

WOVAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

James Gerard Flanagan

A DISSERTATION

in

Anthropology

Presented to the Graduate Faculties of the University of
Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Supervisor of Dissertation


Graduate Group Chairperson



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Acknowledgments

Anthropologists, perhaps to an even greater extent than most other scientists, incur many obligations during the course of their work. It is one of the pleasures of the discipline, therefore, when work has been completed to acknowledge the assistance one has received, without, of course, attempting to shift any of the blame for the shortcomings of that work onto the shoulders of those who have been so kind and generous.

The fieldwork on which this account of Wovan social organization is based was conducted between June 1978 and June 1980. It was financed principally by a pre-doctoral dissertation improvement grant from the National Science Foundation and by research grants from the University of Pennsylvania. I am grateful to both these institutions for their support.

I owe my greatest debt to Professor Ward Goodenough at the University of Pennsylvania. It was his writing that enticed me out of Ireland and out of Sociology to undertake graduate work in Anthropology. He has proved a stimulating teacher, a model of academic clarity and a patient and constructive critic of my anthropological undertakings to date. Both in Philadelphia and in the field, he has been an inspiration and a friend. I am happy to acknowledge my debt to him. Also I am grateful to the members of my committee, Drs. Sandra Barnes, Arjun Appadurai, and William Davenport for their encouragement

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A Note on Orthography

The orthography employed throughout this work has remained as closely phonetic as possible. Wovan vowels tend to be longer than their English equivalents. The symbols employed retain their English values with the following exceptions.

Vowels:

i as in eat

e as in may

a as in father

I is a high central vowel

is a mid central vowel

^ is a low central vowel (usually represented by)

o is a high back vowel as in bone

u is a low back vowel as in English root

Diphthongs:

ai as in eye

ou as in English pronunciation of route

Consonants:

ng as in English going

ngg as in ingot

ñ as in Spanish mañana

s after t = š as in church

z after d = ž as in judge

Initial bilabial stops (b,p) are rarely completely stopped by Wovan speakers and I have represented this as b^v here.

Medial stops in Wovan are always pre-nasalized (ng, mb) and I have retained this prenasalization orthographically because, while it is non-phonemic in Wovan, it is a major point of contrast between Wovan and Aramo dialects.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation consists of an ethnographic description of the social organization of the Wovan, a distinct linguistic and cultural group, who occupy the western Schrader Ranges in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. It is based on 22 months of fieldwork conducted among the Wovan, between August 1978 and June 1980. I do not pretend to provide a holistic description of Wovan life, beliefs, and practices. Rather, attention is focused on the marriage practices of the Wovan in an attempt to elucidate their social organization. The data presented in this dissertation, therefore, are only those that are deemed pertinent to this description.

The object of an ethnographic description is to provide a clear and coherent picture of a particular society. In the course of studying any society, a number of organizational features present themselves to the ethnographer, any one of which could be used as the basis around which to construct his description. Factors other than situational adequacy and logical consistency, then, come into play in the ethnographer's decisions. Frequently, these factors hinge on the socio-political situation of the people under study. In the case of the Wovan, three possibilities immediately presented themselves. The first of these concerned the focus on marriage. The second would have demanded a focus

on the ritual practices of the Wovan, particularly the elaborate male initiation cycle. The third would have demanded a regional focus on trade and the external relations of the Wovan with surrounding ethnic groups.

The focus on the 'social organization of ritual' would have demanded a detailed description of the conduct and the symbolic content of Wovan initiation rituals. Such a focus would have permitted a cultural description that would encompass the creation of ties between men and how these were perceived by the Wovan in relation to ties between men and the ancestral spirits that inhabit their world. However, given the political situation among the Wovan at present, and given that this was the ethnographer's first fieldtrip among them, such a description proved unfeasible. I have elaborated elsewhere (Flanagan 1981b and below pp. 32-36 and Chapter 4) the Wovan perception of the contact situation. In these descriptions, I have argued that the Wovan today are extremely sensitive about the position of their ritual practices and how these are perceived by outsiders. Mission and government authorities, whether rightly or wrongly, are perceived as undermining those practices and generally denigrating them. Consequently, the Wovan, in the beginning of fieldwork, were extremely reticent about permitting me to witness, or even know about, their ritual practices. During the course of fieldwork, it became apparent to them that I did not denigrate their ceremonies and this reticence disappeared. Much information about initiation practices was then forthcoming. Another factor, however, then came into play. The Wovan

perceive any contact with the supernatural to be dangerous and this is especially so to those who are not 'familiar' to the spirits. The elaborate rites their own young men undergo on returning from coastal plantation labor underscore this. I believe, therefore, that my exclusion from certain ritual procedures was genuinely occasioned by a concern for my welfare, and I was never permitted to witness the final stages of the male initiation cycle. The arguments against my attendance can be neatly summarized under the label of too young and too white.

A regional focus on trade and external relations would have proved equally valid and extremely valuable. The Wovan are one of a number of small ethnic groups who inhabit the northern fringes of the central highlands, and these groups maintain their ethnic independence and identity despite continual interaction, intermarriage, and the sharing of large portions of their cultural inventories. A regional focus would have permitted an understanding of the techniques of boundary maintenance employed by these groups and, in so doing, would have contributed directly to an understanding of in-group organization and inter-group communication. Such an approach would also have yielded valuable insights into trade patterns and practices on the highlands fringe that would have added significantly to the literature on Papua New Guinea. However, this approach, too, proved impossible given the constraints of time (the necessity of mastering a variety of Papua New Guinea languages) and budget (particularly high transportation costs given the inaccessibility of the area under study).

I draw the reader's attention to ritual and trade as alternative means of organizing data pertinent to a description of Wovan social organization. Each would have demanded a more intensive collection of particular types of data that are not fully presented in this present work (see Chapters 1, 2, and 4, for outline descriptions). Each would have emphasized slightly different aspects of organization. Either would have fulfilled a criterion of situational adequacy. The current description, therefore, is just one of a set of possible descriptions. It too meets the requirements of situational adequacy and emphasizes particular aspects of Wovan organization. The focus on marriage, furthermore, had the added advantage of being feasible in present circumstances. It is not the only means of organizing the Wovan data but neither is it any less desirable than either of the approaches listed above. The awareness of alternative organizing strategies, however, makes us aware of the limitations of our own descriptions and provides us with the possibility of future tests of those descriptions. If the description contained here is both adequate and valid, it should fit with any description undertaken from another perspective. I hope that such a description can be undertaken in the future.

The focus on marriage, however, presents the ethnographer of the Wovan with a number of advantages that would otherwise be lacking. The Wovan are a largely endogamous people. They express a rule of parallel-cousin marriage, and while lacking strongly corporate patrilineal groups, they, like many Papua New Guinea Highlanders, adhere to a strong

patrilineal ideology. Group composition and land ownership are expressed in terms of this patrilineal ideology and, while non-agnates are frequently incorporated into local groups, Wovan ideology views this as impossible. Wovan marriage provides a major means of achieving such incorporation. Children inherit use-rights in the territory of their mother's patrilineage and such rights are transferred to children by subsequent marriages into the same patrilineage. Such endogamous marriages serve to blur the actual non-agnatic status of those children and strengthen their own claims to land utilization. Genealogical amnesia and the deliberate manipulation of genealogical connections permit the redefinition of members such that all are conceived as agnates.

Chapter 3 of this present work provides a description of Wovan group composition in the terms that the Wovan themselves present it. It is apparent, however, that such a description is inherently static. The focus on marriage, treated in Chapters 5-7 of this present work, permits us to add a dynamic element to this description. It is argued that in a society like the Wovan, affinal relations can only be contracted at the expense of previously existing consanguineal relations. This is not to say that Wovan marriages never work to cement relations between members of different locality groups nor that marriage cannot be used to secure the position of an individual in the group of which he is a non-agnatic member. Both elements are apparent in the description that follows. Neither of these features of Wovan marriage provide an exhaustive description, however, nor are they necessarily the most important.

The Wovan state a normative rule of parallel cousin marriage and sister exchange. However, a significant proportion of Wovan marriages are contracted by elopement in contravention of the rule. Such marriages, I argue, are sanctioned by alternative cultural rules dealing with 'proper' manly behavior and with Wovan interpretations of the entitlements of initiation. In this, my interpretation of Wovan organization as being founded on a number of 'contradictory' structural principles accords well with Kelly's (1977) treatment of the Etoro. Wovan men who have passed through the appropriate initiation stage are culturally eligible to marry. This eligibility is interpreted by those men as a statement of entitlement and, thus, that a bride should be provided within a limited period of time. This eligibility is interpreted by their elders simply as eligibility and no attempts are made to secure a bride for the recent initiate. Consequently, the young men complain about the inactivity of their elders and act on their own to procure a bride through elopement. Thus, the young men come into conflict with the elders of their own kin groups. Further, eligibility or even entitlement to marry is not phrased in terms of a specific bride, and the chosen bride of the youth is almost invariably seen as ineligible, both by the kin of the male and by the kin of the bride. The long and sometimes violent negotiations that ensue are treated below under the heading of "Marriage as Event" (Chapter 6).

Another feature of this situation now comes into play. The fact that any marriage can only be established at the expense of preexisting

relationships means that such marriages produce manifest conflict in those preexisting relationships. Brothers are no longer brothers, paternal or maternal uncles and aunts become fathers and mothers-in-law. Relationships heretofore characterized by freedom of association and lack of prohibition become surrounded by prohibitions that affect all future interaction. Women and men who engaged in the mutually supportive exchange of small scale gifts now become the partners of others with whom large scale competitive exchanges are possible. The new relationship is resisted in that it threatens the existing fabric of society. Each new marriage among the Wovan demands the realignment of social relationships and as such provides us with a major insight into the structure of those relationships.

The focus on marriage, therefore, enables us not only to present the outlines of Wovan social organization at any point in time but also presents us with the opportunity to explore the changes in that organization over time. Viewing marriage or, more accurately, marrying as the organizational principle around which to construct a description of Wovan social organization allows both the structure and process of Wovan society to be treated in a single coherent framework.

The focus on marriage also provides us with an advantage in terms of anthropological theorizing, quite apart from the description of Wovan society. Marriage has been a central concern of social organization in anthropology since Lewis Henry Morgan. However, despite the surge of

interest that accompanied the development of alliance theory, in which marriage was indeed perceived as a fundamental motive force in society but in which the focus was quickly narrowed to exogamous groups exchanging women for political purposes, few recent ethnographies have focused attention on the act of marrying as a central feature of organization. What, in fact, are the sociopolitical implications of 'getting married' as opposed to 'exchanging women'? In the final chapter of this ethnography, I will summarize the view of marriage presented here and relate the Wovan material to recent concerns with sister exchange and the payment of brideprice. This will, I hope, further the readers appreciation of the utility of the approach adopted in the current work.

In the remainder of the present introduction, I will provide a brief overview of the chapters that follow, in order to orient the reader. As no previous ethnographic work has been conducted among the Wovan, and indeed, little ethnography has been conducted in the Schrader Mountains area, I begin with a general description of the ethnographic setting (Chapter 1). This description locates the Wovan in relation to the neighboring peoples, provides an introduction to their contact history, and provides a short demographic summary.

In Chapter 2, I undertake an outline description of the ecology and economy of the Wovan. Topographical and environmental data are presented, and the organization of subsistence activity is discussed.

The Wovan economy is discussed in terms of gardening, animal husbandry, gathering, hunting, and cash sectors.

Chapter 3, as I have mentioned, undertakes to provide a description of Wovan group structure. I begin with the smallest level group in Wovan, the nuclear family, and work upward through the co-residential household and homestead groups, to the land holding units, and finally to the Wovan political alliances that controlled warfare in the past. In doing so, we move from a level that, while important in behavioral reality, is rarely recognized in Wovan ideology (the family) to a level that, while recognized in ideology, rarely functions in behavioral reality (the confederacy). Differential rights and obligations of membership are apparent at each of the distinguished levels, even though all are subsumed under the single Wovan lexeme yam.

Chapter 4 presents a description of Wovan ritual and how it functions to promote solidarity between members of the society which may cross-cut kinship. In this, the importance of the ties between fellow initiates is discussed both for the conduct of normal relations and for the regulation of tension in the past.

Chapter 5 presents Wovan ideal descriptions of marriage and contrasts them with Wovan practice. As such, it provides an introduction to Chapters 6 and 7 in which the main body of the marriage data (in terms of the event of marriage and the long term implications of marriage across generations) are presented. Attention is focused in

Chapter 6 on particular cases or marriage histories in order to provide the reader with first hand descriptions of the process. These descriptions are further supplemented by Appendix 1. Chapter 7 concentrates on the implications of marriage decisions through time. Attention is focused on the changes in interpersonal relations over a number of generations, changes that can be seen as a direct result of marital decisions.

Finally, Chapter 8 provides a summary of the data presented and of the conclusions drawn from them.

Research was conducted between 1978 and 1980 and the ethnographic present, as employed throughout this work, refers to that time.

1. THE ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

The Wovan are a distinct linguistic and cultural group of about 700 people who occupy the Schrader Mountains in the southwest corner of the Madang Province, Papua New Guinea¹. The majority of the population currently inhabit the slopes of the Arame river valley on the southern fall of the Schrader range but outlying homesteads are located on the northern fall, along the upper reaches of the Clay river (a tributary of the Sepik river), and the Wovan claim dominion over extensive tracts of land on this northern fall. Wovan territory is located on the northern fringe of the central highlands at approximately $144^{\circ}13'$ - $144^{\circ}18'$ east longitude and $5^{\circ}7'$ - $5^{\circ}11'$ south latitude. The Wovan, thus, occupy a geographical position intermediate between the central highlands and the Sepik river basin.

An understanding of the topography of their territory is vital to an appreciation of Wovan interrelationships with neighboring peoples. Extending westward from Mount Wilhelm (4267 meters), the Bismark and Schrader ranges form the northern boundary of the central cordillera, which reaches its greatest width at about longitude 144 E. These mountains are "characterized by irregular ridges, with a relatively widely spaced dendritic pattern of V-shaped valleys. There is no obvious structural control in the alignment of the ridges (Löffler 1974: 2). Within this broad pattern, "rapid fluvial incision" (ibid)

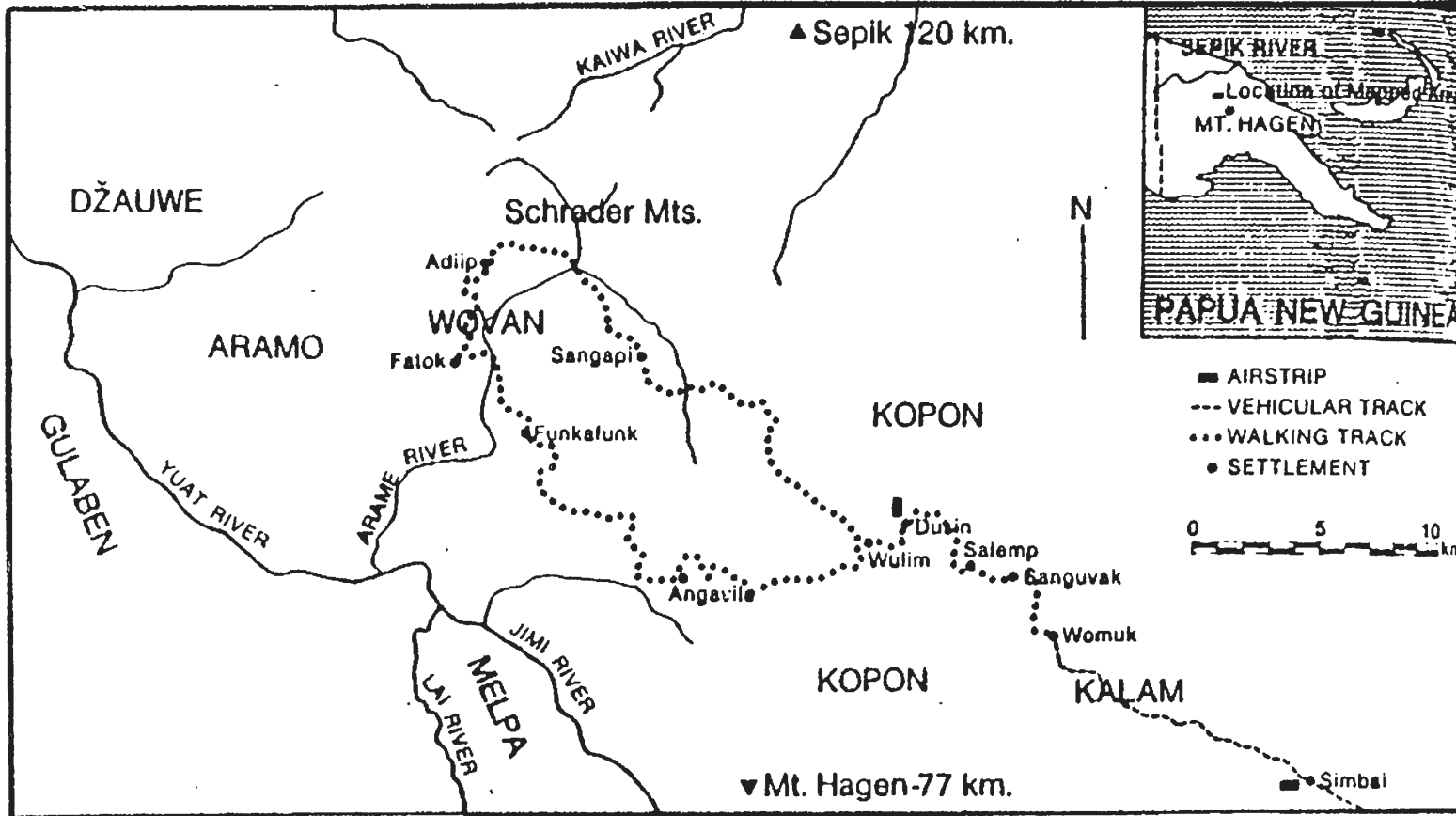
and land shift due to tectonic activity (Denham and Taylor 1974: 6) are the two most significant processes creating the present landforms. The Wovan, therefore, live in an environment characterized by deep, steep-sided valleys, which appear almost invisible to the outside observer on the ground. Cut-off by a high spur running parallel to the northern bank of the Jimi river, the Wovan remained undisturbed by direct western contact until 1962 (see below pp. 31-36).

The Jimi river itself was, and still is, a major determinant of Wovan interaction patterns with their neighbors. To the south and west, the Jimi/Biwat formed a well nigh impassible barrier (see Map 1: p. 14). Although geographically they were within the Highlands, the Wovan had little contact with the major highlands peoples (Melpa and Enga) who lived to the south of the Jimi/Biwat. The large sword-grass plains of the lower Jimi created a further barrier to those who might be adventurous enough to cross the river. Wovan tales tell of large, poisonous, man-eating snakes that inhabit the grasslands, and few men dared to enter them. Wovan were aware that two distinct groups of people occupied the south bank of the Jimi/Biwat (which they called N^{mbod}) river. Directly to the south lived the Yonggole (Melpa?). Genealogical analysis yields only a single instance of intermarriage between the Wovan and Yonggole, and that was in the recent past. To the west of the Lai river lived the Gulaben. The Wovan claim to have had no direct contact with the Gulaben but believe that the ash-salt (mai), which the Wovan obtained in trade from the Aramo people, originated among them.

No such natural barriers existed between the the Wovan and the south bank of the Sepik. Trading expeditions, which followed the course of the Clay and Keram rivers, to the Sepik area were frequent in the past and still occur, although less frequently since the monetarization of the Sepik area economy. Tobacco, black-palm bows, dogs' and marsupials' teeth, and net string bags were the major trade items taken to the Sepik. Cowrie and mother-of-pearl shells were obtained in exchange. The Sepik area was particularly renowned as the source of small cowries used by the Wovan in headdresses and bride-price payments. All trade was conducted in the lowlands, and the visit in 1979 of a small group of Sepik dwellers to Wovan territory was reputed to be the first of its kind. The reluctance of the lowlanders to venture into the mountains is attributed, by the Wovan, to the warlike character of the highlanders. The Wovan, for their part, attribute great powers of sorcery to the Sepik men, but these powers are counteracted by the establishment of long-term trading partnerships (andau)². The opinion of the efficacy of Sepik sorcery is apparently enhanced by the susceptibility of the Wovan to malarial attacks upon returning from these expeditions to the Sepik plains.

Cut-off from the main part of the Highlands to the south by the Jimi river, the Wovan's closest affinities are to their immediate neighbors in the Schrader-Bismark ranges. The Wovan do not, however, form the westernmost group in the Schraders, and it will be necessary to treat in some detail their relationship with the Aramo people to the

Map 1: The Wovan and Their Neighbors



west and northwest.

The Aramo are the closest neighbors of the Wovan both linguistically and culturally. Their population has been estimated by Laycock (1973: 54) to be approximately 300, and my observations would tend to corroborate his findings (Laycock uses the name Aramaue). Little is known about them, however, and all statements must be approached with caution³. A patrol led by P.J. Kraehenbuhl out of Simbai on August 31, 1971, claimed first contact with the Aramo people in this area (Simbai District Patrol Reports 2-1971/72, Post Courier, March 10, 1972). The Wovan, however, claim that a patrol from the Sepik District made contact with the lower Aramo in the 1940's and that an Aramo man was injured by gunshot on that occasion. Other contacts with the administration out of the East Sepik and Enga Provinces could not be determined.

Like the Wovan, the Aramo live in scattered homesteads. The population is widely dispersed, and population density is low. Trade relations are directed toward the Wovan and East Sepik Province (Kraehenbuhl 1971/72). Kraehenbuhl further mentions the use of sago by the Aramo at about 600 meters above sea level, and the Aramo supply sago to the Wovan on ceremonial occasions. Their territory lies mainly along the Morungk (Kraehenbuhl calls it the Magara) river, a tributary of the Biwat. It has not been possible to determine how far northward their

territory extends. In the discussion that follows, I shall be concerned mainly with the Aramo of the Morungk River.

Linguistic analysis, based on a modified version of the Wurm List (Wurm n.d.), reveals approximately 30 percent cognates between Wovan and Aramo. Such a figure, while remaining well outside the dialect level, firmly establishes Wovan and Aramo as members of the same language family. In this, my analysis agrees with Laycock's classification of the the Pinai Language Family (Laycock 1975), in which he includes Wovan, Aramo, and Pinai. Tonson (1976) includes Wovan (which he calls Waibuk) and Aramo in the same stock as Kalam and excludes Pinai, and Wurm (1978) concedes that Pinai is related to but distantly removed from both Wovan and Aramo. Prenasalization of medial and terminal stops, present in Wovan, are absent in Aramo, and rules of transformation are easily written in some cases. The second person pronouns, singular and plural and the term 'man' serve as striking examples:

	Wovan	Aramo
You (singular)	nangga	naga
you (plural)	ñingge	ñega
man (sing., plural)	n [^] mbe	nabi

Intermarriage between the Wovan and Aramo, while infrequent, constitutes a significant proportion of all Wovan exogamous marriages. These unions account for 4.6 percent of all Wovan marriages over the past three generations (16 cases from a total of 347). However, they

constitute just over 30 percent of all Wovan marriages contracted with non-Wovan partners over the same period (N = 53). An exact equivalence currently exists in the exchange of women (eight Aramo women have married Wovan men and 8 Wovan women have married Aramo men).

Intergroup mobility, however, raises significant problems in the definition of who is to be regarded as Wovan or Aramo. For the purposes of this study, a concept of Wovan 'citizenship' has been adopted, based on the criteria of parental ethnic affiliation and place of residence, such that if both parents are of the same ethnic affiliation, their child is assigned to that ethnic group irrespective of place of residence. If the parents are of different ethnic groups, the child is assigned to the group in whose territory he and his parents reside. Thus, a Wovan woman gives birth to Aramo children if she marries an Aramo man and resides virilocally. The same union would produce a Wovan child if the couple were residing uxorilocally. This definition corresponds closely to the view of ethnicity held by the Wovan themselves (see below, Chapter 4). These same criteria will be employed in the discussion of Wovan-Kopon interrelationships.

Trade ties between the Wovan and Aramo were, and continue to be, important. The volume and variety of this trade has increased rather than decreased since contact. Prior to contact, the major trade items were stone ax-heads, which the Wovan obtained in trade from the Kopon, and salt (mai) which the Aramo obtained from the Gulaben. Other trade items, such as varieties of tobacco, bird-of-paradise plumes and

marsupial pelts were based on differential scarcity and abundance rather than specialization. Since contact, however, the Wovan have had access to items not available to the Aramo and economic values among the Wovan themselves have changed. Nowadays, the Wovan trade salt, matches, soap, and store bought goods such as belts and mirrors for bird-of-paradise (especially the plumes of the Black Sickle-Billed and Lesser birds-of-paradise) and marsupial pelts and fur which can be sold for cash to the Kopon to the east.

Trade per se, however, is less significant than participation in an ongoing network of ceremonial exchange. Aramo men are recipients at large scale Wovan exchanges and these gifts are reciprocated in kind. Moreover, cooperation extends beyond the realm of mere reciprocation of gifts of pork. Prior to the staging of such distributions, shells are lent for future festivals, labor is exchanged in the building of ceremonial houses, members of each group are invited to dance at the houses of the other, and members of each group come to prepare the cooking fires of the other. An interesting aspect of this last task is the removal of hot cooking stones from the pits in which they were heated so that the pits may be prepared for use as earth ovens (see below, pp. 119-121). There is an obvious competitive aspect to this task as, in fact, it does little to assist in the preparations for cooking. The visitors pull the stones from the pit, using a hooked stick (ats), as quickly and as forcefully as possible. Consequently, the stones are frequently widely scattered and have to be gathered and re-heated before use. The hosts, for their part, attempt to return the

stones to the pit as quickly as they are removed with the intention of providing the visitors with a task that cannot be completed before they are utterly exhausted. A constant exchange of cheerful banter is maintained throughout the performance, and once the task is completed the guests are escorted off the premises with shouts and strung (but un-drawn) bows and arrows raised aloft. A similar performance had been staged on their arrival.

Relations between the Aramo and Wovan are predominantly friendly but small-scale hostilities were reported in the past. Large-scale pitched-battle warfare was not practiced in the Western Schraders. Warfare, rather, took the form of small-scale ambushes and retaliatory raids on isolated individuals or small groups. The description below is typical of many I received:

"Two brothers went down to the Aramo territory close to the Jimi river. There they saw some men and women in a house. They came back and told their people what they had seen and went to raid the house. In the early morning they came up to the house again. The raiding party split into two groups. Three men led the attack on the Aramo who were working in their gardens. Fani (a Wovan man), holding his shield in front of him, rushed at the Aramo. The men in the garden fled and ran into the ambush which the raiding party had set. All the Aramo were killed. When the fighting ceased, the men returned to the garden to find Fani there smoking a cigarette. The men returned to Maram where the old men and women were waiting for them. A pig was killed and cooked. Fani and his brother, the two who led the raid, distributed shells to those who had helped them and they danced and sang their victory song".

Raiding of this kind ceased immediately after contact. The encounter described here took place in the 1950's, and while there are

obvious attempts to glorify the Wovan participants, I believe the description, as to the number of participants and the conditions of attack, is essentially accurate. Of interest also is the location of the fight scene; it is "close to the Jimi", and, therefore, at some remove from Wovan territory. The Wovan assisted their near neighbors in the upper Morungk valley in warfare against other more distant Aramo people. The Wovan men who participated in this raid have affinal ties to the near Aramo. Therefore, it is possible (although it has been erased from the Wovan account of the fight) that this raid, too, was part of an internal Aramo conflict. In interaction with outsiders, social and geographical distance are closely correlated. Long distance raiding, of the kind described above, does not give rise to relations of enmity (kowal a mul). It is conflict with 'others' (herre n̄mbe... 'other men' or 'nothing men') and presupposes no social relationship. In this, it is in marked contrast to conflicts which erupt among the Wovan themselves or between Wovan and their close neighbors (see Chapter 5 below).

To the northwest of the Aramo, occupying both sides of the Biwat river, live a people whom the Wovan call Dzauwe and whose language, they say, is closely related to Aramo. While little is known about the Dzauwe, it is possible that they were the first highlanders ever contacted by outsiders. The people whom the Wovan call Dzauwe may well be the Maramuni Enga contacted by the Akmana expedition in 1929-1930 (Sheperd 1971). They may also be the people whom Laycock (1975) calls Pinai and whose language he includes in the same family as Wovan and

Aramo. There are two cases of intermarriage between Wovan and Dzauwe partners in the past (one male and one female). Both Wovan had close Aramo ties and the Wovan today claim to have little direct contact with the Dzauwe.

To the east of the Wovan live the Kopon, the largest language group in the western Bismark/Schrader area. The Kopon (approximate population 3,500) occupy the Kaironk river valley and the valleys to the west as far as the headwaters of the Arame river (see Map 1: p. 14). As in the case of the Aramo, geographical and social distance are closely correlated, and I shall refer to the Kopon who occupy hamlets along the government walking track and who have intensive contact with the Wovan as 'near Kopon', and those who dwell in the lower valleys (south of Angavile - Map 1) close to the Jimi and who have little contact with the Wovan as 'distant Kopon'.

Jackson (1975:1) has estimated that there may be as many as five dialects of Kopon. Marcus and May Dawson (1969) have published a tentative phonemics of Kobon (sic) based on the central dialect of Salemp. Laycock (1975) assigns Kopon, Kalam, and Gants to the Kalam Family included in the East New Guinea Highlands Stock. Preliminary analysis of a wordlist obtained from a Watabun (distant) Kopon speaker yields about 4 percent cognates with Wovan which would merit inclusion of Wovan and Kopon within the same micro-phylum in Wurm's terms. Laycock, however, assigns Wovan and Kopon to different phyla, including Wovan in the Sepik-Ramu Phylum and Kopon to the Trans New Guinea

Phylum⁵. Wurm (1978), however, based on more recent evidence, includes Wovan (Waibuk) and Aramo as a distinct Family in the East New Guinea Highlands Stock while assigning Kopon to a separate Family in the same Stock, a classification with which I agree.

The Kopon constitute the single most important group of exogamous marriage partners available to the Wovan. 9.5 percent of all Wovan marriages over the past three generations have been contracted with Kopon partners. These constitute 62 percent of all marriages to non-Wovan. The Wovan have received more brides than they have given (18-15) but speak of a recent reversal of this trend. Post-contact changes have done much to bring about this reversal. Increasing brideprices among the Kopon cannot be met by the Wovan, while the relative affluence of the Kopon has made Kopon males increasingly desirable as spouses for Wovan females and in turn has made the small brideprices of the Wovan increasingly affordable to the Kopon. In this regard also, the Wovan claim that a distinct reversal in relative status has taken place since contact (Flanagan 1981b). Whereas prior to contact the Wovan claim to have regarded themselves as superior to the Kopon (both in terms of fighting ability and in the beauty of their finery when dancing), they now feel themselves decidedly inferior and are so regarded by the Kopon.

The Wovan attribute the relative infrequency of intermarriage between Wovan and Kopon to a number of factors, none of which includes their own stated rule of parallel-cousin marriage. Principal among

these is the conduct of different initiation rituals, which, for them, are closely bound-up with concepts of ethnic identity (Flanagan 1981a). The Kopon, they claim, desire Wovan brides but are afraid lest the Wovan women return their children to their natal kinsmen to be initiated. Similarly, if a Wovan man takes a Kopon bride and refuses to permit the child to undergo the nose-piercing ceremony (a major Kopon adolescent or pre-adolescent ritual), this action may anger the ancestral spirits of the child's mother, who can cause illness to both the child and its father. It is interesting that in both cases it is the woman who is seen as desiring that the initiation rites of her natal kin be performed. This may be a product of having male informants in this case (this information was not checked with female informants). However, it seems more likely that the rationale is based on the fact that it is the female who is removed from her natal kin, and it is the rites of her group that may not be performed (there is, after all, no suggestion that the initiation rites of the group among whom one is living would not be performed). The onus, therefore, falls on the woman to insist on the performance of the initiation rites of her natal kin group and to return her son to her natal group for this purpose. There are no similar rites conducted for females among either the Wovan or Kopon, and female children are never mentioned by them in connection with such considerations.

Kin connections established by marriage foster significant trade partnerships between the Wovan and Kopon. The Wovan traditionally (and still) supply the Kopon with bird-of-paradise plumes, marsupial pelts

and fur, eels, and shoats. From the Kopon, they received stone ax-heads, green snail shells, and a variety of salt (ksav). More recently, the Kopon have supplied steel axes, money, and machetes as well as smaller store-bought items, such as knives, cloth, soap, salt, kerosene lamps, and kerosene.

Since contact, trade between the Wovan and Kopon has become increasingly monetarized. This has provided the Wovan with their most important source of monetary income. Bird-of-paradise plumes and marsupial pelts are the major items for sale and current prices in Kina (one Kina [K1] equals approximately U.S. \$1.30) are as follows:

Black Sickle Billed Bird of Paradise	K40
Eagle Tail Feathers	K20
Princess Stephanie Bird of Paradise	K10
<u>Yindam</u> (a parrot)	K10
<u>Tsembidzil</u> (a parrot)	K5
King of Saxony Bird of Paradise	K2
Lesser Bird of Paradise	K2
<u>Wangul</u> (a parrot)	K2
Large [♂] Marsupial Pelt	K10
Small Marsupial Pelt	K5
Marsupial fur	K0.5

The Kopon, themselves, function as intermediaries in a long distance trading network, and the Black Sickle-Billed bird of paradise and Princess Stephanie, in particular, can be sold for considerable profit in the Upper-Jimi and Wahgi valleys, where the Black-Sickle Billed bird of paradise (in good condition) can fetch as much as K100. The Wovan know that the Kopon do not travel into the central highlands to sell these birds but rather sell them to Kalam intermediaries to the east and from there they are traded directly into the highlands.

The Kopon, thus, make a considerable profit from the trade with the Wovan but also contribute a substantial proportion of Wovan total money earnings. Recently, however, the Wovan have begun to talk of bypassing the Kopon and trading directly with the Kalam to the east (a possibility that looms larger as Wovan visits to the administrative center at Simbai occur with increasing frequency). The Kopon have responded to the possibility of being cut-out of the lucrative middle-man position with threats of sorcery (see Chapter 4 for a description of the role of Kopon sorcerers in Wovan life) and the Wovan are reluctant to put the powers of Kopon sorcery to the test at the moment. To trade with the Kalam the Wovan must pass through Kopon territory. Fears of physical violence have declined since the establishment of the district office at Simbai, but the threat of spiritual violence is still effective in controlling Wovan access to the outside world.

As was the case with Sepik trade, trade with the Kopon was conducted between specific trade partners; but, unlike the Sepik

situation, mutual visiting was common. The establishment of a trading partnership not only provided the individual himself with an outlet for his produce but also affected his status among his own people as he became a broker for others. Wunding, the current tultul (assistant village headman, although no village headman exists) of Adiip, who had a reliable and wealthy trade partner (andau) in Sanguvak, frequently carried on trade, not just for himself, but for others who approached him. An acknowledged fluent bi-lingual, he became both economic and cultural broker for a large segment of the Wovan population. If a man did not have a regular trade-partner of his own in any area, he was forced to either accompany one who did or give his trade goods to that person to trade for him.

The near Kopon were first contacted by Europeans in 1953 and are, thus, considerably more 'advanced' economically than the Wovan. Coffee provides many households with a regular cash income, and the move to a cash economy has been aided by the establishment of a number of small trade stores in their territory and by the building of a small airstrip by the Church of the Nazarene (a Fundamentalist Christian sect) at Dusin. Except in the far west, close to Wovan territory, local government councils have replaced the older administrative structure of luluai (village headmen) and tultul. Both in terms of economy and administration, then, the Wovan view the Kopon as representing their own future. They view both economic development and the formation of local government councils as inevitable. The former is highly desired, the

latter is, equally strongly, being resisted, because with local government councils come taxes.

In the past, the Wovan and near Kopon formed a single network of ceremonial exchange. Like the Aramo, the Kopon attended Wovan festivals, and gifts of pork, smoked marsupials and cooking bananas were frequently made to them and reciprocated. Since contact, however, this exchange network has been seriously disrupted. The Fundamentalist Christians among the Kopon are prohibited from participating in this network, and only those Kopon who remain pagan or who come from the territory of the Anglican mission further east can continue these exchanges. These villages to the east were not the traditional exchange partners of the Wovan. With increasing frequency, however, the Wovan are ignoring the intervening Fundamentalist hamlets and establishing exchange relationships with the more distant Anglican hamlets. Young men who have adopted Fundamentalist Christianity still attend Wovan dances but they do so in European dress (shorts and T-shirts) and they neither dance nor share food.

Traditionally, relations between the Wovan and Kopon were predominantly friendly, although sporadic raiding did occur of a kind similar to that conducted against the Aramo. The Wovan fought with, and assisted in warfare, specific groups of near Kopon. Thus, the Wovan of the upper-Arame valley (those who now occupy the hamlet of Adiip and surrounding homesteads) assisted their neighbors and affines in Sangapi, while those in the lower-Arame valley (those who now occupy the hamlet

of Funkafunk and its surroundings) assisted their neighbors across the range in Angavile. As conflict between the Angavile and Sangapi Kopon was not unheard of, the Wovan could find themselves on opposite sides of a Kopon conflict. This division, however, followed an internal Wovan feuding division. Unlike the Aramo situation, the Wovan did recognize specific enemy relationships with certain Kopon groups.

Beyond the Kopon to the east live the Kalam people (Bulmer 1967, 1968). Traditionally, the Wovan claim to have had no direct contact with the Kalam, but they were aware of their existence and called them Wandzemul. Since contact by the administration, the interrelationships of Wovan and Kalam have been intensifying.

Prior to contact, the above groups constituted the social universe of the Wovan. A few comments on the general characteristics of this universe are necessary to place the Wovan in proper perspective before proceeding.

It is obvious from the foregoing that the Western Bismark-Schrader area formed a single highly complex social system, consisting of a number of distinct but interdependent ethnic groups. This interdependence was based on trade, ceremonial exchange, intermarriage and assistance in warfare. Owing to the lack of ethnographic data, we are not yet in a position to present a clear picture of the Bismark-Schrader region as a whole. This work represents an attempt to add one more piece to a puzzle that has so far been poorly described.

The Western Schraders formed a significant link in a traditional trading network that stretched from the Sepik river basin into the Highlands. The Wovan acted as middle-men between the Kopon and the Sepik people. Items traded to the Wovan from the Sepik could not be traded directly into the central highlands across the Jimi river. Therefore, on arriving among the Wovan, these items were turned eastward along the northern fringe of the highlands, first to the Kopon and thence to the Kalam or Gants. From there, items were either traded further eastward to the Maring or directly southward across the upper Jimi into the Waghi valley and central highlands. Varieties of shell valuables flowed from the Sepik to the highlands along this route. Stone ax-heads, both utilitarian and ceremonial, flowed in the opposite direction and were traded by the Wovan to the Aramo, but whether these were further traded into the lower Biwat could not be determined.

The Dzauwe-Aramo-Wovan-Kopon-Kalam also formed links in a chain of ceremonial exchanges. Each group danced and sang at the festivals of their neighbors on either side. All killed pigs and distributed pork rather than exchanging live animals. Since contact, the Wovan, Kopon, and Kalam all share the same ceremonial dress style, perform the same dances, and sing the same songs at such festivals.

The Wovan distinguish between themselves and their neighbors on the bases of language, ritual practices, and area of residence. These distinctions are supported by the maintenance of negative stereotypes of

the behavior and general culture of the other. The Kalam applied the derogatory term Kopon ('up river' and consequently 'less sophisticated') to the people whom the Wovan knew as Wandī and the term Kopon has entered the anthropological and administrative literature. The Wandī applied the term Kopon to the Wovan and hold similar attitudes of superiority to their more 'backward' neighbors. The Wovan, for their part, feel themselves to be immeasurably superior to the Aramo whose practice of allowing young boys to remain naked until about ten years of age the Wovan find very amusing (Wovan boys remain unclothed until somewhere between the ages of five and seven; of course, Wovan telling of Aramo practice greatly exaggerates this aspect, and boys in their late teens are regularly reported as running about naked). This east-west status cline is not completely accepted by the participants, as I commented above, and the Wovan find much in Kopon practice to demonstrate their own superiority. Wovan regard themselves as superior fighters. The Kopon practice of polygyny is particularly indicative of Kopon debauchery to the monogamous Wovan. Further, the Wovan feel that their own, still highly forested environment, with its plentiful supply of game and good gardening land, is far superior to the sword grass (Pidgin English kunai) covered ranges of the western Bismarks.

Despite these differences, the Wovan acknowledge a vague kinship with all the people inhabiting the Schraders and this kinship is expressed at the end of the Story of Akovee, a Wovan origin myth (a complete telling of the myth is provided in Appendix 2); here it will suffice to cite briefly the end of the narrative. Akovee has been

humanized by the action of a woman who has journeyed from the Sepik river area and thus becomes the first human male. Akovee and the woman marry:

"They have many children. Those who spoke Momduv [the language of the Sepik area] went to live at the Sepik. Those who spoke Aramo went to live in Gnami [an area in Aramo territory]. Those who spoke Wandi went to live in Salemp-Sanguvak [two Kopon hamlets]. The last born spoke Wovan and he remained here. We are the descendants of this last child".

Some versions of the narrative, as told today, are expanded to include people who were unknown to the Wovan prior to contact (one older man even derived the origin of English speakers from Akovee). Thus, the narrative can be employed to derive the origin of the whole human race. Nonetheless, the kinship implied by common origin contrasts markedly with other Papua New Guinea origin myths (see for example Van Baal's 1966 account of the south coast Marind Anim, but also Trompf 1977, for similar accounts from the Sepik-Ramu area).

In the foregoing, I have attempted to outline briefly the social context in which the Wovan exist by treating neighboring groups and the Wovan's relations with them. I have also indicated, in passing, that many of these relationships have been seriously affected by contact. I want now to present a brief contact history of the Wovan and outline the main effects of this contact experience. These effects have been treated in greater detail elsewhere (Flanagan 1981b).

CONTACT HISTORY

The Wovan were first contacted by the Australian Administrative authorities in 1962 when a patrol led by J.A. Johnston from the Jimi River Patrol Post (now Tabibuga) crossed the Jimi river and entered Wovan territory from the south. Gifts were distributed to the people and a number of men talked with members of the patrol. No hostilities were reported. Access from the Jimi was extremely difficult, however, and few patrols passed through Wovan territory in the next six years. The anthropologist W.C. Clarke (Clarke 1977) accompanied one such patrol in 1965. On this occasion, a Wovan man did unleash an arrow at the patrol, but fire was not returned and no one was hurt. The man in question now claims that he was startled by the patrol, thought they were witches, and did not intend to attack a government patrol.

In 1968, control of the Western Schraders passed from the Western Highlands Province (then District) to the Madang Province when the provincial boundary was re-drawn to follow the main thread of the Jimi river. Administrative contact with the Wovan increased markedly from that date. Patrols were conducted with increasing frequency and now at least one administrative patrol visits the Wovan each year.

An initial census was conducted in 1968-69 but only 151 persons presented themselves to the recording officer at that time (see Flanagan in press). The census records show, and the Wovan confirm, that women and children systematically avoided patrols at the initial stages of

contact and were frequently hidden in the forest when the imminent arrival of the patrol was announced. A number of Wovan still avoid the government patrols and refuse all contact with the administration, but by 1974, when 560 names were recorded, the majority of the Wovan had come in direct contact with the administration.

In 1974, Public Health officials accompanied the police patrol for the first time and a medical aid post was established on Wovan territory at Fatok in 1976. A Kalam-speaking aid-post-orderly (APO), his wife, and their three children have resided among the Wovan since that date.

In early 1977, an Anglican priest, then stationed at Simbai, visited the Wovan. He was shot and wounded by a Wovan man, but again this man claims fear of witches to have been the cause. Despite these inauspicious beginnings, the Anglican Church decided to establish a mission among the Wovan, and in September 1977, the first members of the Melanesian Brotherhood (a Papua New Guinean lay apostolate) began missionary activity. Between 4 and 7 brothers have been stationed almost continuously among the Wovan since that time.

Since 1962, then, and with increasing frequency and in increasing numbers since 1968, the Wovan have come in contact with peoples with whom they were not familiar prior to that date. Direct contact, however, was not the initial contact. In the late 1930's or early 1940's, the Wovan learned of the existence of white men from their Sepik trading partners. About that time, a Wovan male acquired the first

steel ax. Older men still speak of the wonder they felt at this new implement. They talk of sending young boys on a one to two hour walk to borrow the new ax when they were making new gardens. During World War II, an American Air Force plane crashed into a mountain side in Wovan territory, killing the three airmen aboard. The aeroplane remained undisturbed by the Wovan, who were afraid to approach it, for over twenty years until eventually an American missionary (much to the annoyance of the Australian administration officials) removed and buried the skeletal remains and returned the dog-tags to the U.S. Government. The Wovan came to associate the planes they saw flying overhead with the white men of whom their Sepik partners spoke and assigned to both the Pidgin English term kundu, which they had also learned at the Sepik. When the first patrol officer entered Wovan territory in 1962, he was announced by the phrase kundu humInda (Kundu is coming). Younger men, who today speak some Pidgin, laugh at the misapplication by their elders of the Pidgin word, which denotes the hand held dancing drum found throughout most of Papua New Guinea.

The rate of change increased after 1968. In 1973, the first Wovan men left their homes to take up labor contracts on coastal plantations. Two year plantation contracts continue as a major source of cash and outside goods and will be a major source of social change in the future when men begin to return in large numbers. At the time of fieldwork, only six men had returned from coastal plantations and remained at home for any length of time. Directly prior to the end of fieldwork, a further 18 men returned to Wovan territory but a number of these were

already planning to leave for a further two year contract within weeks of reaching home. One male, who originally left in 1975, was mid-way through his third contract. The demographic effects of plantation labor are treated below.

For thirty years prior to the beginning of fieldwork, then, the world of the Wovan had undergone significant changes over which they had no control. These changes involved the introduction of new items of technology (spades, issued for walking-track maintenance by the government, and steel axes); the adoption of new cultural elements learned from their more distant neighbors and the government (standards of appropriate dress and conduct, e.g. the cessation of warfare and vengeance killings); the adoption of new behavior patterns (long distance travel unheard of prior to the establishment of the Pax Australianis, such as the frequent visits to the administrative center at Simbai and even journeys to the Papua New Guinean coast and islands); and the addition of new cultigens both in the subsistence sphere (new varieties of sweet potatoes, pumpkin, beans), and cash cropping sphere (coffee has been planted although none had yet been harvested and sold by the completion of fieldwork).

My emphasis on change, above, should not lead one to underestimate elements of cultural conservatism in the society. Unlike many highland peoples, the Wovan have not yet manifested any desire to rush headlong into the market economy. Steel tools reduced the labor input in the preparation of gardens, but, being used as substitutes for traditional

technology, they did not radically alter traditional gardening techniques (see Steensberg 1980, for an excellent description of traditional tools and techniques based largely on Enga material). Time saved in gardening, however, was largely taken up by new tasks (maintenance of government walking tracks and mission gardens and dwellings). Similarly, crop introductions expanded the dietary inventory but did not displace traditional food items. The introduction of coffee, which has supplanted subsistence gardens in some areas, has not yet had a major impact on the Wovan economy. The out-migration of young men to work on coastal plantations has social effects at home as it means that there is a surplus of young marriageable women. Plantation laborers have not yet returned in sufficient numbers to effect major changes at home. At the time I left the field, there were still no baptized Christians among the Wovan, and although they attended church regularly, there was no evidence that Christian teaching had affected the ideology of the people. Major changes may be expected among the Wovan in the near future, but, as of now, the traditional social structure remains largely intact.

In the foregoing, I have concentrated attention on Wovan interrelationships with other groups in their environment in an attempt to establish the social context within which the Wovan today live. For the remainder of this chapter I want to focus attention on Wovan demography, to establish what constitutes this entity which I have been calling "the Wovan".

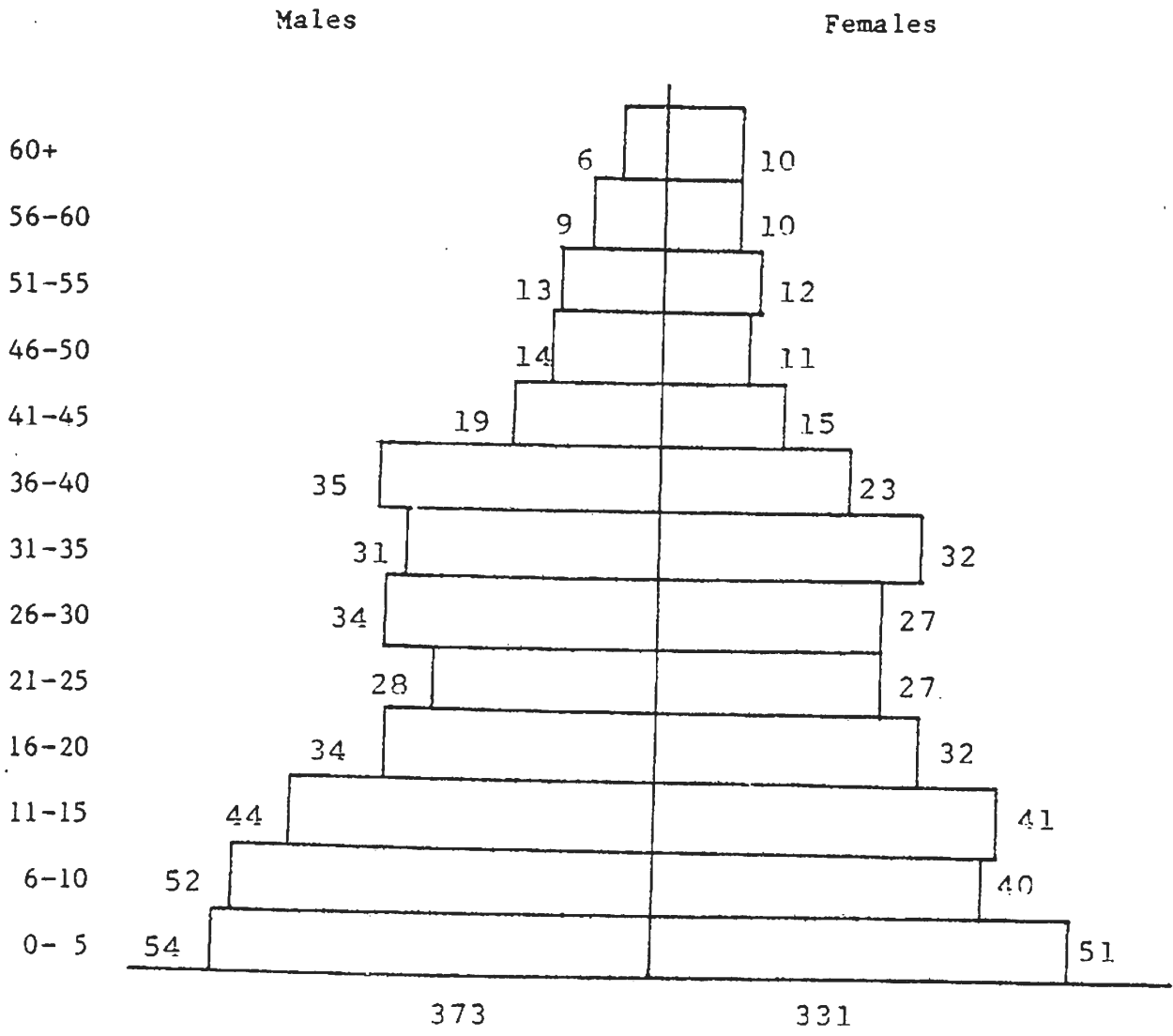
THE WOVAN POPULATION

A Wovan population census, completed on April 1, 1980, yielded a Wovan de jure population of 698. The de jure population is defined, in this case, as all those persons with one or more Wovan parents normally resident (that is, including absentees that are defined as temporary migrants, such as, plantation laborers) on Wovan territory. The de facto population resident on Wovan territory on that date (including the APO, his wife and children, the members of the Melanesian Brotherhood, and the anthropologist and his wife but excluding those plantation laborers) was 686. In the discussion that follows, I shall be concerned exclusively with the de jure population as defined above.

Figure 1 (p. 38) presents the age and sex distribution of the Wovan population. Ages, based on estimates, are presented in five year cohorts⁶. Males constitute 53 percent of the population, exceeding females by 42. Almost half of this excess occurs in the under-15 age group. In the over 50 age-group, the number of females, in fact, exceeds the number of males. Almost 40 percent of the total population are under 15 years of age, while only 8.5 percent are over 50 years. As was the case with the Baktaman (Barth 1975), therefore, we are dealing primarily with a two generation population structure. A number of grandparents do exist, but they are exceptional rather than commonplace.

The slight waisting of the population pyramid in the 16-20 and

Figure 1: Wovan Population by Age and Sex



21-25 age groups is coincident with descriptions of deaths from an unusual disease ñivñiv (probably influenza) which the Wovan blame on Sepik sorcery and which appears to have occurred immediately prior to, and during, the initial stages of contact. Introduced disease, however, did not have the devastating effects on the Wovan that it had on other Papua New Guinean people, such as the Etoro of the Papuan Plateau (Kelly 1977: 28-31).

During the course of 22 months fieldwork, the population declined by 4. This decline resulted from a crude death rate which exceeded the crude birth rate during that period. 30 children were born to Wovan women during the 22 month period yielding a crude birth rate of 25.2 per 1,000 of the population. In the same period 34 persons died, yielding a crude death rate of 28.4 per 1,000. This decrease in population equals an annual decline of 0.57 percent. A large part of this decline is accounted for by a high infant mortality rate. Of 30 children born, 9 (or 30 percent) died before reaching the age of one year.

It is difficult, therefore, given the small population change that occurred during the fieldwork period, to make any prediction as to the trends in the Wovan population. The decline experienced could have been due to chance. The Wovan, themselves, in fact, speak of an expanding population and claim that there are more young men (in the 20-30 age group) now than in the past. There is no evidence, such as large gardening areas now un-used, or large areas of sword grass (resulting from environmental degradation) which would suggest that the Arame river

valley supported a much larger population at any time in the past. From our point of view, therefore, it seems reasonable to regard the Wovan population as relatively stable.

I want to turn attention briefly to an aspect of Wovan population that may have substantial effects in the future: that is, the out-migration of men for extended periods of labor on coastal plantations. As I stated above, 30 men were absent from the community for the greater period of my residence among the Wovan. These plantation workers are recruited from a very limited spectrum of the population. Only men between the ages of 16 and 35 years undertake contract labor. These men are either unmarried or recently married. Thus, almost 24 percent of the males in this age cohort were absent on labor contracts during the fieldwork period. A population pyramid based on the de facto rather than de jure population would show, instead of an excess of males over females (127 males, 118 females), a large excess of females over males (118 females, 97 males). A major source of conflict in Wovan society, at present, is the behavior of young unmarried or newly married (but whose husbands are absent) women. There is no reason to suppose that this trend will cease in the near future and there is much to indicate that, as brideprices increase, young married men will be forced to migrate with greater frequency to meet those brideprices. The phenomenon of out-migration has the further effect of increasing labor burdens on those men who remain at home and are placed in the position of preparing gardens for female kin whose husbands are absent. Thus, the Wovan who remain at home talk

increasingly of leaving to undertake contract labor as soon as their kinsmen return to take over their laborious and unremunerative work in the village.

This, then, is the population with which we shall be concerned for the remainder of this work. In this chapter, I have outlined the social environment of the Wovan, their neighbors and their relations with them. In the next chapter, I turn attention to their physical environment, the ecology and their techniques of survival. Having outlined these features, we will be in a better position to undertake the analysis of the social organization per se.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 1

1. Wovan territory was originally within the boundaries of the Western Highlands District but was re-allocated for administrative convenience when the provincial boundaries were re-drawn in 1968.

2. The andau (partner) relationship is treated in some detail below (Chapter 4).

3. The Aramo constitute one of the least well known people in Papua New Guinea today. No published material is yet available. No official census has yet been conducted by the national government, and government officials have never been appointed. My knowledge of the Aramo is based on two short fieldtrips to those residing along the upper Morungk river who are in intensive contact with, and claim close kinship to the Wovan. No estimate could be made of the extent of their territorial domain north and west of this area.

Like the Wovan, the Aramo are monogamous and build large pandanus leaf houses internally divided into men's and women's sides. Homesteads are widely dispersed. The Aramo are highly resistant to change in their home territory. Attempts to appoint government officials have met with complete failure and they refuse, at present, to construct a government rest house on their territory, to build a government walking track, or to register for censusing in either the Madang or East Sepik Provinces along whose joint border they live. A number of Aramo men, however, have ventured out of Aramo territory to seek employment in the Sepik river area and across the Jimi on the Ruti cattle station. In choosing these areas they have followed traditional Aramo trade routes to the Sepik and across the Biwat into the Enga Province.

4. While such a definition takes account of what might be called 'operating ethnic identity', it does not account for 'ultimate ethnic identity' as obtained under the persistent questioning of the anthropologist. In the case of ultimate identity, the object is to discover 'origins' irrespective of current behavior or participation. Thus, a person may ultimately be described to the anthropologist as being a Kopon or Aramo even though in-migration may have occurred two or three generations ago and affiliation with a Wovan kin-group may be complete. Thus, a man may be described both as a member of the Maram lineage (and recognized as Wovan) and an Aramo. It is important to realize, however, that these contextually defined identities are not in competition, nor do they indicate 'structural looseness'. In the case of more recent in-migration, I believe, this confusion of 'ultimate' and 'operating' identity accounts for the assignment of persons to different lineages by different informants. In such a case, however, political motivations are also apparent. The descendants of an in-migrant will claim affiliation with a Wovan kin group at the same time that this affiliation is denied by other members of the group.

5. Further treatment of the linguistic affiliations of Wovan will have to await another work when grammatical and lexical material from neighboring peoples, particularly in the Biwat and Highlands areas, have become available. I believe, based on a general impression, that while the connection to the East New Guinea Highlands Stock is obviously distant, that it is in this stock that Wovan properly belongs.

6. Age estimates are based on a number of criteria: relative age is the most useful device in this case. Position in relation to siblings, number and estimated age of children, initiation cohorts (for males), description of approximate age in relation to dateable events ('I was then as X is now') were all used in the final calculations. For the difficulties of 'guesstimating age' see Flanagan (in press) and P. Hays (in press).

2. ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY

The traditional economy of the Wovan may be seen as consisting of four spheres of activity: gardening, animal husbandry, gathering, and hunting. Nowadays, we must also take account of the recent introduction of cash cropping (the fact that no coffee has yet been marketed does not mean that considerable energy is not being expended in its production at present) and the as yet limited cash transactions in the stores of Dusin and Simbai. These economic activities are intimately bound up with the Wovan physical environment, and some appreciation of this environment must be gained before proceeding with the discussion.

The Wovan occupy approximately 200 square kilometers of land on both the northern and southern falls of the Schrader range. This territory is extremely rugged and deeply scarred by many small streams as well as the three major rivers, the Morungk in the west, the Kaiwa (Clay) in the north, and the Arame which flows through the heart of Wovan territory. At the top of the range, their territory reaches 2,400 meters with a peak reaching 2,530 meters above mean sea level. At its lowest point, along the north bank of the Jimi river, the territory is scarcely over 400 meters above sea level. The valley walls are characterized by a series of spurs which jut out at right angles to the ridge and whose sides, along which gardens are made, fall away steeply to the valley floor.

Population density is low, with an average of less than 4 persons per square kilometer. However, this population is not evenly distributed. The majority of the population occupy and garden the Arame river valley and it is here that the three small hamlets, Adiip, Fatok, and Funkafunk, which developed under government and mission influence, are located. The valley consists of approximately 85 square kilometers of habitable land (discounting a number of sheer drops on the eastern wall) and the population density reaches 7 persons per square kilometer. With population density already critical and population expansion estimated to be as high as 3 percent per annum for such groups as the Enga and Chimbu (see Brookfield and Brown 1963, Brown 1972), population pressure and land shortage in the central highlands are currently matters of serious concern to administrators and planners. The Wovan, however, with a fairly stable population and adequate natural resources, appear to be in a relatively comfortable position and there is no critical pressure on land resources at this time.

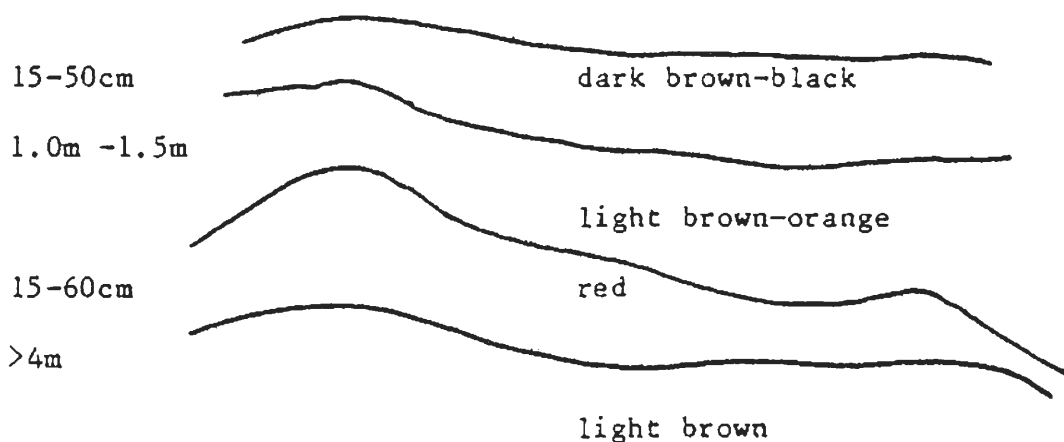
The great diversity in the topography of Wovan territory allows them to exploit a number of distinct ecological zones. This natural diversity is intersected by human residence and utilization patterns to yield the complex subsistence strategy of the Wovan today. Let us first look at the natural environment and then go on to discuss the Wovan use and exploitation of this environment.

Bleeker's (1974:10) survey of Papua New Guinea soil types characterizes the Schrader mountains as being an association of Humic

Cambisols/Rankers/ distric Cambisols (Bh/U/Bd). In the upper Arame valley, this association is manifested by a thin layer of dark brown to black topsoil which varies in thickness from 15-50 centimeters. Under this and extending to a depth of 1-2 meters is a light brown to orange colored earthy clay. Beneath this is a band of red clay which varies in thickness from 15-60 centimeters. Below this is a light brown formation which remains undisturbed to at least 4 meters (see Figure 2, below).

The soil is remarkably uniform and characterized by a total absence of stony material except in the vicinity of streams and river beds where the stone usually has a slate-like appearance. Rock outcrops may be igneous, sedimentary, or metamorphic (Bleeker 1974: 10).

Figure 2: Soil Profile in the Upper Arame Valley*



* Based on 2 pits dug in the vicinity of Adiip

Soil instability has already been mentioned as a major factor in the creation of the present land forms and is also a problem in Wovan gardening. Major earthquake centers exist to the west and northwest along the Biwat gorge, and a number of minor centers are located along the Keram river to the northeast. Wovan territory experiences frequent earth tremors, which result in landslides. Land shift of this kind can, and frequently does, result in the destruction of gardens located further down the slope but there is no account among the Wovan of a death occurring as a result. A single account of injury (when a man was trapped underneath a rolling log during a tremor) was obtained. Earth tremors (momIn) are not perceived as a threat but rather as an exciting event, especially by the younger generation, and they are greeted with excited exhortations to continue and destroy the houses and mountains.

Rainfall is continuous throughout the year but one can divide the year into wetter and dryer seasons. Annual rainfall is approximately 3,000 mm. Heaviest rainfall occurs in the months December through February, the driest months occurring in June through August. As one passes into September, the pattern of heavy showers in the late afternoon dominates. These showers gradually arrive earlier in the day, so that, by December, morning rain (frequently continuing through the day) is common. The pattern reverses itself in March and April and by late May one again gets days when no rain falls. By mid-July, many small streams are dry but there is no danger of water shortage at any time.

The Wovan distinguish a wet (hru'a yimp...'rain comes') and dry (hru'a hre'ub...'rain abandons') season and measure their ceremonial life accordingly (see below Chapter 4). Unlike many Highlanders, they do not distinguish the seasons on the basis of the availability of various foodstuffs. Thus, they do not, for example, distinguish a season of marita from other times of the year, as is frequently done in other parts of Papua New Guinea. The first indication of the imminent arrival of the dry season is taken as the arrival of the bilbilau (a small bird). Indeed, the arrival of the bird (with comments of having heard him) coincided each year with a remarkable change in the weather pattern. The winds in late March swing around to the south and rainfall decreases noticeably. The next indication is the drying and falling of the leaves of the honggulum tree in the lower valley. During hru'a hre'ub, the sun, they say, rises directly over the mountain Dzinime, which lies to the east. If the sun rises over the valley between the mountains, it is the time of hru'a yimp. Some varieties of marita pandanus become available in the dry season. When these plants have been exhausted, one knows that the rainy season is at hand. Early in the rainy season, however, the pandanus nut (goli'era) becomes available. The nuts dry in the 'small sun' and are harvested in the 'small rain'. It is a time of great feasting among the Wovan. Due to the year round availability of different foodstuffs, there is no recognition of a season of want among the Wovan. When they talk of a food shortage ('a hungry time'... ki'~f~le), they refer, not to any inevitable seasonal shortage but to the time immediately after a pig kill when garden crops have been used to feed many guests.

Altitudinal variation has obvious implications for the natural environment. To the south, across the Jimi from Wovan territory, lie the great kunai (sword grass) flats on which a large cattle station is now run by an Australian. On the north bank of the Jimi lies a narrow strip of low lying (400-800 meters above sea level) flatland supporting a low hill forest vegetation (Robbins 1961, Brookfield and Hart 1971: 47-48). From here, moving northward up the ridge, the vegetation passes through montane forest and high-montane (mossy) cloud forest. Having crossed the ridge, the mean level of the land gradually descends until it flattens out in the great swamps on the south bank of the Sepik river.

These different environments support a wide variety of plant and animal life. The more humid and hotter environment of the hill forest supports a large wild pig population. The cooler, central zone is exploited for the birds of paradise that dwell there, and the high mossy forest is regarded as the dwelling place of many forms of marsupial. The low hill forest and its environs also support varieties of pandanus that will not grow in cooler areas. Pawpaw and other fruits are obtained from lower elevations. Bananas thrive in the middle region, while the nut pandanus is confined to the upper level of this middle region. Endemic malaria, however, is a problem throughout the Jimi valley and Sepik basin. The Wovan explicitly recognize that men live longer at higher altitudes. Nevertheless, they also wish to obtain the foodstuffs available only at lower altitudes and must travel to the Sepik lowlands to conduct trade. A great part of Wovan subsistence and economic strategy can be made clear by realizing the tension inherent

in this dilemma. I will return to this again when discussing residence patterns and the control of resources; here let it suffice for the moment that we recognize the explicit ideal of living (constructing a house) at a higher altitude while retaining control over low lying resources. It must also be mentioned, however, that this pattern is modified by the desire of some old men to live in warmer areas. This desire is phrased purely in terms of physical comfort. A glance at the topographical map will show that Wovan hamlets are dispersed over a wide geographical and altitudinal range. Adiip, the highest of the hamlets, is located at 1900 meters above sea level. While frost was never encountered during fieldwork, nocturnal temperatures approaching 10 degrees centigrade were common. Older men, sleeping without the benefit of newly introduced blankets, constantly complain of the cold and the necessity of rising several times during the night to rekindle the fire. Many, therefore, seek to establish residence with a lowland dwelling kinsman in their later years. In this regard, Fatok (at 1600 meters) is regarded as a more desirable residence for the aged than Adiip, and Funkafunk (at 1200 meters) is still more desirable. Many, however, move to still more low lying scattered homesteads.

WOVAN SUBSISTENCE

Types of activity in the five part economy of the Wovan can be ranked in order of their contribution to Wovan subsistence as follows: 1) gardening; 2) animal husbandry; 3) gathering; 4) hunting; 5) purchase. This classification (based on activity) approximates, but does not completely coincide with the Wovan's own dietary taxonomy. In the context of diet, the Wovan, dissect the world into edibles (numumb av) and inedibles (numolab av) or, alternatively, her av ('other things'). The context having been established, the taxonomic category her av elicits responses on animal and vegetable items which may or may not be edible but which are not eaten (snakes, gourds, village rats).

Figure 3: Wovan Food Taxonomy

	Numumb av		Numolab av
Yindav	av	avamangk	herav
Wurav	av	avamangk	

The Wovan supply two tripartite divisions of the category numumb av which do not coincide and are not strictly hierarchical as presented above (Figure 3). The first of these contrasts yindav - av - avamangk (sweet things - things - limb things); the second contrasts wurav - av - avamangk (cookables - things - limb

things)¹. All 'cookables' are necessarily sweet and all 'limb things' in the second sense are included in limb things in the first sense, but the reverse does not hold. Certain foodstuffs included in the categories 'sweet things' and 'limb things' are relegated to the category 'things' when discussing the second set of contrasts.

Avamangk, in the second set of contrasts presented above, includes taro, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, edible pitpit, marita pandanus, and all cultivated greens. All items are, therefore, cultivated and edible. Wurav includes marsupials, pigs, cassowaries, eels, bush-hen (megapode) eggs, frogs, and birds. All items are rich sources of protein. They may be collected (as in the case of megapode eggs), domesticated (as in the case of domestic pigs), or hunted. Their essential characteristic is that they are all animal. One informant drew a distinction between these two categories based on the kind of labor input required: tending in the case of avamangk and finding in the case of wurav. The exception of domestic pigs was dismissed on the grounds that pigs are always likely to run away and then would have to be sought and found in the forest. Av, in this set of contrasts, includes items (larva, forest fruits, pandanus nuts, water, salt) which are not cultivated, not animal, but are edible; and items which are cultivated but are, strictly speaking, not edible (tobacco and betel nut). Tobacco is, according to the Wovan, just "something for inhaling" and betel is just "something for spitting".

Figure 4: Native Taxa of Available Foodstuffs

Wurav	no. of taxa	Av	no. of taxa	Avamangk	no. of taxa
Birds	65	Larva	2	Taro	23
Marsupials	23	Fungi	7	Sweet potatoes	20
Rats	8	Pandanus nut	1	Bananas	16
Frogs	6	Fruit	2	Sugar cane	16
Cassowary	2	Rasberries	1	Pitpit	11
Pig	2	Wild banana	1	Pandanus	11
Eel	2	'Raurau'	1	Yam	9
Ants	1	'Solomon'	1	Greens	4
Megapode eggs	1			Corn	2
Tinned fish	1			Ginger	2
				Breadfruit	1
				Pawpaw	1
				Cabbage	1
				Squash	1
				Shallots	1
				Potaotes	1
				Pumpkin	1
				Pumpkin seeds	1
				Cucumber	1
				Peanutu	1
				Rice	1

Yindav includes all items treated under wurav above with the addition of kai (wood larva) and ksav (salt). Both are highly prized food items and, as the category name suggests, yindav (sweet things) are all desired foods. Krits (a large forest fruit) and goliera (pandanus nuts) are shifted from the category av to the avamangk category in this set of contrasts. Hr[^]mbe (water), aru'a (betel) and tsets (tobacco) all remain as 'things', and some informants suggest that they are inappropriate for inclusion at this level of contrast at all, confining the contrast purely to yindav - avamangk.

It is evident, then, that the two systems of contrast presented here are alternative ways of dividing up the same domain. The contrast yindav-avamangk is based on principles which take into account the nature of the food substance itself and could be glossed as 'meats' (salt is intimately associated with the consumption of meat and megapode eggs are equated with meat) as opposed to 'produce' (fruits vegetables, nuts). The contrast wurav-avamangk combines this criterion with a criterion based on the mode of production. Thus, collected items (larva, pandanus nuts, forest fruits) and traded items (salt) are not included in the categories of edible items that demand a direct labor input in their production, whether through hunting or cultivation.

That the yindav-avamangk distinction does not rest solely on a luxury/staple or more desired/less desired distinction is amply illustrated by the inclusion of marita pandanus in the category

avamangk. The marita pandanus is regarded as the most desirable food available to the Wovan and is consistently rated as far superior to pork. Pork is excellent food for young boys, but "for us old men, our time is past. We eat it and defecate". During the season when marita pandanus is available, the Wovan eat the thick red sauce obtained from it with both sweet potatoes and taro on every possible occasion. Oil from the marita pandanus is stored in bottles to be rubbed on the skin when the festive season comes around and the young men prepare for dancing.

Further differentiation is achieved within the dietary domain by the variety of edible forms recognized and named by the Wovan (see Figure 4 above). The 10 categories of wurav are divided into 111 Wovan taxa of edible animal forms (including tinned fish). The greatest differentiation here occurs among the birds (65 taxa) and marsupials (23 taxa). The 29 categories of produce (including store-bought rice) are divided into 141 Wovan taxa. Greatest differentiation here occurs in the varieties of taro, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, and sugar cane.

Recently introduced foods contribute substantially to the Wovan diet. Cabbage, shallots, pumpkin, beans, maize, and peanuts have all been accepted as desirable foods. English potatoes (introduced by the agricultural officer in 1974) are rarely eaten and are regarded as definitely inferior to sweet potatoes. Maize, which is planted to become available in December and January, dominates the Wovan carbohydrate intake at that time of year. As such, it is regarded as a

substitute for taro at a time when taro is in scarce supply whether through actual shortage or storage for upcoming festivals. Tinned fish and rice (which are complementary and always eaten together) are highly desired foodstuffs but are still rare commodities. Unlike recently introduced crops, fish and rice have entered the ceremonial exchange system, and when they are obtained, they are always distributed among a wide spectrum of kin. They may be presented as additions to a whole pig at a feast. The Wovan rarely eat fish and rice and when they do it is eaten in very small quantities.

In the foregoing, we have discussed Wovan diet with some indication of the source of the food items in terms of hunting, gathering, cultivation, domestication, and purchase. I want to turn attention now to the productive process itself and the organization of the Wovan economy.

The Organization of Production

I have already indicated that 'purchase' or cash transactions are by far the least important part of the Wovan economy. Store-bought goods are expensive both in terms of money (relative to the Wovan's limited money supply) and in terms of time. The nearest small trade store is located at Dusin (see map 1, p. 14) which is approximately 35 kilometers by government walking track from the hamlet of Adiip. The round-trip can be made with great difficulty in a single day but usually

requires two days. This journey is never undertaken by a man alone and usually requires that a group of four or more must be assembled, all of whom have sufficient time, money and motivation to travel there. Money, in the limited sense of cash, is a constant problem for the Wovan at present. Hunting, as we noted, is the only source of regular cash income available without migration to coastal plantations. Income earned at the plantation is usually exhausted, or nearly so, by the time the plantation worker returns home. Such income is used to supply the returnee with items of clothing that will last him for many years after his return. Other major expenditure goes on machetes, metal pots, clothing for wife and children, blankets, small kerosene lanterns and metal suitcases in which to store these goods upon returning home. Consequently, few men return to the hamlet with more than K100, and this money is utilized to make compensation to those who have assisted one's wife or unmarried sisters while one was absent. Added income from the sale of bird of paradise plumes is quickly drained off from the Wovan in the purchase of consumer goods, and I would estimate the total money supply available to the Wovan to be less than K4,000, or a little over K5 per person. This situation is expected to change little until coffee growing is well established.

Hunting, while not presently contributing a large share of Wovan caloric intake, is highly valued both for the kinds of food it produces and, by those who engage in it, as an activity in itself. The contribution of hunting is limited in quantity rather than in variety. One suspects that this was as true in the past as it is today, although

Wovan men complain frequently that they now have little time for hunting due to the demands of both mission and government work.

Accurate assessment of the percentage of caloric intake supplied by hunting is impossible. The consumption of hunted foods varies by time of year, social category, and among homesteads. During the course of fieldwork not a single cassowary was taken by the Wovan of Adiip although two 'chases' ensued when cassowary were sighted in the course of garden work. Traditionally, cassowary were taken in traps rather than with bow and arrow. When taken, they could not be returned directly to the homestead but, rather, had to be cooked at designated places within Wovan territory. Gardens were never cleared in areas that had served as cassowary cooking pits. The ash from a cooking fire was not scattered but was kept in a single heap. While women were not prohibited from visiting the site of a cassowary cooking, they did not participate in the preparation. Women should not interfere with a cassowary cooking fire, and should a woman step over the site of a fire, the Wovan believe they could never again trap cassowary. Once cooked, the meat could be brought back to the dwelling house for distribution and there were no restrictions on who might consume the meat.

Wild pigs still contribute significantly to the Wovan diet. During the course of fieldwork, two wild pigs were taken by the people of Adiip (with bow and arrow) and the people of Funkafunk claim to have taken many more.

Few Wovan men² will even go to their gardens without being armed with a bow and arrows. Their object, however, is rarely large game. Rather, they are constantly searching for small birds and marsupials that dwell in the vicinity of the hamlets and gardens. An otherwise brief journey may take an hour or more as the male approaches each tree, crouching with drawn bow, moving slowly and soundlessly, in the attempt to avoid startling the small bird he has seen from the distance. It is, in many respects, both a game and an unavoidable routine. Younger men and adolescent boys prior to initiation spend considerable amounts of time in this form of small game hunting. Many small birds and marsupials are taken and eaten before returning to the hamlet (shared among age-mates). However, I have seen young boys return to the hamlet with as many as seven small birds from a single day's outing. The total weight of these creatures may not be exceed 300 grams of edible meat but they nonetheless contribute a valuable protein source to a boy's diet. The value of the social experience of sharing his kill both with his fellow males and young females will be discussed below.

Young boys (under the age of 10 years) usually confine their hunting to water dwelling frogs. These expeditions involve the cooperation of 5 or 6 boys, and no demands are made on them to share their catch outside the group of participants. Very young boys (aged 4-5) who participate rarely wait to cook their catch, preferring to eat it raw, there and then. The older boys, however, will normally return to a quiet fire where they will cook their catch, wrapped in leaves, in the hot ashes.

This form of hunting, then, contributes if not substantial at least significant amounts of protein to the diets of young males. Pre-adolescent females appear to have no equivalent means of obtaining animal protein and are, rather, dependent on what they are given. This is not the case with adolescent females. They confine themselves to hunting terrestrial forms and, by and large, specialize in hunting varieties of bush rats. These are obtained by digging out a nest when it is discovered; the rats are caught by hand and killed by hitting their heads on the nearest hard surface. In cooking, the hair is first singed off over an open flame and the flesh is cooked wrapped in leaves in the hot ashes of the fire.

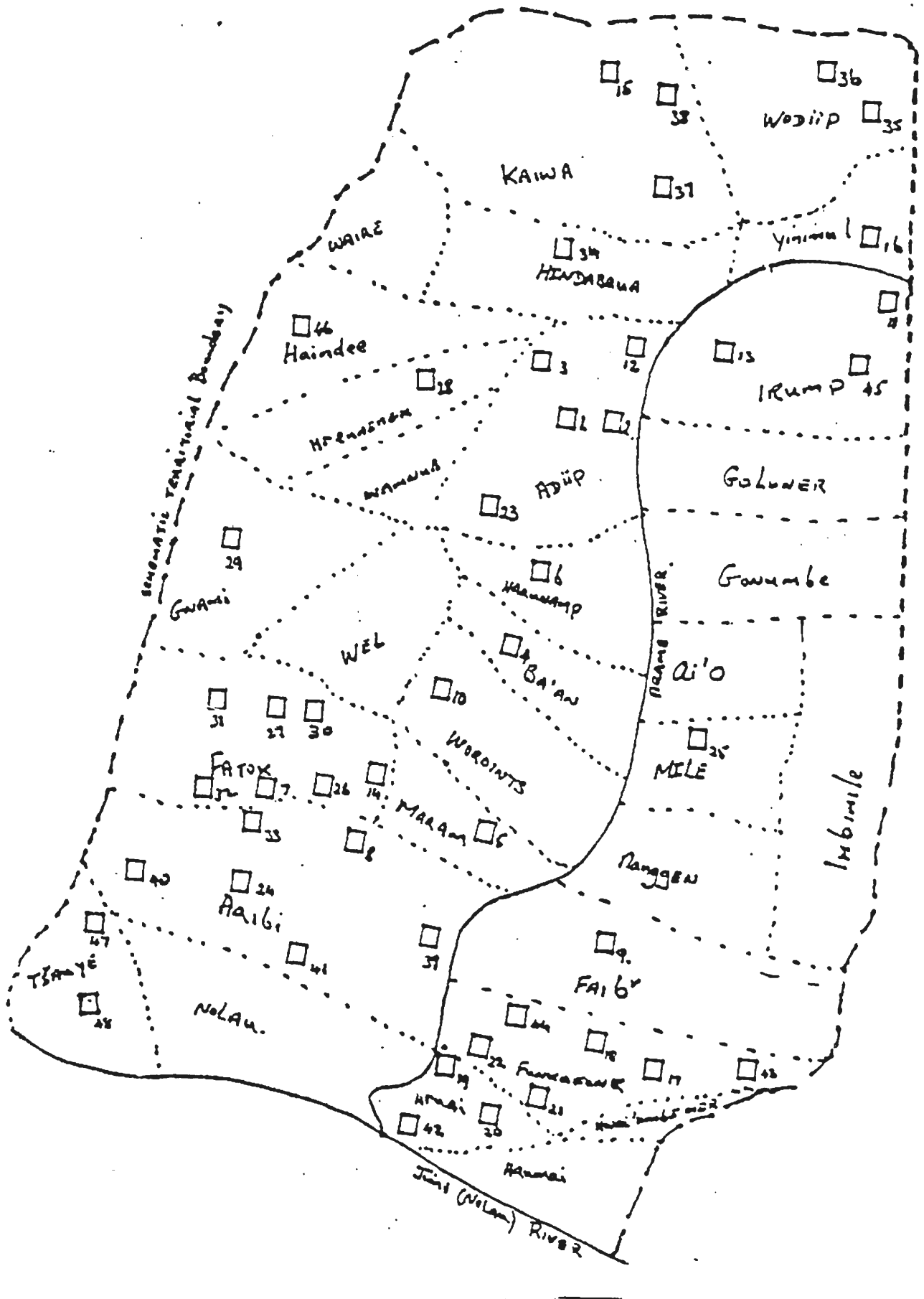
The forms of hunting described thus far are part of the daily food quest and, as such may be distinguished from the large scale hunting expeditions that are the provenance of older youths and men. Such expeditions have two purposes: hunting for plumes and pelts, and hunting for food. The two may be, and frequently are, combined. This type of hunting is differentiated from the kind of hunting described above in terms of location, organization, and the resultant catch.

Large areas of Wovan territory, both on the northern fall of the Schrader range and in the low lying southern portion along the Jimi river, are used almost exclusively for hunting (see Map 2: p. 62). These sites, in most cases, are situated at considerable distances from one's dwelling house and require that the hunter remain overnight (at

least) in the forest. Hunting expeditions are, therefore, undertaken by three or more men (the largest hunting party witnessed involved the participation of 11 men) who have claims to a single area of forest land, and frequently involve a residence in the forest from one to three weeks.

The months immediately preceding the festive season are the most active in terms of hunting. The Wovan conduct their initiation rituals and major pig kills (as indeed do their neighbors the Aramo and Kopon) during the rainy season and usually between late November and early February. Preparations for these singsing (p.e. 'any festival involving singing and dancing') begin with garden planting a year prior to the event. House building is the next step in preparation. Lastly, about three months before the singsing is due to take place, serious hunting begins. The men who have cooperated in building the house leave the hamlet for extended periods in the forest. Traps are laid to catch eels (ungan) which are a major ceremonial food. Small traps (approximately 10cm in diameter by 50cm in length) made of latticed rattan are laid in the stream and checked periodically. The catch is transferred to similar but larger traps which are placed in quiet backwaters. Catches of 20-30 eels are common before the men return to the main house. These eels range in weight from 0.5-1.5 kilograms. During the second year of fieldwork, when the Wovan constructed seven ceremonial houses, some 150 eels were taken in the seasonal harvest. These provided the Wovan with an estimated weight in eel meat in excess of 160 kilograms (or a little over 0.25 kgs. per person).

Map 2: Wovan Territorial Divisions and the Distribution of 'Big Houses'



Marsupial hunting is the second major aim of these extended hunting expeditions. Here it is difficult to estimate the actual number taken, as many are eaten while still in the forest and those that are not eaten are smoked. Smoke-dried marsupials figure prominently in Wovan ritual and in ceremonial prestations. Larger game, such as wallaby, may be taken in traps, but bow and arrow are the principal weapons used in hunting smaller marsupials. These smaller animals are rarely shot on or from the ground. Treed by either dog or man, the marsupial remains in the topmost branches and, rather than shooting from the ground, the Wovan male will usually follow into the tree and either shoot the animal from the lower branches or knock it to the ground where a partner is waiting to grab and kill it. On these occasions, when the object is to obtain meat, the pelt and fur of the animal is rarely preserved. As was the case with rats, it is singed off and the flesh is either cooked or hung up to dry over the fire in a small shelter.

The final form of hunting with which we are concerned contributes to the economy rather than directly to subsistence; this is, of course, hunting marsupials for their pelts and fur and, more importantly, hunting birds of paradise. I have listed above (p. 24) the current market prices of the varieties available to the Wovan. Here I am concerned with the organization and technique of hunting. Whereas the technique of laying traps for eels or chasing marsupials is social and requires the cooperation of two or more men, the technique of stalking a bird is one that demands that a man spend many hours alone. If Wovan knowledge of bird of paradise behavior is accurate, the bird is highly

predictable and territorial and frequents the same tree dwelling at all times. Since the value of the plumes has increased, the Wovan have adopted the practice of 'marking' a bird from an early age. Thus, a man will return from a trip to the bush and announce that he has seen a young bird on a particular tree in a particular locality and that he intends, in the future, to return to shoot it. When the bird is mature, he will go and construct a cover (usually a raised covered platform) at the base of the tree or high in a nearby tree. He may have to wait many nights in this cover for the bird to return. The best times to hunt are in the late evening and early morning, so the man will leave the bush shelter and retire to his cover in the early afternoon and remain in the cover until well after sun-up.

When the bird has been killed, it is cleaned and all flesh and bones are removed from the skin. The prepared plumes are placed in a green bamboo tube filled with water and boiled until the bamboo is about to catch fire. The process is repeated several times. The plumes are then hung in the sun to dry.

Gathering, like marsupial hunting, is a social activity. Unlike marsupial hunting, however, it is mainly a female occupation. The single, and very important, exception to this generalization is the case of pandanus nuts (goli'era). When the pandanus nut ripens in mid-July, the Wovan, both males and females, devote two to three days to full time harvesting, cooking and eating this protein rich food³. The pandanus nut grows in large clumps of up to 100 nuts and may be eaten

raw, roasted, or steamed in an earth oven. The Wovan usually steam them. At the height of the harvest, all the people of a hamlet will gather at a single homestead to cook and to gorge themselves on nuts. On one occasion in July, 1979, 38 such clumps were being cooked in an earth oven which had been prepared by five cooperating households. I estimated that this harvest represented about 25 kilograms of edible matter which was being shared by 36 persons. No attempt is made to preserve the nuts and the entire harvest is consumed within two days of gathering.

With this single exception, Wovan males will not set out to collect foods. Women will, and in doing so provide a great deal of variety in Wovan diet. Much of what is gathered by women is within easy access of settlements. Parties of four or five adolescent girls collect wild banana hearts (the heart of the trunk, not the fruit, is eaten) and wild raspberries in old abandoned gardens, or fungi that grow on rotting trees at the edge of the forest; but they never organize overnight trips to the forest alone. Systematic collection of magapode eggs (gliñe) is confined to times when the men are also in the forest in search of game. On these occasions, women bring vegetable foods to the men and remain in the forest overnight to search for small marsupials and eggs.

Eventhough both hunting and gathering contribute to Wovan subsistence, the single most important sphere of activity in Wovan life, both in terms of its contribution to subsistence and in terms of time

and labor invested, is agriculture. Two aspects of agriculture must be treated: animal husbandry and horticulture.

Traditionally, the only domesticated animals possessed by the Wovan were dogs and pigs. Recently, they have acquired a number of domestic fowl from government agricultural officers, but these are not eaten, and, except for a vague idea that they may prove an economic proposition in the future, no one appears to have any plans for them. Dogs are kept both as pets and hunters. Their importance, along with that of pigs, is revealed in the enigmatic Wovan statement: "wanñe hIn yeng av a hInd aax" (the dog and the pig were/are first). This was variously interpreted either as a statement of the order of creation or as a statement of relative value. Either interpretation demonstrates the separation of man, pig, and dog, from the rest of the animal world. This is further emphasized in the statement "hIn a yump a fInña, n^mbe fInña" - 'shoot a domestic pig [and you] shoot a man' - and in the inculcation in Wovan initiates of the vital distinction between hIn a yump (domestic pig) and hIn a havemp (wild pig). Wild pigs and domestic pigs are different orders of creatures. One can shoot wild pigs with impunity, but to shoot a domestic pig is to make a statement that one would like to kill its owner. When the Wovan still engaged in warfare, the pigs of the enemy were shot where possible. If a domestic pig is shot (either by accident or by design) by the owner or by someone else, the owner may not eat the flesh, but is no prohibition on the consumption of one's own pig ceremonially killed (see also Rubel and Rosman 1978).

By highlands Papua New Guinea standards, Wovan pig herds are small, and few men possess more than 6 adult animals. The daily herding and care of pigs is a female occupation. In the morning, the pigs are led out to forage in an abandoned fallow garden. In the evening, they are led back to the dwelling house. Small piglets are tethered in the room of the married couple, on the side of the fire on which the woman sleeps. Larger pigs are tethered outside the fence surrounding the house. Adult female pigs may be tethered at some distance from the house to attract wild boars to inseminate them. Castrated domestic boars and young sows are housed in separate stalls in a small pig sty. Unlike the Maring to the east (Rappaport 1968), the Wovan do not expend a great deal of energy in feeding their pigs. Piglets are fed small inferior tubers, but older animals are left to fend for themselves in the abandoned gardens. With smaller herd sizes and present feeding practices, there is no suggestion that Wovan ritual practices are related to the ecology of pig herding.

Males have two important tasks in relation to pig herding. The first is to castrate young domestic boars. All insemination of Wovan sows is performed by wild boars. The tail of a domestic pig is docked and its ears are notched when it is a few weeks old. If it is a male, it is castrated at the same operation. A bamboo knife is still used to do this. The wounds are sealed using clay (lungk) and ash to stop the bleeding, and the entire operation takes less than 15 minutes for a skilled operator. The second task is to kill the pigs at the time of festive distribution. On these occasions, the pigs are led to slaughter

by women who comfort and calm the pig as it is tied to a stake beside the house. It is then clubbed to death using a hardwood club (sau). Butchering and distribution of the dead animal are also male activities. I have already drawn attention to the importance of the mode of slaughter to whether or not the owner can himself eat the animal and I will return to this form of ritual killing when I discuss male initiation below. It should be noted, however, that even in cases where a male has presented a live pig to another person or group (as compensation for ritual assistance, for example) he does not forego his right to determine how the animal should be killed, and shooting the animal rather than clubbing it to death is still regarded as an offence. In one case, where an animal presented was not securely tethered, the recipients were afraid to approach it and shot it. This resulted in considerable anger on the part of the donor and compensation had to be paid before the recipients were permitted to cook and eat the animal.

A Wovan male obtains nominal ownership of a pig for the first time in early adolescence. He does not always have rights of disposal over the animal at this time. His female equivalent (an adolescent girl), who has charge of a number of animals, has, in fact, greater control over their fate. She may not decide to dispose of a pig but she may object to its being killed if the animal is still a juvenile. In one case observed, a young animal was required for sacrifice in connection with a curing ritual. The herder, a 14 year old girl, was approached by her mother's brother (MB), in whose house she resided, to give a small pig for the sacrifice. The girl objected and withdrew with her herd to

a nearby garden. Another pig was sought and found elsewhere. While a woman, therefore, does not have rights of disposal over animals, she does have a right of veto over decisions about their disposal⁴.

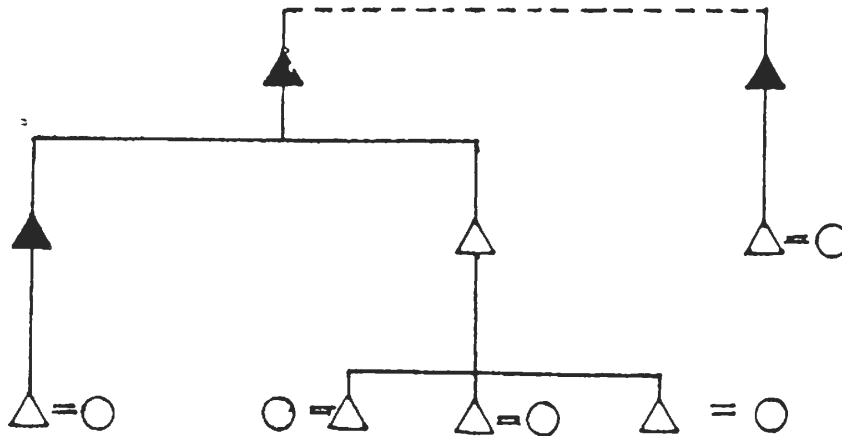
Initial questioning elicits the response that only men own pigs while women look after them. This is quickly complicated by male statements claiming ownership of an animal (hIn a n'aax - 'it is my pig') while at the same time assigning ownership of the same animal to the woman who herds it (Irimunggi a nu'um hIn aax - 'it is Irimunggi's mother's pig'). It is important, therefore, to appreciate the complex set of rights that are being glossed under a single concept of 'ownership' or 'possession'. A young man whose pigs are being herded by someone other than his wife (e.g., his Z or BWi), cannot dispose of those animals without the consent of the herder. I could never get a married man to entertain the possibility that his wife, the principal caretaker of his pigs, would refuse him permission to kill those pigs at the time of an initiation or other festival. All men, however, stated that they and their wives discussed to whom they would give pigs (or portions of pork) at the time of the killing and that they were in agreement before the killing occurred. It seems evident, then, that Wovan women retain considerable influence in decisions regarding the killing and distribution of pigs⁵.

Let us look at the problem of ownership from another point of view. Two men never claim ownership of the same animal. Even in the case where two brothers live in the same dwelling, maintain joint gardens,

and intend killing pigs together for distribution, they will maintain separate pig herds; and when the pigs are killed, they will distribute them to persons of their own choice. The recipients will incur debts to the brothers individually rather than jointly and, in fact, a single recipient may receive two gifts at a single distribution from two different donors. An example may clarify this.

On November 12, 1979, twelve pigs, which had been killed on the morning before, were distributed at a ceremonial house in Woroints. This house is occupied by four adult, married males and their wives and children. Three of these are brothers, the fourth stands in the relation FBS to them. On this occasion, all four, plus a classificatory (and putative) FB contributed to the killing (see Figure 5, below). The butchered pigs were laid out on the ground along the long axis of the house. They were arranged in 35 separate lots. Yakupa, ArImp, and Ruti contributed two pigs each. Wotse and Kurdu contributed three pigs each. The contributions of each donor were not intermixed. Rather the contribution of Yakupa, for example, was laid out at one end of the house, then all of Wotse's, then ArImp's contribution, and so on. The 35 different lots, therefore, were not given to 35 different recipients. As Yakupa, who was conducting the distribution, walked along the line of gifts, he called aloud the names of the recipients and the same names were called on a number of occasions. Four men, in fact, received multiple gifts (not counting separate gifts to a man and his wife in this category).

Figure 5: Relationship of Donors at Woroints Pig Kill



Twenty three of these gifts were considered to be k^{me} - 'green'; that is, initiating a new round of gift giving. Twelve were repayments for debts already incurred (hrImbi). Two of these initiatory gifts were refused on the grounds that the intended recipient did not have any possibility of repaying in the near future. Eight gifts were named for women. Of these, two were given to women whose husbands were alive and living in the community; both were hrImbi. Three gifts were made to young women, one to a married woman whose husband was at the plantation, and two to widows.

The ownership and distribution of pigs, then, involves males and females in a complex cooperative relationship. A man cannot build a pig herd without the cooperation of one or more women. In the case of a married man, the partner is usually his wife; but he may also keep

animals in the care of his widowed mother and his real or classificatory sister. A widowed woman retains control of her husband's pigs and the right of disposal over them when her sons stage a pig kill. The case of a husband and wife is best viewed as one of joint ownership which involves differential rights on the part of each of the 'owners'. A young unmarried man who has been given or who has bought a pig and who has had a sister taking care of this pig will transfer the care of the animal to his wife when he marries. Nowadays, a young girl may also buy a small pig with money she has been given, and she will continue to herd this pig after marriage.

Despite the ritual and ceremonial importance of pigs, and the high value placed on them both as objects of exchange and as food, they cannot be judged to be of primary importance in Wovan subsistence per se. During the second year of fieldwork, the Wovan slaughtered 91 pigs at 7 ceremonial houses (which amounts to a little over 1 animal per 100 of the population per month). It must be remembered, however, that the ceremonial season is confined to the months September-January inclusive, and that very little pork is eaten for the remainder of the year. Pigs may be killed at other times: if they wander into gardens, if they are required in healing rituals, or if they become ill (the flesh of a pig which dies from illness is not eaten, but if an ailing pig is killed the flesh will be eaten). All Wovan agreed, however, that the year referred to above was unusual. Only one ceremonial house had been built the previous year and only three were planned for the following year.

Consequently, the most important area of subsistence is still the garden.

I want to discuss briefly here the organization of garden work and the ownership and control of gardens and their produce. I will not be concerned, for the moment with the issue of ownership of land. This issue will be taken up in Chapter 3 when we discuss group composition and membership. Here the questions posed are: given that a man has a right to a piece of land for gardening purposes, how does he go about gardening? Who assists him? What rights have those who help him in the subsequent produce? Finally, how is the work allocated?

As an outline scheme, one can view a Wovan garden from intention to fruition as going through a sequence from public to private and returning to public ownership. If a man announces his intention of making a garden in a particular area to another who has equal access rights in that area, the other may volunteer to help clear and fence the garden and later plant part of it. That offer cannot be refused. The land belongs to all, and one may not section it off indiscriminately for private use. It is, in this sense, public property. Even when the ground has been cleared but not fenced, another may volunteer to fence it with the clearer and the offer cannot be refused. If however, one has cleared and fenced a garden alone, no one can come and plant that land without being invited by the clearer. It is, then, in a sense, privately owned once fenced. Another will not attempt to plant your

privately fenced area because of feelings of moingk -- 'shame' (literally 'forehead') because he did not assist you. Should the clearer invite another to plant in his garden, he retains the right to designate which areas may be planted. The garden is divided into a series of strips by laying thin poles end-to-end on the ground and the original clearer nominates which strip the guest may plant.

While the crops are still in the ground, they remain the private property of the planter and cannot be harvested by anyone without permission. The degree of 'criminality' involved in harvesting someone else's crop increases with the degree of social and genealogical distance between the parties; but even a brother should immediately inform the planter if he has taken food from the latter's garden, and offer to replace it as quickly as possible. Once the food has been harvested, however, it returns to the public domain. Food brought to the dwelling house is the property of all who live there and may be taken and consumed without permission by any member of the household.

The Wovan, as stated in Chapter 1, practice slash-and-burn shifting cultivation. Gardens are planted once, followed by a 10-15 year fallow period. Currently, most gardens are constructed in fallow ground but a small percentage are still made each year in primary forest or very old secondary forest. The introduction of coffee has modified the traditional garden-fallow succession. At present, new gardens are planted with taro or sweet potatoes for a single year, and coffee is then planted in the garden without an intervening fallow period. The

one instance where a garden was planted for a second season with food crops was strongly disapproved by other members of the community. A garden must be allowed to regenerate trees to a height of about 5 meters before it is ready for re-planting, according to the Wovan. The trees work to replenish the fants ('grease', 'fat') of the soil which is necessary for growth. A shortened fallow period would diminish the fants and allow only the growth of sword grass or pitpit.

Gardening, like animal husbandry, is a cooperative activity. A clear set of tasks must be undertaken and completed in building a garden and a clear division of labor is evident. The decision on where a garden should be made is a male prerogative. The initial task in making a garden is to clear the bush and scrub. This is accomplished by women. Men then cut and pollard the trees within the confines of the planned garden. The resulting debris strewn about the garden is allowed to dry in the sun before burning. It is collected and burned by both males and females. Unlike their Kopon neighbors to the east, the Wovan insist that a garden must be fenced before planting begins. (Informants frequently used this behavioral difference as a distinguishing feature of the two ethnic groups). When the garden has been fenced, the 'principal male gardener' - the one whose decision it was to make the garden in that location - lays out the poles along the ground that mark the sections of the garden and assigns those sections to the various cultivators. Planting is shared equally by both males and females. Unlike many highlands societies in Papua New Guinea, Wovan males plant sweet potatoes as well as taro. Weeding and maintenance of the garden

throughout the growing cycle is a female chore. Both males and females harvest produce, although the burden of the work falls on the women. Although Wovan men plant both sweet potatoes and taro, a Wovan man will never harvest sweet potatoes.

While there is a clear division of labor and an obvious sense of the appropriateness of certain tasks to males and certain others to female, the overall burden of work appears to be divided equitably between the sexes. As has been found elsewhere, male tasks demand high labor input over relatively short periods of time. Female tasks, on the other hand, demand a less intensive but continuous labor input.

There is no shortage of available gardening land on Wovan territory. Gardens (moru'a) are distinguished from forest or bush (gii) but this distinction is not immutable. All land (monggar) is potentially gardening land and all gardens will revert to forest if permitted to do so. Consequently, decisions with respect to the location of gardens are made on criteria other than sheer availability of land. The condition of fallow, intended crop, height above sea level (whether a 'hot' or a 'cold' place), and distance from dwelling all feature in this decision. Secondary growth, as already outlined, must have regenerated to a point where it is judged suitable for replanting. Gardens are never constructed in sword grass (p.e., kunai) areas. While the Wovan always practice intercropping, gardens are named for their principal crop. Thus, one has taro gardens (kIm moru'a), sweet potato gardens (kwai moru'a), tobacco (tsets), marita pandanus

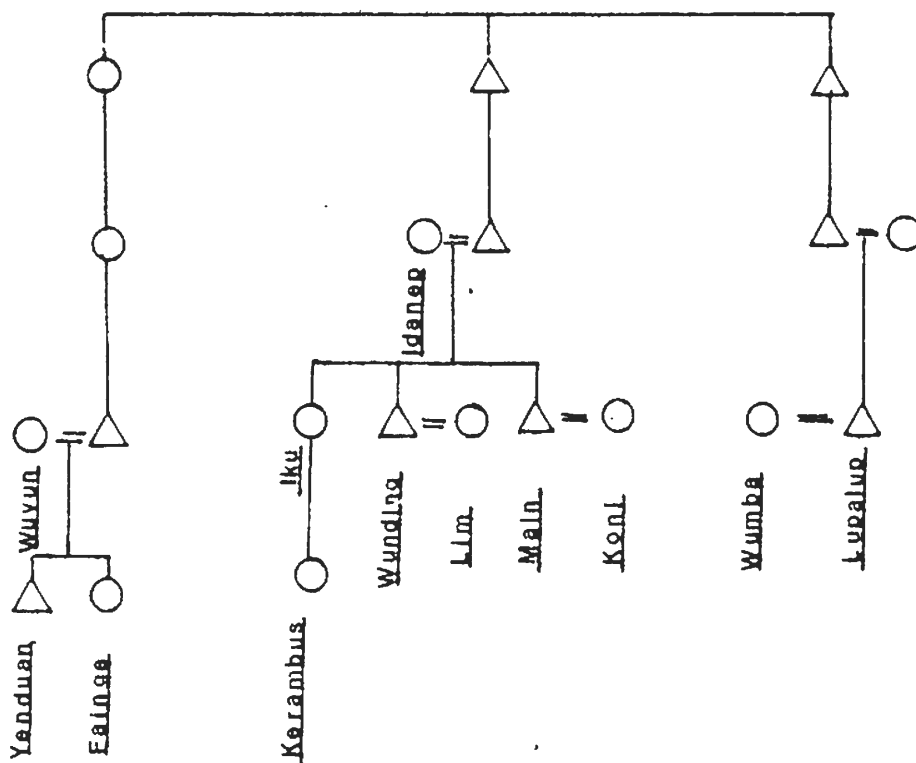
(hongga), edible pitpit (ixol), and sugar cane (hominñang) gardens.

The conditions demanded by these intended principal crops are a major determinant of garden locations. The most obvious of these conditions is the rule that taro demands a black topsoil. In areas where this thin layer of topsoil has been eroded, one cannot plant taro and expect it to flourish. Sweet potatoes, on the other hand, may be planted on 'red' soil. If the garden is being cut from primary forest or very old secondary forest, taro will be the principal crop. Planting *marita* pandanus or bananas invokes the third criterion: both must be planted at lower altitudes than either taro or sweet potatoes. The Wovan distinguish between hot ground (monggarab fumbe) and cold ground (monggarab indze). This distinction is based largely on the criterion of whether or not bananas and *marita* are plentiful and in fact closely approximates the 1600 meter contour. The final criterion minimizes the distance between one's dwelling house and one's garden. All other things being equal, it is desirable to have the garden as near the dwelling house as possible. If the garden is located more than two hours walk from the dwelling house, a small garden house is constructed in which the gardener and his wife may sleep overnight.

Gardens are begun in hru'a hre'ub (the time of the sun). This allows the scrub and felled trees to dry quickly so they may be burned. Sweet potato gardens are begun before taro gardens, but usually a number of sweet potato gardens are made each year to allow for continuous

harvesting. Taro gardens are planted at the end of the dry season. They grow through the rainy season and are ready for harvesting by the next dry season. Corn is always planted at the same time as taro but, due to its shorter growing season, is available before taro. This time lag is vital to the Wovan store of food. Food is continuously harvested and immediately consumed. During the festive season, when large numbers of guests are fed, taro is harvested and stored; but even on these occasions the storage period rarely exceeds one or two weeks.

Figure 6: Cooperative Labor Force in Gardening*



* names of participants are underlined

The clearing of undergrowth and scrub is a highly social activity, performed by women and girls, usually in large groups. The work force employed in the clearance of a single garden, of which Wunding was acknowledged as 'principal gardener', is given in Figure 6, above. The workforce consisted of the gardener's M, Wi, Z, ZD, FFBSWi, FFZDSD, and FFZDSWi. All eight women participated in clearing, and each subsequently planted sections of the garden.

A workforce of this size takes some three to four days to clear a large garden using machetes as the principal tools. Once this task has been completed, the men begin felling the smaller trees and pollarding the larger crowned trees within the confines of the garden site. Using primarily 8-ounce steel axes (which have been honed on wet stone to razor sharpness), the men accomplish this task in a matter of days. The males whose names are underlined in the genealogical chart (Figure 6), plus three other males not shown (one adult and two youths) cooperated in the work in this particular case. On no occasion were all the men working on the same day. Trees are felled three to four feet above the ground. The stumps of smaller trees are later removed using wooden levers. Larger stumps are allowed to remain in the ground. Trees with large crowns are never felled. The lower branches are trimmed but the crown is left intact. Such trees, according to the Wovan, beautify the garden and provide a place for birds to come and rest. Other trees - such as the bushy dzinal, which is used in all Wovan rituals, and the kompia, which bears a large phallic shaped fruit - are not felled because of their ritual and symbolic significance.

Once these basic tasks of garden clearance have been completed, the garden is allowed to dry in the sun for 3 to 5 weeks. At the end of this period, both men and women cooperate in collecting the scrub into heaps and burning off the surface of the garden. This phase is usually accomplished in one or two days. Larger trees, suitable for fencing material, which have been felled, are moved to the side of the garden and not burned.

The garden is now ready for fencing, one of the most time consuming and laborious tasks in the gardening process. A large garden may take as long as three or four weeks of continuous labor to fence. Fences are constructed by plunging stakes into the ground at a distance of about 0.5 meters apart. The stakes, which are about 1.25-1.50 meters long are planted such that just less than 1.0 meter remains above ground. When some 30-40 meters of stakes have been set, logs are then laid against them on the inside. These cause the original stakes to lean outward (away from the garden) at an angle of 10° - 20° from the vertical. A further set of lighter and more widely spaced stakes are placed on the inside to keep the logs in position and these are bound to the outer stakes with rattan. About one in every four of the outside stakes is supported by a Y-shaped prop. The side-long logs are obtained from trees felled in garden clearance, and from newly cut wood in the vicinity of the garden. The explicit object of this elaborate fortress-like fencing is to protect the gardens from foraging pigs. If the fence crosses a path used by wild pigs, it is deliberately weakened and a pit-trap is dug on the inside (one such pit yielded two pigs, one

domestic, in Adiip in the fall of 1979). Such fences, however, serve a purpose beyond the life of the garden. They provide a stockpile of drying wood which, when the garden is exhausted, is used as firewood.

Once the garden is fenced, planting may begin. Both males and females participate in planting; but if a man has sufficient female assistance, he, himself, will avoid planting sweet potatoes. Prior to planting, the garden has been laid out into a series of strip-plots (or in a larger garden, rectangles), separated by saplings laid on the ground. Each section is the responsibility of a single planter and the produce of that plot remains his/her property. Plants are not placed in ordered rows and it is a matter of personal preference whether an individual begins at the center of a plot and works toward the edges or vice versa. In planting taro, for example, a man, standing in one position, will make a number of holes with a large digging stick. He will then drop the taro plants into these and move to a new position. Then, if, on reviewing his progress, he finds that an obvious gap exists in some area, he will return and plant in that area. The result is that plants appear to be evenly but randomly distributed throughout the garden plot. Alternatively, the gardener may permit these less densely planted areas to remain for the time being and return later to plant a different species. Intercropping of this kind is rare in a taro garden but occurs throughout a sweet potato garden.

There are no limitations on what one may plant in any specific garden plot. Long term crops are not prohibited. If one plants

bananas in a garden, one may continue to harvest these after the garden has returned to fallow. In some cases, however, the planter does not retain exclusive rights to the fruits of his labor. If a betel palm is planted near the house of another, then the householder, if he was the 'principal gardener' in the original workforce, is entitled to take a share of the nuts after the garden has returned to fallow. He must, however, always leave at least one clump of ripe nuts for the planter of the tree.

The Wovan do not conduct elaborate garden rituals. Small pieces of broken shell are placed under the first taro to be planted in a new garden to ensure growth, and these are retrieved when the plant is harvested. Behavior outside the garden is of much greater import than are planting rituals. Corn and tobacco planted at the periphery of a taro garden may not come in contact with flame until the taro is harvested. Tobacco may not be smoked before the taro is harvested, and the corn, which matures before the taro, must be steam cooked rather than roasted. Cooking over the flame would cause the taro in the garden to dry and wither.

Currently, gardens are divisible into two broad types: coffee gardens and food gardens. Maintenance tasks, too, fall into two categories: weeding and clearing, and fence repairs. Regular maintenance of food gardens is primarily a female task. Men, however, have taken over these tasks in the maintenance of coffee gardens. Fence repair is a male task. As was the case with the initial clearing of

gardens, regular maintenance is frequently performed in groups, although these groups are smaller than the initial clearing groups. In the case of coffee gardens, the maintenance group frequently consists of a man, his siblings (male) and one or more of their male children, but other youths may be recruited if they have planted part of the garden. Subsistence garden maintenance may be performed by a group of women, but often a man and his wife will work together: he tending to the fences while she performs the weeding and harvesting. If they have young children these too will be brought to the garden.

Harvesting is a daily female occupation. A male may take a limited number of taro from a garden on his way homeward but never sets out to harvest in quantity. A woman, on the other hand, harvests in quantity for the entire household. This late afternoon task is frequently accomplished alone, as the tasks of the homestead are divided and other women are bringing home the pigs and tethering them. A man and his wife, having worked together in the garden all day, will part company in the late afternoon as he goes in search of firewood and she remains in the garden to harvest sweet potatoes.

The Wovan do not fit neatly into Meggitt's (1969: 2) division of the highlands into sweet potato and taro dependent regions. According to Meggitt: "from the Markam to the Strickland...sweet potato is the staple crop". While dwelling within this geographical area, however, the Wovan more closely approximate his view of the Telefomin area where: "taro is of equal or greater importance". In a sample of 123 gardens

presently under cultivation, 37 (or 30 percent) were described as taro gardens; 29 (or 23.6 percent) were sweet potato gardens; and 23 (18.7 percent) were coffee gardens. The remainder consisted of *marita* pandanus, betel, banana and breadfruit groves, and low lying yam gardens. Given the primary focus of research, it was impossible to measure the output of these gardens; but observation would tend to confirm the Wovan's own statement that they eat as much taro as sweet potatoes, and taro is unquestionably the preferred food.

Due to the single planting and long fallow period, accurate information on the sequencing of Wovan gardens could not be obtained. While most informants knew who had previously gardened in a particular area, few could tell what had been planted, and speculation was unreliable. The only definite sequence that guides current Wovan practice is that food crops are presently planted before coffee, and taro is always planted in gardens cut from primary or old secondary forest. Both these forms of forest are encompassed in the Wovan term gii, which is translated by the Pidgin English term bus and which is distinguished by Wovan speakers of Pidgin from 'fallow' (pronounced 'flalo' by the Wovan).

The greater part of Wovan daily activity is directed toward the production of subsistence necessities. A consideration of subsistence alone, however, does not exhaust the Wovan economic domain. In Chapter 1, we considered a part of the economic domain in so far as it concerned inter-ethnic relations. Finally, in this chapter, I want to discuss the

economic domain as it pertains to internal relations and the kinds of goods and services that are exchanged one for the other. I do not intend to discuss large scale ceremonial exchanges here; they are more appropriately discussed in relation to group composition below. Here I will discuss 'valuables' and their exchange.

A single Wovan lexeme which might be glossed 'wealth' or 'valuables' could not be elicited. Nowadays, younger Wovan Pidgin speakers use the term mani to designate the lexical domain and occasionally use the phrase mani bilong tumbuna (the money of the ancestors) to distinguish other valuables from Papua New Guinea currency. This does not mean that the Wovan lack a concept of valuables, and the following list of 8 items are elicited with little hesitation: cowrie strings, marsupial pelts, pigs, shells, bird plumes, axes, salt, and modern currency. All these items function as currency among the Wovan, and all have broad acceptability as exchange items internally. There is no restriction on the internal trading of unlike items similar to that found among the Etoro of the Papuan Plateau (Kelly 1977). Figure 7, below, gives the exchange possibilities of the listed valuables. I have included women in the table to demonstrate that they cannot be regarded as another form of valuable or currency. Women may be exchanged only for other women, and are never counted by the Wovan as an element in the economic domain.

The lack of a single lexical designation of 'valuable' is compensated for by a series of, what might best be termed, 'functional'

Figure 7: Exchangeable Items in the Wovan Economy

	Cowries	Marsupials	Money	Shells	Pigs	Birds	Axes	Salt	Women
Cowries	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Marsupials	x	x	x	x	x	0	x	x	0
Money	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0
Shells	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0
Pigs	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0
Birds	x	0	x	x	x	x	x	0	0
Axes	x	x	x	0	0	x	x	0	0
Salt	x	x	0	0	0	0	0	x	0
Women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	x

x exchange possible

0 exchange not possible

distinctions which the Wovau employ to divide the economic domain. Thus a 'valuable' is designated as a 'thing' (av) which fulfills any one of four economic functions. These definitions refer, not to the specific item (which may be any one of the items given in Figure 7, above), but rather to its role in a specific transaction. Thus, a valuable may be hindz av ('a payment thing') referring to compensation payments made for theft or murder. It may be hombil av ('a brideprice thing') referring to payments made for a bride received. It may be hrImbi av ('an exchange' or 'repayment' thing). Finally, it may be sim av ('a market thing'). HrImbi and sim av are distinguished on the basis of whether a specified repayment is required by the giver. The exchange for sim av is not specified in advance. This distinction is clearly marked in the initiatory statements at any Wovau trading transaction:

"yaur fan, urav wuin, sim av hranggai"

"I have brought an exchange item [to trade] for plumes or pelts"

By this device the Wovau trader indicates that he is seeking something but does not specify exactly what he wants. This contrasts sharply with the case of hrImbi av. Here the Wovau trader will lay out his valuables (mother of pearl shells, for example) before the trading partner, stating:

"KI wongganul aax, kI yindam aax"

"This is a lesser bird of paradise, this is a King of Saxony"

The exact equivalence of each exchange item is already specified and cannot be modified. I have noted above (p. 71) the use of hrImbi also

in connection with large scale pig exchanges (where hrImbi refers to the return payment rather than to an initiatory gift), and we will come across it again in relation to shell exchanges at the time of initiations. Pigs are never sim av in that they are never slaughtered and given to others without the explicit knowledge that repayment in kind is necessary. The concept of hrImbi transactions demands equivalence in value in the case of unlike objects, and exact equivalence in the case of like objects. It is a central feature of Wovan exchanges.

In this chapter, I have attempted to introduce the reader to the essential background necessary to an understanding of Wovan society. To do this, I first outlined the subsistence sphere in some detail. A major part of Wovan energy expenditure is directed to the procurement of the necessities of survival. Hence, an understanding of the kinds of activities engaged in, and the kinds of foods produced, is essential to an overview of their daily life. I then briefly discussed some aspects of the division of labor by sex in relation to subsistence activities, and the organization of cooperative labor in relation to gardening.

In the latter part of the chapter, I introduced the reader to some further aspects of Wovan economy. My intention here was not to provide an exhaustive discussion of the Wovan economic domain but, rather, to introduce the reader to what constitutes economic goods in Wovan society. We will return to consideration of the economic domain again when looking at the role that small scale economic transactions play in

the daily working lives of all Wovan. Gifts of food, assistance in garden work, contributions to brideprice payments, all figure prominently in the maintenance of interpersonal relations. Having established the content of such transactions, we are now in a position to assess their import.

In the next two chapters, I will be concerned with a description of the 'structure' of Wovan society: that is, the kinds of groups which make up the society, the criteria of their definition, and the role they play in the organization of activity and the control of resources. I will confine my attention in Chapter 3 to those groups which are primarily based on kinship criteria. I will first present the smallest isolable unit of the family and build from this to the largest unit, the Wovan people or polity. I will then turn attention, in Chapter 4, to alternative criteria for group composition available to the Wovan, including relations based on ritual, trade, and friendship.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 2

1. I have chosen to write these concepts as unitary lexemes. Each may be broken down into the following constituent morphs: Av ('thing', 'object'); wur ('cookable', from the verb wura..'burn', 'cook'); yind ('sweet'); her ('nothing', 'other'). Thus, avamangk ('vegetable') is literally translated as 'limb things'.
2. Only two Wovan women are regarded as being competent to use a bow. One of these always carries a bow and has been given the second name Avundaxup (from avunda..'bow'). All men interviewed looked favorably on the attempts of these women to master a male skill.
3. A table prepared by the World Health Organization, Western Pacific Regional Office, compares pandanus nuts with other protein rich vegetables and nuts. 100 grams of pandanus nuts provides 683 calories as compared to 546 for peanuts. Pandanus nuts exceed peanuts in fat content (66.0 grms per 100 grms as opposed to 43.3 grams), calcium (419 milligrams to 52 mgs.) and riboflavin (0.36 mgs to 0.12 mgs) but are inferior to peanuts in protein (11.9 grams to 25.6 grams per 100 grams).
4. The concept of a woman's right of veto is extremely important among the Wovan and will be stressed again in relation to discussions of marriage arrangements (see below, Chapter 5).
5. Compare this aspect of Wovan relations between the sexes with the position in public debate (in particular in relation to dispute settlement) where women retain considerable authority. Also note a females veto power in relation to her own marriage. This view of Wovan women's control over the disposal of pigs also helps us understand the role of the women's lament on the night before a pig killing (see below Chapter 4).

CHAPTER 3: KINSHIP AND LOCALITY GROUPS

The Wovan do not employ a set of nested lexemes to differentiate a set of hierarchically ordered segmentary groups. We do not, therefore, have a discrete set of terms which might conveniently be glossed family, lineage, clan, and so on. Rather, a single term yam (literally, 'foot') is used to designate all social groups, irrespective of whether these groups are based on genealogically known kinship or not. In its most limited sense, yam may denote the male (whose name is used as a possessive prefix), his wife, and children: That is, a nuclear family. More commonly, the same term is used to denote a group of co-resident males, their wives and children. For reasons that will become clear below, I use the term minimal lineage to refer to this group. On a more general level, yam denotes those people living in close proximity to one another whether or not they constitute a lineally organized descent group. At its broadest application in terms of kinship, yam denotes those people who refer to themselves as kin because they believe themselves to be descended from a particular individual or group of related individuals who occupied a single area within Wovan territory at some time in the past. Finally, as Jackson has also noted for the Kopon, who also employ the same term yam, the term may denote any collection of individuals, male or female, without connotations of kinship or co-residence. Among both Pidgin English speakers and non-speakers alike, the term is rapidly falling into disuse and being

replaced by the Pidgin English term lain with equal imprecision. Thus, even among Wovan who know little or no other Pidgin, one is more likely to elicit the phrase "lain a naax" than "yam a naax" ('he/she is of my line', 'he/she is kin to me').

Given that terminological differentiation is absent, how, then, does one distinguish the groups denoted? Differentiation between groups is achieved by the possessive noun at the beginning of the phrase or sentence. Thus, a personal name or title¹ preceding the term yam refers to the nuclear family or co-residential group (the minimal lineage) of the named individual (see Figure 8, below). If the name of an area that is currently occupied within Wovan territory precedes yam, it denotes the residents of that named territory, and these are usually, but not always, close kin to one another. Finally, the name of an area not currently occupied preceding yam imputes that named area as an area of origin and the putative kinship of those designated. In its most imprecise usage, which is best glossed simply as 'group', yam is preceded by an areal designation outside Wovan territory, a tribal designation other than Wovan, or a sexual designation (harau yam.. 'the group of girls', Aramo yam.. 'the group of Aramo', Salemp yam.. 'the group from Salemp').

I will have little to say about the informal and transitory groups, denoted by this last usage of yam above, in the present chapter. Rather, attention will be focused on the formal group structure denoted by the preceding usages.

Figure 8: Wovan Group Terms

Name	Linguistic Structure	Gloss	Content
Wovin <u>yam</u>	personal name + <u>yam</u>	Wovin's line'	Minimal: Referent + wife + children Maximal: Referent + co-resident male siblings + wives + children
Tultul <u>yam</u>	title + <u>yam</u>	'Tultul's line'	same as above
Woroints <u>yam</u>	Locality name + <u>yam</u>	'Woroints line'	Co-residents of a single named geographic locality. Hamlet co-residents are not necessarily close agnates.
Maram <u>yam</u>	Unoccupied Locality + <u>yam</u>	'Maram line'	Dispersed kin group claiming descent from the founding group which once occupied the area

The examples presented in Figure 8, above, are ideal types (that is, they are chosen as existing examples which actually represent the ideal). As the discussion proceeds, we will take account of those cases that do not correspond to the ideal. We will begin the discussion with the nuclear family and work upward from there to the maximal unit of Wovan society. In doing so, we proceed from a unit that is rarely² recognized in Wovan ideology, while having a reality in Wovan behavior, to a unit that rarely functions in behavioral reality, while recognized in Wovan ideology.

The Nuclear Family as a Social Unit

On seeing a man, for example, Wovin (see Figure 8), his wife and child, walking along a path in the distance, one might ask another: "Wovin yam andakai duumdile?" ('where is Wovin's line going'). The question makes grammatical and conceptual sense to the Wovan but is severely delimited by the context as presented. A visible object is required. Without a visible object, the question would be interpreted in its maximal sense (Figure 8) and would not make sense unless there was an exodus of Wovin's entire co-residential homestead.

Ideologically, the equivalence of yam = 'nuclear family' makes little sense to the Wovan. In abstract contexts, Wovan informants will not recognize the existence of the nuclear family as an independent structural unit in the society. However, analysis reveals the nuclear

family to have important social functions within the society. This goes beyond mere reproduction to the specific norms of conduct (mandatory within the nuclear family) that do not extend beyond this level of organization.

The Wovan are, both normatively and statistically, monogamous. Only one case of polygyny exists among currently functioning marriages and the polygynist has close kin connections to the polygamous Kopon, on whose border he lives. Genealogical analysis reveals only two further cases of polygyny over the past three generations. None of these men had more than two contemporaneous wives. I have never heard a Wovan claim that the idea of polygyny is morally or ethically anathema, although they do comment on the sexual appetite of their polygynous Kopon neighbors, saying: 'they are like dogs'. The Wovan male's position on the subject is, rather, that the practice of polygyny is foolish. "One woman is enough", they say, "two women would fight".

Norms of exchange and cooperative labor provide the most important criteria by which the nuclear family is isolable as a distinct unit. Large scale prestations may not be made within the nuclear family. A man may not give pork to his wife and children as part of his ceremonial exchanges. To do so is equivalent to making a public presentation to himself. Alternatively, as some informants saw it, you cannot give something to someone that is already theirs. This, of course, is tantamount to saying that pigs, for example, are jointly (or corporately) owned by the members of a nuclear family. This view is

strengthened by the norms relating to other forms of exchange. One cannot demand repayment for gifts given from member's of one's own nuclear family. Once a man's sister has married, however, he can then make large scale prestations to her for which repayment is required. Such gifts are explicitly viewed by the Wovan as gifts to the ZHu, his y^man, or in p.e. tambu.

While a father often plays a prominent role in disputes over his daughters' marriages, the Wovan never speak of a man giving his daughter in marriage. It is a brother who gives his sister. The ideology of male dominance in this statement is that of the Wovan themselves. Younger men, speaking in Pidgin, refer to their sisters as "samting bilong bisnis", that is, an economic commodity (but see above, Chapter 2); and they claim to reject the reluctance of the older generation toward allowing young women to marry (but see below, Chapter 5). They remain, however, intensely interested in their sisters' marital fate. In cases where a woman was not permitted to marry the man she had chosen, she never assigned the blame for the refusal to her parents but, rather, to her brothers. Despite the fact that sister exchange is rarely achieved in practice, the ideal remains. Unmarried Wovan men, therefore, view their sisters as vital to their own marriage possibilities. Should a man's sister elope with someone who has no sister to give in return, her brother feels that he himself may be doomed to perpetual bachelorhood. In one case, where three brothers were dependent on a single sister, the woman remained unmarried as each successive brother would not consent to her marrying before him. The

case was complicated, however, by her giving birth to two children, both girls, while her brother, in whose house she lived, had four sons. Her daughters, in turn, became viewed as the future exchange partners for her brother's sons and her own possibilities for marriage were lessened thereby.

We have already seen the extent of interdependence of husband and wife in the subsistence sphere. The cross-sex sibling bond is also of major importance in day-to-day interaction. A 'good sister' is one who constantly gives small gifts of food to her brother (real or classificatory). These gifts most frequently consist of cooked taro and sweet potatoes. A 'good brother', similarly, is one who prepares a garden plot for his sister, who gives her gifts of shells, money, and, if he has been to the plantation, clothing. She in turn will tend his pigs and prepare the items necessary for his initiation rites (arm and leg bands, net bags, and so on). For his part, the brother has a duty to insure that his sister is well behaved. If she is troublesome, it is his duty to reprimand her (mona neine... 'he gives the talk'). His interest in her sexuality is also manifest in the fact that he feels shame (moingk) if she is promiscuous.

While authority over daughters is delegated to sons, authority over sons remains firmly in the hands of the father. This authority is retained until the older man is no longer capable of exercising it. The Wovan see a man's intellectual and physical capacities as peaking at the time he goes through his final initiations (his late thirties or early

forties). He remains at this peak until his teeth begin to fall out. Then, they say, he loses his physical and mental powers rapidly, and one need no longer heed him. This decline is marked in everyday interaction by the acknowledgement in naming of a generational change in lineage leadership. Henceforward, the minimal lineage will be referred to by using his son's name in the possessive. Prior to that, however, it is the father who decides where joint gardens will be made and with whom, and he outlines the work his sons must perform. It is the father who decides where and when his son will be initiated.

The nuclear family, then, is marked by co-ownership of property and the prohibition of competitive exchange. The exchange of like for like is the norm throughout Wovan society. A shell given must be reciprocated with an identical shell. Within the nuclear family, the exchange of like for like never occurs. Cooked taros given by a sister to a brother are repaid by labor (the preparation of garden sites). Within the family, the strict division of labor along cooperative grounds is evident. Authority relations, in which senior males are superior to junior males, and males are superior to females, characterize the family. Interdependence due to the division of labor binds cross-sex siblings together and a common interest in their sisters' sexuality binds males together prior to marriage.

Marriage among the Wovan serves not so much to create alliances between groups but rather to divide and separate members of the nuclear family. This view accords well with the Wovan's own perception of

marriage and the consequent conflict that is associated with marriage (see Chapter 5, below). Through marriage, a woman is lost to the 'inner circle' of the nuclear family, and her relationship with her brothers is fundamentally altered in that now she becomes the spouse and cooperating partner of a man with whom competitive exchange is possible. Also, and equally important, she is residentially removed from her siblings, a fate that does not befall male siblings. Her connection with her natal family is rarely completely severed (exceptional cases are those in which a woman marries at considerable distance from her natal home), but her level of participation in the activities of her natal family drops sharply, and if she resides more than four or five hours walk away from the gardens of her natal family, joint gardening may cease altogether.

The Residential Unit

an hram diip fanger...'we are [of] one big house'

The Wovan build large pandanus leaf houses at which they conduct initiation ceremonies and kill and distribute pigs on ceremonial occasions. 48 such houses exist in Wovan territory. Irrespective of whether or not a man actually resides at this 'big house', he will always refer to it as his place of residence. His primary identification is with those with whom he shares this residence. It is this group, its composition and function, that I now wish to discuss.

The 'big house group' is in many respects the cornerstone of Wovan society.

Figure 9: Nearest Apical Ancestor of Male Core of Wovan Homesteads

F	33
FF	9
FFF or more distant	6

Figure 9 gives the breakdown of the membership of each of the 48 Wovan 'big houses' (which I shall refer to henceforth as 'homesteads' except when I am referring to the actual structure of the building). The population of Wovan homesteads varies from 3, in the smallest case, to 36 in the largest homestead. The nearest apical ancestor of the adult male members of the majority of homesteads is F (father). The second most common apical ancestor is FF (father's father). That is, most homesteads consist of a core of brothers or sons of brothers. Only 6 of the 48 Wovan homesteads (12.5 percent) consisted of a core of men who were related as second cousins or affines (that is, more distantly than first cousins).

Thirty three of the 48 homesteads consist of a core adult male population of brothers, or a man and his adult sons. Thus, almost 69

percent of all homesteads conform to the Wovan ideal that brothers (in the minimal sense, without extension to classificatory brothers) should live together. A further nine homesteads (18.75 percent) consist of a core of men who are related to one another as patrilateral parallel first cousins. As these men are terminologically 'brothers' to one another, this form, too, is seen as conforming to the ideal.

Three aspects of these 'ideal' homesteads demand to be explored in detail and, for the moment, I shall confine myself to them. Firstly, I want to outline the functions of the homestead; why one may treat it as an isolable entity in Wovan society. Secondly, I want to present a discussion of the implications of Wovan homestead organization for the scale of Wovan social organization in general. Finally, I want to move from a consideration of this 'formal' organization (the concentration on a 'core' of agnatically related males) to take account of the 'accretions' to these homesteads (the attachment of non-agnatic members). This final discussion will permit us to return to the consideration of the 6 remaining homesteads which do not fit the Wovan ideal pattern. In doing so, I hope to present some idea of the Wovan ideal of homestead organization as well as the actual situation as it exists at present.

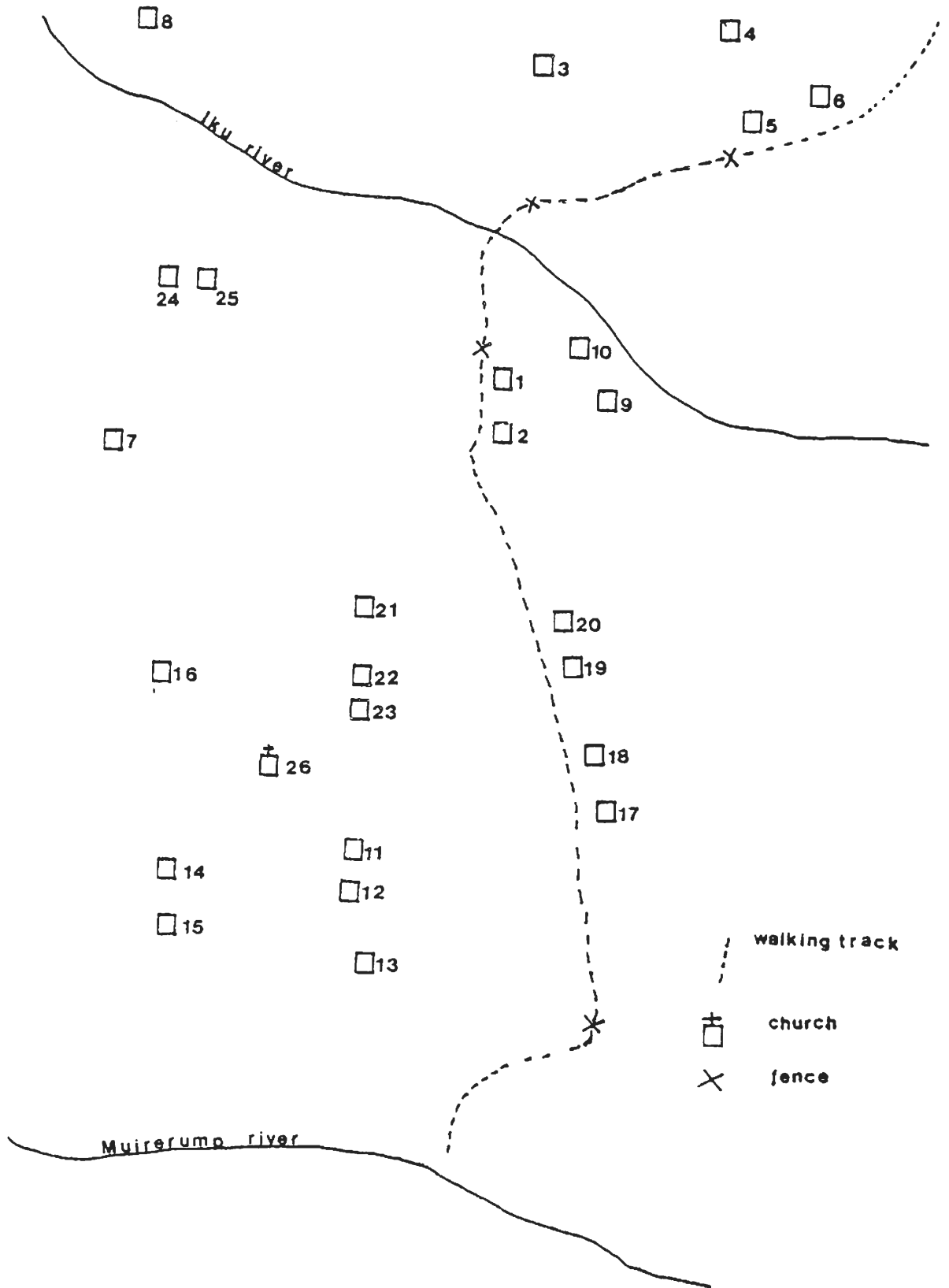
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I have referred above to the homestead as the 'cornerstone' of Wovan society. Here, I wish to justify this statement both in terms of its position in Wovan society and in day-to-day living. The nuclear family, while being analytically isolable, is rarely recognized by the

Wovan themselves as a distinct social unit. The homestead, on the other hand, is the unit which the Wovan most often and most consistently discuss. In abstract contexts, when the Wovan prefix the name of an individual to the term yam, they are referring, not to the nuclear family of the individual, but to his entire homestead, or, at the very least, his household. Thus, when the Wovan refer to Wovin yam or Tultul yam, they are referring to the homesteads and not to the individual nuclear families of these men.

A distinction needs to be drawn between homestead and household. I shall use the term household to refer to those people who form a single commensal unit and who usually occupy one residential structure, a single house. A homestead consists of one or more households, in close geographical proximity to one another and claiming a particular kin relationship to one another such that they operate as a single feast giving and ritual unit. A hamlet consists of more than one homestead. Let us take as an example the hamlet of Adiip. The hamlet is located within a single named geographical area, Adiip. It is recognized by the Wovan to be a single unit and is referred to in such phrases as "Adiip yam" (the 'Adiip people'). This hamlet, in turn, consists of four homesteads which occupy geographically discreet areas within the unit: Wovin yam, Tultul yam, Sios Komiti yam, and Nazarene Tultul yam (it is unusual that three of the four homesteads are headed by men with titles). Each of these homesteads is centered around a 'big house' which has been constructed for the initiation of men and the holding of a pig feast. In the case of two of these homesteads, the homestead is

Map 3: Sketch Map of Adiip Hamlet



coterminous with the household (Wovin yam and Sios Komiti yam). The others each consist of two separable households (see Map 3: p. 103) and Figure 10: p. 105).

The first single-household homestead consists of a man, his wife, their two married sons with their wives and daughters, a younger as yet unmarried son, and the son of a widowed daughter (Figure 11). Thus, the total population of the yam is 10 persons. They occupy a single large house which was built for the hamo initiation of the youngest son and daughter's son (this initiation occurred in February 1978). Prior to the construction of this structure, the yam occupied a previous building on the same site.

It is the smallest homestead in Adiip, but size alone is not the determinant of homestead composition. A single-household homestead outside Adiip consists of 19 members. What is important here is that the father of the adult (married) men is still living and that both the married sons see themselves as tied to him. Both speak of establishing independent households after his death and after they have properly disposed of his remains. Neither, however, envisions himself as moving any great distance from the current site and both intend to continue to act as a single homestead.

Figure 10: Hamlet, Homestead and Household in Adiip

Hamlet	Homestead	Household	Structures (map)	Population
Adiip	Wunding	Wunding	1,2,3,5,6,7,	21
		Main	4	
	Urai	Urai	10	24
		Yenduan	9	
	Sagup	Sagup	11, 12	12
	Wovin	Wovin	8, 9	10
Unaffiliated households:				
	Melanesian Brotherhood		24,25,26	
	Anthropologist		22,23	
	Government rest houses		19,20,21	

Figure 11: Composition of Wovin's Homestead*

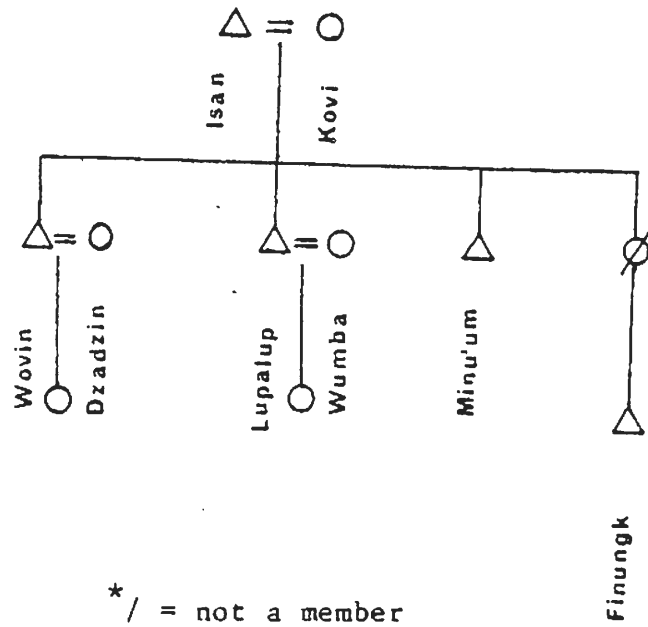
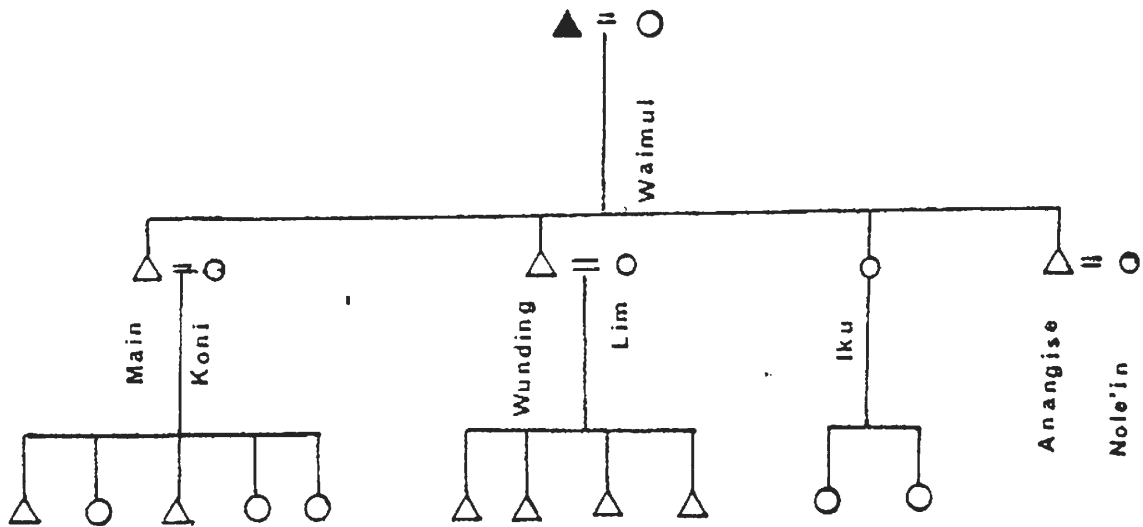


Figure 12: Composition of the Tultul's Homestead



The Tultul yam constitutes a single homestead and two households, the genealogical structure of which is given in Figure 12. There are two further adolescent males not shown in the figure who are affiliated with the homestead. Both are orphaned and stand in the relationship of yimalu-papua (sister's son to mother's brother) to the three male siblings who form the core of the homestead. The total population of the homestead is, therefore, 12.

A number of features differentiate this homestead from the first discussed. The two separate households which constitute the homestead consist of: 1) the nuclear family of the eldest sibling (indicated in Figure 12 on the extreme left); and 2) all others. The Tultul, who is assigned nominal headship by the Wovan, is not the eldest sibling but heads the larger household. The father of the present adult males is deceased. The sister of the men and her two daughters are here counted as members of the homestead and of the larger household. This contrasts with Wovin's homestead, where the son of a female sibling is counted as a member but not the sibling herself. In the case of Wovin's sister, she married and gave birth but was then widowed. She returned to her natal homestead, bringing the child with her, and later remarried. The child remained with her parents and siblings. In the case of the Tultul's sister, she never married. Both her daughters were, as the Wovan say, "children of the road", and all three remain coresident with her male siblings. Both her daughters are seen as fully incorporated members of the mother's brother's homestead. The elder is already designated as the woman to be used in exchange for the wife of her

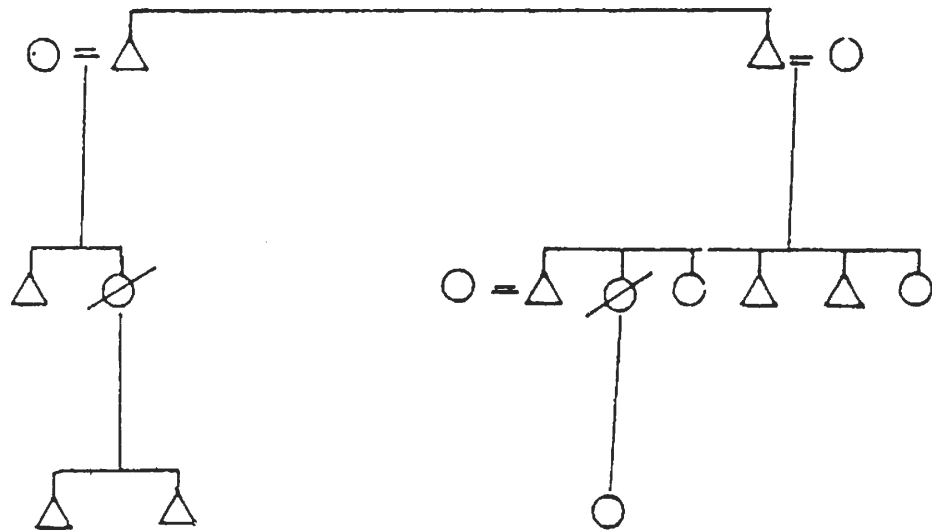
mother's youngest male sibling (who was married shortly before I left the field). The youngest daughter will be used in exchange for a bride for one of the Tultul's four sons.

The Tultul's homestead is indicated by structures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, on Map 3. Why then do I consider it to consist of two households? House 3 is unoccupied at present. It is the last ceremonial house built by the yam and they still refer to it as their main dwelling house. Houses 1 and 2 are adjacent new structures. House 1 was built by the Tultul to accommodate his entire household. House 2, built in the modern grass-thatch style, was constructed by members of the Anglican mission for the Tultul's sister and her children. Despite the fact that it is a separate structure, I include it here as forming a single household with that of the Tultul, as both structures operate with a single hearth and all the members form a single commensal unit. Structures 5, 6, 7, are all modern thatched houses built by the Tultul's younger brother and classificatory ZS to house their dancing paraphernalia and other personal property. They are not dwelling houses and as such cannot be considered households. Structure 4 houses the Tultul's eldest brother, his wife and their children, and functions as an independent household.

The genealogical compositions of the other two Adiip homesteads are given on Figures 13 and 14 respectively. The genealogical structure of the Sios Komiti homestead is relatively simple. Two aged and widowed brothers are the senior males. Three "children of the road" form the most junior generation. Only one member of the middle generation is

married, and title and nominal headship have passed to him. That the homestead consists of a single household is, in this case, determined by the absence of all but one of the males in the middle generation. Those absentees are all working on coastal plantations.

Figure 13: Composition of the Adiip Sios Komiti Homestead



The homestead of the Nazarene Tultul is one of the most complex in Wovan and deserves some comment. Here, the adult males are genealogically in two different generations, and nominal headship of the yam is assigned, by the Wovan, to the senior male in the junior generation. The situation is further complicated by the genealogical relationship between the adult sibling sets. Figure 15 shows this relationship in greater detail.

Figure 14: Composition of the Nazarene Tultul Homestead

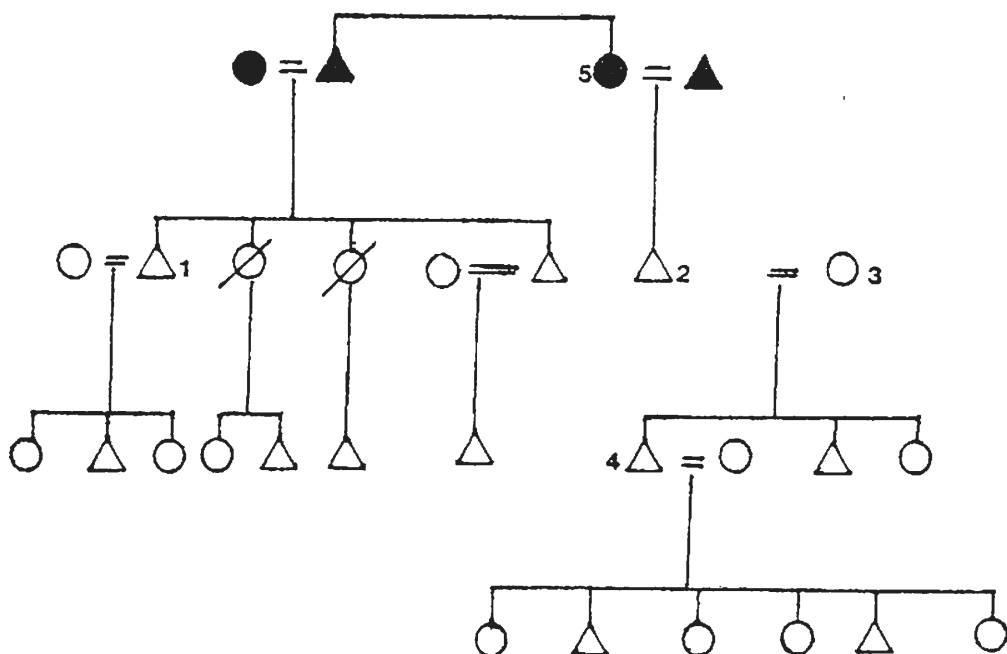
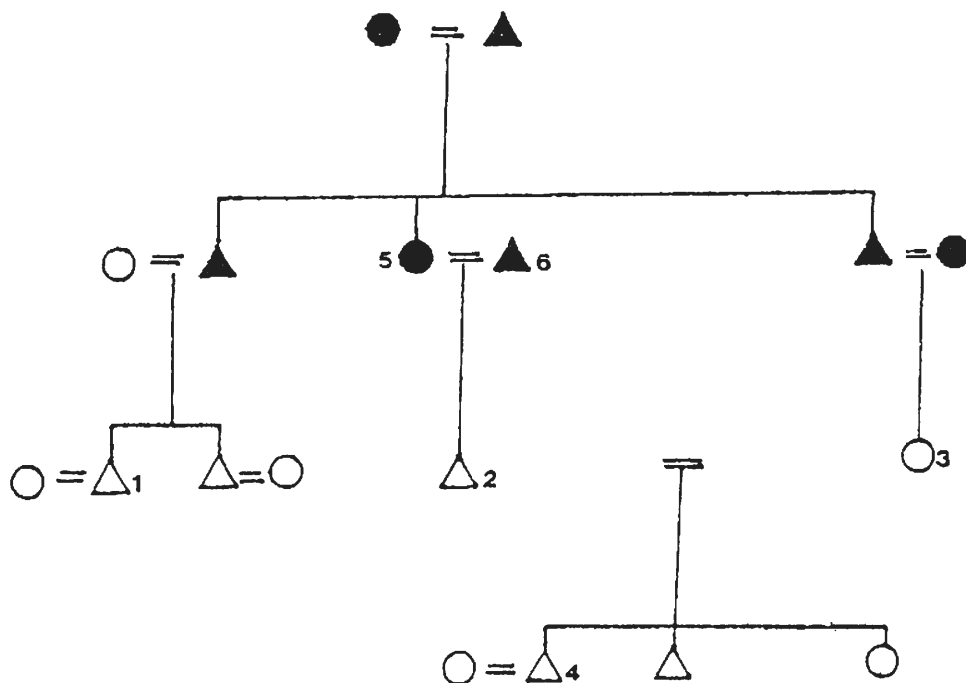


Figure 15: Genealogical Relationships of the Adults of the Nazarene Tultul Homestead



The Adiip Bosboi (number 1 in Figure 15) bears the relationship of cross-cousin (noleva) to the father of the Nazarene Tultul (No. 2) and parallel-cousin to the mother of the Nazarene Tultul (no. 3). He, therefore, simultaneously bears the relationships of papu'a (MB) and woye (FyB) to the Nazarene Tultul himself (No. 4). Both these relationships are characterized by lack of serious authority differentials among the Wovan but, nevertheless, seniority is important and deference is owed to the senior male. This hierarchy is undermined by the government bestowed titles which both men bear, the more prestigious title being held by the younger and terminologically junior man. The two men, and the Wovan in general, have side-stepped this obvious contradiction by ceasing to use kinship terminology in these contexts. Thus, the Nazarene Tultul and the Adiip Bosboi never employ kinship terminology either in reference to one another or in address. Rather, they confine their usage to their official titles, ignoring both age and genealogy.

This does not account for why a pair of cross-cousins (1 and 2) established a joint homestead in the first instance. The historical facts of the case are as follows. Himemim (5), a Wovan speaking woman, married Kunia (6), a Kopon speaking male who was her parallel-cousin through previous exchanges, and took up residence among the Kopon at Sangapi. Her son, Buvis (2) married his MBD, a Wovan, and brought her, too, to live in Sangapi. Shortly after they married, however, Buvis shot and wounded a fellow Kopon in a minor dispute and he and his wife fled to his maternal relatives (her patriline) among the Wovan for

protection. He established residence in the household of his MB and was granted hunting and gardening rights on Wovan land. His relationship with his MB assured him continuing rights of access to Wovan land, and his children, in turn, activating rights through their mother and MB, continued to reside on this land while establishing an independent household. It seems unlikely, however, that they could establish an independent homestead as their access is dependent on the goodwill of their MB. Informants suggest that the youngest generation will be forced to return to Sangapi and activate land rights with their patrilineal kin when they reach maturity unless they marry Wovan women and establish independent rights of their own.

The homestead, therefore, consists of two independent households (commensal units). These are bound together by close ties of kinship and by the dependence of the second household (the parents of the Nazarene Tultul, the tultul himself, his wife and children) on the first (the Adiip Bosboi, his brother, their wives and children). It is only through the first household that the continuing rights of access to gardening and hunting land of the second are assured. This fact, in part at least, explains the continuity of the homestead and accounts for its more complex structure.

It is evident from the consideration of these four homesteads and their constituent 6 households, that the Wovan place strong emphasis on the maintenance of households by male sibling sets. The discussion, so far, has implied that the level of segmentation is low and that

divisions are likely, even in sibling sets, once the parental generation has died. I shall return to this point in tracing the development of homesteads, below. The four Adiip homesteads which are described above are in no way atypical and are used here as examples. Similar descriptions could be given for the remaining 44 homesteads and these will be drawn into our discussion as we proceed.

The central feature of each Wovan homestead is a ceremonial or 'big' house. The Wovan possess no single lexeme for designating these structures and call them by a variety of names: hram diip ('big house'), hIn a hrIngge hram ('a house for cooking pigs in earth ovens'), mongga hram ('a house of plenty'), or by the Kopon expression (which they say they cannot translate) ilib^v hram or by the general Pidgin English term haus singsing. These houses are built in connection with the performance of ritual and ceremonial exchange and are utilized as dwelling houses once the ritual has been completed. While the conduct of ceremonies is, therefore, not their sole function, I shall refer to them as ceremonial houses to distinguish them from houses built as everyday living quarters and lacking the ritual inner room that is part of all 'big houses'

It is the members of the homestead who cooperate in the preparation of the items required for ceremonial exchange and who host these exchanges. Planning to host a ceremonial exchange begins approximately one year before the event. The host must immediately begin work on a large taro garden. Taro gardens (as we saw in Chapter 2) cannot be

planted on young fallow and consequently require considerable extra effort in preparation as contrasted with sweet potato gardens. The taro gardens planted by a homestead hosting a ceremonial exchange are about twice the size of a regular garden and are planted in addition to those required for normal domestic consumption. Clearing, fencing, and planting such a garden requires a major investment of time and labor by the members of the homestead.

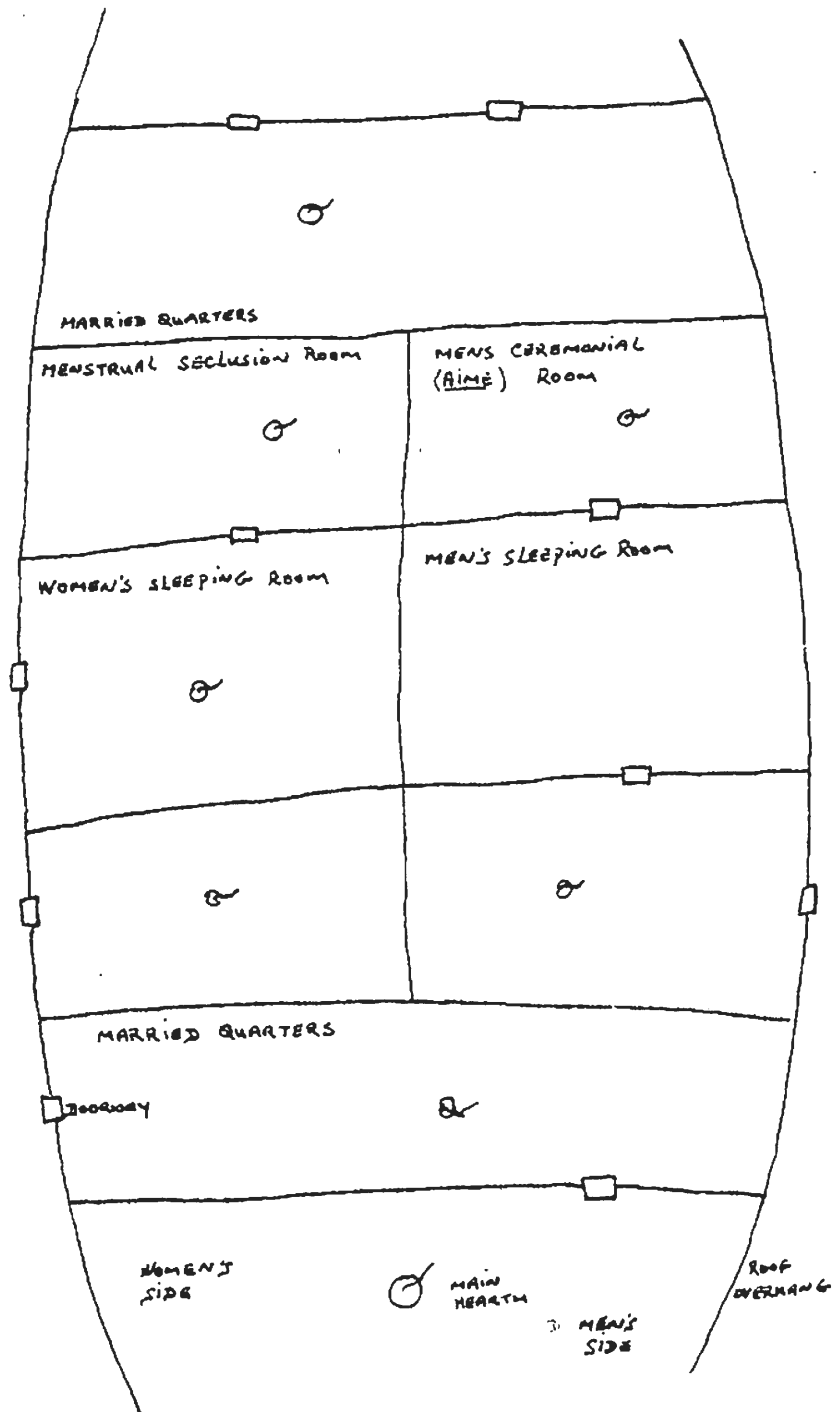
Approximately six months before the event, house building begins. Large quantities of pandanus leaves (godzil) are collected, stacked, and allowed to dry until the basic structure of the house is complete. These are assembled in large pandanus groves, which are frequently located at some considerable distance from the house site. As many as thirty sheafs (each weighing 20-25 kilograms) are required for the roof and walls of a 'big house'. As the leaves have serrated edges, assembling and bringing home these sheafs of leaves is one of the least desired tasks in Wovan society.

The new ceremonial house may or may not be constructed directly on the site of the previous house. If it is being constructed directly on the old house site or adjacent to it, such that the dancing grounds overlap, then a small shelter is built and the household takes up residence there until the new house is completed. Frequently, the old house is demolished in any case for whatever materials are still useful in it. The house posts and roof frame are built first. Once this task has been completed, it is desirable to complete the building as quickly

as possible. Up to this point, few men, other than the members of the homestead themselves, have cooperated in the building. Roofing and siding are community wide tasks, the object being to complete the work in a single day, if possible. As many as 30 men and youths may assemble to complete a ceremonial house. Anyone who is Wovan and who expects to wunt a wombile ('put on finery', p.e. 'bilas') and dance at the house will offer his labor in its completion. The roof is the first to be completed. Beginning at the center, the highest point of the house, the pandanus leaves are laid down, each one overlapping the next, and bound down with saplings to form a rainproof cover. Walls are constructed of soft-wood boards which are then protected from the weather by a similar pandanus cover. The internal board and pandanus walls are built later by the members of the homestead. Figure 16 shows the floor plan of a ceremonial house.

Once the house has been constructed, the members of the household (those members of the homestead on whose house site the new ceremonial house has been erected) may take up residence immediately. However, the house is not yet regarded as completed and its occupancy is confined to the end rooms. Approximately three months before the pig-kill takes place, the elders (those men who have already passed through the final, aime initiation stage, see below, Chapter 4) enter the inner men's sanctuary of the ceremonial house and light a ritual fire over which the fur of a marsupial is burned. The fire is lit using traditional techniques and the marsupial is cooked in the ashes. The meat is shared

Figure 16: Floor Plan of a Large Ceremonial House



among all the members of the homestead (male and female) and among those boys who are to be initiated at the upcoming ceremony. The ritual establishes ancestral recognition of the house and ensures success in the upcoming hunting trip. Once this ceremony has been performed the house is recognized as an ilib^v hram.

Now the excitement of the upcoming event begins to build. The provision of special food items now becomes a major focus of attention. The men and adolescent boys of the homestead leave the hamlet and spend considerable periods in the forest trapping eels (unang) and a variety of marsupials. The energies of the homestead are directed at ensuring an ample supply of food for the expected guests, and at obtaining the items necessary to conduct the ritual successfully. It is necessary for us to discuss the organization of the preparation and conduct of a feast to appreciate the definitional features of the homestead. The homestead, as a unit in Wovan society, is oriented around and defined by a single ceremonial house and the cooperative conduct of rituals. As such, it is defined, in part, by co-residence, at least during the ceremonial season. The individual households may again take up separate residence once the feast has been given.

The timing of the ceremony remains uncertain while the men are hunting in the forest. Preparations are underway both among the hosts and among the visitors, but no one can tell for certain when the event will occur. The leader of the homestead group is regarded by all as the one who sets the date and he is away in the forest hunting and cannot be

contacted. In fact, his timing is dependent on the progress of the taro garden and the success in hunting. Before the men leave for the forest, they will have established that the garden is bearing abundant crops (if the garden has failed for any reason, the event would have to be postponed for another year). Three weeks or so prior to the ceremony, the men return from the forest and set the date on which the dancing will occur. If there is an unexpected delay, the date may be changed again and, indeed, on two occasions during fieldwork, celebrations were postponed after the visiting dancing groups arrived and were preparing to approach the house. On these occasions, the men were housed at some distance from the singsing house and forced to delay until the following evening.

Once the date is set, the scene at the ceremonial house becomes one of intense activity. While the men were in the forest, the women had begun harvesting taro and collecting banana and other large leaves to be used in the preparation of earth ovens. Now their work-load increases, as large quantities of taro, sweet potatoes, greens and cooking bananas are brought to the house and stored on trellis beds. Pigs, which have been foraging at some distance from the house, or which have been in the care of some other homestead, are rounded up and tied nearer the house each evening. Men and women, who have nothing else to bring to the house with them, will bring large loads of firewood necessary for the many fires that will burn during the week of festivities. A considerable proportion of this firewood will go on the large fires necessary to heat the stones used in steaming pork in the earth ovens.

The elders, who had entered the inner sanctum of the house three months before, re-enter the inner room and remain there for five or six days and nights (see Chapter 4). When they re-emerge, initiations at other levels are conducted, and when these have been completed the major pork distributions take place. The pigs are killed by clubbing, early in the morning. They are butchered, the blood stored in bamboo containers, and set aside immediately. Like the vegetables, the uncooked meat is set aside on high platforms away from the reach of dogs who converge on the scene from all the neighboring houses.

As the men, and most of the women and children, have not slept on the previous night, the remainder of the day is spent quietly. Men sleep in the sunlight beside smoldering fires. Women, generally, sleep indoors. At sunset, activities re-commence. Large fires are prepared, cooking stones are heaped on top and the hair is singed from the heads of the pigs. Young men of a neighboring homestead and others (if the number is judged to be insufficient) begin dressing themselves to journey to the homestead to remove the heated stones (see above, pp. 18-19).

HrInk hrIndzine ('to fire the stones') is achieved by means of a long handled, angled stick (ats) and is an activity requiring both courage and skill on the part of those who participate. Young men and boys eagerly seek this task to demonstrate their abilities. It is a time of good humored competition among hosts and their guests. Frequently, if two neighboring homesteads are each preparing earth

ovens, each will furnish a team to remove the stones from the fires of the other. When the stones are red hot, those at the house will begin a steady chant of we-o-we-o-we-o to indicate to the young men waiting at some distance to remove the stones. The men rush toward the house shouting and chanting. They are greeted by the hosts who, with their bows and arrows held aloft, make a mock attempt to bar the entry of the newcomers. The men circle the house a number of times before approaching the fire. On their rounds, they will leap over the fire or step on the red hot stones which have by now sunk into the pit in which the wood was originally piled. Frequently, the hosts will have dug this pit deeper than when the guests saw it earlier in the day, thereby making the task of removing the stones with the adze-like ats all the more difficult. As the men continue to circle the house, some will break ranks and begin to pull the stones out of the pit with the ats. As the stones vary considerably in size, one must be careful not to pull a glowing red stone against one's shin or onto one's instep. The guests continue this task, occasionally regrouping and circling the house again and continuing the standard Wovan chant (whenever a difficult task is undertaken) of o-o-o-o-o-o-o. Once the guests turn their backs on the fire pit and disappear around the back of the house, the hosts, who have been standing around watching the activity, kick and push with sticks as many stones as possible back into the pit and then jeer at the guests who thought the task was completed. The guests, 'incensed' by this mockery and cheating, set about the task with renewed vigor. Stones are now hurled from the pit so that the hosts have to move back from their positions and many stones are thrown over the fence of the dancing

ground and have to be retrieved in daylight on the following morning. Satisfied that their job has been completed, the guests, still chanting, rush back over the dancing ground fence and disappear into the fallow outside. The hosts, meanwhile, set about reassembling their cooking stones and preparing new fires to heat them again as the original stones are, by now, too cold to use for cooking.

When the stones have been heated a second time, earth ovens are prepared and the pigs heads are placed in them overnight and eaten the following morning. Pigs heads do not constitute part of the ceremonial exchange and are shared among those residing at the homestead. The main exchange occurs on that afternoon.

Figure 17: Wovan Ceremonial Exchanges 1978-1980

Date	Sponsor	Location	No. of Animals
1978, Nov.	Dzaminu'a	Fatok	16
1979, Sept.	N ^o mbemIl	Funkafunk	13
Sept.	Wotse	Gnami	5
Oct.	Yakupa	Woroints	14
Oct.	Kimeri	Hrarunamp	14
Nov.	Morungk	Wodiip	15
Dec.	Bagami	Fatok	14
1980, Jan.	Urai	Adiip	16

Figure 17, above, presents a list of all the major exchanges which occurred among the Wovan during the course of fieldwork. Here, I want to discuss the scale of these exchanges, the intensity or frequency of occurrence, and, most importantly, the participants (both the hosts as givers, and the guests as receivers).

Two features of Wovan ceremonial exchanges immediately differentiate them from the exchanges conducted in the central highlands and among surrounding people. The Wovan do not engage in moka (Strathern 1971, 1972) or tee (Meggitt 1965) type exchanges. Live animals are never included in prestations. In this, they resemble a number of fringe highlands peoples. But pork is never cooked in Wovan presentations. All meat is presented raw. This causes some amusement to Kalam visitors at Wovan exchanges and would be considered shocking by many central highlands people, e.g., Narak or Manga (Cook 1980, personal communication).

The scale of Wovan ceremonial presentations is quite small. 14 animals represents the median number killed at any Wovan ceremony I witnessed. There is, as we said above (Chapter 2), no ecologically determined cycle of ritual pig killing. Unlike the Maring (Rappaport 1968), the decision to hold major ceremonial presentations among the Wovan is taken at the homestead level. This accounts for the fluctuations in the numbers of such ceremonies held from year to year. In the first year of fieldwork, only one such event was sponsored. In

contrast, 7 events were sponsored in the second year, and three more were planned for the upcoming ceremonial season after fieldwork ended.

The Wovan ceremonial season is confined to the months September to February, with the most intensive activity occurring in the months October to December. The ceremonial season, therefore, coincides with the beginning of the season of greater rainfall but is usually completed before the really heavy rains begin. While all pork distributions occur during daylight hours, all dancing occurs after nightfall.

The fact that the decision to hold a large scale distribution is taken at the homestead level gives the overall picture an appearance of randomness. This results from viewing the process at the wrong level of organization. At the level of the homestead, one begins to see the factors influencing the timing of ceremonies. Large scale distributions of pork are held in conjunction with one or more initiation ceremonies and with rituals relating to the disposal of the remains of the dead². Thus, we can see that at any point in the developmental cycle of a particular domestic group, there is some pressure to conduct rituals that are performed only in conjunction with large scale distributions of pork. Figure 18 (below) outlines the major initiation rites (for a complete description see Chapter 4). In the initial stages of the cycle, a married man will be concerned to put his son or sons through the anganaiv ('dressing up') ceremony. In their teens, he will again be concerned with their hamo ('net hat') initiations. Later, so that they may legitimately marry, he must host an angge ('cockatoo')

ceremony. Finally, so that they may be regarded as fully adult men, these erstwhile youths must enter the aime room with the elders and remain there for a specified period of seclusion.

Figure 18: Rituals Performed in Conjunction with Pork Distributions

Ritual Name	Gloss	Approximate Age
Anganaiv	Dressing up	4-7 years
Hamo	Net Hat	13-17 years
Angge	Cockatoo	21-29 years
Aime	Ritual Drink	30-45 years
Disposal of the Remains of the Dead		

By the time a man has gone through these initiations himself, he will, usually, have children of his own that are approaching the stage of first or later initiation. His father is likely to have died and his remains must be disposed of appropriately. Thus, the cycle is maintained and the demand is ever present.

The economic concerns of the individual households that comprise the homestead, therefore, are largely bound up with the raising of a pig herd of sufficient size to provide a proper feast when initiations take

place. Wunding, Tultul of Adiip, confided that his own herd had been decimated by hosting the hamo initiations of his two 'adopted sons' (classificatory ZS) and that his own sons were quickly approaching the age when they should become anganaiv. Further, his younger brother was now married and should become fully adult by passing through the aime initiation. His father's bones were still stored in the house and must be disposed of in the near future. His efforts, therefore, were directed toward assembling a new herd so that he might conduct a major feast within the next few years. He had hosted the hamo initiations in February 1978.

By May 1980, however, no direct steps had yet been taken to begin preparations for such a feast. At least another two years would pass before the feast could be given. Extensive interviews with other informants led to the calculation of 5 years as the minimum time between the staging of feasts at a single homestead. This varied between homesteads and bore a correlation to homestead size. Some men admitted to hosting few ceremonies in their lifetime. Others claimed a much greater number. Most older men, however, claimed to have hosted 5-6 ceremonies. Given a starting age of 25-30 years, most men would have an active feasting life of about 25 years (after such time, even if the individual survives, credit for hosting the feast will pass to his son). Claims of hosting 5-6 feasts, therefore, are consistent with the 5 year period between feasts. Further, 5 years appears as the maximum lifespan of a Wovan dwelling. At about that age, repairs to the house become a

continual chore and economy of effort demands that the house be demolished and another built.

Finally, and equally importantly, the balance of exchanges of pork must be maintained. As already stated, outside the nuclear family sphere, the exchange of like for like is mandatory in Wovan society. This rule applies not only to the kinds of goods exchanged but also to the quantities of those goods. It finds its most extreme expression in the exchange of cowrie strings (wurinau). A cowrie string may vary in length from 1 to 1.5 meters and consists of a woven string backing onto which are sewn pairs of small cowries. Great care must be taken, therefore, if one is repaying a cowrie string to ensure that the string given exactly matches, in every detail, the one received. A man will work for days, mutilating his older strings to ensure that the shells of his new wurinau match those of the original as to color, size, and position. He works with both the original and the new string pinned side by side and matches each shell as it is sewn on the woven backing.

In the exchange of pigs, the same principle applies. The repayment of debts must take account of the size, approximate weight, and cut (whether it was a hind or fore quarter, for example) of the original gift. Approximate weight is established by lifting the portion in one hand and testing the strain it puts on the bicep. Portions of pork distributed at Wovan festivals usually correspond to a half-side or belly. Thus, the gift being repaid may be taken from the fore or

hind-quarters of the animal or the belly, and the return gift must be the same.

Any ceremonial distribution will consist of a certain number of repayments for previously received gifts, hrImbi ('repayment', p.e. 'dina') and a certain number of new or initiatory gifts, k^me n^le (k^me..'new', 'green', 'unripe', n^le..'give'). 'Initiatory gift' serves as the most adequate gloss as it contains the connotation which is inherent in the Wovan expression that a new round of gift giving has begun and that a repayment will be expected in the future.

Thus, a Wovan who is planning a feast must take into account his outstanding debts and his pig herd must be of sufficient size to repay these debts and to establish new credits for the future. This, too, affects the timing and spacing of feasts at a particular homestead. When a feast has been sponsored, the herd is decimated, and perhaps only three or four piglets remain. Arrangements must be made to buy some new animals. The fertility of the females, once mature, will determine the expansion of the herd.

Finally, the exchange of shell valuables forms a significant part of all Wovan large scale exchanges and their collection is vital to the timing of any particular festival. Approximately three months prior to the holding of the feast, at the time when the elders enter the inner sanctuary of the house for the first time, the principal male host stands outside his house and announces his intention of sponsoring a

feast. In doing so, he reminds all those who have obligations to him, using the yodelling style to communicate his message across the valley, that their debts have now fallen due and that he wishes to collect. He reminds all others that he himself has debts that he must pay and that he will be ashamed if he cannot pay them. In the months that follow, he will collect the shells owed to him (kime hrImbi) at each house he visits, comparing those now offered to him, as to color, size, condition and reflectivity (sheen), with those he distributed in the past. He will accept some new debts in order to obtain shells that match what he owes and worry over offers of shells that are unusual in their color or some other characteristic lest he be unable to find a replacement in the future. Most shells obtained, traded and given at this time are green snail (kime leve) or cowrie strings (wurinau). Ability to repay in the future is a major concern, and I witnessed a number of Wovan men refuse an offer of three shells from a Kopon trade partner because one of the kime leve had a deep burnished red color which they admired but which they were afraid would be impossible to replace in the future.

The foregoing discussion of the organization and conduct of a feast is necessary for us to appreciate the definitional features of the homestead. A homestead, as we stated, may consist of one or more households. The homestead, as a unit in Wovan society, however, is oriented around and defined by a single ceremonial house and the cooperative conduct of rituals. As such it is defined, in part, by coresidence, at least during the ritual season. The individual households may again take up separate residences once the feast has been

given. An interesting example of the amalgamation of two separate homesteads into one may further explicate the principles involved.

Case 1: The Amalgamation of Homesteads

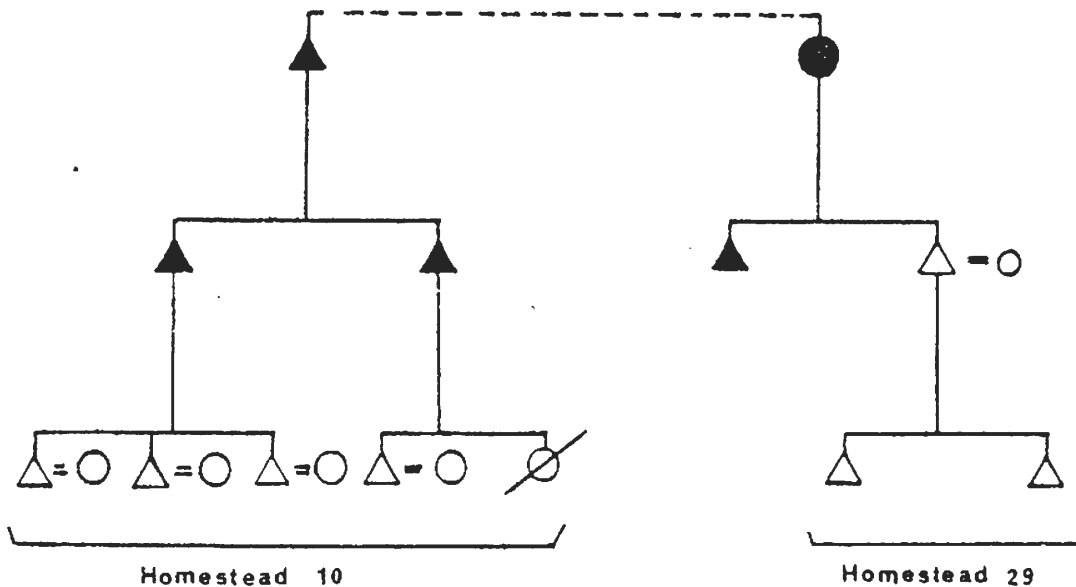
Both the homesteads to be considered consisted originally of single households. Figure 19, below, presents the genealogical composition of each and the putative close kin-connection between them. When fieldwork among the Wovan began, in 1978, the two homesteads were located a full days' walk apart but, nonetheless, intervisiting was common. While the residents of either homestead could not demonstrate any exact kin connection with the other, both maintained that they, in fact, were closely related but had forgotten the connection. The most commonly held putative connection, in fact, conflicted with the kinship terminology usage. The rationalization usually implied that the residents were cross-cousins to one another, in which case the kin term noleva would be appropriate. However, a parallel-cousin (sibling) terminology was used consistently by the members.

Both houses continued to function as independent homesteads throughout most of the fieldwork period. Towards the end of 1979, however, Wotse, the adult male of homestead 29, announced that he would no longer maintain an independent homestead in his present location. He was getting old, his sons spent most of their time nearer the new hamlets and, he felt, he too should move with them. He had debts to

pay, however, and he must first clear those debts before abandoning the old homestead site. Consequently, he had planted a large taro garden and began building a new house. He would host a pig killing at this new house, he said, and then abandon the site and take up residence with or near his kin in Woroints (homestead 10, Map 2, p. 62). In September 1979, Wotse killed and distributed 5 pigs to both Wovan and Aramo debtors at his new big house. The rituals of the senior initiation level, the aim stage, were performed but no new initiations took place.

Figure 19: Genealogical Composition of Two Homesteads

Planning Amalgamation



At the same time, preparations were underway for a large pig feast in Woroints. A new house had been built and the gardens were ready. This feast occurred in October, 1979. Fourteen pigs were killed and distributed at the house. Three of these pigs were owned by Wotse. More important than the size of the distributions is the fact that initiations at almost all levels occurred at the Woroints festival. Two young boys, sons of the occupants of Homestead 10 were initiated at the anganaiv level. No hamo initiations occurred, but three young men were initiated at the angge level. These three young men were ArImp, FBS to the other adult males of Homestead 10 and himself a resident of the homestead (he was married shortly after the initiation and is shown as married in Figure 19 above, p. 130); and Wotse's two sons, Aundari and Goronumbi. Wotse, himself, entered the aimé room with the other adult males and participated in the initiation of Ruti, the youngest brother of the Homestead 10 sibling set and the only one who had not yet reached that stage.

There are a number of significant features of this event to which we should attend. Firstly, it is of interest that Wotse, in announcing his intention of abandoning his current living site also explicitly indicated his intention of clearing the debts he owed. The debts, it appears from this instance, accrued to the homestead and had to be cleared independently by the homestead. Secondly, by having both his sons initiated at the new homestead, he strengthened their ties with the occupants and furthered their claims to kinship (see chapter 4, below, on the ties with fellow initiates). Thirdly, by participating in the

initiation into the ai^{me} stage of a member of the existing homestead he established his own position as an elder in that homestead.

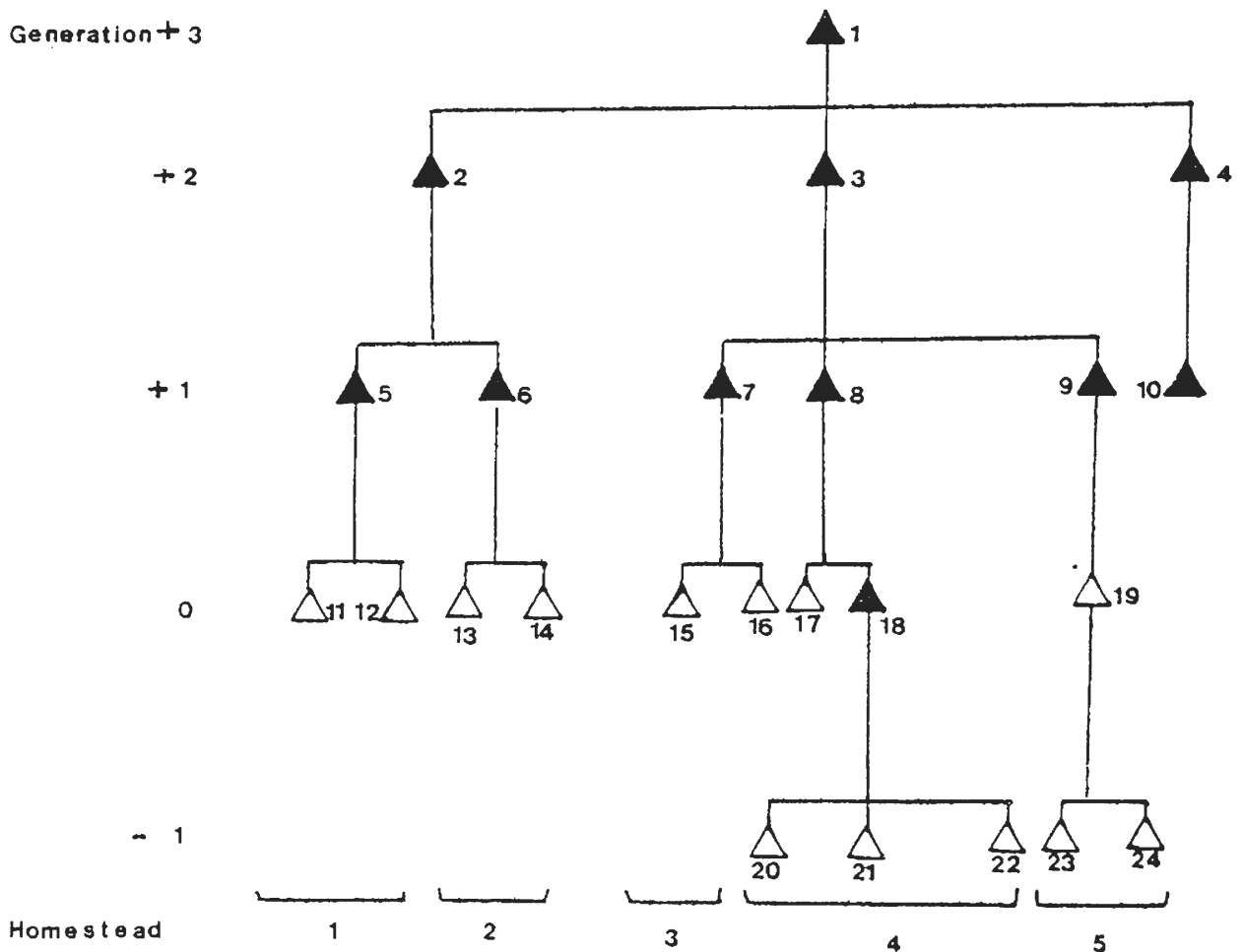
Wotse's statement that he wished to join with the Woroints homestead and to participate in future ceremonies with them further demonstrates the criterion of residential propinquity advanced above. By retaining some of his own herd of pigs (rather than killing all at his own ceremonies), Wotse validated his claim to immediate membership in Homestead 10. New obligations, which he created by initiatory gifts from the house in Woroints, would be repaid to him in the future and would be shared by him and his sons with the other members of the homestead. All but one of his prestations on this occasion were k^{me} and the single hrImbi was to an old man who could not attend Wotse's own debt clearing distribution.

The joining of the two homesteads to form a single functioning entity demonstrates the historical contingency involved in homestead formation. The processes involved here are similar to, though not identical with, the processes involved in the formation of the Nazarene Tultul Homestead described above. Obviously, if such processes of merging can occur, then, similar processes of splitting must also be active over time. These processes may further enlighten us as to the dynamics of Wovan society.

Case 2: The Historical Development of Five Homesteads

Figure 20 outlines the genealogical interconnections that exist between five Wovan homesteads today. These interconnections are well documented and the oral history of the dispersal of the members, both socially and geographically, is consistent across a number of informants.

Figure 20: Interconnections between 5 Independent Homesteads



Three generations before the current adult males, a man named Wokai (1) established a homestead in a small area called Hririvai near the present site of Adiip. At this site, he hosted many ceremonial events with the assistance of his three sons: Wandzigau (2), Woman (3), and Nevandum (4). These men later established independent households, but they were located close together. Most informants feel that these households must have continued to function as a single ritual unit, a single homestead. In the next generation (and here we are moving within the living memory of older informants), there were six adult males. These men established four independent households that functioned as two homesteads. The true brothers, Molein (5) and Wandafum (6), established a new ceremonial house a short distance from the original parents' homestead. The three sons of Woman built three separate residences but continued to function as a single ritual unit in which they were joined by Kiovan (10), the only unmarried son of Nevandum (4). Thus, the original single homestead split into two homesteads in the third generation after foundation.

The next generation represents the living adult males of all but two of the presently operating homesteads. Here, again, the historical factors in dispersion become obvious. The sons of Molein (11 and 12) and Wandafum (13 and 14) all left the Adiip area and founded two separate homesteads in Fatok and Ba'an respectively (see sketch map 3). As was the case with Buvis (father of the Nazarene Tultul, homestead 3), this move was occasioned by a fight. Here, however, fear of spirit attack rather than of human attack was the primary cause of the change

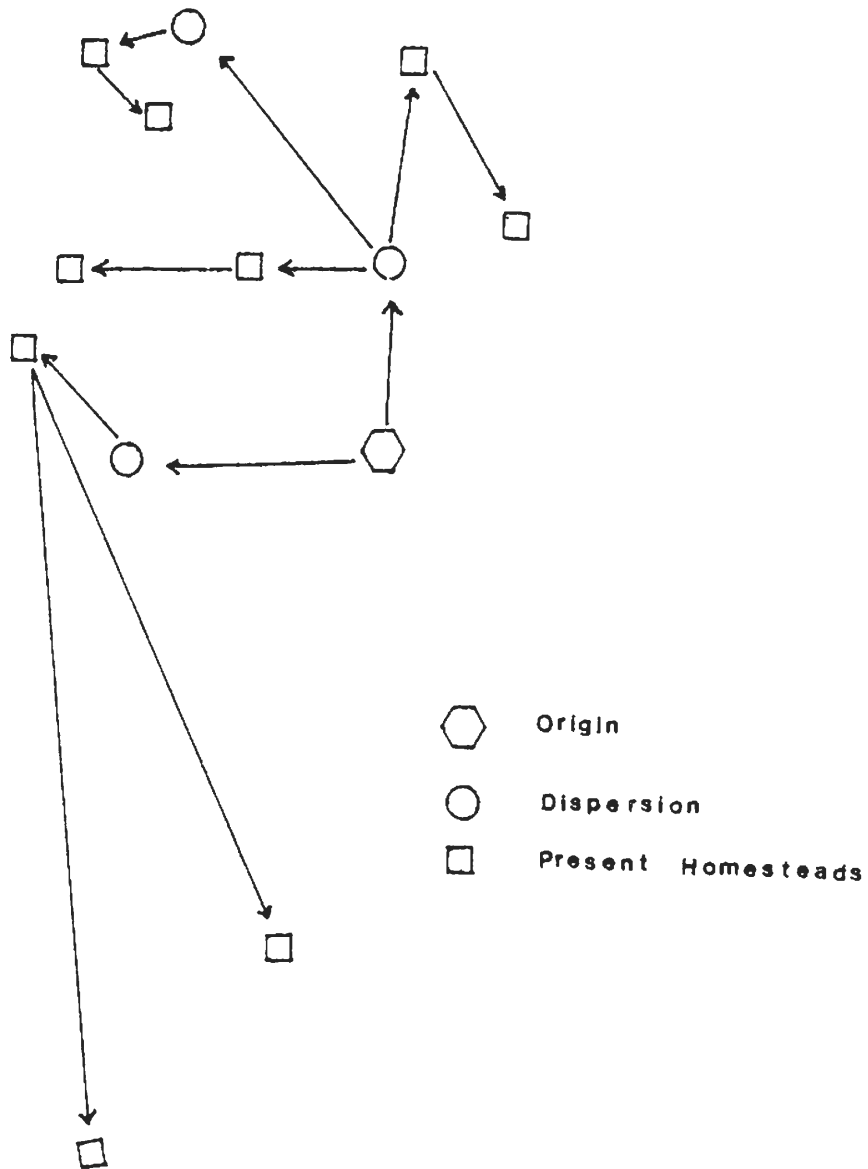
of residence. The three older men were involved in an ambush and killing of a member of a rival group. It was felt, then, that the spirit of the murdered man would cause the deaths of all, were they to stay in their original sites. The change in location was confusing to the spirit and ensured their safety. The two sons of Molein, Mekiup and Lewa (11 and 12), established a new homestead in Fatok, whence both their wives and their mother had come and where they and their children had access to land. The two sons of Wandafum, Marafanam and Waruñil (13 and 14), established a new homestead mid-way between Fatok and Adiip on land to which they already had claims both patrilocally and matrilocally.

The generation difference causes some difficulty in presenting the next segmentation. In the 0-generation, Ambainingk (18) and his brother continued to operate as one ceremonial unit with their FBS, Urai (15). This relationship became strained when Buvis fled Sangapi and established a new household close to Urai's (which later resulted in the formation of a single homestead). On the death of Ambainingk, his sons (20, 21 and 22) established an independent homestead in Adiip. The marriage of Main (20), eldest son of Ambainingk, to his FBD [the daughter of Isan (19)] ensured the perpetuation of the two homesteads.

This case demonstrates the development of five separate homesteads from a single original homestead. These five homesteads are represented by seven households. No homestead consists of more than two households. In the case of multi-household homesteads, residences are located close

together and, as the case of the amalgamation of two homesteads demonstrated, close proximity appears vital to the survival of the homestead as a unit.

Figure 21: Historical Development and Dispersal of Homesteads



The role of matrifiliation in the creation and dispersal of homesteads is also evident from the two cases here and Buvis' case cited above (see pp 109-112). Secondary claims to the land of the mother's patriline can be activated in times of trouble, and one can be assured that one's matrilineal kin will offer protection. This pattern, however, is complicated by endogamous parallel cousin marriage and will be treated in detail below (chapters 5 and 6).

In the foregoing, I have focused attention on the ceremonial house as the defining feature of the homestead. The ceremonial house is the locus of ritual and all large scale ceremonial distributions. But if the ceremonial house-group is a single distributive unit, why did we isolate the nuclear family or the household as sub-units? The prohibition on presentation of pork or other ceremonial items extends to members of the homestead. While the homestead functions as a single distribution center, however, prestations are made by the individual nuclear families which constitute the homestead. Pigs owned by a man and wife are considered joint property. Pigs owned by two brothers who occupy a single homestead or even household, remain the property of each. When the presentations are made, the portions of each man's pigs are laid out together on the ground and all present are aware of who is making the prestation. Thus, a single guest may receive as many gifts of pork as there are contributors to the prestation. In the case of the Woroints feast, cited earlier, there were five adult male contributors. The portions of pork were laid out on the ground in five separate lots, and a number of guests were recipients from two or more of these lots.

The obligations of the recipients are stated, not in terms of obligations to the Woroints yam, but to the individual members and their wives. Contrary to the idea of the unity of the sibling group when perceived from the outside (while divisions are apparent from within), the yam (as homestead) is divisible when viewed from the outside but, at least in terms of the norms relating to exchange, is indivisible within. Inside the homestead one cannot exchange with other members and one is obliged to share whatever is received. Internally, the homestead is indivisible and it appears thus to the Wovan.

Locality Groups

As I stated in Chapter 2, Wovan territory is divided into a number of named localities that are further divided into named areas. Inhabited localities are comprised of one or more homesteads. Since the emergence of small hamlets in the post contact era, multiple homesteads occupying a single locality have become common. The use in Wovan of a locality designation plus yam, therefore, does not necessarily imply close kinship, rather it serves to indicate co-residence in the locality and particular interests (if not rights) in common by virtue of that co-residence.

Locality + yam = local group
 Adiip yam 'the Adiip people'
 Kaiwa yam 'the Kaiwa people'

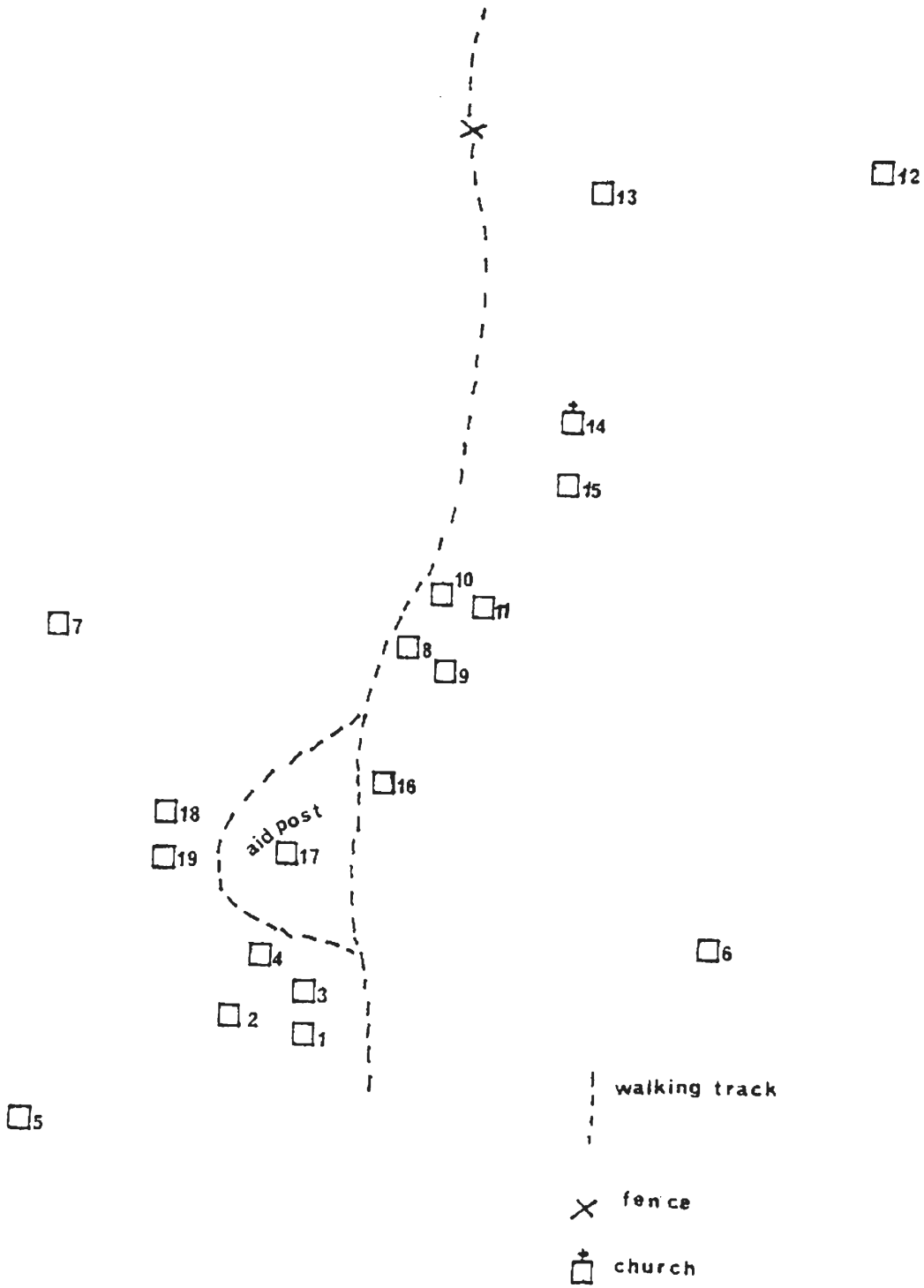
Locality groups, as interest groups, cross-cut kinship groups at both higher and lower levels of organization. In many cases, however, locality and kinship do coincide, and where they do not, the focus on locality groups provides us with a better understanding of Wovan kinship. In previous examples, I have used the Adiip yam and its constituent homesteads. In presenting the basis of locality groups, I shall present the homesteads of Fatok, thus providing a broader base for our subsequent discussions. Map 4 and Figure 22 (below) present an outline of the Fatok hamlet and its constituent homesteads.

Figure 22: Constituent Homesteads of Fatok Hamlet

Homestead	Kin group affiliation	Population	Structures
Tsokwali	Longgia	10	6
MIdumdi	Longgia	5	10, 11
Wovrom	Longgia	5	9
Dzaminu'a	Waini'a	10	13
Bidu'a	Waini'a	15	3, 4, 7
Hravla	Waini'a	19	5
Meki'up	Maram	13	1, 2
Aure'int	Wongganu'a	15	12, 8

Fatok consists of eight homesteads that claim membership in four different named kin groups. Here, I shall not repeat the discussion of the principles of composition of each homestead but, rather, focus

Sketch Map 4: Fatok Hamlet



attention on the hamlet as an entity. The emergence of hamlets among the Wovan was a post contact phenomenon. The concerns of the hamlet, as a unit, are, appropriately, post contact concerns. Our example, Fatok, is the site of the Medical Aid Post, a second household of the Melanesian Brotherhood, and a church. A tultul and bosboi, appointed by the government reside there. A medical aid post orderly (APO), his wife and their children have resided there since 1975.

All these features of modernity have added to the responsibilities of the Fatok people as a collective. Government walking tracks to and from the hamlet must be maintained in good condition, as must the haus kiap (government rest house). Houses for the mission and the church must be re-thatched when required. All these newly acquired tasks are, obviously, not kin-associated tasks. The organization of their performance is, therefore, necessarily different from that of traditional tasks.

The hamlet, as an interest group, comes into prominence in dealing with outside officialdom (mission and administration). In this, the Wovan are conforming to the outside organizational model that was imposed on them after contact. The tultul and bosboi, who were appointed in each hamlet, had no counterparts in the traditional social structure. Lacking 'big men' of the kind found among other highland peoples (to the Wovan all men who have gone through their final initiation are diip..'big', and all important decisions are based on communal discussion rather than the decisions of a single individual),

the Wovan had no institutionalized leadership positions. The government (and later mission) appointed leaders were never seen as fitting into the old authority structure. They do not act as prominent mediators of disputes that are being handled by traditional means. They do not occupy prominent roles in ritual or ceremonies outside those of their own homestead. In matters pertaining to daily life, they are not regarded as being of higher status than those around them. On the other hand, as I have already mentioned, their titles are taken seriously and they are always addressed by title. This apparent anomaly is resolved if we view the Wovan as operating with two authority structures. These two authority structures correspond to the traditional and modern, or, alternatively phrased, to local and national domains or to 'we' and 'other'. The government and mission appointed officials, then, became hamlet representatives operating in the modern, national, 'other' domain. This, I believe, becomes obvious in the light of a protracted dispute, a description of which follows (Case 3). This case spanned the traditional and modern authority spheres and was, at different times, handled within each. The procedures and processes of each were quite different, as was the outcome, and the case is worth citing in some detail.

3

Case 3: Munggit's Adultery

Munggit had been married to her husband Unanggi for approximately five years and they had two sons before Unanggi left in 1978 to spend

two years on a coastal plantation. She was high spirited and was generally regarded by others in the area as being one of the most talkative, aggressive, and hardest working women. During his absence, however, Munggit became involved in one of the most complicated adultery cases that the Wovan have experienced in recent years.

At first, it was just rumored that she was committing adultery. Then, she was reported to have been seen. At first one man was implicated and then another, until it was established that she was having sexual relations with five different men in her husband's absence. Things came to a head in late 1979 when people were still unsure as to when Unanggi could actually return to the village. The case was brought before the tultul and he was instructed to inform the district officer. Of the five men cited, it was established that only one, himself a married man, had had sexual intercourse with her on a regular basis. The district officer sentenced both Munggit and this man, Sinainginu'a, to three weeks hard labor in Simbai gaol. They both left with the patrol. En route to Simbai, the district officer changed his judgement and set the male free on the grounds that he had been seduced and was, therefore, not culpable. Munggit went to Simbai and served her sentence. When her time expired, she returned home and lived a quiet and withdrawn existence until her husband returned from the plantation in April 1980.

Unanggi was informed of his wife's behavior upon his arrival at Adiip hamlet and he refused to return home, spending the night in the

house of a kinsman. He remained there for three days, demanding compensation from those who had had sexual relations with his wife. It was decided that the case should be talked out in public and the following Saturday was set as the time. However, Munggit, as defendant, failed to appear at the 'court' (p.e. kot is now used by all Wovan to refer to such gatherings). Those who had assembled dispersed, and it was decided to meet again on the following day after church services had ended.

The largest day-time gathering of Wovan which I witnessed was present the following day. Munggit arrived late, and people were sitting around small fires, smoking and talking, awaiting her arrival. The case was made especially problematic as the husband's kin and the kin group of the five named co-respondents were traditional enemies, an enmity that all agree is barely concealed in the ongoing lives of the Wovan today. Munggit arrived and sat apart from the other gatherings, with a towel over her head and her back to the crowd. Her husband's kin were seated in two groups, males in one, females in the other. The kin of the five co-respondents were scattered in four separate groups and the five men themselves sat together in a group between the two sides.

Unanggi's brother (FBS) began the proceedings by standing and berating the five men for their behavior and the shame they had brought on Unanggi. He informed them that Unanggi no longer wanted to be married to the woman but that he did not want a young girl for a bride. He (Unanggi) was a married man and he, therefore, wanted a married

woman. The five men sat with their heads inclined, staring at the ground. They did not reply, nor were they expected to.

The elder brother of the man who had been convicted stood to answer the accusations. He did not attempt to deny the charges. He concentrated on his brother's marital status, pointing out that his wife did not wish to divorce him and that she had, in fact, been prepared to go to prison with him, if he had been sentenced. He wanted the talk (m^{na}) to be settled (that is, he wanted an end to the issue). His brother, he said, was singled out, but others were also involved.

The discussion proceeded thus for a short while. Then, one of the kinsmen of the co-respondents, a recent returnee from the plantation, angered by the behavior of the woman, rushed forward and began striking her with his fist on the head while shouting at her in Pidgin English; "Em pasin bilong Maram, a? Em pasin bilong Maram?" ('Is that the practice of the Maram people?'). The woman, Munggit, made no attempt to defend herself or to avoid the blows. Others began joining the fight and a general melee resulted. Women, who had up to this point been sitting quietly, started attacking Munggit, striking her and attempting to pull her skirts off (a few weeks previously, a number of women had stripped her on the road, declaring that, as she was without shame, she did not need to cover herself). Men began looking for weapons that they had hidden close to the scene. Axes, machetes, and bows and arrows were brought to the scene of the fight. Escalation of the conflict was prevented, in this case, by the women and teenage boys who disarmed

their husbands and fathers as they approached the fight scene. No serious injuries resulted.

While the fight was in progress, a number of young men from Fatok, who, up to then, had been mere witnesses to the affair, began voicing their own grievances. They claimed that they had recently returned from the plantation and wanted to remain at home but that the older men would not permit them to marry and that consequently they would leave again. This new and oblique (to the main conflict) issue, began to attract the verbal responses of some of the participants in the fight. A few minutes later, it was discovered that one of the young Fatok men had eloped with a young woman during the course of the melee. The men armed themselves again and took off in pursuit of the eloping couple.

Unanggi and Sinainginu'a did not leave the hamlet clearing. They sat together talking quietly. When they had finished, Unanggi, accompanied by his FBS, left and returned home. Both men claimed that the talk had not been finished. Two days later, Sinainginu'a announced that he had assembled the required compensation. The other co-respondents had all contributed. Unanggi declared that he no longer wanted to divorce his wife and that the 'talk was dead' (m^{na}waregumInda); the issue was settled.

When the women began attacking Munggit she left the clearing announcing that she would take a pig-tethering rope to the forest and hang herself. The threat is not unusual among the Wovan. In most cases

a number of women will set out in pursuit of the intending victim and persuade him/her to return home. In this case, however, no one (not even Munggit's mother, who was present) followed her to attempt to prevent the suicide. However, she did not carry out the threat but returned home and remained there.

The young man who eloped was not permitted to marry his chosen partner. It was pointed out that he had been promised to another woman before he left for the plantation. This other woman was brought and given to him and both agreed to the marriage. Nolein, the woman with whom he eloped, was returned to her brother's house that evening and was given in marriage, with her consent, to another young man the following day. Another young man and woman took advantage of the opportunity presented by all the confusion and they, too, eloped. After a very brief resistance by her father and FB, this marriage was also sanctioned and they were permitted to return to his FB house in which he normally resided.

A number of features of this event are significant to our understanding of Wovan social organization. The marriage cases and the resulting conflict will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 below. They are presented here to complete the description of the event and to demonstrate aspects of Wovan dispute settlement, not as marriage cases per se.

The case lends strong support to the idea advanced above that the Wovan draw a distinction between 'national' legal problem resolution and local problem resolution (between 'other' and 'we'). In the last analysis, administrative resolution of this problem was seen as irrelevant. The case had been heard by the district officer. The woman had been tried, found guilty, and had served her sentence. None of these procedures had aided the resolution of the problem at the local level. In the presentation of the case to the district officer, the tultul, under whose jurisdiction both she and the co-respondents all came, acted as spokesman and all messages from the people to the administration were channeled through him. In the local resolution of the problem, he did not participate to any significant degree. He participated fully in having Nolein returned to her brother's house after the attempted elopement, but this was in his capacity as a close kinsman and it was to the tultul's younger brother that she was married the following day.

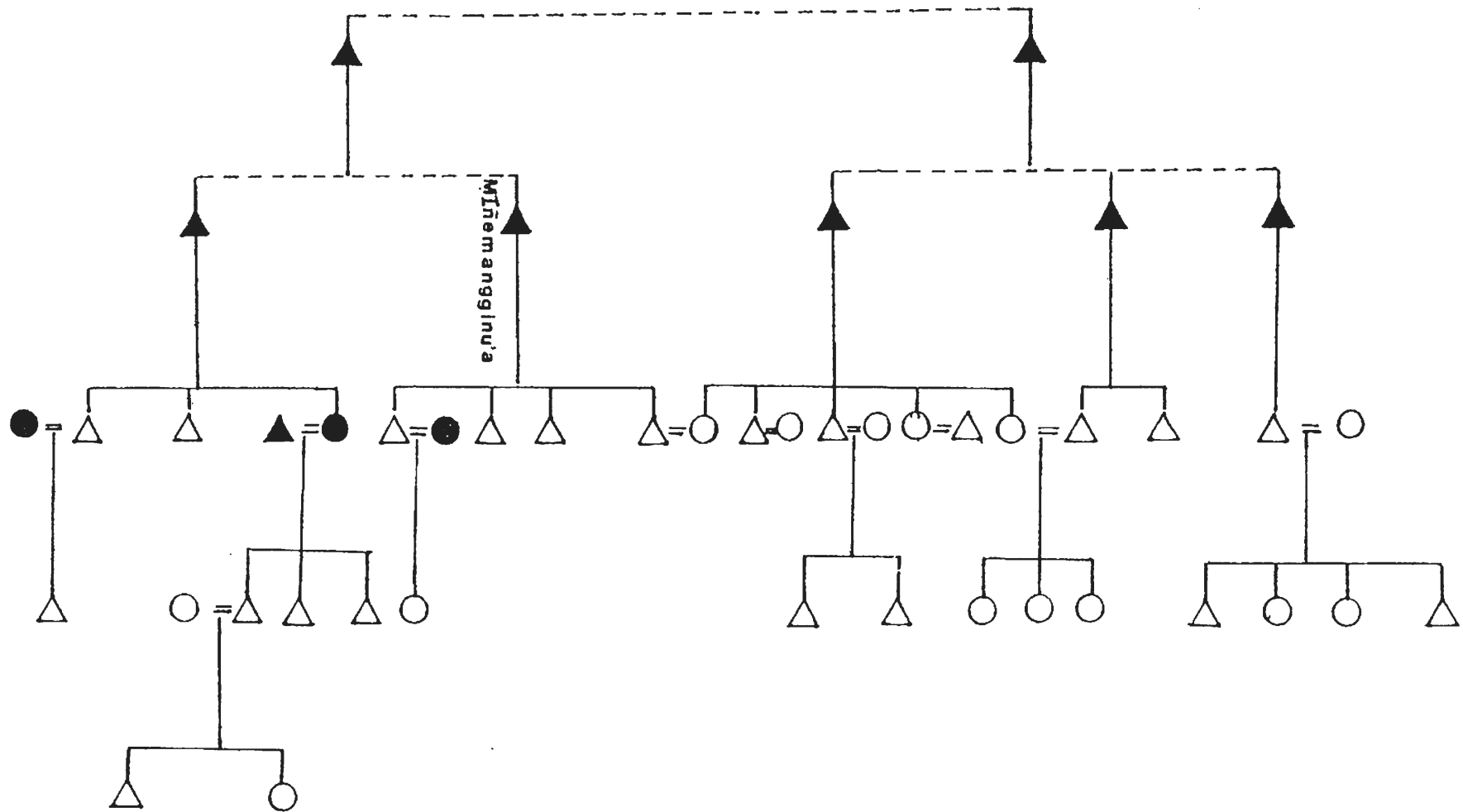
In the original complaint brought before the district officer, the phraseology was that of the 'hamlet level'. It was the people of Adiip (an Adiip n^mbe.. 'us Adiip men') who found the behavior of Munggit objectionable. In the traditional dispute settlement that followed, group alignment followed kinship lines both physically, in terms of spatial separation, and verbally, in terms of the presentation of arguments. It was kin groups rather than hamlets that were the functioning units. 'Maram', as used by the male who began the melee, refers to a large kin group (see below). In using this phraseology, he

was indicating that her behavior was reprehensible to the kin group and his way of dealing with it, by striking her, was the way that the kin group would deal with it.

The hamlet, then, and locality groups centered around the hamlet, operate in a different domain from the kin based groups discussed above. They do not fit into the same hierarchical arrangement. Once we move away from the recently developed hamlets to the more traditional setting of isolated homesteads, we find that the locality group and the homestead are co-incident. Only one homestead occupies a particular named location and the use of the locality name or the name of an individual as prefixes for the term yam becomes semantically equivalent. In those instances, where more than one homestead occupies a single named area (other than a hamlet) and the locality name is used in reference to them, close kinship between the homesteads is implied.

There is an obvious element of geographical and social distance in the Wovan usage of locality group designations outside the hamlets. For example, few Adiip, Fatok or Funkafunk Wovan ever employ subdivisions of that entity they term the Wodiip yam. Some younger people even find it difficult to decide whether the Wodiip people are Wovan or not; to them, they may be Kopon. The area of Wodiip is located on the extreme northeastern corner of Wovan territory and borders Kopon territory. It is a densely forested area with a sparse population. It was one of the last Wovan areas to be contacted by the administration. The population

Figure 23: Genealogical Composition of the Wodiip yam



of 35 (21 males and 12 females) occupy two homesteads comprised of four households.

Figure 23 presents the genealogical structure of the Wodiip yam to the extent that it could be established using a number of informants. At the upper levels of the genealogy, connections remain putative. Nonetheless, no one disputes the fact that some connections do indeed exist. The Wodiip people themselves, according to Wodiip informants, acknowledge a distant kinship but more frequently than not refer to the two distinct homesteads as separate entities. These subdivisions, or the lack thereof, are achieved by territorial subdivision. To the rest of the Wovan, who have neither hunting nor gardening rights within the area of Wodiip, the area appears as an undifferentiated whole. To the Wodiip dwellers, Wodiip consists of a large number of named subareas, distinguished by topographical features.

A brief explanation of the lack of contact between the Wodiip dwellers and the rest of the Wovan population is required. Present day lack of intercommunication is explained by the Wovan in terms of recent migration history. Immediately after contact by the Australian administration, it is reported, the Wodiip dwellers migrated to an area close to the Sepik river and remained there out of contact with the rest of the Wovan population until very recently. This migration was occasioned by fear of contact with the white officers. They returned to their original territory in the past three to five years and have, since that time, begun again to foster relationships with both their Kopon and

Wovan neighbors. Their invitation to fellow Wovan to participate in initiation rituals that they held, and their own participation in the initiation rituals held in Adiip, in early 1980, were the first such interchanges to occur in the past decade and were viewed by both sides as strengthening mutual ties.

Locality groups of the kind discussed here, then, share the aspect of continuous residence, but such residence may or may not imply close kinship. I want now to turn attention to another usage of the term yam which implies kinship without necessarily implying residential contiguity.

Dispersed Groups

In our discussion to date, we have begun with the nuclear family as a sub-group of the household, the commensal group sharing a single residence and having close kinship ties. Homesteads were discussed as being comprised of one or more households centered around the sharing of ritual activities. The dispersed kin groups I now wish to discuss consist of one or more homesteads that share rights of access to hunting and gardening land.

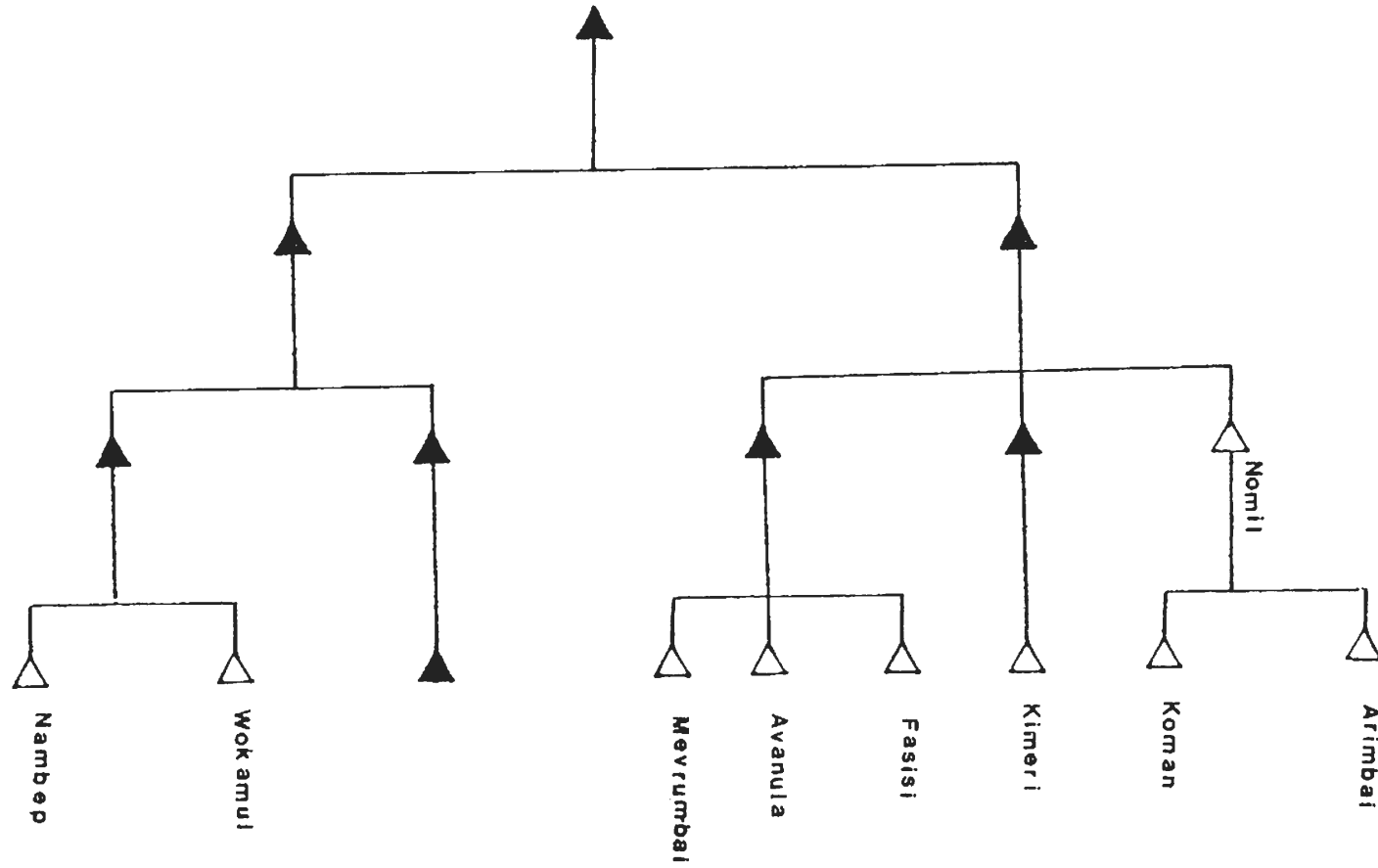
Figure 24 presents the genealogical interrelationships of a set of homesteads, introduced previously, that share access to a single hunting and gardening territory. Note that the genealogical relationships are

known. The members of this large group participate in five distinct (ritually independent) homesteads. Residence is not confined to a single area but is distributed throughout a large section of Wovan territory. Nonetheless, the men of these homesteads retain active hunting rights in the same plot of forest land. There is little competition for access to gardening land in most cases, as land is plentiful and the distribution of homesteads and the attempt to maintain gardens as close as possible to the household ensures that homesteads are rarely in competition for the same plot. Where such competition occurs, however, it may be indicative of further rifts in group structure and can be useful in demonstrating that structure. Such conflict is rarely voiced explicitly in terms of competition for land but can spill over into all areas of interaction between the two homesteads. Case 4 (below) outlines the development of one such conflict.

Case 4

Figure 20 (p. 133) presents the genealogical interconnections of the homesteads of the Adiip Tultul (Wunding) and the Adiip Bosboi (Urai). The historical separation of the homesteads from a single ancestral source is also illustrated there. The relationship between the members of these two homesteads has now deteriorated, however, to the point where they are in direct conflict over certain plots of

Figure 24: Genealogical Interrelationships of a Single Territorial Group

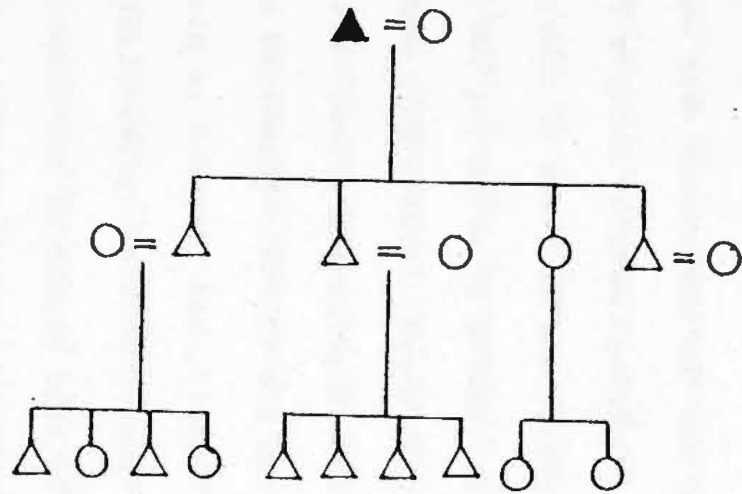


gardening land and suggestions are being made that one side might drop all claims to the land rights they now enjoy.

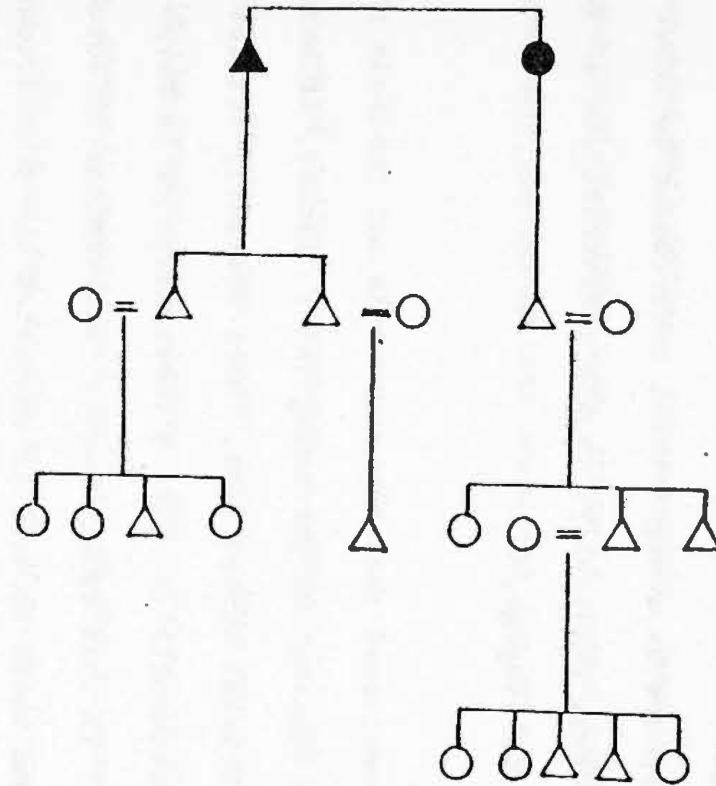
In public disputes, this suggestion has never been voiced, but both sides acknowledge that it has been made in private. In essence, the claim is that the Tultul yam is expanding rapidly and is thus putting undue pressure on the limited resources of the Adiip area. The bosboi, Urai, therefore, has suggested that Wunding and his people should leave Adiip and request land rights from his maternal kinsmen. Figure 25, below, presents the population structure of these two homesteads.

The case is complicated by the alignment of Urai with his FZS in a single homestead. His attempts to oust the Tultul and his homestead from their land rights may, in part, therefore, be influenced by the fact that the children of his FZS will have no claim to that land in the next generation. His position is made even more tenuous by the actual expansion of the tultul's sub-lineage. Inheritance of land rights is through the patriline and ideologically this is immutable, although, as we have seen, affiliation through matrilineal connections is possible. The tultul's sub-lineage presently has six young boys living, and the tultul's younger brother has only just married and is, consequently, just entering the expansion phase of the family cycle. Urai's sub-lineage, on the other hand, has only two living boys (if we discount for the moment the children of his FZS) and he himself is in the dispersion phase of the domestic cycle. His brother, who is younger and whose wife is still of child bearing age, is serving his second

Figure 25: Population Structure of Two Disputing Homesteads



Wunding's Homestead



Urai's Homestead

consecutive two-year contract on a coastal plantation and, some suspect, should be regarded as a permanent emigrant. Differential fertility, in this case, appears as a significant contributor to inter-homestead tension, leading, eventually, to the redistribution of land and the break-up of the lineage.

I have mentioned that the dispute is not publicly phrased in terms of rights to hunting and gardening land. Rather, it becomes manifest in a number of trivial accusations. More distantly related homesteads might, and frequently do, phrase these disputes in terms of sorcery accusations. In this case, however, accusations of sorcery have not yet been made, and where sorcery is suspected the accusations are still directed at others more distantly removed. During the course of fieldwork, tensions between the two homesteads were manifested in accusations of petty theft, infringements by animals (pigs foraging in gardens, or dogs worrying pigs), and careless or unhygienic behavior (members of one homestead defecating or urinating too close to the house of the other). More recently, these disputes have escalated to actual accusations of interference with gardening plans. Urai, on a number of occasions, accused members of the tultul's homestead of beginning gardens on land which he, himself, had intended to plant, and doing so without consultation. The recent move to coffee planting has contributed substantially to this aspect of the dispute. The amount of Wovan land under coffee has increased sharply in the past 3-5 years and is still increasing. Coffee, therefore, is in direct competition with subsistence activities for productive land. Many Wovan gardeners are

now stating that their present subsistence crops in a particular location will be the last they plant there. Once the crop is harvested, it will be replaced with coffee. Consequently, despite the fact that there is no shortage of arable land, there is competition for land now to ensure convenient and productive locations for coffee groves in the future.

The planting of coffee introduces a completely new form of land utilization to the Wovan. Land under coffee does not revert to fallow as it would in the traditional system. The produce of such gardens does not enter the communal subsistence coffers of the homestead but rather becomes highly individualized in the market economy (recall the description of traditional gardening cycles above). Unlike the traditional gardening cycle, where gardening decisions in the present affected land utilization patterns only in the short term, gardening decisions that involve the future planting of coffee affect land utilization patterns for the foreseeable future. Land under coffee is perceived as being permanently lost to the subsistence sphere and the products of such land are seen, not as providing for the general public but, rather, as the private possession of a single individual gardener.

The shift to coffee, therefore, is seen here as putting a strain on the communal or unitary ideology of the lineage and contributing to splitting. This strain is first manifested in disputes over behavior and gardening land and is later translated into disputes over rights of access to forest hunting land also. Such splitting of lineages and

subdivision of land has obviously taken place in the past under the influence of other factors. The Wovan conceive of the present distribution of garden and forest land as being fixed and unchanging since the beginning of time. Faced with the composite genealogical knowledge of the anthropologist, however, they too acknowledge that the ancestors of some men who now exploit different but adjacent forest areas must have shared in the exploitation of a single area. They view the process of division, under these circumstances, as being orderly and explicit. Decisions to subdivide forest land along natural boundaries are seen as having been made without conflict by any two brothers. The children of each are then presented as habitually exploiting different territories and these men eventually come to regard these divisions as fixed.

Urai's accusations that the tultul and his younger affiliates are abusing gardening rights are countered by the tultul with accusations that Urai is abusing his hunting rights. Urai, himself, is an active trader and spends considerable time cultivating trade relationships with Kopon partners. In this, he is in direct competition with Wunding, who is also renowned among the Wovan for his trading acumen. Urai, on two occasions recently, has invited Kopon trade-partners who own shotguns to hunt with him. This has aroused the ire of his co-owners who feel that they are being cheated of what is rightfully theirs. Again, as a direct and explicit response to this development, Wunding has applied for and obtained a permit to own and use a shotgun (the first such permit to be issued to a Wovan) and has assembled the requisite amount of cash to fly

to Madang and buy the gun. Urai did not contribute to the accumulation of wealth and is not included among those who expect to benefit from the purchase.

No resolution of this conflict was in sight when fieldwork ended. Nonetheless, the course of the dispute itself provides valuable insight into the processes of land distribution and division. The role of the tultul's older brother, Main, is also of interest here. He has not taken an active part in the dispute to date and has not been accused by either side of any of the incidents mentioned. The dispute may, indeed, be prolonged at this level of tension for some time due to his role as mediator. He, himself, is torn between his loyalties to his sibling group and his andau ('partner', see Chapter 4). Main's relationship with Urai has always been close; they hunted together, built adjacent houses, and underwent initiation together. They are closer in age than Main and his younger sibling, the tultul. Wovan assessments of their characters are more likely to class Urai and Main together as opposed to Wunding than to class the siblings together. Urai and Main are seen as being traditionalist, men who prefer hunting to gardening, men who spend considerable time in the forest, and, consequently, men who are less important than the tultul. They are not, according to younger men, 'good men' (n[^]mbe waiye). Wunding, on the other hand, is seen as hardworking, a gardener, a man who spends a great deal of time working for his family, a good provider of food, a man who exercises great taste in trading (accepting only the best quality items) and, consequently, he is frequently used as a broker by other men who do not have trade

partners among the Kopon. According to younger informants, he knows nothing of money, but he is always judged to be a good man. He became tuitul, in preference to his older brother and his classificatory FB, because he stayed home (a characteristic highly praised among the Wovan) and did not spend long periods in the forest. He is, however, and this is important, rated as an excellent hunter when he does undertake a hunting expedition. In this, he contrasts markedly with his classificatory FBS, Wovin, who is viewed as a man of low prestige who stays at home but who has completely abandoned hunting.

Attention has been focused, so far, on the role of patrification in the access to land, both for hunting and gardening. But, as we have seen, there are numerous instances of matrification. The treatment here mirrors Wovan presentation, as they rarely mention any possibility of gaining permanent access to land by matrifilial ties. The form in which the Wovan present the information to the ethnographer is as follows. An individual has unlimited access to the lands of his own patriline. He has limited access to the lands of his mother's patriline. He has no access at all to all other land. Pursuing the problem, one discovers, that the individual may hunt or garden on any land owned by his patriline without prior permission (see Bell 1953 for a similar account of land rights in Tanga). His rights of access are equal to those of all other members of his patriline. To obtain rights of access to the land of his mother's patriline, he must obtain permission from his mother's brother. Rules of etiquette state that he cannot ask for permission to hunt in the forest of his MB but instead

must wait to be invited to do so. Consequently, the individual never hunts alone on those lands but does so only in the company of his MB (real or classificatory).

The same rules do not apply to the use of gardening land. When an individual is forced to seek refuge among his matrikin (as was the case in a number of instances already cited) he obtains usufruct rights in the gardening land of the group among whom he seeks refuge. These rights are not renewed on a year-to-year basis (each time the individual seeks to plant a new garden) but obtain for the lifetime of the individual. They do not, however, extend to the children of the individual (the grandchildren of the original woman through whom affiliation is obtained). This is presented as a statement of fact by Wovan informants and is not seen as problematic. In the two cases where such rights are due to be challenged, it is asserted that the children will have to return to the natal home of their father and reclaim their land rights there. In reality, however, such negations are problematic for a number of reasons. The emergence of 'hamlet groups' (as described above) provides youths growing up with identity groups that they are reluctant to forego at adulthood. Marriage to a hamlet group female permits continued residence and the activation of her children's matrilineal rights. Parallel-cousin marriage (see Chapters 5-7) provides a mechanism whereby matrilineally related males can manipulate the genealogy to achieve the appearance of being agnatically related. Such genealogical manipulation is not unusual in the New Guinea Highlands ethnographic record (see, for example, Cook 1972).

The lack of depth in Wovan genealogies (three generations being the mean depth of reliable information, and many genealogies lack precise information even in the grandparental generation) and the brevity of European contact prior to fieldwork (only 16 years), makes assessment of historical changes among the Wovan extremely difficult. Consequently, I have focused attention in the foregoing presentation on the possibilities for change and on the men who are presently manipulating the situation to achieve desired ends that are contrary to accepted ideology. The base-line character of this work prohibits desirable statements of completed fact. We must be satisfied, therefore, with ongoing social relationships and the possible future outcomes of these relationships.

I have referred to the dispersed kin-groups presented here as lineages because that is how the Wovan conceive of them. In Wovan ideology, these kin-groups consist of agnatically related males and their spouses and children. They control areas of both hunting land (gii) and gardening land (moru'a). They are not the maximal units in Wovan social organization, however, and it is necessary to present a brief discussion of these maximal units before attempting to assess the overall structure of Wovan kin-group organization. For convenience, I refer to these maximal units as 'clans' (although the difficulties in this designation will become obvious as we proceed).

Wovan 'Clans'

In the introduction to this chapter, I presented the maximal usage of the term yam as designating a non-co-resident kin-group. The lineages described above also fit this description. The usage I now wish to discuss differs significantly from that more restricted usage in the following regard:

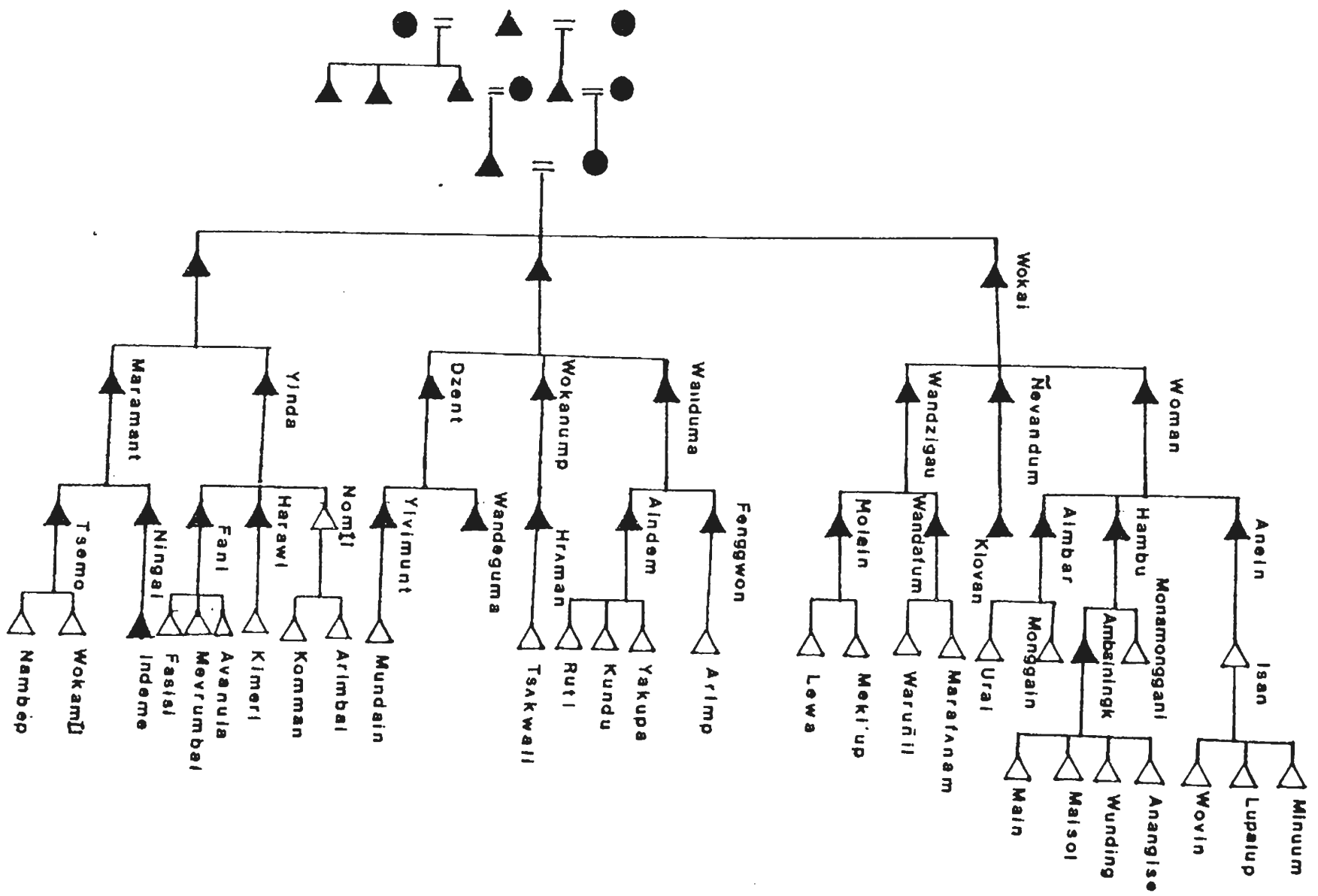
Maram yam = Maram clan

un-occupied named land area + yam = clan

Here we are dealing with a named area of land which the kin-group no longer occupies but from which they claim to have migrated in the past. The present day representatives, therefore, presume themselves to be related as the common descendants of a person or persons who occupied a single territory in the past. Exact genealogical relationships are not known. 'Clans', therefore, consist of a number of named area-of-residence kin-groups. Further, as will become obvious below, not all Wovan belong to these larger units.

Figure 26 presents an outline genealogy of the Maram yam, the largest such group among the Wovan. Here, as before, I will begin by presenting the Wovan ideological picture of such a unit, that is, in terms of a group of agnatically related males. Later, we will be forced again to take cognizance of matrilineal affiliation and ongoing processes of assimilation.

Figure 26: Skeleton Genealogy of the Maram Clan



The Maram yam is seen as being founded by a single individual, an unnamed male, who was a resident of Maram (an area in the lower Arame river valley), seven generations before the current adult generation. This male, who had two wives, produced a single son by one wife and a sibling set of three sons by the other. Two members of the sibling set are unaccounted for but the third married and had a son. The lone male child also married and had a daughter. These offspring, being parallel-cousins from half-siblings, are ideal marriage partners and they in turn married. They produced three male children. These three men are the direct ancestors of the three segments of the Maram clan.

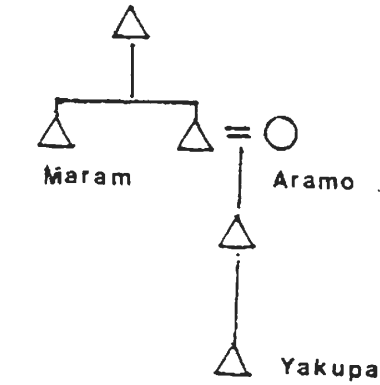
Only one of these three siblings is named. This male, Wokai, represented as the eldest, established a residence in a place called Hririvai and his descendants today occupy the land around the hamlet of Adiip. The second sibling, unnamed, established a house in the lower Arame valley (but note the disputed claim pp. 168-170). The third sibling, also unnamed, established his house between these two and his descendants today occupy the area known as Hrahrunamp and some are considering migrating back to the original point of dispersion in Maram.

Diagrammatically, I have represented uncertain, fictive, or disputed claims by a broken line. The homestead of Yakupa and his siblings and FBS claims to be Maram and provides the genealogy as given in Figure 27. Their FF, according to them was a child of the middle founding sibling who established his homestead in the area of Faib^v. The genealogy obtained from informants currently resident in Faib^v, however, does

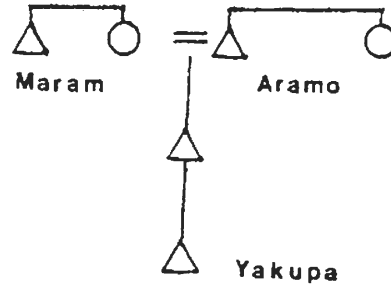
not include Yakupa as an agnatic relative. A number of other Wovan informants agreed that Yakupa et al. are indeed Maram but still others claimed that they are descendants of recent Aramo immigrants who married Wovan women and adopted uxori-local residence among the Wovan. Yakupa and his siblings do not deny the close Aramo connection but they represent this connection as matrilineal. They maintain close ties with their Aramo kin and the youngest male of the sibling set has married an Aramo woman who had been adopted into their homestead as a child.

Figure 27 (A-E) presents the series of claims and counter claims associated with the case. In this light also, the confusion over the exact genealogical connection between the members of Yakupa's homestead and those of Wotse's homestead takes on an added significance. Figure 27A presents Yakupa's version of his rights to inclusion in the Maram 'clan' as a legitimate agnatic descendant of the Faib^v sibling. Figure 27C presents his statement of his relationship with Wotse. The kinship terminology employed between the two men and between their children, however, implies that they are parallel cousins rather than cross-cousins and the proposed amalgamation of the two homesteads (see above pp. 130-131) is on the grounds that they are agnates. Figure 27D presents the implied relationship. Figure 27E presents Wotse's own statement of the relationship he has to both the Aramo and Wovan people. He clearly locates himself as an agnatic member of a different Wovan clan, Longgia. Wotse's version of the genealogical relationship does not, on the surface, contradict the claim against Yakupa's membership of

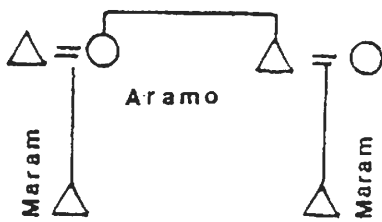
Figure 27: Claims and Counter Claims of Clan Affiliation



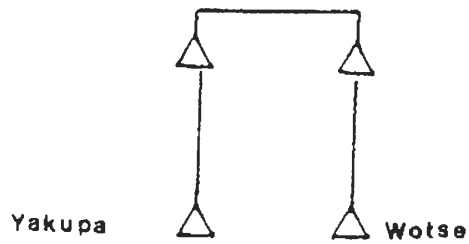
A: Yakupa's claim



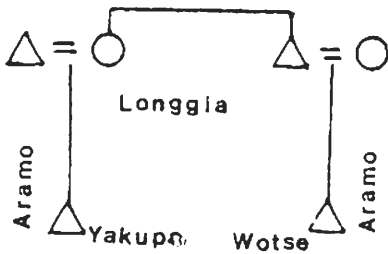
B: Counter claim



C: Yakupa's statement of relatedness



D: Relationship implied by kinship terminology



E: Wotse's statement of relatedness

Maram. Unfortunately, a number of other informants firmly held that Wotse, himself, was a member of Maram.

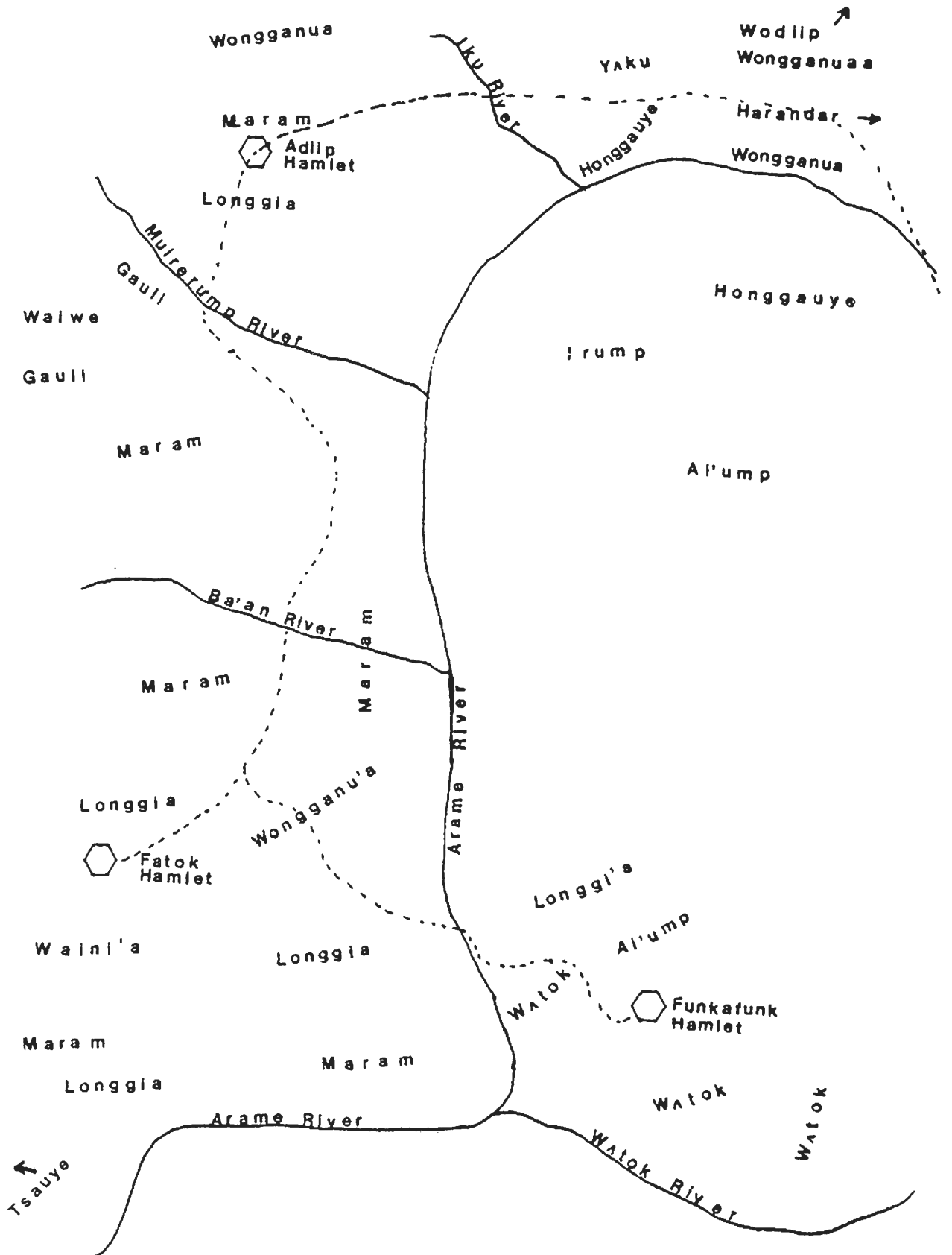
How might all these claims and counter claims be considered within a single framework? If we view Wovan 'clans' as political alliances justified on genealogical grounds rather than purely genealogical constructions, the situation becomes clearer. The 'clans' control specific scarce resources, such as lime deposits (necessary for betel chewing), and we will consider these below. However, they are also the fighting units of Wovan society. The 'clan' was the unit within which raiding and feuding did not, or at least should not, occur, and the members had an obligation to assist one another in warfare. Viewed in this way, one should focus attention not on the rights of membership by virtue of genealogical connection but, rather, on the obligations of membership. Fulfillment of the obligations entitles one to membership rather than this membership being ascribed by birth. Membership in the associational corporation is achieved and continually revalidated.

I have already indicated that one of the most important obligations that one had to fulfill as a member of the association was to refrain from hostilities towards one's fellow members and to assist them in the conduct of hostilities towards non-members. Traditionally, Wovan warfare was, for the most part, conducted among the Wovan themselves. Relations of enmity (kowal a mul.. 'enmity between', 'hatred in the middle') existed between specific kin groups. Thus, the Hrahrunamp

yam recognized a traditional enmity relationship with the Irump yam. This enmity was manifested in a series of small scale raids and ambushes, mutual avoidance when possible, and strongly voiced sentiments of fear of the other. The last reported death from such activities occurred in the mid-1960's. In this final raid, one Irump male was killed in retaliation for a suspected death by sorcery of an affinal relative of the Hrahrunamp yam. Assistance on this raid was obtained from the Adiip yam and from the Woroints yam (the homestead of Yakupa). The Irump yam, in the long series of raids and retaliations, had obtained assistance from the other Adiip dwellers (the Sios Komiti yam) and from the neighboring Hrenningk yam.

Given the small scale of Wovan warfare, raiding parties rarely exceeded six or seven men. Not all of one's allies would participate in any single encounter. This, in some respects, increases the importance of the role of 'ally': one on whom one can count either to participate on one's own side or to remain neutral; one whose territory one can safely pass through without fear of attack or betrayal on the way to and from the fight. Keeping open one's avenues of retreat, should anything go wrong and a hasty retreat become necessary, was an important consideration in the strategy of alliance. Sketch Map 5 presents the territories controlled by various Wovan political alliances and clearly shows the accessibility of enemy groups to one another and the room for maneuver available to the raiding party.

Sketch Map 5: Control of Territory by Political Alliances



The necessity of maintaining avenues of accessibility also becomes obvious in the consideration of forest and hunting resources. Without such avenues, it is possible that a homestead or lineage could be cut off from their own hunting grounds, thereby being impoverished both from the viewpoint of subsistence and, perhaps more importantly, from the conduct of ritual.

One further set of scarce resources is controlled at the level of the alliance: that is, the three lime deposits of the lower Arame and Morungk River valleys. Lime is obtained and processed by large groups of men working together. The fact that only three workable deposits are known to the Wovan requires that agreement be reached on who has access to each of these. The Maram alliance, as a corporation, claims ownership of one of those deposits. Another is claimed by Longgia, a similar alliance but of lesser genealogical depth. The third is controlled by Waini'a, an alliance centered around the Fatok lineages. The members of each alliance cooperate in the extraction and processing of lime and it is distributed in bulk to each cooperating homestead. Lime is stored in large bamboo containers in the homestead and is distributed from these containers to the individual members of the homestead who keep their private supplies in decorated gourds or, nowadays, in old tobacco tins.

Above, I discussed the idea that not all Wovan homesteads were members of, or admitted membership of, these large political alliances. If one held to the ideological position of the Wovan, that these are

Figure 28: The Composition of Wovan Confederacies

Name	Number of Homesteads	Distribution
Maram	10	Adiip Ba'an Hrarunamp Fatok Aribi Faibv Woroints Maram
Longgia	9	Adiip Fatok MIle H^mbia Aribi
W^tok	7	Funkafunk Hruai Bolidzip
Wongganu'a	4	Fatok Kaiwa Yinimul Andzuba
Waini'a	3	Fatok
Honggauye	2	Ai'ump Bu'elup
Gauli	2	HrennIngk Gnami
Wodiip	2	Wodiip
Ai'ump	2	Ai'ump Funkafunk
Tsauye	2	Tsauye
Irump	1	Irump
Y^ku	1	HIIndabru'a
Waiwe	1	Heende
Harandar	1	Harandar
Fuinam	1	Fuinam

genealogical and, therefore, 'clan like' structures, this would introduce a serious problem to the analysis. Why should some lineages combine into clans and not others? Viewed as alliances or, in Pospisil's (1963) terms, 'confederacies', one can see the possibility of alternating affiliation and the advantages of remaining outside the alliance in some instances. To appreciate the situation, we must return to a consideration of the total structure.

Figure 28 presents an outline of the main Wovan confederacies and their constituent homesteads. The 48 homesteads combine into 15 named groups. Of these, however, only Maram maintains a structure of undemonstrable genealogical connection and only one other, Longgia, is widely distributed over considerable territory. The third large alliance, W[^]tok, is highly localized around the Funkafunk area and is named for the small river that flows through that territory. As such, it departs, as do the remaining units, from our original definition of the 'clan' as being designated by the name of an area in which the members no longer reside. These three large alliances account for 26 of the 48 Wovan homesteads. Ten homesteads affiliate with Maram, nine with Longgia, and seven with W[^]tok. The remaining homesteads are divided among twelve groupings with five homesteads remaining as single unaffiliated entities. These remaining units, therefore, at no time exceed the size and complexity of the locality groups discussed above. Two of these units (Waiwe and Gauili) comprising three homesteads, are considered offshoots of larger groupings among the Aramo. Two others, one consisting of four homesteads and one of a single homestead

(Wongganu'a and Irump), are regarded as agnatically related to the Kopon. All are seen as having exploited marital alliances to obtain control of Wovan land. No information could be gathered, considering the short span of historical information available, as to whether the Wovan consider the lands which these groups now exploit to have been acquired from currently existing Wovan kin-groups, or from groups that have become extinct, but no claims are made by current informants that the territories exploited by these people are not rightfully theirs.

While these non-aligned units do not sacrifice access to forest hunting lands, they do not have a guaranteed access to the limited lime resources of the Wovan. For this, they are dependent on the goodwill of the owners, and in the case of the five unallied homesteads, they are dependent on sources outside Wovan territory. Lime, like hunting land, is a highly valued scarce resource, but unlike hunting land, it can be traded and bought in small quantities. A homestead, therefore, is not dependent on year round access and can trade for its requirements. Since the imposition of the Pax Australianis, one need no longer participate in large confederacies to guarantee access to hunting land. There is no longer any danger that one may be ambushed and killed when passing through the territory of another kin-group. Today, the Wovan, conscious of past warfare, are reluctant to talk of old animosities and downplay the importance of these large groups in the past.

In the next chapter, I wish to focus attention on other aspects of social solidarity and dissonance in Wovan society. However, a brief

summary of the data presented here is in order.

Summary

In this chapter, I have built up a picture of the group structure of Wovan society. In doing so, I have concentrated attention on kinship and locality as the bases of group composition. These groups are perceived by the Wovan to consist of agnatically related persons and on this basis, I have called them by the terms 'lineage' and 'clan'. Groups as large as Maram are seen as fanger hrille hrangxup...'carried by one penis'.

I began by considering the nuclear family which was presented as analytically valid while being ideologically unrecognized. The household was presented as the commensal unit, vitally important as the cooperative work group in gardening. Homesteads consist of one or more households and are the principal ritual units. Finally, homesteads are seen as combining into larger named units whose principal function in the past was the conduct of warfare with other similarly constituted groups. In passing from these minimal to maximal units of the society, we showed that, while the ideological emphasis on agnation remained, the agnatic composition of such groups declined. Correlated with this decline is a shift from ascribed to achieved membership. One is a member of a family or household by ascription (or by legal processes, such as adoption, which function to fulfill the requirements of

ascription). One is usually a member of a homestead by ascription but may achieve membership. One is a member of a 'confederacy' by fulfillment of the obligations of a kinsman. The argument is not that "we do not fight amongst ourselves because we are kinsmen", but rather, "we are kinsmen because we do not fight amongst ourselves". Thus the actuality of agnation may be manipulated and the ideology of agnation preserved.

In the following chapters, we will see how this formal group structure is manipulated through marital ties (Chapters 5, 6, 7) and through ritual and informal relationships (Chapter 4). In presenting the information in this way, I do not wish to assign any existential priority to the formal group structure that is then undermined. The reality of the Wovan is bound up with informal relations, the events of daily living. For them, however, these relations are phrased in terms of group relations. By presenting the formal group structure first, therefore, we may better perceive Wovan social organization from a Wovan perspective.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 3

1. At the time of Government contact, luluai (village headman), tultul (assistant to the village headman), and bosboi (assistant to the tultul) were appointed. Since mission contact and the establishment of a medical aid post, sios komiti (church committeeman) and health komiti (medical committeeman) were appointed. The Wovan take these titles very seriously and these men are always referred to and addressed by title rather than by name or kin term.
2. Recent demands by both government officials and mission authorities, that the remains of the dead be interred immediately after death rather than placed on a raised platform, have not yet begun to affect Wovan initiation practices but will do so in the future. However, at least one case of 'accidental' disinternment to salvage the skull and long bones of a buried corpse is known.

CHAPTER 4: THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF RITUAL

In the preceding chapter, we dealt with the composition and interrelationships of social groups that the Wovan conceive of in terms of agnatic kinship. In the present chapter, I want to turn attention to other aspects of the maintenance of social order. Specifically, I want to discuss the creation of ties through ritual that cross-cut kinship but that, nonetheless, form permanent bonds between individuals.

My aim, in this presentation, remains very modest. I wish to present an overview of the organization of Wovan initiation that will allow us to understand better the totality of Wovan organization. I cannot pretend to explicate the complex symbolism of Wovan initiation ritual in any detail. Such an attempt, as is evident from recent publications (Herdt 1981, Lewis 1980, Poole 1976), is worthy of a study in its own right and will have to await a future work. My concern, therefore, is primarily with the organization of personnel (who participates in specific Wovan initiation rituals? what effects do these rituals have on the sociological characteristics of the participants? what is the level of organization and frequency of occurrence of these rituals?) and only secondarily with the 'content' or 'meaning' of the ritual actions themselves.

B

One further word of caution is required. The rituals, discussed below, may, theoretically, all occur within the context of a single event. I shall present them as so doing (see Figure 29). However, I did not witness any Wovan ceremony in which initiates were inducted at all levels during the same event. In fact, it is unlikely that any homestead would have men and boys at all the appropriate stages on the same occasion. For the purposes of presentation, therefore, I have combined the descriptions of two major ceremonies. Further, due to Wovan sensibilities, I was permitted to witness only the initial portion of the final initiation rites (the aimé stage), and my description of this stage is, therefore, necessarily abbreviated. All other rituals were witnessed personally.

Figure 29: Sequence of Events at Male Initiation Ritual

Day 1 - afternoon	- Older men enter the <u>aimé</u> room. <u>Aimé</u> initiations
Day 6 - dawn	- Older men emerge from the <u>aimé</u> room
night	- <u>Hamo</u> skin heating ceremony
Day 7 - morning	- <u>Hamo</u> initiates led to bush house
Day 8 - night	- <u>Angge</u> initiations conducted at main house
Day 9 - morning	- Net hair covering ceremony
morning	- <u>Angge</u> initiates kill pigs
Day 10- morning	- <u>anganaiv</u> ceremonies conducted
afternoon	- pork distribution
night	- <u>singsing</u>

Case 5: The Male Life Cycle

"Aru'ang an komaidzine..."Tomorrow we will singsing"

Among the Wovan, the singsing (p.e. 'any festival involving singing and dancing), is the culmination of a week or more of intense ritual activity. To the outsider, or to the ethnographer early in his fieldwork, it might appear to be the only activity involved. For months prior to the festival, it is the sole topic of conversation of the young men who will dance (women have a very limited role in Wovan dancing as indeed they have in all Wovan ceremonial). In the days and weeks prior to the singsing, young men sit for hours creating and beautifying the costumes they will wear when dancing. Bird-of-paradise plumes are taken from careful storage and fitted to the long cane shafts on which they will be placed when dancing. Out of sight of the young women, the young men practice their dancing, each admiring the technique of the other and commenting on how his bird of paradise plume waves above his head. Even casual visitors to Wovan territory are invited to remain to watch the singsing. Even without their paraphernalia, the young men will spontaneously begin to dance to express their good humor. "Aru'ang an komaidzine." "We will dance in the future", the near future.

In all this cheerful banter, however, no mention is made of the serious events that must occur before the singsing. One might be forgiven for thinking that they are of lesser import than the display in

dancing, but the opposite, in fact, is true. Rituals and things pertaining to ritual are not joking matters. They are not something to be laughed about and mocked, even among men. They are secret. They are known only to men. These initiation rituals, in particular, are known only to Wovan men, and to know them makes one a Wovan man. The definition is reflexive. All Wovan males go through these initiation rites and only Wovan males do so. Therefore, to know and have participated in these rituals makes one a Wovan male. This view of the import of initiation is not just that of the ethnographer alone but also that of the Wovan themselves. Secrecy is, therefore, vital, not only to prevent outsiders from learning the content of ritual but also to prevent women and uninitiated youths from learning secrets not appropriate to them.

Figure 30 presents an outline of the stages through which each Wovan male passes. Not all are secret and not all are regarded as of equal importance by the Wovan themselves. Importance and secrecy are indeed closely allied. This will become obvious as we describe each stage and the overwhelming importance of the final three stages becomes clear. I shall first describe each stage and then return to place these stages in the context of a single ritual event.

Figure 30: Wovan Initiation Rites

Ceremony	Insignia	Age	Public/Private	Duration of Stage
Anganaiv	cane belt shell necklace new string bag	4-7 years	public	7-9 years (until 9-10 years old)
Honge	nose piercing	7-10	private	5-10 years
Ka	bark hat black fruit oil	15-17	private	3-6 months
Hamo	black net hat	15-18	private	2 years
Angge	white cockatoo feathers	21-25	private	?
Aime	residence with elders in inner sanctum of the ceremonial house	26-45	private	until death

The First Stage: anganaiv

Unlike female children, who are clothed a few days after birth, Wovan male children remain naked until somewhere between the ages of four and seven years. At some point during this period, in conjunction with other rituals at the ceremonial house, the young boy goes through a dressing ceremony. A similar rite has been described by Jackson (1975) for the Kopon, and I shall follow his terminology in referring to it as "the dressing up ceremony".

The anganaiv ceremony is conducted in mid-morning (daylight) and is witnessed by both males and females, initiated and uninitiated. There are no secrets that pertain to it. The young initiands are lined up standing near the end of the ceremonial house. If, as is sometimes the case among older initiands nowadays, they have begun wearing a piece of cloth as a genital covering, this is removed. Each initiand has a ritual sponsor (nomai) who has been asked by the boy's father to conduct the ceremony. The nomai does not receive any direct payment from the father at the time of the initiation, but his relationship with the initiand is expected to extend throughout the lives of both. He expects to be rewarded with gifts of pork when the initiand has matured and is conducting his own large scale distributions, and when he, the nomai, is an old man.

The initiands' nomai stand before them holding a long piece of unsplit cane. The nomai split the cane lengthwise while uttering a

short incantation asking that the initiands grow tall and straight as the sugar cane. The inner fleshy part of the cane is scraped away and discarded and the cane is fashioned into a belt that circles the waist of the initiand four or five times. This belt is slipped on over his ankles and the nomai pauses at each joint as he brings the belt up the anganaiv's legs and finally draws the belt tighter around his waist. A new net genital covering, wolits, is then hung from the initiand's belt.

The anganaiv (as the initiand is called) remains standing while his body is rubbed from hair to ankles with the oil of the marita pandanus, giving a reddish sheen to his whole appearance. He is then presented with his first net carrying bag, which is suspended from the neck to hang down his back, as is the fashion of men. Like all men's net bags, this is about one foot square. Finally, the anganaiv is presented with a double row of large cowrie shells, which are fastened, like a collar, around his neck (again in the manner of men). He is then fully dressed and is permitted to sit down.

The night before the dressing-up ceremony, pigs' heads have been placed in earth ovens and permitted to remain cooking overnight. The last of these to be removed is kept until after the ceremony and a portion of the meat is given to the anganaiv. A small marsupial has been placed in the oven with the pig's head and this is also given to the anganaiv. He places the bones of the meat he has consumed into his net bag and carries them with him until the end of the ritual period

(see below, pp. 218-219). On the final day of the ritual period, he takes these bones and places them in the fork of a young betel-nut palm. Thus, they will rise upward as the palm grows and he, like them, will grow straight and tall.

Prior to the anganaiv ceremony, the boy is said to be herre muinde (herre .. 'other', 'nothing'; muinde.. 'remains', 'to be'). The ceremony is the first step in creating the man that will finally emerge. The social status of the anganaiv is greatly altered by going through the ceremony. He acquires his first taboos in that he may no longer call his sponsor by name but must refer to and address him by the relationship term nomai. He acquires his first life long obligations in that he is indebted to his sponsor and must, in the future, make him gifts of pork and assist him. He acquires his own social credits in that he will expect to receive payment on the death of his nomai from that man's kin. He is no longer 'nothing' but becomes a real male in his own right.

The anganaiv ceremony is neither secret nor does it involve physical or psychological pain for the initiand. It is a brief ceremony, and there is an air of joviality throughout. There are no food restrictions placed on the initiates. Once the ceremony has been completed, the initiands are permitted to continue to play like other children. Thereafter, however, they are expected to spend less time in the company of their mothers and to spend more and more time in the company of their peers and fathers. Theoretically, those who undergo

the anganaiv ceremony together are andau to one another (see below, pp. 220-225) but I have never heard this form of address used by persons of this age-group.

The Second Stage: Honge

Somewhere between the ages of 7 and 10 years, the young boy has his nose pierced. The ceremony is conducted without elaborate ritual and may, on occasions, be skipped altogether until the youth, wishing to dance and being unable to dress appropriately without having his septum pierced, voluntarily undergoes the ordeal¹.

While boys who have had their septa pierced are distinguished as a separate class - honge (from hong ha.. 'nose boy') - the stage does not fit easily into the other stages of Wovan initiations. The nose piercing is not publicly performed but may be performed on a single individual or a group. The same rites are performed for both males and females. They are not conducted in connection with other ritual events or at a ceremonial house. There is no supernatural element in the event and it is kept private only because there is considerable pain involved. The stage is optional, both males and females may avoid it for a time and theoretically need not have their septa pierced at all.

The procedure itself is simple. The piercing is done using a black-palm tipped arrow. When the arrow is withdrawn from the hole, a

plug, made of tightly rolled leaves, is inserted to keep the hole open. Piercing of the nostril flares is done with small slivers of bamboo similar to those worn, and these are left in position once inserted.

The Third Stage: Kə

The Kə ritual is also anomalous in the Wovan cycle. A ceremony similar to the kə ceremony constitutes a major initiation rite among the neighboring Kopon (Jackson 1975). There it is the major adolescent rite and no further rites are performed before adulthood. One is tempted, therefore, to view the Wovan kə ceremony as a borrowing from their neighbors that was fitted into their pre-existing ritual cycle. In this borrowing process, the ceremony was down-graded from a major, independent, and mandatory rite to a minor and optional rite, which, when performed, is seen merely as a prelude to the major hamo initiation rites.

The ritual is performed only for males, but may be performed for a single individual or group. One might argue that this is true of all rituals, in that, on occasions, all rituals are performed for single individuals. Hamo initiations have indeed been performed for single individuals in the past. What distinguishes the honge and kə rites, however, is the fact that individual performance does not exclude the initiate from later joint initiations. In the case of 6 hamo initiates who had undergone initiation together immediately prior to my

arrival in the field, three had not received kə at all, two had received kə together, and the final initiate had received kə alone, at a different time and place from his fellow initiates. This is not remarked on, by the Wovan, as unusual, whereas if a number of boys have undergone hamo initiations separately and later undergo angge or other initiations together, an explanation, in terms of the deaths of all their fellow initiates or other unusual circumstance, is always provided.

Among the Wovan, then, the kə ceremony serves mainly as notice that the youth is about to undergo the hamo initiation. The rite itself, though time consuming and prolonged, is relatively simple, involving neither isolation nor any form of hazing. The initiand is informed, at his residence, that the older men wish to put the kə on him. He is then sent into the forest to collect the kə, a black tree fruit that, when heated, yields a sticky black oil. The fruit is ground in a mortar and pestle and mixed with wild banana juice. The mixture is then heated on a flat stone and the oil collected in bamboo containers. On his return to the house, the initiand is told to prepare a barkcloth hat for himself (the cloth is prepared by chewing the inner bark of a tree). Some days later, when all is prepared, the older men who are to officiate and the initiand again return to the forest and share the catch of a hunting trip together. The black oil is rubbed into the hair of the initiand and the bark hat (usang) is placed on his head. He is instructed, quietly, that he should not touch or comb his hair. He should rise early in the morning and go to the forest alone. There he

must remove the hat and shake the dew from the trees onto his hair, replace his hat, and return to the house. He must not wander around visiting other houses. Foods cooked by women are, hereafter, tambu. Prohibited foodstuffs are listed to him. At this point, he acquires many of the food taboos that characterize the hamo stage (see Figure 31). Once the procedure has been completed, all concerned return to the dwelling house. There is no isolation or social distancing of the initiate. The coating of oil is renewed periodically for the duration of wearing the bark hat. This hat remains in place until replaced by the yonggulit, the net hat, worn by the hamo initiates.

All initiates spoken to who underwent the kə ceremony claim that, for them, the most significant aspect of the ceremony was the fact that they then knew they would become hamo in the near future, though none were certain when. Most expressed anxiety about the upcoming event, mainly because they realized they would have to give up many foods once the hat was put on. All claimed that they knew in advance that there was no danger of being hurt during the kə ceremony.

The kə ceremony, then, introduces many initiates to the restrictions they will bear from then until they have passed through the hamo stage, over two years later. There are no food or behavioral restrictions placed on the kə initiate that are abandoned before the end of the hamo stage. However, there are some additional restrictions placed on the hamo that the kə initiate has not had to bear.

Being a kə initiate, then, greatly alters the adolescent male's social standing and his relations with other people, especially with females. As the kə ceremony is optional and the hamo ceremony is obligatory, these behavioral restrictions will be discussed below in relation to the hamo stage.

The Fourth Stage: Hamo

In his late teens, a Wovan male undergoes the hamo initiation ceremony. This is one of the most important and complicated rituals in the whole Wovan calendar. The content of the rituals is a closely guarded secret, and women, boys, and all non-Wovan are excluded from the performance. The long, net hair covering worn by the initiates at this stage is regarded by the Wovan and by their neighbors as their own distinguishing feature, something that sets them apart from all other inhabitants of the Western Schraders (Flanagan 1981a).

Hamo initiations are conducted in conjunction with large scale pig kills and ceremonial prestations. At the time the ceremonial house is built, a structure, similar in size to the ceremonial house but without walls, is built in a small clearing in the forest at some distance from the main house. This structure, called hai'er, is the site of the initiations.

The forthcoming event is, theoretically, kept secret from the initiands but, while none of the youths to whom I spoke was ever certain that he would be initiated, all suspected that their time was approaching. Those who put on the ka were almost sure, but if more than one ceremonial house is being built, there is often some uncertainty as to who will conduct the initiation and, thus, as to the timing².

The hamo initiation takes up to five months to complete from the opening preliminary rituals to the final donning of the net hat. This hat, in turn, is worn for a period of two years during which time the initiate is subject to extensive food and interaction taboos. The description that follows is based on a composite of an account of a previous initiation, given to me by a young man who was wearing the net hair covering during most of my fieldwork (it was removed some three months before I left the field), and an initiation I witnessed in Adiip in January 1980.

Once the ceremonial house has been built, the interior men's chamber is ritually opened by constructing a fire and cooking a marsupial. The old men who will remain inside the house for almost a week before the major pig-kill, will enter the room at this stage and remain there for three or four days. On the first night, when the fire

Figure 31: The Structure of Wovan Food Taboos

Food	No. of native taxa	Permitted Taxa							
		pre-k	Males		angge aime		Females		married
			k	hamo			pre-puberty	post puberty	
Marsupials	23	21	13	10	21	23	21	21	23
Birds	65	65	24	24	61	65	65	65	65
Rats	8	6	2	2	7	8	8	7	8
Cassowary	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Eel	2	1	1	1	1	1	?	?	?
Bush hen eggs	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Taro	23	23	17	17	22	23	23	23	23
Sweet potato	20	20	20	18	20	20	20	20	20
Yam	9	9	1	1	9	9	9	9	9
Pitpit	11	11	0	0	11	11	11	11	11
Bananas	16	16	15	3	14	16	16	16	16
Fungi	7	7	7	6	7	7	7	7	7
Greens	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4
Marita	11	11	6	6	11	11	11	11	11
Larva	2	2	0	0	2	2	2	2	2
Breadfruit	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pandanus nuts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

* Considerable disagreement existed between informants on whether or not one variety of eel was forbidden to women.

is lit, the future initiates are summoned to the house and enter the inner room with the adult men. There, they are instructed to stand close to the fire until they begin to sweat (this is a much milder version of the ritual they will undergo again some months later). When they have begun to sweat, they are permitted to move away from the fire and they remain in the room with the old men until morning. The men share with them portions of the marsupial that was earlier cooked on the fire in the inner (aime) room. In the morning, before they re-emerge from the aime room, their faces are painted with red clay, and they are instructed not to cut cordyline bushes or sugar cane and to avoid sexual involvement with women. There are no food restrictions imposed on them at this time.

Five months later, the major ceremony occurs. The old men, once again, enter the aime room of the ceremonial house and remain inside for six or seven days and nights (coming out only to perform bodily functions and avoiding contact with other persons as much as possible). When the old men emerge from the house, the youths are summoned. Three grueling nights of ritual activity follow.

Soon after dark, the men who have already gone through this stage begin building the fire in the aime room. The fire is built to a height of .50 to 1 meter using large tree trunks that are split in half. The youths who are to be initiated are led into the aime room and instructed to stand close to the fire. As the fire is by now a raging inferno, it burns them and they begin to move away and to turn, heating

first one side and then the other. They are joined by some of the older youths and young men for brief periods and these men hold them and rotate them in front of the fire, preventing them from moving away. Sweat begins to pour from the initiates, and the men continually rub their limbs down, brushing the sweat off while continuing to rotate the boys before the fire. Soon, the initiates begin to weaken and sag. If a youth looks as though he is too weak, the older male holding him may place himself between the initiand and the fire for a brief period, thereby giving the youth a brief respite from the direct heat. The initiands often allow themselves to sag in the arms of their initiators in hopes of being moved away from the fire.

The initiands remain standing before the fire for three to five hours. While they are there, the older men outside the building rush in, and while pounding on the dividing walls with axes, begin to shout the 'law' at the initiands. Axes are shoved through the doorway and the young initiands are led to believe that the elders are angry with them and intend to harm them. The elders giving the law (mona neine.. 'to give the talk') shout their dictates in the form of commands. "Don't have sexual intercourse with women! Do not steal!" (The full list of 'laws' is given in Figure 32). The same commands are issued by several different men and repeated over and over again until it is almost dawn. Throughout, the fire is continually built-up and not permitted to die. Toward dawn, the youths' faces are once again painted, this time using the red k^hne tree fruit, and they are permitted to sleep in the room.

Most young men who were initiated prior to intensive administration contact bear scars from their initiations. These scars are the result of being cut with axes. Since contact, the Wovan have abandoned this severe form of hazing of the initiands. Even in former times, most initiation scars were obtained before entering the room. During the 1978 initiations at Adiip, one youth refused to enter the room in which the fire was blazing and was severely beaten by his mother's brother. The object of waving the axes and pounding on the partition walls while shouting the law is to strike fear into the initiands and to make as much noise as possible. While this makes a very frightening noise inside the room, and the elders do indeed sound very angry, the men themselves really enjoy this form of play-acting and a man will rush up to the doorway, cut the sidewall with his ax, shout some commands at the initiands and turn away to hide the broadening smile which is creeping across his face.

Shortly after dawn, the initiands are prepared to be moved to the hai'er house, and an even more secret part of their initiation begins. As they leave the house, an old woman approaches them and says that she has brought them food lest they be hungry in the forest. She gives each initiand a cooked taro and places some taro in the navel and under the fingernails of each. The initiands eat a little of the taro as they begin their walk and then throw the remainder away. That's the last food cooked by women that they will eat for almost two years. As they set off from the ceremonial house toward the bush house, they are instructed by the elders to walk quickly and strongly away.

At the bush house, which they reach after a walk of some 10-15 minutes, they are permitted to rest and sit down, and they do very little for most of the daylight hours. In the evening, they are

Figure 32: The Laws of the Hamo Initiation

1. Do not seduce women
2. Do not steal
3. Avoid married women. Young women are for young men.
4. Do not cut trees growing near the roadway
5. Do not shoot dogs
6. Do not shoot domestic pigs. Wild pigs and possum are game and may be hunted but not domestic pigs.
7. If you like a young woman and you go and speak to her and she responds favorably, well and good. If she responds negatively and cries out, you must not follow her. Abandon her.
8. If you see an axe or money lying on the road, leave it there. The owner will return for it.
9. Do not visit other houses. If you feel like wandering around, take your bow and arrows and go to the bush.
10. Do not cause trouble. If you do, there will be talk of it or you may go to court.
11. Remain in your own house, and all men will think well of you. Stay there so that others will think, "Where is this man? Has he gone to the plantation or died?" They will come to your house and find you there and think, "This is a good man; he stays in his own house and does not wander from one house to another."
12. Do not be anxious to marry quickly.
13. Be attentive to your elders. Bring them what they want.

presented with a large collection of black tree fruits called waimangk. The juice is extracted from these fruits and used to anoint the hair and body of the initiands. First, however, they themselves must extract the juice from the waimangk by chewing it and spitting the juice onto leaves on that have been laid some crushed insects which are also rubbed into the hair and body. The fruit causes the mouth to numb and swell slightly as it is being chewed. Hereafter, the initiates will speak of having a particular relationship, one with the other, because "we chewed the waimank together and our mouths swelled up." When this task has been completed, the initiates are permitted to sleep.

The daylight hours of the next day again are spent with little to do. Earth ovens are prepared and the adults collect and bring firewood to the ritual house. Once night begins to fall, however, the pace of activities quickens noticeably. Young initiated men from elsewhere in the territory begin to assemble at the ritual house, all dressed in traditional finery³. Tree trunks are placed within the house to act as benches and the initiands are instructed to sit on them and remain seated.

The initiands are informed that their nomai, their ritual sponsors, are coming and that they should not look around but remain seated and keep looking straight ahead. The sponsors approach the ritual house running and shouting the chant o-o-o-o-o-o-o- used on all these occasions. They are accompanied by almost every initiated Wovan male who has not already assembled at the ritual house. Once they

arrive at the scene, the young men peel off from the group and begin to sing and dance a short distance from the house. This dancing and singing is continued throughout the night and acts as a screen through which the sounds of the rites in progress cannot penetrate to the hamlet. In telling about this the men laugh and say that the women back in the hamlet who hear the sounds of the young men singing think that this is the real matter of the initiation. Only the men know it is not.

The food that had been cooking in the earth ovens is distributed to the newly arrived ritual sponsors. The initiands remain seated within the un-walled ritual house. After they have eaten the eel and marsupial meal (in the case I witnessed, this was supplemented by tinned fish and rice), the nomai assemble around the initiands and begin a low chant.

The waimangk juice has been heating, wrapped in leaf bundles, and now it is brought out and placed beside the initiands. Using leaves as sponges, the nomai collect the hot liquid and pour it onto the heads of the initiands. The hot liquid runs through the hair and down the face quickly staining the entire body of the initiand black. The initiand is now sitting with his head held firmly by placing his chin in the cleft of a Y-shaped stick that has been set in the ground before him. He is instructed not to flinch or move. If the liquid gets into his eyes, however, the sting is quite painful and one sees the initiands attempting to scratch the legs of their nomai to draw attention to this. Should he fail, to get this attention the initiand himself will seize his opportunity and quickly wipe away the substance. A 'good'

nomai however will be attentive to the needs of his hamo. This anointing of the initiands with the waimangk continues until dawn.

The first activity of the following morning is to break the dzinal branches which the initiands will use to cover their faces on their return to the main ceremonial house. The adult men then eat two types of ginger, bodzets and yendum, and spit the chewed matter onto a grass of the variety endzebep. This, too, is rubbed into the hair of the boys. When they return to the ritual house (hai'er), the initiands are dressed for the return to the main house.

First, the four ritual bags are hung from the youth's neck: the ipip and hinggilu in front, and the titani and wali behind. Secondly, a new cane belt is placed in position, being wound around the initiand's waist three or four times. Thirdly, a new genital covering, malo, made of net and possum fur, is placed in position and the old one discarded. Fourthly, the initiand's new wristbands (yingasu) and armbands (mats), are put on. Fifthly, his new legbands are put on. Sixth, the inner net hair covering (mIñ) is put in position. Seventh, and last, the outer hair covering, the white bag blackened with waimangk oil, the yongk ulit, is placed on the head of the initiand. He is now officially a hamo.

When the net hair covering has been placed on the heads of the initiands, they are warned not to touch their hair nor permit it to be seen by women again until the covering is removed. If they do, their

hair will not grow. Before they leave on the journey back to the ceremonial house, they are each given a single stalk of sugar cane of the variety yenum, one banana of the variety kalai, one yam of the mainggwe variety, and one taro of the variety singgang. These are the permitted foods and will constitute their total diet over the next days, until other foodstuffs are given to them by the elders.

On the return trip to the main ceremonial house, the initiands are instructed to walk very slowly as they are tired from the initiations. Adult men walk on either side of each initiand and should the initiand slip or appear as though he is going to fall, he is supported by the men. They rest frequently on the trip. Meanwhile, the women, children, and all those outsiders who were not permitted to witness the initiations have assembled, in all their finery, at the main house. The women, many of whom have borrowed the dancing hats, genital coverings, and shells of their husbands and brothers, begin to dance and beat drums while the initiands approach the house. Once the initiands, whose faces are hidden behind the dzinal branches they are carrying, have crossed the fence into the compound, they are instructed to sit and remain seated until told to move. They remain seated inside the fence for over an hour while the assembled throng comes to look at them. After this they are moved again, first to a seat about half way from the fence to the house and then to another seat just outside the house. At each of these places, they are permitted to rest for a while. Then they are instructed to go inside the house where a fire has been lit in the

aime room and they are told not to come out for the remainder of the ceremonies.

There is an obvious air of joyfulness at the return. The women continue to sing and dance while the youths remain outside the house. Once they have gone inside, however, the dancing gradually peters out and attention is turned to the killing of the pigs and to conversation and a smoke with others who are also sitting around. As the pig killing is the task of those who have just donned the cockatoo feather, which constitutes the next initiation stage, I will postpone discussion of it until I have first described the initiation process (see The Fifth Stage, below).

On their return to the house area, the initiands are warned not to attempt to look at the people who have come to see them. The dzinal branches are said to obscure their view while permitting the people to see them. Inside the room, they are not permitted to blow on the fire. Should the fire die down and they wish to revive it, they must fan it with a leaf. They are not permitted to move portions of the fire with their bare hands but must use a bamboo yitu (tongs). All food must be eaten using a bone spoon. Only men may bring them food. They should remain together and not talk to other people. If one wishes to leave the house to go to the toilet at night, all should go. The initiands remain in almost total seclusion in the aime room for almost two weeks. Thereafter, they are gradually given more and more freedom to wander

about the hamlet as food taboos and other restrictions are gradually lifted.

The hamo initiands are confined to a four-item diet for about a week after they return to the house. About then, they are taken a short distance from the house where a fresh coating of waimangk is applied to their hair by the adult male who built the house, and the dzinal branches, which they had been using to cover their faces each time they left the house are discarded.

Figure 33 gives the calendar of events in relation to the lifting of taboos on initiates, after the January 1980 initiation. The whole process took almost two months to complete. It should be remembered, however, that at the end of this period of intensive ritual activity, these initiates were still forbidden to drink water (necessary fluids are obtained by eating sugar cane), or to eat certain varieties of sweet potato, bananas, or taro for some considerable period of time thereafter. In just under two months from the day of initiation, however, the intensive ritual period has ended and the initiates can resume their normal lives around the hamlet.

The hamo continues to wear the net hair covering for about two years: 'two wet seasons and two dry seasons', as the Wovan say. The restriction on drinking water is removed approximately 18 months after initiation. The remaining restrictions, on a variety of marsupial and

some varieties of banana, are not severely felt by the initiand. These restrictions remain until the net covering is ritually removed.

Figure 33: Calendar of Events, Hamo Initiations 1980

- January 16: Skin heating ceremony
- 17: The initiates are taken to the forest house
- 18: The anointing with waimangk juice
- 19: The net hair covering is put on and they return to the main house where the women dance
- 25: The dzinal leaves are discarded and the second application of waimangk
- 31: Initiands permitted to wander more freely but must return to the house at night. One leaves the house alone and incurs no considerable wrath
- February 8: Given the green vegetable, tsimp
- 17: Given axes and knives to use
- 18: Small birds and marsupials may be eaten. Food brought but not cooked by women may be eaten. The initiands may carry some loads.
- 21: Third application of waimangk
- March 8: Most varieties of sweet potato and banana may be eaten

The net hair covering is removed with much less ceremony than when it was donned. It is not necessary for all those who were initiated together to have their hair coverings removed together. Of the six boys initiated in 1978, two left for plantation work and had their hair coverings removed prior to departure by a male, who stood in the relationship of eB to one and MB to the other, two others had their net coverings removed just prior to the initiation of a new set of boys in 1980, one by his father, the other by his adoptive father, and two had not yet had their hair coverings removed by the time the new initiations occurred in 1980.

To remove the net hair covering, a small earth oven is prepared and filled with pumpkin, sweet potatoes, and either marsupial or pork. Both males and females attend the removal. When the food has been shared out, the initiate's nomai takes the initiate aside and begins cutting the hair. Lifting the net hair covering in front just enough to insert a bamboo knife, the nomai saws at the matted hair until it is peeled off the whole head. Then turning to the mother (or grandmother in this case) of the initiate he says, "I have plucked your betel nut and it is not ripe, so I'll throw it away". The hair and net covering are taken by another adult male and placed in the fork of a nearby tree. There they are allowed to rot. Once this has been done, those who have assembled begin to disperse. The initiate himself leaves the scene without further words being spoken.

Once the net hair covering has been removed, the hamo passes into a stage that my informants, on being pressed, described as han^{mb} (han^{mb}.. 'boy man'), but this title is used in neither address nor reference. The former food restrictions are lifted, and the young man begins a period of active participation in singsing, both on Wovan territory and as far away as Sanguvak among the Kopon. However, he is still enjoined from marrying. A few men have married before passing through the next initiation stage. However, they are regarded as precocious, and a number of young men to whom I spoke planned their elopements to occur soon after they had donned the cockatoo feather.

The hamo initiation, including the donning of the yonggulit, is perhaps, the single most significant event in the life cycle of the Wovan male. Its importance is underlined by the Wovan's usage of the hamo stage and insignia as the defining features of their own ethnicity. The initiate is required to forego a wide variety of foodstuffs and to radically restrict his interaction with females. All food cooked by women is taboo for the duration of wearing the net hair covering, and, for a limited period, even food carried by women is forbidden. The complete isolation from society for a short period, followed by the gradual re-emergence of the initiate, can be seen as the birth of the man as opposed to the uninitiated boy. I will return to a consideration of these aspects of the hamo initiation in an attempt to assess the overall meaning of the initiation sequence below. First, however, I will describe the final two stages through which the Wovan male must pass.

The Fifth Stage: Angge

The angge initiation ceremonies are not protracted like the hamo initiations. The entire ceremony begins after dark and is completed before dawn. Unlike the hamo initiation also, the angge ('cockatoo', 'white') ceremony involves neither hazing nor any form of physical ordeal. No new food or interaction restrictions are placed on the initiates, rather they are released from a number of restrictions that have obtained since they underwent the hamo initiations. The angge ceremony, is in many respects, a recognition of adulthood.

Prior to the commencement of the ceremony, the area is cleared of uninitiated males and all females. The boys leave the area without too much resistance. Women, however, are another matter. The women complain about leaving and delay as long as possible; some fall asleep beside the fires and have to be threatened before they leave. After they have all left the area, one or two come back for things left behind. This draws an angry storm from the men, who recognize it as the stalling ploy that it is.

As the main thrust of this description focuses on males and male ritual, and indeed the center stage in all Wovan ritual is occupied by males, it may be apposite here to digress for a moment and provide a brief description of female activity during the course of the angge ceremony. The angge initiations occur on the night before the pigs

are killed. In fact, it is a major activity of the initiates to perform the killing. On the night before, then, when the women have been dispatched from the confines of the ritual house, they gather at a nearby location and spend the whole night singing and dancing. Referred to as the mə komai (the women's singsing), it serves, as far as the men are concerned, the same functions that the young men's singsing serves in relation to the hamo initiations, that is, as a screen. In this case it may be viewed as a self-policing function; by singing the women ensure that they, themselves, cannot hear what is occurring at the ritual house.

There are no restrictions on who may attend the women's singsing. Young children, male and female, who have been banished from the main house all witness the event. No male who is permitted to witness the initiation would, however, chose to remain at the women's singsing.

Like the males' songs and dances, the melodic and verbal components of the women's singsing are very simple and repetitive. The dance itself, consists of a 'trot' forward about 10 paces at which point one turns and returns to the original position. The lyrics of the songs consist largely of lamentations for the imminent deaths of the pigs. The women explain the singsing themselves in terms of the fact that they have labored long and hard in raising the pigs, which were always their responsibility, and now the men have taken them from them and are going to kill them. However, I have never heard a woman say that she had refused to permit her husband to kill their pigs. On one occasion

when a pig was needed for sacrifice not associated with initiation, the young girl whose responsibility the pig was, took it and hid it in the nearby bush and refused to allow it to be killed. Her mother's brother, with whom she lived and who wanted the pig relented and killed another and larger pig in its stead.

While the women are conducting their own ceremonies at some distance from the main house, the men and the cockatoo feather initiands begin their ceremonies in the inner room of the men's side of the main ceremonial house. When darkness has fallen and all others have left the area, the initiands enter the aimé room and remain there. All the adult men present at the house crowd into the aimé room with them. The number present and participating varies greatly depending on whether hamo initiations are also being conducted or not. In the case where the hamo initiations, described above, were conducted, few men left the bush house to return to the main ceremonial house for the angge ceremony. On the occasion on which I witnessed the angge ceremonies, however, no hamo initiations were conducted and consequently there were over forty adult men crowded into the small (less than 3 meters square) inner room of the house.

The ceremony opens with the adult men haranguing the initiands who are seated side by side along one wall of the room. The initiands are berated for their past behavior that has not met the standards set by the elders. This does not continue for long, however, and there is no threat of violence. The men then ask the initiands, "Do you know the

story of the cockatoo?" The initiands respond that they do not, to which the old men respond, "So we will tell it to you and you must listen".

There follows a description of the origin of each of the items worn in the costume of the initiands. On his head, an angge initiand wears a headdress of cockatoo feathers with a cassowary plume center. Around his neck, he wears a necklace of mother-of-pearl shells. Through his nose is inserted a round shell. Around his forehead, he wears a wide band of small cowrie shells. As a choker around his neck, he wears a string of large cowries. Each of these items is honored in the repetitive chant, which continues until dawn. Each item is treated in a single verse. It is neither possible nor necessary to give the whole chant here, but a single verse, pertaining to the 'nose' shell will suffice as an example:

The shell comes from the water
 the shell is like water
 carry this shell
 when you go to the bush to hunt
 when you go to get possum
 carry this shell
 when you go to hunt pig

This is the story of the kina shell
 Now you know the story of the cockatoo

The structure of each verse is the same and the refrain "now you know the story of the cockatoo" is used at the end of each verse.

The chanting continues until dawn, at which time the initiands are dressed in each of the items mentioned in the chant and their faces are painted with the red and black tree fruit oils, koñe and singgi. Shortly after dawn, they emerge from the house, and the women begin to assemble to lead the pigs to slaughter.

The initiands emerge from the inner room of the big ceremonial house adorned in the white feathers of the cockatoo, their bodies glistening with the oil of the marita pandanus. They conduct the pig kill. Their official duties are concluded at that point. They continue to wear the insignia of initiation throughout the day but, if the singsing is held that evening, they will wear the finery for the singsing rather than dance in their initiation gear.

The pigs have been tethered a short distance from the house on the evening before. If there are many pigs to be killed, two killing posts are established, one at each end of the house. If there are fewer pigs, only one killing post is set up. Here, the pigs are tethered while being clubbed to death. The women lead the pigs into the compound one at a time. The pig is tied to the killing post and, if restless, is calmed by the woman by scratching its lower back. A wooden club, sau, is used to strike the animal between the eyes until it is dead. It is considered very good if the pig can be killed with a single blow, and on

the one occasion that I witnessed such a feat, it drew a shout of rejoicing from the assembled multitude. Unusually, however, it will take considerably more than a single blow to kill the animal. Frequently, the animal is merely rendered unconscious and presumed dead. Some time later it attempts to get up and wander off only to be assaulted by all the young boys in the area who unceremoniously club it to death.

The cockatoo initiands have pride of place in killing the pigs. There is an air of great excitement. After each successful killing, the initiands circle the house at a slow trot, shouting the familiar "o-o-o-o-...". Once each initiand has killed at least one animal, their duties are over.

All the shells and other paraphernalia worn by the initiates has been magically treated by the elders. This magic is largely associated with hunting. The mother-of-pearl shells and cowrie headband should always be carried when hunting and will ensure success in the venture. When a pig or marsupial is killed and steamed, one should place the headband and one's bow and arrows near the cooking pit to guarantee future successes (this applies particularly, in the case of pig, to one's bladed arrows). Similarly, when a cassowary is trapped, one's ax and beads should be placed near the earth oven.

The cockatoo ceremony, as I said before, is the rite of passage from boyhood to manhood. Once the male has passed through this ceremony he is entitled to marry. Many males, in fact, marry within a short

period after undergoing the angge initiation. Those males who have passed through the hamo initiations together will also undergo the angge initiations together. During the period of fieldwork, a young man had made arrangements to undergo his angge initiation; he had also made arrangements to elope within a few days of being initiated. However, one of his cohort had gone to the plantation and had not returned when the house was built and preparations made. The remaining initiands stated that they would build another house in the future when their andau (partner) had returned from the coast and would forego initiation until then. This was agreed and the initiations were postponed, but the pig kill and the ceremonial distribution went ahead as planned. Two days after the distribution, the young man and his chosen woman eloped. Four months later, her father had still not consented to the union, and the two young people were still in hiding in the forest.

Informants concede that the fact that the young man had not passed through his angge initiation had no bearing on this conflict. Undergoing the initiation entitles one to marry but entails no guarantee as to one's entitlement to marry a particular female. In most cases, one can expect that one's decision will be challenged by the woman's elders, and most likely they will be supported by one's own kin.

While passing through the angge initiation does not entail the lifting of all life-cycle food taboos, it does entail the lifting of some of the taboos and the lightening of the taboo load that reached its

peak at the inception of the hamo initiation. These taboos will be further lightened at the final initiation to which we now turn.

The Sixth Stage: Aime

The aime initiation rite is named from the plant that is used in preparing a drink concocted and imbibed within the confines of the inner sanctum of the big house. It is the most exclusive of the Wovan rituals, being witnessed only by those elders who have already passed through the rite and the initiands who are undergoing the rite for the first time.

Having passed through the angge ceremony, the Wovan male has an indefinite wait until he undergoes the final rite that will complete his long process of achieving full manhood. This wait may, in some instances, be as long as twenty years, but, on average, it works out at about ten years. In the interim, the male has, usually, married and become a father of two or three children. Marriage and parenthood, however, are not necessary prerequisites to final initiation, as is evidenced by the number of aged bachelors who have completed their initiation cycles.

I have mentioned above (in connection with the preparation of new ritual big houses) the two periods of seclusion of the elders in the house. Here I am concerned solely with the second period, as it is on

this occasion that new initiates are inducted. Procedures of the first seclusion parallel those of the second but without this further elaboration.

On the day on which the initiation takes place, the elders spend the morning and early afternoon preparing their finery and dressing themselves to enter the house. Each man covers his head with a bark hat, which he decorates with feathers and decorative leaves. Strings of cowries and beads are worn strung from the shoulders in bandelero style, and the men paint their faces with the red oil of the koñe plant. In mid-afternoon, the men enter the big house and begin preparations, but the area surrounding the house is not declared off-limits to youths and women until nightfall.

Immediately before the elders enter the 'big house,' a number of young men have been sent to collect timber nearby. Two or three armfuls of split timber (cut in about 1 meter lengths) are brought and placed inside the aimé room. The elders enter the room and immediately set about constructing a small altar-like platform with this timber. On it is laid the bark of a betel palm, which one of the elders had prepared prior to entering the room, one very large coconut shell, and one smaller coconut shell for each of the men entering the room. As these smaller shells are placed on the platform, the elder who is putting them there chants quietly. "That's the first sister; that's the second sister..." and so on. A younger man (or boy) who has been standing around is instructed to go onto the roof of the house and the elders

instruct him to move the pandanus leaves on the roof until all the rays of sunlight penetrating the room are completely eliminated.

Branches of the dzinal tree are laid on the 'altar' and are placed on the walls of the room such that the white underside of the leaves is visible. The doors of the room are not yet sealed and, although women and girls no longer enter and leave the house, young men and boys are free to do so. Those who wish to enter the house must remove their shirts and any 'store bought' clothing. The dzinal branches cannot pass over the fire when being transported across the room and, as the fire stretches almost the length of the room, the participants must be careful to hold the branches close to the wall.

Preparation of the aimé then begins. Two of the senior participants sit at opposite ends of the 'altar', and the root of the plant is passed to them (again ensuring that it does not pass over the flames). One of the senior men scrapes the rough skin off the root while uttering an incantation. As he finishes each verse, the incantation is repeated by the novice. The other seniors present quietly recite the same incantation at the same time as the aimé is being scraped. Once the outer skin has been scraped off, the aimé is passed to the other senior men present and they begin tearing the inner skin off with their teeth and depositing it in the betel bark bowl which has been placed on the platform. When the preparation has been completed, a young boy delivers a bamboo water container to the room, and leaves. Those men who chew betel may take a break to do so, at this

point, but it is not a requirement and a number of Wovan adults do not chew betel. Smoking is not permitted within the aime room. After a short pause, the senior male who has originally scraped the aime root, takes the bamboo water container and, while chanting or intoning pours a small amount of water into the betel-bark bowl. The chant consists largely of nonsense syllables and the frequent repetition of the word aime:

Ha ro ra ro, ha ro ra ro

aime na no, aime na no

When sufficient water has been poured on the aime root, the bamboo tube is put away, and the senior male begins to knead the mixture of root scrapings and water. The same chant is continued during the kneading. The senior male, having completed the kneading, picks up each of the smaller coconut shell bowls and blows into it. Then, using the root scrapings as a sponge, he transfers the liquid from the betel-bark bowl to the large coconut shell bowl, chanting:

Hu redi ro ra ro, ro ra ro

aime na wa, aime na wa

More water is added to the betel-bark bowl and the entire process is repeated. While this is in progress, the younger men begin to seal the doors of the aime room using banana leaves, until only a single small access remains for the elders to enter and leave the room. The immediate area of the aime room is then cleared of all uninitiated persons⁴. The banana leaf curtain effectively prohibits anyone seeing into the aime room while permitting the elders easy access. A small hole is left in the wall adjoining the women's inner room and the aime

room. Through this is passed the cooked portions of pig heart to eat and pig grease to rub on the body after the pig kill.

The aime room is ordinarily not completely tambu to uninitiated males and even they may enter it on occasion during the week of the elders seclusion to talk with the elders and chew betel with them. It is always tambu to women and girls, even when the males are not in seclusion there. When ritual activity is in progress, however, all uninitiated males are prohibited from entering.

The elders remain in seclusion in the aime room for approximately one week. After this time, they emerge fully dressed in their finery, their faces painted with red koñe and stand outside the house, drawing a deep breath. After relaxing, talking and smoking, for a short while, with those assembled outside the house, they go and visit the neighboring houses to declare that they have emerged from seclusion. On the night that they come out of the aime room, the fire is built to heat the hamo initiates. If there are no hamo initiations, the angge initiations take place. Pigs are killed and distributed on the following day.

The emergence of the old men, and the initiation of the angge young men does not end the ritual state at the big house. A final cleansing ritual is conducted about one week after the pig festival. The cleansing ritual involves the killing and cooking, in earth ovens, of large numbers of eels. The eels are cooked along with the remains of

the pork, mostly belly portions. While these are cooking, the debris (leaves used to block holes in the walls, banana leaves used to sleep on, etc.) are brought out of the aime room and burned in a separate fire. This cleaning is done with little ceremony by some, but not necessarily all, of the men who have been secluded in the room. The ashes of the fire that had burned in the room during their seclusion are removed, nowadays using a government issue shovel, by any male available for the work (young or old), and these ashes are scattered in the nearby fallow garden. Once the work has been completed, the cooked eels are distributed to all present and are eaten on the spot.

The cleansing of the aime room formally ends the ritual state, and the house reverts to being a normal dwelling house. The lives of those who dwell there also return to normal as the long line of visitors and guests begin to leave and return to their own homes and hamlets. The eel feast ends a period of hectic ritual activity that, in some cases, has spanned up to five months since the elders first entered the aime room and lit the first fire. Five or more years may pass before another ritual is conducted at this residence or at a new house built to replace it. The focus of conversation among the nearby residents shifts gradually from a discussion of this ilib^v hram to the new house being constructed in some other part of the valley.

In this section, I have presented the bare outlines of the Wovan male life cycle as defined by a series of initiations through which all Wovan males must pass. Attention to the content or symbolic

significance of these rituals has been minimal as my intention was to present the 'organization' of the ritual rather than its content. My aim was to provide a background for the treatment of the establishment of social relations by means other than kinship. During the remainder of this chapter, I shall be concerned with the implications of this system of initiations for the organization of Wovan society, the creation of ties between men, and the interdependence of men and women.

The Andau Relationship

No Wovan male can pass from boyhood to manhood without passing through the sequence of initiations described above. Few Wovan males, however, undergo any of these initiations alone and the relationship established with one's fellow initiates is important for the rest of one's life. Two important relationships are established for the initiand during initiation. First, there is a hierarchical relationship created between the initiand and his ritual sponsor, his nomai. The initiate must refrain from calling his sponsor by name for the rest of his life; he must give him gifts of pork in the future when he, as an adult, builds his own ritual house and slaughters his own pigs; and he must mourn on the death of his sponsor. The other relationship, the relationship with which I am more concerned here, is that established between the initiates. The relationship is essentially one of parity, and, for that reason, I have glossed the relationship term employed between initiates as 'partnership'. The Wovan term for this

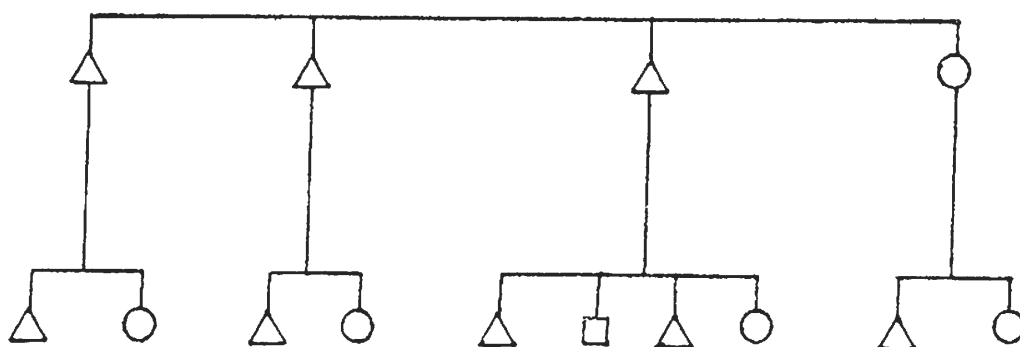
relationship is andau. For a detailed discussion of this term see Flanagan (n.d.).

Andau relationships are essentially dyadic. While a cursory examination would lead one to the impression that andau relationships, like siblingship, are transitive, this, in fact, is not true. Through the process of initiation, the Wovan male acquires a number of andau, but the relationship does not exist between a group of men as a group, rather between an individual and a number of specific other individuals. The examination of a number of other areas of Wovan life that give rise to the same andau relationship leads to a formal definition of andau as a relationship between two individuals who "bear identical relations to a third definitive element (object or event)" (Flanagan n.d: 16). It differs from siblingship, then, by being defined in terms of an object or event rather than by a relationship to another person, and it is this difference that permits the transitivity of siblingship while denying the transitivity of partnership. It is this difference also that ensures the dyadic nature of partnership while permitting the multiplicity of interrelationships of siblingship.

As we discussed above, the Wovan employ a variant of Iroquois kinship terminology in which both siblings and parallel cousins are called by the same kinship term and cross cousins are differentiated from these. Both sex and seniority are distinguished in the sibling relationship while neither are distinguished in the cross cousin relationship. Figure 34, below, presents the elementary kin terms for

one's own generation. Terms for male ego are given in upper case letters, for female ego in lower case letters.

Figure 34: Wovan Own Generation Kinship Terminology



N ^ˆ MBOD	MARAU	HAUL	MARAU	N ^ˆ MBOD	ego	HAUL	MARAU	NOLEVA	NOLEVA
namam	ma'ant	namam	haul	namam	ma'ant	haul	noleva	noleva	noleva
				(B)	(ez)	(yZ)			

No distinction is made between patrilineal and matrilineal kin.

In a society of the scale of the Wovan, in which most marriages are endogamous, it is evident that the majority of one's own generation mates are also kin. For the male initiate, then, those youths with whom he is initiated, are also invariably 'siblings' or 'cousins'. The utility and essence of the andau relationship can be demonstrated by its interconnection with these kin terms after initiation. The youth who is initiated with both siblings and cousins will invariably switch to the use of andau in address and reference to those whom, prior to

initiation, he termed sibling. No such consistent pattern was observed in relation to the cross-cousin term. That is, the initiate may continue to employ noleva or may alternate between noleva and andau but will not shift his usage completely to andau. Now this presents the analyst with serious difficulties if he views his data purely in terms of kinship distance. Andau, which in the past might have been treated under the rubric of 'created' or 'fictive kinship', is patently not a kinship term, nor do the Wovan conceive of it as such. Why, then, do the Wovan substitute a non-kinship term for one of the closest kin-relationships, that of siblings? It is my contention, and I have argued this at length elsewhere (Flanagan n.d.), that the primary utility of the andau concept lies in the establishment of 'relations of equality' among individuals and thus in overcoming the hierarchy inherent in the sibling relationship but not in the cross-cousin relationship and manifested in the kinship terminology.

Initiated youths, when questioned as to why they refer to their fellow initiates as andau give responses of the kind: "Because we chewed the waimangk together and our mouths swelled up," or "because we put on the yonggulit together." The logic of both these statements is the same and accords well with the formal definition of andau we have given above.

While a Wovan male obtains his greatest number of andau through the initiation process, it is not the only way by which andau are obtained. Briefly looking at some of the other situations in which the

andau term is employed will assist us in demonstrating that the formal definition we have given above has general applicability.

Two women who marry real siblings and thereby reside together in the same house will address and refer to each other as andau. This usage will supercede any prior kin relationship.

Long distance inter-ethnic trading was conducted by the establishment of life-long trading partnerships. These partners were obligated to ensure one another's safe conduct through their territories and to provide one another with food and shelter. It was understood that such men would not attempt to cheat one another and that one's best goods would be exchanged. Such men referred to each other as andau. Wovan men who did not have a trade partner in another ethnic group rarely traded directly with men from that group but operated through a Wovan intermediary who did. Loans, nowadays in the form of cash, are freely given to a trade partner.

Wovan men, who have shared the experience of working on coastal plantations together refer to each other as andau. It is interesting to note that these men, who have all learned some Pidgin English while on the coast, translate the andau concept into the Pidgin term wantok (literally 'one who speaks the same language', but nowadays throughout Papua New Guinea used to designate 'friend'). The Wovan, then, it would appear, appreciate the same logic as applying to the use of language as we have outlined as applying to other objects and events

within their society. Levine and Levine (1980) have provided an extensive treatment of the wantok concept as a major element in the social organization of present day Port Moresby, the capital of Papua New Guinea.

Through its role in the creation of partnerships, then, Wovan initiation goes far beyond its manifest function of ensuring the successful passage of males through the life cycle. Partnerships ensure the bonding, on the basis of parity, of males who would otherwise be in superior-inferior (senior-junior) relationships. It extends relationships beyond the limits of mere kinship to permit the establishment of amicable relations between members of different kin groups. The partnership relationship, based on the same principle of parity as the relationship formed through initiation, permits the establishment of relations beyond even the limits of the ethnic community.

Partners, whether formed on the basis of initiation, trade, or whatever, have obligations of mutual assistance in both defence and financial matters. These relationships, in times of warfare, permit them to mediate internal troubles and, in times of financial obligation, allow them to assist one another to meet these obligations. Partnership provides the Wovan with a mechanism that transcends both kinship and ethnicity to provide a more cohesive social order⁵.

Kinship, Friendship and Enmity

The statement above (p. 222) that all generation mates in Wovan are kin, whether siblings or cousins, must be modified to take account of internal warfare. We have discussed in Chapter 1, above, that most Wovan warfare was internal to the Wovan people themselves, and consequently relationships of perpetual enmity (kowal a mul) were established between kin groups among whom the balance of transgressions and reprisals was unequal. Such enmity could be ritually expunged, but, in the interim, no kin connections were recognized between the two groups. Enemies did not cease to be Wovan simply because they were enemies, but they did cease to be kin. The paradox of our presentation reflects the paradox of the Wovan's own view of their society, a society in which all are kin, unless they are enemies.

From this perspective the Wovan world may again be divided into three categories:

Yam - Kowal a mul - herre n^mbe

Yam, in this context, may most conveniently be glossed as 'kin'; kowal a mul as 'those between whom there is enmity'; and herre n^mbe as 'other' or 'nothing men'. Within the limits of Wovan, one must be either kin or enemy. All outside are 'others'.

The idea of enmity as an abstract does not fit well with the Wovan view, however, and, while the term kowal a mul is used as a general term on occasion, the Wovan are more inclined to refer to kowal..

'those who have lost a man in battle', 'the bereaved', that is those transgressed against and n[^]mbe f[^]ruxup.. 'those who have transgressed or literally 'a man for killing'. The structure of killing and revenge killing is built into the terminological structure and the terminology helps keep the score before the minds of the participants. This becomes very obvious in any attempt to elicit emotions on the sighting of an 'enemy'. If one sees a kowal, I was told, one feels fear as you know he wants to kill you. He, seeing you as n[^]mbe f[^]rixup, feels anger and hatred because he wants to kill you.

The Wovan concede that one's andau are never kowal, but they are not always close kin either and the possibility of feuding was ever present in the past. If feuding occurred between the kin groups of two persons who were andau to one another, then, those andau had obligations to one another that prohibited them from fighting and thus the possibility of a peaceful resolution of the conflict remained open.

Hierarchical Structure

In the foregoing discussion of the ritual sequence through which all men pass, I placed emphasis on the relations of parity created between initiates. This view of the egalitarian basis of Wovan society corresponds closely with the view of the egalitarian basis of East African age-grade societies and contends that such egalitarianism is fostered by the fact that all men, at some point (unless they die or emigrate) pass through all grades. Viewed over time, therefore, the

societies present a highly egalitarian image (La Fontaine 1978, Baxter and Almagor 1978). Viewed from the inside, however, at any single point in time, these societies are highly stratified and this stratification is based on the number of initiations that the individual has undergone. Wovan society is similarly stratified on the basis of initiation.

It was patently obvious, in the description of the initiation rituals, that the individual's position in relation to the remainder of the society changed drastically at each initiation. From the initial recognition of maleness in the "dressing up ceremony" to the final achievement of complete manhood in the aimé ceremony, the male definition of self and society's definition of him is constantly changing. His relations to items of food, to members of the opposite sex, to other initiated and uninitiated males, and to participation in the public life of the community, are redefined as he passes through each successive stage. While the fact of being initiated together, then, creates relations of parity and overrides the inherent inequalities of sibblingship, the fact of being initiated sequentially further bolsters and underlines that inequality.

What is the basis of hierarchy and inequality among the Wovan? Increasing participation in the socio-political sphere, in decision making, and the gradual acquisition of knowledge is translated, in everyday Wovan behavior, into respect for one's elders. Only those men who have passed through the final, aimé, stage of initiation know the ultimate secrets of the society. Each initiation level, therefore,

recognizes that those who have passed through a stage higher than themselves must know something that they themselves do not know. This does not entail a desire on the part of most Wovan young men to quickly achieve all the stages of initiation. Many postpone, avoid, and delay their initiations on the slightest pretext. Asked why they do not want to be initiated into the next level, they invariably respond that undergoing initiation or participating in the initiation of others makes one grow old quickly. The reflexive logic of this position demands that to grow one must pass through initiation, therefore, passing through initiation makes one grow old. As I have stated before, and as Barth also observed for the Baktaman (1975), Wovan ritual is a community ritual participated in only by men. One does not participate in initiation nor become an elder purely for one's own glory and gratification. One does it because the health and well-being of the community demand it. Men, while becoming men, endanger their own health by communing with the spirits, age more quickly than necessary by undergoing initiation, in sum, sacrifice themselves for the sake of the community at large, including both youths and females. They are, therefore, entitled to the respect of these non-initiated persons.

Men, however, through the process of initiation, also acquire mystical and spiritual knowledge: knowledge which could possibly be used to harm the uninitiated should they so desire. Elders are, therefore, not only respected but, to some extent, feared. Younger Wovan claim that their elders know only the art of curing. Sorcery is used to heal not to hurt. However, they also acknowledge that they fear some men

lest they use this knowledge to harm them. Physical punishment of children is rare, but, as we have stated above, punishment of young men could be severe in the case of elopement or other infraction.

The control of knowledge, therefore, forms the basis of Wovan stratification. Elder males retain ultimate authority by keeping control of the ultimate secrets of the society. This is not unusual in Papua New Guinea, and many situations have been described which parallel the Wovan situation. Lacking the means of physical coercion, control is vested in the supernatural order and the means of communicating with and influencing the decisions of this supernatural order are controlled by the elder males. To challenge this authority, then, is to risk infuriating the ghosts of ancestors, who are always willing to intervene in human affairs. In effect, to risk such a revolt is to risk death by factors over which one has no control and, perhaps even worse, about which one may not even know.

Relations Between the Sexes

In the foregoing treatment of initiation, I have concentrated attention primarily on the interrelationships between men created by the initiation process. I want to turn attention briefly here to the relationship between men and women and to underline the role of women in initiation.

There are no initiation rites among Wovan women comparable to those of men. Neither a girl's menarche nor marriage is marked with ceremony. Women do not enter the "gerontocratic ladder" as men do. Girls are little women in a sense that boys are not little men. Men have to be 'made' through the initiation process but young girls become women without any cultural manipulation. Women, if one may use the old dichotomy, are the products of nature, men are the products of culture. This view is elaborated in the Wovan origin myth in which the first man is 'created' from a fingerless, mouthless beast, skilled in the arts of hunting but without 'culture' (being unable to distinguish right from wrong, good food from inedible food). This transformation is brought about by the aid of a woman who, already completely human in form, journeys to Wovan territory from the Sepik river area (see pp 30-31, above). Today, while the process of the transmission of culture has been taken over by men, the Wovan acknowledge the necessity of women in the conduct of ritual.

No male initiations occur without the accompanying slaughter and distribution of pigs. Pig herding is primarily the responsibility of women among the Wovan, and while men claim that they retain complete rights of disposal over animals, no male has ever claimed that he did not discuss forthcoming distributions with his wife. In fact, most men clearly state that wives have considerable say on the question of who shall receive pork on any given occasion. Women retain disposal rights over some animals, and these may or may not be included with her husbands herd at the time of distribution. The woman's role does not

end with the tending of pigs. During the pig kill itself, the women play a prominent role in leading the animals to the slaughter and in securing the animals to the killing post and comforting them to ensure that they remain stationary for the club wielder to deliver the fatal blow. Their role in this process is highlighted by the m komai ('women's festival') on the night before the animals are slaughtered. I have mentioned above that the women's singsing on the night before the slaughter serves inadvertently to mask from them the sounds coming from the ceremonial house in which the cockatoo ceremony is in progress. The manifest function of the singsing, however, is to lament the imminent deaths of the pigs they have tended. They sing songs denouncing the men who are about to kill the pigs and eat their flesh even though it is they, the women, who have labored to feed them. Their permission to perform the killing has not been properly sought or obtained (see Sexton 1980, 1982 for a similar reaction among Goroka women where the pigs are referred to a 'our children'). While being excluded from the proceedings, the women vigorously and vociferously demonstrate that none of these proceedings could occur without their cooperation and assistance.

The interdependence of the sexes is underscored on a daily basis by the relationship between cross-sex siblings. The complementarity of cross-sex siblings in the subsistence sphere is apparent in all Wovan evaluations of those roles. A 'good sister', according to men, is one who provides food for her brother. A 'good brother', according to women, is one who prepares a garden and fences it for his sister, one

who will share with her the proceeds of his hunting trip. Cross-sex siblings constantly exchange small gifts. A male will spend considerable time elaborately stringing beads to wear at an upcoming festival and then present them to his sister to wear with the hope (a hope not always realized) that she will 'lend' them back to him when the festival comes.

I have commented at some length above on the inherent inequalities of same sex siblingship, inequalities that are manifested in kinship terminology. There are no such markers of seniority in cross-sex sibling terminology. Relative age, or relative age of parents is of no consequence in cross-sex sibling terminology, only the sex of speaker and referent are marked. The two terms marau, 'my cross-sex female sibling', and namam, 'my cross-sex male sibling', adequately achieve this total distinction. This distinction is also carried over into the second and third person possessive kin-terms (your, his/her) which are differentiated from first person possessive terms. Here, the sex of the referent and of the linking relative are specified by the term, but not the sex of the speaker. For example:

hInde (nang)/nung..(your)/his/her same-sex elder sibling

fungge (nang)/nung..(your)/his/her same-sex younger sibling

But,

nolau (nang)/nung..(your)[male]/his cross-sex [female] sibling

Despite the complementarity of roles and the lack of hierarchy in the sibling terminology, all is not quite equal in the interrelations of

males and females, even between siblings. Final authority over the female is ultimately vested in her brothers. Final authority over the male is ultimately vested in his father. If a male wants to marry, he does not have to obtain the consent of his sister (though she may be active in stirring their parents to a more active disapproval of the chosen wife). For a woman to marry, however, the consent of her brothers is essential. Women, as the younger men say, are a business proposition; they are something to be exchanged. The male views his own chances of marrying as being dependent on his having a sister to exchange and frequently a single female in a family of two or more males is at a disadvantage in that each successive brother will see her as his exchange, for a future wife. A now aging woman who has remained unmarried, despite her reputation as a good worker and a humorous talker (two highly desired traits in the Wovan woman), explained that she had wanted to marry on a number of occasions but on each occasion her brothers who were unmarried objected and eventually she, herself, had decided not to marry at all. She confessed that she might reconsider when her now teenaged daughter was an adult.

The authority of elder males over younger males and of males over females provides the broad outlines of Wovan hierarchy. Within this structure some younger men may distinguish themselves as wise⁶, good talkers, shrewd traders, good gardeners, or whatever, and carry authority beyond their years. Some women may distinguish themselves as 'strong', some even become curers, and two Wovan women carry bows and arrows to hunt wild game (something noted and approved by their male

counterparts). These people, however, are exceptions rather than the rule. Wovan women are not powerless, as some Highlands women have been portrayed (but see Sexton 1980). The fact that they are excluded from the secrets of the male cult does not make them peripheral or inconsequential to it. Neither are they excluded from participation in socio-political life. They attend all major forums in which items of public importance are discussed and are free to voice their opinions there. Few, however, speak at these meetings, and women rarely attend to the activity of the meeting with the same intensity as men. When one such gathering deteriorated into a general melee in which men threatened to use weapons, (see pp 142-149, above), the women actively participated in disarming their menfolk and managed to confine the encounter to a brief and bloodless fist-fight.

After marriage, a woman's relationship with her natal family changes depending on the distance from her natal home that she now resides. If her marital household is four to six hours walk from her natal home she may only visit her parents and siblings on rare occasions. If, however, as is sometimes the case, her marital household is located 100-200 meters from her natal household, daily visits are in order, and she will continue to bring her brothers small gifts of cooked taro and sweet potatoes when she does visit. Her brothers and husband are restrained by marital taboos from such frequent visits and will only visit each other's houses when matters of importance are to be discussed (see Chapter 7). On such occasions, the visitor will squat outside the door of his brother-in-law's house and speak to him.

In sum, the relations between males and females in Wovan are much more egalitarian than has been portrayed for other Papua New Guinean societies. Males may have authority over females in prohibiting them from marrying but the woman is not powerless. Males do not have the right to force a woman to marry against her will. A woman retains the right to veto her own marriage. A young man, on the other hand, has no such veto in the case of an arranged marriage. Women, while not participating very actively in public affair, are entitled to do so. Frequently they confine attention to influencing the decisions of their brothers and husbands behind the scenes. Women, as we shall see below (Chapters 5 and 6), are considered by the Wovan to be the aggressors in sexual pursuits (most marriages result from an initial proposal by the woman), and this reputation carries over into married life. Sisters always lament the bad influence, meanness and inhospitality of their brothers' wives.

Summary

In this chapter, I have attempted to develop a broader context within which to view Wovan social organization. In Chapter 3, attention was focused on kinship as a primary organizing principle. Here, I have focused on other principles by which groups are formed and upon which interpersonal relations are based. Ritual and exchange are the major principles treated here.

Ritual creates both egalitarian and hierarchical relationships. Egalitarian relationships, based on a principle of parity, may be ties of equality (such as the andau relationship) or of complementarity (such as those between cross-sex siblings). Equality relationships are defined, as we stated above, by the two partners bearing identical relationships to a third defining element (object or event). They are abstractly represented by the formula $A:B::C:B$ (if A is to B as C is to B, then A and C are equal). In Wovan, if this relationship holds, A and C are andau to one another. Such relationships are inherently binary, in that they are defined by two persons sharing an identical relationship to a third element (not a person). Partnership, thus, contrasts with siblingship, which does not have a binary restriction. Siblingship, it will be noted, may be defined by the same abstract representation as partnership, but, because the defining element is a person - an element of the same order as the others - all elements are interchangeable, and thus, the binary restriction does not hold. Relations of complementarity (see Smith 1980, Hays and Hays 1981) are also binary in nature but are defined by bearing non-identical but complementary relationships to a third definitive element. Thus, among the Wovan, andau must, by definition, always be of the same sex, but the complementarity of cross-sex siblings is inherent in their sexually defined roles.

The andau (partner) relationship applied to long term trading partners underlines the equality of such relationships. In the long

term, there are no givers and receivers in such exchange. Rather, there are people who give to one another or people who receive from one another, or more accurately and more economically, people who engage in giving and receiving. Parity in the long term is assured, and the utilization of such concepts permits the small ethnic groups of the Western Schraders to develop wide networks of 'friends' and to utilize resources unobtainable within their own territories.

The Wovan, thus, have available to them and utilize a variety of organizational forms in addition to kinship. These organizational forms cross-cut and compliment the structures resulting from application of kinship and act to increase the interdependence of the Wovan people as a whole. However, they also achieve more than simple integration. Being largely endogamous (see Chapters 5 and 6 below), the Wovan cannot rely on the principle of kinship to activate relationships outside the ethnic boundary. The utilization of institutionalized trading partnerships and the creation of ties through participation in ceremonies enables them to extend their network of relationships throughout the Schrader area and even as far as the Sepik river. This network, in turn, enables them to maintain a position of successful middle-men in a flourishing Sepik-Highlands trade.

Footnotes: Chapter 4

1. Traditionally, the Wovan pierced both the septum and the nostril flares. During normal activities, a short bamboo plug is worn through the septum to keep the hole open and slivers of shell and King of Saxony plumes are worn through it when dancing. The nostril flares are pierced with thin holes through which were worn thin slivers of bamboo (giving a cat's whiskers' effect). These slivers of bamboo were worn at all times for beauty and doubled as toothpicks. Nowadays, younger men no longer have their nostril flares pierced but all still have their septa pierced.

2. One of the youths initiated in January 1980, informed me, almost a full year before the event (in February 1979), that he was certain that he would be initiated at the next ceremonial house (the house was already under construction at that time). He added that he felt he was too young and that it was unfair. In fact, he was well past puberty and older than many other initiates.

3. I have commented elsewhere (Flanagan 1981a) on Wovan finery and its use in ritual. Here, I distinguish between the busby-hat type of dress now common to the entire Simbai (Kalam-Kopon-Wovan) area, which is a very recent introduction to the Wovan, and the traditional dress styles which involved the use of marsupial fur attached to chewed bark hats and decorated with parrot and cockatoo feathers. The Wovan now invariably use the Kalam busby-hat when dancing at major singsing. However, they still resolutely maintain the use of traditional finery when performing initiation rituals and other events where participation by outsiders is not permitted.

4. I was unable to witness the remainder of the aime ceremony and was asked to leave the area with the other uninitiated persons. The description of ritual, therefore, remains incomplete, as we are lacking this final important piece of information. It is important to realize that fringe groups, such as the Wovan, are extremely defensive about permitting outsiders to witness rituals, at this point, as they feel they are under pressure from outside sources, especially missionaries, to abandon these practices, and they regard these practices as vital to their identity and to their very survival.

5. My focus here is on the normative level. I am concerned with the rights and duties of the andau relationship. I do not wish to imply that all andau relationships are always and necessarily amicable.

Chapter 5: NORM AND NORMAL

IDEOLOGICAL AND STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF WOVAN MARRIAGE

In the foregoing chapters, I have provided a basic structural description of Wovan society in terms of the principles underlying group composition. I have treated kinship and ritual at some length. Such an analysis, however, provides an essentially static view of Wovan society. In the next three chapters, I will be concerned with social organization more in the sense employed by Firth (1964) as the dynamics of interpersonal relations. In undertaking this analysis, I will be primarily concerned with the social and political implications of marriage among the Wovan. I have indicated above that the Wovan are, by and large, endogamous, and it will become clear as we progress that internal marriage provides the motive force of Wovan social organization.

The two approaches to marriage which will form the bases of Chapters 6 and 7, respectively, need to be outlined here. In the short term, the marriage of any two persons necessitates the re-alignment of relationships between their respective kin-groups. This process, among the Wovan, frequently leads to considerable conflict and protracted negotiation. In chapter 6, I shall analyze the contraction of marriage

as an event or "social drama" (interpreting Turner 1957 in the broadest sense).

In Chapter 7, attention will be focused on the long term implications of endogamous parallel-cousin marriage. This analysis will enable us to provide a view of the working out of endogamous marriage over time and to demonstrate the continual re-alignment of relationships necessary under such a system. The Wovan system, it will be apparent, raises problems for both the standard descent-theory and exchange views of marriage.

Here, I want to provide an introduction to these discussions by outlining the ways in which Wovan marry, their ideological statements as to 'correct' marriages, and the statistical frequencies of occurrence of the various marriage forms.

Marriage Norms

Ideally, two Wovan males who stand in a sibling (parallel-cousin) relationship to one another exchange sisters. "We marry our sisters" is the normative Wovan statement on marriage. While the girls' fathers do, in fact, participate in any marriage discussions and in any conflict that results from the marriage, the Wovan never phrase marriage disputes in terms of the involvement of the bride's father. All disputes in relation to marriage are said to be disputes between the brothers of the

bride and the kin of the bridegroom. Brothers have a proprietary interest in their sisters. Such a 'sister' or parallel cousin would normally also be a Wovan woman. Thus, ideally, all marriages should be endogamous to the ethnic group and, in fact, over 80% of marriages for which accurate genealogical information could be obtained were endogamous. A final restriction on Wovan marriages is constituted by the ideal of monogamy and only 3 cases of plural marriage were obtained in genealogical information for the past three generations.

The Wovan ideal, then, demands that any marriage fulfill five criteria: 1) that the marriage be part of a mutual exchange of sisters; 2) that the marriage be arranged by the males of the kin groups of both the bride and bridegroom; 3) that the parties stand in a parallel-cousin relationship to one another; 4) that they be both Wovan; 5) that neither party have a presently living spouse. Few Wovan marriages conform to all five criteria. The criteria above are listed in the order of increasing fulfillment (marriages are least likely to be part of a mutual exchange of sisters and it is most likely that both partners will not have another living spouse at the time of marriage).

Information was obtained on 347 marriages over the past three generations. The exact genealogical relationship between the spouses could be determined with certainty in only 87 of these marriages (25%). This smaller figure provides a sample from which generalized statements on the frequency of marriage with specific kin-types can be made. Let us, then, take each of the criteria in turn and analyze the extent to

which the Wovan conform to their own normative statements. In doing so, it is best to begin with the most frequently fulfilled criterion and work our way to the least frequently met.

Monogamy

Only three cases of polygynous marriage were discovered in genealogies extending over the past three generations. This represents less than 1% of known marriages. In no case did a man have more than two simultaneous wives. Only one extant polygynous marriage exists, and the polygynist, although resident on Wovan territory, is himself part Kopon and lives on the Wovan-Kopon boundary. The Kopon, the eastern neighbors of the Wovan, are polygynous.

Wovan statements concerning polygyny are rarely phrased in moral terms. One rarely hears that it is wrong; rather, it is simply unwise. One woman is sufficient for any man; two women would invariably fight; a man would have to work too hard to cut and fence a garden big enough to support two women. A moral tone does creep into the discussions of polygyny as a regular practice on the part of the Kopon. They are described as being "like dogs", and their sexual appetite, which compels them to marry more than one woman, leads them frequently into adulterous relationships. When speaking of specific polygynists, however, the Wovan never imply moral turpitude.

Lacking big manship, the Wovan do not see any advantage to plural marriage. Economically and demographically, monogamy makes sense. There is nothing to gain from the acquisition of additional wives. In fact, many Wovan young men declare that the ideal would be to never marry, and the existence of a number of older bachelors, who lack any evidence of physical or other deformity which would render them ineligible as marriage partners, gives evidence that such a course of action is adopted by at least a proportion.

Endogamy

I am concerned here with ethnic group rather than kin-group endogamy: that is, with the idea that Wovan should, and in fact for the most part do, marry other Wovan. I have stated (Chapter 1) the obvious difficulties in delimiting ethnic boundaries in situations like those of the Western Schraders, where a number of small ethnic groups, speaking related languages, and sharing large proportions of their cultural inventories, live in close proximity and frequent contact with one another (see also Flanagan 1981a). For the purpose of the present discussion, I have limited the definition of Wovan to those persons having one or more Wovan parents who reside on Wovan territory and speak Wovan as their daily language.

Over 85% of recorded marriages were endogamous (294 cases). The Kopon, the largest neighboring ethnic group, accounted for the largest

percentage of non-endogamous marriages. 15 Kopon males and 18 Kopon females married Wovan partners. Wovan-Kopon marriage, therefore, accounts for 9.5% of the total number of marriages and 62.3% of all exogamous marriages. The Aramo follow as the only other significant marriage partners. 8 Aramo males and 8 Aramo females married Wovan partners. These marriages account for 4.6% of the total number of recorded marriages and 30% of exogamous marriages. Two marriages, of one male and one female, are recorded with Dzauwe partners. Both Wovan came from the southwestern corner of Wovan territory closest to Dzauwe territory. One Wovan female is currently married to a Yonggole man living on the south side of the Jimi river. This man was a long time trade partner of the brother of the woman's deceased husband. One Wovan male, three generations before the present, is said to have married a Sepik woman, but informants contend that there have been no more recent Wovan-Sepik marriages. The information presented here is summarized in Figure 35, below.

Outside the ethnic group, an approximate balance is evident in wife giving and wife taking. While reciprocity is the ideal, it is much more difficult to impose between kin groups within the Wovan themselves. When a woman marries outside the ethnic group, however, considerable resources are marshalled to ensure that the criterion of reciprocity is fulfilled. In a recent case, in which a young woman eloped with a Kopon male, three separate expeditions of Wovan men went to the hamlet of the male to demand that his younger sister be sent to them as a bride once

she came of age to marry, and it was only on the assurance that this demand would be met that the Wovan woman was permitted to remain.

Figure 35: Ethnic Distribution of Wovan Marriages

Ethnic Group	Males	%	Females	%
Wovan	322	92.7	319	91.9
Kopon	15	4.3	18	5.1
Aramo	8	2.3	8	2.3
Dzauwe	1	0.3	1	0.3
Yonggole	1	0.3	0	0.0
Womduv	0	0.0	1	0.3
Totals	347	100	347	100

Increasing contact with the outside world, in terms of increasing numbers of government patrols (agricultural, medical and administrative) and the arrival of young missionary brothers, causes a great deal of concern to the Wovan at present, and this concern is voiced largely in terms of a loss of young women who will be attracted to these strangers. Up to now, the Wovan have indeed managed to maintain a very high level of group endogamy. They, themselves, however, perceive that a

significant increase in exogamous marriage would endanger their very existence. Bride prices among the Wovan, as we shall see below, are considerably lower than among the Kopon to the east. Their women, therefore, are attractive to Kopon and Kalam youths while they themselves cannot afford to obtain brides in return. Secondly, the males feel that the heads of their young women are being turned by these sophisticated youths merely because they possess money and dress in western clothing. To maintain the same level of endogamy in the future may prove to be extremely difficult.

Parallel Cousin Marriage

It is evident from the foregoing discussion of endogamy that multiple kin-relationships are commonplace among the Wovan. An index of inbreeding has not been developed but some indication of the complexity of relationships can be obtained from the fact that 250 (or almost 37% of all living Wovan) are descended from a single ancestral pair, living four generations before the present. The Wovan, like most Papua New Guinea highlanders, are not great genealogists, and the extent of interconnections three and four generations before the present are grossly underestimated in the present analysis. While it should have been possible, given the size of the population and the extent of endogamy, to provide a single genealogical chart for the entire population, the lack of vital information three (and sometimes even two) generations ago, did not permit this.

The Wovan, when asked about marriage, state categorically an marau fai'e.. 'we our sisters get' (that is, marry). As a variant of Iroquois terminology is employed, parallel cousins, both patrilateral and matrilateral, are classed as siblings. Parallel cousin marriage is, therefore, the normative rule. However, multiple kin connections permit the Wovan to manipulate relationships such that they are seen as conforming to rule in cases where doubt exists. Analysis of genealogies reveals that 59 of 87 cases or 68% of marriages occurred between persons whose closest genealogical link was that of parallel relatives. Of these cousin marriages, 33 were with patrilateral parallel cousins and 26 were with matrilateral cousins. Eight of these marriages were with a man's 'true' FBD, and eleven were with true MZD. 22 marriages were contracted with cross-cousins of which 12 were with matrilateral cross-cousins and 10 with patrilateral cross-cousins. Six of the matrilateral cross-cousin marriages were contracted with true MBD, and 4 of the patrilateral cases were with true FZD (cross cousin marriages are described from the male viewpoint). The remaining 6 non-cousin marriages were contracted with lineal and other ineligible kin (two with MZ, and one each with BD, ZD, D, Z). These data are summarized in Figure 36, below.

It is evident from the foregoing that the Wovan frequently marry close kin. 29 or 33% of all known cases are between first cousins. However, it is best to appreciate that this figure probably over-represents the statistical occurrence of first cousin marriage, as

more distant relationships are more likely to be forgotten and, therefore, do not appear on collected genealogies. The figure, however, does represent over 8% of all recorded marriages (N=347), and this figure is itself of some significance.

Figure 36: The Distribution of Wovan Marriages across Categories
(N=87)

		own generation	other generation	percent	
sibling	patrilateral	23	10	26.4	11.5
	matrilateral	19	7	21.8	8.0
Cross-cousin	patrilateral	5	5	5.8	5.8
	matrilateral	11	1	12.6	1.1
other		1	5	1.2	5.8
Totals		58	6	23	66.5 26.3

Also evident from the foregoing discussion is the absence of patriline exogamy, even though the Wovan, like most Papua New Guinea Highlanders, subscribe to a strong patrilineal ideology. A total of 43 of the 87 marriages were with patrilateral relatives. This represents 50% of the cases and would argue for a total lack of lateral preference.

The foregoing discussion focuses attention on the cross/parallel distinction without reference to generation. That is, the cross-relative/parallel-relative distinction is drawn, following Wovan

practice, on the basis of whether the connecting relatives in the senior generation are of the same or opposite sex. While the Wovan statement of marriage preference would also insist that the marriage partners be of the same generation, this, too, does not always work out in practice. 28 of the 87 marriages for which exact genealogical information is available occur between persons of different generations. Of these, 10 are with patrilateral parallel relatives in 8 of which the female is in the junior generation; 7 are with matrilateral parallel relatives in all of which the female is in the junior generation; one is with a junior generation matrilateral cross-relative; and 5 are with patrilateral cross-relatives, the female being in the junior generation in four cases. 58 of the 81 'legitimate' marriages (72%) are, therefore, contracted with own generation mates.

Taking the generational distinction into account reduces the proportion of marriages contracted with 'true parallel-cousins', that is, those relatives who would employ sibling terms. 42 of the 87 marriages or just 48% are contracted with parallel cousins. Of these 42, 23 (or 26% of the total) are contracted with patrilateral parallel cousins, and 19 (or 22% of the total) are contracted with matrilateral parallel cousins. Thus, utilizing the closest genealogical connection, the Wovan are able to meet the stipulation of marrying an own-generation parallel relative less than 50% of the time. This information is summarized in Figure 37, below, which gives the distribution of marriages over 39 kintypes.

Figure 37: The Distribution of Wovan Marriages across Kintypes

		Kintype	Kinterm	Number	Total	As percent of total		
own generation	patrilateral	X	FMBDD	noleva	1	5	5.7	
		X	FZD	noleva	4			
		//		FBD	marau	8	23	26.4
				FFZSD	marau	5		
				FFBSD	marau	4		
				FMBSD	marau	3		
				FFZDSD	marau	1		
				FMMBSSD	marau	1		
			FMZSD	marau	1			
	matrilateral		X		MFZSD	noleva		
				MBD	noleva	6		
				MFBSD	noleva	2		
				MMBSD	noleva	1		
				MFMZSD	noleva	1		
		//		MMBDD	marau	3	19	21.8
				MZD	marau	11		
			MFBD	marau	2			
			MFZDD	marau	2			
			MMDDD	marau	1			
other generation	patri-lateral	X		FMZDDD	yimalu	1	7	8.0
				FMBSD	yimalu	1		
				FZDD	yimalu	1		
				FFBSD	yimalu	1		
				FMBD	naumbul	1		
				FFBD	naumbul	1		
				FFMZSD	naumbul	1		
				FZSD	woye	3		
	//		FBSD	woye	2	8	9.2	
			FMZSSD	woye	2			
			FFBDSD	woye	1			
	m-lat.	X		MZDD	yimalu	1	1	1.1
				MFBDSD	woye	1		
//				MZSD	woye	4	7	8.0
				MBSD	woye	2		
other		ZD	yimalu	1	6	6.9		
		D	harau	1				
		Z	marau	1				
		MZ	naim	2				
		BD	woye	1				
Totals				87	87	100.0		

Two aspects of Wovan society help mask this glaring anomaly; 1) the existence of multiple kin connections; and 2) the ignoring of generation differences as significant, particularly if the woman is in the junior generation. The existence of multiple kin-connections between any pair of individuals can mean that they stand in both parallel and cross-cousin relationships to one another at the same time or, on occasion, that they are of different genealogical generations depending on how the relationship is traced. In such cases, a man who has utilized the nearest genealogical link on which to base his kinship terminological usage may switch his usage to realign the relationship prior to marriage. Thus, a marriage to a cross-cousin may be easily justified by the statement that "following another road" the woman is really a sister, or "she's a cross-cousin and a sister", or by the ultimate, irrefutable argument, "we are all one line" ('an mambu'a yam a fanger aax').

A similar strategy can be employed in realigning a relationship which spans two generations. Here, however, informants were much less likely to insist that the participants were, if one really looked closely at the case, classificatory siblings. Approximate parity in age appears much more important than actual genealogical relationship. "She is a niece but she's like a sister (marau axI'eba'ax)" is illustrative of many justifications that I obtained. Because of approximate age equivalence, the woman fulfills the duties and obligations of a sister, (in sharing food, for example), and therefore, it is justified to treat her as a sister rather than as a member of a junior or senior

generation. A classificatory mother may likewise be seen as being more like a sister than a mother and thus an eligible marriage partner.

Mode of Marriage

The fourth and fifth aspects of the Wovan statement of ideal marriage are linked together. The mutual exchange of sisters presupposes that the marriage was arranged to accomplish this exchange. The reverse, however, is not necessarily true, and marriages are arranged which do not accomplish an exchange of sisters. Logically, therefore, we can treat the mode of marriage as separate from the 'exchange of sisters'.

The Wovan contract marriages by one of three modes which I have termed arrangement, elopement, and agreement. Arranged marriages involve the participation of the kin groups of both parties both prior to and after the marriage. Elopement marriages involve the participation of only the intending couple prior to the marriage and of both kin groups (usually in a negative capacity) after the event. Agreement marriages involve only the participation of the intending parties both before and after the event and, most frequently, involve one ineligible partner (such as a non-Wovan female or close lineal relative).

The Wovan rule of preferential marriage demands that marriages be arranged. However, arranged marriages accounted for less than one-third of those marriages for which data on the mode of marriage could be obtained. In almost two-thirds of the cases, arrangement was preempted by the elopement of the couple. Elopement involves long periods of seclusion on the part of the young couple, during which they remain in hiding in the forest and shun contact with their respective kin groups. Conflict between the couple and their respective kin groups is common and frequently conflict between the kin groups erupts during negotiations. If these negotiations are successful, the marriage is sanctioned by the exchange of gifts. If not, the girl is returned to her natal home and the suit is dropped, or the young couple may re-elope. The final mode of marriage is by agreement, and it accounts for less than 8% of the cases for which data were available. Agreement marriages may be contracted by the abduction of a woman from another ethnic group or may result from the adoption of an orphaned girl into the household of her future husband at a very young age. In either of these cases, the kin groups of the couple are not consulted prior to the marriage and make no attempt to interfere in the process after the event. A detailed analysis of the effects of the mode of marriage on Wovan social organization, including case histories of marriages by each mode, is given in Chapter 6. Here, our concern is only with the distribution of these modes and their relationship with the stated preferences of the Wovan.

When asked why so many marriages are the result of elopement when they themselves say that men should arrange the exchange of sisters, the Wovan lay the blame squarely on the shoulders of their young women. Men, if they had their way, would ensure that all proceedings were conducted in an orderly fashion. Young women, however, rarely listen to their elders and are constantly in search of young men whom they seduce into eloping. Initiation of sexual encounters is always attributed to women (even when this involves a thirty year old Anglican brother and a fourteen year old Wovan girl). Indeed, as we have remarked before, there is some truth in the contention. Women are given the power to veto any arrangement of which they do not approve, while the same power is not extended to men. If a marriage is arranged to the satisfaction of the elder males of a group, they will simply override the protests of their younger sibling that he does not want to marry. If, however, the female objects to the arrangement, the matter is dropped. One young lady in Adiip hamlet, had two separate marriage arrangements scrapped when she objected that she would not marry the proposed groom.

The Wovan, then, find themselves in an unusual situation in which the possibilities of vetoing any arrangement (or any marriage) far outweigh the possibilities of that arrangement being satisfactory to all concerned. The marriage of any woman may be vetoed by that woman herself or by her male siblings, while the marriage of any male may not be vetoed either by himself or his female siblings. For an arranged marriage to take place, then, requires first that the male siblings of the woman be satisfied (as they participate in the arrangement this

would follow automatically) and that the arrangement then be acceptable to the woman herself.

For an elopement marriage to be sanctioned, as we shall see, usually demands that the couple have sufficient resolve to outlast the negative reaction of their kin groups. This, on occasion, may demand prolonged residence in the forest (elopements of five months being common). Re-elopement after the woman has been returned to her kin almost invariably results in the sanctioning of the marriage.

Figure 38, below, provides an overview of the data on mode of marriage. Information can be obtained only for currently extant marriages or marriages from which one spouse is still living as the possibility of distortion of information concerning ancestral marriage is very high.

Figure 38: Mode of Marriage among the Wovan

(N = 54)

Mode of Marriage	Number of Cases	As % of Total
Arrangement	16	29.6
Elopement	34	63.0
Agreement	4	7.4
Totals	54	100

The ideal of arranged marriage is contradicted by a set of principles that are also accepted as part of Wovan culture: the freedom of the woman to choose (at least to choose with whom she will not live) and her freedom to initiate sexual encounters. It is further undermined by the perceived challenge and excitement of elopement. The mutual attraction of the young couple defeating the plans and powers of their combined kin groups is regarded as a major achievement by Wovan youth. This becomes evident when older men recount, to the applause of their younger counterparts, the exploits of their own elopement. The planning of the expedition, the adventure en route and the adversity overcome are all recounted with glee. Arrangement may be proper, but it is also dull and most unmarried men hope that they too will someday elope. Meanwhile, they dress in their finery and dance before the young women who stand and discuss the finer points of the dancers, waiting for the one who will cause their legs to shiver (gIlegIle), the one sure sign of attraction, and set in motion the whole process of another elopement.

Few Wovan, then, actually wait until all the talking has been concluded and the arrangement made, but the 'rule' still stands.

Sister Exchange

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the factors mitigating against the successful exchange of sisters among the Wovan are extremely powerful. For an exchange of sisters to occur, at least

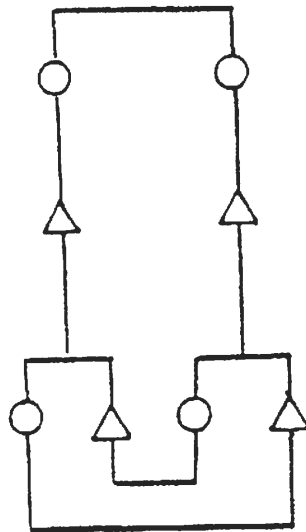
one of the marriages must be arranged, and fewer than one third of all marriages are arranged. A slightly delayed sister exchange can occur, however, as the result of a prior elopement where an agreement is reached to sanction the elopement marriage if a woman is given in return. Such exchanges are, however, rarely accomplished, and the requirement of direct reciprocity, the direct exchange of real or classificatory sisters by two men, is the most infrequently fulfilled of the marriage criteria.

Wovan rules concerning the exchange of sisters are, in fact, very unclear, and a number of contradictory statements were obtained from informants. All are agreed that men should exchange real or classificatory sisters and that a balance of such exchanges should be maintained. As we noted above, young men take considerable interest in the marriage prospects of their sisters and actively manipulate these situations. What does the maintenance of balance mean in the context of endogamous marriage? What are the units engaged in such exchanges? Among whom should such exchanges take place? All these questions receive contradictory answers from Wovan informants.

Let us take the third question first. Ideally, according to some informants, two men should exchange their real sisters, one with the other, and this exchange should be accomplished immediately (preferably on the same day). Others agree that the exchange should be a single transaction (occurring in a single day) but claim that two men should never engage in a direct transaction, that is, the exchange of real

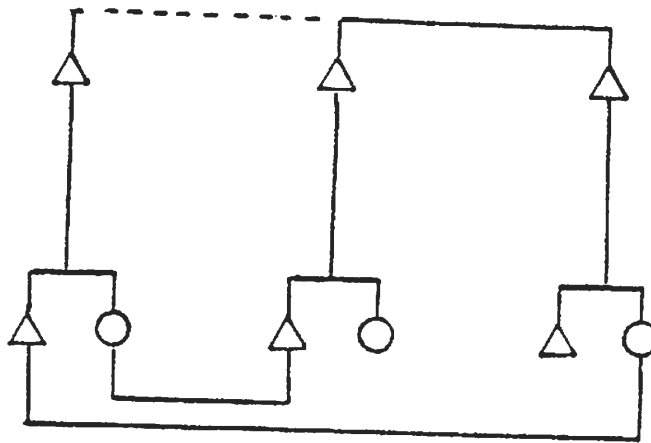
sisters, as represented in Figure 39, below, should not occur. Rather, they claim, direct exchange should involve at least one classificatory sister. Phrased as the Wovan phrase it, one man should not receive for himself the sister of his sister's husband in return, but should give her to a brother. The correct exchange, as they see it, is represented in Figure 40. The binding of three homesteads together as the result of a single transaction instead of two is given as the reason for such a restriction and, indeed, the logic fits well with other Wovan views of solidarity and even the dispersion of conflict.

Figure 39: Direct Exchange of Real Sisters. Improper Exchange



However, as with many features of Wovan society, successful sister exchanges, for which data are available, frequently involve the direct exchange of two real sisters. One case obtained, despite Wovan views, should better be termed 'brother exchange' as the entire transaction was arranged by the two women involved.

Figure 40: 'Correct' Sister Exchange involving at least One
Classificatory Sister



What are the units involved in the exchange of women? Some hints as to the answer to this question are available in the discussion above. The primary unit is the homestead. However, the social distance between the prospective partners influences the level of involvement of their respective kin-groups. In the case of arranged close cousin marriage (FBD or MZD marriage), involvement in negotiation rarely extends beyond the two homesteads. In cases of close cousin elopement, however, the dispute can widen to include the entire kin-group (see Chapter 6). In the cases of more distant cousin marriage, the negotiating units may consist of a number of closely related homesteads on each side.

The flexibility of Wovan organization becomes evident in their handling of marriage. In making this statement, I am maintaining a

rigid structure/organization distinction and do not wish to imply a structural flexibility or looseness of structure; I am implying, rather, that different structural levels become active as responses to different organizational problems, and that the problem of first cousin marriage is not the same as the problem of the marriage of cousins who are more distantly removed or of two different ethnic groups. This issue will be treated in Chapter 6, below.

The Wovan, then, maintain an ideal marriage rule that they can rarely meet in practice. Built-in cultural norms about choice and group endogamy ensure that the ideal can rarely be fulfilled. However, while few marriages fulfill all the stipulations of the multi-component rule, almost all fulfill one or more of these requirements. Consequently, the rule is maintained in the breach by different events being seen as fulfilling different requirements. Some marriages are arranged; some are parallel-cousin marriages; still others are part of an exchange of sisters; and all are, in Wovan terms, 'correct' and legitimate marriages.

Divorce and Remarriage

The Wovan, as we stated are, ideally and in practice, monogamous. Ideally, also, divorce is not possible, and, indeed, few established marriages end in divorce. Infertility is not in itself grounds for divorce, and a number of childless couples have remained together as man

and wife. However, emphasis must be placed on the idea of an 'established marriage'.

The Wovan do not have any elaborate marriage rite. Elopement, consequently presents serious problems in the definition of when a 'marriage' occurs. Brideprice payments, too, are small and are frequently delayed for a number of years (often until after the birth of two or more children). There is, therefore, a general feeling of uncertainty in the initial stages of a Wovan marriage. Even in the case of arranged marriage, divorce in the initial stage is easy. Small gifts exchanged at the time of sanctioning of the marriage are returned. Nowadays, the case may be brought before a district court if one of the parties is perceived as being at fault and damages are paid to the aggrieved party.

Once the couple are regarded as having established residence together and particularly after the birth of a child, divorce becomes well nigh impossible. Adultery on the part of the woman will probably result in the husband threatening divorce, but the threat is rarely carried to its conclusion. Desertion by the husband, who may take another wife from another kin or ethnic group, has occurred in the past, and, nowadays, repeated contracts on coastal plantations provide men with a way of avoiding their kin and marital obligations, but in no case did the wife remarry nor was the brideprice returned.

While the dissolution of marriage is possible, therefore, in the initial stages, it is difficult to judge whether this should be called 'divorce' in any real sense. As the Wovan do not possess any calendrical reckoning other than days and moons, and as these are not cumulative in any linear sense, it is impossible to obtain from them a statement as to the duration of this 'initial stage'. It is accepted that a new couple will have initial conflict with one another, and that this may terminate the marriage almost before it begins. Once gardens have been planted and harvested together, however, the union is established and divorce becomes impossible. This initial period, nowadays, is extended because of husbands leaving for the plantation immediately after marriage. Cooperative labor relations between husband and wife, therefore, have not been entered into in the first two years of the existence of the marriage. Consequently, divorce is still a possibility after the plantation worker returns to the hamlet, as was demonstrated in a recent case.

That marriages should not end in divorce is underscored by statements concerning widow and widower remarriage. Most informants agree that a widowed spouse should never remarry, as this shows disrespect for the dead partner. The established cases of widow remarriage on which I have information have all been cases of levirate marriage but I could obtain no statements as to the normative status of such marriages. Instances have occurred of early widowhood in which the widow never remarried.

Brideprice and Childprice

The highly stable marriages of the Wovan are combined with exceedingly low brideprice payments, by Papua New Guinea standards. We have commented on this aspect above in discussing the difficulties facing the Wovan in maintaining their level of endogamy in the future. The Kopon and Kalam to the east pay considerably higher brideprices and there is a great deal of pressure on the Wovan at present to increase their brideprice payments. Inflation notwithstanding, the highest brideprice ever paid among the Wovan consisted of K80 (one Kina equals approximately \$1.30), one blanket, one small ax, one string of cowries, and two mother of pearl shells. The total value of this payment, therefore, did not exceed \$140.00. If one compares this with brideprices paid in the central highlands, where exchanges equivalent to \$1,500 are not uncommon, it appears small indeed.

Traditionally, brideprice payments rarely exceeded that which one man could assemble himself. Single payments of one string of cowries and one mother of pearl shell or a small number of marsupial pelts and some shells and cowries were common. Men, therefore, rarely had to seek assistance in assembling a brideprice. A number of informants claimed that they never paid the brideprice, even though it was requested. Figure 41, below, presents a set of reported brideprice payments and the premarital relationship of the couple. It will be noted that payment size does not vary with premarital kinship distance.

Figure 41: Reported Brideprice Payments, Mode of Marriage, and the Premarital Relationship of the Partners

Informant	Pre-Mar. Kin Term	Mode	Payment					other specify
			leve	wurinau	anggwon	cash (Kina)	manggwe	
WokamIl	marau	elopement	6	2	1			
Mevrumbai	marau	elopement	13		1		7	2
Wotse	marau	elopement	1	1			1	1 gu'in
Imbaim	marau	elopement	12	2		70		1 ax 1 blanket
Manas	noleva	elopement		1				
Wunding	noleva	elopement	9	4				1 machete 1 wongganul
Natina	noleva	elopement	1	3	4			
Waruñil	yimalu	elopement	24	2		26		1 string 1 gulgul 1 isis
Yakupa	marau	elopement	16	2				2
Wovin	marau	elopement	20	1		40		1 machete 1 eel side pork
Main	marau	elopement	33					
Aureint	marau	elopement	no payment					
Yibidam	marau	elopement	no payment					
Aureint	marau	arranged						1 wanggi
Urai	marau	arranged	27	1	1	7		1 ax 2 salt
Yendum	noleva	arranged	20					
Ruti	marau	agreed	6	1				side pork

Multiple item brideprices, when paid, were divided among the brides siblings and parents. Further payments on the birth of children were not traditionally made among the Wovan, although such payments were made among the Kopon to the east. Nowadays, a number of Wovan individuals have begun to emulate the Kopon and insist on making gifts to their wives' parents on the birth of a child.

The size of Wovan brideprices again emphasises the small scale of organization at which marriages were contracted. Brideprice payments were rarely large enough (nor in sufficiently divisible currency) to permit distribution beyond the immediate homestead and were frequently so small as to be indivisible. Rights in the bride were transferred in toto to the groom at marriage and residual rights to her fertility, such as one would find in cases where additional child payments were made, were not retained by her natal group.

This aspect of Wovan brideprice is clearly in keeping with the Wovan view of the indissolubility of marriage. Should a woman leave her husband and return to her natal homestead, she was invariably returned to her husband and indeed ran a greater risk of physical mistreatment by her brothers, on such an occasion, than by her husband. Informants agree that marital quarrels between a husband and wife are their own concern and should not be interfered with by outsiders of either kin-group.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the principal features of Wovan marriage by looking at their own normative statements as to what should happen and comparing them with what actually occurs in practice. In doing so, a number of features of Wovan organization in general, and of Wovan marriage in particular, have become apparent. In the next two chapters, these data will be expanded with a more penetrating analysis of actual marriage cases.

The analysis here has demonstrated the flexibility of Wovan organization in response to the variety of marriage options open to the individual. Different marital choices have different structural and organizational implications, and the broadening or narrowing of the base of involvement reflects these implications. This point will become even clearer in the analyses that follow.

The multi-component marriage rule as stated by informants, we discovered, was rarely met in practice and, furthermore, could rarely be met given alternative cultural norms and the scale of the society. However, the advantage of such a multi-component rule is that at least one of its components is met on most occasions. Marriages that fulfill one or more of the five criteria are, therefore, judged to fulfill the rule.

Finally, we looked briefly at the norms relating to the stability of marriage, and at remarriage, and saw that they supported the ideas of total transfer of rights in the women to the kin group of her spouse, and that the ideas of marital stability extended beyond the lifetime of a single partner to the lifetime of both. Once the initial period of marriage has passed, once the pattern of cooperative labor has been established, Wovan marriages are indeed very stable, despite low brideprices, and this stability must be accounted for at the cultural level.

In the next two chapters, two very different perspectives on marriage are adopted. In Chapter 6, I look at marriage as an event and analyze the event in terms of participation, procedure, personnel, organization, and occasions (see Goodenough 1963: 323-331). Each of the modes of marriage introduced here is analyzed. In Chapter 7, I look at the structural implications of these marriages taking a long term perspective and especially concentrating on the intergenerational aspects. This view enables us to discuss more fruitfully the implications of endogamous marriage for the total structure, and it introduces the problems of imposing a simple alliance versus descent view on the Wovan data.

CHAPTER 6: MARRIAGE AS EVENT

The Short Cycle

Social life is, in many aspects, episodic. Humans group together series of actions into named sequences or events. These events can be analyzed in terms of purpose, procedure, time and space requirements, personnel, organization, and so on. The "anthropology of occasions" (Salmond 1972) can be utilized, therefore, to focus attention on these sequences of action and to analyze them in their own terms. Salmond (1972), conducted such an analysis of the recurrent Maori ritual event, hui. Turner (1957), in utilizing the concept of 'social drama' among the Ndembu, was able to penetrate below the surface of repetitive events (schisms) but, unlike Salmond, did not demand that these events be of the same order. Goodenough (1963), has also outlined a scheme for the analysis of 'activities'. In this chapter, I will use an event analysis approach to focus attention on a major repetitive occurrence, marriage, among the Wovan.

Marriage is a named repetitive event in the sense described above. While the intended end product, the marriage of one male and one female, is the same in all occurrences, the mode, personnel, organization, outcome, space and time requirements, and procedure vary from one event and another. However, a single analytical scheme can be developed in which to treat all occurrences of the event and a focus in terms of the

'anthropology of occasions' can enable us to isolate the factors which are emically significant for the Wovan.

In the pages that follow, I will present a number of case histories of Wovan marriages, illustrating each of the marriage modes discussed in Chapter 5. These illustrations will be compared with additional cases given in Appendix 1 and with additional information obtained in the field. The data being discussed are drawn from 54 detailed case histories of Wovan marriages in which one or both partners are still living. These case histories cover over 30% of all extant marriages and provide a strong basis on which to generalize concerning Wovan marriage practice. In the concluding section of the chapter, some problematic elements concerning the definition of marriage and its treatment as an event will be discussed.

An Arranged Marriage

I witnessed the following arranged marriage in April 1980, and I can, therefore, be more specific with regard to the timing of activities in this case than I can be in recounting informants' descriptions. Four days prior to the events described here, the young woman, Nolein, had attempted to elope with another man. He, however, was already committed to marrying another woman from a different hamlet and kin-group. Nolein had been returned to her parents house and the original woman, with whom a marriage had been arranged, was brought to him and given to

him by her father. This left the bride-to-be, Nolein, frustrated in her attempt to elope, without a partner. Her father's brother, her brother and a classificatory brother, expressed concern that if she did not marry soon, she would elope with a member of the next government patrol which passed through the area. An arranged marriage seemed a desirable solution.

On the night prior to the 'wedding', the elder brother of the unsuspecting bridegroom and a classificatory brother of the bride, who was, herself, at this point equally unsuspecting, remained talking until well past nightfall. When the bridegroom-to-be, Anangise, and another young man went to visit the house in which discussions were being held, the talk ceased and both young men left the house feeling that they were the subject of discussion, although neither could understand why.

Shortly after dawn on the following morning, a young woman approached Anangise and his colleague and told them that the elder males had been discussing sending a Hrarunamp woman to Adiip to be married "near the government rest house". Anangise feigned ignorance of the whole affair but, as the only unmarried male of marriageable age then resident in the vicinity of the haus kiap, it seemed likely that the full implications of the previous evenings discussions did indeed strike him. His companion of the previous evening informed me who the woman was and told me that, while he was not sure, he felt the proposed groom must be Anangise.

At 11.30a.m., the hamlet tultul, the elder brother of Anangise, shouted for help at his house where he was preparing food in an earth oven. The Hrarunamp people, he said, were bringing a woman and he needed help in the preparation of food. The bride's classificatory brother left Adiip for Hrarunamp (a walking distance of about one half hour) in the early morning and now returned to Adiip. He informed the tultul that the designated bride had accepted the arrangement; he then called the bridegroom aside and spoke to him. They, the people of Hrarunamp, wanted to give him Nolein as a bride, he told him. They had spoken to her and she had agreed to come to Anangise. Anangise objected strongly. He was not a good man, he claimed. He had no money and could not pay the brideprice (mə hombIl). He had not been around (meaning to the plantation) for a long time and he wanted to go back there. The bride's classificatory brother assured him that all would be fine, and left the house in which they had been talking.

At 12.15 p.m., the Hrarunamp people arrived. Some younger men preceded the main company and were greeted sullenly by Anangise, saying: "Why have you come?". The bride arrived accompanied by her classificatory brother's wife (her own FZD). She was dressed in the ordinary everyday manner, without beads or finery. One young lady, who in the past competed for Anangise, was dressed in her finery, and at one point approached the bride and shook her hand (a mission introduced element?). This was the only acknowledgment of Nolein's special position in relation to the proceedings that I witnessed.

The procession, headed by the bride's FB, NomIl, and the Fatok Tultul (bride's FZS) proceeded directly to the house of the bridegroom, whereupon the males and females divided into two groups. Outside the house, the groom's eB, eBW, and Z were already seated. The tultul greeted the new arrivals, saying: "Why did you not come last Sunday? Sunday I had food. Now I have no food." The arriving people seated themselves in four groups and were joined by another brother of the groom who maintains a separate household.

Once the entire gathering had assembled, the tultul announced that he had nothing to say and asked if anyone else wanted to talk. No one had anything to say. After a short pause, NomIl (the bride's father's eldest brother) began 'holding the talk' (mona ninggile) and 'giving the talk to Nolein' (Nolein a mona n^le). He told her that now she would remain in this house. "You cannot go around to the other houses. You must stay and look after the old woman (her mother in-law). "You must help her and herd the pigs". Having said this, he turned his attention to the request for a woman in exchange for the bride just given. The new bride and her chaperone (FZD) retired from the scene of the discussion and sat at a distance of about 100 meters away. Iku, the groom's unmarried sister was asked for her daughter in return, when the girl was old enough to marry. Iku was reluctant to commit herself openly to the arrangement.

Throughout the proceedings, the groom had not been present. At one point, he walked to within 20 meters of the gathering and stood looking

at them but came no closer. The tultul informed the gathering that the groom was ashamed (moingk) and was not thinking clearly at the time, but that Nolein would remain and sleep in his house and that all would be well. Asked why he did not join the gathering, the groom replied: "It is something for the big (meaning 'adult') men only" (n[~]mpe diip av aax). It was still uncertain whether or not the young ZD of the groom would be sent to Hrarunamp as a bride in the future. The Hrarunamp people seemed generally happy with the arrangement, however, and once food (taro and sweet potatoes) was shared among them, they began collecting their goods together to leave. It was a little after 3.00 p.m.

Just as the Hrarunamp group were about to leave, the mother of the groom stood and addressed the gathering, brandishing an ax in one hand. She berated the crowd for marrying off her only remaining son. Main (the eldest brother) and the tultul, were married and she had only Anangise left, she said, and she was angry. She had always fed and looked after him. When people brought her game, she shared it with him. When she dug out mumut and other small marsupials, she shared them with him. She gave him vegetables. He was her child and now the men were marrying him off and she was angry. He wasn't a boy anymore; he was an old man (lav n[~]mpe) and they should let him be. She waved her ax at the assembled crowd and putting her bag on her head, she left to spend the night in a bush shelter to show her displeasure. Once her back was to the crowd the frown was replaced by a broad grin and as she passed the people seated by the roadside, she whispered: "NI

yInaxamIn" (I lied). Nolein remained and her kin returned to Hrarunamp.

The groom, Anangise, did not go near his brother's house for the remainder of the afternoon and eagerly jumped at the opportunity of accompanying me on a previously planned expedition to another area. On the road, he voiced his objections to the arrangement. If he had won the woman himself at a singsing, he said, that would be good. He would marry her. He did not like the other men arranging things for him. The men were following the ways of their ancestors, and he was ashamed of this. "Before, all Wovan married their sisters and I am ashamed of this." This idea, he admitted, he had obtained from the missionary brothers. The woman, he said, was a good woman, but he was a young man and did not want to marry yet. We returned to the hamlet after nightfall and he slept in another house.

By the following morning, the new groom was more reconciled to his situation. Asked whether he would marry the woman, Nolein, or send her back to her kin, he responded: "Now she is here; later we will marry." The new bride, for her part, quickly set about publicly establishing their marriage. The groom had had a serious eye infection for a few days, and in mid-morning, when his eye was being treated by his elder brother's wife, his new wife assisted in the treatment. Later, when he slept in the sun (as all Wovan do when they feel ill), she came and sat beside him and remained there while he slept for over an hour. She went and harvested some sweet potatoes from the garden and, upon returning,

sat with him again, outside the small 'modern' grass-thatched house he had built some weeks previously. Late in the afternoon, the groom came and ate with me and informed me that if I ever put food aside for him again, I should also put some aside for Nolein or otherwise she would think ill of him.

The tultul now began to voice some dissatisfaction with the arrangement that he, himself, had negotiated. He confirmed that his sister's young daughter would, indeed, be sent to Hrarunamp as a repayment for Nolein, but that it would not occur until the brother of Nolein had built a singsing house, killed pigs, and disposed of the bones of his father. Asked why he was not happy with the present marriage, he said that he and the Hrarunamp people were one lain (he used the Pidgin English expression, though he speaks little pidgin) and it would have been better had she been sent to another line. "Had we done that we would have received the brideprice here, but we kept her to ourselves".

Two days later, the tultul again prepared a mumu for the Hrarunamp people, this time consisting of tsimp (a leafy green vegetable) and taro. His elder brother, Z, eBWi, FZS, and FZD were all involved in the preparation of food. The new groom, once again, took no part in the proceedings. Food was distributed to the Hrarunamp people immediately on their arrival. The same men who had played a prominent role in giving the woman three days before, were prominent again. When they had eaten, NomIl, the bride's FeB, placed Kl9 and seven large

green snail shells (kime leve) on the ground in front of the tultul, his elder brother, and their mother. These were carefully examined by the men and then collected by the tultul and placed inside his house. The Hrarunamp people left immediately.

According to Anangise, the new groom, the dowry payment was made because the Hrarunamp people had initiated the marriage talks, asking that the woman be accepted as a wife rather than being sought by the groom's people. He did not expect to receive any share of this payment and stated that it would be divided among his brothers. Later, when he and his brothers take their sister's daughter to Hrarunamp, they will accompany it with a small payment to compensate for this payment. Still later, they will make a major payment to the Hrarunamp people for Nolein and, later again, the Hrarunamp people will repay this by making a major payment for their sister's daughter. His version of how the situation would be worked out was corroborated by another informant.

In the weeks that followed, the young bride and groom spent more and more time together, although they continued to live in separate houses. Finally, almost a month after the bride had been given, the groom announced his intention of going hunting away from the hamlet and that his wife was going to accompany him to the bush. Their hamlet co-residents expressed satisfaction with the marriage and felt confident that a good decision had been made.

Analysis

This event had a number of features that set it apart from other cases, and these should be made clear from the beginning. Firstly, it should be apparent that the groom had considerable contact with non-Wovan, mainly missionaries of the Melanesian Brotherhood. These contacts, prior to the arrival of the anthropologist, had served to depreciate in his own eyes, Wovan custom. He was, also, one of the first Wovan to undertake contract labor on a coastal plantation. His behavior, therefore, at the time of the giving should not be considered typical. Secondly, the arrangement was made at short notice in a conscious effort to 'tie up loose ends' at the end of a series of failed elopements and other arrangements. Thirdly, two informants confirmed that the dowry payment which accompanied the bride was innovative and had not occurred among the Wovan before. Other than these, however, there is no reason to suspect that the proceedings were in any way abnormal.

The procedure followed in this and other cases of arrangement is basically uncomplicated. The bride-to-be is delivered, in the company of her kin, to the homestead of her future husband. Food is shared with the guests and her duties as a wife are publicly acknowledged. Her consanguines then depart leaving her in the company of her affinal female relatives. It is interesting to note, as was shown in this case, that the presence of the future husband is not required at the giving of the bride, and this is underscored by the outlining of her duties in

which emphasis is placed on her obligations in relation to the entire homestead rather than to her future husband. This case further emphasises the point made earlier that the consent of the bride is necessary to any attempt to arrange a marriage but the consent of the husband-to-be is of no consequence.

Procedurally, then, an arranged marriage can be divided into three segments. The first of these involves the negotiations prior to the marriage. The second involves the giving of the bride, or, in the case of direct exchange, the giving of each of two brides. The third segment, which is the longest in time, is the aftermath of the giving, leading up to the payment of the brideprice. The timing, personnel involvement and organization of these segments differ, and each segment can be analytically separated, although it forms part of an inevitable sequence.

This case fulfills all the requirements of an 'ideal' Wovan marriage. The couple stood in a parallel-cousin relationship prior to marriage. The marriage was arranged. An exchange bride, while not available immediately, was set for the future. Both were Wovan; in fact, both were members of the Maram clan. Neither had previously been married. Let us look again, then, at the personnel involved in each of the segments of procedure and the roles adopted by these persons.

Prior to the giving of the woman, personnel involvement was limited. On the groom's side, the arrangement was negotiated by his

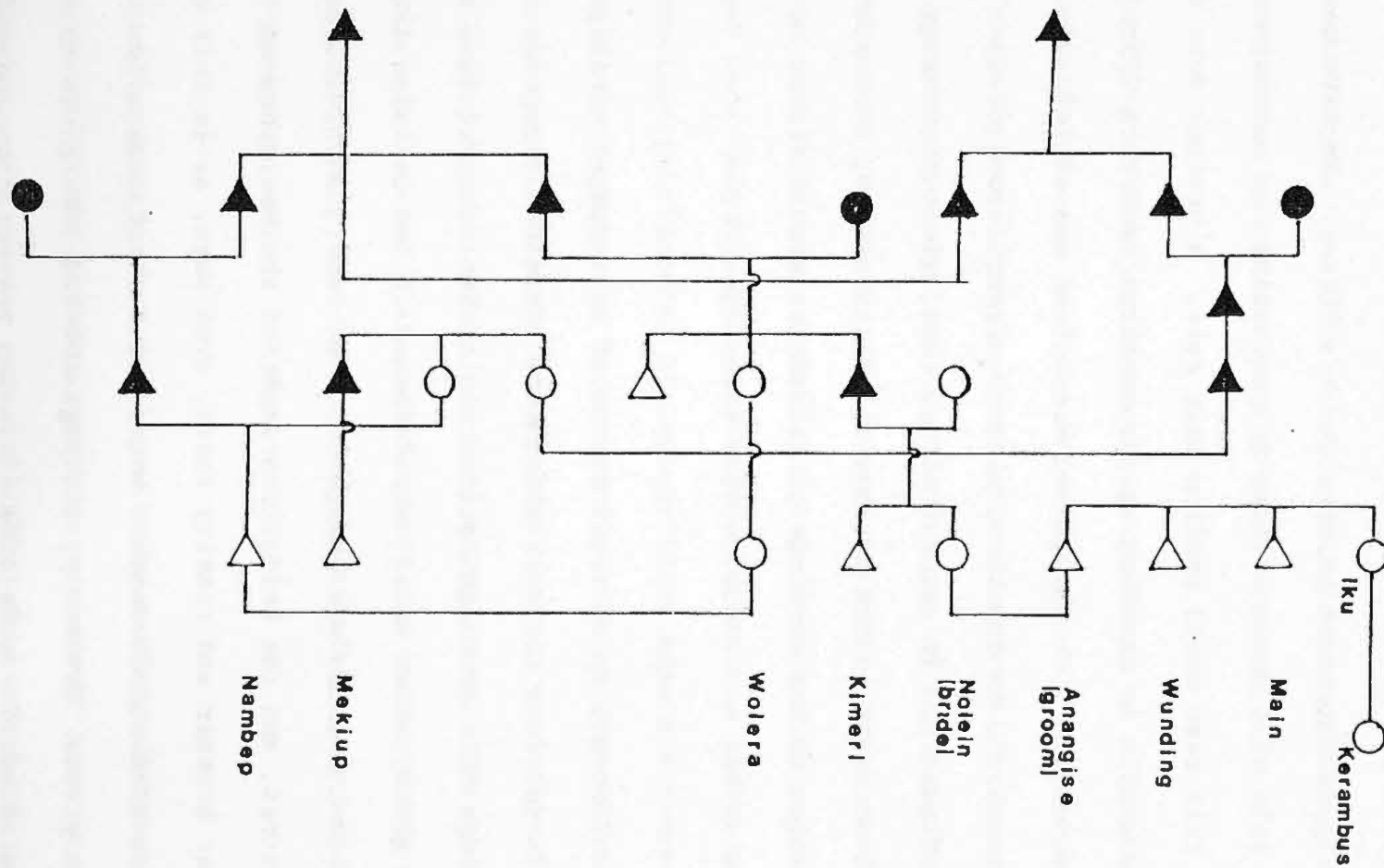
elder brother with input from his sister. His eldest brother was not involved in the negotiations. On the bride's side, the arrangement was negotiated by her classificatory brother. Before the giving, however, he returned to his homestead to consult with the bride's father's brother, her own brother, and the bride herself, without whose consent the whole arrangement would have collapsed. Once the arrangement had been made and announced to the groom, this man's role faded and the elder male from the bride's kin became the most prominent spokesman. Throughout the proceedings, the bride's brother, who had violently opposed her elopement the week before, remained silent and sat at the periphery of the crowd at the giving.

The widest involvement of persons occurs during the second segment: the giving of the bride. The principals in the scene, however, are limited, although a large number of spectators may be present. The rather complicated interrelationships of the main characters are presented in the schematic genealogy in Figure 42, below. Generational alignment is complicated by the marriage of the groom's father to a woman who was genealogically a generation senior to himself (one of the few instances where this occurred). As the participants used same generation terminology, I have skewed the diagram to reflect this. This generational skewing is apparently achieved by raising the male, the father of the groom, into the senior generation into which he married. The parallel-cousin status of the bride is dependent on tracing the genealogical connection through the male line, and such an approach demands that the male be shifted up a generation if a parallel-cousin

relationship is maintained. Genealogically, the bride is a MMBSD (cross-cousin, own generation) and a FFFBSD (classificatory FZ) to the groom. All accounts of the proceedings, however, rendered her as a FBD, a patrilateral parallel-cousin.

The primary involvement of own generation mates in the arrangement and subsequent bestowal of the woman should be noted. It was not until the actual giving of the woman that a member of the parental generation, the bride's FB and oldest living male in Hrarunamp assumed a prominent role. The arrangement was worked out in negotiations between the groom's eB and a classificatory brother of the bride. The bride was chaperoned on the day of the presentation by her classificatory elder brother's wife who is also her cross cousin. The utility of multiple kin connections becomes very apparent in this case. The chief negotiator, who travelled between the groom's brother and the brother and FB of the bride, is both a patrilateral classificatory brother of the bride and a MZS (matrilateral classificatory brother) of the groom. He could be seen, therefore, as representing the interests of both sides without prejudice to either. The participation of the senior generation in the giving is confined to the actual presentation by the bride's FB and the mock rejection by the groom's mother (a woman, it should be noted, who had a close interpersonal relationship with the new bride prior to the marriage).

Figure 42: Skeletal Genealogy showing the Interrelationships of the Participants in Bride Giving



The bride's true brother, while present at all the events, took no active part. This behavior, as we noted above, contrasts sharply with his violent outburst when the bride attempted to elope a week previously. At that time, he armed himself with a bow and arrows, wept openly, and set out to retrieve his sister. We have commented before on the role of a Wovan brother in preventing the marriage of his sister, and this case would confirm that role. A brother does not, however, have a role in sanctioning the marriage except by default. His relationship with the groom, heretofore one of friendly comradeship with a 'brother', is now bound with the restrictions of the 'brother-in-law' relationship. It seems fitting, then, given the change the marriage will occasion in his own social relationships, that a brother's role in relation to the marriage of his sister should either be negative or passive but not one of active encouragement.

Time and space requirements of an arranged marriage are markedly different from cases of elopement. From the inception of the idea to arrange this marriage to its culmination required less than one week. The groom, as we noted, was informed of the decision little over an hour before the woman was brought to the house. No new structures are required, and the bride is brought to the residence of the groom and his elder brother and remains there, even when, as in this case, the groom chose to dwell in another house for a short time after the woman had been given. Obviously, although she had been given to him, he did not receive her for some time after the presentation and did not regard the marriage as having occurred until they went to the bush together. The

Wovan word f^, used in relation to marriage may be glossed 'to get' or 'receive' and, in this case at least, the groom did not recognize the existence of a marriage until that marriage had been consummated. The giving of the woman, in itself, is not sufficient to constitute a marriage. We shall return to this point in discussing agreement marriages below, where it assumes even greater importance.

Decision making at this arrangement was confined to a limited circle not distantly removed from the bride and groom. Residential and genealogical affinity must both be taken into consideration here. The bride-to-be, prior to her marriage, resided in one of the two closely related homesteads at Hrarunamp. She was represented in all accounts of the arrangement as a "Hrarunamp woman". All decisions with regard to the arrangement were made by other Hrarunamp residents. On the groom's side, his immediate patrilineal kin occupy three separate homesteads in the Adiip vicinity. Only the homestead in which he himself resided were concerned in negotiating the arrangement, and it was only at the giving of the bride that his other kin became prominent. His eldest brother, who has constructed his own homestead, sat with the kin of the bride at the actual giving, but helped prepare the feast for her kin and accepted the 'dowry' payment a few days later.

We are, very obviously, not dealing with an exchange between two large lineages in which the principal representatives of each is distantly removed (spatially and genealogically) from the bride and groom. Here, the woman is 'given' by her FB and received by the elder

brother of the groom. We are dealing with, as the participants themselves said, using a phrase learned from the mission brothers, 'wan famili lain' (one family line), in which decision making is located at a low level in the structural hierarchy. The involvement of others is neither necessary nor desired.

Before looking at the occasions of occurrence and the outcome of this event, let us look briefly at two other cases of arranged marriage for comparative purposes.

An Arranged Marriage: Case 2

Both partners to this marriage, contracted some twenty five to thirty years prior to fieldwork, are still living. The informant himself was one of two children, one male and one female. His father and his future wife's father were matrilateral parallel cousins. This case is presented in Figure 39 (see above, p. 259). The fathers agreed to an exchange of daughters resulting in a direct sister exchange between the two young men.

The informant's father came to his son and discussed the arrangement with him prior to the marriage. The informant, Hravla, insisted that if he were going to give his sister in marriage that a woman must be obtained in return. His father informed him that all had been taken care of, and he, Hravla, withdrew his objection to the marriage of his sister to Auwan.

On the following morning, he accompanied his father to the house of Niñav where his sister was given to Auwan, the only son of Niñav. They returned to the house and waited. Later that day, Niñav brought his daughter, Hrinerin, to their house and gave her to him. There was no dispute over the arrangement and the informant claims that no other participants were involved.

A brideprice payment was made after the birth of Hravla and Hrinerin's first child. The brideprice, which was paid in a single transaction, consisted of three mother-of-pearl shells, one gold-lip shell, one cowrie string, one King of Saxony plume, and one Black Sickle-Billed Bird of Paradise plume. The brideprice was divided, as far as the informant knew, between his wife's father, and her only brother.

An Arranged Marriage: Case 3

The father of a young woman who lived near Fatok died. The informant, Aureint, angered at the death of this man, went to Kaiwa, at the opposite end of Wovan territory, and shot a man to express his anger (not an unusual event). The young woman was given to him as a wife by her brothers in repayment for this³ expression of anger over the death of their father. Prior to the marriage, her brothers had spoken to him and told him that they were giving him their sister, and that she had agreed to the arrangement. They did not give her to him, however, and when the time came for him to marry, he took her. Both were resident in the same

homestead and they did not leave the house. He remained married to this woman until she died. Shortly after the marriage, he gave the woman's mother a single nose ornament shell (wanggi). That was the only payment made.

Comparison

These two cases, while differing in a number of features, conform in outline to the more elaborately presented first case above. Cases 1-3 in Appendix 1 further confirm this outline.

Most frequently, the procedure of an arrangement is as follows: A decision is made by the senior males of both kin groups to give a woman to one of the junior males. The bride-to-be's approval of the arrangement is sought and obtained before the male is informed. If the partners live in different homesteads, the bride is brought to the homestead of her future husband. If an exchange bride is sought and is immediately available, the exchange occurs almost immediately (within 48 hours). However, an agreement can be reached without a request for an exchange or with the stipulation that an exchange bride be sent in the future.

In all cases, the personnel involved are drawn from a limited genealogical and spatial radius. While a bride's true brothers are occasionally involved in giving away the bride, most frequently their

role is either negative or passive and the ultimate bestowal is conducted either by the bride's father or father's brother.

Very little time elapses between the decision to give the bride to her new husband and the actual bestowal (except in cases of delayed exchange, in which case, while the decision to give the woman to some male in a particular kin group is made, no decision as to which eligible male is made until the bride is of age to approve or veto that decision). Arranged marriages are transacted with little apparent ceremony, requiring neither great displays of wealth, food, or clothing, or the construction of a new dwelling for the newly married couple.

The occasions for arranging a marriage vary from one situation to the next. In the cases presented here, one marriage was arranged as an outcome of a set of decisions that did not involve the eventual bridegroom. Another resulted from obligations incurred in the expression of mourning, and the final case was the result of an attempt between two close kinsmen to forge even closer ties between their children. In this last instance, while it did not appear in the abbreviated outline of the marriage case, the father of the informant's bride had been the informant's ritual sponsor throughout his life, and it is evident that both homesteads maintained very close relations.

In only one of the sixteen cases of arranged marriages, for which detailed case histories were obtained, did the marriage not succeed. This one case ended in an administratively adjudicated divorce within

three months of the bride being given to her husband. While a payment was made to the groom's kin as a result of the young woman's actions (an elopement with another male), it is questionable, given the brief duration of the arrangement, as to whether this should really be viewed as a divorce, particularly in Wovan eyes.

Despite minor differences from one staging of an arranged marriage event to another, then, a general outline of such events emerges and adds to our view of Wovan organization. Just 30% of Wovan marriages were contracted by arrangement, and our insight into Wovan culture and society can be further deepened by a consideration of the other modes of marriage. I will first turn to agreement, the least common form of marriage contraction. I will present three cases and then discuss these and compare them to the cases of arrangement outlined above.

Agreement Marriage: Case 1

Ruti, the informant, is the youngest of three brothers all of whom are married and who occupy a single large homestead almost mid-way between the hamlets of Adiip and Fatok. His elder brothers have five and three children respectively, but his first child died at about six months of age almost a year before the interview. His wife was pregnant at the time of the interview and, gave birth to a healthy son shortly afterwards.

His wife, Angavera, was the daughter of Aramo parents who died shortly after she was born. She was adopted by Ruti's parents and brought to live among the Wovan. She remained living in that house until her marriage. When Ruti had undergone the cockatoo ceremony, he spoke to the woman and told her he wanted to marry her. She agreed to marry. He then told his brothers that he and Angavera had decided to marry and they raised no objection. They remained together, gardened together and went to the bush together. Her first child, however, was still born and later she lost a second child when it was six months old.

At the time of the interview, no brideprice had been paid, and Ruti claimed that he was in the process of assembling the payment. Three months later, he and his three brothers staged a pig-kill at which time he underwent the final aime, initiation ceremony, and both he and his elder brother paid part of their brideprices. Ruti's payment was made to a visiting Aramo male, his wife's mother's brother. The Aramo male was presented with a complete side of pork on which were laid five mother-of-pearl shells and two gold-lip shells. Standing beside the side of pork was a split cane into which had been inserted K14 in notes and coin. This manner of presentation, common in the central highlands, was not seen at any other Wovan presentation, and it is notable that it occurred in a homestead that maintained a close trading relationship with a trans-Jimi homestead. The payment was collected without comment.

Agreement Marriage: Case 2

Two Aramo men were disputing over a woman. Both wanted to marry her. One evening, while one was returning from his garden to his house, he was ambushed and shot. He died soon afterward. This man was a cross-cousin of the Wovan informant. A number of Wovan, including the informant and his brother went to the Aramo and fought with them. They stayed at another Aramo house and during the night, Mungain, the informant's brother, brought another Aramo woman to the house and had intercourse with her near the house. The next day, they returned to Wovan territory and Mungain brought the woman with him and kept her. Her Aramo kin did not come to reclaim the woman, and she has remained since. She has given birth to one son. Her husband, Mungain, went to the plantation and has entered into several successive contracts. Although he has visited Wovan territory between contracts, he left again immediately and has not been resident among the Wovan for any length of time since his marriage.

The story of the abduction of the Aramo woman was given to me by her husband's elder brother in whose homestead she now lives. No brideprice has yet been paid for the woman, and the informant was uncertain as to whether his brother would pay any brideprice in the future. Mungain's contract period did end a few months after the interview was conducted, but he did not return to live among the Wovan. He came to the territory of the Kopon and remained there, visiting his

natal homestead just once. His kin were uncertain as to his plans and could not tell me whether he would eventually return, remain among the Kopon and bring his wife to live with him there, or simply abandon her.

Agreement Marriage: Case 3

Dzebele, a Wovan male, lived in the northern part of Wovan territory in a homestead which consisted only of himself, his wife, and their daughter. Their house was far removed from any other and they appeared not to have a great deal of contact with other homesteads. After a number of years of marriage, his wife died, and he remained in the house with his daughter. She grew to young adulthood but instead of sending her to another man, as he should have done, Dzebele kept her himself, and in due course, she bore two sons. Dzebele died while these boys were still young, and his daughter later married another man.

Accounts of this arrangement all acknowledge that Dzebele acted improperly by not giving his daughter to another to wed and getting another woman for himself. None of my informants, however, felt that they had a right to interfere, and no attempt was made to force Dzebele to forego this incestuous relationship.

Analysis and Comparison

As was the case with 'arrangement marriages', the theme of agreement marriages becomes apparent, despite individual differences among cases. This mode of marriage, as I stated above, is the most uncommon, and only four or 7% of cases were 'agreement marriages'. The final case, not presented here, also concerned an incestuous marriage involving a true brother and sister. As with the father-daughter case, informants felt that they had no right to interfere in the situation, despite a feeling that the situation was wrong.

Agreement marriages, therefore, always involve a union which is, in some sense, illegitimate. In three of the four cases, the spouses were residing in the same dwelling prior to marriage. In the fourth, the bride was abducted from another ethnic group. In both the non-incestuous cases, the bride was from another ethnic group. In political terms, then, the bride was without a constituency in all cases. She did not have a set of brothers available to attempt to break up the union, nor was she represented by a father who arranged the marriage to secure another bride in exchange or the payment of brideprice.

The procedure involved in such agreement marriages contrasts sharply with that of arranged marriages. There is no 'giving' of the bride, and no discussion of the possibility of an exchange or agreed brideprice. The personnel involved is limited to the two partners to

the marriage without reference to, or interference from, their respective kin. Time and space requirements differ in that the locus of activity centers on a single homestead. The public aspect of the 'giving' is lacking, and so recognition of the marriage as having occurred is largely dependent on the pregnancy of the woman.

The occasions of occurrence raise a number of significant problems. In one case, the bride was abducted from her kin with an undertone of revenge for the killing of a kinsman. The lack of any attempt to retrieve the woman suggests that such a payoff was perceived and accepted by the Aramo. In the first Aramo case cited above, the child may have been given in adoption to the Wovan homestead with the understanding that she would marry one of the three sons of the homestead in the future. It was not possible to confirm this proposition from informants. If this were the case, however, agreement marriage would appear as closely associated with arranged marriage but conducted on a much longer time frame. Delayed exchange marriages, as we have seen, involve the promise of a specified adolescent female to an unspecified male of a particular kin group. In no case, however, did the giving occur before the girl was of marriageable age. The case of Angavera could be interpreted, therefore, not as one of adoption but rather of child bestowal.

Secondly, Wovan agreement marriages raise problems concerning the definition of incest applicable in Wovan society and again present us with insight into the corporate unit exercising authority in these

situations. None of these agreement marriages, at the time of fieldwork, had ended in divorce, and with the exception of the bride who was abandoned in favor of plantation labor (the same bride who had been abducted), all appeared stable. The lack of any corporate unit exercising authority above the level of the homestead which can dictate the behavior within the homestead was made perfectly clear by the numerous references to the wrongfulness of two of the four marriages, while acknowledging that no one could act to interfere in the situation.

Arranged and agreed marriages account between them for just over one third of all Wovan unions. Almost two thirds, therefore, are contracted as a result of elopement. Arranged marriages are unsatisfactory to the young Wovan male (as we saw in our first case above) because he has not 'won' the woman himself, by his dancing and singing prowess. Elopement, on the other hand, is seen as exciting, attractive, and proof of one's ability to survive in difficult circumstances and to get what one wants. In a society in which a great deal of emphasis is placed on respect for one's elders, where knowledge and authority are vested in the senior males, elopement is the institutionalized rebellion of the young.

The conduct and political consequences of elopement are markedly different from those of either agreed or arranged marriages. The process can continue over many months, and the conflict generated may result in feuding and small scale warfare. The excitement generated by

the event is evident in the detail with which men (and their wives, as wives were frequently present at the interview) remember and recount their adventures. I will present two cases in detail in an attempt to convey this sense of excitement. The first case represents a marriage which occurred almost thirty years before fieldwork began. The second case, which only just concluded before fieldwork was completed in 1980, again allows us a more detailed understanding of the timing of events.

Elopement Marriages

The Marriage of Main and Koni: Case 1

I chose the case of Main as a principal example, as he is the elder brother of the cultul of Adiip whose younger brother, Anangise, provided an illustration of arranged marriage. There is considerable overlap, therefore, between the dramatis personae, and this will permit us to compare the cases more easily. Main's wife, Koni, is his FFBSD. His own homestead, which consists of himself, his wife and their five children, and that of his brothers-in-law are on adjacent plots of ground.

Her parents, he reports, were suspicious of them prior to the elopement. "I was in my house and her parents came to me and asked if I wanted to marry her. Another time, I had gone to the bush to get pandanus nuts and her mother came to me and asked me if she and I were

trying to run away together to the bush (nono giiba duba). I brought the pandanus nuts to the house and her parents went to the bush, after tying up the pigs. She went to the bush too. I stayed in the house for a while and then followed her. I saw her securing pigs and I called out to her. I told her that her mother had come to me and that I had something to say to her, but she ran away. I took a piece of pitpit (not an arrow) and fired it at her. She came back. I asked her if she would go to the bush with me and whether she would marry me. I asked her if she liked somebody else or if she liked only me, as she was still not married. She said. 'I can't go with another man, I want to go with you'. Then she hit me. We talked, that's all. We did nothing else.

Later, I was making a house to put on the cockatoo feathers so I returned to the house and went to break firewood. I got the firewood and put it near the house after I had broken it. I saw her taking her net bag. She hung the bag in one place and left it. I waited and watched the bag and she came and got it and went to Anderavain, following the top of the ridge. I followed her taking another route. I met her over there (indicating a spot close to their present home) and told her to stop. 'You can't go'. I said. I told her I was building a singsing house and that she should wait until I had finished. I would then go to the bush to get possum and eels with the other men. While we were there, the women would bring us food. I told her that she must bring some food for me. I told her that I wanted to have intercourse with her but she refused. I said to her: 'You can't marry anyone else.

Your mother and father keep saying that we are married. You wait. When I come back from the bush, we'll get married'.

I then went to the bush and killed possum and trapped eels and cooked them. I got more possum and eels and prepared them. I filled a trap with eels, at the head of the Kaiwa river. She came to collect the eels. She filled her net bag, and near where the trap lay she saw a good fire-making tree (there were no matches then), and she cut this and took it also. We came to the house and Wunding (the tultul now), Yenduan, Inaune, and Munggain were all putting on the hamo net hair covering. I came back from the bush and the adult men were in the inner room of the house. When they came out, we took the boys to the bush and put their net hair coverings on. When we returned, we killed pigs. I went to the garden to get food for the hamo boys. She came and we talked. I told her that now we were killing the pigs. Once this was done, and the pork divided and given to the men, we would go. I returned to the house. We gave the pigs to the men. I slept.

The next morning, I took her to the bush. She went by one path to where the tultul now has his garden and I went by another route. At that time, there was no garden there, just bush. As we passed where the Nazarene Church is now and we could hear all the people at the house shouting. We went further down into the valley and lit a fire and had a smoke. From there, we went to Ai'ump. We slept there. In the morning, we made a fire. That night, I came up here to Adiip and saw all the men sleeping in the house. We went to Anderavain and crossed the mountain.

We slept at the foot of a stone [a rock overhang], on the other side. The next morning, we went to Gnami.

We stayed there that night and the next morning we went back to Hroelanamp, and stayed there with Limnang's father, Natina. We stayed with him a long time, and then we returned to Gnami. From there, we left and went to Mlevil, in Kaiwa. I thought that Wotse and Tsuekom would be there, but they had all left. I went to Wotse's house and took his spear and left mine in exchange. We left there the next day and went to Mai.

I saw Urai, my father's younger brother [classificatory], there, and wanted to avoid him, but he saw me in the bush. We stayed there with him and we cooked and ate marita pandanus. He wanted to send the woman back and tried to trick me but I outsmarted him. I told him to go ahead and that we'd follow him, but we didn't. We stayed in Mai for a while and then I saw Wotse and my father. They gave me marita and betel nut. When I left them, we went to Natina again. We stayed with him and then went to Gnami. We met Yakupa there and went with him to Mau'el, where we stayed until the new moon. I got some marita pandanus and brought it to Natina, and then returned to Gnami.

[While in Gnami] I went with Nomil to get marita pandanus. It rained heavily and we slept in the dark. Nomil was afraid of the sanguma, and in the middle of the night, he saw a dark shape and shot an arrow into the darkness. In the morning, we came back to where Wotse

now has his house. The next morning, we left there and went to Hrarunamp again and brought more marita for Natina. We stayed there that night. In the morning, her people came to get her back. We came here to Adiip, and all the men were staying in the big house. We stayed in a small (garden) house. The next morning, we left there and went past where the Nazarene church is now and went up the hill and stayed in a pig house that night.

The people in Hindabru'a were making a singsing house, and we went to see them. My woman got sick on our way there. We stayed in the bush. The next morning, we returned and went to Inamnu'a. We left Inamnu'a, in the morning, and came back along the path to Adiip. That night, we left the path and slept in the bush at Womandub. In the morning, we went to Limnnang. She was still sick, so we stayed there. We heard that all her people wanted her back. We cooked sweet potatoes and I stayed there with 'mother' [referring to his wife]. Her male relatives came to talk and I listened to them. They took her back with them. They brought bows and arrows with them. I nearly cut one man with my ax. But, I couldn't fight because someone took my bow and another took my ax and another held me. When they approached Adiip, Wotse shouted. "Now we are bringing the woman; beware when the man comes behind".

I followed them to Adiip. There, one man [Hrau'an] was standing on a fence, and I knocked him down and took his bow and arrows. I shot a spear and some bladed arrows at the men, there, and they fired back at

me. Kwadzerump's father and others were all shooting at me. I went down to the garden and my father and Buvis both threw stones at me. I took a shield from the house and went to a pig house, where I cooked food and slept.

The next morning, I hid the shield in the garden and went to Gnami. Alsi's father [Tsuekom] had said he was going to be there, but he was not. I went back to the bush house. Nomil had put spears and some bird-of-paradise plumes there. I was angry because he had not helped me in getting my woman, so I took his plumes and spears. I came back near Adiip and slept alone. Some of the men with whom I had fought were sleeping in the house near where Wovin's small house is now. I went there ready to fight with them but Avanula and Lim saw me and cried out, and I gave up and came back and slept.

The next morning, I went to the big house and met Wotse. I asked him to give me his bow and arrows. Kengin's father [Nambep] came and shot a spear at me. I fired back and a fight began. I was alone and they were all shooting at me. Iku [Z] came to my side and when a spear came to the right, I pulled her to the left and when a spear came to the left, I pulled her to the right to protect her from the spears. Mekiup shot Buvis in the mouth and the fight ended.

I came to the house later and gave shells to Yendu'an to compensate for his father, Buvis, being hurt. I remained in the house for a long time [halumIn duumde duumde duumde,... 'sleeping, it went, it went, it

went']. Natina talked to her and said she should marry me [Natina is her MB]. I was staying in another house down below in the valley. Tsuekom came and said he'd go and get her. He told me he'd send her to me and if he found her he would not return. He came back and said he couldn't find her.

[Some time later] I saw her coming to plant sweet potatoes with Kime's mother. I watched her from the bush but I didn't talk to her. When they had finished work, she shouted that she had waited all day for me, and that now she would go to the house and sleep. I returned home and got tobacco. The next day, she was working in the garden and I took a stick and broke it to get her attention. She took a handful of grass and threw it away. I knew she would go in the direction of the grass. She went to her house and got her net bag and brought it with her. When she met me, she said: 'First we ran away together and you left me, and they beat me'. She cut me with a knife she had with her. We went down to Bu'elup (near where the Nazarene church is now) and we could hear the men shouting next morning. One house shouted: 'Where's Koni, she didn't sleep here last night'. The other house shouted. 'Ai, Sibin [the informant's other name] didn't sleep here. I think they have run away to the bush.'

We left and went back to Kaiwa. We slept there, and the next morning we went to Maibunum, where Kuni's father now has a garden. We slept there, and the next morning we went to Mai. We slept there, but I was afraid the men were following us, so we left in the morning. We

returned to Maubunum. The next day, we went to Kaiwa and then to the Sepik [actually lower Kaiwa]. We stayed there with a man named Goits, for one month. Next moon, we came back. We brought eels and possum and slept in Munggi. We got marita pandanus and some pig, and we cooked and ate it. We slept there, and in the morning, we went to Gnami. We slept there for two days, and then the men came. We came to Waire and slept there. We returned to Bu'elup and dug some sweet potatoes. In the morning, Marafanam came to us and told us that the men did not want to take her back now. They had given her up as married. We left there and came to Hawadzilup. In the morning, my father line (adze yam.. 'father and father's kin') came and were very angry with me, so I left and made my own house in Anderavain. We stayed there, but a sanguma came, so we left and went to Kaiwa. We made a garden there in Goronumbia. Later, the men came to me again and told me to come back to Adiip. We came back and stayed here"

The marriage payment was made in three stages, scattered (judging from the ages of Main's children), over a period of about 10 years. A total of thirty three items were given in payment. The payment consisted of 21 green snail shells, 3 gold-lip shells, 3 cowrie strings, 2 nose ornaments, one King-of-Saxony plume, one machete, and two small axes. All the metal objects were given in the final payment at a time when they had become more plentiful among the Wovan but were still regarded as valuable. The second and third payments, consisting of 14 green snail shells, the axes, knife, plumes, and one cowrie string, were made directly to the bride's father. Her father received 2

green snail shells, one gold-lip shell, and one nose ornament in the first payment. The rest was distributed widely. One shell was given to Natina as a payment for his assistance. One shell was given to her youngest brother. The remainder were given to her matrilineal kin in Fatok.

Main claims that his only assistance in assembling the brideprice came from his brother (one shell) and his cross-cousin (two shells). The remainder he assembled himself through trade with his Kopon andau in Sanguvak. Shells were obtained in exchange for plumes and marsupial pelts.

The recounting of the elopement of Main and Koni provides us with social organizational, geographical, and cultural data, as well as data on social change over the past thirty years through the allusions to the existence of gardens where fallow lands are now located and to bushland which is now cultivated and to changes in brideprice items over time. Sketch Map 6 and Figure 44, below, outline the movement of the couple during the elopement and the interrelationship of the main characters in this episode. It is evident that the personnel involvement, timing of episodes, spatial requirements, procedure and outcomes differ considerably from the kinds of cases presented earlier. The account is worthy of an in-depth analysis in its own right. To facilitate that analysis, however, it is better to present another elopement case that will provide us with comparative material. This case was ongoing during fieldwork and permits us a better understanding of timing.

Sketch Map 6: The Route of an Elopement

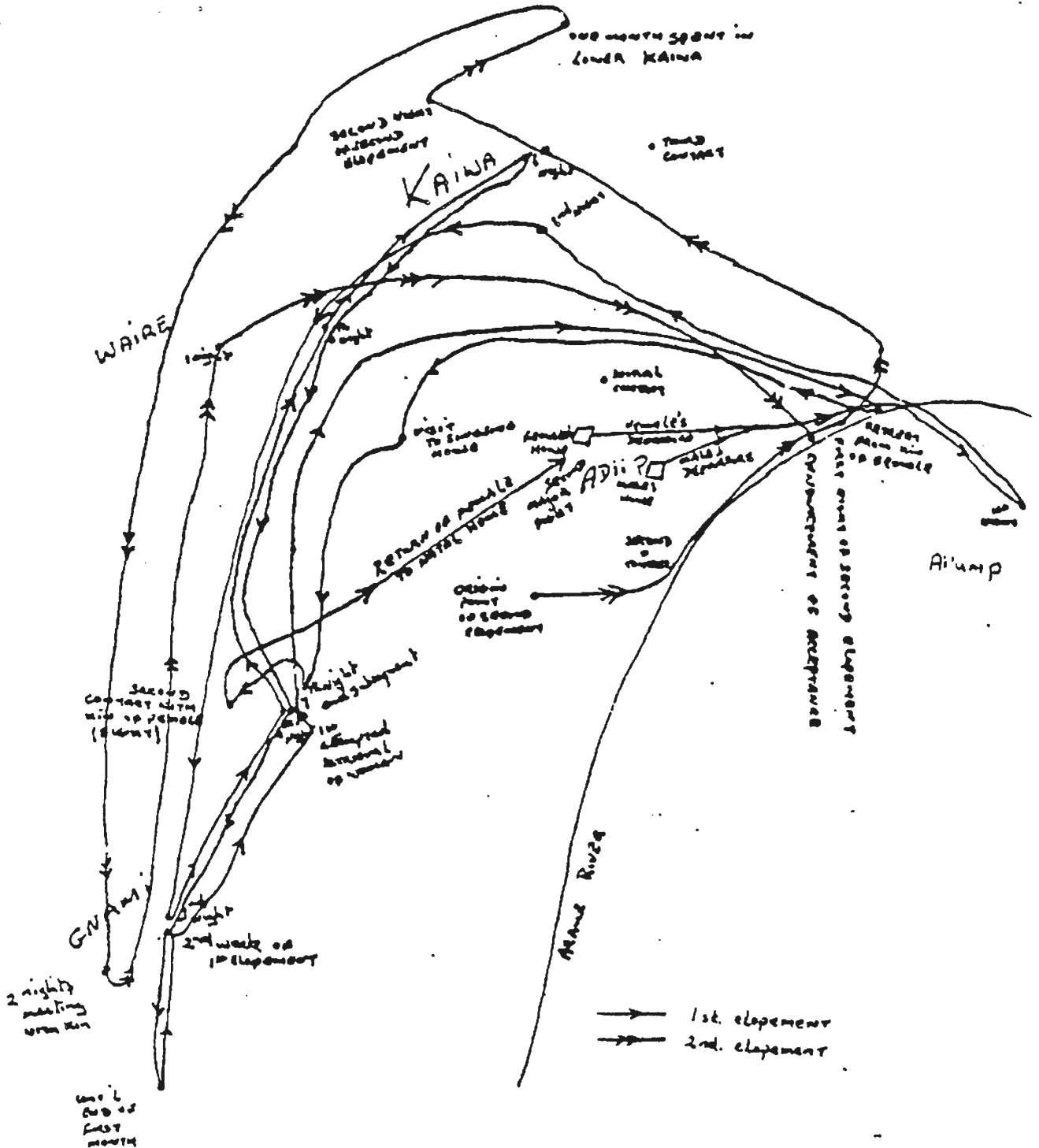
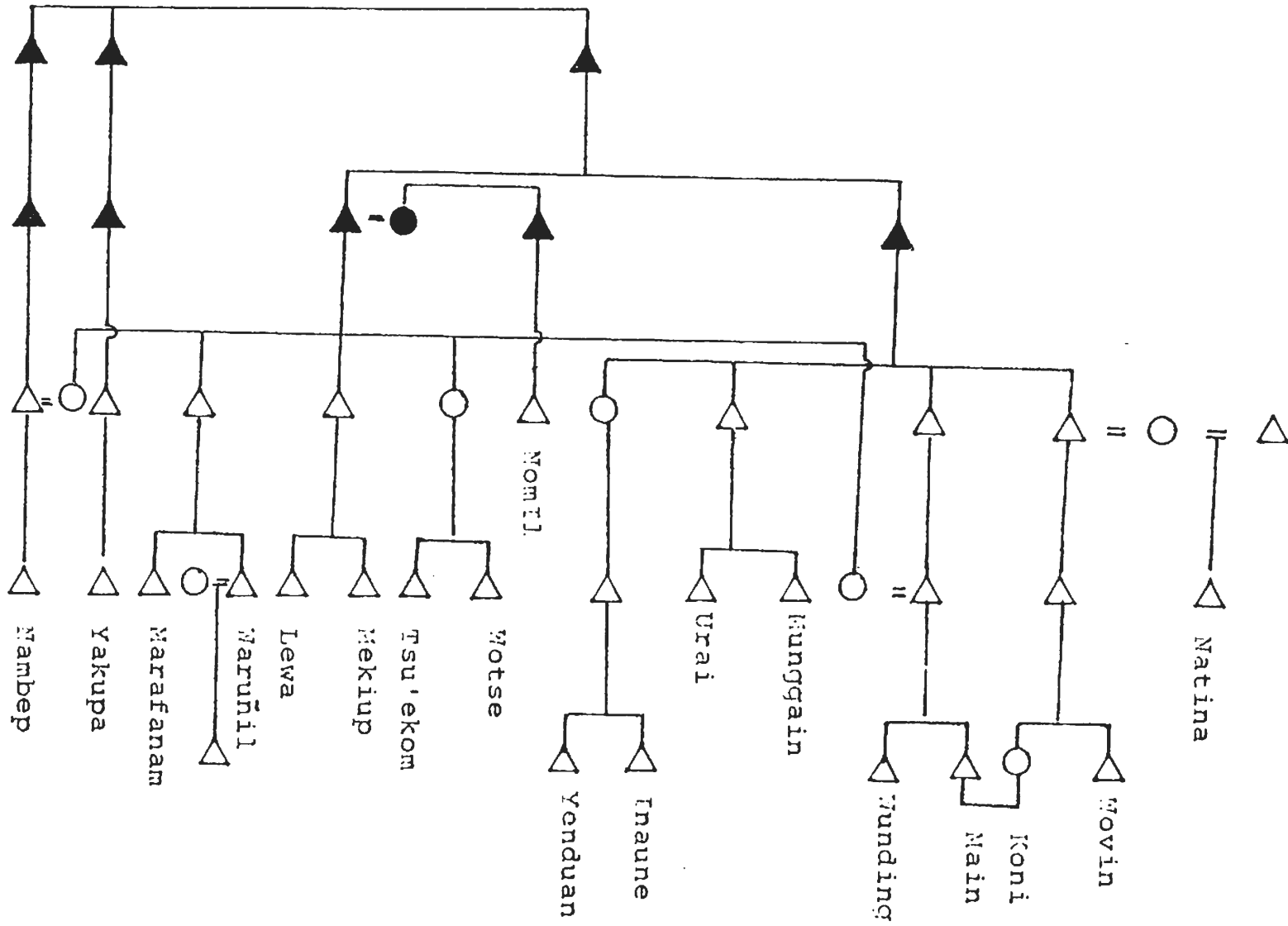


Figure 43: Main Characters in an Elopement Conflict



The Elopement of Fasisi and Neiñam

The impending elopement of Fasisi and Neiñam was first brought to my attention by a young informant, a patrilateral-parallel cousin of Fasisi, on July 30, 1979. The young boy had accompanied me to interview some men in connection with their marriage cases, and inspired by what he had heard during the day, decided to confide in me. His tale permitted me to make sense for the first time of a remark that Fasisi, himself, had made to me a few weeks earlier. We were talking about my interviewing some of the older men and he said: "Someday soon I'll have a story for you and tell you".

According to my young informant, it had been common knowledge among some sectors of the population, for some time, that Fasisi and Neiñam had pledged secrecy (mona nInggIle...'to fasten or tie the talk). During February, Fasisi had told my informant that he and Neiñam were friends (using the Pidgin English term which also implies having sexual intercourse), and that they would elope together in the future. He did not tell my informant when he planned to do this, but the informant suspected that Fasisi would wait until the upcoming singsing season (which runs from September through January) was over. None of the adult men in the community knew of these plans, nor did Hañañi, the girl's brother. Many younger men already knew and continually made veiled references to it in conversation with the girl's brother (by using kin terms which would be appropriate after the marriage, for example) much to the amusement of all.

Fasisi regarded the girl as a legitimate exchange, as her elder brother had 'befriended' (had intercourse with) and 'tied the talk' with Fasisi's classificatory sister. This young man had left for the plantation and had told the young woman to wait for him and that they would marry on his return. The young woman had told Fasisi of the arrangement and had avoided coming to Adiip hamlet since the plantation worker had departed. Fasisi expressed some doubt to my informant about whether or not he really wanted to marry Neiñam because, he said, they fought all the time, and he was afraid of her. On those occasions when he goes to the bush, she gets angry with him. When he visits the hamlet of Adiip, she has forbidden him to sleep in one of the houses where three young unmarried women live, lest he run off with one.

From this recounting, the affair had been continuing since January 1979. It began when Fasisi stripped a blanket off the sleeping girl in a small hamlet house with a number of other people present, and she did not raise a loud objection. Over the next few months, while the joking behavior continued, little else occurred that brought the affair to public attention. Fasisi was busily engaged in constructing a singsing house at which he, and a number of other Hrarunamp young men, were due to put on the cockatoo feathers.

Plans to put the cockatoo feathers on the Hrarunamp youths were changed in late Autumn, when it was realized that two of the initiates, who were away on plantation contracts, would not return in time. The remaining initiands decided that they too would wait to undergo the

initiation with their andau. House construction continued, however, with the intention of killing and distributing the pig herd. A total of 14 pigs were killed and distributed during the first week of November 1979.

Shortly after dawn, on December 15, 1979, Fasisi and Neiflam passed through the hamlet of Adiip en route to Kaiwa. They visited the house of Iku, sister of the Adiip tultul. There they obtained food, and they took it to Anderavain to cook and eat before moving on. By mid-morning, word had come that the girl's father was very angry and had demanded that his daughter be returned. The tultul followed them but returned and reported that he had been unable to find them. A few days later, a report reached us that the couple were staying with the residents of a homestead at the headwaters of the Kaiwa. The girl's mother followed them there, but she too returned without having made contact with them. She said that they had run off into the bush when they heard she was coming.

Two contradictory reports now circulated among the population. One stated that the girl's father was adamant that she be returned. Another stated that he and the girl's brother were already mentioning that a woman would have to be sent in exchange. It will be remembered that Fasisi had already spoken of the girl as an exchange for another case in which the 'talk was tied'.

Throughout the month of February, attempts to retrieve the girl continued. The young couple would be seen in one vicinity and a party would go out to make contact and bring the girl back. Most failed even to make contact with them. The bride and groom were now supported by her MB but the opposition of her father and his half-brother's son remained resolute. The Adiip tultul, a classificatory MB of the groom, demonstrated his support for the eloping couple by inactivity, although the father had approached him on a number of occasions to act to have the girl returned.

A number of different rationales were given for the old man's insistence that his daughter be returned. The first, was that the man was old, and like all old men he wanted to keep his daughters around him until he died. The second argued that too many women from that line had already married into the Hrarunamp line and that Natina insisted that no more would do so. This, in fact, is very inaccurate as the debt is clearly in the other direction. The third position advanced was that the old man's eldest son, Limnang, was not yet married, and the old man wanted to retain his daughter so that she could be used as an exchange for any woman his son obtained. This was precisely the argument advanced by Fasisi for his eloping with the woman in the first place. Finally, it was argued that Natina wanted to marry his daughter to his half-brother's son and that, consequently, this elopement was contrary to plans he had already made.

There was considerable concern over the old man's anger, and a number of younger men attempted to contact the couple and persuade them to return and give up the suit. Kimeri, a classificatory brother of the groom, followed them to ask that the woman be returned and that Fasisi, himself, visit the Sepik area for a while until tempers cool off. All attempts through the months of February and March failed, however, and the old man still was not prepared to accept the outcome.

In April, the old man took his wife and family to Kaiwa to try again to bring the woman home. He claimed that his daughter actually wanted to return, but that Fasisi was keeping her against her will. Fasisi had beaten her, he said, and he, the father, carried a short rope with him with a knot on it for each time that Fasisi had hit his daughter. There were seven knots in all. He had been to Kaiwa recently, he said, and saw a leaf there with blood on it. This was his daughter's blood and was the result of an ax wound which Fasisi had inflicted on her. Had the young man treated her well, he claimed, he would have agreed to the marriage, but he had not. This was the first indication by the old man that he would have agreed to the marriage. Witnesses, however, seemed to believe his story that Fasisi was mistreating the girl. He claimed at this point that he would bring the young man to court before the next police patrol in the area.

More volunteers were found to try again to retrieve the girl. Most observers, however, believed that it was already too late. The young couple had been in the bush together for over four months. Most people

believed that the girl was probably already pregnant and that the father should accept the situation. At the end of April, the couple returned to their home area. They came back to Hrarunamp, then went to Funkafunk, and returned again to Hrarunamp. A meeting was held to discuss the situation. Her father was still adamant that she be returned. Fasisi expressed anger, and the girl said she did not want to go back home. The opinion of the elders prevailed, however, and the girl was told to return home. Yolongain (the prospective groom's FBS) was delegated to escort the girl back to her natal homestead but when he approached her, she cut him on the shoulder with a bush knife. She was returned to her natal home.

The young groom expressed a great deal of anger at the decision of the men. He had been married for almost five months, he said. The woman was already pregnant, and he had no intention of abandoning her. As her father would not allow them to remain in the house, he said, they would run away to the bush again and remain there until the old man consented to allow them to stay at the house. The girl was returned to her father's house on a Thursday night. Saturday night, the young couple again passed through Adiip, again heading for Kaiwa. As word of their disappearance spread, no one volunteered to follow them. The consensus of opinion was that this time the old man would just have to accept the situation. One month later, when fieldwork ended, the girl had still not been returned to her father.

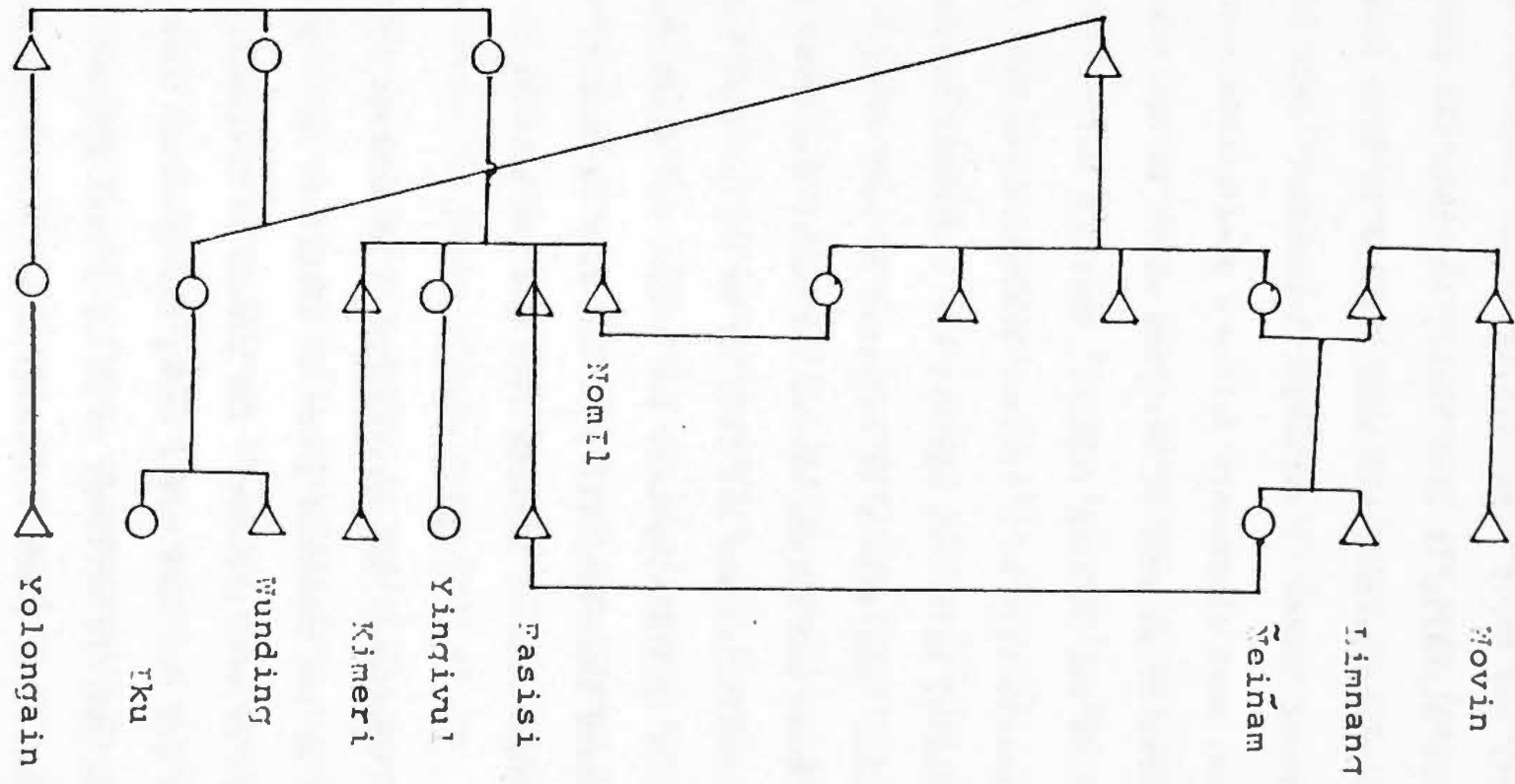
The case had not been resolved by the time fieldwork ended, but it was apparent to all that the outcome was inevitable. The persistence of the young couple would have its reward. Her father could not refuse indefinitely to sanction the marriage, and informants agreed that his period of resistance had almost ended. He would soon be forced to begin negotiations. Figure 45, below, outlines the genealogical interrelations of the principal protagonists.

Analysis and Comparison

The two cases presented here are broadly similar in outline. Further comparative cases are provided (cases 4-6) in Appendix 1. Even a cursory glance at these cases draws our attention to a number of features of organizational importance. In the preliminary discussion, then, I will follow the same outline which was employed for the analysis of agreement and arrangement marriages (procedure, personnel, time and space requirements, organization of activities, occasions of occurrence, and outcome).

The procedure of an elopement contrasts sharply with both marriage by agreement and arrangement. Like marriage by agreement, the only parties to the situation prior to the event are the young couple themselves, although some friends may be privy to certain information and they are expected to be supportive. Even with friends, however, care is taken not to reveal to them the specific time of elopement. Secrecy is vital to the success of the venture, and the maintenance of

Figure 44: Genealogical Interrelationships of the Main Protagonists
in the Elopement of Fasisi and Neĩnam



secrecy was amply demonstrated by the elopement of Fasisi and Neiñam. Advance planning is also vital, and this was demonstrated in a number of cases where gardens had been planted in bush locations or food and equipment hidden in strategic locations. Once the event is set in motion, most elopements follow a predictable course. The couple withdraw to an area of bushland which is familiar to the male, and in which he has hunting rights. Constant motion is necessary to minimize the possibility of a violent confrontation with the kin of either party. Meanwhile, agitation against the elopement begins among the kin of both parties. Assistance is enlisted on both sides. Attempts to retrieve the woman and return her to her natal homestead are mounted. Intermediaries who are felt to be influential with either or both parties to the elopement are sought and dispatched. Despite the supposed inaccessibility of the eloping couple, there is a constant flow of communication between them and the pursuers.

Nowadays, the possibility of an attempt by either the father of the girl or the thwarted groom to institute court proceedings against the other is ever present. The threat is frequently used, although no such case had yet been heard among the up-river Wovan. The luluai of Funkafunk did attempt to bring a case against an elopement before one of the first patrols through Wovan territory, but the district officer claimed that he had no jurisdiction as neither party was married. In the district officer's opinion (given in the Funkafunk village book), the luluai's main complaint appeared to be that the young woman involved was a good worker and that he was afraid that he would lose her

services. More recent threats to involve the administration in the adjudication of disputes resulting from elopement are more frequently directed at perceived maltreatment by either the father or the intending groom, rather than against the act of elopement itself.

From the viewpoint of procedure, then, elopement is best seen, not merely as the contraction of a marriage between two people, but a political act with political consequences. In this sense, it corresponds closely with Turner's (1957) concept of the 'social drama', which divides the community and reveals the underlying structure. Sides are taken, and the alliances and animosities become apparent. But, as we shall see, certain kin adopt predictable stances with respect to the elopement (all else being equal). The politics of elopement marriage, then, involve the cooption of the non-committed and the attempt to bring other duties to bear on those who would otherwise adopt predictable stances. In Fasisi's case, the Adiip tultul, papua (MB) of the groom, resisted attempts by the bride's father to enlist his support based on an argument hinging on his official administrative appointed role. Once the initial half-hearted attempt to locate and return the bride failed, (an attempt which many suspected was merely a withdrawal from the limelight of the hamlet and perhaps, an opportunity to enjoy a quiet day's hunting in the adjacent forest), he managed to take no active part in the proceedings. Kinship duties won out over administrative duties (though there is considerable doubt as to whether his administrative duties extend to this realm). He had, in fact, been forewarned, by Fasisi, a number of weeks prior to the elopement,

although in a veiled manner and without specification of the woman involved. The intending groom, his yimalu, had told him that he had plans to make trouble (using the Pidgin-Wovan compound trabel mekimhre) in the future, and would talk to him further after the event. In the case of Main and Koni, above, however, while her MB supported the young couple, his MBS was actively engaged in the attempt to retrieve the woman. The rationale for this reversal of his expected supportive role, was that the marriage generated conflict between the bride's mother and the mother of the groom (his FZ); his anger, therefore, was directed at the eloping groom in defence of his father's sister. It is obvious, however, that a more 'political' motive can also be attributed to Mekiup's participation in this event. He is one of the few uxorilocally resident men in Wovan. His gardens were maintained among his wife's kin who are the patrilateral relatives of the young bride's mother. His involvement, therefore, may have had more to do with his attempt to secure his own gardening rights and rights of residence (rights which are still disputed, all the more so after his appointment as tutul of Fatok) than with any defence of his father's sister.

The primary focus of aggression in all cases of elopement is the young couple that eloped. Her immediate kin are angered by her elopement, and this is manifest in the beating of the young woman on her return. His immediate kin are angered by his elopement, and this is manifested frequently in fighting, which can lead to bloodshed. However, as we saw in part of Main's elopement, for example, when his

father threw stones at him rather than firing arrows, some steps are taken to limit this violence. This conflict, however, can escalate into feuding between the two kin groups. In the case of Main and Koni, her matrilineal relatives attacked the house in which his parents lived, cutting it with axes. They then destroyed a neighboring taro garden, and left broken arrows on the roadway as an indication that they would kill Main if they were presented with the opportunity. We are dealing with an endogamous marriage here, however, and the conflict between the smaller kin-groups did not escalate beyond this point.

Major differences in the conduct of proceedings between the marriages of Main and Fasisi may be attributed, at least in part, to the contact experience. While the threat of physical violence is still made, actual violence is rare among the Wovan since contact. Main's marriage attempts quickly escalated into an exchange of arrows. Fasisi's marriage plans were constantly threatened with physical violence but also with the possibility of legal arbitration. Warfare as the arbiter of last resort is still a possibility among the Wovan, as we saw in the adultery case (Chapter 2, above). However, raids and reprisals have ceased among the Wovan for almost twenty years, and few older informants appear anxious to see them return.

The personnel involved in conflict stemming from elopement again reflect the same principles apparent in both the other forms of marriage. Non-kin group members are never involved in intra-kin group conflicts. Because of the possibility of conflict, elopements appear to

involve a wider circle of kin being recruited on each side of the dispute than do either agreed or arranged marriages. We saw in all the cases cited above of agreed and arranged marriages that the involvement was confined to the co-resident kin group (the minimal level).

Elopement conflict, however, draws support to both sides from further afield. Participation is still confined to the immediate kin of both parties, that is, the genealogical distance between participants is still small, it is no longer confined to the co-resident kin. There is frequently an extension of the conflict from just the patrilineal relatives of both parties to matrilineal relatives also, as was especially obvious in the case of Main and Koni.

The time and space requirements of elopement also contrast sharply with other marriage modes. We have witnessed considerable advanced planning on the part of Fasisi and Neiflam. Almost a year elapsed between their initial binding to secrecy and their eventual elopement. Once the elopement actually takes place, negotiations, conflicts, and discussions can drag on for a further six months before the marriage is sanctioned. Negotiations concerning arranged marriages rarely exceeded one week in duration.

Spatial requirements of arranged and agreed marriages required the transfer of the woman from the homestead of her father to that of her future husband. The spatial requirements of elopement encompass the whole of Wovan territory. Geographic mobility of the eloping couple is both obvious and necessary. Both bush and cultivated resources are used

in the period of elopement. In contrast with arranged marriages, where the new couple use only existing structures, the eloping couple frequently build small bush shelters, construct new gardens, and redefine existing structures. Rock overhangs, pig-houses, bush shelters all become temporary living quarters; and if the conflict generated by the elopement is sufficiently intense, the couple may construct a new permanent dwelling on their return.

In the preceding sections, we have already alluded to the organization of persons and activities in the course of an elopement. Here, I want to focus attention on the differential involvement of personnel throughout the episode. As we saw in the case of Fasisi's elopement, the entire event took over a year to act out. The organization of persons and activities differed over time. Using a composite, constructed from a series of individual cases, we may outline the series of episodes within a single protracted event. The first episode involves the initial promise of silence (the entering into conspiracy). At this point, only the participants to the elopement are actively involved. Episode two involves the recruitment of support from kinsmen and women who, it is felt, will be supportive of the action. Note that, at this point, those involved are usually young and not in positions of authority over the couple. Episode three involves the actual elopement. Episode four involves the establishment of a forest hideout which may demand the participation of others but does not always do so. Episode five involves the behavior of the two factions now established in support of and against the elopement. The main activity

of those opposed to the elopement now involves attempts to retrieve the woman as quickly as possible. Those in favor of the elopement are engaged in thwarting these attempts, by providing food, shelter, and misleading information as to the location of the couple. Episode six involves the increased political activity of those opposed to the elopement in their attempts to attract further support for the return of the woman. Episode seven involves the actual return of the woman to the house of her father. Episode eight involves the abandonment of the suit or the reelopement of the couple. If the suit is abandoned, normal activities resume. If the couple elope again, a further attempt to retrieve the woman is mounted, but with decreasing support from other members of the community. Episode nine involves the acceptance of the situation by the father of the woman and the return of the couple to the homestead of the male. Episode ten involves the discussion of the situation between the parties and the initial brideprice payment (usually a very small payment) to the father of the bride. Episode eleven involves the major brideprice payment and may occur as many as four to six years after the acceptance.

The sequence of episodes may be represented in the form of a decision model. It is important to appreciate, however, that one is not modelling decisions here but rather modelling outcomes from which certain decisions can be inferred. This model is presented in Figure 46, below. At each juncture, two possible outcomes are presented, once

Figure 45: Decision Making Model of the Elopement Sequence

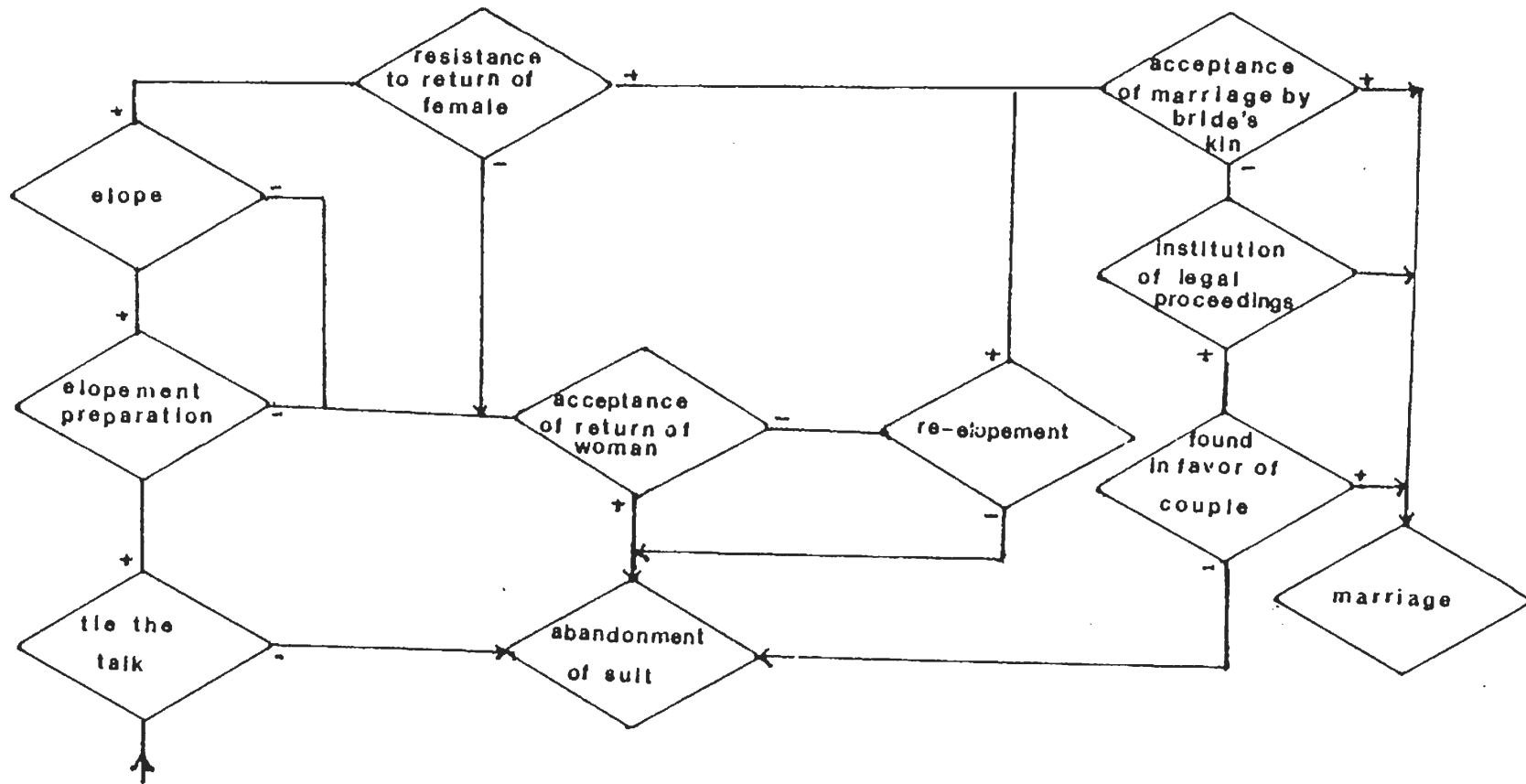


Figure 46: Decision Model of Arranged Marriage

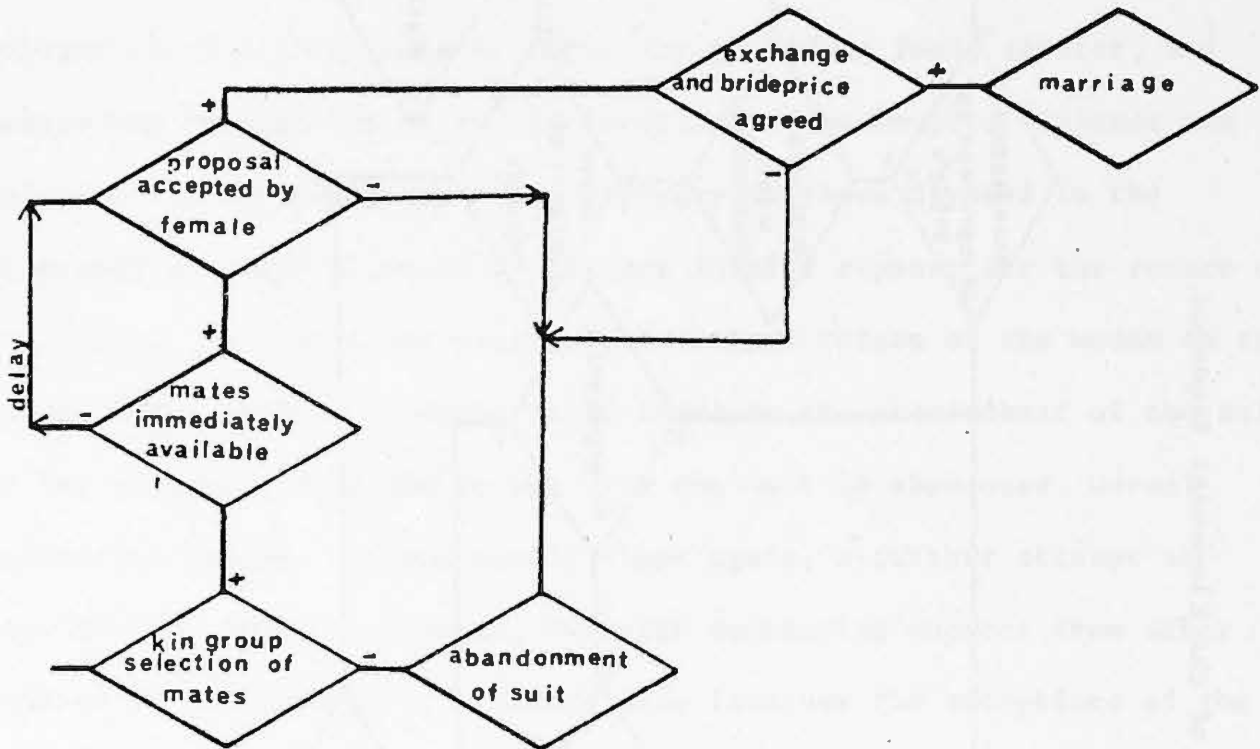
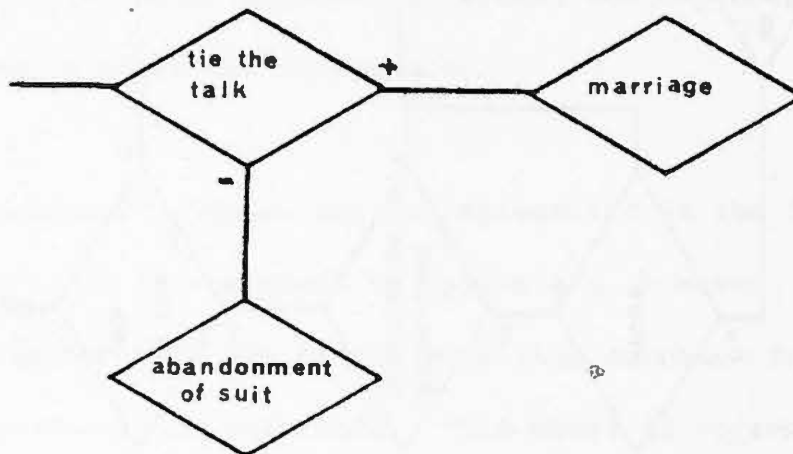


Figure 47: Decision Model of Agreed Marriage



the elopement sequence is set in motion. The abandonment of the suit is represented as a default option which sets the whole sequence in operation again. Comparison of the elopement figure with those of arranged and agreed marriages, Figures 47 and 48 (p. 323), underscores the complexity of the elopement sequence. A negative outcome to the sequence, the abandonment of the suit, leaves both parties free to elope with others in the future or to marry by either of the other modes. Although bachelorhood is not unknown among the Wovan, it is far less common than marriage, and one can postulate that eventual marriage is the fate of all. The contracting of a marriage leads to the realignment of social relations within the community, and this will be the main concern of the next chapter. First, however, let us synopsise the main themes developed in this chapter.

Conclusion

Discussions by Turner (1957), Goodenough (1963), and Salmond (1972) have outlined schemes of analysis for the anthropology of occasions, social dramas, and events. These discussions have also sensitized us, as anthropologists, to the value of these events as a means of exploring social structure or organization. Turner (1957), in an early treatment, emphasised the role of the social drama in laying bare social cleavages and permitting the anthropologist to see beneath the facade of everyday life. Social organization, in the sense employed by Firth (1964), is precisely this ongoing process of social life,

manifest in everyday occurrences. Our task, then, becomes the analysis of these events in an attempt to understand the underlying logic. In the description of marriage as an event, I have attempted to provide the basis for just such an understanding of Wovan social organization.

Events, in the sense employed here, consist of episodes, which in turn are made up of sequences of individual acts, performed by individual persons, acting in roles. To understand these events, therefore, it is necessary to break down the sequence itself, and to describe and understand the roles adopted by the participants in each sequence. The act of marrying is a necessary but not mundane aspect of Wovan social life. Almost all Wovan, at some point in the life cycle, marry, if they survive to a reasonable age. The Wovan, as we saw in the description of ritual given in Chapter 4, provide rules for the eligibility of males to marry. No comparable rules are provided as to female eligibility, but the social requirements of a wife, the ability to work in the gardens, the ability to herd pigs, the ability to maintain a lively and humorous conversation, demand that the woman be at least in her late teens before she will be chosen as a possible bride.

By the imposition of rules of marriage and their systematic breaking, the Wovan have managed to imbue marriage with a sense of political and organizational urgency lacking in the approach of other people. The long term implications of endogamous marriage add further to this problematic aspect, and we shall be concerned with these in some

detail in the next chapter. Here, I want briefly to review what I have termed the short cycle of marriage, the contraction of marriage in its various modes, the immediate social effects of marriage and the conflict generated by elopement.

Marriage, as we have seen, is contracted by one of three modes, arrangement, agreement, and elopement. Of these modes, elopement is by far the most common, but arrangement is the only mode that can fulfill the requirements of the Wovan rule of classificatory parallel cousin marriage and the exchange of sisters between men. Brothers, rather than fathers, take the principal role in relation to the marriages of their sisters, and when fathers do take an active role, their rationale for so doing is phrased in terms of the interests of their sons.

The arrangement of marriages results in the peaceful transfer of a woman from one locality and kin group to another and the transfer of another woman or a specified amount of valuables to that group in return. The transaction takes a minimal amount of planning and is conducted with a minimal amount of ceremony. Although an immediate exchange of women is desired, these exchanges may be delayed over many years, even a generation, if no suitable young woman is available in the wife-taking kin group, or if no suitable husband is looking for a bride in the wife-giving group.

At this point, however, alternative Wovan values come into play, and these values frequently conflict with the principles of orderly

exchange. As was obvious from the statements of both young male and female informants, the finding of one's own partner (the woman being moved by his dancing, he by her appearance) and the adventure of the elopement chase are highly valued experiences. These values, however, are difficult to reconcile with exchange and even more so with any concept of delayed exchange. A young teenage girl is promised as an exchange bride, once she is old enough to marry. In the meantime, she observes a youth as he dances, they swear secrecy, and before the exchange is effected, they elope. The intended marriage is now opposed not only on the grounds of ineligibility (for whatever reason) but also on the grounds that this occurrence has thwarted the plans already made for the girl's future and the commitments made to the other kin group. If the marriage is permitted to stand, an alternative bride must be found and sent to the designated kin group or the youth to whom she was intended to be wed must be assisted in his own efforts to elope with another woman. The event quickly moves from the purely social plane to a socio-political plane which involves not only the kin groups of the eloping parties but also the kin group of the bridegroom designated by arrangement.

Elopement, then, is a sanctioned breaking of the rules in a society which otherwise places heavy emphasis on the authority of elders over juniors and the authority of males over females. It is interesting to note again, and this should be borne in mind, that veto rights in any arrangement are always retained by the woman. In elopement, she

exercises her own choice of partner and her choice is then disputed by her brothers.

I have emphasized, throughout this account, the extent of negative power invested in each of the participants, which serves to undermine the positive marriage rule. The bride-to-be can veto her proposed marriage and end any attempt at arrangement. This rule is underlined by the Wovan statement that should a woman refuse a proposal of marriage or elopement, the male should abandon his suit immediately rather than pursue it. Once a woman agrees to a marriage arrangement, her father and brothers may oppose it. The bridegroom-to-be, on the other hand, does not have the power to override a decision taken by his elder brothers and father in any marriage arrangement. His mode of avoiding an unwanted arrangement, then, is to choose a woman of his own and elope with her before any such arrangement can be made.

The possibility of a male being able to fend for himself and his chosen bride and to weather the storm of protest over the elopement are markedly enhanced if he has already undergone the angge (cockatoo) ceremony and has thus been made culturally eligible to marry. Opposition to a marriage prior to the male's initiation is likely to be much more strenuous than after. This is made obvious by the statements of initiated males who do elope and then argue that the reason they did so was because, while they had undergone their initiation, their elders were slow and had not arranged a marriage for them. They were victims

of the system and did the only thing they could possibly do to obtain a bride. While a proportion of males do indeed elope prior to their initiation and succeed, many wait until they have undergone their initiation. The case of Main was one such case. Fasisi, too, waited until he should have undergone his cockatoo initiation. However, by the time the initiation plans were changed, he was already committed to the elopement and did not change his marriage plans.

Support and opposition to marriages bring into play principles of kinship, co-residence, and ritual ties. The same principles and equivalent ties fostered through long term trading partnerships are evident in the assembling and payment of brideprice. The organizational scale of Wovan society becomes very evident in the conflicts generated and the support mechanisms called upon in cases of elopement. At this point, however, one may well ask: "Why do the Wovan make such a fuss over the marriage of any two individuals?" Given that they recognize that men must marry and that they cannot (or at least should not) marry their own true sisters, why do they appear so negatively disposed towards the contraction of marriage? Younger Wovan informants will answer this question by responding that old men do not wish to give up their daughters and that consequently younger men who do want to marry have to elope with these women. I think, however, that by looking at the long term implications of marriage, we may get a more systemic view of Wovan marriage and provide a socio-cultural explanation for this behavior. The long term view of marriage, what I have termed the long cycle, is the subject of our next chapter.

CHAPTER 7: MARRIAGE AS PROCESS

The Long Cycle

In the previous chapter, we focused attention on marriage or the contraction of marriage as a particular piece of social behavior with the emphasis placed firmly on the organization of behavior (persons involved, roles played, and the sequential ordering of various acts). I intended to provide a micro-level view of the marriage event. In so doing, we discovered and outlined the socio-political dimension of marriage in terms of the recruitment of persons to one or other side of disputes, particularly in those disputes generated by elopement. Our focus, then, was on the factors which aided or mitigated against any particular elopement being sanctioned by the society, that is, what factors influenced a series of acts such that those acts led to any two persons being recognized as married, and thus being legitimately enabled to establish a household and bear offspring which would be recognized as belonging to the kin group of their mother's husband. Children, in Wovan, who are born to women who are not recognized as being married belong to the kin group of their mother's brother and usually reside in his homestead.

Marriage, or more accurately, marrying, however, means more than the series of acts leading to the establishment of a single domestic

unit. Once this domestic unit has been established, other cultural factors, governing kinship terminology and the behavior of in-laws, demand a re-alignment of social relations to take account of this new domestic arrangement. It is with this long term re-adjustment of relationships that we will be concerned in this chapter.

The question which must be answered in this chapter, is, therefore, basically simple. What are the consequences of Wovan marriage for social and interpersonal relations over time? As we have seen, over 85% of all Wovan marriages are endogamous to the Wovan people. Given the scale of Wovan society, in which we are dealing with just over 700 people, any single marriage event forces a re-alignment of relations among kin of the newly married couple. In a society of larger scale, in which strict rules of exogamy apply, any particular marriage creates for the individual and his close kin a relationship with a new coterie of affines. A new relationship is created. In a society of Wovan scale, a new affinal relationship is also created by marriage. However, particularly when we are dealing with close parallel-cousin marriage, the affinal relationship is created at the expense of a preexisting consanguineal relationship. It is in this redefinition of kin that Wovan marriage assumes its major importance from the point of view of social structure.

To understand the phenomenon of redefinition, it is first necessary to outline Wovan kinship terminology and its attendant behavioral manifestations, rights and duties.

Figure 48: Wovan Kinship Terminology

Term	Denotata
Nesau	FF, MF, FFF, FMF, MFF, MMF, FeB.... male speaking: yBS, yBD, SS, DS, BSS, BDS, ZSS, ZDS, SSS, SSD, SD, DD, BSD, BDD, ZSD, ZDD, DDD, DDS....
Hauso ZDS, SSS,	MM, FM, FFM, FMM, MFM, MMM, MeZ.... female speaking: yZS, yZD, SS, DS, BSS, BDS, ZSS, SSD, SD, DD, BSD, ZSD, ZDD, DDD, DDS....
N [^] mbe	Hu
Mə	Wi
Papua	MB, MMZS, MMBS, MFBS, MFZS....
Naumbi	FZ, FFBD, FFZD, FMZD, FMBD.....
Yimalu	male speaking: ZS, ZD, MZDS, MZDD, MBSS, MBDD, MBDS, MBSD...
Noleva	MBS, MBD, FZS, FZD, FFBDS, FFZDS, FMBDS, FMZDS, FFBDD, FFZDD, FMBDD, FMZDD, MMBSS, MMZSS, MFBS, MFZSS, MMBS, MMZSD, MFBS, MFZSD....
N [^] mbod	male speaking: eB, FeBS, MeZS, FFeBSS, MMeZDS....
Namam	female speaking: B, MZS, FBS, FFBSS, MMZDS, FFZSS, MMBDS, FMZSS, FFBDS....
Marau	male speaking: Z, MZD, FBD,....
Ma'ant	female speaking: eZ, MeZD, FeBD....
Haul	male speaking: yB, FyBS, MyZS,... female speaking: yZ, MyZD, FyBD
Adze	F, FZHu, MZHu...
Maam	M, MBWi, FBWi,....
Woye	FyB, FFyBS,...
Naime	MyZ, MMyZD....
Ha	S, female speaking: ZS, BS, HuZS, HuBS....

Wovan Kinship Terminology (continued).

Harau	D, SWi, eBSWi, ZSWi, FeBSSWi, female speaking: eZD, BD, FBSD, MeZD, HuBD, HuZD....
Yenduning	male speaking: MBSWi, FZSWi, FFBDSWi, FFZDSWi, FMBDSWi, MFZSSWi, MMBSSWi, MMZSSWi, female speaking: HuMBS, HuFZS, HuFFBDS, HuFMBDS, HuMFBS, HuMFZSS, HuMMBSS, HuMMZSS
Bone	male speaking: WiZ female speaking: ZHu
Y [^] man	male speaking: ZHu, WiB
Monu'as	female speaking: HuZ, BWi
Naumbul	male speaking: BWi, female speaking: HuB
Yim [^]	DHu, male speaking: WiF, WiFyB...
NImem	male speaking: WiM, WiMyZ....

The Wovan, as we have stated previously, employ a variant of Iroquois kinship terminology. Descendants of same-sex relatives in the immediately preceding generation employ sibling terms. Descendants of cross-sex relatives employ cross-cousin terms. Siblings are differentiated by sex and seniority, while cross-cousins are not differentiated by either. Figure 48, above, gives the basic Wovan kinship terminology and the denotata of each term. This figure does not include the second and third person kin terms which are peculiar to the Wovan and Kopon. Both groups assign lexemes which are unrelated to the first person possessive kin terms to expressions for 'your sister,' 'his/her sister,' and so on.

Componential Analysis of Wovan Kinship Terminology

The object of this analysis is to outline a limited set of principles which will enable us to accurately predict the kinship terminological usage of any given individual. Such an analysis, therefore, enables us to more easily perceive the structure of any given set of kin terms. Because the Wovan differentiate kin terms which take the first person possessive from those which take only second and third person possessives, I refer to the first person kin terms as primary kin terms. I do not wish to imply that these terms refer only to primary kin in the sense frequently employed in anthropology. The 26 Wovan primary terms may be grouped into 20 reciprocals as in Figure 49, below, and this may be further reduced to 15 reciprocal sets by the combination

Figure 49: Reciprocal Kin Terms

1. Nesau	Nesau
2. Hauso	Hauso
3. N ^ˆ mbe	Mə
4. Papua	Yimalu
5. Noleva	Noleva
6. N ^ˆ mbod	Haul
7. Ma'ant	Haul
8. Namam	Marau
9. Yenduning	Yenduning
10. Adze	Ha/Harau
11. Maam	Ha/Harau
12. Naime	Ha/Harau
13. Naumbi	Ha/Harau
14. Woye	Woye
15. Bone	Bone
16. Y ^ˆ man	Y ^ˆ man
17. Monu'as	Monu'as
18. Naumbul	Naumbul
19. Yim ^ˆ	Yim ^ˆ
20. Yim ^ˆ	NImem

of those terms which take the same reciprocal. Thus, 6 and 7 (Figure 49) take the same reciprocal, haul, pairs 10, 11, 12, 13, all take the same reciprocal, ha/harau, and pairs 19 and 20 may be similarly combined. Our first task, therefore, is to discriminate between these reciprocal sets and then to discriminate between the terms within the sets.

Figure 50: Reciprocal Sets

1. Nesau	Nesau	
2. Hauso	Hauso	
3. Adze/Maam/Naime/Naumbi		Ha/Harau
4. Papua	Yimalu	
5. Noleva	Noleva	
6. N ^ˆ mbod/Ma'ant	Haul	
7. Naman	Marau	
8. Woye	Woye	
9. N ^ˆ mbe	Mə	
10. Yenduning	Yenduning	
11. Bone	Bone	
12. Y ^ˆ man	Y ^ˆ man	
13. Monuas	Monuas	
14. Naumbul	Naumbul	
15. Yim ^ˆ /NImem	Yim ^ˆ	

Any analysis of Wovan terminology is, however, complicated by the differential merging of kin-types employed by males and females. Of utmost importance in this regard is the complete assimilation of the in-marrying female into the kin group of her spouse from the perspective of all other-generation relatives. Thus, an in-marrying woman in the junior generation employs consanguineal terms with both her husband's mother and father and all males and females in their generation. An in-marrying female in the senior generation employs 'my child' terminology with respect to the children of all her husband's siblings and is, herself, referred to as 'maam' by these children. This differential merging is underscored by informants, who claimed that, unless a relationship could be established by another means, they would not employ kinship terminology with reference to a FZHu. One female informant, however, also claimed that she would employ parent terminology with reference to inmarrying males (MZHu, FZHu) in the senior generation, and I have accepted this statement in the presentation of data above. In both these instances, therefore, we are presented with a situation in which collateral relatives are differentiated but their spouses are merged with lineal relatives.

As a consequence of this differential merging, one may not isolate a set of affinal and consanguineal kin-terms among the Wovan. Further, the number of purely affinal terms is severely limited and is concentrated in ego's own generation with only the single

cross-generation exception of DHu (male or female speaking) and WiF and WiM (male speaking).

With these limitations in mind, however, an analysis of the terminology can be undertaken.

The Criteria

A limited set of criteria can be isolated which permit the complete specification of Wovan kin terms. These criteria, and the values they may assume, are listed below:

1. Generation: own - other
2. Filial Distance: 1 unit - more than 1 unit
3. Marriage tie in senior generation: present - absent
4. Senior generation terminus (ego or alter) a consanguineal collateral male: yes - no
5. Relative sex of connecting link: same - opposite
6. Relative sex of ego and alter: same - opposite
7. Ego and alter in closest possible affinal relationship: yes - no
8. Location of marriage bond in relation to sex of speaker:
 - ³ male ego involved in marriage - female ego involved.
9. Sex of Senior Terminus: male - female

Ordered application of these nine criteria permits the differentiation of the 15 reciprocal sets outlined in Figure 50. Due to the lack of polarity in much of Wovan terminology, the existence of self-reciprocal terms, these nine criteria in fact isolate completely nine of the 26 Wovan terms. The remaining six sets, however, contain 17 of the 26 kin-terms. A further three criteria may be added to specify the terms within these sets. These criteria are:

10. Seniority: alter senior to ego - alter junior to ego
11. Sex of alter: alter male - alter female
12. Alter a colateral female relative of ego: yes - no

Ordered application of these twelve criteria, or some combination of these criteria, will enable us to specify exactly which Wovan kin term an informant will employ in reference to any other Wovan. The successive application of these criteria to sub-sets of the data are discussed below.

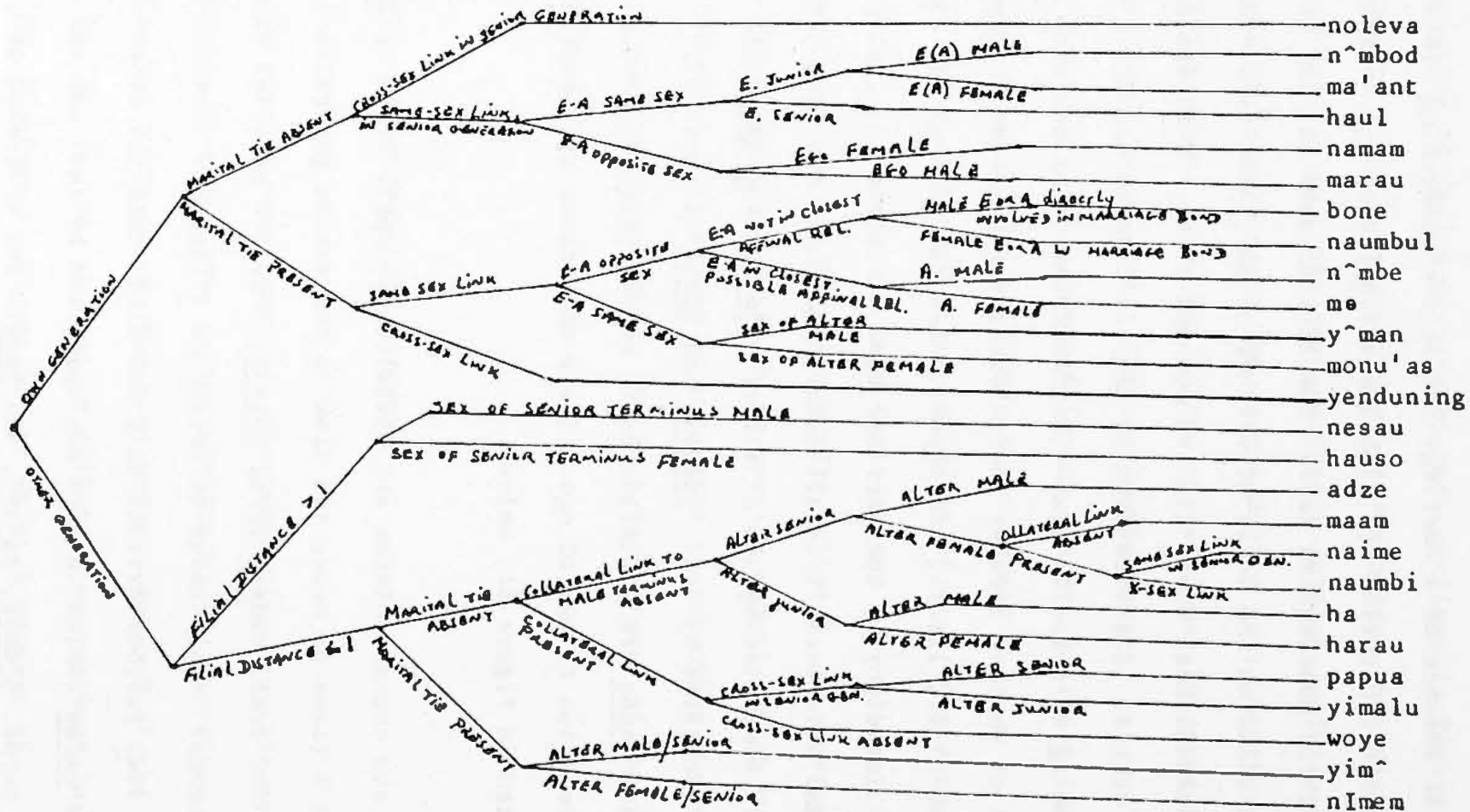
The analysis of Own Generation Terms

The first, and very powerful, discriminating variable applied to the reciprocal sets of terms is the similarity of generation of ego and alter. Ego and alter are in the same generation in 9 of the 15 sets (5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) and in different generations in sets 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 15, as given in Figure 50, of which 6 consist of self-reciprocal terms. Exactly half of Wovan kin-terms apply to members

of one's own generation. Own generation may be further divided by the presence or absence of a marriage tie in the connecting links between ego and alter (criterion 3). The six affinal sets are thereby isolated from the three consanguine sets. The affinal sets (9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) are divided on the basis of whether or not there is a cross-sex link in the consanguineal chain linking ego and alter. This isolates set 10 from all others. But this term in turn is further specified by alter and ego being of opposite sex. The remaining terms are also divided on the basis of whether speaker and referred are the same or opposite sex (criterion 6) (9, 11, 14, are opposite sex; 12, 13 ego and alter are same sex). Immediacy of the marriage bond (criterion 7) isolates the husband and wife terms from all others and these two terms are completely specified by sex of alter. Y^hman and monu'as (12 and 13) are also specified by sex. Naumbul and bonne (11 and 14). Naumbul and bonne are divisible based on the location of the marriage bond in relation to sex of ego. These operations are graphically represented in Figure 51, below.

The six cognatic terms are divisible by application of the criterion 5 (same or cross sex link in the senior generation). This isolates the cross cousin term, noleva, from the parallel cousin and sibling terms. Application of criterion 6 (ego and alter of same or opposite sex) further divides this sub-field into the cross-sex terms namam and marau (which in turn are specified by sex) and the three same sex terms, n^hmbod, ma'ant, and haul. The criterion of

Figure 51: Componential Analysis of Wovan Kinship Terminology



seniority isolates the junior term haul from its reciprocals n^{mbod} and ma'ant and these in turn are specified by sex of alter.

The successive application of nine of the twelve criteria proposed, then, permits the specification of all own generation kin terms, both cognatic and affinal. The same criteria must now be applied to the analysis of other generation terms.

The Analysis of Other Generation Terms

The application of the first criterion has isolated the reciprocal sets 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, and 15 from all others.

The application of the second criterion, that of filial distance, separates the terms nesau and hauso (sets 1 and 2) from the remainder of the kinship terminology. These terms are not treated again in the analysis until criterion 9 (sex of the senior terminus) is applied. These two criteria successfully account for the distribution of these terms. One degree of filial distance is here defined as the lineal genealogical distance between parent and child, such that, a parent's younger sibling is regarded as being less than one degree of filial distance removed from ego and a parent's elder sibling, or parent's parent is more than one degree of distance. The corollary of such a definition states that a younger siblings child or child's child is more than one degree of filial distance removed while a senior

sibling's child is less than one degree removed. It will be apparent that such a definition excludes the consideration of cross-sex siblings in the calculation of filial distance.

Criterion 3 (the presence or absence of a marital bond in the junior generation chain connecting ego and alter) isolates the affinal terms (set 15) from the remainder. This set is internally divided by the application of criteria 10 and 11).

The presence of a collateral consanguineal link to a male terminus in the preceding generation isolates the sets 4 and 8 from 3. Thus the sets 3 and 15 are specified. Presence or absence of a cross-sex link in the preceding generation (criterion 5) separates set 4 from set 8. Thus the application of a mere five of the twelve criteria permits the isolation of the other-generational sets. Application of criteria 10,11, 12, permits the specification of the kin-terms within each set. The application of these criteria to the total corpus is presented graphically in Figure 51 above.

Comment

The analysis of Wovan terminology is complicated by the differential merging of male and female relatives but nonetheless the analysis does serve to highlight a number of features we found to be consistent with other aspects of Wovan culture. The incorporation of

females into the group into which they marry, the small range of recognized affinal kin in a society in which endogamy plays so large a part, the emphasis on seniority among same-sex siblings, the differentiation of sex in the senior generation and its lack of importance in the junior generation, are all features which we commented on in relation to other aspects of the social organization. The isolated principles are highlighted in Figure 51.

This viewpoint may be further appreciated by the abstraction from the twelve criteria proposed of a more limited number of underlying variables being manipulated in Wovan terminology. Perusal of the twelve criteria quickly establishes three fundamental variables which are manipulated in a limited number of ways. Four of our criteria concern the underlying variable of sex (sex of alter, relative sex of ego and alter, sex of senior terminus in the relationship, relative sex of the linking relatives). Three others are concerned with marriage (presence or absence of a marriage tie, direct marriage of ego and alter, location of the marriage tie in senior or junior generation, location of marriage in ego's own generation in relation to sex of ego). The final five criteria can all be subsumed under a more general variable of distance (generation, filial distance, seniority, and collaterality). I have commented at length above, and will have occasion to do so again in relation to the discussion on marriage which follows, on the importance of the cross-sex sibling bond with its lack of hierarchy and emphasis on complementarity and on the inherent inequality of same sex siblings in Wovan society. The analysis of kinship terminology underscores this

assessment and expands it to account not only for own generation relationships but also, by the introduction of the concept of filial distance, permits us to see how this concept of sibling hierarchy is worked out in the relationships of ego to members of both the preceeding and following generations.

The scale of the society is also apparent in the kinship terminology and particularly in the assignation of lexemically distinct terms to second and third person possessive kin terms. In a society in which all men are kin, and conversation utilizes kin terms in the designation of specific others, the isolation of 'my brother' from 'your brother' to a degree greater than the affixation of distinct possessive pronouns, does appear to aid clarity. Thus, when I refer to 'my father', adze ne, I employ a completely different lexeme than when I refer to 'your father', nau'a nang, or when I refer to 'my son', ha ne, I employ a different form from that which I use when I refer to 'your son', nats or 'his/her son', nits. These second and third person possessive kin terms could be incorporated into the analysis without any radical ordering problem but do not add to our appreciation of the relevant aspects of social organization at this time. I have included this brief discussion to emphasize the element of scale which is important in the considerations which follow.

Our analysis of Wovan kinship terminology has drawn attention to the differentiation of kin at ego's own generation level. Within this group our analysis has demonstrated the importance of the cross-sex sibling bond and of seniority among same-sex siblings. The treatment of

Wovan marriage norms (Chapter 5) has drawn attention to the Wovan norm of parallel-cousin marriage. The scenario presented below will outline the effects of parallel cousin marriage on the relations with own generation kin.

Componential analysis, then, provides us with, as it were, a camera-eye view of the social order. Concentrating only on genealogical space, the population is distributed, at any given point in time, over that space, and componential analysis permits us some appreciation of the principles employed in that distribution. However, over time, through the processes of birth, death, and marriage, the persons occupying those spaces change, and it is this movement of persons through the structure that gives social life its vitality. In particular, our attention is focused here on marriage and its implications for the movement of persons through the structure.

Marriage and Redefinition

Marriage, as viewed here, is one of the most significant social processes involved in the movement of persons within the organizational framework of Wovan society. Marriage functions, not only to establish the legitimacy of a new generation but also demands the continual rearrangement of existing social relationships. Marriage must, consequently be seen, not as a static social institution but rather as a process which itself acts upon such institutions as kinship to provide a

significant dynamic element of those institutions. This view of marriage is best presented as a scenario outlining the implications of endogamous parallel cousin marriage across three or more generations. Such a scenario is presented below.

The Implications of Parallel Cousin Marriage: A Three Generation Scenario

In the preceding chapters, I drew attention to the importance of elopement in the contraction of marriage among the Wovan and to the normative rule of parallel cousin marriage. The following scenario, therefore, highlights both these elements in marrying. While the scenario is presented as a fictional account, it is abstracted from actual cases and conforms to the outlines of those cases already presented.

Our scenario begins with two men who are genealogically connected by a parallel relationship in the preceding generation. They stand in the relationship of senior and junior same sex sibling to one another. They are both young men. One addresses and refers to the other as n^mbod and he, in turn, reciprocates this usage with the kin term haul. This represents the situation at the point in which the analyst first contacts the society (T_1) in the first generation (G_1).

One of these men, however, has marriage plans of which he has not informed his brother. Following closely on Wovan practice, he has sworn secrecy with the sister of his senior brother. In due course, they elope. Consistent with what we saw in Chapter 6, this elopement engenders a considerable amount of conflict between the two parties to the elopement and their respective kin groups but, after much haggling and an extended period of hiding, the marriage is sanctioned. A bride may be obtained in exchange or not (this aspect does not really concern us) but let us also assume that our other young man has also married. The two men who were brothers to one another are now also brothers-in-law, with all the restrictions on intercommunication which that implies. They refer to and address each other using the self-reciprocal term y[^]man which is admirably glossed by the Pidgin English term tambu. This is the situation at T_2 in G_1 .

These married couples give birth to children who stand in the relationship of cross-cousins to one another, as each is the MB child of the other. Between themselves, they use the single self-reciprocal term noleva. This is the situation in the second generation, G_2 .

Two of these male cross cousins again marry two women who may or may not call each other sister, prior to the marriage. What is important is that we are talking about a same-sex (that is, parallel) link in the senior generation. The children of these marriages are now linked by this parallel relationship, and address each other, once again, as siblings. If our cross-cousins married women who also

addressed each other as cross-cousins, the children, informants suggest, will base seniority on the relative ages of the first born. If these cross-cousins married women who addressed each other as siblings, seniority will be based on the seniority of the sibling relationship. If the relationship is traced through the mother of one child and the father of the other, the cross-cousin relationship will be retained for another generation. Eventually, however, the chances are that the descendants will return to a sibling terminology, thereby setting the scene for a repetition of the process.

Marriage as Process

This short scenario provides an overview of the social organizational implications of marriage over time. This view dramatizes and makes more meaningful some of the aspects of marriage we encountered in viewing marriage as an event. While the event has implications in terms of the immediate actions of individuals, it also has long term implications in terms of social structure. In the long term, Wovan social organization may be viewed as a continual flux, as persons and groups of persons form relationships, contract marriages and redefine their relationships in light of changed circumstances. This organizational flux (as represented by the above scenario) is represented in Figure 52, below.

Marriage in an endogamous society, which places restrictions on the interaction of in-laws, cannot be viewed simply as a unification of kin-groups through the formation of alliances. Exogamous marriages with patri-virilocal residence does indeed demand the in-marriage of women and the creation of ties, first of affinity and later of consanguineal kinship (cousinship), with members of another patrilocal group.

Marriage in an endogamous society demands first the overriding of pre-existing ties of kinship so that new, affinal, relationships may be recognized.

In this regard, we must note the elaboration of affinal terminology in ego's own generation among the Wovan. The affinal relationship is over-ridden in the cases of most in-marrying spouses in both the senior and junior generations. Five kin-terms, however, are employed to differentiate own-generation affines and these terms are differentiated both in relation to the sex of ego and alter, the relative sex of ego and alter, and the position of the marriage bond in relation to sex of ego and alter. Each of these affinal terms supplants a consanguineal own generation term on the contraction of a new marriage. The distribution of rights and duties, restrictions and privileges varies across these designations and differs considerably between own-generation consanguines and affines.

Marriage among the Wovan, I would suggest, is traumatic for precisely this reason. Each new marriage demands a complete overhaul of the social relationships of those close kin of the parties to the

marriage. This overhaul is not merely the addition of a new set of affines. Rather, it is the disestablishment of cognatic ties and their replacement by affinal ties which causes concern. It is because close interpersonal relationships, marked by informality and cooperations, are changed as a result of marriage into relationships marked by distance and formality, that most Wovan marriages are opposed by the close kin of the participants.

Figure 52: The Organizational Flux Created by Marriage

G ₁	T ₁	n [^] mbod - haul	(eB - yB)
	T ₂	y [^] man - y [^] man	(tambu, self reciprocal)
G ₂		noleva - noleva	(cross-cousin)
G ₃	T ₁	n [^] mbod - haul	
	T ₂	y [^] man - y [^] man	

Let us review this argument in the light of an actual case which occurred, taking Case 4 (Appendix 1) as our example. The informant, Urai, claims that it was the brother of his wife who initially suggested to him that he should marry. He, himself, had not thought about it. His account opens at a point where he is helping his future

brother-in-law to construct a singsing house. Urai, who was well past his angge initiations and still unmarried, was the subject of some sexual joking from his kinsman. Bamboo poles and pitpit rods are favorite phallic metaphors among the Wovan. Her brother created a succession of situations, according to the account, in which the woman performed activities more appropriate for a wife than a classificatory sister. She collected Urai's kill from the forest and brought it to the house. She carried his bow. Finally, with the complicity of her brother and against the opposition of Urai's father and brothers, the couple eloped.

The account, as given by the husband is obviously abbreviated and one is led to believe that bride-price is paid immediately. However, the intrusion of another elopement, the birth of two children and the accident resulting in the permanent deformity of one, maintain the time perspective. That the brother's complicity in the elopement is unusual is underlined by Urai himself in forcing his in-laws to come to him to receive the bride-price payment rather than him going to them. In his own words: "You gave me the woman, I didn't come and take her; now you must come to my house to collect payment."

Enquiries into Auwan's motives in encouraging the marriage of his sister, contrary to what appears as regular Wovan practice, elicit a variety of responses. He himself was married in a direct exchange of sisters so there was no question of asking for an exchange bride. Urai, as is apparent from the large brideprice payment, was a wealthy man by

Wovan standards, and the suggestion was made that Auwan realized the possibility of acquiring a large brideprice from a man who otherwise might not marry. Urai and his classificatory brothers in Adiip had considerable trading contacts eastward to the Kopon and it is possible that Auwan wanted to solidify his contacts with these people to ensure that this avenue of trade remained open to him. Finally, the suggestion was made that Auwan, aware of the paucity of eligible women in the Fatok area, used his sister to establish future exchanges for his sons.

Some or all of these factors may have entered into Auwan's decision to encourage Urai to marry his sister. Auwan himself will only admit to the fact that Urai was his 'brother' and did not have a woman, so he gave him his sister. Urai, it is true, paid a large brideprice by Wovan standards at the time (30 valuables, when other men were paying as little as one). Urai's influence continued to expand. His brother was made first tultul of Adiip. However, he was later demoted due to lack of cooperation with the administration and another man appointed instead. At that time, Urai himself became bosboi of Adiip. Urai continued to trade with his Kopon partners, and while maintaining an outward appearance of traditionalism, was one of the first Wovan to plant coffee and to advocate its benefits. He claims he follows Kopon practice and makes payments to his brother-in-law on the birth of each successive child. Finally, he is aware of the obligations of maintaining a balance in the exchange of women and has recently given his daughter in marriage to Auwan's classificatory brother's son. As he

himself stated: "We married all their sisters, now we must send women there."

The establishment of motives is perhaps one of the most difficult aspects of anthropology, especially when dealing with past events. One can provide rationalizations for certain behaviors based on their obvious outcome and indeed informants can provide equally plausible rationalizations based on the same set of data that the anthropologist has at his disposal. Whatever the latent functions of Auwan's decision to marry his sister to Urai, the manifest functions are plain, and the outcome, in terms of continuance of trade and future exchanges of women, has proved profitable for Auwan and his kin in Fatok.

We can see a similar development in the consideration of another case (case 5, Appendix 1). Here again, the informant, Imbaim, who is a timid man by nature, claimed some complicity by the bride's brother in his statement that the brother had guaranteed that he would not dispute his sister's attempts to marry.

The initial proposal here, however, was advanced by the woman and is attributed, in retrospect, to her having been bewitched by the husband's dancing ability. While some attempts were made to retrieve the woman, this post contact marriage did not generate the kind of conflict we witnessed in some earlier marriages, and the groom's accounts of his shooting arrows at the bride's kinsmen are, based on other reports, likely to be exaggerated. The woman returned home after

a short period of marriage but returned to her husband, and even he, in his account of his departure for plantaion work, admits that her brothers did not exert a great deal of energy in their attempts to get the woman back.

Another interesting feature of this elopement was the assistance obtained by the eloping couple from the andau, ritual partners, of the groom. Two brothers, one of whom later married the sister of Imbaim's bride, offered him assistance in obtaining food in the bush and in deflecting the anger of her brothers. Imbaim's own younger brother and his MZDS both assisted in maintenance of his home base while the couple were in hiding.

This case has its own peculiarity in the fact that the groom's father was an inmarried Kopon and shared his residence between his natal homestead and that of his Wovan wife. He is descended from a series of Wovan-Kopon marriages in which gardening rights inherited from the mother's patriline have been maintained on the border of Wovan-Kopon territory. He is, thus, marginal to the Wovan community itself, and this has been made manifest in a number of witchcraft accusations against him in recent years. This marginality was also manifest in the lack of support he obtained in assembling his marriage payment and in his attempts to obtain justice in the case of his wife's adulterous relationship during his absence at the plantation. He has threatened to shoot the adulterer himself on a number of occasions but is frankly

afraid that, in fact, the adulterer will shoot him and take his wife from him.

Each of these cases serves to underscore the socio-political dimension of marriage that I have called marriage as process. By entering into a marriage, the bride and groom, and through them their immediate kin, establish new relationships and redefine old ones. This ongoing process of redefinition is the motive force of Wovan social organization. Brothers cease to be brothers, and the free and easy relationship characterized by cooperation and joking is replaced by a relationship surrounded with restrictions on communication. The individual may no longer go to the house of his erstwhile brother to sit by the fire and smoke to pass away the evening. Now he approaches the house circumspectly and converses with his in-laws through the door. He may no longer take the bamboo water container to slake his thirst and he now talks about their preparing a garden together, not in terms of cooperation, but in terms of fulfilling obligations to his sister and his sister's husband. His sister, who cared for his pigs, fed him, and to whom he had given gifts of meat when he hunted or received pig at a presentation, now acts as part of a team with which he may exchange pork but from which he will always expect a reciprocal gift in kind. This situation was unthinkable before marriage. While these men were brothers, each could approach the other for assistance in making payments. Now they are in-laws; to approach your brother-in-law for assistance is regarded as being shameful.

A brother's wife, if she is not your sister, is a woman to whom you can go for food. The yenduning relationship in the second generation of our scenario (the cross-sex spouses of cross-cousins), however, is the relationship most strictly surrounded by restriction in the society. For a male ego, he may not speak directly to his yenduning, he may not share water with her, or share food cooked on the same fire. The close kin relationship is stretched to its limits. The children of this relationship are, however, once again in a sibling relationship and the social structure is knit closely together again.

Looked at over a number of generations, then, Wovan social organization can be seen as a spring which is continually being stretched and which then springs back together again. The changing relationship of cross-sex siblings as the woman moves from sister to brother's wife or cousin's wife and later to mother to mother-in-law, parallels the structural changes which occur throughout the rest of the kinship system. 'Real' brothers and their sisters are linked in a close cooperative relationship based on the exchange of unlike objects (primarily labor for food) and the complementarity of their roles. Marriage breaks this relationship and places the woman in a closer relationship with a male with whom her brother can engage in competitive giving. The in-marriage of women to houses of brothers, however, demands that restrictions on the interaction of men with their real brother's wives must be limited. No such limitations are placed on the restrictions surrounding the cross-sex spouses of ccusins. Later, the sister is placed in the relation of mother to her children and will,

thereafter, be referred to and addressed (even by her own siblings) using a teknonymic form. Finally, when her own daughters marry, her sons-in-law enter into a new restrictive relationship with her. The process is repeated in the next generation, and the next, and in each the obligations of kinship are stretched to their limit in the yenduning relationship only to be drawn back together in the sibling relationship of the succeeding generation.

In this chapter, I have attempted to provide a long term perspective on Wovan marriage. This perspective compliments the short term perspective supplied in Chapter 6 and allows us to appreciate the political dimension of marriage in this small closed community. It is equally apparent from this description that neither the classic approach of alliance theory, with its emphasis on the exchange of women between groups, nor the traditional descent theory approach with its emphasis on the perpetuation and segmentation of lineages, can adequately comprehend the Wovan situation. Our task in the next, and final, chapter will be to analyze the basic components of Wovan marriage and provide an adequate framework to account for endogamous marriage which can also be usefully employed in describing other marriage forms. To provide this basis, I want to utilize comparative data drawn from two societies in which marriage has received particular attention. In the concluding chapter, therefore, I will first recapitulate the main themes of Wovan marriage presented here and extract from this a framework that is adequate to deal with Wovan marriage. This analysis will demonstrate the utility of looking at marriage, not merely as a societal

institution, but as a socio-political process that has profound implications for social organization in the sense that it radically affects the daily interaction of members of the society.

CONCLUSION

Birth, copulation and death,
That's all the facts when you come to brass tacks,
Birth, copulation and death.

(T.S. Eliot, Sweeney Agonistes).

"He tapu te tapu, otiraa e kore te tapu e ki'ia he tapu
i te waa o te aruaru wahine"

"Tapu is tapu, but tapu shall not be called tapu when
courting women"

[Maori saying] (Biggs 1960; 34)

As anthropologists we know that Sweeney is, of course, wrong. Even at the level of 'brass tacks', there is a great deal more than 'birth, copulation and death'. Indeed, a substantial body of anthropological literature since the foundation of the discipline has been concerned not just with Sweeney's 'facts' but, more importantly, with the social and cultural rules and regulations which surround those 'facts'. This work is seen as one more contribution to that literature. In particular, I have been concerned here to provide a description of the social organization of the Wovan focusing on their marriage practices, and in the process I have shown that the rules and regulations, the normative and statistical behavior surrounding Sweeney's 'facts' are as fundamental to our understanding of the Wovan as the facts of "birth, copulation and death" themselves. Indeed, from the perspective of the ethnographer, it is the rules and behavior that raise the universal

biological data to the level of cultural specificity and thus, make them become the primary data with which we are concerned.

In the foregoing chapters, I have provided an outline of the fundamental features of Wovan social organization. In doing so, I have found it necessary to provide an introductory sketch (to locate the Wovan both socially and geographically); to outline their economy; to describe in some detail the composition of their society both in terms of group formation and other mechanisms of social relations; and finally, to provide a detailed account of their marriage practices both statistically and normatively, in the short and long term. I have stated there that marriage is a major motive force in Wovan organization and that we can best perceive the functioning of the society by viewing it through the discussion of marriage. In this final chapter, I wish to summarize the information presented in the preceding seven chapters, to pull the various strands of evidence together to show how this picture of Wovan marriage practices does, in fact, assist our understanding of the whole society, to focus attention on some of the more interesting theoretical and ethnographic issues raised by this discussion, and finally, to outline a number of areas for further research among the Wovan and surrounding peoples of the Western Schraders. First, however, let me briefly restate the view of marriage presented.

Wovan Marriage: A Summary

Although the Wovan lack the poetics of the Maori, there is much in the second epigraph of this chapter that relates to the Wovan approach to marriage. Indeed, I have found it necessary, above, to refer to Wovan marriage practices as the systematic and normatively sanctioned breaking of normative rules. Since the publication of Kelly's (1977) account of structural contradictions among the Etoro of the southern fringe of the Highlands of Papua New Guinea, however, the possibility of contradictory structural principles operating in a given culture no longer surprises us. Indeed, following Kelly, we are more attuned to seek out those contradictions that lend force and dynamism to the social organization of a given society.

The description of Wovan marriage presented in this work focuses attention on the stated rules of marriage preference, the extent to which these rules are upheld or broken, and the organization of marrying as an activity. In doing so, it has become evident that a distinction must be maintained between the 'event' (the act of getting married, which attains its most elaborated form in dealing with elopement), the 'process' (the long term implications of marriage, which become most significant when dealing with endogamous parallel-cousin marriage), and the 'institution' (the position of marriage in the structure of Wovan society). Each of these elements of Wovan marriage will become obvious in the discussion that follows.

The Wovan state a complex rule of preferential marriage with a parallel-cousin involving the exchange of sisters (real or classificatory) between two men. This rule, coupled with the rules of monogamy and community endogamy, has been shown (see above: 242) to imply that five criteria be met: 1) that the marriage be part of a mutual exchange of sisters; 2) that the marriage be arranged by the males of the kin groups of both the bride and groom; 3) that the parties stand in a parallel-cousin relationship to one another; 4) that they be both Wovan; 5) that neither party have a presently living spouse. In fact, as we have seen, few Wovan marriages conform to all five criteria. Most Wovan marriages, however, do conform to one or more of the criteria listed, and I have argued above that conformity to one or more of these criteria provides the Wovan with sufficient grounds to regard the marriage as 'proper' and conforming to the rule.

The most serious breach of the rule as a totality, both in terms of frequency of occurrence and long term implications, is elopement. Fewer than one third of Wovan marriages conform to the rule that marriages be arranged. Why, then, one might ask, do the Wovan maintain a rule that is honored only in the breach? I have argued that the breach of the rule of arrangement is, in fact, in conformity with another highly valued Wovan cultural principle, that of individual daring and initiative on the part of males. Indeed, it is obvious, that the elopement itself is a major source of excitement and a proof of 'manhood' among young Wovan males. Thus, while each Wovan male wishes to retain the rights of disposal in marriage over his sister, at the

same time, he also desires to prove his attractiveness to women and his daring by eloping with the sister of another.

Nor is this sense of daring and excitement confined to the male members of the population. I do not wish to suggest that women in Wovan are mere pawns to be moved about by their brothers in their own political games. Indeed I have stressed, throughout the description of Wovan marriage, the power women retain in their own marriage arrangements. This power is, however, essentially negative. It is the right of veto, which, unlike the sixteenth and seventeenth century English case described by Stone (1979), may be exercised many times by the woman if her male kinsmen continue to make arrangements she regards as undesirable. Elopement, however, presents the woman with the opportunity not only of rejecting the spouse chosen by her father and brothers, but of actively selecting her own partner. Indeed, as we have seen, women, more frequently than men, initiate elopements. The event of elopement, then, must be seen as occupying completely different positions in the cognized worlds of the participants and of their kin groups. To the participants themselves, the event is a proof of individual initiative and ability to survive under adverse circumstances; its evaluation is extremely positive. To the members of their respective kin groups and, indeed, to the remainder of the community, the event is disruptive of social order and is evaluated negatively.

Every beginning student in anthropology is taught that marriage is one of the major institutions in all societies. Since the beginnings of the study of social organization marriage has been a central topic (McLennan 1865, Morgan 1871, Westermarck 1901), and has remained the subject of considerable debate as recent publications attest (Murdock 1949, Gough 1968, Goodenough 1970, Mair 1971, Needham 1971). The emergence of 'alliance theory' and, in particular, the study of systems of prescriptive marriage in the past twenty five years have maintained the topic in the forefront of anthropological writing on social organization. What can the Wovan data contribute to this longstanding debate on marriage in the anthropological literature?

There is a growing body of literature in anthropology that contrasts "marriage by exchange" and "marriage with brideprice". Stemming from Levi-Strauss' discussion of the Crow-Omaha systems (1969 [1949]: 143-144, 1966) as possibly transitional between elementary and complex systems of kinship and marriage, it is suggested that the two marriage forms are contrastive. In a detailed discussion of Levi-Strauss' position, Muller (1980) has drawn attention to Levi-Strauss' contention that systems of 'straight sister exchange', to use Muller's term were rare and that such systems, in any event, were non-structural in that they must perforce give way to systems of cross-cousin marriage. Each sister exchange is complete in the sense that another exchange between the same groups cannot be conducted in the succeeding generation as such an exchange would entail cross-cousin marriage. Straight sister exchange, then, nullifies the possibility of

establishing systems of alliance between exchange groups. Muller presents impressive evidence of the widespread distribution of straight sister exchange in the ethnographic literature, demonstrating that it is not confined to small scale and "primitive" societies (1980: 518-520).

The Wovan fit neatly into Levi-Strauss' idea of small primitive societies practicing sister exchange, and community endogamy does, indeed, provide an alternative to the establishment of lasting alliance relationships. We have seen, in fact, that the Wovan, as Levi-Strauss might expect, continue to convert affinity into consanguinity by confining the circle of recognized affinal relationships to the immediate kin of the spouse. Indeed, for women this circle of affines is further curtailed so that only the same generation relatives of her husband are recognized as affines, all others are given consanguine terms. We have seen, further, that marriage, or more accurately marrying, is a disruptive event in Wovan society. What we have in Wovan, then, is a society that is complex in relation to marriage, while small and primitive in Levi-Strauss' sense. Considerable choice is recognized and exercised in selection of a spouse. At the same time, however, the society is genealogically closed, and all members of the society can be assigned to a kinship category. The Wovan practice straight sister exchange (or rather, while recognizing a preference for straight sister exchange at the normative level, continually break this norm through elopement only to re-establish it in a delayed form through further endogamous marriages) and supplement this with payment of brideprice, albeit a minimal payment. I have commented

above that one of the features of Wovan marriage is the necessity of redefining kin with each successive marriage. Brothers become brothers-in-law, relations of friendship and cooperation become relations of restraint and even competition. The Wovan data, then, present one aspect of an intriguing hypothesis concerning the relationship between marriage and social discord. In a contemporary western society, there is considerable latitude in choice of marriage partner and the kinship universe is not closed. Marriage does not necessarily cause disruption. Similarly, in a genealogically 'closed' society, in which the kinship terminology divides all possible spouses from all prohibited persons (as in an alliance system) such that the pre-marital terminology, in a sense, predicts the post marital terminology, marriage again is not disruptive of the social order. The Wovan represent an alternative type and, consequently, create some problems for the evolutionary view of the transition from elementary to complex systems. The data here support Muller's (1980: 528) conclusion that sister exchange is found "within primitive complex structures". Such systems of sister-exchange may, therefore, be the most 'elementary' of marriage systems.

Marriage, as an event, that is, the act of marrying, causes considerable disruption in Wovan social organization. This, I suggest is an inevitable consequence of parallel-cousin marriage (with or without sister exchange) in a totally terminologically closed society in which the future spouse is not terminologically identified prior to the marriage. Marriage as an institution, that is the formation of lasting

unions that produce legitimate offspring, is a necessary component of social continuity and stability. If we fail to differentiate the two, marriage among the Wovan remains an ambiguous and problematic aspect of their organization. It is necessary, therefore, to differentiate institution and event, structure and process, and the underlying cultural values of each. Among the Wovan, these underlying values are drawn from different cultural spheres and are essentially contradictory. I have suggested above, and reiterate here, that Wovan marriage is governed by such deep-seated contradictions. The marriage event is governed by cultural norms having to do with behavior demonstrating individual initiative and valor. The marriage institution is governed by norms having to do with kingroup continuity and peaceful co-existence of all Wovan. Men, in the event, attempt to dictate the behavior of their sisters while at the same time attempting to prove their own freedom from the dictates of their elders. This conclusion was very evident in the case of Anangise (see above pp. 270-277), who bemoaned the arrangement of his marriage not because he did not desire the bride, but because the arrangement itself deprived him of the opportunity to 'win' a woman through his dancing abilities and his own inherent attractiveness. Earlier, I had discussed (see Chapter 4) the vast energy expenditure of young males in preparing themselves for these dances and the keen discussions of dancing style and ability that follow. To be approached by a woman wishing to accompany the dancer to his home (that is, to receive a proposal of marriage from a woman) following a dance is both a dreaded and eagerly anticipated experience.

Wovan marriage, as an institution is highly stable. Once a couple have gardened together or produced children together, divorce is not possible. We saw in the major adultery case treated above that, even though the slighted husband first demanded a divorce, he later changed his mind and retained his adulterous wife. Ethnographically, then, the institution of marriage contrasts markedly with the process of 'marrying'. Indeed, if a marriage is arranged and accepted the whole event occurs without much disruption of the daily schedules of the participants. If, on the other hand, a marriage is the product of an elopement, it has been achieved at the expense of considerable conflict and long-term disruption in daily routines. The key to isolating the institution/event dichotomy lies in the time frame adopted for analysis.

It is now over twenty years since Fortes, introducing Jack Goody's The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups (1962), wrote: "The most promising advance in recent research on the social structures of homogenous societies has been the endeavour to isolate and conceptualize the time factor" (1962; 1). However, the primary focus on marriage as an 'institution' rather than as a 'process' has led us to ignore the dimension of time in our treatment of marriage. In this study, aided by the ethnographic facts presented by the Wovan themselves, I have attempted to provide a focus on marriage that takes account of this time dimension. In doing so, I have shifted the focus of attention from 'marriage' to 'marrying'.

The ritual aspect of the marriage ceremony is given minimal importance among the Wovan. The state of being monogamously married is taken for granted as being the life state of most Wovan who survive to adulthood. The process of marrying, on the other hand, is given a great deal of attention by the Wovan and demands the attention of the anthropologist. The approach to marriage adopted in this study, therefore, is a direct product of the ethnographic situation itself. I do not believe, however, that the approach is theoretically sterile or limited to the Wovan. On the contrary, I believe the focus on marrying (as process) has utility both in its theoretical contribution and in the breadth of its ethnographic applicability. Let us look at this position in a little more detail.

The focus on marrying, as developed in this study, has centered on two separate time frames. The short term view of the process of the contraction of a marriage, presented in Chapter 6 as 'marriage as event', and the long term view of the implications of having contracted a marriage, presented in Chapter 7, as 'marriage as process'. Both these dimensions must be taken into consideration in any approach to this complex issue. The immediate organizational problems of the contraction of marriage have to do with issues of personnel involvement, temporal and spatial requirements, and decision-making authority. These elements differ markedly among the alternative modes of contracting marriages presented in this study. I have presented three modes for contracting marriage among the Wovan; elopement, agreement, and arrangement. These three modes vary on a number of organizational

dimensions. In terms of personnel involvement, agreement marriages demand a minimal involvement of personnel beyond the principal participants; the personnel involved in arranged marriages varies depending on the genealogical relationship of the marrying pair but, at the very least, demands the involvement of the immediate kin of both partners; the personnel involved in elopement marriages also varies in relation to the genealogical connection of the principal participants, but again involves the immediate kin of both partners and may extend beyond that, depending on the level of conflict generated. The time and space requirements of the event also vary in relation to the mode of marriage from minimal time and space requirements (agreement) to maximal time and space requirements (elopement). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, marriage events draw attention to the locus and acceptance of authority; authority is vested in the participants in the case of agreement, authority is vested in (and accepted as vested in) the senior members of the kin group in the case of arranged marriages; and authority is disputed between the participants and the senior members of the group in the cases of elopement marriage. The focus on marriage as an event allows us to isolate the complex underlying structure of what appears on the surface to be a simple phenomenon.

The focus on marriage as process permits the analysis of the working out of marriages on the intergenerational level. At the intergenerational level, we are concerned with the long term effects of marrying. Essentially we are concerned with the creation of affinity and consanguinity through marriage. Looked at as a single generation

phenomenon, marriage functions to create relationships of affinity between members of the community. I have shown how Wovan kinship terminology, in fact, minimizes the circle of affines in relation to the circle of consanguines. However, the creation of affinity, and the consequent relations of restraint is a major source of tension in Wovan reactions to marriage. Viewed as an intergenerational process, however, each marriage functions to establish relations of cousinhood between members of the succeeding generation, which, in Wovan terminology, are reconverted into sibling relationships in the third generation. It is, thus, in the creation of both affinity and consanguinity, through parallel-cousin marriage and community endogamy, that the Wovan maintain themselves as a distinct entity and achieve the constant and shifting relationships evident in this account. Here the divisive nature of the marriage event is overshadowed by the long term unifying aspect of marriage as process.

Finally our focus requires that we come to grips with Wovan marriage as an institution and that we subject Wovan statements of sister exchange and parallel cousin marriage to the kind of analysis with which we have become familiar from the work of alliance theorists. Wovan marriage, however, because of the nature of sister exchange and community endogamy does not permit one to divide the society into wife giving and wife taking groups. Rather, we are faced with a complex set of interwoven small groups. The stability of Wovan marriage, as an institution, underscores this interconnectedness and the influence of scale on the conduct of interpersonal relations.

Throughout the discussion above we have emphasized that Wovan endogamy is a central concern in the maintenance of the total social structure. Community endogamy is vital to the maintenance of the totally closed genealogical system that creates the special nature of Wovan kinship and marriage.

Underlying Wovan marriage practices, therefore, we have isolated three areas of contradiction, the interplay of which provides the essential dynamics of Wovan society. These contradictions oppose individual to group, event to institution, and structure to process. The key to the isolation of these contradictions is the awareness of the different time frames in which marriage works. We are, thus, enabled to subdivide what initially appears as a single institution into its component phases and aspects.

The Wovan data contribute also to the anthropological literature on the definition of marriage. Given that the Wovan recognize a distinction between persons who are married and those who are not, there must be a point in time at which one ceases to be single and becomes married. The Wovan, themselves, speak of newly married persons as yaundung f[^], and employ the verb 'to get' (f[^]) to denote marriage. When a male and female elope, this elopement is resisted by both kin groups. The Wovan do not employ the verb f[^] to describe this event. The phrase nono giiba du'a, which translates as 'the pair have gone to the forest', is used at this point in the sequence. Later, when the

cohabitation has been accepted and the couple return to dwell in the house of the male with his father and brothers, the verb f is employed. What, then, is involved in Wovan marriage?

I have discussed at length above the fact that fathers have authority over sons and that brothers have authority over sisters. This control and authority becomes manifest in the elopement sequence and becomes the definitional feature of marriage. In cases of arranged marriage it is the father and brothers of the bride and groom who have primary responsibility for the arrangement. What we have, in effect, then, is a group of decision makers and a set of persons about whom decisions are made. Males make decisions about the disposition of females. Males make decisions about the disposition of males. Therefore, we are not just talking about the exchange of women, we are talking about the exchange of persons that is colloquially referred to as the exchange of women. Elopement usurps the authority of elders (or more accurately, seniors in a society in which men are senior to women and genealogically 'elder' men are senior to genealogically 'younger' men) to dispose of their juniors in the appropriate manner. In the long term, however, even this disruption is discounted in the creation of the social solidarity of cousinhood. Marriage in Wovan does not occur when the two principals agree to elope, nor does it occur when they in fact elope. A marriage occurs when the father and brothers of the intending bride agree that the union of the pair may be sanctioned and permitted to stand. Similarly, in the case of an arranged marriage, the marriage does not occur when the woman is brought to the home of her future

husband, rather it has occurred either hours or days before that, when the agreement has been reached and the woman's consent has been obtained. In both cases the decision rests not with the principals, but with the males of their respective kin groups.

The focus on marriage, then, takes us far beyond the confines of a narrow concern with the definition of marriage itself. It highlights the major conflicts and cohesiveness of the whole of Wovan social order. This focus has enabled us to discuss both social discord and social cohesion, equality and inequality, and perhaps most importantly, the distribution of power and authority in Wovan. Marriage is not a simple matter. It is not just "a durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring", as Westermarck (1901: 12) believed. Nor is marriage limited in its function to the establishment of lasting political relationships between groups defined by their engagement in the exchange of women. Marriage, as the Wovan data make clear, is both divisive and unifying. As such, the consideration of marriage occupies a central position in any approach to social organization. As presented here, however, it is suggested that by isolating the elements of marriage, by treating the marrying process and the institution resulting from this process, as separate entities, we can better appreciate the nature of this division and this unification.

Future Research in the Western Schrader Mountains

We have been dealing in this work with one of the most remote areas in Papua New Guinea. Administrative contact with the Western Schraders came late in the colonial period and still has not completely changed the workings of the societies in this region. However, we must be aware that change has occurred in the past and is becoming increasingly rapid in the present. We must be prepared to monitor those changes.

Following behind administrative contact, as it necessarily must, little anthropology has yet been conducted in the Western Schraders. To the east, Rappaport among the Maring (1967, and subsequent publications), Bulmer among the Kalam (1967, 1968), and Jackson (1975) among the Kopon, have provided comparative material. To the northwest, McDowell (1975, 1976) has described the social organization of the village of Bun on the lower Biwat. Much work remains to be done between these two poles. The following suggestions for future research, therefore, are directed at improving the ethnographic data base and the comparative knowledge of this area of Papua New Guinea.

I have made clear in the Introduction to this work that I consider the approach from the viewpoint of marriage to be one of a number of possible approaches to the study of Wovan social organization. The test of the view of Wovan society presented here would come through an alternative description taking another aspect of Wovan society as its point of departure. A number of features of Wovan society present themselves as suitable points of departure for a full-scale treatment.

Wovan ritual, especially those rites focused on the initiation of males, could provide the framework for one such study, and I hope to conduct such a study in the near future. Chapter four of this work provides an introduction to the social organization of ritual and, from this, it is evident that once again we would be concerned with the maintenance of order and the distribution of power and authority. However, it has not been possible in this brief introduction to treat the symbolism of Wovan initiation rituals, and such a study would obviously add depth to our understanding of Wovan culture. Would a view of Wovan society obtained from the description of ritual be consistent with the view presented here? Our main focus in this study has been on the distribution of persons across kin groups defined, following Wovan practice, in terms of agnatic affiliation. A study of the social organization of ritual would enable us to focus on other mechanisms of recruitment of action groups. Rather than being inconsistent with the view presented here, however, such a study should provide us with another dimension on which to view the workings of Wovan society.

In the Introduction, I mentioned another alternative around which to organize a description of Wovan society, one having implications beyond the Wovan themselves. This view would take a regional focus concentrating on intergroup and interethnic relations. The Western Schraders area provides a natural laboratory for the study of inter-ethnic relations. Inter-group trading, which extends from the Sepik river area into the highlands proper, can be traced, and the mechanisms of conduct of such trade can indicate more general mechanisms

employed to promote peaceful interaction among such groups. Contemporary change, in particular the introduction of coffee and monetarization of the economy, has already begun to erode these trade networks. Sufficient data could still be obtained, however, to add significantly to our knowledge of the highlands fringe and to the development of a regional rather than a tribal or local focus.

Finally, the geographically and culturally close neighbors of the Wovan, the Aramo, are worthy of extensive study in their own right. Throughout this work, I was aware of the position of the Wovan as intermediate between the Sepik peoples and the central highlands. The Aramo, living further down river than the Wovan, may show greater affinity with the Sepik peoples but, speaking a related language to Wovan and sharing a large part of their cultural inventory, may offer yet another transformation on the anthropological themes so evident in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea.

Final Remarks

This study of Wovan social organization has enabled us to develop a perspective on both the structure and dynamics of a fringe highlands society. We have emphasised the creation and maintenance of both relationships of equality and inequality, the processes of cohesion and conflict, which are evident in the daily workings of the society. However, we have also opened up areas for discussion and raised new

questions in relation to Wovan society that could not be answered within the context of a single work. I have attempted to indicate some of these questions in the preceeding section. A return visit to the Wovan is necessary in the near future to begin to answer some of these questions.

I hope, furthermore, that the perspective on marriage advanced here has a more general utility that will aid in the analysis of social organization beyond the limited context in which it was presented here. Further tests of the Wovan material and of other published ethnographic data will be necessary to establish the utility of this perspective.

Appendix 1

Marriage Case Histories

The following cases are intended to supplement those presented in the main body of the text. As far as possible I have retained the first person narrative form in which the data were initially collected. The data were collected in formal interview sessions in which the elicitation of 'marriage case histories' was the main objective. Once an informant had agreed to provide this information, I interfered as little as possible with the continuity of his narrative. Most informants, in fact, required very little prompting. Both male and female informants were used (although the majority were males). Husbands and wives frequently opted to be interviewed together, men usually claiming that their wives had better memories.

Information on brideprice payments - who the recipients were, who assisted whom, what amounts were involved - was rarely offered spontaneously; I have therefore had to piece this information together from the responses to a series of questions and it is normally provided here, therefore, in parentheses.

Case 1: Arranged Exchange: Informant Levendzinu'a

"The woman's mother died when she was still young and she came to live in Hrenningk with her papu'a [classificatory MB, actually MFBS]. There was no talk or fight about the marriage. I went to see Apendel and told him that I wanted to marry his yimalu [Zch]. 'I would like to marry your yimalu,' I said, 'would you like to marry my sister in exchange?' Apendel agreed. I returned to my own house. Next day, I went to my sister and told her that I had arranged a marriage for her to Apendel and I told her to go to Apendel's house. She left and went to the house alone. Later that day, Apendel's yimalu came alone to my house.

Apendel gave me three green snail shells and two cowrie strings in payment. I was going to make a payment to him but my wife died, so I made no payment."

Case 2: The Arrangement of Tsebinu'a's Marriage (Informant Tsebinu'a)

"My marriage was arranged by my father and my wife's father. I was not told that they were discussing this. My father came to me and told me that he had arranged a marriage for me and that the woman had accepted the arrangement. I went myself to her house and collected the

woman and we walked back to my house. No one was angry about it. Before we married, I called her marau [sister].

I alone assembled the marriage payment. I gave 5 green snail shells to her father and brother. Neither her father nor brother asked for a woman in return and we gave none.

Case 3: 'Brother Exchange': The Marriages of Si'aur and Gobidip.
(Informant Anangise).

[This case was given to me by Anangise who was not himself directly involved in the arrangement. I reproduce it here, therefore, in the third person.]

The marriage proceedings were initiated by Gobidip's sister who decided that she wanted to marry Si'aur. She then approached Si'aur's sister and informed her that she wished to marry Si'aur, and that she (Si'aur's sister) should go and marry Gobidip. The two women, having thus arranged the proceedings between them, set about the task of convincing their respective brothers that they should marry. Shortly afterward, Si'aur approached Gobidip's sister with an offer of marriage.

Both marriages were patrilateral parallel cousin marriage and as they contained their own reciprocals were sanctioned without comment by

the parents and brothers of the parties concerned. The men then 'exchanged sisters'

Case 4: The Elopement of Urai and Yeriker: (Informant Urai)

"Her brother, Auwan, encouraged the marriage before I ever thought of it. He was building a singsing house in Fatok. I went there to help him. He started the talk. He took a dry bamboo and said that my bamboo wasn't sharp. Later, he and I were carrying pandanus leaves to roof the house. We took the leaves to Woroints. I was carrying a bow and arrows as well as the pandanus leaves and Auwan told me to give the bow to my woman. Later we went to the bush together and Auwan said to take the dog and kill some marsupials and to tell my woman (wife) to fill up her bag and bring the marsupials to Fatok to eat.

I took the dog and went to meet her. We talked and said that we thought that everyone wanted us to get married. We came back to Fatok. The pigs were being killed. I got some pork and brought it to Adiip to where Wovin's house is now, and we cooked it and ate it there. Auwan gave Yeriker some pork and some ksav (salt) and told her to eat it in the bush.

We went to the bush together and stayed there two nights. On the third night we came to Memangk. The next morning I went back to my

house while she stayed in the bush. My brothers and father were angry, so I went back to her and we stayed there for two moons.

We went to the Aramo and stayed with my sister who was married there. After that we came back to Hongganamp, my own ground, in Kaiwa. There I made a garden. Tsu'ekom came to see us there. He told me to remain there and that he would get his wife and come to stay with us [he too was eloping]. In Kaiwa, we don't burn the garden; we just cut and plant it. I finished the garden and Tsu'ekom came. We made the fence and then came to Adiip to build a singsing house in which we were to put on the hamo headdress on the tultul and Inaunee. When we finished the house, Tsu'ekom took his woman (Halibe) and went to the bush. I left my wife here and went with Tsu'ekom.

We went looking for eels and marsupials. Both the women were pregnant (wet aragumden). The dogs caught a marsupial and we brought it and gave it to the women. Alsi and HramIl were born from these pregnancies.

I went back to Kaiwa and met Wotse [Tsu'ekom's eB] there. Goronumbi had just burned his hand. Alsi and HramIl were born. I wanted to put a splint on Goronumbi's hand but his mother said no and she continued to carry him around in a net bag. When he grew, his hand was crippled [the skin formed a web from forearm to shoulder leaving the arm permanently bent].

I returned to the house and made the payment.

When I returned to the house, I said to her brothers, 'You gave me the woman, I did not come and take her, so now you must come to my house to collect the payment.' [A total of 30 items was paid in the first payment: 25 green snail shells, 2 bundles of salt, one ax, one cowrie string, one nose ornament. These were mainly given to the bride's father for division. Much later two more shells and K7 were given to Tsebinu'a.]

I told him to give the shells to his brother, but he didn't. Soon I'll give another four shells. Now we are adopting the practice of the Salemp/Sanguvak people and the committee/council areas and giving payment when children are born. There, if a male child is born, they give a small payment. If a female child is born, they give a large payment. I have many daughters. I also want to give some payment to her brothers because they helped me and made a stretcher and carried Yeriker to Fatok [to the medical aid post] and back when she was sick.

[Only 8 green snail shells were obtained in aid from other men. The rest of the payment was assembled by the informant himself]. Soon my daughter, Gaimo, will be married in Fatok and this payment will come back to me. I will also demand a woman in return for her. In the past we married all their sisters. Now we must send our daughters to them."

Case 5: The Elopement of Imbaim and Bu: (Informant Imbaim)

"I was in Fatok helping the tultuland bosboi build a singsing house to put initiation hats on some of the boys. There was a parcel of pandanus nuts in the house and her [referring to his wife] brother and I took them and went to Funkafunk. On the road we stopped to drink some water and while we were there he said to me, 'Now all the men here talk a lot if their sisters get married, but when my sisters get married, I will not talk.' I heard this. I went to the house with him and then returned to my own house in Yinimul.

Later there was a singsing house built in Faib^v, and I put on my finery and went to dance there. She saw me there and looked at the bird of paradise plume waving above my head. She returned to her own house. I danced until dawn and in the morning I went to her house. Her brother told me to go and get firewood to heat the stones for cooking. At the same time he sent her to collect leaves for the earth oven.

I was breaking firewood near the path and she came to get leaves in the same place. She said, 'All the men here say I want to marry you.' I knew she was lying and that she had seen the bird of paradise plume. She said, 'Take the firewood to the house and heat the stones. When we've eaten the pig, we will leave in the night.' We returned to the house.

She came back to the house and said to all the men there, 'Hurry and cook the pig as I want to eat some of it. If you do not hurry, you will be eating it yourselves.' I was frightened. I thought, 'She hasn't been anywhere else except down to the path with me. Now they will all know that we are expecting to run away together. They will all be looking at me.'

We finished the pig and she said to me when no one else could hear, 'I will go first, you follow me in the night.' Fires were made and people went into the house to sleep. She tied her bag, with some pork in it, to the outside of the house and went in. In the middle of the night, her mother noticed that she was not sleeping in her room. She shouted out, 'One woman is missing from here, has she gone to the toilet or what?' All the men got up and went to look for her. I went with them to look for her. We lit flares and followed her. Some men went toward Funkafunk and some came in this direction [toward Fatok]. I went with the group going to Fatok.

I came ahead of the group and I saw her footprints near the water. I turned around and said to the others, 'I think she went the other way, there is no sign of her here.' I extinguished the torch I was carrying. Mundeine [a young boy] was with me and I told him that she had arranged to run away with me and that she wanted to marry me. I said we would whistle to see if she was around. I whistled and she answered the

whistle. She emerged from her hiding place and said, 'What are you looking for? I have been waiting a long time.'

Mundeine came with us and we went to Aureint's house in Fatok. We left Mundeine there and I got my ax and bow and arrows and my bag and we came toward Adiip. When we got to Woroints, we could hear the men following us and shouting. Bu wanted to abandon the road and cut through the bush as she was afraid they would catch us. I said that they would come slowly and would never catch up with us, so we continued on the road. The moon was covered by cloud so we all carried torches. We arrived in Adiip and my torch died. I put my torch at the side of the road for the men following to use if they wished and we went to my own house in Yinimul. We slept there.

In the morning, I got up and went to the road. I put a mark on the road pointing to Gebrau. We left Yinimul and went to Gebrau and stayed with my sister who is married there. When we got there I told my sister I had come and had brought a woman with me. My sister picked up an ax and came toward me. I thought she was going to cut me so I stayed away from her for a while. However, she put down the ax and Bu gave her the pork which she had in her net bag. I told my sister that we were going to Geimbam and that if Bu's brothers came we could talk to them in Hindabru'a. We visited Geimbam and Devdeva and then returned to Gebrau. Later we went to Kaiwa.

The Kaiwa people were building a ceremonial house. I hid Bu in the bush and approached the house. I told the boys there that someone had run off with a woman and that I was following them and would fight when I found them. I stuck a spear in the ground to pretend I was angry. I said the men came and wanted to send the woman back. A pig was cooking in an earth oven and I stayed there until they removed the pig. I took some food and returned to the bush. The boys said they thought I was lying and that I myself had the woman. They followed me to the bush. They saw the woman and returned to the house. Bu and I slept in the bush. The boys came back in the morning and asked where I would stay as I had no garden. I said that the taro garden nearby was mine and that I would make a house in the bush. I made a small house and went to visit them in the big house. The boys brought me sugar and food and told me to stay in my house. 'If her brothers come,' they said, 'we will come and tell you what they have to say.'

We slept in the bush house. In the morning, I got up and worked in the garden. In the afternoon I went to the bush and shot two marsupials. I came back to the house and slept. In the morning, I got leaves and brought them to the big house to make an earth oven. The Geimbam people were coming to dance and I heard them coming. I returned to Bu and said, 'We've been in the bush long enough, we will return to the house and when your brothers come we will hear what they have to say.'

We returned to the main house in Yinimul. The Geimbam luluai came and told me that we should not run away again but, rather, we should remain in the house. I killed a pig at my house and cooked it. Lupalup [informant's MZS] came and told me to stay in the house. Lupalup was not yet married at the time. When the pig was cooked, I removed it and gave some to the Adiip tultul and others who were on their way to a singsing in Kaiwa. The next morning, I removed the head from the oven and gave that also to them.

Later, some men came from Salemp/Sanguvak and said they would buy some marsupial pelts from me if I had them. I brought the marsupial pelts to the house. Hruai arrived from Funkafunk with another woman and they said they had come to take Bu home to her brothers. I said that they could take the woman but first I wanted to talk to the Salemp/Sanguvak councilman who was at my house.

When I returned to my house, Bu was very angry. She said that they had almost taken her back and that she didn't want to go. She said we ought to leave immediately and hide in the bush. I talked to the councilman and he agreed that we were young and entitled to marry. He defended us and told us to go to the bush. He said I shouldn't give the woman up and permit her to be taken back against her will. We were just about to leave when her brother came. He took hold of her hand and took her with him. I reported to the councilman that they had taken her. Yili and Gus [two young Kaiwa men] had come with Bu's brother and I was very angry with them. When I had gone to Kaiwa, I visited their

singsing house and they had promised to assist me. Now they were acting against me and I berated them.

I went to see the Adiip tutul, his brother, and Waruñil all of whom were dressed to dance in Kaiwa. I told them I was very angry and that I would fight with those men who had come to take my woman back. Waruñil held me and ordered me not to fight. If I fought, he said, the police would come and all those men who wanted to dance in Kaiwa would be imprisoned. I shook him off and said that I would go in any case.

I went to Gus' house. They were cooking a pig there and they asked me why I had come. I said. 'Why did you tell me to marry the woman and then come and take her back?' I went into the women's room in the big house to see if she was there but she was not. I went back outside. The women sitting around outside asked if I had brought another woman in exchange for her. I got really angry thinking, 'why are they talking like that?' I fitted an arrow in my bow and shot it at them. It hit no one.

Her brothers were keeping her in a small house a little way off. I called out to her brother, 'Wandzenu'a, where have you put my wife?' He answered and said, 'She is here. You come here and talk and I'll hear what you have to say.' I went to the smaller house to talk with him.

All the men, dressed in their finery, were outside the house getting ready to leave. I went in. The councilman came too and he sent some young people to bring the woman. He said that if she came, I should give her brother four kina and one shell and that we would then take the woman. Nanggafain [a young girl then] went to get the woman but returned saying she could not find her. She thought she had gone to another house. It was nearly dark but I went back to the main house to see if she was there. She was not there either.

In the morning, I went down to the house again to get some pork. The men were leaving and said to me, 'Tomorrow we will go on the road, do not make trouble. You must come to the house and we will talk.' I responded. 'This is my road. I will break pitpit on this road [I will break the shafts of arrows on this road].' We all left together and I offered to help them carry the pig even though I wanted to fight with them all.

We went to a house in Dzibinap and the woman was there. She was outside the house and saw me coming. The men were all inside the house and didn't see me. When she saw me she rose and left the house. Limnang, a young boy, came to me and said, 'The woman is coming, leave your ax here and go.' He went back to the house to the woman and soon returned with her. She brought a piece of pork with her. We followed the bush path to Yinimul and thence to Adiip. In Adiip we met Isimbinu'a [Wovin]. We gave him some taro. He said that all the men were angry at us, but he could not be angry. He told us to go to

Gebrau, to eat marita pandanus there, and to return in a few days. We left for Gebrau. We stayed there for two days and on the third we returned to Yinimul bringing some marita for Wovin.

Next morning, I went to work in my garden. Before leaving, I told Bu, 'I didn't take you. You saw the bird of paradise plumes and came to me. We cannot spend any more time in hiding in the bush.' She answered, 'You are lying, you want to be rid of me. I will go and hide in the bush. When you have fenced the garden, I will return and we will sow it together.'

The next night we slept in the bush together while I was collecting cane to bind the fence. I slept late the following morning and she finished all the tobacco while waiting for me to arise. When I awoke, she said to me, 'I have finished all the tobacco while you slept. I will go back to my brother's house and bring some here.' I responded, 'No, you cannot go. Your brothers will say you are married now, that you should not come looking for tobacco at their house but should plant tobacco with your husband and I will be shamed.' We stayed there. It was sunny in the morning but in the afternoon, it rained. I told her that I would go on ahead to the house and that she should follow me. I went a short distance and hid in the bush. I saw her filling up her big bag. She left and returned to her brothers.

Urai [now the Adiiip bosboi] met her on the road and accompanied her to Woroints. Yakupa [the senior male of the Woroints house]

accompanied her the rest of the way to her home in Funkafunk. She went to her brother's house and told the people there that she had left her man and wanted to return home. They thought she was lying and pointed to the machete she was carrying saying, 'That is your man's machete.' She claimed that she bought it from a Kaiwa man and that it was her own property. She remained at the house for four days but on the fifth she returned. She left the house in the middle of the night carrying a bamboo torch. This she left near where the women went to the toilet. She came alone without the benefit of a torch. It was a moonlit night and she could see the road. When her family discovered she had gone, her brother followed her. When he came to Fatok he shot and killed a pig belonging to Hr[^]mbi [Ilokwanu'a] as an expression of anger. When Bu got to the hill near Yinimul, the moon died. She slept alone and cold in roadside bush-hut. Next morning she arrived at my house.

I was working in the garden. I noticed all the pigs were crying and I shouted to my mother to release them from the house. Bu threw a stick at me. I thought, 'How did that happen, this is a clear place?' I looked around and saw a foot sticking out from under the bushes. I did not know who was there so I called out. 'Whose that?' She answered that she had come back. I asked her why she had not gone directly to the house. I shouted to my father and mother at the house that she had returned.

We returned to the house and she divided the tobacco she had brought with her. I returned to the garden to complete the fence I had

been building and she hid in the long grass nearby lest her brothers come. She complained of the cold and told me that she had slept cold the night before. I told her to sleep in the house but she was afraid. I finished the fence and we left again for Geimbam.

We stayed in Geimbam for a long time. I made a garden there and fenced it. When it was finished, we left my mother and father there and returned to Yinimul. We weeded our garden there and then left for Kaiwa. When we returned from Kaiwa, Gumil [informant's MZS] and Filelup [yB] came with us. We made a garden in Yinimul and came to Adiip. Wovin had made a garden in Adiip and left part of it fallow for me to plant. I planted that. Gumil and Filelup were tending our pigs in the bush. We returned to Yinimul and planted the garden there. It was sunny at first, that morning, but then it rained. Gumil and Filelup took sweet potatoes and we made a small house in which to shelter.

Soon afterward, Gumil and Filelup left for Geimbam and Bu and I followed them there. We remained there for a long time. I made another garden and fenced it and returned to Yinimul. We weeded the garden there and then went to Kaiwa. I made a garden in Kaiwa, fenced and planted it and returned to Yinimul. We weeded the garden in Yinimul and then went to Geimbam. While we were there a man died in Kaiwa. We came back to Yinimul. I cooked corn and beans in an earth oven. When I removed the stones the food was not cooked. We went to Kaiwa to see the body. When the body was put on the platform, we returned to Yinimul. I

made a garden and planted corn in it. When this corn had grown and borne fruit, I went to the plantation.

I hadn't given any payment for the woman yet but I told her to remain here, to eat from the garden we had planted, and that when I returned, I would make payment. Her brothers had not yet sanctioned the marriage but neither were they still asking for her return. Both Bu and I thought that they had accepted the situation.

While I was at the plantation, however, she was troublesome. She had sexual relations with Wumbi. Wumbi threatened to shoot me when I returned but I made no trouble. Soon afterward, Wumbi left for the plantation.

When I returned from the plantation, the men said to me that as my wife had been promiscuous while I was away, they would not assist me in making the brideprice payment. Main gave me one [actually 2] green snail shells and that was the only assistance I got."

[The brideprice payment was made in May 1979 over a year after the return of the groom from plantation labor].

Case 6: The Elopement of Waruñil and Lisauye: (Informants Waruñil and Lisauye).

"The way of the Wovan is as follows. One man bears a male child, one a female. Later they both grow to adulthood. A singsing house is built. The woman comes to the singsing house and sees the man's bird of paradise headdress. She thinks, 'That's my man.' The man looks at the woman's paint and beads and thinks, 'That's my woman.' Everybody does it like that.

My cousin built a house at Fundzainimer in Kaiwa. I saw Lisauye there and knew she was my woman. I returned to Ba'an (where I lived) and stayed there a long time thinking about her and not knowing how to talk to her. Eventually, I talked to Nimami, the son of the Fatok bosboi who was then about ten years old. I told him to talk to her. The boy did not go to the woman, however, so I returned home without having spoken to her.

Later, Lisauye came to Woroints. She was weeding a garden on this side of Woroints near the drinking water and I saw her there. I broke a branch of a tree and went to the garden. I had the stick in my belt. I stood at the edge of the garden and broke the stick to attract her attention. She beckoned me with her hand to come over. [The hand is placed palm downwards with all four fingers straight and together. All

four fingers are brought sharply against the palm, being bent first at the back joint and then at the middle joint]. I spoke to her. 'Yakupa and his people want to kill pigs below Fatok [Aundari and ArImp were to become hamo initiates]. Many men will be there but you cannot look at others, you must look at my eye. I will look at you and look at the bush. You must go to this place.' I left.

The singsing finally arrived and I went. I looked at Lisaue and looked at the bush, but we both went to our own houses to sleep. In the morning, accompanied by Fosumbai and Limnang, I returned to Fatok. I left the two boys near the big stone and continued alone. She came accompanied by two young girls. These she left behind. We went to where Fosumbai and Limnang were waiting. I gave some plumes to the boys and told them to take them to the house. Lisaue and I went to the bush. When we got to Mamba at the top of the ridge, she said she was hungry. She cooked food while I watched the road. I heard her scrape three taros and then I returned to join her. We went to the tultul's house in Adiip. He told us to go to the garden house in Anderavain. We slept there and went, next morning, to the Nazarene's tultul's house in Bu'elup. We slept there that night and in the morning went to my cousin's house in HIndabru'a.

We remained in HIndabru'a for three moons. I was afraid for my father who was in Ba'an and decided to return to the house. My father was sick, so we stayed there. Komman's mother [informant's FZ] came to the house and was angry at me, saying, 'Why did you leave your father

alone and go to the bush to get married?' She had an ax with her and waved it threateningly at me and then cut a tree outside the house. I went in and exorcised the spirit from my father. When this was done, I prepared a cigarette and had some betel. I put my bag close-by filled with tobacco and betel and prepared to leave. I had one leg through the door when my father grabbed me by the ankle. He said, 'If you go, I'll be dead when you return.' I left.

Lisauye and I returned to the bush and stayed there again. One evening, we had killed and cooked a marsupial when we felt an earth tremor. I looked at Lisauye and said, 'My father has died and this earth tremor has come.' We slept. In the morning, we returned and saw Hañañi's mother [informant's FZ] and she told us that my father was dead. She cried and I cried with her. I told Lisauye to return to her house as I was going to shoot a man. I wasn't getting rid of her. She wouldn't leave and we both went to my father's house. I hid her in the bush and approached the house. I put a bladed arrow in my bow and was going to shoot it into the house. When I looked in, however, only Wotse [his MB] was in the house. I did not release the arrow. I cut the walls of the house with my ax and cried. Had any one else been in the house, I would have shot them. I went in, cried, and slept.

In the morning, I prepared a bed and put my father on top. Wotse told me to go to Kaiwa with my woman. He said he would follow later.

We stayed in Kaiwa until Wotse came. There was a garden and garden house there, so we had food and shelter. There was also plenty of firewood. Alsi, Goronumbi and Aundari [three young boys] took us to the garden house. We all stayed there to make a garden. Kengin's father, Nambep, was there too.

I had gone to the bush with Wotse to get wildfowl eggs when the Fatok bosboi came to Kaiwa. The boys were in the house and they hid Lisauye in the bush. Bles, Wotse's wife, realizing that Lisauye was making noise in the bush shouted pretended she had heard pigs and shouted, 'You, pigs, shouldn't come and look for food here.' Lisauye left her lime gourd behind and went away. When we returned we realized the bosboi was there. We left the marita and eggs we were carrying with Alsi and went to the house. The others followed behind. Nambep wanted to fight with the bosboi, so I told him that I forbade fighting and that he should remain behind. Nambep came to the house late in the day. He had wild taro on his head. The bosboi and the Fatok people had destroyed a garden and Nambep wanted to fight. He didn't talk. He just came into the house and slept.

In the morning, I went to Inamnu'a. Kwadzerump's father was there with the other big men and they swore at me. I shot a bladed arrow at Kwadzerump's father and fled. I didn't hit him. I returned to Ba'an and slept there.

Two months later, I came to Adiip to see the tultul. The anger has passed by this time and I wanted to make payment. I went to the bush with the tultul. The Fatok bosboi came to stay with the tultul's sister, Iku, and I went to see him. I gave an initial payment of two shells and we shook hands and slept. Later I would make the 'big payment'.

[The total payment, which was made later, came to 24 shells, two cowrie strings, one string of beads, two bird plumes, one pig and K26. Besides the original payment, this payment was made in three stages. The first was made directly to the bride's father and consisted of 8 shells, the cowrie strings, the beads, and the bird plumes. The second payment was made to the Woroints people and the wife of the Fatok tultul and consisted of 7 shells and K4. The final payment was made in 1978 and consisted of a pig, 7 shells, and K22.

The major portion of the payment was assembled by the groom himself (17 shells, 2 cowrie strings, beads, the pig, and K22). Assistance was obtained from Wunding (the Adiip tultul, Mekiup (the Fatok tultul), his Kopon trading partner, and three other classificatory brothers].

Case 7: The Marriage of WokamIl. (Informant WokamIl)

"My wife lived with her father in Funkafunk before we married. I lived in Maramana. She came to my house and said she liked me. She didn't come directly to me but sent Yolongain [then a young boy] to tell me. I sent Yolongain back to her and told him to tell her that I'd marry her. I told him to tell her that I'd be in the garden and that she should come there.

I went to the garden and prepared some tobacco and waited for her but she didn't come. Yolongain came back and I sent him back to her with instructions to come quickly. He went to her and she came to the garden but she didn't bring her net bag with her. We put the tobacco in my bag and left. We went to Maram. My brother Nambep was there. I was afraid that if we stayed there with him, her brother would come and kill Nambep, so we remained hidden in the bush nearby.

We stayed there for some time and then I went to Fatok to talk with Hravla, Bagami's father. We stayed there with him for about a month and then returned to Maramana. Her brothers wanted to fight and take her back. I asked Nambep to come with us to make sure they didn't kill the woman. Fasisi's father, too, came with us to help. We watched the road and the woman stayed in the house. Avanula came and I went to Aribi with the woman. I left her in Aribi with MIDzinu'a.

I left and slept in Myimbun, and then went to the Jimi to hunt. I

shot a pig there and came back to Maramana. I went to see my mother who was there. My mother told me that Fuvun's brothers had now said that they agreed to the marriage and that they no longer sought the return of the woman. Nambep went to Fuvun's brothers' house and brought her bag to our house in Maramana. Her father and brothers said they agreed.

They asked for a woman in return but I had no sister. I told them that in the past they had received many women from us so that Fuvun was in fact owed to men. They no longer asked for a reciprocal woman.

I received no help in assembling the brideprice payment and paid all of it in a single transaction. I paid six green snail shells, two cowrie strings, and one gold-lip shell. One item each was given to nine different people."

Appendix 2

The Akovee Story: A Wovaa Myth of Origin

There was a woman who lived close to the Sepik and one day she went out to break firewood. She was working close to a small stream and a piece of firewood, which had been cut by a man working further upstream, was washed down and struck her in the stomach. When she returned to her house, she realized she was pregnant. Her mother and brother, too, noticed this and they asked her, "Who has made you pregnant? With whom were you having sexual relations?" She replied, "I went to break firewood and a piece of wood struck me in the stomach and now I am pregnant." Her mother, father and brother responded, "You must marry the man who cut the wood. You must go up-river and find the place where he cut the wood. When you get there you will marry the man."

That night, the woman sat up and made a hat for her brother¹. She also made him a cane belt, a genital covering, an armband and a legband. When she had finished these, she slept. In the morning her brother arose and said, "Sister, cook some food and you and I will go. When we reach our destination I will leave you and come back here".

They left and followed the river, which is here called the Kaiwa river, up the mountain toward its source. When they were near the top of the mountain, the woman saw a small tributary and said to her

brother, "The piece of wood came down this little stream." Her brother said, "All right, you follow this stream." The woman cried and when she had finished crying she put the belt, genital covering, armband and legband, and hat on her brother. The man, not wishing his sister to cry, danced and sang as he went back downstream. He jumped from one stone to another and the tanget which he wore fell off (there is a stand of red tanget there now).

The woman followed on upstream and eventually came to a house near the top of the mountain. Near the house was a garden which had abundant crops of bananas, sugar cane, taro, and sweet potatoes. Around the house, also, were plentiful supplies of all different kinds of meat, but much of it was decaying, as were the vegetables in the garden. The woman looked at all this rotting food and wondered why it was not being eaten. She took the meat and divided it up, putting the edible meat to one side and throwing the snakes and other inedible game into the bush. She then prepared and cooked some of the good meat in an earth oven, and ate it when it was done.

In the late afternoon, she heard a sound like the wind blowing through the trees. It was a man coming, bearing hugh quantities of game: cassowaries, pigs, marsupials, snakes and many other kinds of animals. The man, Akovee, threw down the meat by the house and again she divided it up, throwing away the snakes but taking the good meat inside the house. She then prepared the vegetables and meat and cooked them in the earth oven. When the food was ready, however, only she ate

it. The man had no mouth or anus, and his hand and feet were webbed like frogs' feet. He could neither eat nor talk, but sat watching the woman, observing that she had not eaten the snake but had eaten the other meat. He noticed everything she did and then went to sleep.

When the woman arose the next morning at daybreak, Akovee had already left. The woman was preoccupied now with solving the problem the man had. "What can I do" she asked herself, "to enable him to eat and talk?" She thought and thought, and then went outside and cut a waivañe cane. This she brought into the house and placed where the man usually sat. In the afternoon, Akovee returned with more game and went to sit in his usual place. He sat on top of the cane, but it was too weak and broke under his weight. The woman noticed what happened, but she went on as usual and prepared and cooked food.

The next morning, after Akovee had left, the woman went out and cut a stick from the red golangañ tree, which she sharpened and placed in the man's place. She also cut some strong bamboo and placed one piece above his seat and another piece at the level of his hands on the house post. After she had done this, she prepared and cooked a meal and waited for his return. He came home and sat down as usual, but this time the wood pierced his backside and made a hole there. The man jumped up in pain, but as he did so, the bamboo pierced a hole for his mouth. At the same time, he reached out to grab hold of the house post but the other bamboo cut his hand and made fingers. Akovee uttered a great scream, the first sounds he made. The woman now gave him some

water to drink, but the water passed right through his body. When the woman saw this, she broke off a little piece of taro and gave it to him, and this remained in his stomach. She also put little bits of taro in between his toes, under his fingernails, and into his navel. Again she gave him water and this time it remained in his body. The man then heated the oven stones and cooked some food. When it was done, the two sat down and ate and talked.

The place where Akovee and this woman lived is called Morañimp and it is near Bamp. They remained together and had many children. The ones that spoke Momduv (the language of the Sepik) went to live near the Sepik. Those who spoke Aramo went to live in Gnami (an area in Aramo territory). Those who spoke Wandi went to live in Salemp-Sanguvak (two Kopon hamlets). The last born spoke Wovan and he remained here. We are the descendants of this last child.

1. The making of the youths finery referred to in this tale parallels the present day responsibilities of 'sisters' to make the finery for the initiation of their 'brothers'.

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