the things mentioned the women have to carry their children, one or more, and often on top of that a dog and a pig, especially while they are small.

The sitting down is often in a squatting position (buttocks on the heels), if they converse with each other or if the ground is moist or dirty, or if they sit down only for a short while. But more often they sit down on the ground and the legs pulled up close to the body (taylor seat), or the knees high up especially by the men, or they sit (both sexes) with long outstretched legs. The women sit this way and make netbags, or make strings, if they have to wait for a while. The thigh is needed to twirl the strings. If the ready made string is wound up the toe of one foot is used and the thumb of one hand to make a skein of string, and also when they dye the string they hold it in this way. With the free hand they put then the dye on. If a woman sits down in this position with pulled up legs or stretched legs, she always put the string apron through the stride (between the legs) before she sits down.

So she sits on her string apron. Mothers often nurse their children in this position.

When they walk, they walk one behind the other, or in goose step. That is necessary because the "roads" are mostly only very small paths, and two people could not walk side by side, because they would have to go through the long grass etc. But if they go to festivals and are dancing, they march in 4, 6 or 8 lines (abreast). Then it does not even matter if there is a wide road or not. Mostly they have to walk through long grass, except on the village places. The position of the feet is (when they walk): the toes a little bit towards the inside. It does not matter much for them if the path goes up or down hill. Only if the road is very steep, they will also feel it. Paths up to 1 in 5 they will normally still call flat or slanting.

They also run with ease. They can run at an astonishing speed. Whether it goes up or down hill, does not seem to make too much difference, and that is perhaps, because they are used to this kind of terrain from childhood, and the muscles have developed accordingly. Because they have no shoes or boots, they mostly have a good footing even in rainy weather, even on steep roads.

Without making a noise, the natives also know how to sneak close to somebody. He has learnt to do that all his life. He needs to do that if he is hunting, or if he is walking on the warpath, or if he wants to get away, without being observed. Each muscle is then tense and the whole body is taut. At any moment he is ready to let an arrow go, if it should be necessary.

Climbing (trees) is no problem for most of the men, especially as long as they are young. Has a tree branches, then they are a good help. One grabs them with his hands and pulls himself high, or uses them as support for the feet. But also trees which have no branches are climbed easily, or perhaps better: one runs up on them, if they are not too big. They climb then in this way: They put the hands at the back of the tree and the feet on the trunk of the tree (in front) and then run up in a bent position. When the trees are too big for that, they make a kind of noose or loop, or a ring from vines or treebark, big enough to get both feet in and still a little room in between (room according to the thickness of the tree) put the feet one on each side of the tree, the loop holding the feet together, so they have a firm grip with the feet. Then they hold firm with the hands and arms, pull the feet with the loop as high as they can and then stretch and take a new grip with the hands. In this way they easily and quickly climb up trees. One may say, they climb like a caterpillar. Such climbing of trees is necessary for hunting animals, to get mushrooms, which grow on trees, or if they make new gardens and cut all the branches from the trees except the upper 2 or 3. The trees then die and are used later for firewood. They also make a kind of ladder, a strong pole with several side branches, which are cut about 20 or 30 cm distance from the pole. These ladders are used frequently eg. to wrap in bananas as protection against flying foxes etc., or to climb on trees etc. Or if in the forest vines are hanging from the trees, they climb up the trees (especially the big ones) with the aid of such vines.

The foot is used not only for walking and running but also to grab and lift things from the ground. The object one wants to take is taken between big and the next toe and lifted up, high enough so that it can be reached by hand, mostly without stooping down. Also to put the bowstring on the bow always one foot is used. The lower end of the bow is taken between the first two toes, the knee is put against the middle of the bow and the upper end pulled with one hand so the bow bends and the string can be put into position. (the bow knot can be put on the top-end of the bow).

If they want to take the bowstring off it is done in a similar way, only in reverse. But also at other times the foot is used to do several tasks. The women use the big toe, mostly left foot, if they have made long strings. The string is put around the big toe, then stretched to the thumb of the left hand, about one meter in distance. In this way

they put a number of strings side by side and if there are enough, about 20 or 30 on each side, they hold it in that way, and with the right hand they put the dye on and rub it in. on the whole length or only part of it. If the skein is too thick it does not dye properly.

Work or labour. It is perhaps necessary to make a few remarks in regard to their work or labour and the division of labour. Even the native has, in our judgement, a lot of time, it may look quite differently from his point of view. Of course he does not know the hurry and the counting of hours and minutes, as we do. He also has no firm periods of work and rest, as, say 8 or 10 hours work a day. He works as a rule when he likes to, and when he feels like working. If he has no mind to work, it does not matter at all, if he does nothing for a few days. A day, or a few hours do not count at all. And if one has worked hard for one day, one may take the next one off, or even take several days off. Also the weather has to be taken into account. If it rains one does not work in the garden and in the houses there is not much to do for the men, at least to day far less than in former times. Many years ago the men had to make arrows and spears etc. They had to grind shells (on stones) and polish them, they had to make belts and other ornaments etc.

Also when it is too hot, and also in hours around noon they



prefer to have a nap than to work. One waits until it gets cooler again, and the sun is well down, before one starts again, if one does not decide to call it a day and does not work at all in the afternoon. But sometimes there is some work to do near the house, a fence has to be mended, there is something not in order with the house etc., or one waits just to have the evening meal (the main meal) and eats when it is ready and then retires into the menhouse.

It is different with the women. There is always plenty to do for them. They have to prepare the main meal, they have to get the food from the gardens and at the same time weed in the garden. They have to get firewood and to cook the main meal for the day, also they have to look after the pigs, they have to care for the children etc.; work with a routine which is nearly the same each day.

Labour is as a rule divided. Some work is done only by the men, other work only by the women. One is correct in saying: A good part of the heavy work is done by the men eg. building of the houses, the braking up of the ground for gardens (as far as that is necessary), digging the ditches in the gardens, making the fences, carrying of the wood which is needed for the work, hunting, warfare, dancing, preparing for the festivals etc. Also in the gardens sugar cane and bananas are planted by the men and they also take care of them, putting poles to the cane to support it, wrapping in the bananas etc. Work for the women is: To prepare the ground for planting eg. getting it fine and getting all the weeds out and also roots etc., planting the gardens, keeping them clean, getting food each day or each second day from the garden, preparing and cooking the meals, to care for the pigs, to look after the children, making strings for string aprons and netbags etc.

They seldom over exert, but that is not necessary. They have not to care for the winter. As the soil is fairly fertile the growing of food is mostly no big problem. But strength and also endurance may be observed when men carry heavy trees, or have to carry other heavy loads. Heavy work is mostly accompanied with shouting and encouraging exclamations.



Also carrying loads on long marches (trips) some men can do remarkably well. Also if a message has to be carried from place to place they can run very fast, if the message is urgent. But after that they feel tired and if they can they will rest for a day or two. Then they feel refreshed again.

Heavy work for children hardly ever happened. Work is not regulated according to our ideas and thinking. The children are seldom urged to work, but they give some help to the adults, usually without being urged. A little help is expected from them as for example: to fetch drinking water, or bringing this or that to mother. That the boys keep more to the men and the daughters to the women does not need to be stressed. The mother expects from her daughters that they bring firewood, help clean the vegetables etc. Soon the girls also learn to make netbags. All that is not according to rules, and is also very different in different families. Some children are expected to help the grown ups fairly soon, others do not help at all, but just lie and sit around or play. But for them it is later sometimes fairly difficult to get used to work, if they have done nothing of that kind while growing up, and there are quite a number of girls who have to learn to work when they get married and then must learn by experience that they just cannot sit and do nothing.

Some skill in doing their work, nobody will deny them. It is not so easy with the primitive tools they have at their disposal to make nice arrows and spears, to make wooden pots and drums for dances, to make geroa pieces (ancestor) and many other things.

The native likes it to talk until late at night, if possible by flickering fire light. So they sit up very late and next morning they are not fit for work very early. Also if it rains, he will stay in the house and also if it is claudy, wet and foggy, or as long as the long grass is still wet by rain or dew.

Also if it is still cold in the morning and the sun has not come high enough to make it warm. And it can be fairly cold in the altitude of 2000 meters and higher, and the natives have nothing on their bodies to keep them warm, so it is understandable that they prefer to stay in the houses.

When they work they can do as they please. Nobody is there to urge them on. But there are differences, one is working quick and hard, an other is not liking to do much. Sometimes the men are admonished by their wives to work more, otherwise they will not have enough to eat, or the house will fall in if he does not repair it. It also happens quite often that a fellow might work for one or two hours and then find a nice tree and sleep for a while in its shade. He may sleep all day and only wake up when he is hungry.

If the night is near and it starts to get dark all go into their houses. The main meal is usually in the afternoon and always at the end of the day's work. After the meal nobody starts to work again. If the men want to see their wives and/or families, they go to them for a while, but in most cases they return to their respective menhouses, unless it rains. In that case they may stay with wife and family for the night.

Most people sleep on a mat (kungugl), but if one does not possess a mat he may also just sleep on grass or on leaves. It is warm in the house. The fire is kept burning all night. Some have a head- or neckrest. But others just take a piece of wood and put their head to rest on it. Husband and wife often sleep on or under one mat, if the husband stays in the family house over night. So they warm each other. When children are in the family, then they often sleep between their parents, if the father is at home, or close to the mother, if he is not there. Little children (babies) sleep usually at the breasts of their mothers all night. As often as they want to, they may drink.

Cohabitation takes place mostly when the husband visits his wife(wives) in the family house. If a man has more than one wife he has always a special house for each wife, mostly far apart, as it is well known that as a rule several wives of one husband are not good friends with each other. Often there is rivalry and enmity and fights between the wives occur very often. Of course that happened mostly in the presence of other women and they quickly took sides. With sticks and poles etc. they fought for a while until some were bleeding. Quite often fingers or arms were broken and heads were bleeding. But the men, even if they watched them, never interfered. They just let the women have their fight.

Irregular sexual intercourse, when it happened, was conducted anywhere, if there was occasion for it, in the gardens, in the forest, beside the road, in the long grass, but not at places where spirits live.

The body smell, from perspiration etc. can be very penetrating and very unpleasant for us white people, especially when many people are close together in one room. Perspiration, dirt, fat which is used for greasing the body, than hardly ever a good bath, all that helps to make the <sup>smell</sup> penetrating. (On the other hand the smell of the white people may not be pleasant for the natives either). Often one could see hundreds of blowflies swarming around a group of natives. They surely are attracted by the smell of them. - The breath is only unpleasant, if one is sick, or if he has eaten something very smelly.

To let go an audible fart is indecent. But to get rid of internal gas in a way that nobody can hear it, is quite in order. In school classes the smell can be very unpleasant. These gas(fart) is called: de buru.

To smack the lips(dirange si-) when eating is not permitted and is looked upon as bad manners. One does not do it and it is against good custom. But some tribes in the neighbourhood thing differently,

with them it is a sign of good manners, if one smacks with the lips when eating, as it is a sign to express that the food is well liked. The Kamanuku say if one smacks his lips while eating: "Are you a pig that you smack your lips? Go away that, I do not need to listen to your indecent smacking".

The hiccup (gorongo) is looked upon as quite natural. One will not be praised nor reprimanded for it.

It is permitted to eructate (burb) during the meal and after the meal, that is not against good manners. It is called: koglkan.

Some people snore very much when sleeping. Especially in the menhouses, where so many men are close together, and that can be very unpleasant, and disturb the others. They say it is not good manners to snore, therefore it is permitted to wake up the snorer. But one will be very hesitant to do that, if the snorer is a chieftain or a leading man, whom one does not dare to disturb in his sleep.

Audable breathing, especially when sleeping, does not count as bad manners. It is called: pipo dungwa.

Blowing their noses is done in the following way: (sim di-) One puts the thumb to the one hole and closes it and blows through the other nose hole, and then vice versa the other hole. The mucous or discharge of the nose of children is wiped off mostly with the hands and then with a swinging movement of the hand thrown away, or the nose is wiped with a bit of grass or a leaf or two, or mother or father wipes the nose with his or her hand and wipes the hand with the mucous on his or her thigh, or if they are in a sitting position on their lower leg.

Continuous discharge of the nose one can observe with children. If it happens the nose and mouth are wiped clean from time to time. With adults I have observed nothing abnormal in this respect.

To clear the throat and ease coughing is regarded as quite normal. (nu iri si- to clear the throat).



To sneeze(mu taul si-) is not regarded as bad manners.

To yawn(amugaŋge si-) is for them a sign of tiredness or of boredom. If one puts his hand before the mouth when yawning, that is not done so that nothing comes out of the mouth but that nothing can go in (evil spirits etc)

To cry. Most of the people cry easely. I do not mean here the crying of children for pain or if they are angry, but the crying of the adults. Crying is a sign of strong emotion. One may observe that for example at mournings when somebody has died. Then there is a lot of crying and lamenting. I have heard white people commenting that such weeping and screaming was just "showing off", but I do not agree to that. The natives are far more emotional than normally white people are, and I believe that such behaviour is quite real and indicates the momentary emotional feelings. That does not exclude that a few minutes later the same person may be in the opposite mood.

Another cause for crying is the greeting of a relative or a friend, who has been away for some time, or whom one has not seen for some time, or if somebody goes away for a longer time. In the former case joy is the motive for crying and in the second case: feeling sad about the departure. In many of these cases a person may all of a sudden start to scream, he may even fall to the ground and roll on the ground for a while, all to show the joy or the feeling of pain. In all the occasions the tears run plentyfully.

To spit(euri'si-) is normally permitted anywhere and at any time. Only if one stands before somebody and talks to him, one has to be careful. If the conversation should get somewhat "hot" and then somebody should suddenly spit out in front of the other, That could be taken as insulting. In that case it may end in a fight and even in killing one another. But in this case always the situation or the contents of the talk, the emotion of the speaking persons etc. will be the deciding factors.

Many people have ear wax in their ears. It is called: Kinano dem. If it is bad and people cannot hear any more, or cannot hear well anymore, they clean the ears with little sticks or with feathers, or with grass (stalk, stem) They take one of these objects and get the ear wax out, as far as they can.

To show the tongue or put it out of the mouth against somebody is deemed insulting and provoking (dirambe gombendi-).

To greet (welcome) somebody

The Kamanuku know different kinds of greetings (welcome gestures) which can be observed still today. Some of them one does not see very often any more and they may disappear altogether. The different kinds of welcome (greetings) may be described with a few words in the following:

1. Perhaps the most common kind of welcome or greeting was embracing. The two welcoming each other, stand before each other, a little sideways and one person embraces the other with his arms, either with one or with two arms. They press body to body, head to head and cheek to cheek for a few seconds. They mostly say nothing while embracing or just a few words as: "O friend" or "you come". There is no difference in this greeting between men and women, a man embraces a woman just the same as a man and vice versa.
2. A more intensive welcome is, if two persons embrace each other in this way and then the tears run down the cheeks or when they cry aloud.
3. To shake hands, either one hand or both hands, is known and is today often practiced, perhaps because the white people usually greet each other in this way, and they see it and practice it. But it has to be said that this kind of greeting was known before the white people came.
4. Very often, especially in the olden days, the greeting person stretched out his hand in the direction of the genital parts of the other person, then drew back his (or her) hand and kissed the fingers (or hand). Doing this they said the words: den nie (or mon nie) - let me eat your faeces, let me eat your penis (kiss you hand!). They know quite well what they say, for they conjugate the verb and set noun and verb in sing. dual or plural, according to the number of persons they greet



or the number of persons they are addressing. Also the women use in regard to the men the same words of greeting, but a man never uses the words of the female genitals in greeting them, but use instead the words: den nie.

5. What has been said under 4 is most probably connected with the following and is a derivation of it. With some men I did observe that they sat down, side by side and then very slowly put their hands to each others genitals under the aprons, let the hands rest for a short while and then pulled them back and kissed them. The meaning should be clear, not an indication in sexual respect, but: You and your descendants, or: You and your seed. (cf. A.T. "put thy hands to my loins and swear, or: with you and your seed").
6. Women and also men very often knelt down before respected persons, chieftain and old men, before such men as they wanted to honour greatly. Doing that they caress the lower part of the leg, sometimes even the thigh up to about the middle, stretch out their hand toward the genitals, draw them back and kiss them. Doing that they also said the words "den nie" etc. This seems to be also a derivation of that what is said under 5.

#### The eyes, seeing

The eyes and the sight of most of the people is very good, if they have not had sickness of the eye or any accidents. Shortsighted people are seldom found, but nearly all have an inclination to far sightedness. From childhood on they are used to observe things in the distance whether it be movement of people, animals or birds, signs of smoke etc. Also the climate with the ever-green surroundings all the year around will have a favourable influence

on the eyes. Blinding snow and glittering sea does not exist for them. It is often very surprising how exactly the natives can see and distinguish an object in the far distance, even when we are sometimes not able to make any distinction or even do not see anything at all with the naked eye, and can only make sure of, when using field glasses. But they are trained from childhood to distinguish if a man in a distance is a friend or an enemy, to see animals and birds on trees when hunting etc. All that is good exercise for the eyes. Colourblindness I did not observe. If the people are getting old, the eyes also often get weak and the exact sight diminishes.

### The ears, hearing

What has been said about the eye may also be applied to the ear. Their hearing is mostly very good. Not only to hear but to distinguish noises belongs to the life of a native. Often their very lives may depend on it, especially in times of war, or if one is in an area which belongs to an enemy tribe. Of course, one is correct to assume, that by continuous exercise the hearing has increased, so one can distinguish the noises one hears, the voices one hears, often when we still don't hear anything. That they sometimes are oversensitive may be caused by their spiritual conceptions, at least partly. They often imagine spirits and magic powers, where we do not find anything.

### Observation

With both, seeing and hearing the gift of observation is closely connected. Very often they can make conclusions of very small indications, which we do not observe, or do not see or hear at all. From footprints of an animal one may read, how many went that way, where it came from, where it has gone, how long it has been since the prints were made, whether the animals were young or adult etc. Seeing the footprints they often know the man or the woman who went that way, whether he went slowly or was in a hurry, whether children were along etc.

If women and children were along, then one was sure, that all was quiet and peaceful. Hearing noises, they know if an animal is moving towards them or is moving away. Hearing talk, one recognises from a wide distance if the speaking person is a friend or a stranger, if the voice is friendly or unfriendly, if the speaker is excited etc.

### The nose, smelling

Also the sense of smell of the natives is well developed. Sometimes one is inclined to think that they are able to smell like a dog. If there is a wild animal they often smell that from quite a distance, even before they see or hear it, especially on hunting trips in the forest. Perhaps the animal is sleeping on a tree. Also leaves of some trees and herbs are discovered by smelling.

One has to admit that the sense of smell of the natives is often different from ours, because for us something may smell good, which for them stinks and vice versa. But that does not contradict what has been said before. We also do not all have the same judgement of several smells and what may be agreeable to one can be abhorred by another. And one must not forget, from childhood on they are used to these types of smell.

### The taste

That ~~also~~ the sense of taste is very well developed, one may readily admit. Also here it is the same as with the sense of smell. Even if they come to different conclusions, that cannot be taken as a judgement to the value, but only to state a fact. That they were mostly greedy for salt, especially that children liked salt far more than sweets, that could only be an indication that the body needed salt. Their food is naturally low in salts. That they liked to chew ginger and some other herbs was not only because they tasted good, but for health reasons. Many animals which they like to eat have an abhorable taste for us, but on the other hand, we eat many things which they do not like at all,

and which taste bad to them, because they cannot stand the smell, for example most types of cheese; they say it stinks like faeces.

That they often still eat meat which is already half rotten and smells badly, does not indicate their bad taste, but far more that they are very meathungry. If the smell was so bad, that even for them it was not good anymore, then they ate it together with ginger and strong smelling herbs. And they said, that not only neutralized the bad smell, but also it would then not do any harm to them and they would not have bad effects (diarrhea).

#### Fond of talking, quickwitted

Speaking the language of the natives needs at least the same versatility and dexterity as of any other language, if not more, for most of the people speak with great velocity. Everyone who speaks the language of the Kamanuku (today usually called the Kuman language) develops a velocity with his speech organs, which is astonishing. I believe that the Kuman-speaking native often has more than double the words said in a certain time, than a man who speaks fluently English. Not only in speaking their own language, but also in speaking the dialects of other languages and in mimicking the sounds of birds and animals, they do marvels. And sometimes they also can call with a very loud voice.

As a common rule one may say they are very fond of talking, the leading men especially often make long speeches. Anybody may suddenly stand up and address the people. Restraint in any way is not known to them. Such restraints can be observed only after some kind of education in schools etc. Most of the people who have gone through schools experience the same reservation and hesitation as most white people have.

They often loose their natural fondness of talking, or at least they restrain themselves. They get a feeling of uncertainty and feel they better keep quiet.

But whether what he says has much sense, or whether he repeats several times what he has already said, that is another question and does not bother the native in his natural stage. But one is correct in saying, that the native has normally a natural gift for speaking, and in most cases he is only too willing to talk to others and give a speech. That at the same time he likes to make the impression that he is a big man, is only natural. Any preparation for his speech, either written or oral, he does not need. But sometimes several men come together and talk over amongst themselves, what their speaker has to say.

That they also are quickwitted one may expect. It rarely happens that a native does not always has an answer ready, in whatever situation he may be. Whether the answer is correct or just to get out of a precarious situation, does not matter much. Mostly the answers are plausible, even if it is a grotesque lie. He always knows how, or at least he tries to talk his way out of a bad situation. He will always try to explain that somebody else or something else is to blame and not he himself, even if one knows the facts for certain, or has been an eye witness to the contrary.

### Pain

Usually the natives can stand quite a bit of pain. From childhood on they are instructed to endure pain without crying and without turning a hair. It is not "manly" to show pain, but that does not mean that they do not feel pain, just as everybody else. Of a boy of 5 or 6 years old, it is expected that he can suppress his pain. Sometimes one hears a man crying out (yelling out) loudly, but then he locks his teeth and says nothing more. Perhaps some utter some strong language, of which quite a few expressions are known, but that is all.

Also they are used enduring hunger and thirst. They can be without food or water for a long time. Especially on trips one may observe how long they can walk without eating and drinking, but if they can, they prefer to drink some water, instead of eating, on a trip. They like to chew a piece of sugar cane, if they can, and that brings refreshment nearly instantly. Even if they have some food along, they seldom rest on a trip and eat, they prefer to come to the destination as soon as possible, and then rest and eat. When they visit friends and are hungry and thirsty hardly anybody will ask for food, that is against good manners. But if one man is eating and his fellow man has nothing to eat, it is selfevident that he shares with him, even if he has hardly enough for himself.

### Meals

There is only one main meal each day and that is normally in the afternoon, or close to evening. The food has to be fetched from the gardens by the women, either each day or each second day. Normally the women stay then for a while in the gardens and clean and weed. The main staple food is sweetpotatoes, but usually there is also some kind of vegetable available. Then they collect firewood and on the way back (home) they wash the sweetpotatoes. When they arrive at home they have to peel the sweetpotatoes, the vegetables have to be prepared and are often put in small bundles, to be more easily handled. Then they have to make fire and heat the stones which they need, either to steam the food in the wooden pots or in the ground. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon it is normally time for the main meal.

But if there is only one meal each day and nearly all work is done before they get something to eat (the main meal), that is not to say that most of the people have nothing to eat each day before that time. But as that are only small bits and not a great quantity, nobody calls that a meal. So one may have had one or more small snacks to eat before he eats the main meal each day.



One has perhaps saved some left-overs from the meal of yesterday and he eats it in the morning, if he feels like it, a few sweetpotatoes or a corn-cob, or he eats or chews a stick of sugar cane, especially at noon-time when it gets hot and he feels thirsty, or if he feels weak and tired. On trips we often did the same. Or he may even put some sweetpotatoes into the hot ashes and eat them when they are done, but all that does not really count as a meal.

If you ask a native before the main meal whether he has already eaten or not, he will always answer in the negative. Or he may look at you and say: "Can't you see that?" Each native is used to eat quite a quantity of food at the main meal, so one can really see if the tummy is full or not. When rations were prescribed by regulations the minimum of sweet potatoes one had to give each person per day was just over 3 kilograms and in addition vegetables, meat and so on. I have tried with the boys who worked on the station several times, to see how much they could eat with a good appetite, and I found that the mentioned quantity was hardly enough for them. To understand that one has to know, the protein contents of the sweetpotatoes are low and therefore the quantity must make up for it, because the quality is poor. If they should eat meat regularly they would make do with smaller quantities of sweetpotatoes and vegetables, but the pigs are only killed at special occasions, such as pig festivals, marriages etc., and then meat is eaten in big quantities and is not much good for nutrition. And besides, that many people will get diarrhea when they eat so much pigmeat at one time and are sick for several days.

The meals are eaten normally at the same time. Not that they sit down around a table and eat, - table and chairs were not known - but when the boiled food is distributed and each one has received his share, either just pressed into his hands, or served on some big leaves, then they all start to eat, sitting or standing each one by himself.

They may have a piece of wood or a stone to sit on, or they may squat down on the ground. Some stay outside the house or the cook-house when eating, or if it rains one can go into the house and eat there, but mostly people prefer to eat in open air. There are no firm rules about which way they have to do it.

There are also very few utensils connected with the meals. Mostly only hands and fingers are used, to hold the food and eat it. Often the fingernails of thumb and forefinger are used to peel the sweetpotatoes, if they have not been peeled before cooking. To serve sweetpotatoes and vegetables often big leaves are used, or each one gets his or her portion given into his or her hands. Sweetpotatoes, bananas, corn (maize), beans and several other kinds of vegetables may be served that way. But if there is some fluid or soup, boiled in pots (which were in olden times earthen pots, traded in from other areas, and nowadays mostly pots from tin or iron or enamel), then this soup was served in wooden dishes. The Soup was eaten with a kind of spoon from wood, bambu or from shells, or with a leaf, formed to a kind of cup or spoon. Forks were not known, but they took a kind of small spit (sticks) and with them ate the sweetpotatoes etc. (speared and ate them). Today nearly each one has a spoon, fork and knife.

They do not drink while eating their food. If one is thirsty one drinks before eating, clear water from a nearby spring or out of a bambu pipe. Otherwise they drink mostly after their meals. In olden times there was only water to drink, but now they have often some tea or coffee. (Coffee is grown locally and tea can be bought in trade stores.)

Soft drinks can be bought, but for most people they are too expensive to be used daily. Alcoholic drinks such as beer etc. can be bought too today, but most people have not enough money for them, and when they are bought they drink them at the pub. At meals they are, up to now, little used.

The drinking water was mostly fetched in bambu containers and these were normally ready, standing at the entrance of the house. If people were thirsty they could drink at any time. Usually it was seen to, that only good and clear water was used for drinking. But if one is really thirsty, he may drink any water. The houses are mostly built in such a position that drinking water is in the vicinity, a little creek or a spring etc. If one is thirsty he may also go to the water and drink. Many just stoop down and drink the water from the spring, but more often they take a leaf and bend it and drink from it, instead of having a cup. Very often you will also find, that a piece of bambu is put into the water, especially when it drops down from a stone or something and it is easy to put the mouth under it and drink. Some scoop the water with their hands and swing it into their mouths. But doing this they do not touch their mouths with their hands. When they drank out of containers, they also held the container some distance away from the mouth and poured the water into the open mouth. (Today there are of course cups, bottles etc. from which they drink, but one can still see the old fashion of drinking, especially with older people).

Smoking. The smoking of tobacco was already known in this area when we first arrived (1934), but there were indications that smoking had not been practised for very long. At the coast tobacco has also been known only for a short time (several generations) and it should not be surprising, that tobacco was introduced here somewhat later. There were also only comparatively few persons who smoked, the majority did not smoke. The tobacco was procured individually. It was planted and before it was ripe, the nearly ripe leaves were picked and smoked. There was no difference in regard to sex, men smoked as well as women. Perhaps there were somewhat more men than women who smoked. Also children tried to smoke as soon as they could stand the strong stuff. The tobacco is, as it is neither dried nor cured in any way, very strong, and normally it is enough for one person when he draws (and inhales) a few times. Then he or she has enough for some time.

If one wanted to smoke he picked a few green leaves from a tobacco plant, held and dried them over an open fire until the leaves became crisp, then took a dry piece of a banana leaf and rolled the tobacco in that. So the cigar was ready. He then took a piece of glowing wood and held that at one end and at the other end he drew. But not everyone can stand the strong smoke. Perhaps for that reason they have discovered the smoking pipe (they may have copied it also from other people). The smoking pipe is made from bambú, a piece of 30 or 40 cm long and 3 to 5 cm in diameter. Very often these smoking pipes are nicely decorated with many different patterns. One end is open. At the other end, when it is open the tobacco (cigar) is put in and held with one hand, but more often the second end is closed and not far from the end a hole is made in the side of the pipe, in which the cigar is put. If the hole does not fit exactly, the cigar is held with one hand in position and also to prevent too much air coming in beside the cigar. It is evident that the strong smoke is somewhat milder when it has to pass through such a bambu pipe.

But to get it still milder they have developed a kind of filter. Into the open end of the pipe they put many thin long ends of grass, or small long sticks until the pipe is filled with them. The smoke has now not only to pass through the open pipe but has to pass also through all the little sticks. There is still room enough for the smoke to pass through, but the filter does its job. - But even then the smoke is still strong and a man makes usually only a few draws and then hands the cigar with the pipe over to his neighbour, he also takes a few draws and so on. Ginger was always liked to be chewed and each one had normally some in his or her netbag, especially the women. So ginger may be counted as a luxury, but one may also say that it was used as a profilactic against colds etc. They also said to chew ginger would give a good taste and make the mouth clean and it would also give a sweet breath.

Heat and cold. Heat the natives can stand quite a lot, but they do not expose their bodies to the sun if it is not necessary. When someone is in the garden and wants to rest



he likes to look for a shady tree and rests there, or he goes into the garden hut, or somewhere else where he finds shade, and rests until the sun is declining and the heat is less severe.

Also cold they can stand well, if they are used to it. One is especially surprised at the people who live high up in the mountains, without any protecting clothes or blankets. Some of the Kamanuku live at an altitude of about 2.500 meters, and such an altitude can be really cold at night and in the mornings. That people like to rub their skins with some kind of fat, especially when it is wet weather is readily understandable. But the houses are low-built and the walls are closely packed and at night there is always a fire burning in the houses.

When the sun then comes higher in the morning and it gets warmer they like to lie down in the warm sun. Especially when the fire has gone out at night, or in the morning time, the limbs are cold and stiff. The people who live at lower altitudes are more sensitive to cold and they are often afraid to climb the higher mountains. I often had the opportunity to observe the carriers, when we had to cross mountains of more than 3000 meters high. Then they started to complain that their feet were getting stiff and their hands too. They had no feelings anymore in hands and feet and the fingers started to curl up. The fear of cold may also be the cause why many refuse to climb the high mountains (4.000 meters and higher).

Wildness(savagery) There is without doubt some truth in the belief that quite a few natives are wild(savage). But if a person has to live always in fear of his life, if he has to be alert every moment, if he has to be ready any moment to fight for his life etc. there is no wonder that this and other emotions show in the features of his face and are impressed on his character. If one observes some of the so-called "savages" one may easily have the impression "That is not an easy man to deal with". Or: "I should not like to be his enemy". But usually even with such people one gets along very well. Hand in hand with wildness or savagery goes mistrust and cunning.

In olden times nobody could trust anybody, even not his best friend, nor his nearest relative in regard blood or tribe. Only with cunning and tricks could one cheat the other or on the other hand save his own life.

Hatred can stay in many persons for a long time and smoulder inside, especially if one thing he has been cheated, tricked, insulted, degraded or unjustly punished. He may not have the strength and power to get even at the moment, or he may not be courageous enough to do so, but then his hatred will smoulder inside him, until such a time as he finds a opportunity to get satisfaction and at that time he will take revenge with "interests".

Anger and Fits of Temper. Most of the people are inclined to both. The emotions are strong and they are easily aroused to the point where their temper becomes unmanageable. They fly into a rage. That is the cause why many a person causes bodily harm to other people, even his friends and relatives. He would never have done that, if he had carefully considered his acts. So often fights and even manslaughter happen, and a few minutes later the guilty one may be in the opposite emotion. When his anger has gone, he may bitterly regret what he has done.

This inclination to anger and unmanageable rage one can observe already with small children. They often cry aloud in anger, trample with their feet, fall down to the ground and roll on the ground howling. And nobody cares. If the children hit and bite their mothers, if they do not what the children want, they are not reprimanded for such behaviour. Only a short while ago I had to observe a little boy bite his grandfather into his chest and hang on there, because grandfather did not do what he wanted.

Because a child hardly ever learns to obey but can always go along its way in its obstinacy and is never reprimanded or punished for such behaviour, either by father or mother, it is no wonder, that they react in the same way when they are grown up.



Vengefulness. What has been said so far is closely connected also with vengefulness. If somebody has been unjustly treated eg. if somebody has lost his pig (by theft) everyone will help to find the thief or at least the clan or tribe, where the culprit lives. Or if a man is defeated in wartime, or if somebody has abducted his wife, and for many other reasons the insulted one or the injured one will always think of revenge and he will wait, sometimes for a long time, maybe months or years, until there is an occasion where he can take revenge. The revenge can be taken direct on the man who did the insulting, but it can also effectively be taken on one of the same group clan or tribe, in which the culprit lives. If the culprit is a highly esteemed man, a chieftain or leading man in the group, one will think twice of taking revenge on him, but rather on one who belongs to his group. It is not necessary to take revenge at once. Postponement does not mean abandonment. It may take months or even years, until an occasion arises where it will be opportune to take revenge. But all the time nothing is forgotten. Especially is this the case in wartime people are expelled by the enemy from their land and the enemy takes possession of it. Generation after generation they will wait for an opportunity to take revenge and then will, if possible, do more harm to them, than has been done to them. In other words: Such revenge or the duty to take revenge can be inherited from one generation to the next. The children are instructed of everything that has happened, and then told to take revenge whenever there is an opportunity to do so.

Joking and laughing. It may be that other features are more prevalent than light heartedness, but if one thinks the native to be morose (sullen) and unfriendly, then he is wrong. At least the Kamanuku is not so. Many of them have sound and innate sense of humour and are able to joke and laugh incessantly. Especially when something happens which gives cause for laughter, but because of good manners, one is not permitted to laugh, at least he may not show it, but it will be related later in a small circle, or at night, when they sit around the fire, and as it happens, such a story grows and grows and gets longer and funnier each time when retold. Of course then they may laugh as they like.

Such occasion for laughing are many. For example a man or a woman loses his or here wearing apparatus when running (the belt got loose or broke), or a man falls into a hole in the forest when hunting, or into a ditch or a waterpool; or he is chased by a pig, or whatever the situation may be. Hardly anybody will laugh at the spot, or as long as the other is in the predicament, but later at night, or with his friends etc. - But there is also quite a difference between the individuals, one man likes humour and jokes, another may hardly ever crack a joke.

Also the native may express his joy freely and openly. Mostly he will first utter some exclamations, which express joy or astonishment. When visiting people this can also be expressed by kissing and embracing the other, especially with children, or in the words one says, or even in loud cries and weeping. I have often observed that women threw themselves down to the ground and cried and wept and then all the sudden jumped up and embraced the person who had arrived and kissed him (or her). All that can be expressions of joy.

Sympathy and compassion is also shown quite openly. One may express both in different ways. By words of sympathy, by interjections, by stroking the person, to blow the hurt part, by scolding people or things which caused the pain, by paying visits to sick people etc. In mourning, people often showed their sympathy and compassion not only by expression in psychical regard but often added pain on the physical side by hacking off a finger, cutting the "lobes" of the ear, hitting the head with a stone etc. These mutilations were in use when somebody closely related had died, a husband, a child etc. Only the thumb was never cut off, because the women could then not work properly anymore. Cutting the finger was done more by the women, slitting the ears was done mostly by the men. It is selfevident that here are still deeper reasons, religious reasons underlying.

Heartlessness. Lack of Feeling, is the opposite of that just said in the preceding paragraph. Pitiless, unmercifulness, harshness, cruelty and other things are closely related. This can be against human beings and/or against animals. One showed pity and sympathy with a friend and with one of the same clan, but with a stranger or with an enemy it was a different matter. For example: If an enemy had been wounded and was caught alive, then often there was no pity shown him whatsoever. The more he was molested and tortured and the more he cried, the bigger was the joy and the halloo. The same must be said in regards to animals. They often were mercilessly tortured. Killing pigs, especially on the big pig festivals, was always the highlight of the festival, especially if one was badly hit and tried to run away, or if it broke the rope and actually did run away. Then the whole mob followed, crying and shouting, and each one tried to hit the poor creature. Wild animals, when they were caught alive, often had their legs broken to hinder them from running away. Sometimes they let them live in that stage for a few days. By doing this they meant to avoid the meat turning bad, because they wanted the meat only a week or so later for a certain festival occasion.

Consent was mostly given by uttering of interjections as for example: sh , sh; or: sua sua. If people keep silent, that does not mean consent.

Astonishment is also expressed by several exclamations with the fitting gestures by hand etc. For example: Holding the arm and hand high into the air and shaking the hand (wriggling), or biting on the fingers and other gestures.

Curiosity or inquisitiveness is also shown quite openly. Only against strangers one is at first very reserved. If there was anything new to see or to hear then soon the others were invited to come with loud calls: "Come and see.... etc."

Being alarmed or frightened could have many causes. If one is alarmed or frightened, one jerks (quivers) or gives a loud cry, goose-flesh creeps over him, his colour changes (the dark skin also can change its colour). Also sometimes if one is very frightened it happens that he passes urin and the faeces pass. That happened fairly often in the old days, when they saw us for the first time and we were regarded as spirits.

To be terrified is closely connected with the things just mentioned. One is afraid in regard to many things (and also terrified). To mention only a few things: Natural phenomena, which are well known to us, can be terrifying for them, especially if they are not frequent. These can be lightning and thunder, seeing of evil spirits or hearing them etc. The physical signs on the body are the same as already mentioned. Perspiring or sweating over the whole body is another sign.

Bravery (valour) is seen often, especially if one wants to show off, if one wants to make a good impression on others, if one wants to show his leading position. Sometimes such bravery could also be called: not only boldness but foolhardiness. But there are many persons who do not lose their presence of mind even in very critical positions.

But very close to it can also be cowardice (at least in our opinion), even with one and the same person. Bad omens etc. can make such an impression on a person that he loses all courage, or if one feels inferior to somebody else or anything like that, very often physical causes. What seems to be bravery can also very easily be related to cruelty, rudeness and heartlessness.

Exitability. As the people are as a rule very emotional the exitability is also strong. The native is far more a slave of his emotions than the white man normally is.

The native is carried away by his emotions very often. He does not consider beforehand, he does not set one point against the other, before he acts, but he acts impulsively. Therefore it happens that he does things in his excitement which he would never do after careful consideration. In a quarrel or fight he hardly knows a limit, nor when he is angry. And still, he does not act quite without thinking, because he knows very well with whom he is dealing, and when he must restrain himself. Also in joy he is exuberant. I know cases in the old days, when a man killed his own wife or his best friend in his excitement, or if they had a quarrel. But it is very seldom that parents kill their own children except women, when they give birth to an unwanted child, or when twins were born. In the latter case always one of them was destroyed.

Politeness. If one wants to be polite and decent, then he has to observe several rules, that applies to the natives too. He has to know and to observe rules and customs which have developed with the time and which each one of them knows. It is not possible here to enumerate all the rules for good manners according to native life. The white people very often do not know these rules and do not even care to know them. I want to mention here a few of these rules:

If somebody wants something from another person, then he does not abruptly tell him what he wants, but talks for quite a while of other things and then occasionally gives a little hint, and only later, when the other has already well understood what he wants he will mention his request (desire).

If one wants to draw the intention of somebody, he clears his throat, or coughs lightly.

It is not good manners to interrupt the other in his talk.

If one is sleeping he should not be woken up with a loud voice.

Normally the other person is not called by his name in direct address. Highly esteemed persons may not be molested by children (do not run about before their noses; they say.)

One does not enter a house if the owner is not at home, or if the owner has not given an invitation to enter.

One may ask for food (sweetpotatoes and vegetables) if one is hungry, but to ask for meat would be bad manners, etc.

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Excuses are well known and often used, but not in the way white people use them, namely without meaning of them at all. Such excuses which are only forms of politeness the native does not know. For example: If somebody has purposefully or without wanting to do so, done any harm to another person, then it will be better to keep away for a while, until the other has calmed down. If one then wants to excuse himself, he may do so, but mostly not only with words. One may say that one did not intend to hurt the other, or that it has happened without knowing, but then the one who did the harm gives a present to the other for his fear, for his pain etc. If he takes the present, then the matter is normally settled and the other does not bear him any grudge. If by a hit or blow blood has been shed, even if it has been only a few drops, then the matter is far more serious and without a gift of reconciliation the hurt one will not be content. That is still valid if, for example, somebody works for another person and hurts himself with a knife or an axe, while working; or if he is hurt on the road, when he brings a message to somebody. The employer is the one who is responsible.

It is quite another matter if one brings forth excuses. cf what has been said on page 96 under the heading; Quick-wittedness.



If somebody has done anything wrong and he is asked about it, he will always have a ready excuse, at least in 99 out of hundred cases. Even if the excuse is incredible (for us) and farfetched, it seems to him plausible. In doing this sometimes cause and effect is mixed up, but that does not make any difference to him. Also that happenings are mentioned that have no connection with the event (at least not for us) is no problem for him. I often experienced in Newguinea that a man would talk his way out of trouble at least he tried to do it, even if what he said, had no connection whatsoever with the facts. It seems to be shameful to admit something, even if one is taken in the very act. He will deny to the last minute or put the blame on somebody or something else.

To beg is more or less tabooed, but still it happens quite frequently. To go from house to house and depend on someone else, was sometimes practised. Some stayed with one or another, did no work, and then expected to be fed. But such people were not highly esteemed, but were looked upon as lazy fellows and as idlers (sluggards). But it is different with strangers and especially with the white people. There it is permitted to beg, or just take things from him (he has so much and will mostly not even notice if something has been taken away, or is missing). Some white people think to make good friends with the natives if they hand out goods for nothing (without payment). By doing this they give the impression that the goods are cheap or cost nothing, otherwise he would not just give them away for nothing. Many a white man has by such behaviour and actions supported the idea of the so called cargo cult, without knowing it or without intending to do so.

To lend something, is very often done. It may be some feathers, an axe or a knife etc. Especially when the brideprice has to be put together, all relatives and friends will help. But then, what they "give", is only a loan

and basically it is only a system of loan, because each one is certain that he will get back the things, he has given, either of equal value or even a bit more, if possible. Also on the occasions of big marriages, in cases of mourning etc., when friends help to supply the necessary pigs, these are not a straight gift, but it is expected that everything will be paid back in time. When that will be, does not matter so much, maybe within a few months, maybe within a few years. But if one has helped and lent something and if he then needs it, because he has to give a festival, then he will ask for the return. If somebody dies before he has returned the goods, the debts will go on to the children (heirs). Nobody will ever forget the debts and as everybody is ready to make loans it is easily understandable that most of the people are never without debts as long as they live. But each one tries, to delay the payment of the debts as long as he can. A lot of quarrels and enmity is caused by this system. Also from white people they like to borrow, or to buy without paying cash. Then one likes to forget to pay the debts, or to bring the goods back which one has borrowed, hoping the white man will forget about it, and then one just keeps the goods.

### Thankfulness

It is true in the Kamanuku language is no word for "thank you". You will find that in other languages too. But even if there is no equivalent word for "thanks" the fact of thankfulness is there. Not in the sense of our form of politeness, when we say "thanks, thanks a million" etc. and do not mean it at all. But even if the conventional "thank you" does not exist, real thankfulness is found with the natives. Our "thanks" comes, or is at least related to the word: to think (remember) and in this meaning it is often found with the natives, as they will think of or remember what you have done to them. In fact they can be very thankful for as long as

20 or 30 years or longer they will not have forgotten when you have helped them, or did something good to them. How often can you hear the phrases: "If you at that time had not done that....." Often the thankfulness is shown in the way that for assistance rendered, somebody will after a while give you a present. That is not to be understood as payment for the help, but as a sign of thankfulness. That is always present and if you know the people and live with them, you will experience that very often. And that is, as far as I am concerned, really genuine thankfulness.

But if some people just take everything for granted and forget all about what has happened, they are just as much to blame as the natives. Then it happens only too easily that one can hear the talk of unthankfulness of the natives.

Love of home (country). That a Newgunian loves his home and home country, one can observe in many ways. Love of home is very often much pronounced. Home is not only the parents, people of the same age, but especially the feeling of oneness with the clan and tribe, the feeling of security and safety, the responsibility one has for the other, and all that. Therefore each one is prepared to help and protect his home, even with his own life. And then each one wants to be buried in his home (home country). They pay heavily when someone has been killed and the body has been carried away by the enemies, to get it back; for it to be buried at home. And if someone dies in a far away and strange country, they will try to get the body back and are willing to pay the cost of a transfer, so the body can be buried in homesoil. The oneness with the clan and tribe is not finished with death. Therefore it is a hard punishment if one cannot be buried at home. The ancestor cult and belief has to be considered here too.

Love for one's neighbour. This can be easily observed, as it is prevalent and shows openly, especially towards relatives and members of the same clan or group. Towards the stranger and people who do not belong to the same clan or group

or to members of the enemy tribe, such feelings and responsibilities hardly exist. Therefore one would perhaps better say for love of the neighbour: Responsibility, feeling of oneness, liability or something like that. That would perhaps be closer to the thinking of the natives.

Conscience. Do the natives have a conscience? Hardly in the sense that we use this word or as we understand the meaning of conscience. The answer of the question, whether the natives have a conscience, or not, one may answer in the positive and in the negative as well. All will depend on the definition of this word. What is the basic norm for conscience? Many things can be good and bad as well with the natives according to the circumstances. What is good for the clan and home group is always good and everything that may harm the own group and/or clan is always bad. What harms the enemy and helps the home clan is always good and vice versa. That one feels uncertain about an act, or that he feels moral scruples, that he did wrong, or in other words that he has a bad conscience about it, may very seldom be the case. But to have acted against the rules of the clan and/or tribe, or against of what has been expected, or against the elders, or against the ancestors, that may make a bad conscience. Or what may be still more frequent, a man may fear the punishment which may follow the act. Or he may fear that revenge may follow, or his action could be reproved by his own people and by that he would be ashamed, or by his acts his group or clan would have certain disadvantages, or similar considerations may concern him. But otherwise one will never have a bad conscience.

Shame. With the word "shame" something is expressed what is not quite equivalent to the English word "shame". In the word "shame" quite a number of things may be combined which are not included in our word shame. Nobody may say to another man's face: "be ashamed". That would be very insulting. To understand what is meant by this expression I shall give in the following a few hints of what the native understands by this expression:

A man is ashamed if he is reprimanded or reproved, especially if it is done in the presence of others.

He is ashamed if he is taken in the very act.

He is ashamed if he is called a "begger."

He is ashamed if he has eaten and then visitors arrive and he has nothing to offer to them.

He is permitted to ask for food, but one is ashamed to ask for meat.

He is ashamed if he has been invited to a festival and has eaten there, but has not yet given a festival in return, to get even with the other one.

He is ashamed if someone says into his face "Be ashamed", the more if the other has a real reason to make such a reproof.

He is ashamed if he uses bad, indecent or obscene language, especially if children are present.

He is ashamed if he embraces women or girls so that the breasts are especially touched.

Women are ashamed to go into the menhouses.

Men (including fathers) did not talk to babies, they also hardly ever touched them being ashamed to do so. (the thought underlying here is, that by touching these weak ones, some of the weakness could be transferred to them.) Also in times of war girls were not permitted to be courted.

One is ashamed to call one's father with the name "father." Instead one calls him uncle. (otherwise, they say, the father would not be permitted to visit girls anymore (courtship dances).)

They are ashamed if in public men called their women bad or indecent names. That was reason for shame. It was not a rare occurrence that in such cases where it happened the women went and hanged themselves, or sprang into a river (committed suicide.)

Shame in respect to sexual matters

If for any reason the sexual parts were showing, perhaps the belt broke and the apron fell down, then that is a reason for shame for the person to whom it happens.

To accomplish any sexual acts in the presence of others or to speak of such in public is shameful.

To utter obscene words, especially before children was prohibited. Adults and even husband and wife use such words and expressions fairly frequently, indecent and obscene words. One wants to put shame on the other.

Lasciviousness. Sometimes people will say that the natives must be very lascivious. I am not convinced of that. After all I have seen, heard and observed, that is true with some individuals, but hardly to a bigger degree than with white people. Sometimes it happens that men rape small and halfgrown girls, but if one would make comparisons with other countries, or what some white people permit themselves to do here (with native women and girls) one may rightly ask the question on which side the greater lasciviousness can be found. Surely in the old times, and especially in the times nowadays, where the old customs are not respected anymore by the young people, many young men and lads, and also many young women and girls enjoy life to the full (in respect to lasciviousness); and even in the old times premarital intercourse was very common with both sexes. But in all these cases there are normally only single ones who do all this in excess.

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### Social life.

To be or to live alone is for most people a hard punishment and he or she will not be able to stand that for a longer period. Men as well as women like to be in company, especially with relatives and friends, with people of the same age and of the same sex. There one can talk and chat, all the news, may be told or heard etc. In short: Social life or the company of others is very highly esteemed and sought. If one is not able to do so, he feels himself lonely. That is especially so if one goes away from home for work (contract for 2 years or longer). He is away from home, he knows nobody he can trust, his surroundings are strange, he can not see any of his relatives etc. Especially if one is sick and has to go to hospitals he feels lonely. Therefore it is a great advantage for the people that the hospitals normally permit at least one of the relatives to accompany and stay with the sick one.

### Hospitality

Hospitality is readily practiced especially towards friends and relatives, but also towards business friends. As the women come often from neighbouring tribes the circle of friends is sometimes fairly big. Not only friendly greetings are exchanged, but one is well supplied with food and a place to sleep is also readily offered. In the last analysis they act according to the motto: "As you do to me, I shall do to you". By such visits friendly relations are established with many tribes for the purpose of business (trade).

When a guest arrives and is welcomed, very soon some refreshments, a piece of sugar cane or a ripe banana, will be offered to him. If it is time for the main meal, the guest will be invited to take part. One sits down with him, chats with him and talks of this and that. By and by the visitor will also give a hint why he has come, for without reason visits are seldom made. When evening draws near the guest will be politely invited to sleep in the menhouse and a place for him will be shown to him. If the visitor comes at a time

when the main meal has been eaten, he will be asked for certain, if he has already eaten, and if he politely answers in the negative they will certainly find something to eat for him. It is not against good manners to say if one is thirsty or hungry.

But not only when visitors come but also if somebody meets a person on the road and he is eating, he may ask him to share his meal with him and not infrequently one can observe, that one goes to the other and takes some of his food from his hands or out of her netbag. Of course such people know each other and are no strangers. It is not against good manners to act like that. It is rather a sign of trust and confidence. In this respect the Kamanuku and the other Chimbu tribes are quite different from many coastal tribes. Everyone expects from the other person that he or she be willing to share with his or her friends, and on the other hand one will always be willing to let the other have his or her share.

Attention. That the native at any time observes everything in detail should not be necessary to assert. Even if we may think he is sitting there or lying there doing nothing, nevertheless he will be observing everything that is going on around him, far more than we think or expect. (It is different with children in school classes. They often feel bored. That they are taught is strange to them and they do not care.) In the time of heathendom each one was used from childhood on to observe everything exactly. Very often their own safety and also their very life was dependent on their alertness. To observe everything was absolutely essential. Very often in small acts of behaviour the real disposition of the people is revealed. Small causes have sometimes farreaching consequences.

But not only with people had they to be on the alert all the time but it was also essential in other situations, for example when they were hunting, or in times of war etc.

Politeness. Politeness can be expressed in words and gestures. Certain words of welcome and greeting sentences each one knows and uses. In regard to greetings and welcome there are different customs. For more about this see under: Greetings, on page 92.

### Desire for Knowledge

Desire for knowledge one can not deny the natives, even if it is not equivalent to, what we understand and mean by this expression, because we understand mostly, theoretical knowledge. This desire for knowledge may often be in line with the desire for "knowledge" with children. But many new things which he sees and hears of, he shows interest in. Often there may be magical conceptions in his thinking and actions, but often he is just curious to find out why it is so and why it works that way. Only one small example: I grafted some orange trees. That was something absolutely new. After the twigs had taken and started to thrive I noticed one day that some boys, who had weeded in the garden, had pulled the twigs (grafts) out and then put them back again. I noticed that when they were getting dry, Then I looked closely and I noticed what the boys had done. They had wanted to see what was going on. That they ruined the grafts they did not notice at all. Such and similar actions one will experience very often in New Guinea.

Memory. The memory of the natives is usually very good, often excellent. Legends and fairy tales can be related especially by some older people, very well and when they repeat them, the words are nearly the same. But other things which the white man wants to teach them, say to fasten or to loosen a nut, many will not know, even if they have done it hundreds of times. But even if he does not remember that a nut normally gets loose with a left turn, it is

quite different when he has to do with objects, that lie in the sphere of his culture. Events from their own life, or of that of the clan, such as: wars, victories, defeats, sickness, pig festivals etc. they remember well in all their details. But on the other hand to give an exact date for an event, is impossible for them. A year or several years or a decade does not make much difference. He may even give the cause of an event, even if this cause was years later than the consequence. Also ask somebody how old he is or when he was born, he will not be able to tell you. But if he has a claim or a demand to make, he will hardly ever forget it. And a wrong, especially one unjustly suffered, he will not forget at all. Even decades later he will try to take revenge if possible. And if he mixes up causes and consequences, that is for him not a false conclusion. He things often in other categories than ours.

Poetry. Poetry in our sense of meaning does not exist, neither in words which start with the same letter nor with rhymes at the end of a sentence, but speaking in pairs as: Father-mother, rat - animal etc. you will find very often. Also to tell a story, real or imagined, is not difficult for them. Their imagination can be very vivid. But to make songs (words and musik) for dances, festivals, receptions etc. is no difficulty for them. They often are sung spontaneously and without preparation. One likes it to have always new songs at such occasions. Therefore one finds always new texts and melodies besides the old ones. But besides legends and fairytales and the songs, there is hardly anything what we would call lyric or even prose. Some songs will be sung for decades.

#### Idioms (or Metaphorical Expressions)

Here we have to do with certain expressions, which say literally quite something else than what the real meaning is. These expressions are used by everyone, or at least understood by everyone. That the reason for this was to avoid mishap and misfortune may just be mentioned. I shall give in the following a few of such expressions:

ambu koglko si gat nongwa	Lit. the woman a frog she killed, cooked and ate. Meaning: The woman gave birth to a girl.
kambe nongwa	Lit. she ate a banana. Meaning: she remarried.
kimbiri yere wan ta pi singe yuo	Lit.: a bow and arrow cut off and bring Meaning: Cut and bring a piece of sugar cane.
kom kan yoko yuo	Lit. kom kan (vine) just bring Meaning: Fetch water and bring it.
okai wake kei tomun nen- dire endenambo	Lit. Sweetpotatoes dig and cook and we give to him, he will eat and leave Meaning: To give somebody some pigmeat.
dua ta si winga	Lit: a rat kill I come Meaning: I bring pig meat, or: I killed a pig and bring it.

Aesthetic sense. The natives have a sense for beauty, without any doubt. Of course one can be of different opinion. What is beauty for one may be ugly for the other. If a smooth face and an untattooed back of a man it beautiful that will be always be different opinions. A smooth shining skin is always a sign of beauty. Also if one sees and looks at the big variety of ornaments and decorations, such as chains, skins of animals, shells, plumes, feathers, seeds, flowers etc. with which nearly the whole body is decorated, one must admit that they have a sense for beauty.

Also the painting of face and body has to be mentioned here, even if it looks sometimes more grotesk than attractive. Also the decoration on war materials such as: shields, arrows, spears and also the painting of the geroa pieces (ancestor cult), further the wearing utensils as aprons, string skirts, the many different kinds of belts, the flutes, smoke-pipes, mouth organs, the patterns of tattooing on face and back etc. all this shows their sense of beauty to a certain extent.

Sense of colour. Closely related with what has just been said is the sense of colour. Bright glaring colours they like most. Red is appreciated most, then at some distance comes black and then the other colours. They have and use quite a number of paints and they know also how to make them or how to find them. In regard to the aprons etc. the colour has just as much value as the material. The same applies today to the bought material. Also with flowers they very often decorate their hair, and as they are natural colours they hardly ever clash. Most of their own colours are somewhat dull and have no or little brightness.

Friendship. One finds sometimes close friendships between man and man or between woman and woman. Also the natural relationship and the belonging to the some clan or group establishes some kind of friendship. But over and above such friendships there are also found friendships between men or women of different clans or tribes. But that must be understood cum grano salis, that is: as far as it goes. Such friendships may originate from different causes and for one reason or the other they may break up. If the reason for that is real or imagined, does not make any difference. A bad rumour, a defamation of character etc. can change an existing friendship over night into bitter enmity. Also against ones best friend one has to be always on guard, and must expect everything.



## Parental Love

That parents love their children and take care for their wellbeing and growing up, is quite natural. Commonly speaking here also the parents do everything they can and whatever is in their power for the children. In most cases the children are brought up in such away, that they always get what they want. If a mother denies something to the child the father often will give it to him and vice versa.

As long as the child is still small the mother takes care of the child. She feeds it and keeps it slaen. She has at this stage more claim to the child than the father. Only as the child grows bigger, especially the boys, the father takes more and more care of his son(s). The claim of the mother for the child could be seen also during the time of pregnancy, for the mother decided if she wanted to have the child or not. "It is my child" the mother said, "I can do with it what I like". If she did not want it and caused an abortion, which was fairly frequently, she did so without the father knowing anything about her doing. The father might never have agreed to it. Many children means plenty of work, but on the other hand it also means wealth, strength for the clan, preservation of the clan, especially if it is a boy. The father was always proud to have many children, and especially of his boys.

How closely the parents feel connected with their children is proved often in cases, where a child dies. To mention an example to illustrate that: I knew a young couple. They had their first child. After some months the child fell in the fire at night and was badly burnt. The parents felt very sad. Out of grief and heartache they decided not to let the child go alone into the other world, but to go along with it, both of them.

Both parents tied their hands together and tied the body of the child unto their hands and sprang together into the Chimbu river. The flood took them along. They did not want to have their child going alone into the other world.

Or another example: At the middle Chimbu I saw a man who had hanged himself. He was lying in state, when I arrived. I asked for the reason and they told me: He has lost several children within a few months and now he wanted to go along with them. Three children he had lost. His wives sat around the body and mourned. - It happens very often that mothers commit suicide when they lose their children.

Jealousy. Most of the married people come along with each other fairly well and most of them are faithful to their partners. They are bound together by the price which was paid for the woman, but they hardly have any moral or religious restraints and the duty of one to the other is only the existing customs. But, there are on the other hand also quite a number of scenes of jealousy, for good reason or for no reason at all. Then it does happen that husband and wife exchange not only angry words and bad language, but quite often they fight it out. Many a husband has killed his wife in his anger or hurt her with an axe or with a bushknife. But some of the women hurt their husbands just as badly, especially when they did not expect it. There were men who got beaten by their wives from time to time. One way to take revenge was, that the women at night when the husband slept, took a burning piece of firewood and pushed that between the legs of the husband to hurt the genital parts. Men did the same sometimes with their wives.

If a wife thought she had been blamed unjustly she sometimes ran away from her husband and it happened that nobody could talk her into returning. Another way to take revenge was by going and hanging herself.

As already mentioned, in cases of jealousy, not only the husband mistreated his wife, but sometimes the wife also her husband. These cases were well known and did happen here and there and even happen nowadays. I have seen cases, where the wife had beaten the husband so badly that he came bleeding to our station. The women of the Chimbu area do not take it as a joking matter.

Forms of communication(see also under politeness)

For daily communication there are a number of forms and customs which have been developed and which have to be observed. For example: If someone meets another person on the road he will rarely pass him without talking to him for a while. Often they say only short sentences or words of greetings as: "You come"; "you go home" ; "you live" ( meaning: "how do you do?" "You are going working" etc. "Good morning" or "Good day" as is used today, was introduced by the white people.

If a group of people wants to visit another group, they go on the road normally in goose-step. Ahead are the men, then follow the women and children ( if there are any along) and then there are again several men. When they arrive at their destination all may talk and chat with their friends and relatives but the real purpose of the visit is not talked about by anyone, but a special man has been selected beforehand and he must do the talking. Soon after the arrival all chat and talk and soon some refreshments are offered, a piece of sugarcane, etc. then they may smoke together etc., but that does not contradict what I have just said about the speaker.

The words of address are, normally: " Friend" or "Brother" (angera), or dina ( which may be translated as cousin with the same name, or relative). All that and many other rules belong to polite communication. Not only when they arrive but also when they leave, they have words of greetings and the corresponding gestures.

These can be similar to the greetings which are exchanged at arrivals; or may wish good speed (good travel) saying: "You go" - and the answer will be: "You stay". Often the hosts may accompany the guests for some distance on their way home. During such visits goods are exchanged (barter system), in other words, trade takes place, or presents are given from both sides, or the hosts are invited to make a visit to the other side etc., and many other things, belong to such rules of communication.

One could add here many other things without much difficulty. But this account does not claim to give everything in detail or claim completeness, since I only want to give an insight into the life of the Kamamuku and Chimbu people, so these remarks may suffice.

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## II Part

### The course of life. (A walk through life).

To describe several things which can hardly be brought under the headlines of material culture (volume II) and religious conceptions and social culture (volume IV, I like to describe and take a look at the life of a Chimbu or Kamanuku man or woman, and would like to mention some events which occur between birth and death, in short to give the course of life.

#### 1. Birth

When a woman is pregnant she normally says nothing of it to her husband, at least not in the first few months. She herself will soon know it by physical signs, such as: ceasing of menstruation, not feeling well in the morning (morning sickness) etc. Others will see it too after a while, as the areola of the nipples get a darker colour, and later when the abdomen swells. But even if she does not say anything to her husband and to the other men, she may talk the situation over freely with other women.

One has to admit that the life of a girl before she married was very free, and that of a lad equally so, and many had sexual intercourse, but that a girl got pregnant, did not happen very often. If it was the case, one saw to it that she was married soon. When a girl or a woman was married then she was as a rule faithful to her husband, if not through regard for ethical and moral reasons, then for knowing, that if unfaithfulness should be known to others, quarrels and fights might occur, even hurting each other and killing. It was the rule of the clan and tribe, that the woman belongs only to the one man, her husband. She was more or less his property according to their thinking, even if others had helped to pay the brideprice. They had only lent the goods and expected them back, all of them who had helped to get the brideprice together.

Pregnant women were advised not to sit in the houses, or lie around, but on the contrary they were advised to work hard, because that would be better for them, and the birth of the child would be easier and it would be more healthy for her. Complications during pregnancy occurred just the same as anywhere else. Feeling unwell in the morning, vomiting etc. were not thought of as very serious. They knew well that other women had to suffer the same. But if serious complications came up they were helpless or they tried to intervene with means that had no connection whatsoever with the sickness.

When the time of birth came close, the exact time nobody knew, normally not the beginning of pregnancy, nor did they know how long a pregnancy lasts, not even how many months, then it was the duty of the husband to build a small house for the wife who expected the child. If it was the first child he often was somewhat embarrassed. In that case his father or brother or someone else of the relationship helped him to build the house. It did not take long, and in a few days the house was finished.

This house for birth was built at some distance, perhaps about 100 or 200 meters, away from the house in which the woman was living. When the house was finished, the woman did not go into it immediately, but waited until labour started. She did not go all by herself, but several other women went with her, who assisted her at the time of birth. Men never went along and were never present at the birth of a child (except the witch doctor, if he was needed, see later). Amongst the women who went with the woman who was to give birth, there were normally always some who had some experience of midwifery either because they themselves had had several children, or had given assistance to other women before. If labour increased and there was no progress, they went and fetched cold water and washed the abdomen of the woman in labour. They also rubbed and pressed the abdomen, probably to increase labour. If the child was in a wrong position, they tried to rectify that from outside and they mostly were successful. If no progress was made they urged the woman to stand up and run around outside the house, or to jump over a fence.



that helped, they claimed, at least sometimes. In the house where the woman in labour was, a kind of rope was fastened to the roof and then hanging down. The woman could hold that rope with her hands to give her some support. Children were normally born with the mother squatting on the ground, buttocks on the heels, or in half squatting position.

If for a long time no progress was made, or if anything else went wrong, and the assisting women did not know any more what to do, they sent for the witchdoctor (medicine man). It was then thought that evil spirits or the evil influence of some ancestors were the cause of the trouble. Mostly the medicine man arrived soon after he was called. He was decorated often in a grotesque way. He rubbed the abdomen of the woman (in labour) with stinging nettles always from top to bottom, he chewed ginger and spat that over the abdomen of the woman and murmured incantations. Then he wiped the abdomen clean with leaves and threw them away. With that the influence of the evil spirits should be taken away from the woman. He also asked that fresh water be brought, and he spoke his incantations over it and gave it the woman to drink.

The evil spirits which they tried to expel in this way were called kangī. If it was supposed that some spirits of ancestors were the cause, who might have been insulted in some way, then they had to be calmed down. For that reason a pig had to be killed at the grave of the ancestors. If they should smell the meat then they would calm down, they thought. The pig was left there for a while, and when the ancestors or their spirits had "eaten" of it, they took the pig back, cooked and ate it. The spirit who lives always in the vicinity of the body, was quite satisfied with the smell of the offering.

Also to the woman in labour a piece of the meat of the killed pig was given, namely a piece of the liver. She had to eat that. The rest was eaten by the others. If all that did not help then they did not know what to do and in such cases often mother and child had to die.

They also had a magic incantation which they used during pregnancy to influence the sex of the child. If they wished it to be a boy, the pregnant woman was presented with a bow and arrows or with a stone axe, tools which are used by men only. If they wanted it to be a girl, the presents were netbags, digging sticks etc. all objects used by women for digging, weeding carrying etc.

When a child was born, they let it lie for a while on the ground, mostly until the placenta was also born. (kunguglo gake it is called). Only then was the navel of the child tied several cm away from the body of the child, and then cut with a bambu knife. They used a special vine for the binding, called nombun kan. If the placenta did not come soon they started to massage the abdomen and that helped in most cases. If it lasted longer, they brought fresh water and washed the abdomen of the mother, to accelerate labour. Not infrequently it happened that a mother who had given birth to a child had a severe haemorrhage before the placenta was born and the mother died. In such cases the women who were present were accused of not knowing anything about birth, and were accused of being guilty of the death of the mother.

Soon after the mother had given birth to the child, the child was put to her breast and the little one mostly soon started to suck. If a woman died during childbirth, mostly one of the other women was able to care for the infant. She perhaps had lost her own child or she had milk enough for two. But only children who belonged

to the same clan or were close relatives were cared for in this way, but not children who belonged to another clan. And they were also very hesitant to do anything for the child if both parents had died. They were afraid that some curse was upon such a family and could be transferred to them, therefore they mostly let such an orphan die.

The placenta, placenta plus ~~navel~~ <sup>umbilical cord</sup> was buried by the women who were present at the birth, behind the house, in which the child was born. They took good care that it was buried deep enough, so that neither dogs nor pigs could get it. Later when the people were grown up and were away from home they said: Mana kombuna maugl sumara pi goragka. That means; I want to go where my mother buried my ~~navel~~ <sup>navel</sup> and want to die there. Or: I want to go home and die at home.

If the navel of the child dried well everything was in order. If not then the place around the navel was rubbed in with pandanus oil. I just want to mention here, that sometimes also with the mother some complications came up after childbirth, inflammations at the genital part as well as inflammation of the breasts, Both were not infrequent.

When the child was born and everything had gone well then the men were also informed. They did not say it in open language, because the evil spirits might do some harm to the infant, but they announced it in a language, which all understand: ambu koglko si gat nongwa - the woman has caught a frog, cooked and ate it - she has given birth to a girl. Or: ambu kua si gat nongwa - the woman has caught a bird, cooked and ate it - she has given birth to a boy.

After several days, two or three, sometimes after a week, the woman returned to her own house.

To give the child a name was a festival occasion and took place some time later, perhaps several weeks or so. The girls were often named after a woman

who had assisted at the birth or had been the main assistant (midwife). The boys were often named after the man who had helped to build the house for birth. Or they took the name of a man, who had assisted greatly in buying the woman (brideprice), or in the case of a girl the name of a woman who had assisted them in many ways. The names were given with the agreement of both parents. They sometimes agreed on that already before the child had been born, or they could do it after the child was born. As names, some events, some happenings, etc. and also names of trees, birds, animals, village names etc. can be chosen. Bird and animal names one finds frequently. There is hardly much difference between the names of boys and girls, with some exceptions. Most of the names can be given to girls as well as to boys. One often finds a number of people in the same group with the same name.

As already mentioned, the giving of the name was always connected with some kind of a festival. As a rule 3 to 5 pigs had to be killed for this occasion and the necessary other food had to be ready. For this meal the men of the village or clan, brothers, uncles with their women and children were invited, but the relatives of the woman had to be there also. These festivals were not very large in comparison with the pig festivals. From the side of the mother there were about 10 - 15 people present. At this festival the speaker makes a speech and explains why this name was chosen and what the meaning of it is. He says about the following: " They have given you the name of a man who was a valiant warrior and a man of distinction. You shall become a man like him, so influential, so strong, so brave etc. You shall possess as many goods as he did, you shall court the girls and have many wives (that the tribe may increase and get strong), your wives shall have many children, your wives shall tend your gardens and shall raise many pigs for you (so that you are a rich man.) "

When the name of the child is said, then a piece of meat is taken (cooked) with a good bit of fat on it, and together with a stone axe it is given to the man or woman after whom the child is named. If it is a girl the speech is accordingly different. She shall earn and possess many ornaments, shells etc., she shall make many netbags, be very diligent in house and garden etc.

It does not matter at all when several people in the same clan have the same name. In that case another name is added to the real name, a village or a place name, the man from x, as Okondie Gigmai, Awakane Gigmai, etc. or a characteristic sign or mark of the body is added as: kina wia - sticking out ears, dem kulagl, twirling walk etc.

This festival may be held several days after the birth of the child, but usually it is some time later. If it is later, then soon after the child is born there will be held a small festival. The man hunts for this occasion for a few rats and other animals in the forest, and if they can afford it they also kill a pig. The meat will be cut into pieces, after it has been cooked, salt and herbs will be put on (kirai) and then especially the women, who have assisted at the birth, must be thought of, and each one of them gets a good piece of meat served. All may join into the meal, only the father may not. They say, if he should take part, he would not be permitted to court girls anymore. (to take part in girls dances, courtship dances).

With the festival of giving the name there is often connected an exchange of valuables, but in most cases this is done later, when the child has become a bit stronger. It sometimes happens that they wait with it until the child is about a year old, but it has to be done anyway. Then the relatives of the mother arrive, it does not make any difference if she is of the same tribe of a neighbouring clan or of a tribe which lives farther away. Brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts etc. arrive and all have to be accommodated and well fed. They usually bring along



a few pigs, which have to be paid for in valuables, such as shells, axes, plumes, etc. The pigs are a "gift" but the "gift" in return far exceeds this gift. If the return gift is paid, they say, that they give the "headprice" for the child. Anyhow it is a payment after payment for the mother to the relatives of the clan from which she has come. If the girl (woman) had not come, the child would not have been born. By the birth of the child the clan has been enriched, therefore they have to pay to equalize (make even). All this is repeated with the next child or children. It can be seen even to have children can be an expensive affair with the natives.

Also the ancestors may not be forgotten at such festivals. The meat, after it has been cooked, or before it has been cooked, will be put down for a while for the ancestors. The "soul" of the meat can then go to the ancestors and they can enjoy it. Also when the meat was put into the pots (or pits) this was not done without saying special incantations, and without calling upon the ancestors, that they might give their blessing, that they might have valuables and pigs in abundance. They should assist them in wars, help them in sicknesses and pain, give them plenty of strength etc. To get all that from them they had put the pigs down for them. And if they should give prosperity, they would again think of them and kill more pigs for them. All this they promised the ancestors.

As a cradle for the babies the netbag is used. Before a baby is put into a netbag, they put dondin kikawa (leaves into the netbag as a support (bedding) and then an incantation has to be said: that the child should grow and develop well etc. and then the mother puts the child into the netbag, without any clothes on, just naked. If then the child urinates that runs away, but if it dirties the mother has to clean it with some grass or a handful of leaves and then throw the leaves with the dirt away. The fontanelle



of the child was carefully treated, They rubbed soot and ashes on it and mostly there was a thick crust of this material over it.

If twins were born, only one of them was permitted to stay alive, because twins were something abnormal and would bring misfortune and unhappiness, if they should leave them both alive. Soon after twins were born one of the women, who were present, killed one of them. Either they choked it or hit it with a stone on the head in the area of the fontanelle. If the twins were two girls or two boys then the strongest was spared; if they were of different sex the girl had normally to die. The destroyed child was then buried together with the placenta. That the placenta had to be carefully disposed of, I have already said. If pigs or dogs would dig it out and eat it, that would have had disadvantageous consequences for the dogs and pigs, they asserted. They would get sick and die. But if it happened, which was rare enough, then the women were blamed, and they quarreled until the guilty one had given a pig as a gift of reconciliation (the same was true with menstruation blood).

As long as a child was small it lived entirely on the mother's milk. As a rule the mother had plenty milk for the babies. The child could drink as much as it wanted and as often as it wanted to drink, day and night. The baby was nearly always in the netbag, either hanging from the head of the mother on her back, or somewhere in the house. If the mother went into the garden, when she had to work, she hung the netbag with the child on a tree branch or something similar.

When the children are small and cry often, then sometimes a small packet (very small) was tied to the wrist of the child's hand, in the "packet", which is called: mundi onugl, some salt is wrapped in dikimbi leaves and a string is tied around. If then the child cries, this little packet is put into its mouth and it sucks on it. Mostly it then stops crying.

Only after the teeth have appeared do they slowly start to feed the children other food besides the mothermilk. They do not count the age, because they have forgotten that already after a few weeks, but they go according to the teeth. They perhaps do not even observe that the age of the children may be quite different when they get their teeth.

When they start to feed their children then they give them at first a certain type of vegetable, which grows wild in the forest. It is called: koglkuna. They boil it and the stems they give to the little children to suck on. Later they also take different vegetables from the gardens, such as kumba etc. Also lean meat they also give to the children fairly soon, but no fat meat. Without doubt they have had experience of feeding fatty pig meat too soon to the children and the children will have got sick and will have died.. If the 4 front teeth in the upper and lower jaw are through, then the children may eat already quite a number of vegetables, bananas and sweet-potatoes. By and by they learn to eat anything the adults eat.

When the mother has enough milk to feed the child and after it is big enough can gradually get accustomed to other food, well and good: but if she cannot feed the child properly for one reason or the other, or if she cannot feed the infant anymore or not at all, then the baby has to suffer. Food which is easily digestible for small children did not exist, at least not as we have such food. Milk from animals was not available and if the child is fed with "hard" food (sweetpotatoes etc.), it cannot digest it properly and suffers, gets sick or is retarded in growth. If then any sickness comes to it, such children will often languish and die. The death rate for children was very high in the olden times, up to 50 % and more.

Today many things have changed. Nearly in every store milk preserved and biscuits can be bought. A regular medical check is available, children's welfare controls the babies and their conditions, injections against infectious diseases are applied etc., and for these and more reasons the mortality of children has very much decreased.

## 2. The growing child

Taking care of the small child is the task of the mother. Perhaps grandmother or some of the elder sisters help now and again, but the father does not take much notice of the small children. The reason was not that he had no interest in children, he was really concerned that they grew and were healthy, but he could do little on the one hand, and then he was also afraid that by touching the babies he might lose some of his strength and become weak too. But that he could not risk as a strong man and warrior. The mother had not only to care for the food of the little ones but also to keep them clean. In the daytime she had the child mostly in a netbag and at night the little one slept near the mother, besides her or at her breast. If she had not enough milk for the baby she went perhaps to the magician. He hacked a special sugarcane into small pieces (kumba), murmured his incantation over it and gave that to the mother to eat.

When the child had its first teeth it could start to eat other food besides the mother's milk. I have already mentioned different vegetables. Besides bananas (ripe ones) they also gave them kumba and diune, both kinds of vegetables. These were often prechewed by the mother and then put into the mouth of the children.

When the first teeth appear they also cut the hair of the baby. They did that with a bambu knife. When that has been done then the child is taken and the arms are put high over the head (both arms), the meaning is; "So you shall quickly grow". Whether the upper teeth came through first or the lower ones, did not make any difference. They did not set any value on that.

The child was never washed or bathed. If it was dirty then they took some grass or leaves and rubbed the dirt off. Also small children are already greased with fat.

If the child is big enough so that it can already crawl, or even walk, the father may take it by its hand, or better, he takes a piece of wood and lets the child hold it on one end and he holds the other end in his hand. In that way he may lead it for some time. But even now he seldom lets the child touch his hands, nor does he take it on his arms, or on his lap. If the child cries or if it dirties itself he calls for the mother.

The little boys mostly ran about without anything on, up to about 5 or 6 years. But the girls one saw seldom quite naked. Soon the mothers start to bind little string skirts around them, or at least a string with a few shells in front or a string with a few nutshells etc. As the boys grew bigger they are clothed like the men only the wearing apparels are smaller. As the girls grow bigger, the string aprons are also enlarged with the years, each year a little bigger and soon they begin to have several string aprons one over the other. On the backside is at first nothing, then very small pieces of the same kind as the adults wear and with the years these are also enlarged from time to time.

The children live, as long as they are still small, with the mother in the family house. The girls stay in this house with the mother until they are grown up, but the boys may soon go in the menhouses and sleep there with their fathers or with other boys or relatives. But they may still live in the family house if they wish. If they are big enough to run around and care for themselves, they run and play with other boys or they may stay with their fathers. These do not mind to have them around when they can talk etc. They then very often sleep in the menhouses with the adults. Many boys like to do that because they feel that they are big enough and like to be grown up and act like grown ups. With the time they may be more or less embarrassed to sleep still with the girls and with their mother in the family house.

Children are kept at the breast of the mother fairly long, not seldom up to 4 and 5 years. But if the mother should have another pregnancy in the meantime

she will wean the older child at least when the pregnancy is in the 5th or 6th month. But it may also happen, that the mother keeps the older child at her breast and when the new baby is born then she feeds both.

As long as the children are still small, it was against the rules or custom for the husbands to visit their wives in the family houses and have sexual relations with them.

The language the children learn, as everywhere else, mostly from their mothers and from their elder brothers and sisters, if they have some, and when they are old enough to play with other children, also from them (from their playmates.)

If they are big enough they are also asked and expected to help their mothers. They may be able to fetch water for them, they can bring little pieces of firewood, or any other small services. Soon they also can look after the pigs and feed them. The girls soon go along with their mothers into the gardens and by and by try to do all the work just as the mothers do. Every second day or so the mothers have to go into the garden to get new supply of food. They must dig out the sweetpotatoes, collect the vegetables, they have to weed etc. Here the girls soon also can help. But all the work the children do is voluntary. The mother does not force them or compel the girls to work. The growing girl also soon learns how to make fibre and netbags. In this way the girls learn from their mothers or perhaps also from grandmother, all they have to know in their adult lives. All is practical education. Any learning in school or any theoretical learning did not exist.

The boys are mostly roaming around somewhere near the houses or villages, when they are big enough, and play with other boys. But here also, they soon start to help their fathers in little ways. They also play very much with bows and "arrows", not real ones but sticks of grass etc. They learn also to throw spears and to hit objects, which they put some distance away on the road or village place. And soon they also hunt for small game, beetles, small birds and other eatable animals. They also



learn to make rings for their arms and to braid belts and learn to cut arrows. When they are bigger they may help father or friends to build houses and whatever else there is to do. In this way also the boys learned by playing. Any theoretical lessons they did not receive. A diligent and clever boy tried to do it just as father did and tried to mimic him in all work, but a lazy one just roamed about somewhere with other boys and only when the meals were served did they mostly come home, or even ate with some friends of other families. Within the borders of their own ground they could go and play and hunt as much as they liked, but it was impressed upon them very early, that they would not go near the borders of other tribes, especially if some enmity existed. Often the boys did nothing else than play all day long, or hunted, or whatever they wanted to do. It also happened that a boy did not go home at all at night, but stayed with some other boys from other families. The adults did not bother much about that, they would turn up the next day or so again.

In this way they grew up learning by practising all that they needed for their lives later. If one wanted to, he always found something to do.

### 3. Initiation

The Kamanuku have some initiation rites. They will be described more in detail in volume IV, but I want to make here a few remarks. The initiation rites take place mostly at the time of the big pig festivals. It is something else when the nearly grown up boys are presented with the geroa headpieces (ancestor cult). That can be at the same time as the other initiation rites are performed, but often this happens also at other times especially when the big pig festivals are still some years away. When a boy is 10 to 14 years old, or if there are more of the same age, then they are taken into a group and the people say: It is about time



the boys are big enough to be initiated into the ancestor cult. In the time preceding the presenting of the geroa headpieces, and also for some time afterwards the boys had to observe several rules concerning food, which was forbidden to them to eat, and they had to observe the rules strictly.

When the old men had decided, or had agreed upon a time to give these headpieces to the boys, also when no pigfestival was in the near future, it was nevertheless very important that several pigs were ready to be killed for that occasion. If possible the boys, who were presented with the geroapieces had to supply the pigs, if they had none, and if their friends were not willing to supply the pigs, then the occasion had to be delayed until pigs had grown up. If a pig was available or, if pigs were ready to be killed, then the celebration could be arranged. (prepared for). Other food had to be brought in from the gardens and cooked. Then the geroa pieces, made out of wood, were put on the heads of the boys. These geroa pieces might be fairly small, but often they are up to about a meter in height and about 50 - 60 cm wide, or wider. I have seen such pieces up to 3 meters high and about 1 meter wide. They are made from wide boards. The smaller ones have more or less only a round piece of wood, which represents the head of the ancestor, the big ones represent the whole body, with arms and legs. Under the "body" is a round piece of wood that fits on the head (halfmoon form). Besides these geroa pieces which are put on the heads of the boys, they are presented with a geroa orugl. This piece is tied into their ears. It is a painted piece of wood about 20 cm long and about 3 cm wide. At the lower end a shell is fastened. Then the boy is given a club and he imitates the way in which he would kill a pig, but he does not hit it but he stops the blow shortly above the head of the pig. The adults then kill the pig (pigs). They then butcher and eat them.

The food prohibited for the boys to eat concerned mostly meat, but not only meat, but also different kinds of other food.

It was especially prohibited for the boys of the Endugakane to take and eat anything that came from the Enduga, Dom Diga, Tambande etc. The Enduga were their enemies (other tribe) and in taking anything from them they could get a bad influence upon them and in that way cause harm to them; and not from the Dom Diga etc., because they lived further away and were the friends of the Enduga. Also the boys were not permitted to eat kom gonduma (kind of yams), nor kambe yaundo (banana), kambe kendua (banana), kambe gene paikurukwa (kind of banana), no kom kikawa (kind of yams), no agl (dog) nor kua nime (cassowary), no gin munume (kind of fruit), no amugl keia (kind of pandanus) etc. Besides that all animals hunted in the forest were prohibited for them to eat. Also bo'kama (kind of sugar cane) they were not allowed to eat. The reason for such prohibition of certain food was (they said), that if they would eat that, they would not grow anymore, would get sick and eventually they might die.

These prohibitions lasted roughly speaking for the duration of one year. At that time another pig had to be killed and most of the forbidden kinds of food were then brought and cooked. The pig was butchered with the same knife, with which the geroa headpieces had been made. To be able to do this the knife had been wrapped in a piece of bark cloth and was put on a special place in the house to be used for this occasion (bambuknife).

When everything had been prepared, the boys were told, that from now on they were permitted to eat nearly all the food, which the adults eat, only animals from the forest, dogs and cassowaries were still prohibited to eat. When they were later married, or when they had their own children later, than also these remaining restrictions were dropped;

All these restrictions were thought to be a protection for the boys. Nothing harmful should come near them before they were fully grown, before they were fully strong in every respect.

That they were not permitted to accept anything from their enemies is easily understandable. Of the other items they believed, or at least made the boys believe that they could be harmful to them at that age.

The geroa pieces or figures were also explained to the boys. They were told: gitnogl kan moglkwa, which can be translated: he sees the ancestors, or: the ancestor see it. The latter meaning will be the correct one. Or: gitnogl kane koglkwa, which means: the spirit (ancestor) binds him. The souls of the deceased ones were thought to be spirits. There where one dies and is buried, there also lives the spirit. Therefore the pigs were killed at such places. At least the presenting of the geroa and everything connected with it was done in connection with the ancestors and to honour them.

Also the so-called arigl (a kind of wig), a headdress, made from human hair, is presented on this occasion to the boys and put onto their heads. Not only at such a time, but also on the occasion of vegetable festivals they could be given to them. The arigl, as said, is made from human hair, which is fastened with strings on small pieces of bambu (braided). It covers the whole head and reaches down to the shoulders, only the face is free. On the outside there are put decorations such as: paints, beetles, shells etc. These arigl were also thought to be a protection for the boys, against sickness and evil influences, they also should give strength to the boys, make them grow, give them courage etc.

When a boy had been presented with the geroa piece, and if he is still fairly small, he may still stay in the family house with his mother and sisters and brothers. But mostly they will prefer to be with the men in the menhouse. Only after the initiation rites will they be deemed as fully grown and from then on they will live only with the men and sleep at night in the menhouses.

Also the geroa pieces did not as yet permit the boys to take part in a fight. They were not yet strong enough to be real warriors. They were not yet strong enough for a fight, they were told. Only after the initiation rites were they permitted to join the warriors.

The girls also grow up, similarly to the boys, amidst their brothers and sisters. They are more in the house and more with their mothers than the boys are, but that is quite natural. They also learn more from their mothers, in regard to the work women do, such as; weeding in the garden, making netbags etc., but that is also quite selfevident.

When a girl is grown up and come to the age of puberty, and when she has her first menstruation, that is not kept secret but is made known by calling out to the others. Of course they do not say that in plain language, but it is circumscribed with phrases like: "u yunggul ongwa" - she comes and goes into the house, or: nerembare kanungwa" - she sees the ancestors etc., but such expressions are easily understood by all.

In the house, into which the menstruating girl goes, a kind of couch or bed is made, not by her mother or father, but by her brother or some other relative. Two lengthpoles are put down and across them some kinds of boards or pieces of wood. Then the girl is brought to this "bed" and is told, she may not leave it during her days, except when she has to relieve herself. They say: "she must not see the bright sunlight". If she would see the bright daylight then they would not get any valuables for her later (brideprice). In other words, in daytime she is not permitted to leave the house and if she has to go at night to relieve herself, she is not allowed to take a torch along.

The person who made the "bed" for the girl feels himself responsible for the girl in a special way, he is more or less her guardian and has special duties towards her, such as: giving her shells etc.

Most probably he presented her already before this time with some pieces of decoration, which the girl has already started to wear. He also will see to it that she gets more and more valuables (shells etc.). But all that is done, keeping in mind that he will get all the presents back and if possible with interest, when later the brideprice will be paid for the girl. And later, when she will be married, he will also have a weighty word to say in regard to the marriage, and to the brideprice. - When her days are over the girl is permitted to stand up and go outside the house. - But these mentioned restrictions apply only for the first menstruation, not for the later ones.

The customs observed during the first menstruation of a girl are different in different tribes. In some places the girls have to sit in a squatting position on their "bed", the knees pulled up to their chin. That they may stay in this position some vines were wrapped around their bodies and legs, which help them to stay in such a position.

-Also what they might eat during these days was strictly prescribed. They got sweetpotatoes and only "hard kinds" of vegetables. If they should eat soft vegetables, they said, the bleeding would not stop. It was customary to cook a special kind of sweetpotato for them, the kombuglambu. If they should eat that they would overcome the bleeding quickly. Before this kind of sweetpotatoes was given to the girls to eat, an incantation had to be murmured over the food. Small girls eat this type of sweetpotatoes, but girls of the puberty age do not, as a rule. They also had a certain type of medicine for the menstruating girl. That should help to make her strong again. This medicine was called: boma bounga. They took wax or honey from a small kind of wasp, mixed it with salt and chopped leaves of hardwood trees, which they had collected and dried and kept for this occasion, said the word of incantation over it, and gave it to the girl to eat. Also a special kind of grub was collected (out of trees) and cooked, then seasoned with salt and then given to the girl to eat.



During the days of their first menstruation the girls were also instructed to a certain degree in sexual matters. They were told that they were not children anymore, but grown up women. Also about sexual intercourse with boys and men the older women told them. To make it clear what that meant it was customary with some tribes, that the older women put a special type of yams, in the form of a penis, into their vagina and explained it that way, what boys or men would do. This type of yams is called gonduma and boys were not permitted to eat it.

Not only in sexual matters were the girls taught, but also in many other respects. Several things were very similar to what they did to the boys (see initiation of the boys), only varied in some ways fit for the girls. They were also pressed to the fire, especially the stubborn ones, they also were given sugar cane etc. But not all tribes had this type of initiation.

Also about the work which they had to do, the old women talked to them, that they always must be diligent, when they started to plant the gardens they must work from the outer fringes toward the middle, because the lazy ones start in the middle and leave the outside unplanted, they must always keep the gardens clean from weeds, they must always make netbags and not sit idle, always look after the pigs and give them enough to eat, always take good care of the guests, especially be nice and careful towards parents and friends, see that they should have always enough to eat etc.

When the "days" were over a pig had to be killed. Of this pig the belly part and the liver was taken and cooked in a mondono (wooden pot) in the same house, where the girl was, in the first partition of the house near the entrance, together with sweetpotatoes and vegetables. The other meat was cooked outside in the pit (between stones).

While the food was cooked the girl was decorated. Then they put sugarcane into the opening (door) of the room, where the girl was, crosswise, one end on the ground, the other end half up to the side of the entrance.



The girl had to step on the sugar cane and break it, when she came out. Also coloured kumba(vegetable) were put on the ground and the girl had to step over it.

Then she arrived at the pot, in which the meat for her was boiling. She had to take it out. She undid the leaves with which the pot was covered and put them aside, took the food from the pot and put it on leaves which were put there for that purpose.

Then also the meat which was cooked in the pit was taken out. Of the meat some was put into a netbag, specially selected pieces such as: The skin, which had been separated from the head etc., and this was brought to the girl. She ate some of it and also some of that which was cooked for her in the mondono and then she had to distribute the cooked meat to the women and had to give richly to the ones who taught her during her days. When they had all eaten and were satisfied and there was some left the women put that in their netbags for the next day. Of whatever meat was left outside the house, the other people and relatives could eat.

About tattooing of the girls and boys or young men I do not want to say anything here. Later I intend to describe describe that in a special paragraph (See under tattooing).

#### 4. Courtship

When the boys had grown up and were old enough, it was also time for them to go with the older boys and visit girls. Here in this area there were three types of such visits known.

1. A group of boys visited a group of girls.
2. Single boys visited single girls
3. Girl visited boys.

Instead of courtship one may also use other words, such as: girldances etc. But there is no real dancing. One may also say "Sing to them", or any other expression, but a single word will hardly give and describe the custom, therefore I have to explain it a little more.

Add 1.

If the boys were big enough then the older ones asked them to go along with them to visit the girls. If it was for the first time then a number of rites had to be fulfilled, before such a new boy could go along. They had to catch several rats or other animals. Then a piece of a banana stem was brought and put before the entrance of the house. The piece was about 1 meter long and was put upright and on top a little hole was made in the middle of the stem. Around this hole little sticks were put into the stem and between them a small kind of basket was woven (braided), It is called bogl kengwa. Then leaves were put into this miniature pot and one of the rats was cooked in this pot (hot stones), in the same way as when they cook in bigger pots. On top of the rat wamugl leaves were put ( a strong smelling grass).

While that was cooking the new boy was washed and decorated by the older ones, namely his skin was rubbed with leaves and then greased with fat. Also his hair was cleaned a bit and then he was decorated with all kinds of shells etc.

While that was done the food was also ready, the boiled food and rat etc. It was now taken from the pot and the wamugl leaves ( which had been rolled before boiling, were unrolled and thrown away (wamugl pirika sumga) with the words: "We had wrapped you up, you have lived with your mother and sisters, but to day we unwrap you and send you away, so you may visit other girls, we unwrap you as we have unwrapped the wamugl leaves and thrown them away. In that way you shall be free and shall make visits."

Then they took ginger(gene) and simba make(a small herb), both in one hand and in the other hand a small spear and stabbed with it(punctured) the ginger and the herb and murmured an incantation. Then the new boy had to eat some of the ginger and with the "simba make" his skin was rubbed, arms ,legs, shoulders etc. All this was done for his protection that nothing evil might happen to him on his new venture.

When all this done( all the precautions taken) then the new boy was taken along to the village, where the girls were, which they intended to visit. There were always certain groups or hamlets which were visited, always such groups which came into consideration for later marriages. The girls were informed of the visit of the boys, or young men. They had gathered in the menhouse, which they could have for such an occasion. They sat there in two lines along the lengthside of the walls of the menhouse. The girls faced the middle of the room. The boys and also young married men who took part in such meetings, went after their arrival into the menhouse and sat beside the girls. They faced the walls, and sat in that way, that always a girl and then a boy sat side by side. They sat <sup>side</sup> face to face with the girls. The new boy had of course been instructed what he had to do. They sat in this way, a girl and a boy and then they took each other's hands. If boy and girl liked each other, they took each other's hands, or if they were new and strange, they just sat side by side.

Then the leader of the group started to sing a song. He sat either at the beginning or at the end of a row. When he had finished the song, another boy started to sing, either the same song or another one, and so it went on and on, along the line, until each one of them

had sung to his girl. When the last one finished the first one started a new song and everything was repeated. Singing in this way they swayed their bodies from hip upward from one side to the other or forward and backward. So they came always closer to the girl and then away again. Sometimes they touch face and head. It went on and on that way all night. - As the girl face the middle of the room and also the fire, it is their duty to keep the fire going. They have to put wood on and see to it, that the fire is burning nicely. The swaying of head and upper part of the body is called: bitno pia singwa. Sometimes when they have finished a round they also get some refreshments, some sugar cane and/or ripe bananas.

After having courted the girls in this way the whole night the boys and young men go home, when it starts to get light in the morning. Any sexual excesses or orgies did not happen at such meetings. If a boy or vice versa a girl wanted to meet the partner for sexual intercourse they could make a date at such meetings and meet somewhere else at a set time.

Sometimes they had a quarrel or even a fight at such meetings. One of them wanted to sit at the side of a special girl and the other wanted to do the same. The differences were mostly settled immediately in the men-house or outside on the village place. Not infrequently then also the girls have a brawl amongst themselves.

As already mentioned during the night the places were often changed, therefore at one time a boy sat beside this girl, at another time beside the next one, and there was not too much cause for jealousy.

With some tribes it was customary that the boys when they arrived, were not permitted to walk into the men-house, but had to kneel down and "walk" on their knees into the house.

Such meetings were from time to time repeated, but the boys went not only to the one group of girls, but this time to one group and next time to another, and the girls also received at one time one group of boys and young men and "danced" with them and the next time another group.

Add 2.

When a young man had been several times to such meetings with other young ~~lads~~, then he went also on his own to a girl whom he had learned to like, as other young men also did. If he wanted the girl to visit, he payed his visit to the house (family house) in which the girl lived with her mother. If he wanted to make such a visit he may be warned by others to be careful, as somebody else might be there to pay her a visit and he might get a beating. Or somebody might be hidden, somewhere near the road and wait for him. If that should happen "be a man and do not take anything from the other".

But it was the rule that the boys visited only girls by whom they were invited. If a girl had let him know that he was welcome to visit her, or if she had invited him by saying his name, then he might pay her the visit.

When he had arrived at the house, in which the mother and the other children lived, he was invited to enter. Then he sat down beside the girl he had come to see, and they sat side by side. Both face the middle of the room where the fireplace is. They would sit shoulder to shoulder (leaning), take each other's hands, tell stories, jest and joke and laugh.

While they sat side by side, they would tend the fire, so it was really warm in the hut. The mother of the girl was always in the house and observed daughter and visitor. So they act for several hours. Late in the night or near morning the young man leaves. If he liked the girl and the girl liked him also, then she would invite him to come back and visit her again, or even fix a date for the next visit.

But the girls did not just invite one young man, but rather today this one and tomorrow another one. And on the other hand the lads visited this day this girl and tomorrow another. If a young man did not arrive at the time, which the girl had told him to come, she sometimes made inquiries to find out the reason why he did not come. If she then found out that at the time he had visited another girl, then it happened often that, when he visited the first girl the next time, he was received with a belting, if nothing worse happened to him. Only a short while ago it happened that a girl in her jealousy, because that man had visited another girl instead of her, she thrust a kitchen knife into his chest.

That young men had sexual intercourse with the girls they visited, that happened now and again, but was not the rule. If a girl wanted it, then she gave him during the evening a sign and later when he had left she followed him outside after a while, under some pretences and met the boy.

If a girl thrust herself upon a young man and he did not want to have anything to do with her, then he avoided seeing the girl again, but sometimes told others to visit her. If a boy was obtrusive toward a girl and the girl did not want it, then she told him that he was not expected to come back for another visit.

If a girl had intercourse with a young man, then she followed him mostly into his village. There they lived together, even if they were not married to tribal customs. If they then liked living together, the brideprice could be paid later, if they did not like each other, she would just run away from him and try to get another man. Such temporary marriages, or trial marriages, were not infrequent in the olden times in this area here, but they were not the rule.



If a girl wanted to have sexual intercourse with a man she invited him and they met at a place she had designated. The boys or young men did it vice versa in the same way. But that was done more or less secretly and nobody said anything about it.

The visits as described on the forgoing pages were continued until some time later it was considered time to get married. In most cases the wishes of the young man, if they liked this or that girl, were taken into consideration by the old men, and the wishes of the girls likewise. If the old people, including father, brothers and relatives, also good friends, had goods enough to pay the brideprice, and if agreement on both sides was reached, the marriage could take place.

### Add 3

Not only the young men went to visit the girls (see 1), but vice versa the girls in a group visited also some boys and young men of other clans or villages. If they wanted to do so, then at first everything had to be talked over in detail, where they wanted to go, when they wanted to go, which song they would sing etc. They also sent some kind of message to the group, which they intended to visit, but did not give an exact date. The girls did not go all on their own, but several young men, single or married, went along with them.

When everything was ready then one evening fairly late, they started to go to the place they had agreed upon. They arrived when all were sleeping. They sneaked close to the menhouse and opened quite carefully the entrance. Then the men jumped into the menhouse and the girls followed them. They tramped over the sleeping men, who jumped up in a hurry and saw the whole menhouse full of men and girls. But soon they understood the purpose of the nocturnal visit.

Yagl yungu beglkwa, they called such a visit. There were several customs connected with such visits. One of them was: Some of the girls had filled small bambu pipes with "water" (mostly urine of the girls). While they were jumping into the menhouse they threw this "water" over the sleeping men and boys before they ran over them.

Then they sat in rows, exactly as described under 1. If the house was too full or if it was too hot, or if there was too much smoke, they sometimes lifted the roof up a little (perhaps 30 or 40 cm, so they could get more air and could breathe more easily.

At these meetings the girls started the songs, just as the boys did when they visited the girls.

If the girls were presented with some sugarcane as refreshment, then they had a special song, which they sang. If they got ripe bananas, then it was another song. If they were given water to drink another song etc.

During the night this went on and in the daytime they slept. The girls were then permitted to sleep in the menhouse. In the afternoon they sometimes danced for a while on the place before the menhouse and at night they went again into the house and did as the night before. So day after day for a full week or longer.

On the day when the girls wanted to leave there were again "round dances" on the village place. Boys and girls took part in it. Not all of the girls, who had come to visit were fully grown, quite a number of them were still children of about 8 - 10 years old. But all were nicely decorated. In these "round dances" always a girl and a boy alternately hold the hands of each other and dance around in a circle. At these occasions the so-called "spirit" or "ghost" dances or "ghost plays" were also performed. The girls had greased their skin abundantly with fat, so

it ran down from their skins (drip or trickled down). They would get a lot of pigmeat to eat at this occasion for several pigs had to be killed for the girls during their visit. That is self-evident for a good entertainment. So they also had fat enough to grease their skins.

These type of dances were only performed at special times, about the harvest time of the pandanus fruits, or after the big pig festivals. It seems to me as if this type of dance was more in use in the neighbouring tribes than with the Kamanuku, at least they say that they were always started there and then went on from village to village. So I conclude that they originally had started this type of dances:

At these visits it seems that sexual intercourses were more frequent, especially the fully grown girls with the already married men. At least many men later-on boasted that they had sexual relations with the girls. The girls who were the leaders of these visits were always fully grown and only with them did they have sexual intercourses, but not with the small girls or children.

As already said, several pigs had to be killed for the girls. The main meal was prepared for them the day before they intended to leave. Especially such girls whom they hoped to marry later were lavishly presented with food and meat. That not only made a good impression but also could be taken as a kind of payment on account (pay in advance). That beside the meat a lot of sweetpotatoes and vegetables had to be prepared for the visitors, does not need to be stressed. What they could not eat, was put into netbags and carried home. Telling each other how glad they were to have enjoyed the visit and many other friendly words, they left for home. Mostly the hosts went along with them for a good part of the road and accompanied them

I think now it is time to record a few of the songs which were sung at these occasions, first the songs which the boys sang and then one or two of the ones the girls used to sing. I am sorry I cannot give the melodies (musik) of them here, but I can give the assertion, that some of them are quite nice.

Kangu tom singwa, they called it, when the boys and young men had to "walk" into the menhouses on their knees until they arrived at the side of the girls. Uru engwa they said, when they changed from one girl to the next one, after a song was finished.

When the young lads or men "walked" on their knees into the menhouse to the girls they sang a song like this:

Ware pi pi  
darua pi pi  
duwandie buglkwa pi pi  
gamba pi pi  
duwandie  
morowagle  
ambaiwagle  
moglu wan dimiwe.

The meaning is:  
Wet by dew  
moist by dew  
waded, thought dirt  
waded through mud  
I come. O you girls  
O you grown up girls  
for your sake we have come  
for your sake we are here.

---

The songs which the boys then sing to the girls are very many and different, I only want to record two of them. The first:

Wai i ye e e wai  
wai ye e o wai

Morowagle wagle wagle ya  
ambai wagle wagle wagle ya  
nono koiŋga moglu wamunba  
nono koiŋga muŋlu wamunba  
moglu wamunba.

Melody of introduction:

You grown up girls  
You girls you  
We boys have come  
from yonder there we have  
come  
and now we are here.

Kamuno kombara yago yage ene Our village yonder  
Boma koimbo kano where it is, there from  
Taupa kokoimbo kano Bomai, there from Taupa  
u pene yene there it lies, quite openly  
yomara we e a. there it lies.

Morom kama sue suo ta O you grown up girls  
ambai kama suo suo ta O you two girls  
Bekiri mere bike pai yo As the bekiri (bird)  
Wauka mere bike pai o. with the white spots on the  
forehead  
Like the Wauka (bird) feathers.

Moglmere niindo You are like the plumage of the  
Towamere niindo birds.  
Kiraglmere ninimigl ya e/As soft as the Towa feathers  
Wayangi mere nane milai ya beautiful and even  
like the prepared cane to make  
belts (so smooth etc)

Ombo mere o o goglgindo Beautiful like the ombo  
daga mere gogl gindo, nice like the daga (ornamental  
shrubs)  
Moglki mere nepeno glorious like the moglki  
Kaglki mere ne pino. beautiful like the kaglki.

Wai i ye e o e wai  
wai i ye o e wai Concluding melody.

---

Another:

Ei ye ya wai e i ya wai ye Introductory melody  
ei ye ya wagle wagle ya

Morowagle ambaiwagle e a O you girls, you girls  
wagle wagle ya you all, you all  
nono koinga mogl wanmunba o Here now we are  
nono koinga mogl wan munba o Here now we are at your side.

Buna suglo ta o  
du wanime  
dangine kóimere ta  
du wanime.

At the edge here  
at the side we sit  
here at the side we are  
(to talk to each other).

Nono kundanewo nono kundanewo  
ta gagl wan bino wan bino  
nono pirimun daran  
nono kanimun daran  
kanamun darawe.

That they could kill us  
they incite war  
if we would know it  
if we could see it  
we should know (what to do).

Konbo koa nongake koa  
purare yene we  
bei gilsí ta  
bambun gilsí ta  
ta yeimbino.

On a small path  
on a narrow path  
They have perhaps  
put an ambush  
a small one, a small ambush.

(That seems to express what it has cost them in  
courage etc. to come here).

Wan wakimbino  
guno bange wo  
katno bange wó  
ta wakimbi no.

We touch you  
we hold your hands  
we touch your feet  
we touch you.

Kuia niglo gangin nuglo  
nuglo tembandi  
nuglo tembandi  
anggangakoa angganga koa a u a  
kowandi u a.

Your heart trembles  
your souls are excited  
you tremble  
and you call out: u a  
you call: u a.

Na kumugl pandiglka  
na yagl pandiglka  
nana dindino  
nana nil si  
nana kan si  
gogl yenagla kondo.

I am a boy  
I am a man  
I sing a song to you  
shall I spring into the water  
shall I hang myself  
I should like to die.

( if the girl will soon marry and they cannot sing  
to her anymore).

ei ye ya wai e i ya wai ye  
ei ye ya wagle wagle ya.

Closing melody.



Of such and similar songs there are many. It is not possible to give more of them in the framework of this book. The melodies I have taken on tape, at least some of them, but they are not set to music so far. Perhaps that can be done later, if people are interested in it.

Also, the girls have a number of songs which they sing when they pay their visits to the men. They are mostly shorter than the ones of the lads and the variety is not as great either. One of their songs is the following:

Kumutn di

yatn di  
mogl kinde pirie  
durondi kaiwo di  
wanu menda pi.

You lads sing songs  
you men sing songs  
we would like to stand up and  
we would like to <sup>stretch</sup> go outside  
(a bit)

Then the boys answer:

Kumutn di dikiro  
yatn di e dikirowe  
moro kaumane ya  
no di yungugl koima endo.

Don't say: you lads sing  
don't say: you men sing  
Girls, it is nice here,  
let us go again into the house  
and sing.

---

These customs as recorded here were undermined and turned into perverse actions by the influence of people from outside. The girls and young women soon learned to know that they could sell their bodies in exchange for valuables, and quite a number of girls and young women obtruded upon the newcomers. The newcomers were nearly all from the coastal areas, such as workers, policeboys etc. Many of them had not only occasionally sexual intercourse with the girls, but many of them took also a number of girls and had them living with them, half a dozen or more. Most of them took them only for some time, longer or shorter, according to the price they had paid for them, or as long as the girls liked to stay. There were even some men who asked their wives to earn money, but then asked for payment. So to a certain degree prostitution was in full swing.

Really bad it became in the years of war. Then there were a number of white people who had heard of the customs of the natives and made use of them in their ways. I know of white men who went into the villages and stayed with the girls all night. Some of them even were married and had their own families. And what the white people did, their workers did too. Everywhere in the "villages" the people had to build special "girls houses" and then the girls and young women (also married ones) were asked to meet in these houses with a number of lads or men. These meetings also started with singing but the girls were forced to sit astride on the laps of the men, face to face with them. And around midnight the so-called overseer distributed the girls and women to the men present for sexual intercourse. If not enough young girls were present the women were taken too, and even half grown girls were misused. The leading village chiefs often went along with it, at least partly. They said, it was the order of the white men to do so, and if they would disobey, they might be punished. The white men were sometimes leading in such gatherings.

So each night ended in sexual orgies. If girls and women did not like to attend, they were punished and if parents did not send their daughters, their pigs were taken away from them, killed and eaten by the others. This was of course a new fashion and many people did not like it at all. But out of fear many went along. Later, after the war, I was told of many instances where parents were punished because they had not sent their daughters. Many lost all of their pigs. - I could write a lot more of this, but I do not want to go into details about this, because it is now in the past and stirring up old matters does not help any. -

Such behaviour lasted for months and years. Soon it was in this area, soon in another. It increased for some time and then decreased again. Not long after the war, when the white people who were mostly, or at least in part, responsible for this behaviour, left the area, the main cause was removed. After a while it came up again but only in isolated cases. It happened several times that girls who did not like to go to such gatherings committed suicide rather than going to such orgies. That became known and good and responsible officers stopped such outrages. For many years nothing of that kind has happened again.

These excesses which were unknown in the heathen times and were not understood nor agreed upon by many of the old people, at least not by the majority of them, died down after several years. The conviction of the older people was, that something unheard of and not permissible was going on. The influence of the missions, good influences of government officers and other factors will be the reason, that such excesses have never occurred again since in this area. These meetings were always called bad, as in the new ways they never ended without sexual orgies. With it also the visits of groups of boys and the visits of girl to the boys have very much decreased, because they could not be held anymore in the old fashion. Today the visits of single boys to girls are far more prevalent.

There will always be a danger if indecent behaviour cannot be punished anymore by tribal law and custom. The old customs are not observed anymore. People get more and more lax and the old people are disobeyed, because they have no power anymore.

## 5. Marriage

The age when girls and boys were married was not always the same. Most of the boys had to wait, unless they happened to be children of influential people, sons of chiefs, etc. "They have to wait until their beard has grown," was an addage, and then they could think of marriage. Also, their hair on the chest should grow first they said. Many men were 30 and 40 years of age and did not have a wife. There were more men than women, as already mentioned previously. And because many of the rich and influential people had a number of wives, the poor ones were not able to get a wife.

The girls married earlier than the boys, but they also were well developed before they married. The marriage age for them was about 17 - 20 years., never before ~~the age~~ of puberty. One may say, that girls as a rule married earlier, than boys and hardly a girl could be found who was not married, as soon as they were old enough.

If a young lad, according to the judgement of the old people, was old enough to be married, which depended at least partly on the influence of the old people, father, brother, uncles etc. then the old ones sat together and took counsel how and from where the boy should get a girl as his wife. That was not a private affair of the boy and the girl, but a serious matter of the group or clan. The first thing they (father, brothers etc,) had to do now was to get an oversight of the valuables necessary for the brideprice. They had to count and look at their pigs if there were enough, if they were big enough etc. because without pigs and pigmeat there is no marriage. The brideprice - axes had to be inspected, they brought their goldlipshells (mother of pearl shells), their pumages (bird of paradise), their animal skins, shells of smaller size, etc., and would line up all the things to see if it would be enough for a bride price. On these occasions old debts were asked to be paid back. "I did help you at such and such a time, now it is time for you to help me. Now it is time to pay back the old debt you have owed me for such a long time."

If necessary the old people would go from house to house, from friend to friend, to get the goods back which they had lend to the others previously, or to borrow goods with the promise to give them back at a later date. Also all who will participate in the marriage festival are expected to help in one way or the other to make the whole occasion a success, and most of them are only too willing to do so. Thus it has been for generations and each one of them knows what it means to have good friends to rely upon.

When they have estimated what they have themselves and what they hope to get from others, and when enough pigs are available, big enough and fat enough, then they carry all the valuables into the menhouse and line them up. Sometimes they do that on the village place, as I have observed several times. When everyone has brought what he has, or what he is willing to contribute, if they find that it is not sufficient, then they try to visit more friends and ask for a loan of some goods. But if they think they have enough, they know of course what the minimum is they may offer, then it is time for the next step. That is to go and see the girl which they intend to get, or better to see the relatives of the girl and make the first steps for the match-making.

As a rule the young lad, who is to be married, is asked by the old men, which of the girls he would like to have. He of course knows quite well which of them he wants to marry, and he may give the name of the girl A., and in case she does not want him, girl B or C. But often it happened also that old people did not ask the boy at all, but decided by themselves which one of the girls they would like to get for the boy, or where they should go first and make inquiries. Of course, when they paid their visits to trade, at pig festivals and other occasions, they had their eyes open and looked around for young girls, who were of marriag-able age, and who came into consideration as wives for their growing sons, and then they had to consider, if their request would be met with or not. Mostly they knew that quite well in advance.



If they had considered all the pros and cons and had come to some decision, the men who had to pay the first visit in regard to the girl or woman (matchmakers) could start to make their visit. There were mostly 3 or 4 men who went, often one of the elder brothers or another close relative of the boy. They visited the hamlet or the group of people where the intended girl lived.

When they arrived, they were greeted and sat down and talked for quite a while, were served with sugarcane etc. as is the custom and good manners. It is against good manners to say to early what the visit is for, but after a while a hint is dropped here and there and the hosts very soon understand, what the visitors want. According to the reactions the visitors soon know if their visit will be a success or not. If they make any hint and there is no reaction, or if the hosts talk always of something else they soon know that the visit has been in vain. Without saying openly what they have come for, they will soon take leave and go home. But if the people react favourable, they also very soon know that from the answers etc. The result of the visit will then be in the end, that they make a certain downpayment for the girl, in the form of a present. If that is accepted that means: They agree. Further arrangements will be made after a while at a second visit.

The girl in question is mostly also informed of the agreement, which has been made in regard to her. If she also is in agreement then further arrangements can be made. But it happens now and again, that the relatives of a girl agree, but the girl refuses to marry that lad. Then they try to convince the girl and talk her into it, but sometimes the girl refuses stubbornly to marry the young man, and if she cannot be convinced to agree, the whole matter is dropped. Hardly ever is a girl forced into a marriage against her will.

If the visit of the match-makers has been in vain, then they will try their luck somewhere else, say girl B or girl C. Everything is then again as has been told. If they come to an agreement, then they soon go home and report of their success.



Not very long after the first agreement the relatives of the girl pay a visit to the relatives of the young man. The aim of the visit was, not to learn to know the young man and his relatives, but to inspect the brideprice. If they had consented in some way, then the intended brideprice was layed out to be looked at and to be inspected. The relatives of the young man did know exactly how many men there were on the other side and what each one of them expected to get. If the goods lined up were not sufficient, then the visitors hesitated or even said free and openly that there was not enough, and that they had to add more. When they were content, then sometimes the goods were carried to the people of the bride and inspected by them. Of course they did not just give the valuables to the other party, but several men of the groom's side carry them to the people of the other party and let them have a good look. If the relatives of the girl are content, then a time can be agreed upon for the marriage. Up to then it may still be several months, or only weeks, or even a longer time. All depends upon the pigs whether they are ready or not. But normally the relatives of the young man are eager to have the marriage soon, for otherwise something may happen and everything could go wrong again. The young man who is to be married and on the other hand the young girl have nothing or very little to do with all these arrangements. They may be told of what is going on, but that is about all they will know. There is one exception to this rule, namely when the young man already has pigs big enough so they can be killed or exchanged as brideprice. Then he will let the others have the pigs he possesses and will be better informed than otherwise.

Then when the time for the marriage has come, both sides prepare the pigs for the festival. They are killed and according to a firm ritual, butchered. (Description of this see volume IV under pig festivals). Then they are steamed in big pits in the ground (hot stones).

The day before this happens a small pig is killed and prepared and brought to the relatives of the girl. It is cut

into pieces and salt is put on after it has been cooked and then is presented to the relatives of the bride. They also have killed and prepared a pig and present it to the relatives of the groom.

The day before the marriage the bride is given a good talk about her new life, her behaviour etc. The instructions comprise such admonitions as this:

She must always take good care of the pigs.

She should always be industrious and never sit, doing nothing.

She should not run to other men.

She should always be brave and obedient etc.

She is also told how to care for the gardens, how to keep them clean, how she has to look after her children, how she has to be hospitable toward visitors. If her husband calls for her she should come immediately and not wait until he has to call three times or more, because he then could get angry and perhaps beat her. She has always to make netbags, aprons for the men, rings for arms and legs. She is told how to plant ornamental shrubs and care for them, how to make fibre from bark and plants etc. She should not talk unnecessarily with other men and jest with them as that could make her husband jealous; and many more such talk and admonitions will be said to her.

When all these admonitions were made, one of the women would start to sing a song. It was a valedictory song. Only a few women knew them.

The following night the girl or bride is "washed" and decorated. To wash her they take "water" or sap from sugar cane, which is chewed to get it, and a piece of a green banana stem, which is full of water and serves as a sponge. If both are not available, they also may take plain water.

-The whole body of the bride is now thoroughly "washed", or perhaps better: rubbed off. Everything must be shining. With dry leaves, which serve as towels, they rub the skin dry. When they have finished cleaning the skin and if there is still time, they may lie down for a while and sleep until morning.

After they have risen in the morning, the bride is greased for the festival day, from head to foot, either with pig fat or with pandanus oil. Both they have conserved in gourd bottles.

Then it will not take very much longer before the relatives of the groom arrive with the prepared pigs and the valuables, the brideprice. The gold-lip, shells (mother of pearl shells) and the forehead-bands, the plumages of the birds of paradise etc. are often decoratively arranged on a kind of frame which looks really beautiful. The big women-price-stone-axes are then laid in a long row so that each time the stone (blade) of the next axe is always put on the upper part of the previous axe. The biggest exemplar which they have they put down first. The biggest axes of this kind have a stone of 60 - 70 cm long and the whole length of such a stoneaxe will be about 130 to 140 cm. These stone axes do not look nice at all, they are mostly full of soot and blackened. Also the winding around of treebark is very roughly made and the wooden parts are also very rough.

As soon as the stone axes are lined up then the other valuables are also lined up nicely, not in a row, but just side by side. It takes them quite a while to put everything down, and often a piece will be taken up again, and placed at another place, where it fits better, or makes a better impression, or is meant for another person. But then also the other party begins to line up their goods which they give in return. This price is not strictly a payment, for the girl or woman, but an exchange of goods of the two groups, to make the marriage binding and lasting. By doing this the marriage is also getting a legal status according to tribal custom and also by this marriage the girl or woman is taken into the group or clan of the husband.

When the girl's group has also lined up all their valuables, - Then they take piece for piece, stone axe for stone axe, shell for shell and evaluate each piece and decide who will get it. This is done by the old people and it takes a considerable time until they have finished with the job. They also look at the valuables the other group (girl's group) has lined up and see if it is sufficient. The goldpip shell which the girl will take along they have already put around her neck and it is part of her decoration which she will take along to the other group. In the old days there were not many of these mother of pearl shells available, 2 or 3, but they have been devaluated with the years and one can see girls now who have up to a dozen or more of these shells around their necks, one over the other and each one hanging a little bit lower than the previous one. Distributing the bride price the old people have to take care that each man gets his share and that he also is content with the piece which they select for him to take. Often the receivers are quite content, but if they are not, they will not take what the old ones offer them, but refuse it and will not be content until they get a better piece, or something else has been added to the piece first offered to them. It happens also that certain pieces of shells, plumages etc. are rejected as defective or not good enough, too small etc. and the other side has to replace them with better pieces before they are accepted. If the receiver has accepted his piece then he may not complain later. Acceptance means at the same time contentedness.

While all this takes place amongst the men, the women are busy decorating the bride. She is richly decorated, with: plumages of the birds of paradise and other feathers of different birds, with skins of animals, with shells etc. she is painted with different paints, has chains of grass seed around neck and chest and shoulders, armrings and leg rings etc. The mother of the girl does not help to decorate the girl. She sits there, doing nothing, with a sad heart.

She is loosing her daughter and that makes her sad.

When the bride has been fully decorated and the men have finished the distribution of the bride pice, the bride is taken by the women and led to the village place, where the people are gathered. There the bride stands at first in the group of the women of her own group, who also have put on nice dresses for this occasion and have put on some decorations. Then the speaker of the groom's group steps forward and gives a speech. He may say words along this line:

"O you friends, I could have gotten for the boy in question another girl. Which of the girls he likes best I do not know, because I was not present when he paid his visits to the girls, but he tells me that he likes just this girl, therefore I have brought something along and lined it up. It is not very much, but do not blame me, for we are only few and we brought all we have. As in regard to the girl, whom you are prepared to give to us, if you want to tell us anything about her, we shall listen attentively. We shall listen and shall not contradict.-

You have agreed to give this girl to us for our boy, We are glad for this, but if it should be found, that she should not like it in our group and run away, we expect to get the price, we have paid for her, back from you. But if she stays with us you may keep everything we have given for her. I do not intend to make a long speech, but only this short one, therefore this may be enough. That's all."

When he has finished his speech then a speaker of the other party steps forward and says about the following:



" Friends, I did not think of giving you (clan, group) this girl, but you have urged me so much I have given in at last and give her to you. Will everything turn out right when she lives with you? I do not know. Will she always be industrious and do her work so that you will be content with her? - Do not reprimand her too soon, if she does anything you do not like, but help her to do it correctly. If you handle her like that, she most likely will like living with you. - And after a while she will also give birth to some children. - So she shall go with you and be with you until her death. And she also shall be buried with you. (in your ground). So that she shall stay with you, for that reason I hand her over to you today. That is all I have to say."

When this speaker also has finished, the speaker of the group of the bride with several other men takes the bride and leads her over to the other side of the place, where the other group is standing. Then a woman of them steps forward, if possible one of the same group as the bride comes from, who was married into that group years ago, and she takes the bride by her hand and "receives" her. Then also this woman is admonished by the men of the bride's group, to look carefully after her. She is asked to admonish her and help her, where necessary, and wherever possible. She should give her good counsel and help, and if possible have the young girl for a while in her house, and speak to her if she should feel lonely. In other words: She should be a mother to her.

In this way the girl is handed over to the other group resp. received by the other group. Then the girl turns around and somebody of her own group hands to her a piece of pig meat, boiled and ready to eat, possibly with plenty of fat. She takes that in her hands (the piece is called: bugla dane) and offers it to the women of her new clan. Without touching it with their hands the women quickly bite few mouthfuls off, after the bride has started to do so, and the bride



goes now from woman to woman and each bites a few mouthfuls off, but none of them eats it immediately, but spits it into her netbag from where she will eat it later with some sweetpotatoes and vegetables. So the bride goes along the line of women, until nothing is left of the meat. One is surprised to see, how quickly each of the women can bite off their share. They surely have some experience in that. -

When the girl has arrived at the end of the line of women, then the piece of the meat in her hands is also gone. There are normally 20 to 30 women present, sometimes more. When they all have their share, they make a loud shout of joy, take the new girl (bride) between them and lead her with them into their village.

In this way the new woman is taken into the village and eating community, or in other words, has been received into her new home and home community. She now belongs to them and is one of them. The shells which she brings along, she still carries around her neck. So she goes fully decorated to her new place. The pigs and other food, which they received from the group of the bride, they do not eat at the place of the bride, but they carry that home on their heads or in their netbags, to their village.

When they have left then the ones who stay behind, namely the relatives of the bride, now start to distribute the pig meat and the other food, which the other group had brought along, and have their festival meal.

It may be a surprise that in all this, the groom has never been mentioned. That clearly shows, that in all these customs it is essential that the bride is taken over into the other community. Therefore the groom is not even present while all this takes place. He is so far only a matter of secondary concern.

The different customs serve to strengthen the bond of friendship, and then also they are developed for the safety of the girl or woman, for if something should go wrong, the girl may be badly treated or even beaten and she may run away to her own group. If she then does not return, all the goods, paid for her, have to be returned, and that is not easy to do, because they may have changed their owner in the meantime several times.

When the women, accompanied by a number of men, arrive at their home, the new home of the bride, carrying the food and the valuables they have been given in exchange, the youths and all the other people of the group have meanwhile assembled and greet the arriving group with much shouting for joy. The youths have put ornaments on, as much as every one has, also the bridegroom. The food, the vegetables and the pigs they have brought along are now distributed to all people present.

Before doing this they take a piece of the liver with salt and cut it in half. Then one half is taken together with new shoots of the ornamental plant gumane gogl, and given to the bride: and the other half to the groom. The two may stand together, especially nowadays, or they may stand apart some distance, but so, that the one can see the other and observe what he or she is doing. The girl casts a glance to the groom from time to time to see what he is doing and observes him. If he takes a bite from the liver she does the same. When she has eaten something she holds the piece of liver to the men of the new group and offers it to them and they bite a piece off, one after the other, in the same way as the women did with the meat at the other place. By this action she is also accepted by the men of the new clan and she belongs to them with all responsibilities on the one hand, and with all the protection the clan can give on the other hand. She is now a member of them.

Then the newly married young man has to divide the pigs, which the women have carried home, to the people of his group and to all visitors, who may have come in for this occasion. By this action he accepts the responsibility to give back at a later date all the pigs the others have loaned him for his marriage. Then they start to eat and when that is finished, all the ceremonies are over.

When all are satisfied, then the mother of the young man, the mother in law of the bride, takes as a rule the young woman with her into her house. And in olden times the young brides stayed with their mother in law for quite some time. (This has changed with the years). sometimes weeks or even months. The young husband brings firewood, or better hacks and splits it for his wife, for this is work for the men to do. He may also render her some other small services, but as a rule the two did not live together for some time. They said: If he should begin to live with her immediately, he may come to some harm, may get sick or even die.

Some time later, perhaps only a few weeks later, or it may be several months later, perhaps even half a year or so, while the bride was still living with her mother in law, or with some other woman, who had agreed to care for her, it was about time to build a house for the young man and his wife, their own house. No harm had been done to the young man and they can now without much risk build a house and let the two live together. The young man does not build the house by himself, but he has some friends and relatives who help him do so. When the house is built and has dried a little, it is ready to be occupied. Then they enter the house and from then on they live in the same way as other married couples live.

I happened, now and again, that during this time of waiting another young lad or man had sexual intercourse with the girl. Mostly it was done secretly and stayed secret. Otherwise the culprit had to pay for his misdemeanor. On the other hand it also happened now and again that the girl did not like it in her new village

and that she would run home into her village. Or if it happened that the young husband still went to other girls and courted them and she discovered it, she also had a sound reason to run away. If she did, the others tried to talk her in to coming back, or her relatives tried to send her back (fearing to have to return the bride price). But if the girl did not want to go back and no talk or persuading could change her mind, then the only way was to give the bride price back, which they tried to avoid, because it was difficult to do so.

In the olden days, say nearly 40 years ago, a bride price consisted of the following:

- 30 - 40 stone axes, beginning with the very big axes only used for the purpose of bride price, down to the small working axes.
- 2 - 3 gold lip shells (mother of pearl shells) (worked into a halfmoon form)
- 2 - 3 forehead ornaments, made from small nasa or cauri shells.
- 2 - 4 plumes of birds of paradise
- 2 - 3 pigs, animal skins, shells, lined up on strings etc.

As has already been mentioned these goods were an exchange, each side had to give some, the group of the groom paid, and the other group repaid, but the group of the groom had to give considerably more than the other group. They gave a few shells more, more plumages, one or two pigs more etc. Even if each party tried to get the best of the exchange, the bride price was never in the meaning of our word: "buying" the girl or the woman.

In the course of the years many features of the old custom have changed. The age of marriage is earlier than in the old times, especially with the young men. The shells etc. have been grossly devaluated for the reason that more and more were brought in and could even be bought for money. Therefore they have far more of them than in the old days. Also the people can earn money, and that has its influence on these customs.

The number of stone axes, which are exchanged, was constant for a long time, but for the last 10 years or so, they have started to exchange steel axes instead. All the other goods have gone up in number, the number of goldlips may be 20 or 30 today, or more, the plumes of birds of paradise are also more plentiful, as by the more frequent visits into the areas where these birds are hunted, they have occasion to trade more in. People from the communication centres have other goods, which they carry to the remote areas and trade in for plumes. Also other items have changed, for example dresses instead of the old bark-cloth etc.

That they exchange steel axes for stone axes I have observed since about 1957. Before that they kept firmly to the old customs. The newer trend, that instead of valuables just money is given in exchange, has bad influences and destroys the meaning of the old customs. The women and girls are degraded by this as an object, which may be bought just like other goods. This they may not realize fully or they get the meaning only slowly. They have taken different steps to avoid this trend, or at least to set a limit to the money which is paid for the girl, but with little success. Today it happens that for a girl a thousand dollars in money is paid or even several thousand. The councillors (village) have put up rules to limit the price paid in money, but who cares. And if the same councillors who set the rules down, have a grown up girl of marriageable age they do not stick to the rules they have set down.

The value of a girl is also today not the same for all. The standing of the parents, the girl herself, her education etc. all this will be taken into account, if the marriage is planned. An albino girl is less valuable than a fairly light coloured girl (normal colour), a woman or a widow is less in value than a young, fresh, healthy girl.



Ability to work hard, strong healthy body, diligence and many other factors are taken into account. Also the relationship between the two groups have to be considered, the friendship, the trade connections etc., but all is calculated to the good of the clan or tribe, and with this view in mind the decisions are made.

But all these considerations have no value anymore when young people, at least some of them, meet today somewhere and start to live together. Often a sum of money is thought to be enough to act accordingly to the customs of the people. Certainly the greed for money is very great and some people who hope to get rich quickly, are quite content to get a lump sum of money at one time and do not consider anything else. But the majority of the people are more conservative and still act in the old way, with some minor changes.

If a widower married a girl or a woman, then the customs were the same as recorded on the previous pages. There was no difference between first and second marriage.

But if a husband died, or if he was killed in warfare, the widow usually stayed on the place of her husband and did not go back into her home village. She was permitted to do so, if she preferred to choose that. But mostly she stayed where she was, and after some time they tried to give her another husband, either a young man who was not yet married, or a man took her as his second w-wife,

To do this, the men and women lined up in a row on the village place. A pig had been killed and prepared to eat. The head was separated from the body and split in the middle. Together with special kinds of bananas half the head was given to the widow and the other half was offered to the men, to one after the other with the question: "Do you want to eat it?" When he said "No" the next one was asked. At last somebody said "yes" and took the half pighead and ate of it. The widow saw that and also ate from her part. By this action the marriage was accepted by both and by all.



They called that: kambe nongwa - he or she eats bananas, which means free translated: She (the widow) marries again. In this case no brideprice has to be paid, because that had been done before when the woman came to the clan.

If nobody of the group was prepared to marry the widow, then the widow was permitted to stay in the group of her late husband, especially when she had children. She never had a legal right to the land she was living on, but for the sake of her late husband and for the sake of her children she could stay where she was. The children were considered not only her children, but were also at the same time children of the clan or tribe. So she could stay unmarried where she was. But if she wanted to go home to the group of her relatives, she also could do so. She could then leave the children in the group of her late husband, especially if they were already half grown. Somebody else would then take care of them, but she could also take them along with her up to the time when they were grown. At that time they had to come back to the clan of the father. The girls could only be married by the consent of the group of the father and the boys belonged also to the group of the father and this group saw to it that these boys got married at the appropriate time. If such a widow was married to somebody in an other clan, then this clan had to pay a brideprice to the group of her late husband. Mostly the widow stayed where she was, married or unmarried.

## 6. The family

When a child is born the father of the child had to make a payment for it to the relatives (clan) of his wife. They call that: ga bire tengwa - they pay the headprice for the child. By the birth of the child an enrichment to the tribe of the father has been made. The mother gave birth to the child and she is from another clan or tribe. That has to be made even in some way. Therefore the group of the mother has to be paid.

There are firm rules and each one knows exactly whom he has to invite and no person of influence may be overlooked. When the visitors have arrived the meal for the festival occasion is prepared. Of course several pigs have to be killed etc. Besides the meal the visitors are presented with several goldlip shells, plumes of birds of paradise and with many other small gifts. Each one of them who have arrived gets something according to his standing or influence, or to his relationship to the mother. The visitors have then the duty to invite the other group to their place and to make gifts in return, but their gifts are less valuable than the ones they have received by the other group. This visit will take place several weeks or months later. Also here a good meal has to be prepared and several pigs have to be killed for the occasion. That is all repeated if a second or third child is born.

Family life, as we are used to it, and as we deem the ideal, is not known by the Kamanuku and the people of the adjoining tribes. Certainly the wife and the children have an extra house. The husband may go there at any time, if he wishes to do so, mostly he will pay them a visit in the afternoon or evening, but his home is the menhouse. Usually he will return to the menhouse late in the evening.

One has also to admit that the husband does quite a few jobs for his wife, and on the other hand, the wife cares for the family (cooking etc) and for the pigs. One has also to admit that they normally stick together, at least in most families, but in the last analysis the wife is "owned" by the husband. The clan has paid the bride price. One could hardly say the reasons for staying together are moral or ethical reasons. Sexual misdemeanors of the wife are looked upon as theft, the man who had to do with her, committed. He has taken something that was not his own and that is theft.

In most cases the married man and wife are faithful to each other. If it happened that a man had intercourse with the wife of another man and if he was seen and observed, so that he could not deny it, this was

mostly straightened out by payment to the insulted husband. Often the culprit had to pay a pig to the husband and his relatives. The women were usually not punished, as the men were thought to be the guilty ones, because the women could not do anything else but to give in to the man. Even if it did not often occur that the woman was "raped", if she denied the wishes of the man, she could easily have to fear revenge in some way or the other. If nothing came into the open and the woman did not say <sup>any</sup> and then the man gave some salt to the woman and she took it, both kept quiet.

It was different if a married woman again and again had intercourse with other men and when she was the one who made the advances, or if a woman stayed only for a short while with one man and then left him and went to another one. If that happened repeatedly then they had a special punishment for such women, which was known in many tribes of the Chimbu area, and this punishment was executed, but not very often. Such a woman was taken into a special house and was used and raped for a whole night by the men. Each man was permitted to take part. Sometimes such women were even treated like that for several nights and days. They said, that in most cases such women were then cured.

Another punishment was the following: Several men took such a woman and put her on the ground and held her in that position. Others spread her legs and pushed diune (a panicle of a very big grass) into her vagina. These panicles have still the outer leaves on and these are full of small prickles. They intended to hurt the woman purposely.

Abortions were fairly frequent. They are only mentioned here, because it belongs more or less to the "family". That grown up girls caused abortion, I just want to mention. The abortions were undertaken when the women were about 4 - 6 months pregnant. The causes for abortions were different ones:

If a woman had intercourse with several men and became pregnant, it happened that she killed her growing child. Or if a woman had already a number of children and did not want anymore, then she also sometimes killed the child in her womb. The care for many children is too much work, they said. These and many other reasons were causes for abortions.

The abortions were made by the women. As a rule the husbands did not know anything of it and did not want the women to do it. Mostly they were angry, when they heard of it; but when they heard of it it was in most cases too late. The men said and thought: The more children the more honour and the better for the group (manpower and gettings valuable for the girls later.)

The abortions were made by the women as already said. There were several methods known and in use. If the women were sure of their pregnancy and if the foetus started to get bigger, some tried to smash it with their hands, or they beat their abdomen with a piece of wood or with a stone and killed the child in that way. Another method was to lie over a tree or a pole with the abdomen on the tree and by pressure try to kill the foetus. Others rolled on the ground and tried to kill the child in that way. This method, lying on the ground was called: makan mitna gagl bera bera orukwa, and when they lay over the tree they said: endi mina dagaglkwa. or: endi mitna kirimane erekwa.

Not always were they successful. It also happened sometimes that such a woman bled and they had no remedy against it and the woman died. - If they were unsuccessful and did not know any other means to get rid of the child, they also went to the magic doctor. And if that did not help and the child was born alive, then it sometimes was killed shortly after it was born. They then hit the newly born and unwanted child with a hard object (wood or stone) over the head and killed it. Or they put their hands around the neck of the little one and choked it, or they stood on its breast and squashed it. These are a few of the methods used for getting rid of unwanted children. There were more of them, but this may suffice.

## 7. The daily Work.

The native of NG is not inactive (idle). On the contrary, he has, at least in his own opinion, always plenty to do. The work is divided, some is men's work, some is women's work. For example: The man has to make the gardens; that is, he has to root up the big bushes of thick grass, he has to make the fences, he has to make the ditches in the gardens, he has to remove the trees, or if they will stay in the gardens, he has to cut the branches off, to dig out the stumps and roots etc. He has to get the wood for house-building, he has to build the houses, he has to make the big wooden pots, or if there is no suitable wood available in the vicinity, he has to buy them from neighbouring clans or tribes, he has to prepare for defence, has to make shields, bows and arrows as well as spears. He has to make several other tools such as: spades, hoes, stone axes (or trade them in), he has to go hunting and to fight in war-time. All that and much more work has to be done by the men, it is work for men alone.

The women on the other hand has also her daily work and task to fulfil. She must make the soil fine in the garden, she does most of the planting of the sweetpotatoes and vegetables (sugar cane and bananas are planted only by the men), she has to collect firewood, she has to care for the children, and for the pigs and dogs (at least as long as the dogs are small), she has to make netbags and diglimbi, also string aprons, rings, belts etc. She has to do the cooking for the daily meal, she has to get the sweetpotatoes and vegetables from the garden and keep the garden clean, she has to get the grass for house building (roof), she has to keep house and village place clean, etc. The daily routine is to cook the food for the family. In the afternoon or near the evening is the main meal.



Of course, a fixed time for work, say to work 8 hours or so a day, that is unknown to the native. He did not know a week. One day was the same as the other one. But they did not work regularly every day, that is the men did not. Any day could be a restday, if they like to have a rest. And even if he started to work in the morning and then felt tired after a while, he just would lie down and sleep for several hours, or for the rest of the day. Time did not count at all, at least not in the way as it does for us. A clock he did not know, the sun always gave an indication how late in the day it was. And as the island of NG is close to the Equator, the time of sunrise and sunset does not change much. In the Chimbu area it is not more than about one hour difference all the year round. Also when it rained they did not like to go out of the house, at least not before the sun was high in the sky. Also in the mornings, when the dew was still on the grass, they avoided going outside and getting wet. They preferred to wait until the dew had dried. That is understandable, as the native has hardly any clothes on and it can be quite cold in the mornings, and then to be cold and wet at the same time is not pleasant.

These daily or seasonal tasks can be interrupted at any time, some of the main causes for such interruptions are:

1. Festivals
2. Sickness and death.
3. Warfare.

A want to make a few remarks in regard to these interruptions.

1. Festivals. I do not want to describe the festivals here in detail, but only to mention them. In volume IV of this monograph more will be recorded about these festivals.

There are many causes for festivals. One has not only to consider the big pig festivals etc. which return more or less in a firm cycle, and which is celebrated at least by a whole tribe at the same time. But also the other festivals have to be considered, such as: the harvest festival and many other occasions for killing pigs, inviting friends to have a good meal together. Many of these festivals are also connected with some kind of dance. I shall record here only a few



of these smaller festivals:

1. Marriage
2. Celebration at the time when a house is build and is finished.
3. Presenting the geroa pieces to the boys.
4. First menstruation of a girl.
5. The tattooing.
6. The birth of a child.
7. Giving a name to the child.
8. Mourning meal at the dath of a relative.
9. Beginning of plantig in the garden.
10. Starting with the harvest, etc.etc.

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## 2. Sickness and Death

Also this cause is only mentioned here, because it interrupts the normal routine of the day. More about sicknesses see unter "Sicknesses and Medicines of this volume (page 58 ff.)"

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## 3. Warfare

The normal course of life was interrupted not on-ly by sicknesses and by festival occasions, but very often also by enmity and warfare. There was nearly always some cause for warfare and there was hardly a long time in the old days when there was not some kind of warfare going on. Most of the causes for such wars were: quarrels about women, pigs, theft and questions in regard to ownership of land. But besides that there were many other causes which could lead to a fight, such as: indecent behaviour, in word and deed, insults etc. And when a fight had started and there were some losses on the one side, the other side had to get even.

a) women

Let us take the case: A woman runs away from her husband and goes to another man. Her husband asks for her to be sent back, because he is the owner of that woman and the other man has taken her as theft. If the other man is of the same clan, or of a friendly other clan, the woman is mostly returned; or if she does not want to go back to her husband, the new "husband" can pay for her. If the first husband is content with the payment (he and his group) then the case is finalized and she can stay with the man of her choice. If not, then a quarrel and often a fight follows and often in such brawls some people are wounded, as other men mostly get involved and there are always two parties.

The wife sometimes gets a sound thrashing from her husband, when she has run away to another man, or if she has had intercourse with another man and now and again it even happened that a husband in his anger killed his wife.

But as a rule little or nothing happens to her. They know quite well that in most cases the man is to blame and he is the driving force. He has to pay a gift of reconciliation. He has used something which does not belong to him, so he has committed theft. He can straighten that out by paying a gift of reconciliation and the amount of this gift of reconciliation is dependent on several factors: Whether the woman was young or old, whether she was more or less forced into the act or not, whether the husband was a friend of the other man or not etc. The man who has committed the misdemeanour has to pay to the husband of the woman some valuables and at least one or more pigs, which then the insulted husband eats with his friends and relatives.

But if the woman runs away to a man of another tribe, who were nearly always more or less enemies, the case is as a rule always more severe. Here also they ask for the woman to be returned but she is seldom sent back. If she is sent back the man who had taken her, has to pay a gift of reconciliation, for using something that did not belong to him. If this happens and the woman is sent back, the matter can be dealt with in peace and can be settled.

If not then it was without question a cause for war between the two tribes. If for example a woman of the Kamanuku ran to the Yongumugi, the Gena or the Naruku (all neighbouring tribes) then that nearly always meant a fight with them, which often lasted for weeks and months.

b. Pigs. A further cause for warfare is the pigs. (sometimes also dogs). The pigs run free in daytime and look for food and dig in mud etc, in the long grass, or near creeks or river beds. There they find beetles, grubs, worms, roots etc. But it happened very often that a pig found somewhere a hole in a fence and broke into the garden and uprooted the sweetpotatoes and vegetables, especially in newly planted gardens. If such a pig was seen and found, it was often killed by the owner of the garden and if nobody saw it, it was carried away, was cooked and eaten. This happened often with pigs of their own group or clan. After it had happened there was mostly a big screaming and shouting and if the man who killed the pig was known, he had to pay a gift of reconciliation and if he and his people had already eaten the pig, they had to give another pig for the one they had eaten. With that the case was straightened out.

But if the pig belonged to someone of another tribe, then they tried to hide and to deny everything. But that could seldom be done. Footprints (tracks) etc. were a sure indication of the evil done and if the evildoer (or the tribe to whom he belonged) was not willing to pay for the killed or missing pig, a fight and war was the result.

c. Theft. Here different matters could be the cause. If an abduction of a woman and/or sexual relationship with her took place, this was dealt with like theft, as already mentioned previously. Ethical or moral considerations hardly came in to it. But more often pigs and dogs were stolen. Mostly they were killed, carried away and cooked and eaten. If the culprit was caught in the act, or if footprints or blood spots pointed to the doer, they mostly knew, who the guilty man was. But it happened now and again, that somebody was falsely accused. Very often they tried to deceive the owner and they went with the pig or dog quite in another direction, than to their own home, or they made a wide detour.

Also many other items could be taken away or stolen. Theft in the gardens happened often. The main thing was that nobody should see it, or that one was not caught. And if one was accused of theft, he would deny it vehemently. Shells, animal skins, feathers, stone axes, tools of any kind etc., each one could use, and if there was an occasion to take some of them without being caught, nearly everybody did so. Often it took a long time to find the culprit and sometimes never, but very often too, the thief was sooner or later caught somewhere, because the owner had not forgotten and he was always on the lookout to find the missing goods. If he then recognised the object he was looking for as his own, it had to be given back and on top of it a gift had to be made to the owner.

But also here the rule was valid, that theft within their own ranks was not dealt with as severely as theft committed by people that did not belong to their own group.

#### d. Land

In regard to the land, quarrels, brawls and warfare was rarely often. As a rule they lasted for a long time, and were dealt with in the most severe way. This quarrel was not within the group or tribe, but questions in regard to ownership of the land were with neighbouring tribes. In their own group the old people decided where each one had to make gardens and where he had to plant. But as these quarrels in regard to land were with other tribes, they normally always led to fights and wars. Mostly it was the way, that one group had been driven away from their land and the victors had taken possession of their land. The conquerers then often made gardens on the land, which they had taken from the others, but the defeated tribe never gave up their claim for their land. They tried to buy allies and then to get their land back. That was not necessarily in the same year, or after a few weeks. Several years could have elapsed, up to 50 years and longer. Even today disputes always flare up about land questions, which have been in possession of the others for at least 40 or 50 years. They have not been decided to the satisfaction of both sides. But the claims stay, even if generations die away. There may come a time and an occasion to get the lost land back.

Now that the causes for fights and warfare have been stated, the types of wars will be described a little. In the main there were two types of warfare. The one I should call a brawl, which took place amongst friends or of people of the same group and was called: kunda mangigl, and the other was the fight and wars with people who did not belong to the same group or tribe. This type was called: kunda tamugl. There was also a third type, which was called kunda kane yei mogl. That was more a surrounding of the enemy with the aim of destroying him completely or of driving him away for ever. In this type there was hardly any mercy, not even for old people nor for women and children.

### 1. kunda mangigl

As already mentioned, from any cause or misunderstanding a quarrel could arise. Then they screamed and shouted at each other, they abused each other and when they were really excited and the men took sides, then they had a great brawl. Doing so they seldom took the war weapons, but sticks and clubs or anything that was handy, fenceposts etc. and beat each other. Often one or some of the fighting men were wounded and it sometimes happened, even if seldom, that a man was hit unluckily and was killed. But in most cases the excitement cooled off after a while and they stopped, when the heads were bleeding or one or two had broken lips, or any other injury.

When the excitement had cooled off and the men could talk again, they tried to settle the differences and to come to an agreement. Very often the men, who were at the bottom of the brawl and had caused it to start, or the men from both sides, had each to give a pig, which was killed cooked and eaten. They said: "For your sake we suffer pain, now you have to pay for that accordingly." When they had eaten the pig together, and if other gifts had been exchanged, especially if some bloodshed had occurred, then the matter was normally settled.



Of course some were still grumbling against the others, especially those who were hurt and had pain, but that did not amount to anything, because by eating the pigs they had agreed to make peace.

But in case of some complications, for example if one of the injured men died from his injuries or even from sicknesses which had nothing to do with the brawl, then surely the fight was accused of the sickness or of the death of the person and the relatives asked for and received payment for the one who had died. But as a rule, as has already been stated, such brawls were more or less harmless.

## 2. Kunda tamugl

With the expression kunda ~~mangigil~~ <sup>tamugl</sup> the usual type of warfare was described, as it appeared not between members of the same group or clan, but between members of different tribes, with strangers (for all other tribes are more or less described as strangers). The cause which led to such wars have already been enumerated. These wars were fought mostly for quite some time, often several years. Even if there were in between times of rest, or pauses, in which there were no actual fights, these were mostly only of short duration. In these wars, nothing was forgotten or remitted, nothing was given away for nothing.

If anything happened to disturb the relations between two tribes, each one knew immediately that only by war could the matter be straightened out. And each side took the necessary precautions, and prepared for war. Bows were made ready and arrows were made in great quantities, also spears, stone axes for fights, shields and war decorations were made ready. The attackers as well as the other side were therefore not surprised at all, when the actual fight started.



The attackers normally started in the mornings about 8 - 9 o'clock to go to the place where they wanted to fight. They did not like to set out earlier because it was too cold and too wet, for even if it had not rained, the dew had made the grass very wet and they did not like to get wet. They marched in a long line, one after the other, especially if they had to cover some distance until they arrived at the location where they intended to meet the enemy. Sometimes individual men were sent ahead as scouting patrols. These were mostly soon discovered by the enemy, as they also were on their guard. They mostly also knew even the day when the enemy would arrive and attack. Sometimes they did not know the exact date, but to wait one day more or less did not count for much. What the enemy wants to do and what he is planning, of that mostly some messages reached the other side in some way or the other. Perhaps some friends lived amongst the other party and they had given them a warning, perhaps some of the women, who were married to the other group have given the others some hints. If the attacked people then knew that the enemy was arriving, they also were ready for the fight. They left their places and went to meet the attackers somewhere in a place where no people lived and if possible in open country. The fights took place mostly at some distance from the living places, if possible in no-man's-land.

When the two parties had come close enough for them to call and hear each other, they started first with stating their disputes by calling out loudly what the accusations were. Here everything was mentioned, new and old wrongdoings. They shouted to the others, not the whole mob, but single men, who were the speakers of the group, and then the others answered. One heated word led to the other, and soon they got hot, excited and then into a frenzy. Threatening words were used and insults were made and then they started the war dance. Sometimes some of the men turned their backs to the others and bowed down and even lifted up the few leaves on their behinds. That was mostly the culmination of the insults and soon the first arrows were let loose. The leaders normally let the first arrows go and only then did the others start to shoot. Shouting and abusing the others, one party would press forward and shoot as much arrows

as they could. The other party would give way for some time and retreat slowly, but in an orderly manner and not very far, perhaps about 50 meters or so and then they would let go a war-cry and press forward and shoot and the other party would retreat slowly. In that way it would go on for hours, some-times the whole day, without either party having any success in hitting one of the enemies. Some of the warriors also had shields, but not all of them. With the shields they cover their bodies and the shields are often hit by arrows. These shield carriers were also the ones who dared to go fairly close to the enemies, but they were always "covered" by some arrow-shooting men. If they had managed to get close enough, then they throw their long spears and tried to hit one of the enemies, but immediately they had to rely on bows and arrows, which they mostly also had with them, hanging over their shoulders. If the arrows hit the shields, they often penetrated the shield for several cm but then stuck there, without doing any harm. I saw many shields which had been hit by 50 and more arrows, not all, in one fight, but in the course of time. The arrows had broken off and the points were partly left in the shields. To see what was going on the shield-carriers often peeped around the edge of their shields for a second or so. As they carried the shield on their left shoulder, they peeped around the right side of the shield. This is also the reason why many of the old men had lost their right eyes. Because just in such a moment when they liked to look they were hit by an arrow and in consequence lost the right eye.

Often such a fighting day ended without anybody being hurt, either killed or wounded. If it was then about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and if the warriors were tired and hungry they called it a day and broke off the fight.

When they were ready to go home they shouted and insulted the other party and promised to be back soon and have another go, perhaps already tomorrow, or perhaps the day after tomorrow. Then they parted and each group went home.

If there were wounded people or dead ones the fight was mostly interrupted, especially if the attackers had the first losses. They then said, that the spirits of the enemies were stronger than their own spirits and they would have no success that day, therefore it would be useless to fight on. The other party then tried to exert still greater pressure, but mostly not for long. On the other hand, if the attackers were successful in hitting somebody, they fought more violently, but then the other party fought also more bravely, so they could not have any more success that day. If the wounded ones could still move, they were led home, or they were carried back to their home. If there were one or more dead ones, the losing party started to sing a mourning song and the victorious party a victory song. The dead ones were carried along into the village. There the body was put on a kind of stage and then the preparations for the funeral were made. During that time the fight rested.

How the wounded ones were treated has already been mentioned (confer: sickness and medicine). For the mourning festival the man, for whose sake the fight was started, had to kill at least several pigs to feed the warriors. These were eaten by them. For his sake the man/or the men had been killed, therefore he had to give the pigs, to calm down the feelings of the departed and also to calm down the feeling of the relatives of the killed one.

But it also happened that several men were killed on both sides in such a fight. I remember several occasions where 20 men and more were killed during such a fight, which lasted several weeks. I even remember that in one fight which lasted only a few days, 37 men were killed.

The fight was continued not for the reason that the dead ones were revenged, as far as I could ascertain, but rather the motive was: To get even with the others, in regard to manpower. On our side so and so many have been killed, therefore we have to kill the same number of them, so the ratio of manpower stays the same on both sides, they said. They tried therefore to fight on until the number of the dead ones was even or at least fairly even.

When the number of the killed ones was fairly even on both sides or close to even, and when they were tired of warfare, and also the food became scarce, because they could not make gardens or not at the right time, or not enough gardens then they agreed to come to terms and make peace. Instead of peace one should perhaps better say, a rest or lull in the fighting, for out of many reasons the fight could flare up again at any time.

At this type of fighting the women were not present, at least not with the Kamanuku. But at neighbouring tribes I have observed repeatedly, that the women were between the lines of the fighting men and picked up the arrows and brought them to their men. When they did that, nobody aimed at the women, but let them do that. Of course, there were women of both parties between the lines or groups.

If a wounded man fell into the hands of the enemy, then he did not live for very much longer. Mostly he was cruelly tortured before killed, for they were not in a hurry at all to kill him. The more he cried and shouted the bigger was the halloo of the victors.

Bodies who fell into the hands of the enemies were mostly returned, without being maimed, to the other party, of course not without a high payment for it..

But it also happened now and again that a wounded man or a body was badly mutilated or even hewn into pieces. That was deemed as a special cruelty, or looked upon as a deed of savagery.

Of the Kamanuku it was said, that they were very cruel. It has already been mentioned previously that their number, compared with the number of neighbouring tribes was only small. Therefore their ideal was: To kill as many of their enemies as possible, to marry many women and have plenty of children, all for the one reason, that the tribe may get stronger. By being cruel against enemies they tried to terrify their enemies.

Of them it was reported to me, that in the olden times often during such fights, all of a sudden they would make a blitz -attack against the enemies, often very daring. Doing so they tried to get one, or better, several prisoners and dragged them back into their own lines. Here they bound them and roasted them alive over an open fire, if possible before the eyes of the enemies. By this and other acts they terrified the enemies and were very successful in it, because they were feared.

### 3. kunda kane vei moql-

This type of warfare, as described on the forgoing pages, was the common one and mostly in use. But there were also special cases in which they decided to destroy or annihilate the enemy altogether. In that case they were not content with an open fight, but tried to destroy the enemy and to take away from him all possibilities of living.

If they decided to do this, they bought many allies, who were willing to fight for them. So they outnumbered the enemy often 10 to 1 or even more. The attacks were not infrequently made from several sides at the same time and nothing was spared. Women, children, old people, all were killed, if they could get them. They tried to displace the enemy and if they were successful they burnt their houses, killed their pigs and dogs. The gardens were uprooted and the eatable fruits taken away. Often the women went along and dug up the gardens and carried away what they could find and carry. They destroyed everything they could, also trees



which were found in the gardens and on the village places were cut down, and when they were too big to do so, they ringbarked them. In short everything was destroyed, so the enemy, or the ones who were left of them, had no possibility anymore of living there. The only way for them was to save what could be saved, and run away. They lost house and home, they lost all their gardens (food) and the only way for them was to go to friends somewhere, who would take them into their community. Their land was taken over by the victors.

I have seen such fights in the first years of our stay here. The attackers outnumbered the poor people whom they attacked by a big proportion. The attackers were near to a thousand warriors and the group they attacked was only a small group, about 50-60 warriors. We could not do anything to help them, for we could not mix into their affairs. We could only watch them. The defenders fought bravely for several hours, but had to give in at last and were chased away. It took about 20 years before some of them came back and again occupied their old possessions. All that time nobody lived on that land permanently.

By such types of warfare sometimes whole groups were decimated so that they could not exist anymore by themselves. But they would never forget, what the others had done to them, and if they still had valuables and could pay for the help of allies, they would try again to get their old possessions back, even if it took decades to do so. But on the other hand, if it was a weak group and most of the fighting men had been killed, or if they had no valuables to buy allies to fight with and for them, they often had to stay with their hosts and mix with them and so they ceased to exist. ( as a separate group).

The old men were the real leaders of the tribes, normally not taking part in the fights, but deciding for peace or war. In the fights the young people (men) tried to show their bravery. They were the leading fighters or warriors, but they were not the real leaders of the group or tribes, although they could become so later. Only if house and home was threatened, then the old people also took their weapons and defended their home and land.



Besides these types of warfare it sometimes happened that a few courageous men (dare-devils) at night sneaked near the enemy and killed one or more of them whenever they found the occasion and possibility. These men were especially feared by the enemies, but were highly honoured and esteemed in their own group. Their reward was as a rule all the spoil they could take during such expeditions.

Not so much with the Kamanuku, but more with some of the neighbouring tribes, it was more or less customary that, when leading people wanted to get rid of friends or enemies, they did not kill them themselves, but had other men, we may call henchmen, who did the job for them. If such a chieftain for some reason or other did not like some persons - perhaps one had a nice young wife he wanted to have or whatever the reason may have been - then he gave a sign to one of his men, perhaps only with a twinkle of his eye; but his man understood the hint, and after a short while such a man was dead. In this way many people were murdered. I have known chieftains who had killed more than 100 people in this way. But they themselves were highly esteemed, not because they were liked by the others, but because they were feared. Nobody dared to contradict them, because they feared to incur the chieftains displeasure.

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Also the women folk had their brawls and fights from time to time. The reasons were mostly: envy and jealousy between the wives of the same husband, pigs, dogs, fowls, fruit and/or vegetables from the gardens etc. Such brawls also started with some abuses from both sides, and then they took sticks and poles and thrashed each other. Of course the other women took sides and joined in the fight, which was done with much shouting and crying. They tried to hit each other on the heads, but seldom.

hit the head, but more often the hands and arms, as the others tried to defend themselves with the stick they had in their hands. They held the sticks in front of them in a horizontal position and protected themselves in that way when the others hit and vice versa. Sometimes a hand or an arm was broken in such fights, or a few heads were bleeding. But the men never mixed with them or joined them in such fights. They watched them, but let them have their own fights and settle it by themselves.

### Making peace

But they could not always live with war and fights, otherwise there would have been hardly any people left. Therefore the fighting parties tried after some time to come to terms and end the fighting at least for a while. In other words to make peace.

If it was a kunda, manggil and the fight was over, a third party often intervened and served as mediators between the two fighting parties. If the fighting people were from different clans, they made a kind of barrier on the road between them. A little tree with the branches and leaves on was laid across the road or a banana stem. Nobody was permitted to cross this barrier from either side, at least not the men. It was different for the women. They were permitted to go to the other group and they did that. Normally they were amicably received and food was served to them. The women from that side then paid a visit to the other group and were also treated very kindly. When that had been done for a while, a better atmosphere was created, and by and by the differences were more or less forgotten. Single men met first and talked and then the others followed suit. I think it is correct to say, that the feeling of oneness with the others was prevailing and helped to overcome the differences. If necessary, gifts of reconciliation had to be exchanged by both groups. That only served to make the peace lasting, and to strengthen the friendship.

Also if they had had a kunda tamugl after some time they made peace with the other group. Then they tried to rectify the differences which were between them, for example: There was an uneven number of dead persons, and in this case the group who had less men lost, had to pay for the number of people they had killed in excess of the other party. Especially if big pig festivals were imminent and had to be prepared for they tried to come to a peace agreement. At pig festivals people with which they had a fight were also often invited. Either they had friends there, even if they belonged to the group of the enemy, or perhaps several of their women had come from there, or they had trade connections with them etc. They had perhaps been guests at their places and were bound to invite them again. It was a disgrace for them, if they had been invited and did not reinvite the others to the festivals,.- Then they had to make bigger gardens for the food they needed for such festivals etc. But all that could not be done, if they were in a state of war with the neighbours. Thus everything pressed for an early settlement of the differences, or for peace, which was reached after they had straightened out their differences.

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### 8. The old ones

As a rule sick people and the old people were well cared for, unless they suffered from infectious diseases, which they feared. They were cared for with food and water and firewood. In the first years of our stay with the Chimbu people, younger men and women often carried the old people, father or mother, for hours on their backs to the station for treatment or for medicine, or hoping they could get some help from us. It was a common sight, that a son carried his father or a daughter her mother to the station to get an injection etc. The old people languished away. No food other than the common food was available and that was often indigestible for the old people. Their teeth had often fallen out, their digestion did not work properly etc. So they very often suffered from malnutrition and pined away slowly until they died.

However there were also exceptions, but happily they were exceptions and not the rule. Caring for old people is not only different in regard to different people, but also in regard to the customs of some tribes. - That the old ones were cared for and that they tried to do service to them is connected with the ancestor cult and has its origin in that. They will soon go, where the ancestors live and themselves be ancestors, and on the influence of the ancestors life and wellbeing is dependent. Therefore the better the old ones are cared for, the more blessings one hopes to get from them, when they have gone.

At the Kamanuku I never observed the following, but I know neighbouring tribes in which some people got rid of the old ones. I know quite a number of people who killed their old parents. If they had been sick for a while, or if they caused too much work for them, or if they were fed up with caring for them any longer, then they buried them alive. The dug a grave, led or pulled the old one to it, put soot and ash and clay on the face of the victim and put him or her into the grave, face downward. Doing this they hoped that the spirits of the old one would not find their way back to them and do any harm to them later. Then they filled the grave with earth.

I also just want to mention that small children were sometimes buried in similar ways, if the mothers were bored to care for them any longer.

Buqla tawa. That they tried to do what they could for the old ones the following custom may be some proof. If people were old and had lost their strength and if the children noticed that they would not live much longer, then the children and / or other relatives came together, perhaps also the son(s) in law etc. and killed a pig for the old father or for the old mother. They prepared it

And when it was cooked the old father or the old mother was presented with a good piece of the meat, a piece of the abdomen, or of the back, or any other good part, which they liked to eat.

Then the old people ate some of that meat and also gave some of it to other old people, if they were in the vicinity. The old ones took the meat and praised the children etc., because they cared so well for them. If they themselves still possessed pigs, then they often distributed them to the children as a gift in repayment, or they gave them other valuables.

The thought underlying this custom would be the following: The old ones will soon pass away, and it is good, even essential, that they pass away with good thoughts about the children. When they have gone then this good mood will stay on and they will continue to bless the children, when they have arrived in the abode of the ancestor spirits.

If the old ones then notice that their time has come, they call their children together and distribute their possessions amongst them, their gardens, fruit-trees, shells, plumes, animal skins and whatever else they may have and call their own possessions. They do not really give the goods to the individuals, but say what and how much each of them should get after their death. When they then have died and are buried, the words of the old ones, are normally honoured and the goods are distributed according to their wishes. But now and again it also happens that the children are not content with the wishes of their late father or mother and quarrels and brawl start; but these are exceptions.

#### 9. Death and burial

Now I still have to say a word about death and burial and with that a walk through the life of a Chimbu native can be concluded. The cause of death can vary. There is sickness, which is looked upon by the Kamanuku as a natural cause of death.

Another cause

and also the people who buried the body may not be overlooked.

When then all had eaten and all were content, then the many guests who had come to the funeral, went home again. With that the customs in regard to the dead person had been fulfilled. If one arrives later for one reason or the other (perhaps he was not at home) when the message of the death arrived at his village, then he also has to be served with food and meat.

The women, when their husbands have died, have to wear a kind of widow's dress, a special kind of netbag over their heads and the body besmeared with dirt etc. Also some wear guo, which are made from kan korake and kan pire. That are long strips of inner bark of trees, which are braided into the hair and hang down the backside to the hips or lower. Also some men can be seen wearing these strips in like manner. In some neighbouring tribes I also observed that widows or mothers sat at or on the grave and mourned and wept. They stayed there for several days,

After the elapse of about 3 months a pig is killed at the grave. The meat is prepared and seasoned with salt and then distributed and eaten. Doing this they take the signs of mourning away and put them on the grave. Werai ere dinamuna they said. With that the time of mourning had come to an end.

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Endi mondu beqkwa. Here I want to mention a little piece of wood, only a few cm big, sometimes a little cross, which is put into the ground in the fresh soil of the grave, at the head end of the grave (as the body lies). At the time of burying the body they put that into the ground and it is now taken out and laid on the grave.

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It has already been stated that not all bodies were buried. For example not the ones, who had died from infectious diseases, or the bodies of kumo, who had been killed. The bodies of such persons were thrown into big caves, or into the rivers. The bodies had to disappear, so the spirits could not come back, as they had no place of abode anymore. Their conception was, that the spirit is there, where the body is, after death as well as in life. If therefore the bodies have disappeared the spirits are not able any more to do any harm to the living ones. They disappear with the bodies. In regard to the bodies which they disposed of in this way there were no customs for mourning or any meals. They were only too glad to be rid of them. And when the bodies had disappeared, they did not need to be afraid of them anymore.

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The customs in regard to funerals were sometimes different in the various tribes. For example: At some tribes east of the Kamanuku, a bambu pipe was put on the face of the dead one when the grave was filled with earth, and that pipe reached out of the grave. By that they gave the spirit the possibility of having entrance into the world of the living. On the other hand they sometimes cut the head of a body and buried the head at one place and the body at another place. especially of such people and persons they were afraid of. By doing this they wanted to prevent the spirit of such persons from doing any harm to the living ones. They wanted to confuse the spirit that he should not know where to go, if he found only the head, or only the body without the head.

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Death does not terminate the "life". The spirits live on, the spirits of the ancestors. From their influence the wellbeing and the woe of the clan is dependent. They live on, not only in the memory but their life after death is real. If the spirits of the ancestors are well disposed toward the living, then the gardens will grow well, the pigs will multiply and grow quickly,

sickness and death will be absent from the clan and from their animals. The people will live in peace and prosperity. They will have plenty to eat and many pigs to kill and eat. If war breaks out they will overcome the enemies etc.

But also the contrary can happen. If for one reason or another the spirits are insulted and angry - perhaps they did not get enough esteem and honour - perhaps they were forgotten at the last festival - etc. - In such cases the spirits of the ancestors will take revenge. The gardens will not grow, sickness will be plenty, they will be unlucky in their daily lives, in trading with friends, in sickness they will suffer and die, in wartime they will be beaten by the enemies, that and many other mishaps will be caused by the spirits of the ancestors. Because they wanted the good influence of the ancestral spirits, for that reason they saw to it that the bodies of their dead ones were buried at home. Otherwise they feared bad influences and misfortune; or nothing of the blessing of the ancestors would be possible to come to them: if the bodies were buried in foreign country.

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With that I want to conclude this "walk through life" of a Chimbu person. I hope to have given a few glimpses into his life and into his thinking and conceptions that is the basis for it.

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This translation has been finished in March 1971. The writing on stencils and duplicating has been done some time later.

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W. Bergmann.

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