

INTRA-CULTURAL VARIABILITY AND ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION:
A DECISION-MAKING ANALYSIS OF FUNERARY BEHAVIOR
AMONG THE NEW GUINEA KAFE

Harold Gary Levine

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1. Introduction

If we make the test of imputing the contents of an ethnological monograph to a known individual in the community which it describes, we would inevitably be led to discover that, while every single statement in it may, in the favorable case, be recognized as holding true in some sense, the complex of patterns as described cannot, without considerable absurdity, be interpreted as a significant configuration of experience, both actual and potential, in the life of the person appealed to.

(Sapir, 1963: 593)

Writing in 1934 Sapir went on to note that cultural analyses were ordinarily "...a more or less mechanical sum of the more striking or picturesque generalized patterns of behavior which [the anthropologist] has either abstracted for himself out of the sum total of his observations or has had abstracted for him by his informants in verbal communication" (1963: 593). The result, he felt, was the description of a culture with "uniformly fallacious and unreal" structures (1963: 593), a description which inevitably stemmed from systematic disregard of individuals and their interactions.

While Sapir's remarks provide a now familiar rationale for studying the relationship between culture and personality they also suggest a re-examination of the goals of descriptive ethnography. Sapir phrased his concern for descriptive adequacy in terms of the relevance of "abstracted configurations of idea and action patterns" to individual lives. One might just as legitimately turn the question around and ask how valid abstracted configurations can be if not constructed from the full range of individual behavioral differences. To what extent, one may further ask, would it be possible to do so? And would the

result of such an endeavor be nothing more than a simple and chaotic cataloguing of disparate facts and figures or would some overlooked or unappreciated dimension or pattern of cultural behavior be revealed?

The focus on individual behaviors and beliefs raises a related theoretical issue also recognized by Sapir:

Cultures, as ordinarily dealt with, are merely abstracted configurations of idea and action patterns, which have endlessly different meanings for the various individuals in the group and which, if they are to build up into any kind of significant psychic structure, whether for the individual or the small group or the larger group, must be set in relation to each other in a complex configuration of evaluations, inclusive and exclusive implications, priorities, and potentialities of realization which cannot be discovered from an inquiry into the described patterns.

(Sapir, 1963: 593-594)

Individuals, because of personality differences, diverse histories, and various competencies, evaluate and interpret cultural "givens" in diverse ways and ultimately act upon these evaluations in different ways. Cognitive processes therefore underlie behavior, and variability in cultural performance and belief becomes the rule rather than the exception.

With this perspective two important issues are immediately apparent. If behaviors are indeed variable but are ultimately determined by cognitive processes must we assume that individual cognitions are also highly variable? And does it follow that the search for regularity and structure, whether at a behavioral or a cognitive level, is necessarily a meaningless enterprise?

Before investigating these issues it will be helpful first to discuss the traditional approach to cultural description and intra-

cultural variability and the orientation to fieldwork which both stems from and reinforces this approach. A relatively new theoretical perspective, commonly referred to as "cognitive anthropology," provides the rationale for an alternative approach to traditional ethnographic method which is based upon individual-centered ethnographic statements. This will be examined in turn.

1.1. Ethnographic Description and the Treatment of Intra-cultural Variability

Whatever their theoretical proclivities or the process by which they summarize field notes and generalize from their data anthropologists in the field are inevitably confronted with diversity in behavior. It can be seen in the way anthropologists typically write ethnography as the following quotation will illustrate:

The burial is usually in the afternoon, and may be attended by everyone. The shallow, circular grave, generally in a garden, is enclosed with a cordyline fence; sometimes the deceased's drinking gourd is thrown on the grave so that the ghost may drink. Apparently, food is not left for the ghost. Undertakers receive extra pork, salt, etc., at the mourning feast as payment for their services.

(Meggitt, 1957: 44)

In this short quotation Meggitt has qualified his remarks no less than five times. He tells us when the burial usually occurs, who may attend, where the grave is generally to be found, what other events may sometimes also occur with the burial, and what events apparently don't (!) happen. I don't wish to suggest that such phraseology is characteristic of all of Meggitt's writings; but, by the same token, he is not the only one guilty of it. The unintended, but nevertheless very clear, message of such statements is that there is a range of permissible

behaviors the extent and significance of which are unclear to the ethnographer. What appears to be an adequate, though brief, description of death ritual in this society proves to be, on closer inspection, extremely imprecise revealing only the issues which are culturally "bargainable."

While the ethnographer frequently interjects qualifications into his account without assessing their impact on the accuracy or representativeness of the culture being described occasionally he or she takes more formal recognition of intra-cultural diversity. This normally takes the form either of seemingly inexplicable departures from some norm or of lists of co-variant forms. A longer excerpt from the same article by Meggitt will serve as one example:

A person who simply dies of identifiable illness (i.e., is believed to have been "eaten" by a ghost), or who is of no importance, is exposed on a rough platform near the house. Relatives gather for a day or two to mourn around the body, which is then prepared by close kinsmen for burial. The corpse is in the "foetal" position with its knees flexed and secured by a pig rope passed round the neck, and its hands placed between the legs. It is buried lying on its back. The burial is usually in the afternoon, and may be attended by everyone. The shallow, circular grave, generally in a garden, is enclosed with a cordyline fence; sometimes the deceased's drinking gourd is thrown on the grave so that the ghost may drink. Apparently, food is not left for the ghost. Undertakers receive extra pork, salt, etc., at the mourning feast as payment for their services.

When an important man dies of illness, his exposure for mourning may be prolonged for several days. He is then buried beside his home danceground, and the grave is fenced with pointed stakes about 24 inches high. If the deceased is a fight victim, or is thought to have been killed by extra-group sorcery, the corpse, especially if of an important man, is placed in a rough, elevated coffin near his house. Some coffins are planked, solidly made and painted, explicitly in imitation of Huli practice. The corpse

remains, and no mourning feast is held, until the death has been avenged by killing a relative (male or female, child or adult) of the known killer or suspected sorcerer. Then the corpse is buried near a danceground.

The deceased's close kin publicly demonstrates their sorrow to avert his ghost's anger. Widows smother themselves with grey clay, and wear heavy necklaces of grey Coix lacryma-jobi seeds, voluminous aprons sweeping the ground, and, occasionally, clay-covered net bags across their breasts. Their aim seems to be to look unattractive to other men during their period of mourning which may last from 18 to 24 months. Other female relatives wear less clay and fewer Coix seeds, for shorter periods. Some men and women slit or cut off their ear lobes while crying by the corpse, so that their flowing blood will convince the ghost they are truly sorry. For this, they are given extra pork at the mourning feast. Adult family-members are more likely to cut off a finger-tip (usually little finger, left hand) with an axe, because the closer the relationship to the ghost, the more convincing the protestation of sorrow must be...

When the mourning feast is over and the deceased's maternal kin compensated, the fact of the death is of little interest outside the deceased's family. These have always to remember that this ghost may attack them because of real or fancied slights to it.

For a person killed in a fight or accidentally, the killer and his relatives (especially paternal) should offer substantial compensation in pigs to the victim's relatives (especially paternal). The usual claim is for from 54 to about 70 pigs. For several days, the claimants line on a hillside and sing their demands at the killer's clan, until the latter in turn line and sing of their intention to pay. This behaviour, and the melodies, resembles Enga practice. It indicates that discussion over the amount of compensation will begin.

Normally, at least part of this claim is met because the killer's kin generally have pigs owing to them for the same reason, and they thus ensure they will receive their compensation later. Unlike Enga, relatives of the Ipili victim do not send a preliminary gift of pork, axes, etc., to the killer's relatives to ensure compensation. They maintain they

are entitled to it, and therefore should not have to beg. Although in theory, receipt of compensation settles the affair and precludes the right to revenge, if the killer's clan is dilatory or niggardly in its payments, the victim's relatives will kill one of them to speed up the transaction, but thus lay themselves open to the same claims. If the victim is an important man "with a big name," his relatives take the compensation, but reserve the right to kill one or more people in revenge to "pay for his name." After the original victim's relatives have been compensated, his patrikin go on to give different pigs to his maternal kin in the normal way as compensation for his "skin." This is done because some blame for his killing attaches to the former; they did not protect him adequately, or his paternal ghosts contributed to his death.

If a person dies for no apparent reason, his relatives hold an autopsy. Usually an independent coroner is called in to examine the victim's heart and lungs. If there are black marks on the right-hand side, an unidentified paternal ghost killed him and compensation is given to his maternal kin; if on the left-hand side, an unidentified maternal ghost is guilty, and no compensation is given. Sometimes old internal wounds or arrow points are noted as the cause of death; and relatives of the original attacker (whose identity is usually known) are asked for compensation as for a normal death in battle. If the claim is rejected, more fighting follows. When the cause of death cannot be found, extra-clan sorcery is blamed. The putative sorcerer's identity is worked out in rational terms, i.e., he who had motive and opportunity, and to whom relevant gossip applies. A claim for compensation is made, which is usually rejected; and the deceased's relatives are obliged to attempt physical revenge.

(Meggitt, 1957: 44-46)

Written accounts such as the above which admit to some variability but inadequately deal with it lead to potentially severe misconceptions. The net effect of Meggitt's description is that there are five separate, but presumably related patterns of burial ritual: one for an individual who dies of identifiable illness or is of no social importance; a

second for one who is important; a third ritual for one who is important and is killed either by warfare or by extra-group sorcery; a fourth for one who is unimportant and dies from fight wounds or sorcery; and a fifth for one who dies under mysterious circumstances. The first three are discussed briefly, the fourth and fifth are implied. Meggitt implicitly recognizes two factors which order these death rituals: status of the deceased and mode of death. Unfortunately because of the way he treats intra-cultural variability we have no way of evaluating what effect, if any, these variables have since all possible permutations are not acknowledged, let alone discussed. Thus, what happens to an important man who dies of an identifiable illness? Moreover, by his account we have no way of knowing whether these two factors which he admits are important are operative throughout the death ritual. Does the status of the deceased affect how long his surviving kin publicly express their sorrow or in what way? Is it not likely, given what is known of customs elsewhere in New Guinea, that other factors are also important such as the age of the deceased?

There are blatant omissions in Meggitt's account. Women and children are not mentioned, except possibly within his "unimportant person" category. Such descriptions might yield further clues about relevant variables; but would, in any case, present a fuller picture of Ipili death ritual. The unintended result of Meggitt's presentation is a lack of intersubjectivity with regard to death behaviors. Each death seems to comprise its own category sui generis with no systematic concern over the variables that order these cases.

A closely related strategy is the correlation of a finite number of situational factors with overt behavior. The following excerpt from Kluckhohn on the Navaho choice of a medical practitioner is characteristic:

Aside from personal likes and dislikes and inter-family feuds (and these considerations appear to have played an extremely small role during the period of my study), the determining factors in the choice of a practitioner appear to be: close relationship by blood or marriage, geographical propinquity, specialized knowledge on the part of the practitioner. To a considerable extent the economic question of the fees which must be paid in a kind of master factor conditioning the significance of these three: the related practitioner charges less; the fee is to some extent a function of the distance the practitioner must travel; the specialist with a reputation for unusual knowledge commands higher payments in Navaho society as in our own. These implications must constantly be borne in mind, but it will be useful to treat the three factors named as abstracted from the very significant economic context.

The relative importance of these three factors varies with other circumstances. In the case of minor illnesses and somewhat perfunctory brief ceremonials, geographic propinquity would appear to be the dominant determinant... When full ceremonials, on the other hand, are in question, it is relationship which stands out... [With] only three exceptions, persons closely related by blood or marriage to a singer called upon that singer for a full ceremonial, regardless of distance, unless the diagnostician had specifically advised a ceremonial not known to that singer... When illness is chronic or critical the importance of both of these first two factors is materially diminished. Then there is a strong tendency to seek out the man (with little regard for relationship or for distance involved) who either knows some ceremonial particularly well or who knows a ceremonial which is unknown to any member of the group but which, it is felt, may alone cure the illness. The additional factor of social prestige undoubtedly enters into the choice of an outside singer in certain cases. I have been speaking specifically of singers and curers. The same principles apply in all three situations to the selection of a diagnostician.

(Kluckhohn, 1939: 72-73)

Kluckhohn presents three primary factors influencing the choice of a practitioner which, in turn, are conditioned by several other factors: the fees which must be paid, the severity of the illness, the degree of ceremonial needed, the advice of a diagnostician, and the social prestige accruing from the invitation of an outsider to attend the patient. Presumably, given a case of illness among one of his Navaho informants Kluckhohn would be able to predict which of several possible practitioners would be selected. This approach is far more useful than the "independent cases" approach previously discussed as it permits permutations of factors in actual cases and potentially "explains" all data. Rarely, however, are we told in this type of description how many cases were observed and to which these factors apply or whether the analysis is meant to have culture-wide applicability.

Another approach to intra-cultural variability is to postulate a dichotomy between ideal and actual behavior (e.g., Kluckhohn, 1941). Unfortunately, this approach pushes the explanatory problem back one step further. Diversity of behavior is meaningless insofar as the ideal is concerned, but is still highly salient if some sort of "central tendency" in actual behavior is to be described. Commonly, even these more refined models treat diversity as idiosyncratic behavior, as exceptions to some culturally prescribed rule, or as deviant.

1.2. Anthropological Fieldwork and the Bias Toward Homogeneity

Traditional ethnographic description encounters difficulty with the existence and explanation of intra-cultural variability for three obvious reasons. Anthropologists in the field do not always note the variants for some cultural practice, do not list the contingencies upon

which any one form depends, and/or because of their theoretical proclivities often have quite different objectives in mind so that relatively little attention is devoted to the field material as such. In short the issue revolves about how we do and think about fieldwork.

Anthropological fieldwork is often of relatively short duration. While Meggitt's work among the Ipili quoted in part earlier was only 13 days and represents an extreme it is also true that longer field trips do not necessarily, because of happenstance, allow the anthropologist to observe things repeatedly. This is particularly true of major events such as marriages, deaths, initiation ceremonies, and the like. The researcher sees them once or not at all and must rely on informants' statements for the details.

Anthropologists in the field characteristically rely on a limited number of informants--people who are congenial, who "seem to know," or who just happen to be around. Rarely do they adequately sample either the informants or the events to gauge the sufficiency of informant coverage. Informants may present an internalized ideal model of some aspect of cultural behavior. When there are no actual observations or multiple accounts to cross-check an informant's statements and when the informant's view of the situation is not specifically the object of study serious distortion may result when his account is taken as a literal representation of "the way things really are."

Informants may give inadvertently or intentionally misleading information. Informants may disagree. Informants may spell out the contingencies for some act, but are more often less likely to remember them. They may respond well and accurately to questions of contingency

posed by the anthropologist; but, in the absence of extensive observation the latter is often unaware of these. Hypothetical questions in general may only elicit formalized situations, or anthropologists may phrase their queries in a way which pre-selects for a uniformitarian answer (Pelto and Pelto, 1975: 7).

Variability also tends to be overlooked by virtue of the widespread use in ethnographic descriptions of a comparative framework with its normative, non-quantified labels to pigeon-hole aspects of the lives of the people under study. Thus when anthropologists characterize a society as patrilineal and patrilocal they overlook the options available to cultural actors and may totally misrepresent or misunderstand the statistically "real" distribution of descent group affiliations or residence pattern (cf. Goodenough, 1956b; Keesing, 1967).

Other aspects of anthropological "practice" affect the collection of data and its analysis. Researchers tend to regard culture as a "given," a relatively neat package of behavior, beliefs, and values handed over, in toto, from one generation to the next (Sapir, 1963). "It" takes on the character of a unitary phenomenon which can be learned and mastered through fieldwork. In order to do this, however, oversimplification will almost inevitably occur; and the randomness which may be intrinsic to some activities will be lost. We are predisposed for homogeneity in another way. In a relatively large number of cases anthropologists may inadvertently select cultural domains which are relatively rule-bound so that most behavior actually seen falls within narrow and "visible" guidelines.

To the extent that a theoretician is governed by the assumption that culture is a series of rules or a grammar of expectations (Pelto and Pelto, 1975) he/she will be looking for meta-rules under which divergencies will both be subsumed and largely neglected. Regarding culture as a supra-organic phenomenon similarly constrains one's empirical findings along narrow lines.

Perhaps the most common theoretical source for the potential misrepresentation of data results from the use of the functionalist paradigm. The following quotation is illustrative:

The rites of passage at death have four phases: mourning to appease the spirit; disposal of the body to give the spirit a home and to make it favour its clanmates; payment of foreign mourners to settle all its obligations; exorcism of the spirit from the village to enable everyday life to resume.

Mourning involves showing that one wishes one could join the dead person, by making oneself white... with wet clay, by cutting off a finger-joint or ear-lobe, by holding the dead body and rubbing oneself in its juices, or by committing suicide by hanging. The last two variants occur rarely, being performed mainly by widows. Usually all the deceased's clan mourn intensely for a short period, then dispose of the body quickly before foreign mourners arrive.

Disposal of the body is also variable. The spirit of important men is spread over the whole clan territory by the separate burial of each limb, or by cremation and the scattering of the ashes. Corpses whose spirit is unwanted are summarily thrown down deep limestone chasms. Most commonly a body is interred in low-lying ground, reclining on its back in a foetal posture.

(Salisbury, 1965: 62-63)

The four variant forms of mourning are here taken to have the same function--i.e., "showing that one wishes one could join the dead person"---and are given equal symbolic value. This level of analysis, of course, has its purpose as it neatly summarizes a feature common to all

forms, and subserves the ethnographer's major goal of describing the stages of death ritual. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of variability of practice it all but ignores the issue. Even Salisbury tells us that two forms are rare, suggesting that other factors must be at work (he even mentions one of them--vis., the social position of the mourner) to produce a given variant form on a given occasion. Were this not so we might expect there to be a random distribution of mourning performances resulting in an equal manifestation of each. The disposal of the body is equally no more than a cataloguing of practices with hints that other factors are integral to whichever of several possible forms is actually found.

Functionalism is the dominant explanatory paradigm in modern anthropology, but its extensive use mediates against the exploration of intra-cultural variability. Other theoretical orientations and approaches to fieldwork are needed to overcome the problem.

1.3. Cognitive Anthropology, Cultural Description, and Intra-cultural Variability

An early departure from the way anthropologists traditionally described behavior was Goodenough's (1956b) account of Trukese residence patterns. Goodenough found a discrepancy between the incidence of residence forms which he recorded and that tabulated by the anthropologist J. L. Fischer within a three-year span. After discounting the possibility of major household shifts Goodenough was forced to conclude that he and Fischer interpreted basically the same data in different ways. He hypothesized that this was because each used different additional criteria for assigning a particular case to a given residence

type and that each applied standard definitions of residence forms in slightly different ways. These sources for observer error led Goodenough to eschew the traditional normative accounts of residence using concepts derived from comparative anthropology in favor of an approach which attempted to ascertain "...the actual residence choices which the members of the society studied can make within their particular socio-cultural setting" (Goodenough, 1956b: 29). With the shift in perspective Goodenough hoped both to increase the reliability in observer reconstructions of native cultures and to make descriptive ethnography "...a legitimate scientific end in itself" (Goodenough, 1956b: 37).

Increased observer reliability and renewed attention to how field-work is done are the practical desiderata for a rather different theoretical orientation to ethnographic description. This orientation, known as "cognitive anthropology" or sometimes "ethnoscience," questions the assumption that culture is a single reality and that it has a finite number of material and immaterial features which can be completely described with labels derived from various comparative classification systems. In addition rather than divorcing the description of a culture from the people who comprise it cognitive anthropology attempts to approximate their perceptions and understandings. In short cognitive anthropology

...is not so much a search for some generalized unit of behavioral analysis as it is an attempt to understand the organizing principles underlying behavior. It is assumed that each people has a unique system for perceiving and organizing material phenomena--things, events, behavior, and emotions (Goodenough, 1957). The object of study

is not these material phenomena themselves, but the way they are organized in the minds of men. Cultures then are not material phenomena; they are cognitive organizations of material phenomena (Tyler, 1969b: 3).

While cognitive anthropology has made significant breakthroughs in producing cultural descriptions which are at least partially congruent with the understandings of the actors themselves the various methods in use have introduced their own special problems. These have to do with which cultural domains may be elucidated by these methods, what significance variability has in the responses of individual informants for the final descriptive model, and what "ultimate" reality such a description may have. These issues are discussed below.

1.3.1. Cultural Domains and Their Description

Most of the early work in the ethnosience tradition was on deciphering the ordering principles of folk terminological systems to uncover features of semantic meaning and contrast. Some of the most common domains researched were kin terms (e.g., Goodenough, 1956a; 1964; Lounsbury, 1964), color categories (Conklin, 1955), disease terms (Frake, 1961), and ethnobotany (e.g., Conklin, 1954; Belline, Breedlove, and Raven, 1966).¹ Interest in these areas continues unabated. Other researchers undertook cognitive descriptions of taxonomies of cultural events such as types of "religious behavior" (Frake, 1964a), curing (Metzger and Williams, 1963b), "justice" and "punishment" (Black and Metzger, 1965), and wedding ceremonials (Metzger and Williams, 1963a).

¹For a more extensive review of this material see Sturtevant, 1964.

Linguistic taxonomies, whether of nomenclatures or event sets, are often relatively delimited and rule-bound, and their formal analyses reveal structured sets of meaning and contrast. However, critics of these descriptive models question their validity precisely because the models are abstracted from daily life and actual use. Alternate forms glossed over in formal analyses may be important in everyday situations and their use may depend upon rules of social context and intent rather than rules of classification intrinsic to the semantic domain in question (Frake, 1961; Keesing, 1972; Tyler, 1969a).

Decision-making models of cultural behavior represent a third strand of cognitive anthropological research which is importantly distinguished from the other two by efforts to incorporate actual behavior--or rather decisions about behavior--in the analysis. Thus description and reality are potentially more congruent. Decision-making models have achieved particular success in elucidating certain aspects of social structure such as in deciding upon an "appropriate" marriage payment (Keesing, 1967), where to reside (Geoghegan, 1969; Goodenough, 1956b), or where foster children are to live (Howard, 1970; Keesing, 1970a; Monberg, 1970). While earlier efforts only enumerated the criteria which apparently influenced decisions recent attempts tend to specify in what ways these criteria are logically ordered and how they enter the decision-making process. Ultimately most recent writers are interested in predicting individual decisions (see Quinn, 1975), though some are satisfied with the less rigorous goal of "appropriately anticipating" (Frake, 1964a: 112) what those choices will be.

As practiced decision-making models also tend to be removed from the reality they ostensibly describe either by being after-the-fact reconstructions of a single decision-making process based upon a series of culturally acceptable outcomes or by being comparisons of predicted outcomes with the pattern of choices actually made. The predictions are usually based on demographic survey data and/or informants' statements which may suggest relevant survey variables. To date decision-making models have still not described "the program of behavior released in particular situations" (Wallace, 1962: 356) which is congruent with the circumstances, complexities, and "timing" of everyday life. It seems we must still rely on the admittedly inadequate and sometimes misleading procedures of traditional ethnographic description to get a sense of the situational context of decision-making in on-going behavior. How do cultural scenes actually "unfold" or how do rituals "get performed?"

1.3.2. Variability in Decision-Making

Most researchers in the cognitive anthropological tradition probably would agree that some degree of cognitive differentiation among the members of a culture is both necessary and natural. Because of different genetic endowments, developmental histories, and socio-cultural backgrounds no two individuals will have the same competence in the knowledge of their culture. Nevertheless, ethnoscientific models of linguistic and event domains tend to ignore intra-cultural differences by adopting a view of culture as "...the set theoretical UNION of all individual competences" (Werner and Fenton, 1970: 540). While data is collected from only one or a limited number of informants their responses

are characterized as those of an ideal omniscient native participant.

There is another view of culture, however, which figures into some cognitive approaches. In this view there are as many competencies as there are theories of culture as there are individuals in the society; but there will be overlaps in theory and performance among individuals who in effect share elements of some cultural "gene pool" (Goodenough, 1971; Spiro, 1951). The "sharing" view is characterized as "...the set theoretical INTERSECTION of individual competences" (Werner and Fenton, 1970: 540). Most of the decision-making models fall under this rubric because they admit of individual variation in choice, but identify principles or priorities of choice common to all actors.

Elucidation of those logical principles affecting the decision-making process has had mixed results in accounting for variability in performance. Decision-making models, as all models employing a "shared" view of culture, must come to terms with variability in types of expression (see Sankoff, 1971). The decisions which people make will inevitably be tied to a variety of "external" situational and contextual factors which are nevertheless determinative of the cognitions and actions of classes of people. By way of example Monberg (1970) was able to present a series of cultural rules which the Bellonese of the British Solomon Islands used in explaining the incidence of certain adoption practices. Their rule--"The principal reason for adopting a child or children is that the adopting married couple or the adopting single male is without issue" (Monberg, 1970: 111)--explains, in part, the statistical distribution of persons who actually adopt on the basis of three external variables: sex of the adopter, marital status, and reproduc-

tive success.

A second type of variability with which decision-model builders have had no success in describing is the actual individual decision-making process; why, in the Monberg study quoted above for example, an individual Bellonese couple or single adult male decide to adopt a child at all (Monberg, 1970: 101). Most decision-models explicitly or implicitly incorporate "nodal" points at which individuals must subjectively evaluate the facts and circumstances impinging upon them before making some choice. Thus far anthropologists seem to have relegated this task to cognitive psychologists (Quinn, 1975: 43), and no one knows to what extent situational and contextual parameters interact with personal motivational and temperamental ones. In addition it is unclear to what extent different people evaluate the same decision-node in the same way and, when they do, whether it is because of some feature of the context or some aspect of the cognitive make-up of the decision-makers themselves.

1.3.3. The Reality of Decision-making Models and the Organization of Diversity

Descriptive models of decision-making place the locus of culture squarely in the natives' minds and the choices of behavior which these minds reach. The emergent "structure" which results from the sum total of all the decisions by all cultural actors which anthropologists traditionally study as "the culture" of a given group of people and try to "...characterize, classify, and compare cross-culturally..." (Quinn, 1975: 23) is therefore epiphenomenal to the central issue of the structure of the decision-making process itself. In general such

emergent structures in most realms of cultural behavior are credited with explanatory power, and they are regarded as a kind of "central tendency" which characterizes "the system." Removing them from consideration requires a search for other "glues" not only to keep the system together, but also to do so in such a way that it retains its characteristic features and identity.

Finding organization in a lengthy series of decisions in any cultural domain is at best a difficult undertaking. Not only are there differences in the expression of cognitive models relative to that domain but the cognitive models themselves may vary (Sankoff, 1971). In general cognitive anthropologists regard the taxonomic principles or the rules, principles, or priorities of decision-making as the stable part of the system which impart to it its particular identity. But anthropologists have not yet attempted a cognitive description of on-going behavior in which the decision-making process may not be so orderly. Can the logic of rules or priorities be used to account for the happenstance and complexity of everyday life and the diversity of both cognitive and behavioral phenomena? If not, what additional features of the structure of decision-making would satisfy these organizational demands?

1.4. The Cognitive Description of On-going Behavior

In their description of culture anthropologists have recognized intra-cultural variability, but have not had a theoretical orientation to adequately deal with it or the practical field methods to consistently discover it. For these reasons intra-cultural variability poses a problem for the anthropologist. However, it is not necessary that this

be so. It is possible to orient one's fieldwork around the assumption of variability and devise methodological procedures for isolating it and graphic procedures for organizing and presenting it. In addition cognitive anthropology now provides a new approach to fieldwork which focuses on individual decision-makers and, with varying success and interest, incorporates variability in their performance and their underlying cognitive processes.

The crucial problem remains, however, of applying this orientation and the related methods to a "whole culture" setting rather than a limited domain of cultural knowledge and experience. The following material is designed, in part, to do this. The data base consists of eleven funerals (and supplementary notes on others) witnessed in their entirety over a nineteen-month field period in two New Guinea Highlands villages. While an "ideal" death ritual sequence was collected it was in no way taken as a "point of departure" for the study. That is, behavioral items specified in the model were not given exclusive attention, were not used to define or organize what behavior was actually observed, and were not employed as a standard against which actual behavior was compared and found to be "typical" or "deviant."

This fieldwork approach had a number of immediate consequences. Because an informant presented the ideal model to me before a death actually occurred and contained only a few of the contingencies for death-related behavior (which, in my ignorance, I was unable to improve upon) the actual behaviors subsequently observed were far more complicated than his model could possibly suggest. Secondly, since the starting point for isolating relevant behavior was the fact of death

itself and included a relatively large number of cases, behavioral items which occurred only once or twice were also included in the overall description. Third, since the focus was on real behavior and belief, its description was at a variety of levels of abstraction. Not only was it necessary to integrate actions and decisions about action into one descriptive framework, but different kinds of actions also had to be included. Similarly, it was necessary to include behavior determined both by features of social structure such as status (of the deceased) and by different competencies and interests. This is certainly the reality with which the Kafe must deal and it must be the reality with which any descriptively adequate account must be imbued.

The use of funerary behavior to study and illustrate a descriptive approach to within-culture variability is in some sense irrelevant. Virtually any behavioral domain could be isolated for study. Marriage, healing, subsistence activities would all be productive. The selection of death ritual is partly fortuitous. During my field stay there was an unusually large number of deaths giving ample opportunity to witness ceremonial procedures and ample grist for the contingency mill. Death was more or less constantly on people's minds, either because they were planning a funeral or because they were trying to avert further deaths. Information on the subject was therefore relatively easy to obtain.

Funerary behavior also presented some unique features. As a "ritual occurrence" it is commonly regarded in uniformitarian, normative terms. The behavior is ritualized, hence repetitive and stable. Describing the variability in this domain would not only contribute to an understanding of ritual in general, but might also serve as an

impetus for looking at variability in other behavioral realms. Secondly, in the course of the research it became apparent that Kafe death-related behavior was comprised of a series of events the nature and timing of which depended upon both prior events and assumed consequences. Thus, the domain formed a non-Markovian stochastic process. Stochastic processes are common in many human cultural endeavors and techniques for representing them have already been developed in computer science.

Third, the use of an emotionally-charged ritual context such as death provided an opportunity to integrate and then explore the inter-relationship of belief/value and actual behavior in the maneuverings of individual actors. It presented a highly appropriate context for investigating the practicality of the idea that culture is ultimately to be found in the minds of a group's members.

Funerary behavior is still, of course, only one domain of behavior and in that sense its description does not represent a "whole" ethnography. It is nevertheless a significant and meaningful portion of Kafe life and the features of its organization should be common to any other area of cultural life. It also provides an opportunity to examine the broader application and ultimate usefulness of decision-making models as descriptive ethnography. It will also be used to examine specific problem areas of the cognitive approach: how are subjective evaluations of decision nodes made and how are the rules for decision-making and the plans for action organized with respect to each other and to the complexities of real life?

2. The Kafe of the Upper Dunantina--Socio-cultural Background

2.1. The Kafe

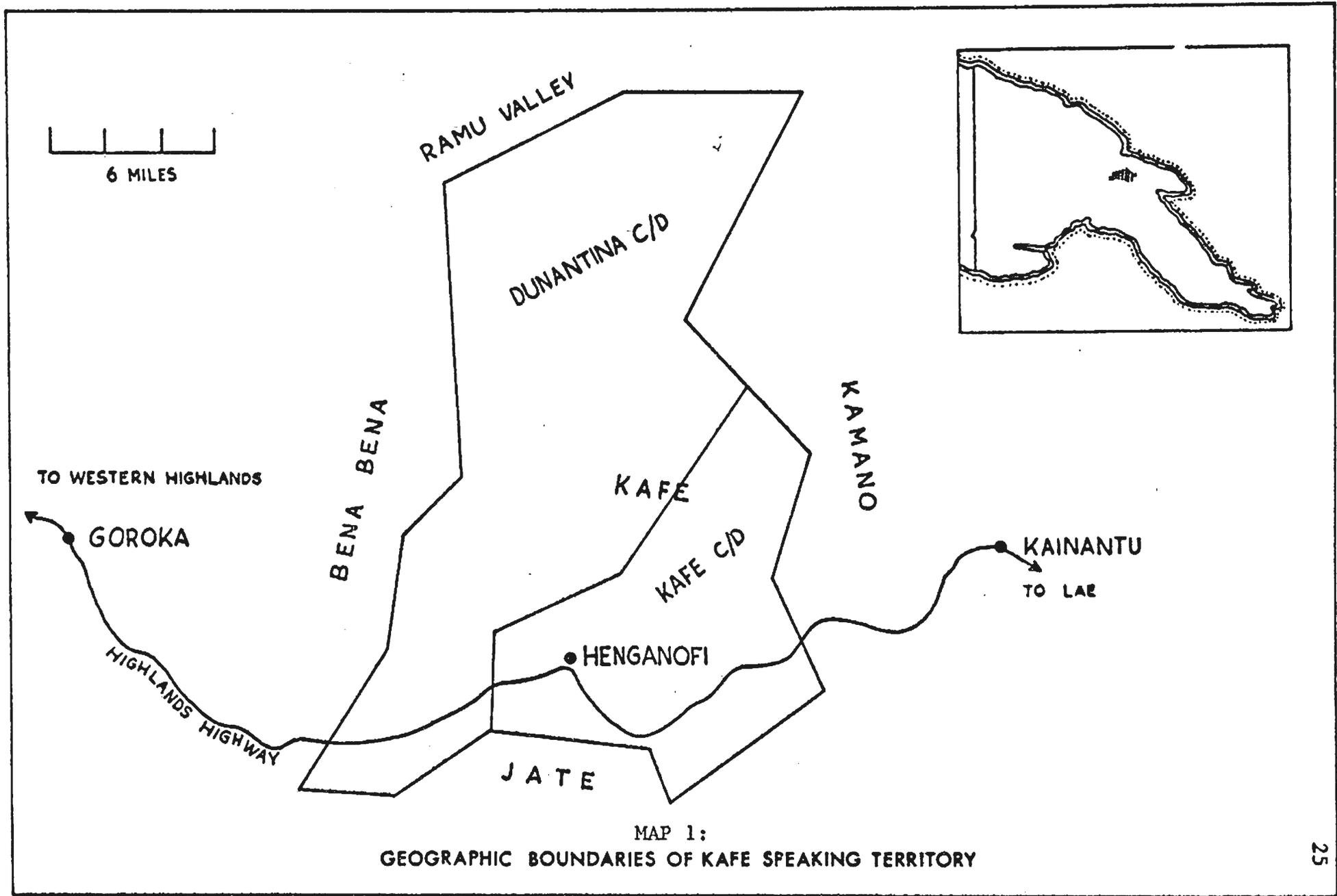
2.1.1. Location, Population Size, and Density

Kafe-speaking people live primarily in the modern-day Dunantina and Kafe Census Divisions of the Eastern Highlands District of Papua New Guinea. Kafe territory is bounded on the north by the Ramu Valley, on the west by Bena Bena-speakers, and on the south by Jate-speakers and the main Highlands Highway linking the coastal town of Lae with the western Highlands. On the east the Kafe merge with the culturally and linguistically similar Kamano (see Map 1).¹

The Kafe number approximately 24,000 and most live in villages and scattered hamlets along the Dunantina and Kamanontina² Rivers as these flow out of the rugged Bismarck Ranges into the central grasslands of the eastern New Guinea Highlands. This includes a substantial number who are found on tributaries of these two main rivers or high up on the valley slopes. Overall population density along the Dunantina is approximately 77 persons per square mile and along the Kamanontina approximately 129 persons per square mile. Estimating 60% of the total land area to be cultivable, adjusted density figures stand at 127 persons per square mile along the Dunantina and 217 persons per square mile along the Kamanontina. By New Guinea Highlands standards

¹Wurm (1964) assigns the Kamano language to the East-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock.

²In other sources referred to as either the Karmamontina, Kamamentina, or Karanuntani.



the gross densities are relatively low (cf. Brown and Podolefsky, 1976: Table 4a, p. 218).

2.1.2. History of European Contact

Europeans apparently first contacted the Kafe in the late 1920's when the German Lutheran missionary Leonhard Flierl and his party crossed over into the upper Dunantina system from the Ramu (Radford, n.d.). Soon after, in 1930, M. J. Leahy and M. Dwyer also cross over into the Dunantina from the upper Ramu in their search for gold. Following these unsustained first contacts the Lutherans established mission stations in both the Dunantina and Kamanontina manned by Kâte-speaking evangelists from the large mission post at Finschhafen on the Huon Peninsula. In 1934 the Australian government established a patrol post at Finentigu in the Kamanontina under the Australian John Black; and in 1935 Reo Fortune made a brief field trip into this part of the Kamanontina (Fortune, 1947a; 1947b). During the remainder of the 1930's and into the Second World War most of the Highlands areas were closed to non-indigenous persons though some prospectors and missionaries were allowed to remain.

During and after the War the government again sent out patrols to bring the local populations under government influence and control. By the late 1950's the government allowed an Australian businessman to establish a coffee plantation near the headwaters of the Dunantina and distributed coffee seedlings to the Kafe and explained methods of cultivation and harvest. By the mid-1960's the government built a dirt-and-gravel road linking the main Highlands Highway with most of the villages of the upper Dunantina system (the road along the less rugged Kamanontina was finished somewhat earlier). The Evangelical Lutheran

Church of New Guinea established a permanent mission station in the Kamanontina Valley near the village of Finentigu which is manned by a Western minister.

2.1.3. Ecological Setting

The Kafe recognize two broad ecological zones and they tend to divide themselves according to the zone inhabited. There are the grassland, or kunai, dwellers (hofa behe') and the lower montane rain forest (vide Robbins, 1970), or bush, dwellers (yafa behe'). Strictly speaking, however, the ubiquitous grassland borders all Kafe settlements, even at the higher altitudes. In reality the Kafe distinguish the altitudinal difference itself and certain ecological concomitants of this difference.

Kafe habitation occurs from approximately 4,600 feet above-sea-level in the central grasslands to 6,800 feet above-sea-level on the slopes of the upper Dunantina and Kamanontina systems. Though all Kafe are pig-breeders and sweet-potato horticulturalists there is some evidence--and an implicit belief by the Kafe--that the more extensive grasslands of the lower altitudes are able to support more pigs. This may stem, however, from a greater soil capacity for sweet potatoes, the staple for both humans and pigs. Those at lower altitudes are able to grow yams, peanuts, and larger numbers of banana and betel nut trees.

For those at altitudes above 6,000 feet these advantages are balanced by the greater accessibility of the lower montane rain forest. The Kafe believe that ground cleared from such forest is more fertile than soil cleared from grassland, and they have a ready supply of timber for house- and fence-building and for heating. Also important are the

subsidiary food sources available in the forest such as the semi-cultivated nut pandanus (Pandanus spp.), wild fungi, and a large variety of avifauna and arboreal mammals, and the terrestrial cassowary. With its wide diversity of plants the forest also yields to the knowledgeable a virtual pharmacopoeia of plants of use in treating illness and in causing it through sorcery.

A number of these relatively restricted and/or highly desirable commodities still form the basis of a limited form of trade and actual sale within the Highlands. Kafe from the higher altitudes may seek out pigs from lower areas, while people from the latter may trade for or buy the bird plumes or poisonous leaves available only from the "forest-dwellers." Groups also use other restricted commodities as a form of gift or in repayment of a debt. Thus, Kafe from the grasslands may present betel nut to a group of their mourning kinsmen who live at the higher altitudes. In repayment the latter may offer roasted pandanus nuts.

2.1.4. Subsistence and Economic Activities

The Kafe practice a type of slash-and-burn agriculture with intensive, though shifting, cultivation followed by relatively long periods of fallow. The staple crop is the sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas) supplemented by a wide variety of legumes, pumpkins, corn, bananas, sugar cane, and greens. The Kafe grow taro throughout the region, though it gives a greater yield at lower altitudes where peanuts, yams, and manioc also do well.

The chief source of animal protein is pork though the Kafe kill pigs irregularly and only for ritual purposes or exchange. Food

taboos prevent a man from eating a pig which belongs to him if it was raised by his wife. Other animal protein sources include an occasional chicken and a variety of arboreal mammals and avifauna hunted from the forest. A cash economy and the presence of small-scale "trade stores" makes it possible for the Kafe to occasionally purchase a tin of meat or mackerel, and a small parcel of rice to supplement their diet.

Most of the day-to-day subsistence activities are related to gardening and pig husbandry. The people start gardens at any time of the year though less frequently during the dry season (May through November). Most Kafe have three or more large gardens at different altitudes, if possible, with different soil conditions and fertility. Since staple crops in the Highlands are not storable a crucial subsistence strategy is to have these gardens in different states of readiness so that new sources of food are constantly available. Because of the tremendous amount of work involved in beginning a new garden family units commonly have small plots of land in other's gardens. They enjoy the usufruct of the land in return for their help in preparing the larger garden.

Another major economic activity is tending coffee trees, particularly picking and processing the coffee beans. Coffee is the only cash crop available to all the Kafe, and almost all family units own at least a small grove of trees. Activity connected with coffee growing tends to be seasonal, though at higher altitudes small amounts of the berries ripen throughout the year. Once washed and sun-dried the Kafe sell the beans to coffee dealers who make their rounds by truck. The income from coffee production is extremely important nowadays as they

use it (and pigs) as brideprice and for other kinds of compensation and debt payments.

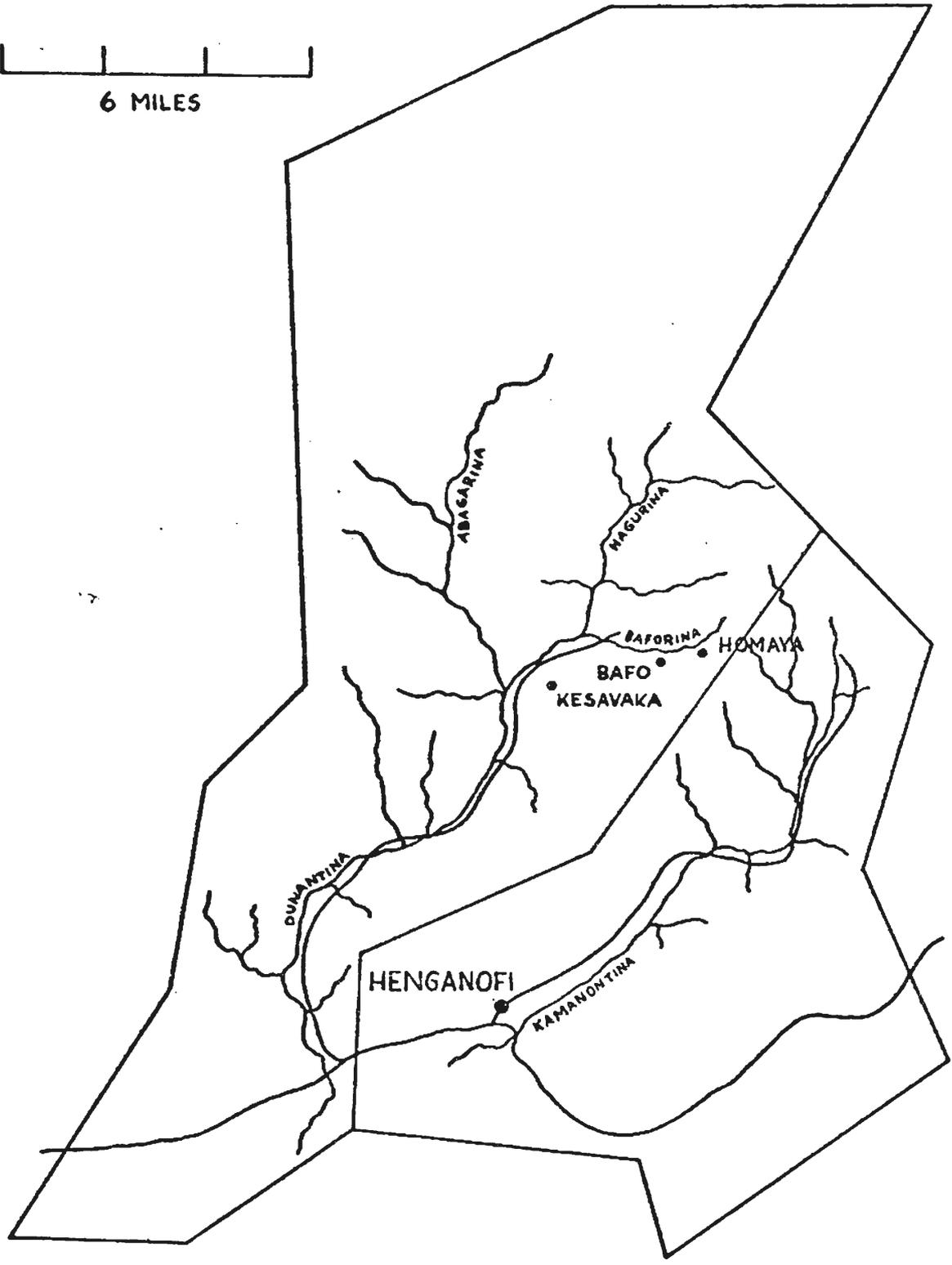
2.2. Upper Dunantina Study Area

As a way of distinguishing a particular linguistic and cultural group from its neighbors the term "Kafe" is probably a relatively recent (i.e., post-contact) usage. Though administratively convenient and nowadays used by the Kafe themselves, the term does not necessarily imply a strict uniformity of cultural or linguistic practice--particularly at the "edges" of the group's territory--and it certainly does not embody or require any notion of "tribal" unity, political cohesiveness, or anything more than a vague identity with similar groups over a broad geographic range. As elsewhere in the Highlands effective political action and group identity occurs at the level of the relatively small, semi-autonomous and territorially-based local grouping (vide De Lepervanche, 1967-68). The focus of the following discussion is on two such local groups, Homaya and Bafo, at the headwaters of the Dunantina River.

2.2.1. Location and Description

Three major tributaries known locally as the Abagarina, Hagurina, and Baforina comprise the upper Dunantina system. Homaya and Bafo are located at the end of the Baforina Valley, and their effective geopolitical sphere extends from the Baforina and Hagurina Valleys to the confluence of these two rivers with the Abagarina and into a similarly sized area across the mountains at the headwaters of the Kamanontina River (see Map 2).

6 MILES



MAP 2:
UPPER DUNANTINA STUDY AREA

For the three to five miles of its length the Baforina is a rapid, narrow stream with a valley floor seldom exceeding one-half mile in width and normally far less. The slopes of the valley are extremely steep so that most house and village sites are literally carved out of the mountain side. Much of the surrounding range rises to over 8,000 feet though human habitation stops at approximately 6,450 feet above-sea-level (approximately 6,850 feet in the Hagurina Valley). The Kafe clear garden land from the lower montane rain forest at altitudes as high as 7,400 feet above-sea-level.

The total population of the upper Dunantina from the confluence of the Abagarina with the Hagurina-Baforina to the headwaters of the latter two streams is approximately 2,800 people.¹ Another 1,600 persons live at the headwaters of the Kamanontina. Well over 90 per cent of these people live in concentrated settlements of between 100 and 500 persons though there often are internal divisions within the villages. The remainder live in small hamlets comprised, chiefly, of a man, a brother or two, and perhaps one or more sons, all of their families, and a variety of other dependent persons including widows and adopted children. A main path connects most of the villages of the Hagurina and Baforina. Another much-used path passes through Homaya over the mountains into the Kamanontina. It requires about two hours to traverse it on foot.

¹Based on 1971/72 population statistics collected by the government of Papua New Guinea.

2.2.2. Ground Names, Village Names, and "Region" Names

All ground area within the upper Dunantina system is divided into named areas varying from only a few acres for some pieces of land to several hundred acres for others. In general, the greater the use of a given unit of land the greater are the number of sub-divisions. Thus a whole mountainside at some distance through the forest may have a single name while a similar or even smaller area where a village is located may have several names. Homaya village, for example, is located on four separately-named pieces of ground. Such names normally serve a simple reference function though when used to refer to a particular residential grouping within a village they may imply certain behavioral expectations such as housing mourners who have come for the funeral of someone laid in state in a house on that ground. Such cooperation, however, stems from residential propinquity and "neighborliness" rather than any jural obligations consistent with a named residential sub-unit.

Villages are in themselves a post-contact phenomenon, encouraged by the Australian government to make the job of administration easier. The names of villages are therefore also of recent vintage and were either appropriated from one of the agnatic cores (see below) or from the name of the ground where the village is located. Village names reflect nothing of the political allegiances and factions among those living under the same name.

A final and more inclusive level of geographical nomenclature is the "region" although the term as such has no Kafe equivalent. The region encompasses all of the villages in an area which are considered

to be within the political "constituency" of a well-known and powerful leader. Villagers in the region generally grant some political authority to this man though, as is typical of so-called "Big Man" status elsewhere in New Guinea, he cannot command absolute obedience and is not permanently in a position of power. He certainly cannot end traditional hostilities between constituent groups of the region. Nevertheless while in power the people consider him to be a potent arbiter in inter- and intra-village disputes; they take his opinion on matters of importance to the village with extreme seriousness; and they allow him to make decisions for the whole group of villages and unofficially represent them in dealings with the Australian colonial government (or, nowadays, the government of Papua New Guinea). It is by dint of his own personality and authority that he elevates the name of his own village or local grouping to include this wider circle of political adherents. In the absence of opposition the Big Man's usage will stand, to be changed only after the ascendancy of a new Big Man.

Most of the villages in the upper Dunantina study area--including Homaya and Bafo--are referred to as Kesavaka which is the name of the village where the current Big Man resides. Kesavaka is also the name of the ground on which this village is built.

2.2.3. Parishes, Unilineality, and Individual Choice

Territorially-based residential groupings are the basis of much of Kafe social and political organization. They comprise one or more residentially-compact and relatively densely populated "house lines" (village sites) and one or more satellite hamlets. In Homaya there is a single hamlet of three brothers and their families and a large

village with four separate house lines. Together there are approximately 270 people. Bafo consists of three hamlet clusters and one larger compact village unit. The total population of Bafo is approximately 110.

The core of a village-hamlet unit is one or more groups of agnatically-related men, their children, wives, and assorted dependents. Researchers in New Guinea have variously labeled this group as a localized clan, district, clan-parish, descent group (vide Berndt, 1962; Glasse and Lindenbaum, 1971; Langness, 1964), or simply as a parish (De Lepervanche, 1967-68; Hogbin and Wedgwood, 1953) which is the usage I shall follow in this discussion. The parish among the Kafe is the largest politically autonomous unit and is associated with a given area of ground. While ground is claimed by individual parish members and can be apportioned as they see fit it cannot be permanently alienated from the parish except through conquest by another parish.

At any given time the internal kinship organization of a parish appears to vary a great deal. Groups of agnates who recognize common kinship with each other use a common name and think of themselves as a nofira, literally "rope" or "vine." Nofira may be linked together by an even more inclusive group name while still emphasizing their separate identities or the latter may be submerged to emphasize the common identity. Clearly the context within which the Kafe discuss nofira determines the emphasis. In Bafo there are five nofira which are recognized as distinct entities: Tinofi, Kuyunofi, Karompa (nofi), Benega'nofi, and Agarabenofi. However at public gatherings when outsiders are present they frequently ignore these different names in

favor of the more inclusive name of "Bafo." By using the latter designation they present a united front to potential antagonists. In Homaya, on the other hand, there are only two nofira, named Yagafon-anofi and Hagu'nofi, but very seldom do people mention them. An old, simmering argument threatens to throw the two into conflict and in the interest of a common need for unity "Homaya" is almost always the term of choice. In fact, when someone attempts to recall the split they are forcefully told that there is no split and that all are "only Homaya." Reference to the division most frequently occurs, albeit only obliquely, in the context of marriage. Because of their separate histories marriage prohibitions for each are different.

Aside from cohesiveness with a larger and more powerful unit--particularly important before the Pax Australiana--the identification of a nofira with some parish serves two other important functions. It automatically establishes an ancestral, and therefore inalienable, right to land; and it promotes harmony between co-resident or adjacent nofira who might have mutually exclusive goals. Irreconcilable arguments do occur, however, and nofira or constituent parts of them, may split off and move elsewhere. In doing so they characteristically retain the name of the parish as a symbol of their origin and identity, at least for one or two generations; and they maintain some kinship ties and obligations. They lose rights in the parish land, however; and do not regularly interact with the parent group or otherwise automatically support its interests.

Nofira and parish organization rests upon a strong ideology of patrilineality. Much recent literature on the kinship structure of

New Guinea Highlands societies, however, attempts to demonstrate that, in spite of outward appearances, these societies do not have neat unilineal descent systems. The crux of the issue lies either in questioning the meaning of the term "descent"--specifically whether it necessarily refers only to a method of group recruitment or whether it may also simply refer to a category of people who trace their relationship to some common ancestor and recognize themselves as a unit vis à vis other similarly-constituted units (vide De Lepervanche, 1967-68; Scheffler, 1965)--or in demonstrating that most New Guinea systems allow choice in individual group affiliations and, ipso facto, variety in methods of recruitment (De Lepervanche, 1967-68; Langness, 1964; Strathern, 1972).

The Kafe recognize and stress the interrelationship of all local resident males through agnatic ties or use the idiom of "brotherhood;" but, in practice, augment the group in a variety of different ways. The latter, in turn, is a function of the individual freedom allowed to the Kafe to maximize their circle of kin and their individual options in identifying with a particular group and gaining access to its land. The Kafe also maintain a flexibility in the composition and inclusiveness of named groups to subserve various personal and group-level political ends.

Neither in Homaya nor in Bafo is there an adult man regarded as an "outsider." Relatively recent newcomers are identified as "brothers," an apparently common idiom of affiliation in the New Guinea Highlands (De Lepervanche, 1967-68). After a few generations newcomers are integrated with the remainder of the agnatic network. This occurs

easily and naturally because of the active desire among nofira members to augment their numbers and thereby increase their strength, and because the Kafe are not active genealogists. Confused past history remains that way. Continued residence on the land and use of a kinship idiom in referring to one another seems to be sufficient justification for one group's presence even though the exact nature of their affiliation may be murky.

A man must make a decision about residence, and hence parish affiliation, at marriage. This decision is not irrevocable, and Kafe typically explore and utilize as many residential alternatives as possible; but it does entail commitment and cannot therefore be easily broken. Where a man settles at marriage very often depends upon who buys a bride for him and this, in turn, is highly correlated with his place of residence as a child and young adult. Thus, if he were living exclusively with his older sister and her husband or his mother's brother, their agnates, rather than his own, may buy a wife for him and he will likely settle with that group. The availability of good arable land is another factor influencing a young man's decision, and it is the most frequent cause for a man deciding to live with his wife's group rather than his own. Other statistically important kinship ties which serve as a basis for youthful residence and later affiliation include one's brother's wife and her group, a maternal grandfather, and a mother's new husband.

Table 1 gives some sense of the amount of movement and affiliation with non-natal agnatic groups. Part I of the Table shows the per cent of adult married men living in the parish whose ties, using an idiom

TABLE 1: Indicators of Parish Affiliation and Residence in Homaya and Bafo

Part I

Married men living in parish (or temporarily residing elsewhere)

	With a genealogical "charter"		With probable fictitious ties	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Homaya	46	86.8	7	13.2
Bafo	23	82.	5	17.9*

Part II

Married men recognized as parish members

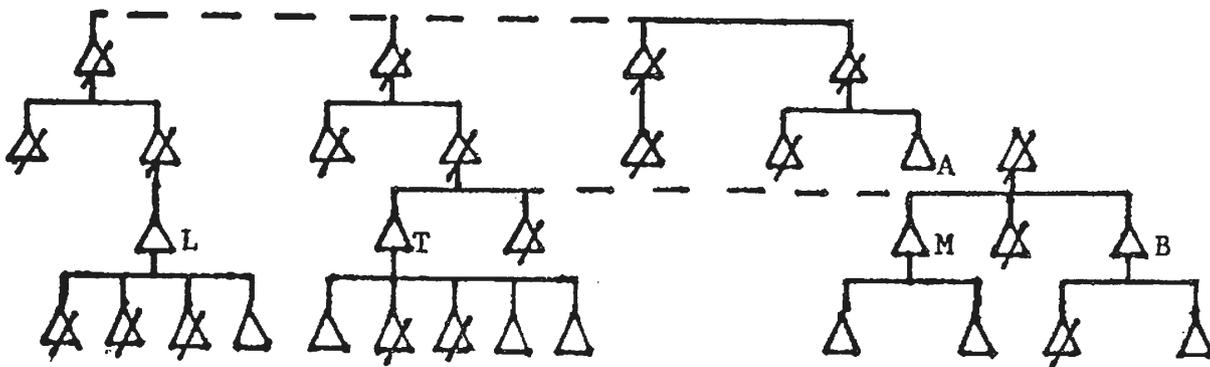
	In actual residence in the parish		Not in residence; living elsewhere			
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	Permanently		Temporarily	
			<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Homaya	44	60.3	20	27.4	9	12.3
Bafo	25	61.	13	31.7	3	7.3

* Deviation from 100% (total) due to rounding error.

of kinship, are probably fictitious either because the people themselves could trace no definite link or because of strong contradictory statements regarding the person's ancestry. In Homaya 13.2% (7 of 53 men) fall into this category, and in Bafo, almost 18% (5 of 28 men). Part II of Table 1 quantifies the degree to which married men who have a legitimate right to call themselves "Homaya" or "Bafo" and settle on parish land do not take advantage of the opportunity. The figures are surprisingly high. Twenty-seven point 4 per cent (20 of 73 men) of Homaya men live permanently elsewhere and over 30% (13 of 41 men) of Bafo men do so.

Table 1 still underestimates the degree of mobility and personal freedom in Kafe residence and group affiliation. Part I includes only those whose affiliation is likely to be non-agnatic. Almost certainly there are others whose genealogical history is far more thoroughly integrated with the others. Part II also omits a number of men who moved elsewhere and on whom no marital history was recorded. Many of these are probably old enough to be married and would therefore be included in the number who are permanently in residence elsewhere.

Fictive kinship links with a nofira may be so frequent and so current that it is clearly a single named group by the active choice of its members and that none of the separate elements have priority in the use of the nofira name. The example of Agarabenofi diagrammed below is illustrative:



The dotted horizontal lines indicate fictitious bonds recognized by the men themselves. The lettered triangles are adult married men. Of the latter B and his family have moved elsewhere, and A is an old man with no living offspring. Obviously, none of the extended family groups are related to each other in a meaningful genealogical sense, and it is impossible for the Kafe to say which has priority to the Agarabenofi appellation even if they wished to do so. The relatively small extended family groups banded together for mutual support and access to land; and, interestingly, picked the idiom of descent to accomplish this.

The "patrilineal" group shown above is characteristic of Bafo. Bafo is relatively small and shallow in genealogical depth, and members attach little importance to eponymous founders. This pattern corresponds with many other Highlands groups. Homaya, on the other hand, much more resembles a clan in its outward form. Homayans trace their ancestry through seven generations and, with one exception, all men recognize the same ancestral founder. Differences between Homaya and Bafo may be related to their presence of different stages of a long-term cycle in which the fission of local groups alternates with their build-up and fusion. Nevertheless the differences between the two also

suggest a continuum of local group composition which is related to the degree of agnation but not, as Meggitt (1965) hypothesizes, to land pressure. It seems that the same principles of group affiliation--whether we call them agnation, cumulative patrification (see Barnes, 1962), residence, historical circumstance or convenience, and/or alliance--can produce two different kinds of on-the-ground local group structure in adjacent parishes of the same cultural group.

2.2.4. Social Organization and Political Power

A parish is politically interlocked with approximately ten other parishes. Parish men broadly regard two to four of these as "friends" or "allies," two to four others as "enemies," and the remainder as "neutral." These alliances and enmities change over time and, in some cases, affect only individual nofira within a parish rather than the parish as a whole.

Nofira are also tied to other nofira outside their parish through kinship. Nofira related (actually or fictitiously) through agnatic ties regard each other as "brothers;" nofira which exchange wives regard one another as "in-laws;" and nofira related through female ties class themselves together as uterine kin. This kinship-based categorization cross-cuts and complicates the politically-based one. One nofira, for example, may have mother's brothers in a nofira which with the remainder of the nofira of its parish are classed as "enemies." When warfare occurred the two interrelated nofira abstained from the fighting or at least refrained from shooting at each other (see Fortune, 1947a; 1947b).

Nowadays when two parishes are at loggerheads over some issue constituent nofira related to each other through uterine ties continue proper

behavior toward one another.

Given different interests and obligations of member nofira a parish acts as a unit only with adequate preparation: lengthy discussions among all interested men generally precedes action. Discussion is further warranted because of the Kafe emphasis on brotherhood and equality, the adaptive need to minimize internal conflict, and the frequent absence in many parishes of a single Big Man who is able to assert himself above all others.

Any adult man in the parish may speak to an issue. Decision-making takes place both in relatively private and in public forums. When an issue surfaces at a public feast there is often a great deal of heated argument. If it becomes clear that individuals have temporarily irreconcilable differences the participants drop the issue once the major positions are outlined. Innumerable private discussions ensue. Eventually the issue arises again and the parish mates reach a group decision, though on occasion individuals take matters into their own hands and act contrary to the group.

Maintaining a posture of strength and cohesiveness is the major strategy in inter-group relations. Individual actions may be embarrassing or cause anger but if done publicly and in the name of the parish may have to be supported. Publicized internal dissension weakens the parish as do deaths. Death not only diminishes the number of parish members but, if caused by sorcery or warfare, is a tacit admission that the parish is too weak to fend off its enemies. Weakened parishes find themselves subject to greater pressures for internal fission and to depredations of land and pigs by adjacent parishes.

Parish and nofira strength and reputation also depends upon fulfillment of obligations toward other similar units. There are constant prestations and signs of help due to nofira classed as "brothers" and "in-laws," and there is a formal series of prestations due to maternal kin throughout the life of the individual. Failure to observe any of these obligations results in malicious gossip or public accusations of negligence. In spite of the negative effects of slandering real or imagined slights between related nofira of different parishes are common and kin spend much time and effort correcting them or preventing recurrences. The delicate pas de deux which transpires between related nofira or parishes affects many of the decisions that a group must make to assure its reputation.

2.2.5. Parish Organization and the Assumption of Decision-Making

Authority: Making Plans for a Funeral

As a rule adult men and their wives plan all domestic and intra-parish activities. In the case of a death decision-making is problematic. At the time of death no one is sure who feels what commitments either to the deceased and/or to his family. As a result even close kin whose obligations may be extensive and clear-cut are hesitant to take any decisions which may alienate others or otherwise restrict their participation. A death of an important person will probably involve a large number of separate events requiring extensive participation. The public events reflect upon the strength and fame of the parish so agreement over what must be done and by whom is therefore essential for a "good show." Agreement is particularly crucial in many parishes where the alliances between constituent nofira are fragile and where

there is no one important man whose decisions are followed by everyone.

At death and throughout the observances there are constant meetings among participants not only to decide on the course of action but also to constantly reassure one another that no one has made any secret or irrevocable decisions which might be cause for another's anger or withdrawal of support. The meetings prolong the observances and necessitate frequent scheduling changes as participants try to accommodate one another.

Another "rule" in private decision-making is that one must take sole responsibility for actions taken without the benefit of consultation. The Kafe are individualists and do not like to prevent someone from acting as he deems necessary. By the same token such a person must recognize that he may not be able to enlist everyone's support for a fait accompli.

Most parishes have men who would like to be leaders and who attempt to sway others to their point of view. If they succeed they enhance their own status. There is obvious pleasure for such men in having others follow their advice, though this is largely an ephemeral pursuit as agreement at one point in time does not guarantee it later. Would-be important men must demonstrate their continued interest by being active--by attending parish-level meetings, contributing labor and pork, and the like--and must present persuasive and cogent arguments for their position. Sometimes wisdom dictates deferring to others.

In sum a large number of factors determine the identities of the decision-making personnel in any given instance. There are important men who wish to have others follow their lead, but they must operate

in an essentially fragile and non-hierarchical decision-making structure. Rules of Kafe life require the utmost respect for individual freedom of choice in action, but complete recognition that one may be solely responsible for his actions. For those who would participate there are age and intra-parish status differences, and because of circumstance would-be participants are not always nearby. As a result it is not only difficult to predict the actual decision-makers during a funeral, but also the people in charge may vary over the course of several days. This uncertainty makes the order of the actual decisions and the opportunities for arriving at consensus more important than the actual people involved. The former give a direction and structure to the proceedings which the latter are structurally and circumstantially unable to provide.

3. Illness and Death in Kafe Society: General Background

3.1. Introduction

Though normative accounts of cultural events frequently ignore the variability within those events and occasionally introduce misconceptions about potential causative factors they do perform a useful ethnographic function. I give such an account here for three reasons. First I wish to introduce the relevant Kafe concepts and terms related to death and funerals. Second, I wish to present a general picture of funerary behavior and indicate where possible the range of behaviors actually observed. With this as a context it will be easier to understand the eliciting conditions for individual behaviors which I discuss in Chapter 4.

Finally, a normative account presents the kind of "ideal" funeral that one or more informants might report to the naïve observer. It becomes possible to compare it with the real behavior of eleven documented cases. This is an important comparison because it highlights the intricacy and complexity of everyday behavior not accounted for in the ideal model.

3.2. Death, Illness, and Sorcery

For the Kafe death is clinically defined as the cessation of breathing. Death is at once inevitable and unnatural: while Kafe hold no illusions about their own mortality, good health and long life are considered to be the status quo in a generally beneficent world order so that serious illness and death are reasoned to be abnormal and, at least potentially, the result of human evil. It is always odd to the

Kafe that someone should be seriously sick or should die "just now." Neither witches nor death-dealing spirits can be blamed as these do not exist in Kafe cosmology;¹ and ghosts of the recent dead, while mischievous and potentially capable of causing accidents, are not punitive or vindictive and cannot cause serious illness or death.² "Natural" death is recognized, but is generally felt to claim the lives only of infants (and fetuses) and "old" people, (i.e., those operationally defined as too feeble to squat by the fire and cook a sweet potato). Even in these few cases, however, other causative agents may be involved.

At the most inclusive level of conceptual and terminological contrast, the Kafe recognize two types of illness: amine kria, literally "nothing" illness; and abo'taga kria, or sorcery-induced illness. Illnesses subsumed within the former class are thought to arise "by themselves." Illnesses within the second class, regarded far more seriously, are felt to be the direct result of human machinations. Almost all illnesses of whichever class are given diagnostic descriptions rather than unique labels, though sorcery-induced illnesses are generally referred to by the name of the particular sorcery type

¹There are, however, "bush spirits" (afi behere) which can cause death or deformity to infants and fetuses. They would do this only if a man whose wife were pregnant foolishly went into woods known to be inhabited by the afi behere, cut a tree vine or felled a tree, and in the process unknowingly killed a child of the afi behere. In revenge the latter would try to kill or deform the human child. I heard of no cases of death attributed to this cause.

²There is one exception to this rule: the ghost (hankoro) of a dead married person may attempt to kill the surviving spouse, especially if that spouse were allowed to accompany the body to the grave.

involved.

There are approximately 20 different types of sorcery which are recognized by the Kafe. This figure is "approximate" in the sense that there is not complete agreement among all informants, some claiming to know of named forms which others have either never heard of or regard simply as a higher-order taxonomic level under which other discrete, identifiable forms of sorcery may be grouped. Interestingly, there is no single symptom or set of symptoms which automatically marks any illness episode as sorcery-induced. Whether sorcery is at work and, if so, what kind are important decisions to be made in the course of an illness primarily because it affects the patient's treatment but also because it alerts the local population to the active malevolence of its enemies. Diagnosis is a complex cognitive process in which the visual cues provided by the overt symptoms are only one among several forms of information to be evaluated (vide Frake, 1961).

Nowadays sorcery is the most frequently cited cause of death and illness leading to death. Since the 1940's and particularly in the last ten years or so, sorcery-related activities appear to have increased dramatically and the number of sorcery types has multiplied. The Kafe themselves interpret these phenomena as effects of the Pax Australiana. Anthropologists who have found similar trends in other areas hypothesize a functional equivalence between warfare and sorcery (e.g., Johannes and Keil, n.d.; Meggitt, n.d.): the decrease in warfare has been replaced by sorcery as the important mechanism regulating intra-group tension reduction and the direction of hostility.

Among the Kafe sorcery attacks, accusations, and suspicions are directed toward enemy groups. When practiced sorcery is intended to kill, not merely or simply to maim or cause mischief. Its believed success is a cause for celebration among the perpetrators and a sign of weakness for those sustaining the loss. All acts of sorcery are regarded as attempts to avenge the prior death of some particular kinsman, and they are performed either by the living male agnates (or husband's agnates if the victim is a married woman) or other unrelated men hired or bribed for the purpose. In the Kafe belief system there may be multiple reprisals for a death and the obligation to avenge a death remains with the group until fulfilled. As a result each local group has at least one unavenged or insufficiently avenged enemy on whom it can blame a death and in this fashion the alternation between revenge and suspicion is in some degree cyclical and self-perpetuating. However, there is enough leeway in the system--notably in the divinatory process in which the "actual" culprits are isolated and named--for sorcery fears to be shifted among different local groups as the political climate changes. As found elsewhere, the direction of accusation and reprisal is often a good indicator of the current political scene (Lindenbaum, 1971) and may serve as a marker of incipient confrontation and conflict.

In theory any adult man is capable of being a sorcerer and can purchase, if he cannot himself make, any necessary ingredients; and he can easily acquire the pertinent chants or magical words that go with some forms of sorcery. In actual practice relatively few men handle sorcery materials and there are some who do not even wish to know when

they are used. They would not, in any case, be told.

All activities related to sorcery are done covertly and on a "need-to-know" basis. This includes the actual administration of the sorcery, the observance of any taboos, succoring and curing a person believed to be struck by sorcery, and divining those responsible should death occur.

Unlike the Abelam of the Sepik where the content of sorcery beliefs intersects with "reality" in such a way as to leave the anthropologist unconvinced that sorcery is actually being perpetrated (Forge, 1970) while the people themselves are rather more certain, the Kafe do practice sorcery and, discounting certain verbal embellishments, generally in the way they say they do (see Appendix I).

In spite of the extensive belief system related to the practice of sorcery the Kafe are not obsessed by it in the same way that Dobuans appear to be (Fortune, 1932). Nevertheless, fear of sorcery and its promulgation can be uppermost concerns in people's minds when death occurs or when presumed sorcery-induced illnesses and/or other unusual events take place. Sorcery beliefs intrude into other areas of Kafe life as well. The Kafe claim, for example, that the reason they have no windows in their houses is so that night-prowling sorcerers will not be able to peek in, sight a hapless sleeping victim, and perform sorcery against him. Anyone walking around the houses at night will always cough and mutter as a way of openly showing non-hostile intentions.

Sorcery is evident in other phases of Kafe life as well, but it is most visible and most frequently discussed during an illness and following a death. As will be seen from the description below the fear of a

sorcery attack or the effects of an assumed attack are directly related to many aspects of funerary observances.

3.3. Death and Funerals

Among the Kafe a seriously ill person is never left alone, and as a consequence such a person never dies alone. When someone dies accidentally or due to a sudden illness there is cause for much sorrow. Similarly when a person dies from an illness believed to be less severe than was actually the case or dies after only a few days preventing any meaningful succorance there is much sadness among the living and frequent intra-group recriminations. Illness and death are very much, as elsewhere, social events; and obligations of kinship, friendship, and alliance figure prominently in the care and treatment of the invalid or, when this is no longer possible, in disposition of the corpse.

Most of the important decision-making falls to the local agnatic group. For a married woman it is her husband's agnates who make the decisions. Nevertheless the line of authority is seldom clear-cut, and decisions tend to be made only after repeated discussions among the widest possible group of interested persons.

In practice decision-making occurs both "publicly" and "privately." Since interested kin are mobilized for the death, to the point even of staying in or very near the house where the deceased was laid in state, their constant presence facilitates the discussions of important matters. Discussions of issues may continue off and on for months until some sort of consensus is reached or they may be made in the space of a few hours. Typically, an issue is broached by one or more men while a group is assembled, an almost constant occurrence during

a funeral. Positions and points of view are noted and debated, with individuals often assuming a formal style of public declamatory speaking. Small groups of two to five men may then be seen pursuing the issue among themselves or, if the issue does not need immediate resolution, may "adjourn" to discuss the issue at each other's houses. Inevitably at a future gathering the subject is brought up again. Lack of consensus means more private dickering and exchange of viewpoints until the participants acknowledge some clear position.

3.3.1. Funeral Preparations

One of the first decisions that needs to be made following a death is whether to deal with it openly or secretly. In the former case the kin must decide whether to formally announce the death and summon the non-resident kin, allies, and/or friends of the deceased. If they agree to do this they dispatch a runner with the news. Even if no official notification is to occur no attempt is made to cover up either the fact of death or the funeral and people who hear of it and come to mourn are not turned away.

Open funerals, especially those for which guests have been invited, usually have at least one night of the stylized, singsong wailing which characterizes much of the public expression of grief for the deceased. Such wailing begins upon a sign from one or more of the agnates and usually ends at dawn. The corpse is left on display inside a house and mourners crowd around. If there are large numbers of mourners some will congregate around fires made outside the house or in the houses of adjacent residents. As new groups of wailing mourners arrive they are greeted by members of the host village (often just the women) who join

them in their wailing, are escorted to the house where the body lies in state, and are ushered in around the body where they replace the last group to arrive. Only one or two mourners or as many as several hundred may arrive and proceed in this fashion.

At some open funerals for which a large crowd is expected the host agnates construct a yasisa adjacent to the house where the body has been placed. This is a high, fence-like structure built out of a variety of available materials such as old fence posts, tree branches, unused house walls made from woven cane-grass, etc. Though left uncovered it nevertheless provides some protection from the wind and cold for mourners who remain outside all night. The hosts provide firewood and food, and mourning continues sporadically among the assembled groups throughout the night.

When the agnates decide upon a secret funeral there is no public mention of the death and only the very closest non-resident kin are later notified. Even some of the resident kin do not learn of it until after burial. Such wailing as occurs is muted. There is a general effort made to cover up the fact of the death in order to obviate the necessity for an expensive and time-consuming funerary distribution, to avoid the admission that a group member has died, and to hopefully avoid attracting sorcerers into the area who would be encouraged by the news of the death.¹

¹A fear not taken lightly by the Kafe. After one death, an agemate of the deceased dressed his young son as a girl, believing that any lurking sorcerers would be less inclined to kill a female child than a male one.

In both open and secret funeral preparation the treatment of the corpse is the same. New Western-style clothes are purchased and the corpse dressed in them. The body is never left alone, at least two people keeping a vigil over it through the night. A coffin is procured. This is an innovation introduced by government officials and missionaries though, within memory of the living, the Kafe always buried their dead. Coffins are constructed out of locally-occurring, hand-fashioned (or sometimes purchased) materials, or they are purchased in the larger towns. The time and expense involved for the latter is obviously larger.

Normally the agnates provide the coffin. Matrilineal kin of the deceased present the coffin only if asked, and their agreement to do so is not automatic. Nevertheless, they are likely to accede not only because of their tie to the deceased and the need for proper behavior toward the survivors, but also because the expense will be repaid with pork at isu' musa hie (see 3.3.4.).

Once they receive the coffin those attending the body immediately place it inside upon a "bed" of blankets and cloth. They restrict further access to the body, especially to non-agnates, because they fear that others will touch and thereby sully the corpse. This prevents the success of any future divinations. In the throes of mourning and grief, however, mourners may indeed touch and grasp the corpse; and some effort may be necessary to restrain them.

On rare occasions the Kafe dispense with normal procedure, and, as a sign of abject grief, let the body decompose so that the living

can rub the bodily fluids on themselves. In Homaya and Bafo the men considered doing this after the tragic deaths of two young adult men who left no offspring. Both mission and government officials strongly disapprove of the practice, but informants claim that it still occurs. Once the body has fully decomposed it is then buried.

3.3.2. Divination

Divination refers to a variety of inter-related techniques by which the living kinsmen of a deceased person make contact with the soul (hankoro) of that person for information about how death occurred and, if sorcery was involved, who is guilty. Imparting this knowledge to the living is an important duty which the dead person must discharge. This is not merely because of the need of the living to avenge the death, nor even just the desire to uphold group prestige temporarily hurt by the success of an enemy; rather, the living need the information in order to be alert for further possible sorcery attacks and to avoid the village where these attacks originate.

Divination is performed only by male patrilineal consanguines (or the husband's patrilineal consanguines if the deceased is a married woman). Women are sometimes present, especially the widow or mother of the deceased. A divination is ideally done with utmost secrecy and with as few as possible knowing. In one case a divination failed to reveal the culprits responsible and the consanguines reasoned that too many people were present and that, to make matters worse, some of those were outsiders who should automatically have been barred. As a consequence the hankoro refused to cooperate with the diviners and a later, more private divination was necessary.

As with the performance of sorcery any adult man is theoretically capable of performing a divination or, at least, of learning how to do one. In practice, however, divinations in a village are normally done by five to ten men. Such men are also likely to be the most active sorcerers. Performing a divination and thereby being a party to the results places an obligation upon such people to exact retribution for the death. This means handling sorcery materials and risking later attacks on one's own life, which a number of village men are unwilling to do. Of course the results of any divination are disseminated by the diviners to a larger group of men, especially the elders.

Specific divinatory techniques are given in Appendix II. Normally the diviner first attempts to pinpoint the parish or nofira of the guilty party and then, by asking more specific questions, the name of the family group and/or the culprit himself. Divinations may take a great deal of time--up to three separate evenings in one case--and may be repeated, either by the same or a different diviner. Results are later shared and compared.

In all cases results of a divination can be made to fit expectations (see also Hayano, 1973) because of the diviner's direct intervention in the process. He either must interpret ambiguous clues or he manipulates the props. Moreover, linking the signs of a divination with actual names is always a covert mental operation.

The announcement of the death may be delayed until a divination is performed, and at least one thorough divination is completed before burial. Most of the Kafe believe that the hankoro remains close to the body after death, but departs after burial to a spirit world near

the ocean. Once in the spirit world it is unavailable to help the living in divinations.

3.3.3. Burial

From the sample of deaths in Homaya and Bafo burial may occur at any time between a few hours after death to as long as four days. During this period the kinsmen must decide, among other things, where to bury the body. This is more problematic than in the past. Missionaries encourage the Kafe to use cemeteries, but the interests and/or the wishes of the deceased uttered before death may constrain the living to bury the body elsewhere. Sometimes, for example, the agnates feel that a person who died away from the village or as a very young person should be buried close by, a kind of compensation to the living for not having the person close by for a long enough time in life. Similarly, a man may wish to be buried in his own ground.

After the public wailing of an open funeral the men bring the coffin outdoors and set it before the assembled mourners. Nowadays a short church service is usually performed by the local catechist. Ideally, five to ten men carry the coffin off to the gravesite. They proceed in single file, taking care not to look back into the village. They are removing death from the village; looking back would return it.

The agnates usually dig the grave, but occasionally it is politically expeditious to let others do it (and carry off the coffin as well). Those who accompany the body to the grave do so by individual choice which seems to account for the large variability in their number. Occasionally, in the confusion of the departure someone may

yell that too many people are going and demand that some stay behind. There is no direct intervention, however; and most continue on their way.

Those at the gravesite usually make a "bed" for the coffin with a variety of materials including leaves, cloth, and blankets. They put the dried or fresh leaves or boughs down first, place the coffin on top, and then cover the latter with cloth and/or blankets. Sometimes they use a pandanus mat as a covering. The state of the pandanus crop seems to control this practice. When the trees are not producing the participants directing the burial do not further risk the crop by allowing the leaves to become associated with death and do not allow the mat to be buried with the corpse. In one case they actually removed a pandanus mat from the grave after a heated discussion.

The mourners at gravesite normally wail in their grief, but laughing and joking also occur. Once they lower the coffin into the grave and possibly hold a second short church service all those in attendance toss in a clod of dirt. Immediately the men fill in the grave and place a cross or other marker at the head.

Before leaving the grave the men build a fence around the gravesite to protect it from pigs. Ideally the mourners return to the village in single file and in reverse order from the procession to the grave taking care not to look back to the grave lest death be returned to the village. When the group reappears at the village it is ritually re-admitted by a short ceremony near the house where the body lay in state. Those who remained behind either light a small

fire which the first few in line must stamp out, or they prepare a cigarette from which the first few persons must inhale. Once they do this their tie with death is severed and they proceed about their business.

The procedure for a secret burial is rather different. Neither the corpse nor the coffin are placed outside on public display. The coffin is borne off in the middle of the night or at dawn to the gravesite. There is no single-file procession: people go at different routes to avoid attracting attention. After the actual burial, which proceeds as above, those at the gravesite follow diverse paths back into the village and the people do not recongregate. The ceremony in which a fire is put out or a cigarette smoked is performed, but quietly, and by only one or two persons near the house where the body lay.

3.3.4. Post-burial Events

While part of the group buries the corpse the remainder commonly become involved in a public discussion. The issues raised vary. The length of the mourning period is often a prime concern as well as whether to have a funerary distribution (isu'yana), but the group does not always reach a decision on these matters. The agnates occasionally place taboos on the deceased's land and/or trees. Sometimes anger and differences of opinion between classes of kin of the deceased are expressed. Frequently the matrilineal kin of the deceased feel slighted in some way--e.g., not told of the death soon enough, not allowed to grieve long enough, not given its due in pigs, and so on. As "mothers" of the deceased their demands are met with

assiduousness and trepidation by the agnates. The interests of the two groups are almost always at odds since the latter have a debt of pork to the former which they are obligated to pay and yet would sometimes like to find some way to avoid.

Occasionally accusations of sorcery are made during the public discussion following a burial. Tensions and frustrations run high at these times and people tend to ignore the prohibition against publicly discussing sorcery. When one admits to knowing the name of a culpable sorcerer it is tantamount to admitting both divination and the responsibility of retribution. Direct accusations occurred on two occasions in Homaya and Bafo. On at least three other occasions there were generalized recriminations over the death in the form either of oblique references to "someone's" maliciousness, assertions that someone in Homaya must be using sorcery on others for which the current death is the inevitable payback, or merely verbal breast-beating over neglect of the ill person.

After the burial the formal period of mourning, if there is to be one, begins. This mourning period is called feru' mani'naye, literally "we sit doing nothing." Concerned kin and friends remain with the close relatives of the deceased. No work is undertaken by the host parish other than those duties connected with attending to guests. During the day men and women remain outdoors talking, chatting, working on handicrafts, and greeting and mourning with any new arrivals. At night the guests sleep in the same house with the close relatives or nearby with other agnates in the same house line. It is considered improper to sleep elsewhere and then return during

the day. This may result in more death. As a general rule those who stayed with the corpse during the all-night wailing sessions remain in the same house until feru' mani'naye ends.

The duration of feru' mani'naye is not fixed by the kin group at a given point in the proceedings. That is, a decision may be made; but it is invariably amended at a later date since someone will be dissatisfied that a proper length of time was observed. If there is more than one sasuta feast (see below) there is frequent discussion of who will cease mourning. Some groups of men (e.g., "brothers" of the deceased) decide that irrespective of what others decide they will continue mourning.

If the deceased was a married man his widow is subject to certain restrictions during feru' mani'naye. She is barred from accompanying the body to the grave; and, after burial, she must leave the house where the body lay in state and avoid the house where the death occurred. She secludes herself either in her own house (if an old woman who had not been co-residing with her husband), her husband's father's or husband's brother's house, or a son's house. Some widows rub themselves with ashes and don old, filthy clothes, covering their heads with an old cloth. A variety of people may attend the widow, but those who eat with her must continue to do so until her period of seclusion is over. Those who eat elsewhere cannot consume food with the widow.

The widow seclusion in the five cases for which I have records lasted between six and nineteen days. One informant suggested that this variability was related to the age of the deceased: older men

with many offspring do not "warrant" as long a seclusion period as younger men with few or no children. When the seclusion ends a group of women--wives of age-mates, old women, or any age women, depending upon local differences in custom--surround and escort her out of the house. The widow stoops while walking and proceeds either to a new domicile or to an earth oven where food has been prepared for her (in Kafe, kento a'nemofu habe) and the others who joined her in seclusion. After she has exited the house one or two old men or women reverse the thatch above the door. A widower has no such period of seclusion.

A widow's formal mourning period may continue on for some time after ending her seclusion, and she is usually among the last persons to stop. When she does so her husband's agnates may prepare another earth oven and invite people to share food with her.

Nowadays restrictions for a widower are, with one major exception, much less stringent. Like the widow he is barred from accompanying the body of his deceased spouse to the grave or of remaining in the house where she died or lay in state. The reason given by the Kafe is that the hankoro of the deceased may adversely affect the surviving spouse either by possessing his body causing a type of insanity, by "staying before his face" and "shooing" off potential new wives, or even by causing death. Because of the strength of these fears a widower is further barred from even viewing the body and from staying in the same house to mourn. Rather he leaves with his age-mates though he has no real seclusion. He does not cover his head though he may wear old clothes and use an old net bag. None of these restrictions which apply to surviving spouses also apply to parents

whose children have died or vice versa.

There is no feru' mani'naye for a secret burial though some of the more grieved persons may sit together outside during the day. Sometimes elaborate deceptions are necessary to maintain the public fiction that no death occurred. After the death of one old man, for example, mourners arrived two days after the burial. They proceeded to his house, walking around it and wailing, either uninformed that the death was to be kept a secret or disregarding the knowledge. Two village men quickly told them to desist and directed them to another part of the village where the two widows of a man who had died two months earlier were separately sitting with a few people. The group of mourners went first to one group, sat and wailed with the widow who joined in, and then went on to the second group where the same thing transpired. Shortly a small group of men joined them. Somewhat later one village girl escorted them, unobtrusively, to the house where the widow of the recently deceased man for whom they had actually come to mourn was housed.

After both secret and open burials some of the agnates of the deceased may keep a watch at the gravesite. There are two possible reasons for doing this, each of which involves Kafe beliefs about the relationship between the deceased's hankoro and the living:

- a) Though the ultimate fate of the hankoro may be unknown most Kafe believe that it hovers near the grave during the first few days after burial. Magical power thus pervades the gravesite. The Kafe also believe that hankoro can and do appear in their human form or shadows (amema'e) of that

form.¹ Those brave enough to look can see and communicate with these forms, particularly at the gravesite. The recently introduced Christian belief in resurrection gives added force to this traditional idea. Kafe men who communicate with a hankoro expect to get special knowledge and/or confirmation of what the missionaries tell them about life after death.

b) Sorcerers can further defile the body of their victim. The sorcerers travel to the gravesite and repeatedly drive a special spear into the ground until it penetrates the coffin and finally the body itself. They withdraw the spear with the fluids of the dead man adhering to its surface, and mix the substance with cooked sweet potato, taro, and bananas. All of this is then consumed. The effect is to thwart any further divinations.

Most funerals include one or more types of public feasting around an earth oven (habe). Such communal sharing of food is important and frequent feature of Kafe social life. "Sponsors" of a feast who contribute the labor and a larger portion of the food enjoy a temporary enhancement of prestige within the village. When non-village outsiders are present feasting takes on a new dimension. It is a way for outsiders to judge the affluence, social concern, and relative status of

¹Later the hankoro may become or perhaps only reside in other forms as well such as birds, pigs, and even inanimate objects.

the hosting parish. Needless to say members of the host village undergo a great deal of impression management at these occasions, and the fear that the gardens will not support a lengthy mourning period and accompanying feasts is a prime consideration in scheduling funerary rites.

The various types of feast given following a burial are discussed below as are the special types of food (particularly pork) which are frequently part of the observances.

a) Sasuta huntie (or kimamofa eri nefarone). This feast ends the mourning period for a group of people. One of the parish agnates touches a type of grass (kimamofa) to the steaming greens of the earth oven or the food inside it and then to each of the mourners. The aroma of the earth oven is said to "go inside" the kimamofa, and the intended effect is to delay the next death. Ideally the host village has a pig to cook and distribute to all those in attendance. The hosts reserve part of the pig for all the households where mourners slept during feru' mani'naye. The women there cut the pork into small pieces and cook it with greens (if no pork is available only greens are cooked) in one of the bamboo sections which was used to cook food during the mourning period. Everyone in the house consumes some of this ritual pork and then are free to leave. The rubbish which accumulated in the house is swept out and thrown away. Occasionally some of the bamboo sections are placed on or about the deceased's trees or lands to taboo them from further use.

There may be several sasuta feasts. As a rule each successive feast excuses from mourning increasingly closely related kin. As an example three sasuta were held for an old and respected man. The first mourners to be excused were "those from a long way"--i.e., those hundred or so distantly related kin and/or friends and allies who, in fact, lived at some distance. The second, held seven days later, excused the majority of Homaya and Bafo and other kinsmen who stayed. Finally, a month later, the third sasuta excused the old men and women of the village and the widows of the deceased. The final of several sasuta can be called bagarie, "it is finished."

b) Sigafi ne'naye. Sigafi is food, usually but not necessarily pork, given to the mourners of the host parish which they consume during feru' mani'naye. A parish member may donate sigafi--parents, for example, might do so at the death of their child--or a non-resident may do so. The latter may be agnatic kin, such as a sister who has married elsewhere, but more frequently are male consanguines who can trace a mother's brother (akube) relationship to the deceased. The gift of the pig, while ostensibly to the nofira or parish, is directed to the children of the deceased, the donor's matrilineal cross-cousins (nenefo'). The gift places an obligation upon the recipients to later repay the cross-cousin in pork and valuables, nowadays money. Occasionally the donor presents sigafi ne'ya on

the day of a sasuta feast. When this occurs the recipient host may distribute the meat to other mourners.

c) Yagunte humi' ne'yane. This is a pig (usually quite small) given to a couple who have lost a child.

d) Isu' musa hie (isu'yana or isu'karie). Isu'yana is the feast (of pork) sponsored by the real and classificatory agnates of the deceased (or husband's agnates if the deceased is a married woman) to repay the debts occasioned by the death. There are two basic forms of isu'yana. The first, called yogona afure, occurs the day of burial and is a way of thanking those present for attending. It also demonstrates the generosity of the hosts and the importance they attach to the death. The parish agnates cook the pigs which were offered, cut them up, and the senior men distribute them,¹ each person or nofira group receiving a piece the size of which depends upon the amount of available pork and the total number of mourners.

Yogona afure occurred only once in the sample of eleven funerals. The second type occurred five times. It may occur on the day of burial, but is normally held later--occasionally more than a year later. The second form of isu'yana is primarily distinguished from the first by being a formal repayment

¹Occasionally a younger adult man who is a son, brother, or husband of the deceased may assert himself and have a say in how the pork is to be distributed.

of the goods and services given by the mourners. The chief and invariable payment is the "pay for crying," that is, reimbursement for the expression of grief (and, as well, any foodstuffs which were brought). Payment is also made to special groups of people who bought the coffin, dug the grave or bore the body to it, brought clothes with which to dress the body, etc. Such people are usually matrilateral kin, but sometimes classificatory brothers from the other parish groups are involved as well as allies and former enemies.

There are two other general types of payment which may occur at the second type of isu'yana. The first is to the matrilateral kin of the deceased for their endeavors on his behalf as "mothers." This is nowadays frowned upon by the missions so that payment may be made before death (at least for old people). The second form of payment is an individual one. The occasion of isu'yana provides an opportunity for each man to repay (in pork) outstanding debts or to create new ones. These include repaying pork received at an earlier funeral, making payments to matrilateral kin, repaying affines, giving pork to growing children thereby establishing the giver as a "guardian" of the child, and so on.

Extra payments of pork depend upon a large supply of slaughtered pigs to make the essential payments for wailing and still leave a surplus for other purposes. Such occa-

sions normally only occur at the death of important old men, when as many as 52 pigs were killed in my sample. For less important old men, young adults, children, and less important women the surviving kin in the sample of deaths in Homaya and Bafo killed only between one and four animals.

When the second type of isu'yana occurs on the day of burial or while feru' mani'naye is still in progress the parish agnates simply give most of the pork as "pay for crying" to those present. When an isu'yana is held after all the sasuta feasts are finished the agnates must summon the recipients to come on a given day. As with other group-level decisions the selection of an appropriate date involves much discussion and bickering. Once they set a time the hosting families do what they can to fatten up their pigs, assure adequate foodstuffs in their gardens, and exhort each other to kill many pigs. The overall effect of the isu'yana is important. A poor showing--in terms of pigs and other foods--reflects badly on the parish, indicates a lack of sorrow over the death, and does a disservice to the name and reputation of the deceased and his surviving agnates.

Early in the mourning of the appointed day the villagers kill, slaughter, and cook their pigs. Those who were summoned go to the houses of kin or wait patiently in the large open area where the parish will hold the

distribution. By mid-afternoon the hosts have made all the preparations and bring pigs from each of the separate earth ovens to the central area. If men from the entire parish wish to make prestations and no one of them is clearly regarded as a Big Man there is much dickering over the distribution of the "pay for crying." Sometimes men make short speeches stating the reason for their gift. There is a lot of hurrying back and forth among donors as the older men want to be sure that no one group was forgotten or inadequately rewarded. The relationship of the host parish with the recipient parish and nofira groups over the years and the history of exchanges between them greatly influence the amount of pork the latter receive. Sometimes they are dissatisfied with the amount of pork offered to them and may argue over it.

e) Agnatic kin invite the deceased's matrilateral kin to join them in uncovering the deceased's grave, removing the bones, and washing and drying them. They then place most of the bones at the base of a tree or in a rocky crevice in the forest leaving them to the mercy of the elements. They keep the few remaining bones as mementoes of the deceased and as magical objects. The agnates also kill pigs and present them to the matrilateral kin. This celebration occurs only for important men and long (ten years or more) after their death. The Kafe rarely perform this and did not do so during my stay in the field.

3.3.5. Additional Features of Death-related Behavior

a) Tasa atre'yane is the practice whereby a person who is especially grieved over the death of a relative, age-mate, etc., either denies himself something valued, actually destroys something which he prizes, and/or physically injures himself. Examples include letting the fruit of one's banana trees or pandanus trees rot, tearing up money, ripping up one's clothes, not shaving or cutting one's hair, self-mutilation, and so forth. In some cases the bereaved person denies himself, say, a stand of his sugar cane; but, rather than let it rot, offers it to a matrilineal kinsmen or patrilineal cross-cousin of the dead person.

b) Occasionally the surviving kin feel that further compensation is due those mourners who brought food or betel nut with them to the funeral. Because the Kafe of Homaya and Bafo have access to both "bush" and "kunai" ecological zones (see 2.1.3.) it is possible for them to repay gifts obtained in one zone with foods from the other. A man who wishes to make this repayment publicly announces his intention and asks others to help him clear and plant a new garden.

c) Once the surviving kin of the deceased make any necessary payback killing they may cut their hair or shave their beards which in their grief they allowed to grow long, cut down a previously tabooed tree belonging to the deceased, end all taboos, cut off the dead leaves of a pandanus tree belonging to the dead man, and/or stage a night of singing and dancing. These are signs to a parish's friends and enemies that revenge has succeeded, and they provide a way for the agnates to gloat.

d) The deceased sometimes helps the living by communicating with them in dreams. Parents commonly help their children, particularly those children good to them in life, by increasing the fertility of their pigs. A dead parent may instruct a son to offer a sacrifice of food or the son may himself make such an offering. Also, when a man kills a pig he may "mark" a piece for this deceased ancestor by putting it in that person's net bag or on a plate that once belonged to him. This "informs" the deceased that a pig was killed and "thanks" him for his aid.

e) The living divide among themselves most of the possessions of the deceased with which he was particularly associated. These include his own personal net bag, his lime gourd, his knife or other weapons, his bark-cloth skirt, and even a lock of his hair or fingernail clippings. The offspring use the items in divination; or, more often, they keep them in the hope of having better luck in warding off attempts against their lives by sorcerers or in communicating with the dead through dreams.

f) In many of the events discussed above a great many interpersonal and motivational factors are involved which affect their actual expression. In addition events sometimes serve multiple purposes. During the funeral of a highly respected warrior, for example, the agnates of Homaya asked men from three formerly hostile parishes to carry the coffin to the grave, a necessary part of funerary behavior. Homaya men also asked them to dig the grave and presented them with the shovels to do this. The acceptance of the shovels and of the burden of carrying the coffin signaled the cessation of hostilities between

the three groups and Homaya.

Unexpected events occur. The hankoro of the deceased, for example, may call out to the living after the body was buried or a section of an earth oven may remain uncooked, an omen of an impending death.

Personality and motivational differences, multiple purposes, and unusual occurrences all affect an individual's perception of the death and what is judged to be appropriate behavior. One purpose of the following chapter is to show how such variables are related to more predictable ones and how they can be integrated within the same descriptive framework.

3.4. Kafe Death Behavior and Social Change

With mission and government influence in the area for approximately forty years one must expect changes in funerary behavior just as in every other facet of Kafe life. I noted some changes in the preceding discussion and mention a few others here. One must not assume, however, that the "original" patterns the Kafe remember were uniformly and invariably characteristic of all funerals. The limited evidence suggests that present-day variability and heterogeneity are not functions of social change and current conditions: that somehow the Kafe evolved from a well-ordered, uniform, pristine past to a chaotic, divergent, and variable present.

Undoubtedly the Kafe expressed their grief for the dead somewhat differently before effective missionization of the population. Women and men more frequently cut off the first joint of a finger or cut an ear lobe and a mother cut off the first joint of a daughter's finger. Self-mutilation still occurs today, but only rarely and is cause for

comment. Similarly, it was much more likely in the past that mourners rubbed their bodies with mud and ashes. Also, men used physical force to avenge a death, and did so even before the mourning began.

There seems to be a difference in the duration of the mourning period. As recorded in 1971 - 1973, the longest feru' mani'naye was six and one-half weeks, and this was for a once important elderly man. The Kafe claim that for similar deaths in the past no one went to work for two to four months and they might even mourn up to six months.

Such changes, while clearly affecting the content of modern-day Kafe behavior, are not in and of themselves crucial to the analysis which follows. This is because the analysis is solely concerned with describing death-related behavior as it exists today: the kinds of behavioral options which are available to the Kafe and the kinds of decisions which must be made. Sometimes, of course, differing views complicate a decision, one view informed by the weight of tradition, another by the desire of the more missionized or the younger members to bring the village in line with what they believe to be modern practice. This is again a question of motivational differences, and these will be shown to relate to behavioral outcomes in much the same way as other kinds of variables.

4. Death-related Behaviors in Homaya and Bafo

4.1. Sample Size and Description

The following analysis of death-related behavior is based upon a sample of eleven deaths, six from the village of Homaya and five from Bafo. A twelfth death, of a small girl under two years of age, occurred in Homaya at the end of my field stay. Because my exit from the field coincided with the funeral preparations data on this case is incomplete, and I have left it out altogether. I witnessed death observances in other villages; but I have also excluded this material in any formal way because detailed, long-term observations were impossible to make.

Brief biographical information on the eleven persons who died is summarized in Table 2 and discussed more fully below:

a) Individual A, a male in his late fifties, was a well-known curer in Homaya. He was ill for over three months from what the Kafe diagnosed (and later verified through divination) as a slow-acting form of ufa sorcery (see Appendix I). Married monogamously to a woman who survived him, he had seven surviving children six of whom were female and the seventh a boy of about twelve years of age. Because of the lingering nature of his illness a number of different cures were attempted and at one point parish members thought him to be recovered. His death was the first death of an important adult for perhaps ten years, and it was regarded as vengeance for two deaths which the men of Homaya perpetrated several years earlier. Though A was a member of Yagafonanofi men of Hagu'nofi were also important in planning his funeral

TABLE 2: Background Information on Eleven Deaths in Homaya and Bafo

<u>Case History</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Kin Group/Residential Position</u>	<u>Date of Death</u>
A	Male	Approx. 55-60	Agnatic core (Yagafonanofi)	5 September 1971
B	Male	Approx. 55-60	Agnatic core (Yagafonanofi)	3 July 1972
C	Male	Approx. 50-55	Agnatic core (Yagafonanofi)	8 September 1972
D	Male	9 months	Agnatic core (<u>nofira</u> unclear)	20 September 1972
E	Female	Approx. 55-60	In-married spouse (into Yagafonanofi)	30 September 1972
F	Male	Approx. 30	Agnatic core (Yagafonanofi)	23 December 1972
G	Male	Approx. 55-60	Agnatic core (Uha)	14 April 1972
H	Male	Approx. 2	Agnatic core (Karompa)	3 August 1972
I	Female	Approx. 50-55	In-married spouse (into Uha)	28 August 1972
J	Male	Less than 1 day	Illegitimate (mother from Tinofi)	24 October 1972
K	Male	Approx. 30-35	Agnatic core (Tinofi)	2 November 1972

observances, probably because A had no adult sons. At public discussions the close brotherly relationship between the deceased and an important ancestor and former Big Man of Hagu'nofi was occasionally stressed.

b) Individual B, a man in his late fifties, was the second death in Homaya village. He died almost ten months after A. As a younger man he was a well-known fighter; and allies and their children, who credited their survival to his prowess, attended his funeral in large numbers. He died rather suddenly, becoming ill and dying within six days, an indication of afa' sorcery which was later verified by several divinations. Publicly the kin maintained that he was working too hard and died having reinjured an old wound. This was a face-saving measure as it was all too apparent that they were ineffective in stopping another sorcery attack on a respected elder.

B had two wives, both of whom survived him, several married daughters, and four married sons. Before he died B made it known to his sons that he wished to be buried secretly; and threatened, if his wishes were ignored, to return--as a hankoro--to himself inform people everywhere of the death. Homaya would thereby be overflowing with mourners and burdened with the attendant responsibilities. In addition B threatened to return later and make trouble for the parish. In spite of these warnings the pressure for elaborate funeral observances was too great. Men in

Homaya were too worried that B's allies and non-parish kinsmen would be angry and that all would regard Homaya people as "rubbish men" so unimportant and poor that they had to bury their elders in secret. In addition, two of B's sons were interested in the opportunities an open funeral would provide for promoting their own status both within and outside the parish.

Arrangements for B's funeral were also colored by circumstances connected with A's funeral. Non-parish kin complained that Homaya men neglected to inform some of them of A's death and moreover had buried the body themselves. In addition Homaya men were dissatisfied with the perfunctory nature of the divination performed for A. To rectify these complaints the sons of B went to some length to notify all those who would potentially have reason to mourn and asked men from other parishes to dig B's grave and carry the body from the village. Three different types of divination were performed.

c) C's death, coming only two months after B's, represented the third straight death of a senior man in Homaya. Like the other two C belonged to Yagafonanofi. His only son worked as a migrant laborer so that most plans for the death were made by classificatory brothers and sons of Yagafonanofi, essentially the same group of men who organized the funerals for A and B.

C's death was slow and agonizing, emotionally devastating to his kin who in spite of numerous curative attempts were unable to slow its progress. Death occurred after three months of sorcery-induced illness. During the course of the illness C was concealed from most village outsiders, and village members in general were discouraged from going to visit him lest they attract attention to the house. For a period of time C was even removed from the village and housed in a temporary shelter cleverly concealed in a small ravine. The object was to keep his illness a secret from prying eyes, including those of sorcerers, other assorted enemies, and friends mystified by the misfortune and powerlessness of Homaya parish.

The secrecy maintained during C's illness was continued on in death. Most of those in Hagu'nofi were not told of the death nor the burial the following day at dawn. There was no formal mourning period though the widow was secluded, and no public mention was later made of the death except obliquely when referring to the recent deaths of "our fathers."

d) D was the third child and much wanted first son of a young couple. The death caused ill will between the couple because the husband felt that his wife was negligent in caring for the child by leaving him exposed to the sun while she worked on her garden. The wife felt that her husband had "jinxed" the child by speaking of its death

before the fact.

Soon before the child's death, after five days of illness, the FaFaBr dreamt of the child, apparently had a premonition of the tragedy, and went to the house in time to be present for the death. Ritual wailing and mourning began about 8:00 a.m. after divination confirmed that the child died of "natural" causes. The outcome of the divination and the causes of death were publicly announced and discussed.

D's father was a minor functionary in the local hierarchy of the Lutheran Church. He believed that his son's soul would ascend to heaven and subsequently return, resurrected, to the living; and to further assure this he forbade certain funerary practices he thought sinful. He would not allow the body to be carried to the child's maternal grandparents' home in Bafo for a day of mourning before burial in Homaya. Similarly he would not allow any bamboo sections to be used to cook food during a sasuta feast from which the mourners would eat and go their separate ways.

D's father and the latter's father and brothers were most involved in planning the funeral; but the mother's parents also assumed important decision-making roles because of the extent of their grief, the closeness of the two families, and their residential propinquity.

e) E was an elderly woman, a widow who was cared for by her married daughter and the latter's husband (one of B's four sons). Immediately before becoming ill E tended a garden on land that belonged to B, and once ill she succumbed suddenly after only two days. These facts led B's sons and others to reason that E was killed by afa' sorcerers who had been lying in wait on B's land to further their attack on B's family by killing his male children. When the children did not appear they substituted E and killed her easily.

E's son-in-law had relatively little status in Homaya and made no public effort to improve it. E was not buried secretly, but only a few relatives from elsewhere were summoned. Feru' mani'naye lasted eleven days and for most of that time only E's daughter and two or three of her female friends attended. No communal feasts were held, one informant explaining to me that "probably" E's son-in-law was saving his resources for B's funerary distribution. E's death occurred only ten days after D's and on the same day that a sasuta feast was prepared for D and another one for C's widow as well. The women were told not to cry over E's death nor to "help" any newcomers who might come to mourn as there had been enough weeping in Homaya.

Tension and frustration over the number of deaths increased. At the public discussion following E's burial

there were recriminations over the deaths and arguments by some that sorcery and divination only bred more sorcery. Some of the more missionized men even examined the merits of performing divination while others shouted them down asking rhetorically whether they would have them defenseless and ignorant of the deaths of their kin. An outsider friendly to Homaya finally broke in claiming to be embarrassed by the frankness with which Homaya men spoke, bringing out in public what should be strictly a parish affair. He feared news of this discussion would only bring ridicule and shame to the parish.

f) F's death occurred less than three months later. F was an unmarried man of approximately thirty years of age who was working in Port Moresby and had been away from Homaya for approximately seven years. F died in a car crash. His classificatory brother who also lived in Port Moresby brought the body from there to an area known as Iglunafi, located about four miles from Homaya. F's aged father and mother lived in Iglunafi, in self-imposed "exile" from Homaya following a bitter fraternal argument. F's father wanted to mourn over his son's body and bury it at Iglunafi. However, he soon yielded to demands that it be taken to Homaya for burial. When F's body was subsequently brought to Homaya there was loud expression of grief. The classificatory brother who returned the body publicly explained at length the

circumstances of death and assured everyone that sorcery was not involved. No divination was performed.

g) The first death in Bafo was the elderly man G who died in April, 1972. Aside from his two adolescent sons he was the only remaining male representative of Uha parish, a formerly large kin group which had controlled much of the ground in the Baforina Valley. Arrangements for the death were planned by adult men in other nofira.

G was sick for some time, contracting sorcery at the same time and in the same way as A. At first there was an effort made by some of the men to keep the death a secret and to bury the body secretly; but this was soon changed. The body was buried publicly and a small isu'yana was held.

h) Less than four months later H died. H was the two-year old son of a Karompa man. The child died only a day or so after exhibiting symptoms of an illness later shown by divination to be sorcery-induced. The child was buried publicly, but quietly, with only a few outsiders present to mark the observances.

i) Shortly before G died he advised one of the men ministering to him that his (G's) wife (I) should be taken from the house lest, in death, his hankoro possess her and make her ill. Accordingly they removed her from the house; but on the day of G's death she still became sick. Bafo men considered her to be temporarily ill and possessed (negi).

When I failed to respond to treatment to exorcise the hankoro of her dead husband the Bafo men suspected sorcery. After a variety of other treatments, including a stay at the Western-style regional medical center, her condition worsened and she developed a paralysis on the left side of her body. She died approximately four months after her husband's death, and divination revealed the presence of sorcery.

I was considered to be a woman with no reputation: she lived in others' houses, had none of her own gardens, and had no pig house. She was also considered to be lax in most of her social obligations, especially to two elderly men of Homaya who had assumed the expense of sending her off as a young bride and had regarded her as a Homaya woman though in fact she was born elsewhere. Since I had no adult sons, since Homaya men were angry with her, and since her classificatory son was temporarily absent, a variety of men including I's daughter's husband made the funeral arrangements. The funeral was handled simply and quietly with very little public expression of grief. Feru' mani'naye continued for a few days following the burial, but was really observed only by one of I's daughters and the latter's husband.

j) J, a male infant, died a few hours after his birth. This child was illegitimate as no one would accept paternity. J was buried later in the day. The sparse funerary obser-

vances, including the burial, were performed by J's mother's father and the latter's classificatory sister. J's mother's mother was elsewhere visiting and others in Bafo were preoccupied with a communal feast celebrating another event. Moreover, a taboo sign (kase) had been placed in front of the compound where J died barring access to the area since K, seriously ill, was being secluded there. After the burial there were no further observations for J's death.

k) K was a young married man in his early thirties who had no children. His period of illness lasted approximately three weeks during which a variety of cures were attempted. Divination confirmed that he died of behe'a rina sorcery, a much feared and deadly type said to utilize the fluids of a decomposing body. K died nine days after the death of J.

Most of the adult men of Bafo were involved in making decisions over the funerary arrangements for K. The competition among important men made agreement difficult and there were inevitable mix-ups. In addition K's wife was from another New Guinea Highlands linguistic group. The appearance of her agnates and their different cultural practices caused further confusion.

4.2. Variability in Behavior and Adequacy of the Sample

The discussion of Chapter 3. does not actually describe a Kafe funeral, but does present all of the behavioral events which such a description must potentially include. It also introduces the various kinds of variability in practice which the Kafe recognize. The nature and extent of this variability for nineteen of the most commonly found behavioral events in actual Kafe funerals is summarized in Table 3.

Further evidence of variability in Kafe funerals may be seen in Table 4. The Table ignores qualitative and quantitative dimensions of the performance of events and gives a sequential arrangement of the most visible activities observed for the eleven funerals in Homaya and Bafo. The array of events begins with the time of death and ends either with observance of isu' musa hie or with all kin recommencing their daily chores, whichever comes last. Setting aside items from the sequences which are idiosyncratic to a particular case (e.g., "matrilateral kin storm off after argument," in K) and/or which are beyond the control of the agnatic core hosting the funeral (e.g., "sigafi ne'ya brought," in A and B) no two sequences are exactly alike. Either the order of events, the events themselves, or both differ.

Table 3 and 4 demonstrate that no single manifest "death ritual" can be isolated for the eleven cases under study. One may ask, however, whether there are a number of discrete patterns which are possibly correlated with aspects of the social identity of the deceased. To answer this question the adequacy of the sample must be examined.

TABLE 3: Variability and Behavioral Choices in Homaya and Bafo Funerals

<u>Behavioral Items</u>	<u>Variability in:</u>	<u>Choices Actually Made:*</u>
1. Divination	Number performed Kind Who officiates Who attends	1 - 6; sometimes none Seven types Male agnates of deceased (v); SiSo of deceased; unrelated outsiders (male, non-Kafe) As above; spouse, daughter, and/or mother of deceased
2. Body dressed and prepared	Who is responsible	Children, parents, and sisters of the deceased; SiSo
3. Kin group discussion	Who contributes	Consanguines (v); affines (v); allies (v); friends (v)
4. People remain with body all night	How many Who	2 - 100 or more Paternal consanguines of deceased and their spouses (v); SiSo
5. All-night wailing	Who attends How many nights	Consanguines (v); affines (v); allies (v); friends; former enemies 1 - 2
6. Coffin is produced	By whom Type	Consanguines of deceased (v); affines of deceased (v) Purchased; hand-made
7. News of death disseminated	To whom	Consanguines of deceased (v); affines of deceased (v); allies; friends
8. <u>Yasisa</u> constructed	By whom	Male parish members; males from neighboring parish
9. Mourners arrive	When Who With what	Any stage of the proceedings As in 7 above Food (including pork); betel nut; money, clothes for the deceased

<u>Behavioral Items</u>	<u>Variability in:</u>	<u>Choices Actually Made:*</u>
10. Grave dug	By whom With what "etiquette" Where	Male consanguines of the deceased (v); former enemies By being selected or by volunteering Cemetery and non-cemetery ground
11. Movement to grave	In what fashion By whom How many	"Publicly" vs. "secretly"; in file or disorderly Consanguines of deceased (v); affines (v) 3 - 100
12. Coffin lowered into ground	How	A "bed" made with pandanus mat and/or blankets and/or cloth and/or leaves
13. Return from grave	In what fashion By whom How many	As in <u>11</u> above; if procession to grave is in single sometimes reverse order followed As in <u>11</u> above As in <u>11</u> above
14. Ritual at house where body lay in state	Type	Two
15. Grave watch	How long	1 - 6 days
16. <u>Feru' mani'naye</u>	Who attends Duration	Consanguines of deceased (v); affines (v); allies; friends; former enemies Approximately 1 - 6½ weeks; sometimes not at all
17. Taboos imposed	Type	On ground, trees, house
18. Widow seclusion	Duration Preparations	6 - 20 days Clothing, change in residence, attendants, etc.
19. Feasts a. <u>Kento a'nemofohabe</u>	Who participates	Wives of age-mates of the deceased; elderly parish women; agnates of the deceased (v)

<u>Behavioral Items</u>	<u>Variability in:</u>	<u>Choices Actually Made:*</u>
b. <u>Sigafi ne'ya</u>	Who makes prestation	SiSo of the deceased; sisters or brothers of the deceased
	How many	1 - 3
c. <u>Sasuta huntie</u>	Whether pigs are killed	Yes or no
	Who participates	Agnates of the deceased (v)
	Who receives	Most mourners (except classes of mourners prohibited by food taboos from eating this pork)
	Who is dismissed from mourning	Friends; allies; distantly related kin; neighboring parishes; agnates of different generation and/or sex than the deceased
	Number	1 - 3
d. <u>Isu'yana</u>	How many pigs killed	2 - 52
	Who participates	Male agnates of the deceased; daughters of the deceased and their husbands; sisters of the deceased
	Who receives	Matrilateral kin (v); affines (v); all mourners; miscellaneous creditors
	How long after death	Same day - 6 months (or more)

* The following choices are written from the standpoint of a parish agnate. If the deceased is an in-married woman her husband and his kin manage the funerary arrangements.

Key:

(v) = variety of sub-classes

TABLE 4: Death in Homaya and Bafo: Behavioral Sequences

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>
Death	Death	Death	Death
Local kin gather with body	Local kin gather with body	Local kin gather with body	Local kin gather with body
Divination	Divination	News of death sent to Homaya	Divination
Body dressed and prepared	¹ People remain with body all night	Grave dug	All-day public wailing
Kin group discussion	Kin group discussion (during above)	Kin group discussion	Kin group discussion
¹ People remain with body all night (quiet crying)	Money collected for coffin	Divination	Coffin is produced
People go off to obtain coffin	People go off to obtain coffin	Kin group discussion	Body dressed and prepared
News of death disseminated	Body dressed and prepared	Body taken to Homaya	Body placed inside coffin
<u>Yasisa</u> constructed	News of death disseminated	¹ People remain with body all night (quiet crying)	Money collected and put inside coffin but this is removed
¹ All-night public wailing	Unbidden mourners arrive	Body dressed and prepared (during above)	Coffin moved to another house
Mourners arrive (during above)	Divination	Coffin is produced	News of death disseminated
Coffin is produced	Coffin is produced	Body placed inside coffin	Mourners arrive
Body placed inside coffin	¹ People remain with body all night	Kin group discussion	¹ All-night public wailing
Lid of coffin closed	Mourners arrive	Movement to grave	Mourners arrive
Grave dug	Body placed inside coffin	Widow begins seclusion (during above)	Body redressed
Church service	Body redressed	Women wail by coffin	Money collected and put inside coffin
Movement to grave	¹ All-night public wailing	Grave dug (finished)	Lid of coffin closed
Widow begins seclusion	Mourners arrive (during above)	Divination	Grave dug
Graveside ceremony		Lid of coffin closed	Church service
Coffin lowered into ground		Coffin lowered into grave	Movement to grave
		Church service	Coffin lowered into grave
		Kin group discussion	Ritual at house where body lay in state

A

Fence erected
 Grave watch
 Return from grave
 Ritual at house where
 body lay in state
Feru' mani'naye begins
 "Distant" mourners
 leave
 Mourners arrive
¹Grave watch
 -Over next 4 days-
 Mourners arrive
 -On 4th. day-
Sasuta huntie
 Non-Homaya-Bafo
 mourners leave
 -Over next 3 days-
 Mourners arrive
¹Pig killed and pre-
 sented to Homaya
 by deceased's Si.
 Earth oven--sigafi
ne'ya brought
³Sasuta huntie (bagarie)
 Kin group discussion
 One isu'yana payment
 made
 Betel distributed
 Bamboo sections
 collected
Feru' mani'naye ends
¹Most kin recommence
 daily chores

B

Coffin (2nd.) is
 produced
 Kin group discussion
 Body placed inside
 (2nd.) coffin
 Mourner arrives
 with betel nut
 Kin group discussions
 Betel distributed
¹All-night public
 wailing
 Mourners arrive
 Lid of coffin closed
 Kin group discussion
 Grave dug
 Church service
 (during above)
 Movement to grave
 Widow begins
 seclusion
 Coffin lowered into
 ground
 Fence erected
 Return from grave
 Kin group discussion
 (in progress)
 Taboos imposed
 Ritual at house where
 body lay in state
 Mourners arrive
Feru' mani'naye begins
Isu'yana

C

Return from grave
 Ritual at house where
 body lay in state
 Most kin recommence
 daily chores
 Small groups of kin
 sit around village
 Night guard mounted
 outside hut of widow
¹Small groups of men
 sitting feru' mani'
naye
¹Small groups of men
 sitting feru' mani'
naye
 Mourners arrive--sent
 away from deceased's
 house
¹Mourners arrive
⁵Widow seclusion ends
¹Kento a'nemofo habe
 Public discussion
 Females officially
 dismissed from
 mourning
¹²Sasuta huntie
⁴Widow recommences daily
 chores

D

Feru' mani'naye begins
¹Many mourners leave
²Sasuta huntie (2)
 Non-Homaya mourners
 officially dismissed
⁶Sasuta huntie (bagarie)
 All mourners officially
 dismissed
Feru' mani'naye ends

A

⁶Mourners arrive
Kento a'nemofo habe
Widow seclusion ends
-Over 2½ months-
Kin group discussions
³Pigs (3) killed in a
garden
Public discussion
Isu'yana
⁵Public discussion
⁴Isu'yana

B

Hankoro of deceased calls
out
Grave watch
¹[Sugar cane cut and left
to rot]
Sorcerers "sighted"
Hankoro of deceased
calls out
Grave watch
¹Mourners arrive
Betel passed out
Kin group discussion
Sorcerers "sighted"
Hankoro of deceased
calls out
Grave watch
¹Mourner arrives
Taboos imposed
³Mourner arrives
Widow seclusion ends
¹Divination
¹Mourner arrives
Divination
¹Kin group discussion
Sigafi ne'ya brought
Sasuta huntie (2)
Bamboo sections collected
Mourner arrives
Non-parish mourners
officially dismissed
Divination
¹Divination

B

⁵Pig offered as sasuta
is refused

¹Mourners arrive
Betel offered by
group of mourners
to Homaya
Sugar cane given in
return

Sigafi ne'ya brought
Sasuta huntie
Homaya-Bafo mourners
officially
dismissed

Kin group discussion
Betel distributed
Sigafi ne'ya brought
Mourners arrive
Feru' mani'naye ends
(except for "old"
people)

¹Most kin recommence
daily chores
-1 month later-
Sasuta huntie (bagarie)-
kento a'nemofa habe

¹Widows and "old" people
recommence daily
chores
-2 months later-
Isu'yana
-3 months later-
[Isu'yana]

E

Death
 Local kin gather
 with body
 Kin group discussion
¹People remain with
 body all night
 (some quiet crying)
 Coffin is produced
 (during above)
 Body dressed and
 prepared
 Mourners arrive
 Body placed inside
 coffin
 Mourners arrive
 Lid of coffin closed
 Grave dug (during
 above)
 Crying and wailing
 (quietly)
 Kin group discussion
 Church service
 Movement to grave
 Coffin lowered into
 grave
 Return from grave
 Ritual at house where
 body lay in state
 Kin group discussion
 (in progress)
Feru' mani'naye begins
¹Most kin recommence
 daily chores

F

Death
 News of death sent
 to Homaya
 Coffin is produced
 (in Port Moresby)
 Kin group discussion
 Local kin gather with
 body
 Kin group discussion
¹All-night public
 wailing
 Body taken to Homaya
 All-day public
 wailing
 Body dressed and
 prepared
 Money left on top of
 coffin
 Kin group discussion
 Pig killed and pre-
 sented to "brother"
 of deceased
¹All-night public
 wailing
 Morning crying and
 wailing
 Mourners arrive
 Kin group discussion
 Mourners arrive
 Kin group discussion
 Grave dug
 Lid of coffin closed

G

Death
 Local kin gather
 with body
 Widow begins
 seclusion
 Body moved to
 another house
 Kin group discussion?
 [News of death
 disseminated]
 Coffin is produced
 Body dressed and
 prepared
 Body placed inside
 coffin
Ane cries out
 Divination
¹People remain with
 body all night
 Grave dug
 Mourners arrive
 Public wailing begins
 Lid of coffin closed
 Church service
 Movement to grave
 Coffin lowered into
 ground
 Return from grave
 Ritual at house where
 body lay in state
Feru' mani'naye begins
 Public discussion
¹Mourners arrive

H

Death
 Local kin gather with body
 Kin group discussion?
 Body moved to another
 house
 News of death disseminated?
 [Coffin is produced]
 [Body dressed and prepared]
 [Body placed inside coffin]
¹Divination
¹Divination
 [Lid of coffin closed]
 Public wailing begins
 (5:00 a.m.)
 [Grave dug]
 [Church service]
 Movement to grave
 Coffin lowered into ground
 Return from grave
 Ritual at house where
 body lay in state
Feru' mani'naye begins
¹²Sasuta huntie (bagarie)
Feru' mani'naye ends
 All kin recommence
 daily chores

E

¹⁰Feru' mani'naye ends
All kin recommence
daily chores

F

Crying around the
coffin
Church service
Movement to grave
Coffin lowered into
grave
Fence erected
Return from grave
Ritual at house where
body lay in state
Feru' mani'naye begins
Isu'yana
Kin group discussion
Dispersal of (some)
mourners
Money collected
Money dispersed
Mourners arrive
Grave watch
¹Some mourners leave
Mourners arrive
Night watch
¹Some mourners leave
Night watch
¹Night watch
¹Night watch
¹Night watch
-Later-
[Feru' mani'naye ends]
[All kin recommence
daily chores]

G

Public discussion
Isu'yana
¹Public discussion
Betel distributed
Sasuta' huntie
(bagarie?)
Bamboo sections
collected
Taboos imposed
Feru' mani'naye ends
¹Most kin recommence
daily chores
-Sometime later-
Widow seclusion ends
All kin recommence
daily chores

I

Death
 Local kin gather
 with body
 Kin group discussion?
 [Body dressed and
 prepared]
 [Coffin is produced]
 [Body placed inside
 coffin]
 Divination
¹People remain with
 body all night
 (quiet crying)
 Lid of coffin closed
 Mourners arrive
 (periodically)
 Grave dug
 Church service
 Movement to grave
 Coffin lowered into
 ground
 Fence erected
 Return from grave
 Ritual at house where
 body lay in state
Feru' mani'naye begins
 Kin group discussion
 (during above)
¹Mourners arrive
Sasuta huntie
 Bamboo sections
 collected

J

Death
 Local kin gather-
 with body
 Kin group discussion?
 Body dressed and
 prepared
 Coffin is produced
 Body placed inside
 coffin
 Lid of coffin closed
 Movement to grave
 Grave dug
 Graveside ceremony
 (church service)
 Coffin lowered into
 ground
 Old fence repaired
 and extended
 Return from grave
 Ritual at house where
 body lay in state
¹Kin recommence
 daily chores

K

Death
Hankoro appears
 Local kin gather
 with body
 Body moved to another
 house
 Divination
¹People remain with
 body all night
 (quiet crying)
 Kin group discussion
 News of death
 disseminated
 People go off to
 obtain coffin
 Divination
¹People remain with
 body all night
 (quiet crying)
 Mourners arrive
 Coffin is produced
 Body dressed and
 prepared
 Body placed inside
 coffin
 Kin group discussion
 Mourners arrive
 Divination
¹People remain with
 body all night
 (quiet crying)
 Mourners arrive

I

Kin group discussion
Feru' mani'naye ends
¹Most kin recommence
daily chores
-Sometime later-
All kin recommence
daily chores

K

Matrilateral kin leave
after argument
Yasisa constructed
¹All-night public
wailing
Yasisa torn down
Lid of coffin closed
Mourners arrive
Betel distributed
[Grave dug]
Kin group discussion
Church service
Movement to grave
Widow begins seclusion
Coffin lowered into
ground
Return from grave
Ritual at house where
body lay in state
Feru' mani'naye begins
Kin group discussion
¹Grave watch
Mourners arrive
Garden magic used as
retribution
Self-mutilation by two
consanguines
⁵Sasuta huntie
Sigafi ne'ya brought
Pork distributed
Taboos imposed
¹More sigafi ne'ya pig
distributed

K

⁶Sasuta huntie
(bagarie)

Public discussion.
Bamboo sections
collected

Feru' mani'naye ends

¹Most kin recommence
daily chores

⁶Kento a'nemofa habe
Widow seclusion ends

All kin recommence
daily chores

Key:

Numbers in superscript
represent number of
elapsed nights

? = Not directly observed so
that actual occurrence
is somewhat uncertain

[] = Exact timing of event
somewhat uncertain

From even a brief glance at Table 5 it will be obvious that the sample available for study has unrepresented categories of social personhood. There were no deaths in the 14- to 20-year-old category, that group of adolescents who were initiated at or near puberty but have not yet attained full adulthood through marriage. Similarly the only two women to die were elderly spouses of agnates. No females who were also agnates of Homaya or Bafo died; and there were no women at all in the younger age categories. Of the deceased with children all but one had children either who were too young to be influential in the decision-making process or who resided elsewhere, too distant to be notified and hence consulted. The one exception was B who had four adult sons.

In terms of the status variable there were only two high status individuals whose deaths were observed and both of these individuals were elderly males. The status rankings should not be regarded as indicative of rigid status groupings nor as emically-derived categories of personhood. Rather, they are used here merely to approximate often unstated community attitudes toward the person in question. It is clear from Kafe statements that, at least on some occasions, some such consideration is important in at least some of the decisions regarding death observances. Thus, in the case of B, his pre-eminence as a fighter and his fame were clearly related to the very large funeral and funerary distribution in his honor. Similarly since J was an illegitimate infant who died in the birth hut he was regarded as "rubbish" for whom only minimal observances were necessary.

Temporarily putting aside the issue of lacunae, the sample overlaps in six of the case histories. Of the eleven deaths, five (A, B, C,

TABLE 5: Aspects of Social Identity Among the Deceased of Homaya and Bafo

Case History	Agnatic Core?		Sex		Age				Status			No. of Adult Surviving Sons Present in Village				
	Yes	No	M	F	0-13	14-20	21-45	46+	High	Mid	Low	0	1	2	3	4
	A	X		X					X	X			X			
B	X		X					X	X							X
C	X		X					X		X		X				
D	X		X		X						X	X				
E		X		X				X			X	X				
F	X		X				X			X		X				
G	X		X					X			X	X				
H	X		X		X						X	X				
I		X		X				X			X	X				
J		X	X		X						X	X				
K	X		X				X			X		X				

G, and J) are unique in terms of the variables used in Table 5. D and H, on the other hand, are identical, as are E and I and F and K. Thus there are an additional three sets of two items each. However the members of each set do not match one another in terms of the sequence of activities observed during the actual funerals. In the set constituted by D and H, for example, D had two sasuta celebrations after death, H only one. For H two divinations were performed and two nights elapsed between death and burial. One divination and one night of elapsed time were observed for D. Feru mani'naye also differed, lasting 12 days for H but only 9 for D. Similar discrepancies occur in the remaining two sets (see Table 4). There are other sources of deviation of the sort detailed in Table 3.

The variability suggests that categories of social personhood are not predictive of a sequence of death-related events, though they may be important for the expression of individual behaviors. Different or more finely-honed socio-structural variables would not likely be more predictive and would still present a model with a finite number of ritual "sets." Such sets would need to incorporate the options of behavior open to the Kafe and would leave unresolved the more fundamental issue of how and in what way order is made out of potential disorder.

4.3. A Dynamic Paradigm and the Description of Behavior

In his influential article "Notes on Queries in Ethnography" Frake summed up what he believed to be the goals of ethnographic description:

If we want to account for behavior by relating it to the conditions under which it normally occurs, we require procedures for discovering what people are attending to, what information they are processing, when they reach decisions which lead to culturally appropriate behavior. We must get inside our subjects' heads. (Frake, 1964b: 133)

And again,

The model of an ethnographic statement is not: "if a person is confronted with stimulus X, he will do Y," but: "if a person is in situation X, performance Y will be judged appropriate by native actors."

[Also] ...the ethnographer seeks to discover, not prescribe, the significant stimuli in the subject's world. He attempts to describe each act in terms of the cultural situations which appropriately evoke it and each situation in terms of the acts it appropriately evokes. (Frake, 1964b: 133)

Such statements spell out some of the crucial problems which the type of information-processing model to be used here is designed to surmount. The model reflects cybernetic thinking: what is of interest is the information, or message, contained in an event or object rather than the event or object itself (Bateson, 1972). The abstract, yet nevertheless measurable (e.g., see Miller, 1956), notion of information allows apparently disparate situations (seen as stimuli) to be compared on a higher analytical level and congruencies to be established. In the same way behavioral events (regarded as outcomes) may be similarly compared and contrasted. Emphasis is on the interpretation of this information as it affects an individual's decisions about the performance of culturally appropriate behavior; and, additionally, the relationship--in cognitive, informational terms--of that behavior to further behavior and/or decisions about behavior.

The goals of ethnographic description spelled out by Frake are applied here to the analysis of relatively complex, long-term behavioral sequences. The paradigm needed to represent this kind of data must be a dynamic one. Flowcharting procedures developed within the field of computer programming define such a paradigm. As used in anthropology this paradigm becomes a representational equivalent of the logical mapping procedures of componential analysis, and is a complementary type of formal cognitive analysis.

A frequently sought-after goal in the computer simulation of behavior, of which a Program is an end-product and a flowchart a common first step, is "...the exercise of a flexible imitation of processes and outcomes for the purpose of clarifying or explaining the underlying mechanisms involved. The feat of imitation per se is not the important feature of simulations, but rather that successful imitation may publicly reveal the essence of the object being simulated" (Abelson, 1968: 275). In addition, simulation--at least for psychologists interested in cognitive processes and anthropologists interested both in cognition and overt behavior--must be regarded as a descriptive, not a normative, tool. Interest must be in what people think, say, and do; not only in what they should think, believe they say, or think they ought to do. Flowcharts represent an economical technique of incorporating these desiderata of simulation.

The use of flowcharts to answer nonstatistical problems in anthropological research was suggested some time ago by Garvin (1965). Since that time they have been used in anthropology to a limited degree (e.g., Ervin-Tripp, 1972; Geoghegan, 1971; Keesing, 1970a, 1971, not to mention

1973; Spradley, 1972). Their use here is an effort to expand upon the earlier work of Roger Keesing.

Keesing (1970a) developed a model of the Kwaio decision-making process for arranging household membership of a child orphaned by one or both parents. His flowchart depicts a lengthy series of contingencies which result in four different types of fosterage and several other possible outcomes. Keesing's analysis is an impressive attempt to account for this one feature of Kwaio social structure; but, in doing so, it only happens to include behavioral data and this only referentially through his decision nodes. He is not really concerned with the description of that on-going reality experienced by the Kwaio.

Keesing's lack of interest in the actual contingencies of on-going behavior is reflected in his relative inattention to the nature and origin of the decision nodes of his flowcharts. Keesing notes that his analysis is based upon more than the 21 cases of fosterage¹ he actually itemizes (Table 3, p. 1015), and he does not disclose the number of cases with an outcome other than fosterage. Since he does not specify his total sample and since, in any case, he does not specify how many actual cases traverse a given "route" through his flowchart we may assume that the model was constructed after the fact to "account" for all the possibilities inherent to his data. Certainly Keesing admits that his are "...logical sequences...not necessarily sequences in time" (p. 994). As a result his structure of decision nodes imparts a static

¹The 21 cases excludes two additional cases of a fifth type of fosterage which he does not include as an outcome in his flowchart.

quality to the analysis and may or may not reflect the variably occurring contingencies of on-going reality. His approach also presents an ordering of the decision nodes which seems arbitrary and reflective of idealized Kwaio priorities rather than any consideration of actual contingencies (cf. Quinn, 1975).

The approach used here attempts to better describe on-going socio-behavioral reality by explicitly taking into account three different aspects of that reality. Real-life situations are in constant flux. "Pre-set" programs of action abstracted from actual event episodes cannot account for unexpected occurrences, incorrectly timed events, actors' idiosyncrasies, and the like. Participants must wait for events, will recognize that some event was not done properly or in the right order, and continually have to revise their plans to meet with the exigencies of the developing situation.

This flux of events has a temporal dimension. In a complex setting where countless decisions are being made and actions realized some must inevitably precede others in time and define a cause-and-effect, or at least a complex stimulus-response, relationship. The flowcharts used here identify both decisional nodes and overt behavioral nodes. The latter are treated not merely as outcomes but as inputs to other nodes. The result is a description of unfolding behavior as the Kafe lived it mirroring the flux as they perceived and acted upon it.

Finally decisions and actions occur at different levels of abstraction and complexity, with outcomes at one level frequently serving as inputs for decisions and actions at other levels. There is no pre-set "logic" to this, only the logic of everyday occurrences which a flowchart

seems well equipped to express.

In summary the flowcharts used here are designed to represent the indeterminacy of everyday life, to describe the sequentiality and "causality" inherent to daily life, and to exhibit the interrelationship of different levels of phenomenological reality.

4.4. Kafe Death Behavior: Method and Format

I have constructed a series of flowcharts, hereafter referred to as decision-operation (D-O) sequences to better specify their cognitive-behavioral content, which are relevant to the eleven Kafe funerals observed. These were constructed from the details recorded in Table 4 and from participation with the Kafe of Homaya and Bafo in public and private discussions when courses of action were offered and debated, when decisions were reached, and when situations and prior conditions were evaluated in relation to whatever issue was at hand. In addition, it was possible to construct hypothetical cases of selected aspects of funerary behavior. Using these as situational cues demanding some behavioral decision it was possible to correlate respondents' answers with a series of variables manipulated in the case. The intention was both to rule out certain variables as informationally irrelevant to the respondent and also to elicit further variables upon which the respondent claimed his response was contingent but not thought of by myself.

The flowcharts themselves employ standard procedures: rectangles represent acts (operations), diamonds decision nodes with branching alternatives, and both show top-to-bottom sequentiality. I shall deal with questions concerning the psychological reality of D-O sequences,

their interconnectedness, their polar "yes-no" format, and other related issues in the final section of this Chapter.

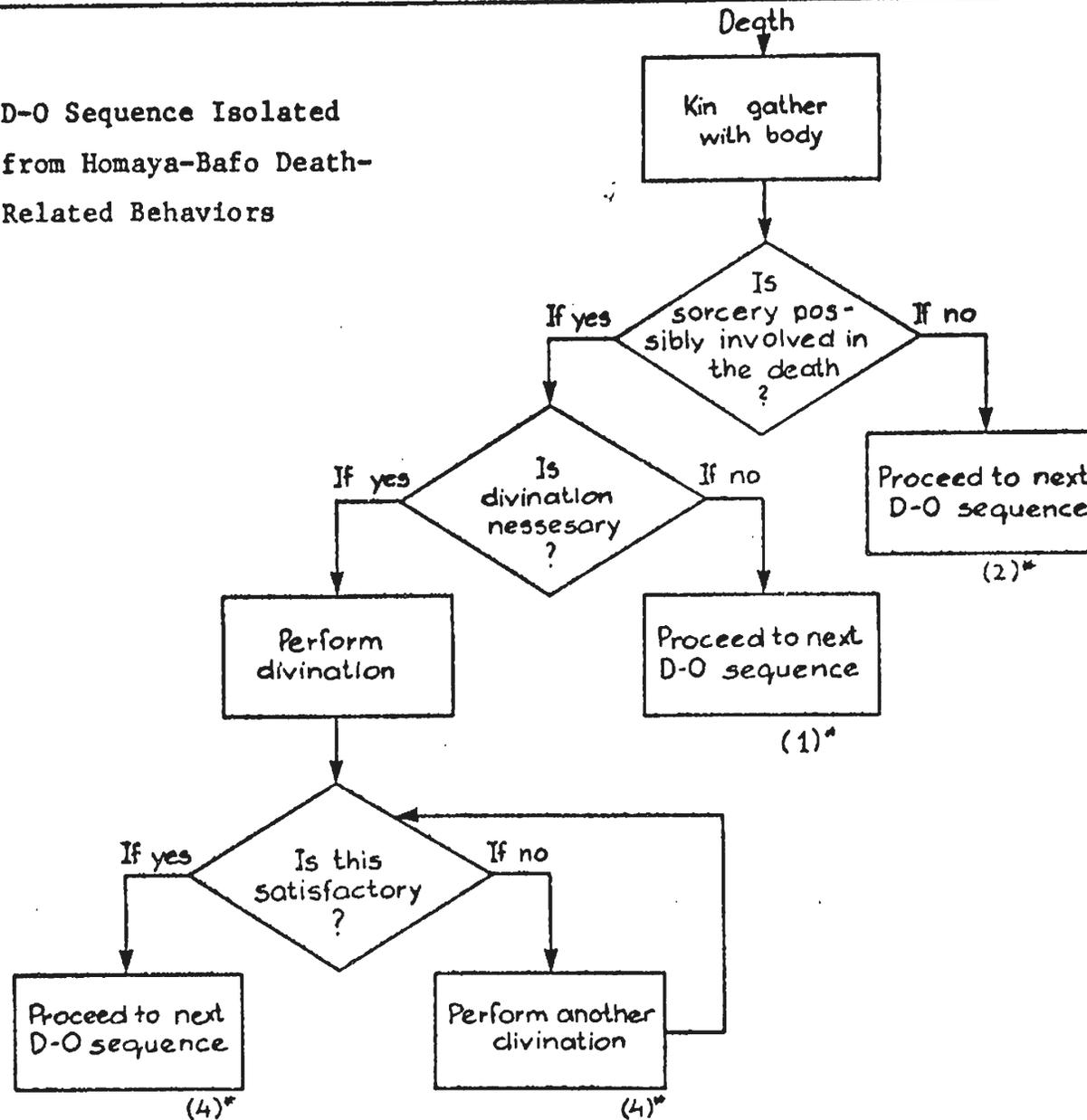
4.5. Kafe Death Behavior: Description

Figure 1 involves the performance of divination following a death. It is a relatively simple, straightforward D-O sequence exhibiting branching at three culturally-relevant decision nodes yielding four unique sequences. The latter account for the divination details of the eleven cases of death in Homaya and Bafo.

At death surviving kin gather with the body; and then, with others, consider whether sorcery was involved in the death. A divination may be performed, but the decision to do so involves an evaluation of a large number of factors. This process is discussed in Chapter 5.

After a divination it is crucial for the male agnates to be satisfied with the results. Dissatisfaction does not stem from the belief that the divination could be wrong. Rather it is related to considerations like "How important is the dead person?" (and therefore how much more clever, devious, and numerous are the killers?) or "Is there unhappiness with the divination following a previous death?" (so what must be done to avoid further social censure and criticism?). Or it may be felt that the divination was done too hastily and was therefore incomplete. This might result in (1) omitting additional culprits, (2) latching only onto those tangentially involved, and/or (3) pinpointing not the exact culprit but only the group in which he resides. In the latter case, given the occasional terminological similarity between nofira, parish, and village names (see 2.2.3.) there may be unavoidable uncertainty over just which group was specifically to blame.

FIGURE 1: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome

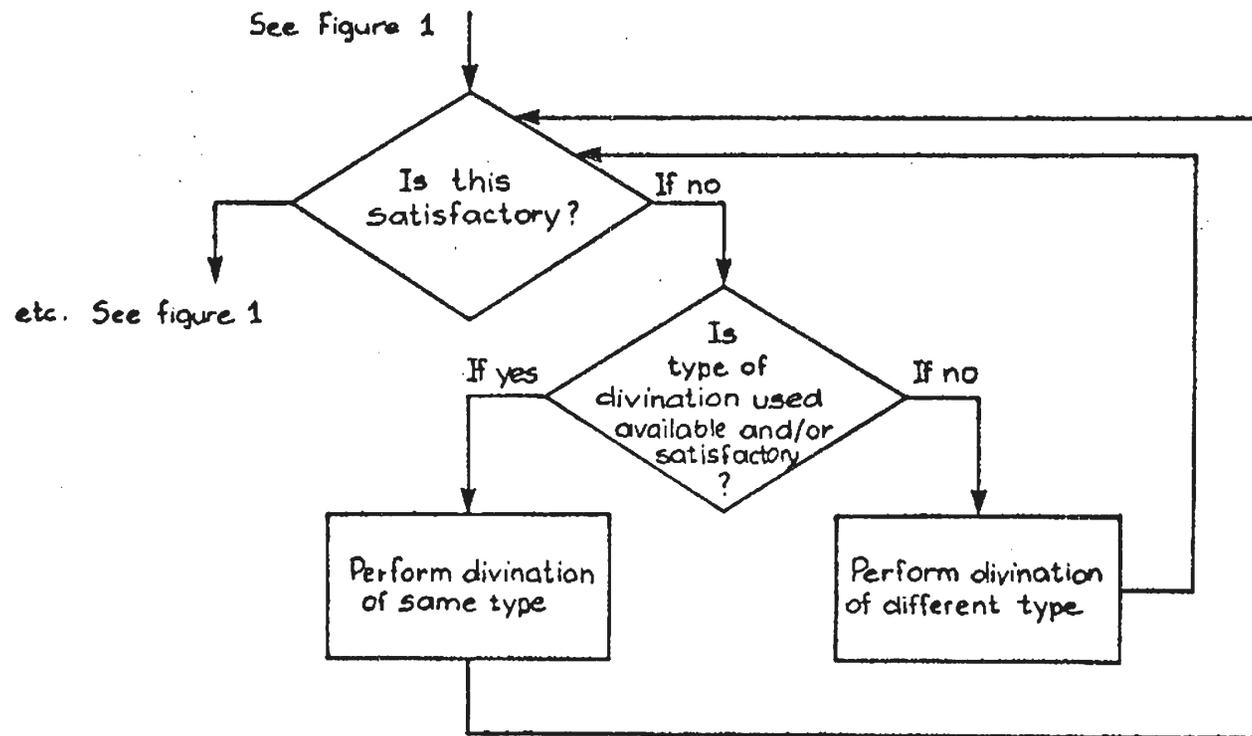
In terms of the formal properties of D-O sequences the re-performance of an event as shown in Figure 1 is best expressed as a feedback loop. It represents a cognitive process whereby the results of one action are compared against some presumably already established mental-situational state of what constitutes satisfactory performance. A logical, neurobehavioral unit for this cognitive process has been postulated by Pribram (1971; see also Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, 1960, and 5.1. below).

If more than one divination is deemed necessary the male agnates in charge must decide whether a different type should be used. "Are the necessary plant parts or other props available?" or "Was the first type too 'weak' so that it must be corroborated by a second or third method?" are typical questions the agnates might ask. This process is summarized in Figure 1a which is a branching sub-routine off the main sequence.

The selection of a specific type of divination involves a further sub-routine whereby practitioners select among the seven options open to them. The operations of this D-O sequence would include very mundane activities like acquiring a particular plant or waiting until nightfall. The decisions are largely pragmatic: what props are currently available; among those present who has expertise in which methods; has the body been buried; and so forth. Viewed abstractly these and other sub-routines and the routines which subsume them comprise a nested hierarchical structure.

Figure 1 represents a D-O sequence which is "self-contained;" that is, other than the death itself the acts and decisions which comprise it

FIGURE 1a: Sub-branching D-O Sequence from Figure 1 and Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors

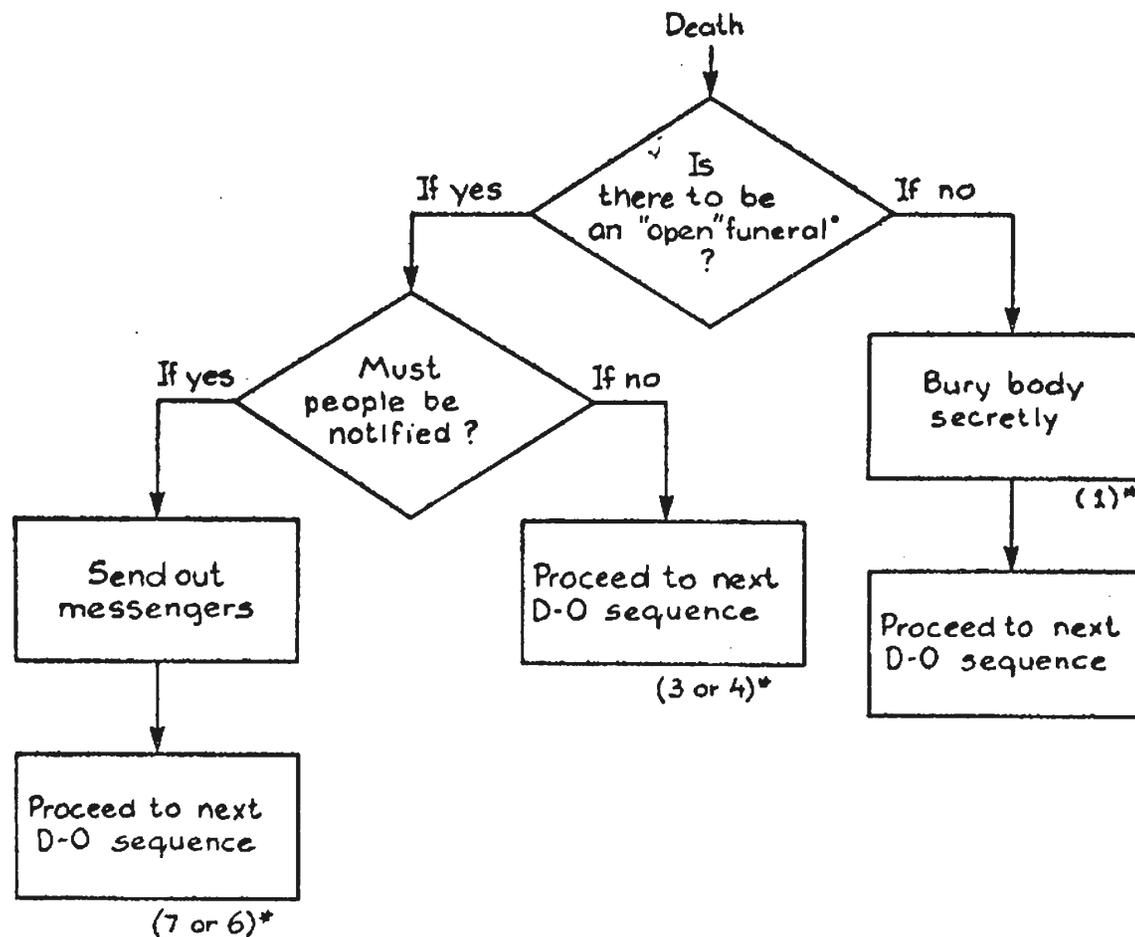


do not depend upon the occurrence of events external to it. However, performance of this sequence has implications for other D-0 sequences. In some instances this sequence must be resolved before other sequences (Figures 3b and 8) can be completed. Figure 1, therefore, serves as an input condition for other D-0 sequences. Thus the coffin cannot be sealed or public wailing commence until either (1) a decision has been made that sorcery is not involved in the death, or (2) that, if it is, divination is unnecessary, or (3) that the first divination, if necessary, has been completed.

Figure 2 examines the ramifications of the decision to hold an "open" funeral: whether to notify people of the death so that they may mourn or whether to bury the body secretly or at least without fanfare. Three "types" of burial are therefore logical products of certain considerations made by the Kafe. They are not contrasted terminologically by the Kafe and are important only in their implications for future events such as whether prestations of pork must be made to mourners, whether future activities connected with the death must be performed, etc.

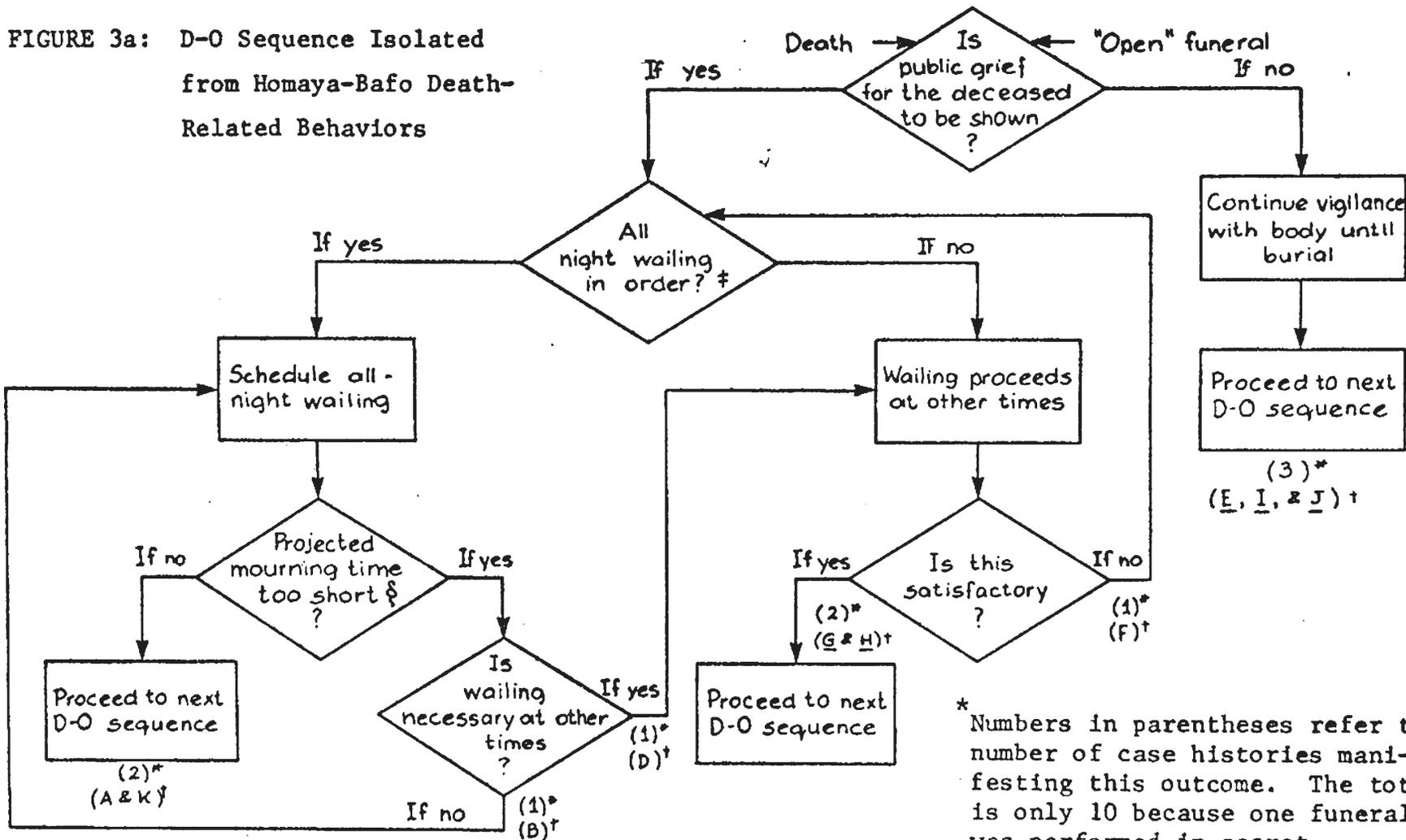
Figure 3a defines the D-0 sequence for an "open" funeral. Public grief and respect for the deceased is partly expressed through all-night mourning. Whether or not this will occur is a question of some importance to the Kafe and is openly and frequently discussed. Such mourning attracts others who feel they too have the right and obligation to mourn. Of course the unwilling hosts must later reimburse these mourners in pork. Usually an open funeral and all-night mourning are held for persons who, in life, were relatively important people or who had relatives who were. The three individuals for whom only perfunctory

FIGURE 2: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome. The double number reflects uncertainty over whether news of the death was disseminated in the case of individual H.

FIGURE 3a: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome. The total is only 10 because one funeral was performed in secret.

† Letters in parentheses refer to the case histories itemized in the text.

‡ Stated in full: Do circumstances permit or require all-night wailing?

§ Stated in full: Is the projected mourning time too short to show grief for the deceased, and does it therefore need to be expanded?

wailing during the night or by the side of the coffin occurred were considered to be of little social worth: an illegitimate, newborn child and two old women with no surviving adult sons. Their deaths were not hidden from view, but they were certainly not publicized. As with all deaths a vigil with the body until burial was still maintained.

The duration of any all-night mourning and/or the extent of wailing during the day or in the early morning hours depends upon a number of factors. The status of the deceased within the community, the estimated number of those expected to attend the funeral and the distance which they must travel, any death-bed wishes of the deceased, and mission pressure to bury the deceased as soon after death as possible are all considerations. In general the central issue is whether the projected mourning period is long enough for the expression of personal grief and for the public demonstration of sorrow.

D-0 sequence 3a traces out six different styles of mourning which are the situational outcomes of five decision nodes. The six styles are artifacts of the sequence. A series of deaths, otherwise different, are in this respect identical.

The nodes of 3a may come and go virtually instantaneously, as in the case of J where no grief was expressed, or they may unfold for several days, as in the case of K when three nights elapsed while the kin argued over whether to bury the body secretly. They reversed their first decision and on the fourth night a typical public wailing took place. In the case of B an early decision was made to have one night of public wailing. After the night various people including a Big Man from another parish were displeased with the brevity of the mourning period. Another

night of wailing was scheduled.

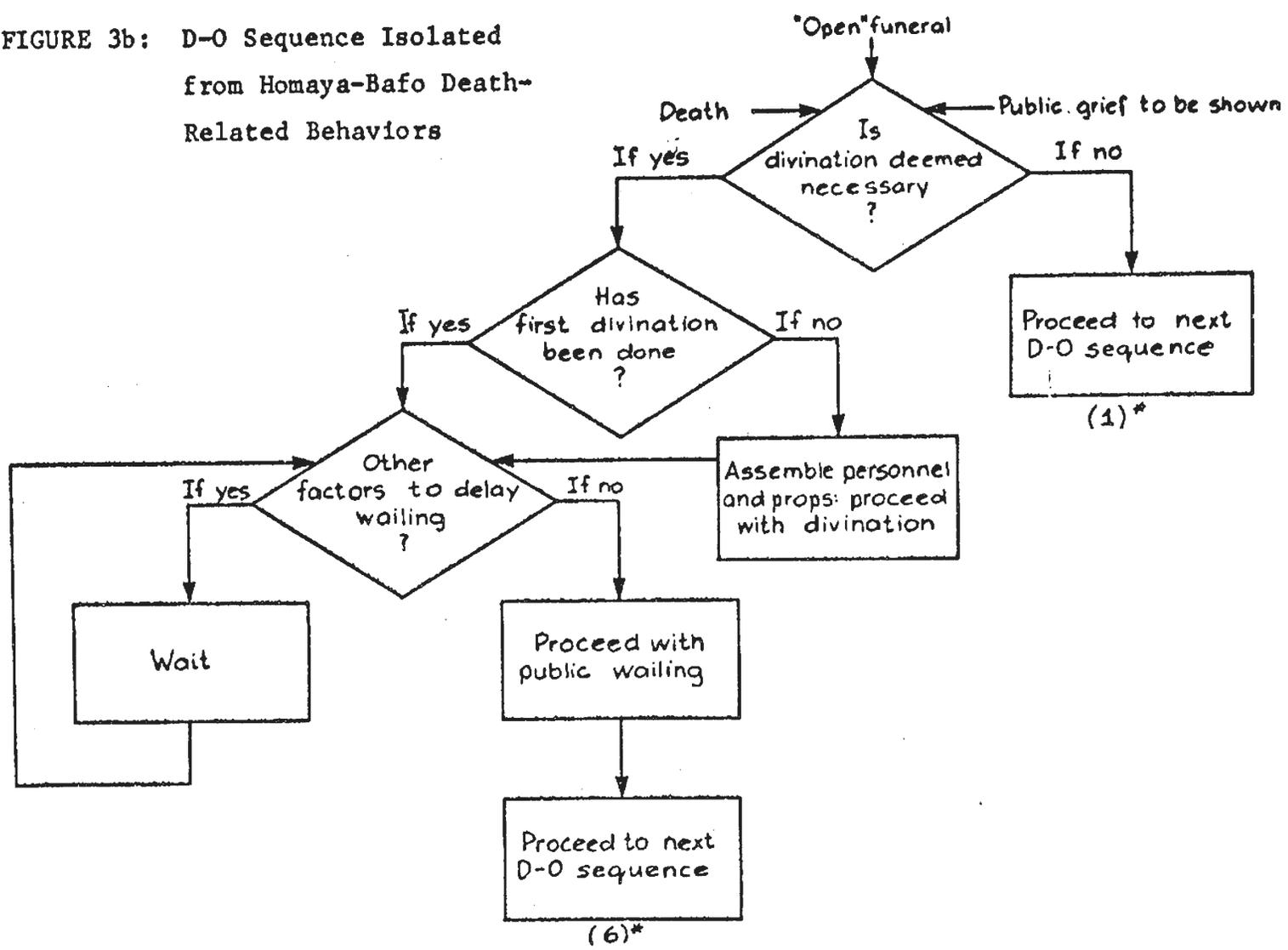
The expression of public grief occurred in the majority of cases (seven out of eleven in the sample). As shown in Figure 3b, however, the first of any necessary divinations must be performed first. The Kafe explain that distraught kin may, in their ardor, defile the corpse and thereby prevent the success of subsequent divinations so the first one must be as complete as possible.

Further circumstances may delay the onset of wailing. The divination may have been completed late at night, too late to summon mourners to the side of the deceased; the kin may wish to have the body placed in its coffin before mourners come; and so forth. While there is always some degree of waiting until the personnel appear and/or the time of day is correct the operation "Wait" in the flowchart is not necessarily passive in nature. The kin may initiate actions which will eventually allow a complete run-through of the sequence.

A further issue which must be resolved subsequent to death is whether the body will be moved from place of death to another domicile. There are three basic issues involved: will the house in which the body rests be large enough to accommodate the mourners who are expected to attend; is it isolated enough to allow some measure of privacy for any divinations that need to be done; and/or to what degree have the agnates involved with the planning for the death been influenced by mission pressure to place the body in a locked house away from the mourners until burial occurs? The basic decision and the resulting behavioral outcomes are portrayed in Figure 3c.

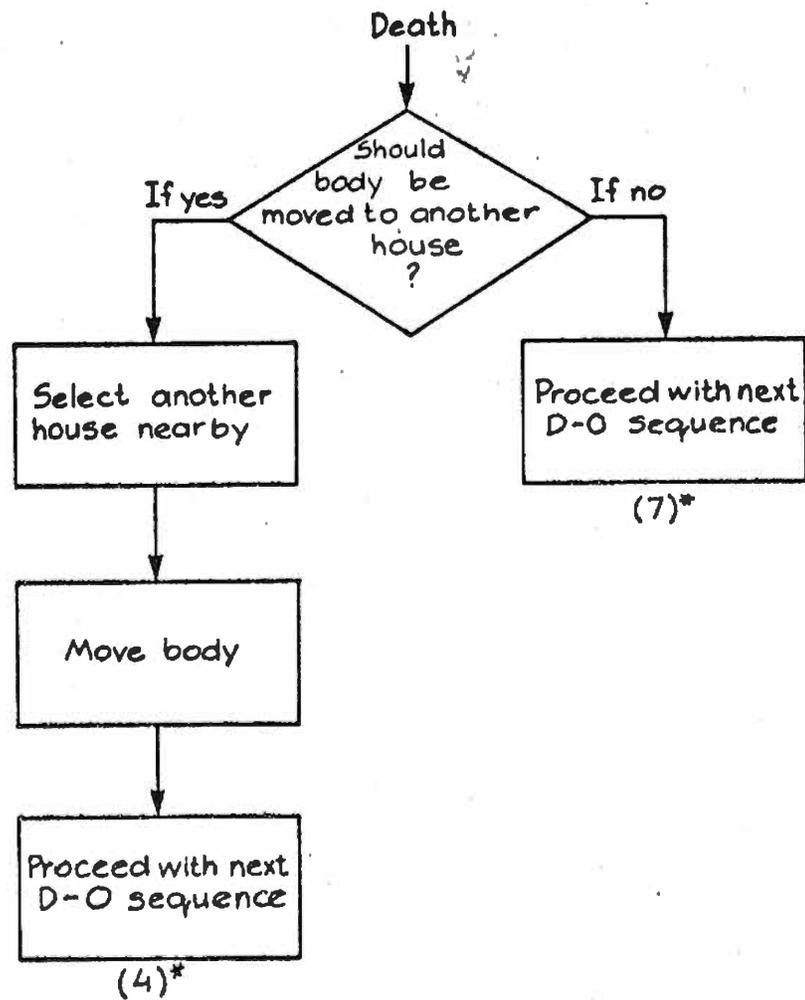
The issue of isolating the corpse prior to burial is recent. After

FIGURE 3b: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome.

FIGURE 3c: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



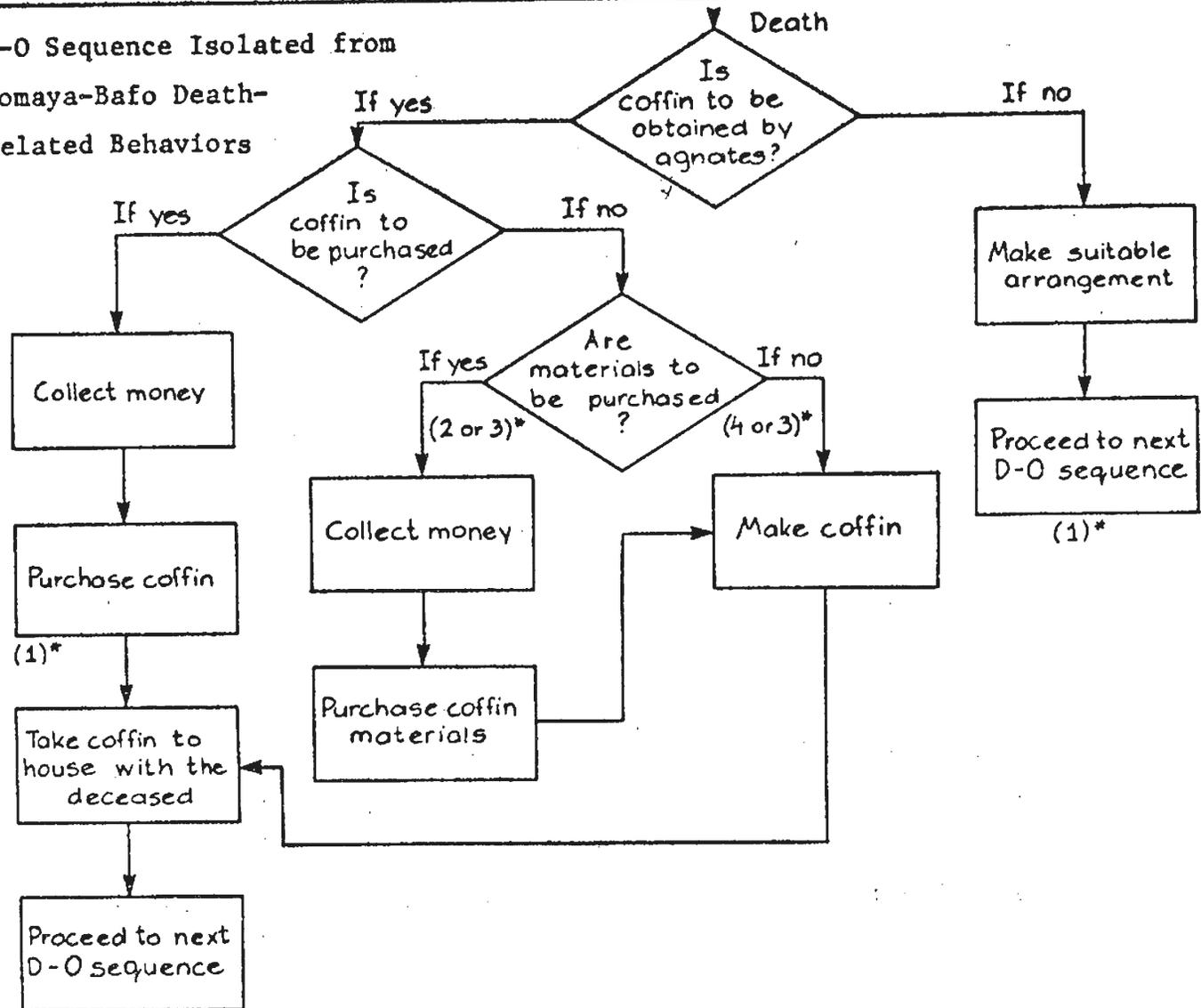
* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome.

the death of A the local catechist (a Homaya man), who had been absent when the death occurred, belatedly berated everyone for allowing so many people to congregate with the corpse all night. He even threatened not to perform the church service. His words and threats were not lost on Bafo men who, in general, adhered to mission teachings more strictly than Homaya men: of the four cases in which the body was moved from one house to another three cases (G, H, and K) were from Bafo.¹ Moreover, the two remaining deaths from Bafo were somewhat special cases. For the old woman I only a few mourners came to cry and only a few people stayed with the body overnight. The infant J was buried very soon after death and since no mourners arrived there was no one from whom the body had to be shielded. In Homaya the one case in which the body was moved to a different house was the child D. D's father was a minor functionary in the local Lutheran Church. In the remainder of Homaya deaths other considerations like the demands of mourners to view the body or, conversely, a lack of mourners, outweighed the argument for isolating the body.

Figure 4 outlines the four possible outcomes of discussions by the parish agnates on how to obtain a coffin for the deceased. It may be purchased in town, which entails the collection of a large sum of money since no one person would likely have the necessary funds and since this additional sign of respect for the dead would be shared by the nofira or even the parish as a whole. Materials may be purchased with which to make a coffin, again involving money collection; or, finally, it may be made with hand-fashioned materials.

¹This excludes two cases in which the deceased died elsewhere and then the body moved into Homaya.

FIGURE 4: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



*Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome. In the two instances where two numbers are given the coffin was not directly observed so that while it was not bought it is uncertain whether it was made from materials purchased at a store or was hand-fashioned. Four more cases do not fit the paradigm and are excluded here (see text).

Occasionally the agnates of the nofira decide to offer the matrilateral kin of the deceased a chance to obtain the coffin. This happened in the case of B and is represented in the D-0 sequence by the operation "Make suitable arrangements." The decision by the agnates not to obtain the coffin themselves was a complex one. It was related to past Homaya deaths in which matrilateral kin complained about their lack of participation (giving Homaya a reputation for unsociable and isolationist behavior.) In addition the sons of the deceased could use the contribution of the coffin to enhance their own prestige and that of their nofira when they later would repay the gift with pork.

In four cases (individuals B, C, F, and K) the parish agnates had no choice to make about obtaining a coffin. In the case of B, two coffins were produced¹, one by the matrilateral kin at the behest of the deceased's agnates and a second produced independently by a daughter of the deceased and her husband. This second coffin was later used for the burial of C. In the case of F the coffin was bought in Port Moresby by a classificatory brother of the deceased. Since he assumed the responsibility for purchasing the coffin he received no reimbursement. Finally in the case of K his non-Kafe affines appeared less than two days after his death bringing a coffin with them.

A host parish greets invited or welcome uninvited guests with some form of hosting behavior. Not to do so would be considered grossly improper. They offer food, tobacco, and/or betel nut; and they arrange

¹There are thus twelve cases to be accounted for, not eleven.

sleeping quarters for those spending the night. For large "open" funerals, however, many mourners would expect to spend the night(s) outdoors around a fire in front of the house where the body lay in state.

Figure 5 shows the D-0 sequence triggered by the arrival of welcome guests; and gives, in detail, the special routine for the distribution of betel nut. Betel is chewed by most adult men and, as it does not grow plentifully in this area, is a highly desired commodity. Gifts of more than a few nuts are normally governed by rules of reciprocity. Moreover, betel nut that has publicly been given to a group is subject to further rules of sharing, especially between a host and a parish or nofira making a special visit. When betel nut is publicly evident but is not distributed, the host parish is subject to social censure whether or not any guests had some "official" claim on it.

Food, tobacco, firewood, etc., are less bound up with a system of exchanges and they are given in an informal and automatic way. Failure to supply them would nevertheless lead to criticism. The dotted lines in Figure 5 between the types of hospitality merely indicate that they are all appropriate but in no special order or, at least, in an order dictated by external factors only: a group arriving after a long journey may need food; a group arriving in the middle of a cold night may desire fire. Like the other D-0 sequences Figure 5 exists as a "unit," but unlike the others its "performance" is not restricted to instances of death. It is appropriate whenever welcome guests arrive.

Figure 6 describes another form of hospitality, the construction of a yasisa. Here different input conditions are required: a death and a decision for an "open" funeral. Building a yasisa is not particularly

FIGURE 5: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors

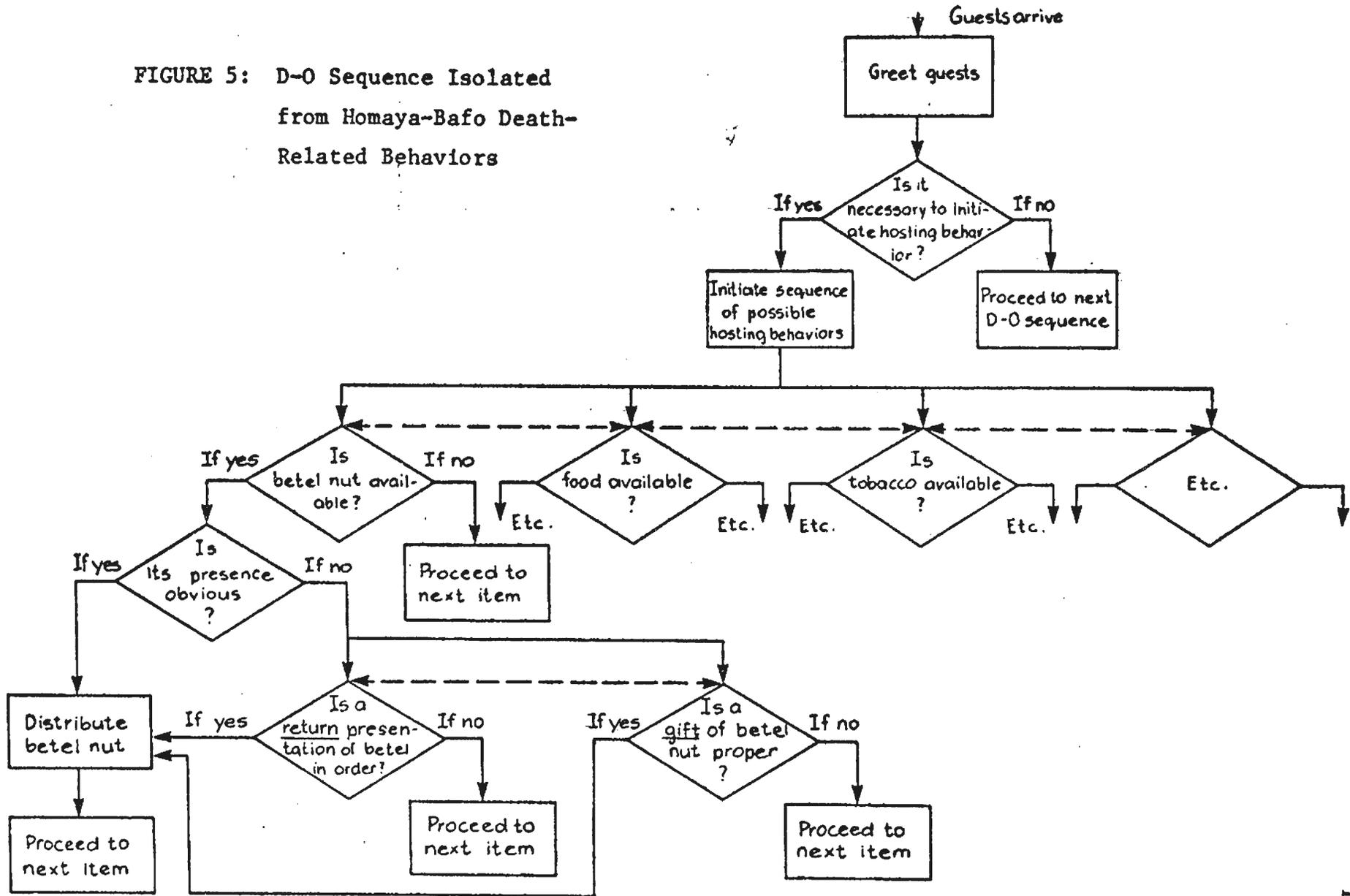
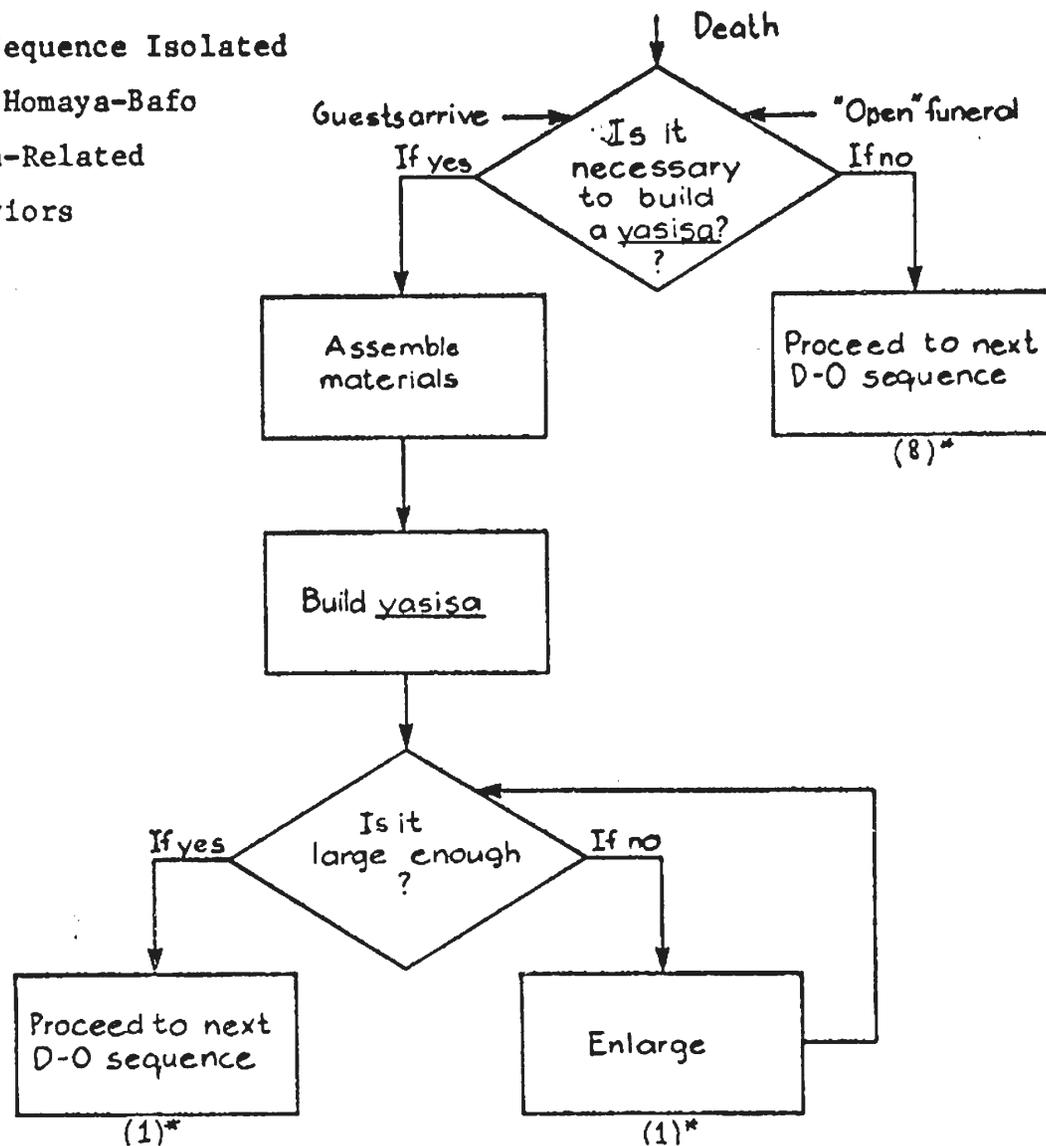


FIGURE 6: D-O Sequence Isolated
 from Homaya-Bafo
 Death-Related
 Behaviors



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome. The total number of cases adds to only ten; the remaining case was a secret burial.

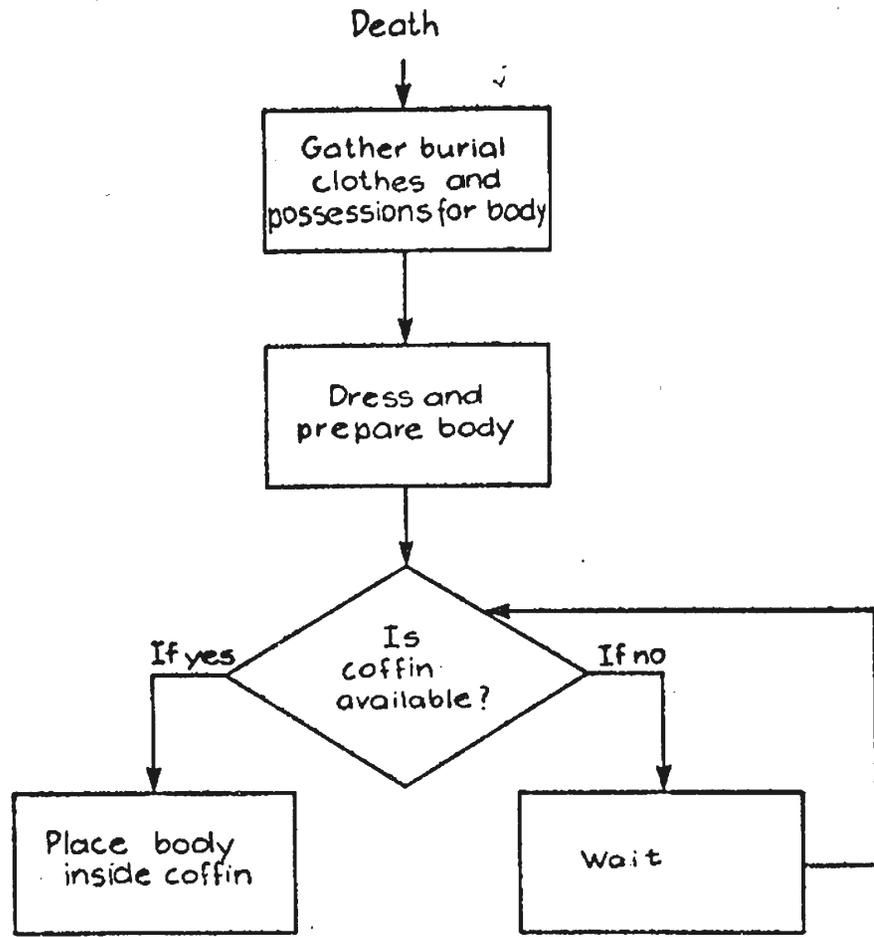
important, and no criticism results if a group fails to do so. It is rather a sign of the importance attached to the death by the agnates of the deceased.

Whether it is considered "necessary" to build a yasisa depends upon a variety of factors: the presence of building materials, inclement weather from which guests must be shielded, the recency of other deaths in the village, the desire of the agnates to demonstrate concern for the deceased by upholding tradition, and the realization that the labor involved is basically unrewarded. The only yasisa built in Homaya was for the first important individual to die there in more than ten years. The next death there occurred ten months later and no yasisa was built even though the deceased was also an important man. In Bafo a yasisa was built at the funeral of an important man with a large and influential group of matrilineal kin to placate and impress. Bafo men were further surprised to find that men from Homaya would undertake the unpleasant labor to build it.

Figures 5 and 6 suggest a very common feature of everyday routines. As one routine is being carried out another can be processed simultaneously. "Parallel processing" applies not only to individuals but to the groups involved as well. Some men may be gathering firewood to build fires, others collecting tobacco to distribute, others enlarging the yasisa if too small for the crowds, etc.

Figure 7 details the procedure for preparing the body and placing it in the coffin. The node "Is coffin available?" does not represent a concrete decision which must be made but a logical outcome of a cultural rule specifying that the dead must be consigned to a casket. "Waiting"

FIGURE 7: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



is common, especially when the living have decided to buy the coffin in town.

Preparation of the body is relatively uncomplicated. It may be washed, but more often it is merely clothed in new or at least clean garments. Occasionally talcum powder or inexpensive perfume from a trade store in town may be applied. Personal possessions of the deceased may also be placed in the coffin and on one occasion Australian money was added. The dressing of the corpse may occur very soon after death or not for some time while the relatives wait to see who will bring what items to clothe the deceased. Who actually dresses the deceased for burial varies as summarized in Table 3, though in large part individuals who feel particular responsibilities toward the deceased and/or who happen to be present at death are involved.

D-0 sequences such as that shown earlier in Figure 5 pattern a response (or a series of possible responses) whereby the Kafe can deal with an unexpected, but still relatively frequent, situation--in this case the appearance of uninvited guests. It would be unreasonable to assume, however, that there is a D-0 sequence to cope with rare situations such as "Second coffin arrives" (as happened in Case B) or "Arrival of additional new clothes for an already clad deceased" (as happened in Cases B and D). Unexpected situations occur because outsiders are acting in accordance with their D-0 sequences which are triggered by news of the death. When their D-0 sequence intersects with that of the host parish group the result will either be conflict or some form of compromise. It may require a group discussion to resolve this. Compromise involves one of two options. Participants may decide whose

D-0 sequence "takes priority"--as happened in Case B when the first coffin, purchased by classificatory children of the deceased, was rejected for the second coffin which had been purchased by matrilineal kin and had been solicited by the biological children of the deceased. Or compromise may be a decision that the nodes involved are not really mutually exclusive. Thus, without discussion, it was "decided" in Cases B and D that any and all funeral clothes could be used and placed with the body (even if it meant that the deceased had on three new shirts and had a fourth under his head as a "pillow"). In both instances--the Case of the Double Coffin and the Case of the Multiple Apparel--once the compromise had been made it was possible to continue on with the D-0 sequence governing the situation. The body was (re-) dressed and placed (again) in the coffin.

The material subsumed in Figures 8a and 8b deals with burial of the corpse. Because of mission pressure to isolate the corpse from the living and a general preference to protect the body from outsiders the Kafe tend to nail the lid on the coffin as soon as the body is placed within it. Balancing these pressures are the wishes of mourners to view the body and the unquestioned need of agnates to do any divinations requiring access to the body. The two decision nodes shown in 8a represent a detailed breakdown of the decision "Is it appropriate to nail the lid on the coffin?" The two feedback loops in Figure 8a indicate that the decisions undergo constant evaluation even over several days until the coffin is finally sealed and buried. The anticipation of burial becomes an input to sealing the coffin.

FIGURE 8a: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors

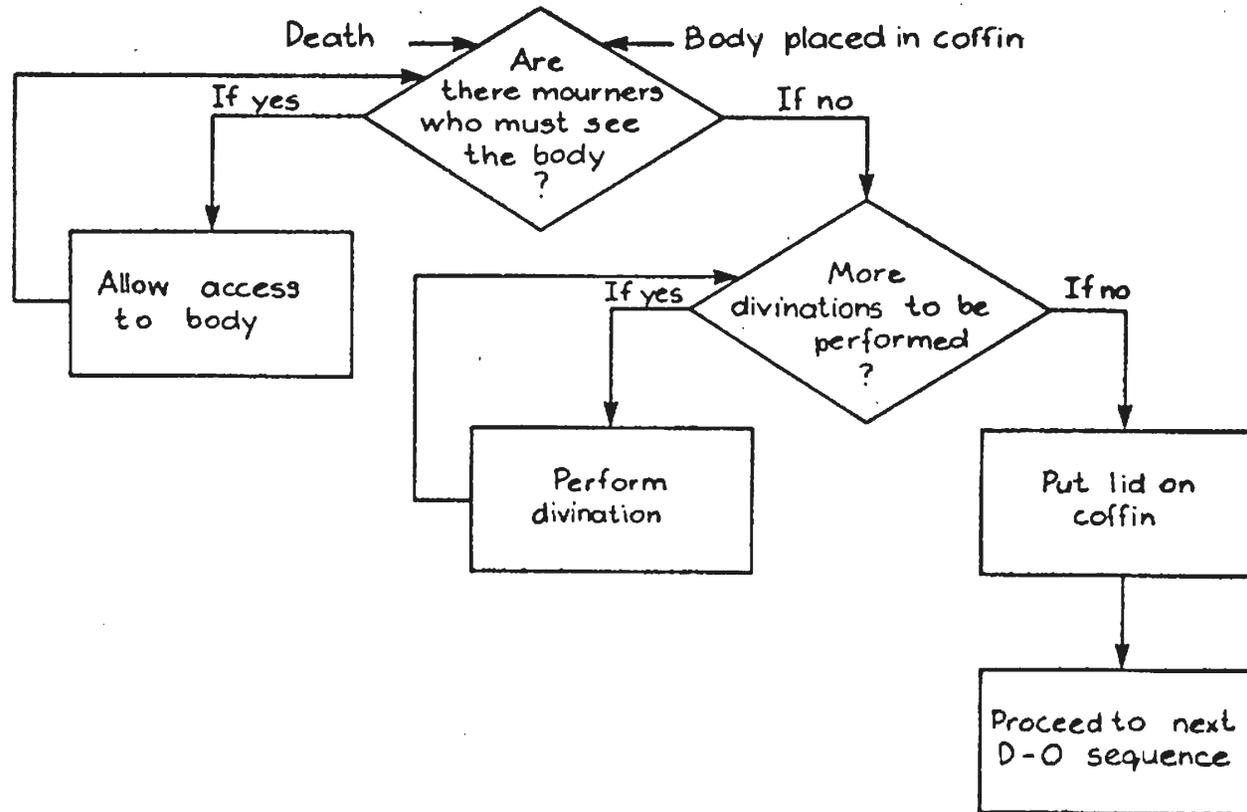
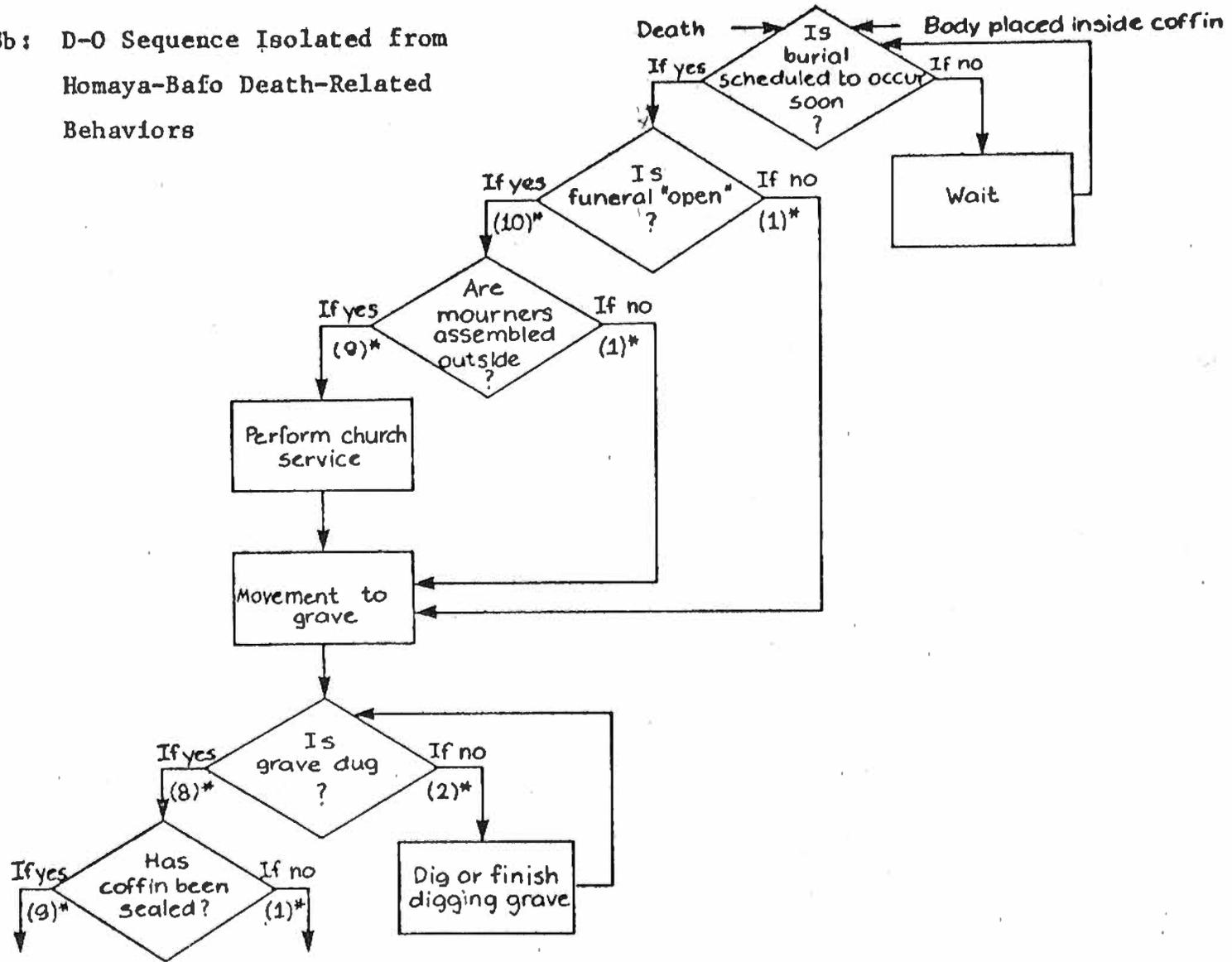
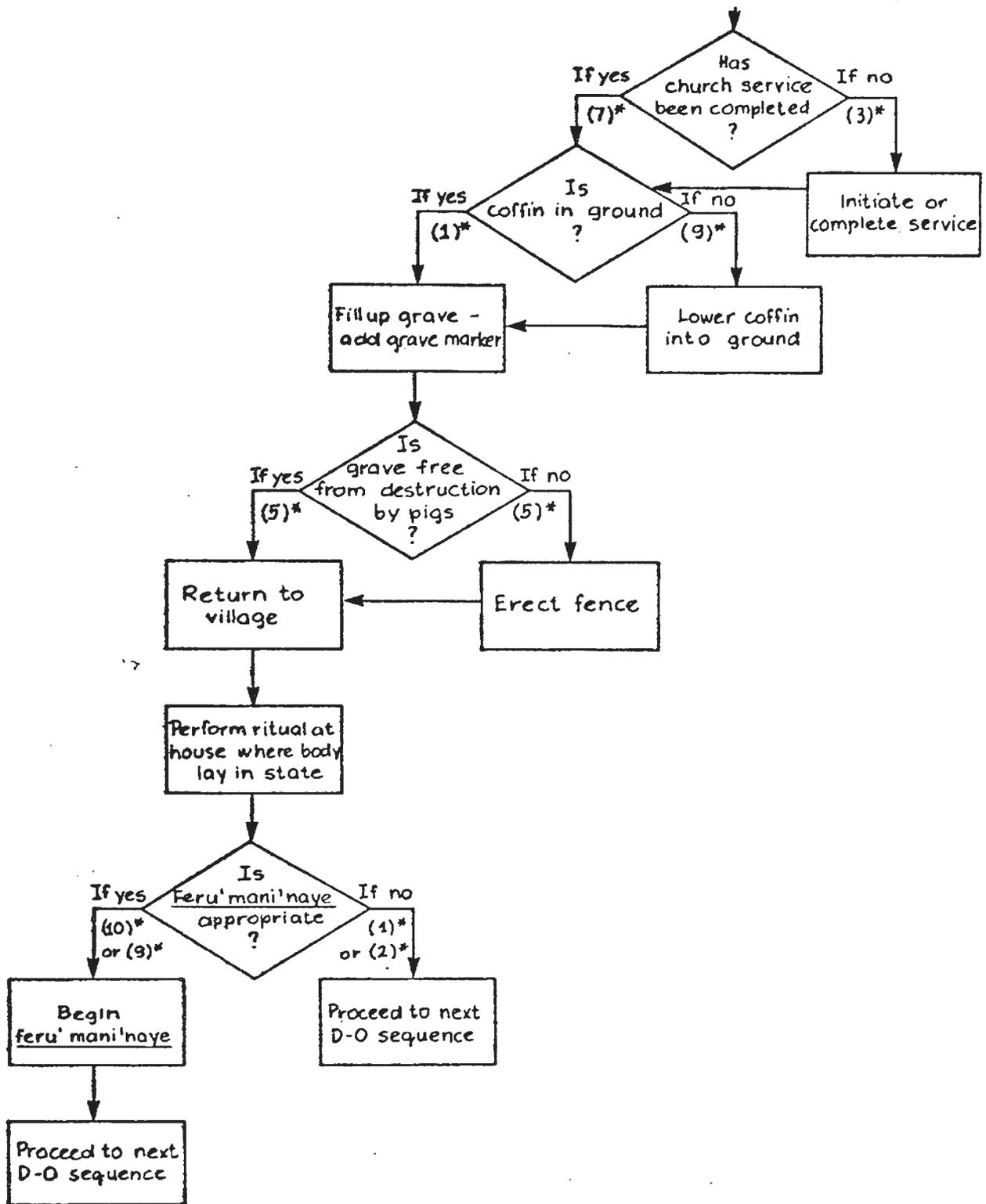


FIGURE 8b: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



(Continued on next page)

Etc. (See Figure 8a)



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome. Where numbers following a decision node do not total eleven this is because of the omission of Case History H, part of which was unobserved.

Figure 8b is largely self-explanatory. The decisions involved in digging the grave, sealing the coffin, and performing the church service are variable in when they first appear in the sequence, are in no constant order, are constantly under review, but are completed by the time the burial is to take place. The decision node "Are mourners assembled outside?" is virtually automatic as is its "result" "Perform church service." Anyone buried openly and minimally important enough to have outsiders attend has a public church service as the mourners do not necessarily go to the grave. For the open funeral of an unimportant person (as in Case J) the service was largely perfunctory and was performed immediately before burial. In the case of the secret burial of C most of the preparations were carried out at the last minute, including not only the funeral service but an additional divination, nailing on the coffin lid, and further wailing as well.

After any final graveside ceremony the coffin is lowered into the ground, the grave filled up, and a cross bearing the name of the deceased erected. Where the grave is threatened by the rootings of pigs the men construct a make-shift fence. In time the names on the crosses fade and the crosses themselves crumble. There is a "permanent" record of the burial only if Cordyline is planted at the grave, and this occurred only once.

After people return from the grave, in single file or en masse depending upon such factors as size of the crowd, proximity of the grave to the village, and the insistence of those who led the procession, one of the two forms of the ceremony severing the ties of the mourners with the cemetery and death is performed. Feru' mani'naye, if appropriate,

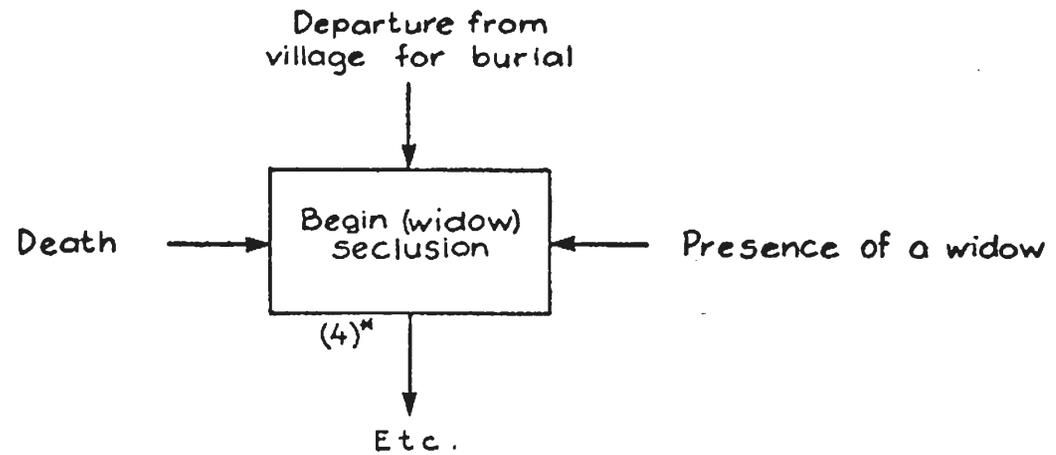
then begins though there is no special sign to mark it. The more important the deceased in life and his surviving family the greater the number of people likely to participate in feru' mani'naye. Only in the cases of the illegitimate child J and the secretly buried C were no formal feru' held though in the latter case a number of men, in their grief, remained in small groups scattered about in one area of the village. They remained for two or three days and then went about their normal chores.

Figure 8c reflects the cultural rule that the widow of a dead man be barred from accompanying the body to its grave, lest she also soon die. As the others bury the body the widow begins a period of seclusion in a nearby residence.

The procedure depicted in Figure 8c applies to all five widows of the sample, but it describes the actual events for only four (A, B, C, and K). In the fifth case two D-0 sequences competed with each other. The hankoro of the old man G was thought to have entered the widow's body making her ill. Because of the presumed seriousness of the illness it was necessary to isolate her in spite of the "normal" expectation that she be mourning over her husband's corpse. However, the isolation required by the illness and the seclusion of the widow could be conceptually combined, both ends being served.

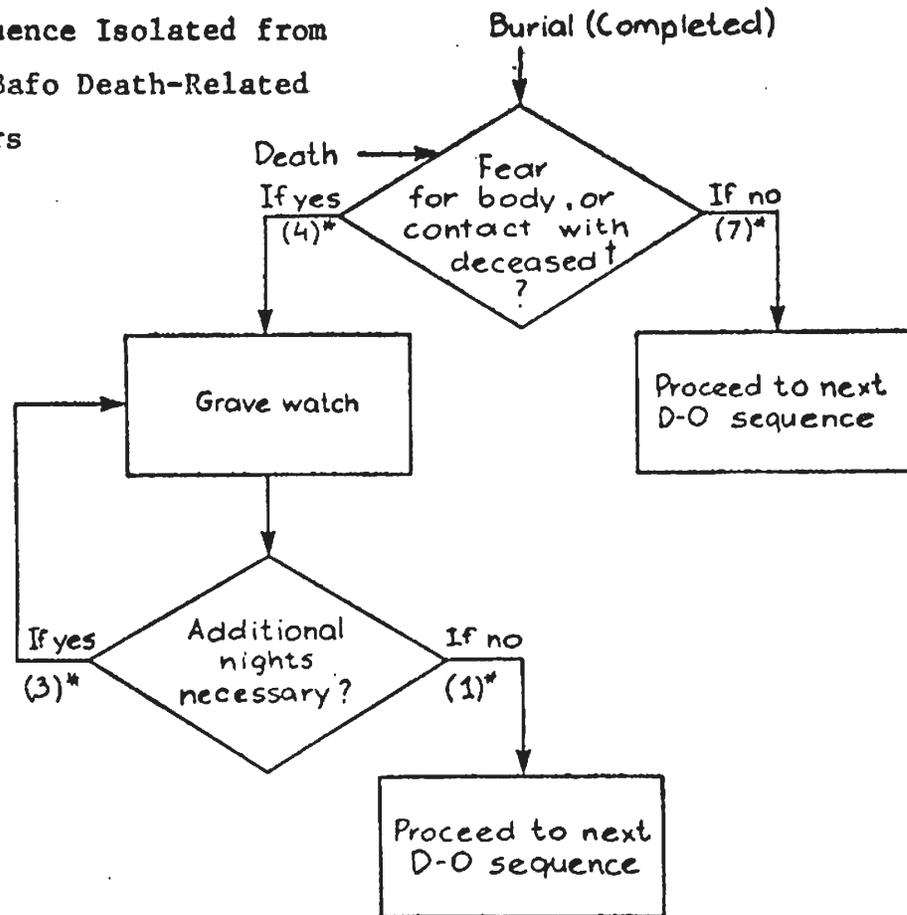
Figure 9 reveals that the watch over the grave is triggered by either of two concerns: the living are afraid that the body may be desecrated by sorcerers and/or the living have some reason to believe that the deceased will speak to them (see 3.3.4.) Proximity of the grave to the village (where it is relatively comfortable and safe) may affect the decision of whether contact with the deceased is expected or whether his

FIGURE 8c: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



*Number in parentheses refers to number of case histories manifesting this outcome.

FIGURE 9: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome.

† Stated in full: Is danger for the body feared or is there reason to believe that communication with the deceased will be made?

body is in imminent danger of desecration. In only one case of the four for whom a grave watch was mounted was the grave at any distance from the village. In all four cases (A, B, F, and K) the deceased was male.

In three of four cases the grave watch was extended over more than one night: 2 nights for A, 3 for B, and 6 for F. Most of the parish agnates who attend to the funeral and especially the burial decide whether or not there is danger to the body, whether contact is likely to be made, and--equally important--whether it is their responsibility to defend the body or their opportunity to reach the afterworld. Individually different answers to these questions result in differential participation in the grave watch.

Before proceeding to the remaining D-0 sequences manifest in the Homaya-Bafo data it is necessary to cull from Table 4 the few behavioral items which are not yet part of any D-0 sequence. The most common items omitted thus far are "Kin group discussion," and "People remain with body all night." The latter is essentially trivial as it simply records the vigil over the corpse following death. The former is extremely important, serves as an integrating and orienting mechanism for participants in the funerary preparations, and will be further discussed in the concluding chapter. For convenience the remaining items are listed in Table 6. Except for items 3, 4, 9, and 10, these items are operation nodes of other, often complicated D-0 sequences. As a whole, most are intimately related to the fact of death; a few are merely part of other D-0 sequences which "intersect" with those related to death.

In 1 and 2 a parish member died elsewhere. Someone notified the parish of the death, and the parish accepted the body and arranged its

TABLE 6: Behavioral Items from Table 4 Not Included in D-0 Sequences 1 through 9

	<u>Case C</u>	<u>Case D</u>	<u>Case F</u>	<u>Case G</u>	<u>Case K</u>
1.	News of death sent to Homaya	----	News of death sent to Homaya	---	---
2.	Body taken to Homaya	---	Body taken to Homaya	---	---
3.	Most kin recommence daily chores	---	---	---	---
4.	Night guard mounted outside hut of widow	---	---	---	---
5.	---	Money collected and put inside coffin but is removed	---	---	---
6.	---	Money collected and put inside coffin and is allowed to stay	---	---	---
7.	---	---	Money left on top of coffin	---	---
8.	---	---	Pig killed and presented to "brother" of deceased	---	---
9.	---	---	---	<u>Ane</u> cries out	---
10.	---	---	---	---	<u>Hankoro</u> appears
11.	---	---	---	---	Matrilateral kin storm off after argument

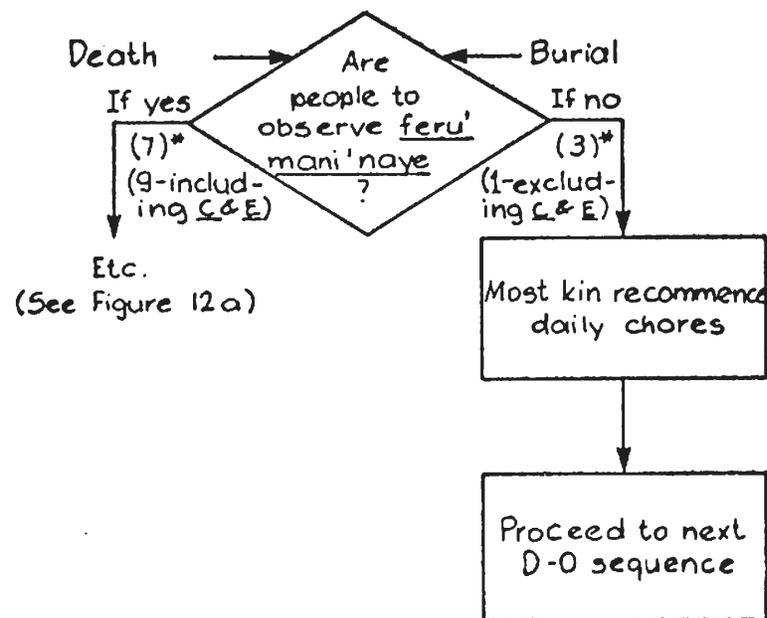
transport to the village. Item 3 is common to all the deaths and represents the final stage in the formal mourning for the deceased. It is significant, in Case C, for its early appearance in the sequence of behaviors following death. It is part of a general D-0 sequence diagrammed in Figure 10.

The D-0 sequence in Figure 10 is individualized in the sense that in spite of general agreement either to hold or to forego feru' mani'naye some of the kin may ignore the decision. In the case of E, for example, only her married daughter and one or two of the latter's friends stayed to mourn. After observing a "proper" mourning time they began their daily chores without any sasuta. C, on the other hand, was buried secretly and feru' mani'naye would draw unwanted attention to the fact of death. Nevertheless, some of the men maintained a vigil for a few days until their grief subsided.

In five cases most parish members observed feru' mani'naye and concluded after bagarie. Occasionally some individuals decide that it is proper to continue feru' mani'naye after bagarie. Such people include widows of the deceased and their age cohorts (e.g., as in Case B) or adult children of the deceased and their affines (as in I). These people are "excused" from mourning somewhat later, often after another sasuta earth oven. Figure 12a treats feru' observances of non-local kin and friends of the deceased.

Item 4 in Table 6 is part of a D-0 sequence concerned not directly with death or funerals, but with threatening situations provoked by the fear of sorcery attacks. Since Case C represented the third old man of the village to be killed by sorcery the villagers were noticeably and

FIGURE 10: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome. The number of case histories total only ten as the observations for F are incomplete.

understandably edgy. They feared an attack on the widow anyway and were further unnerved by unusual barking of the village dogs. As a result two men kept watch outside the widow's hut. In other circumstances the response is to keep armed men "patrolling" the village, staying carefully within its perimeter.

Items 5 and 6 stem from beliefs about the afterlife and the possibility of the dead obtaining Western goods and conveying them to the living. The money in 5 was collected by the father of the deceased child and was removed by a church functionary (a classificatory father of the child) because of fear of incurring sin. The money in 6 was collected by matrilineal kin of the child which his agnatic line could not gracefully refuse. Item 7 resulted because a classificatory brother of the deceased used most of his savings to return the body to the village from the site of death (Port Moresby) and then left the unspent money on the coffin. Repayment was dictated by other standardized D-0 sequences and took the form of a slaughtered pig (Item 8).

Items 9 and 10 were both unpredictable events. An ane is a small forest insect noted for its shrill cry. Its sound at night, in the forest, is a perfectly common occurrence. At dusk, in the village, it is an omen of death. Since it occurred so soon after a death it had a further emotional impact. Similarly when the hankoro of the deceased makes itself known, as happened in Case K and at a later stage in the funeral of Case B, its effect is chilling and mysterious.

Item 11 refers to a situation in which a parish member told matrilineal kin of the deceased that they could not mourn overnight. Their response to K's death was thereby unaccountably interfered with and they

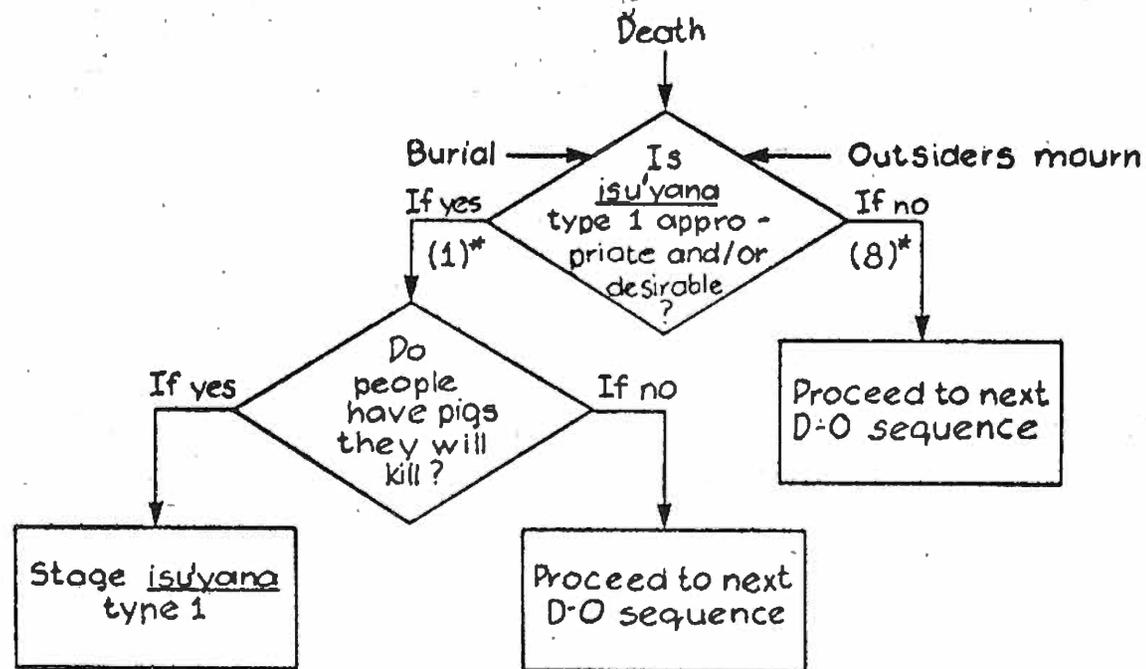
stormed off. Before the Pax Australiana such a breach of etiquette by a host parish would most likely have led to fighting, and the men of Bafo prepared for it. When the offended kin returned the next day a stormy, heated argument heavily laden with threats was "all" that resulted. The reaction is characteristic of other situations in which the legitimate expectations of matrilineal kin are, to their point of view, arbitrarily and willfully obstructed.

Various ceremonial feasts are the most common and visible activities following the burial (see Table 4). On the day of burial and, as occasion warrants, on the day(s) preceding it the agnates of the deceased decide whether the homage being paid to the deceased is worthy of his/her position in the village and in the wider community. In one out of the eleven cases I witnessed the agnates felt that a "preliminary" isu'yana would be appropriate on the day of the burial and two of the men were willing to contribute a pig each. There was no discussion of whether this would be held in spite of or in lieu of a later isu'yana in which the memory of the deceased would be further honored.

Figure 11a itemizes the input conditions and decision nodes relevant to staging the first type of isu'yana. The node "Is isu'yana type 1 appropriate and/or desirable?" is a "collapsed" version of two considerations made by the Kafe: how is the deceased to be properly honored; and how many mourners are present and who are they. Also young, aggressive brothers or sons of the deceased are more likely to regard isu'yana as appropriate--because of their own self-interest--and are more likely to set about finding pigs to be killed.

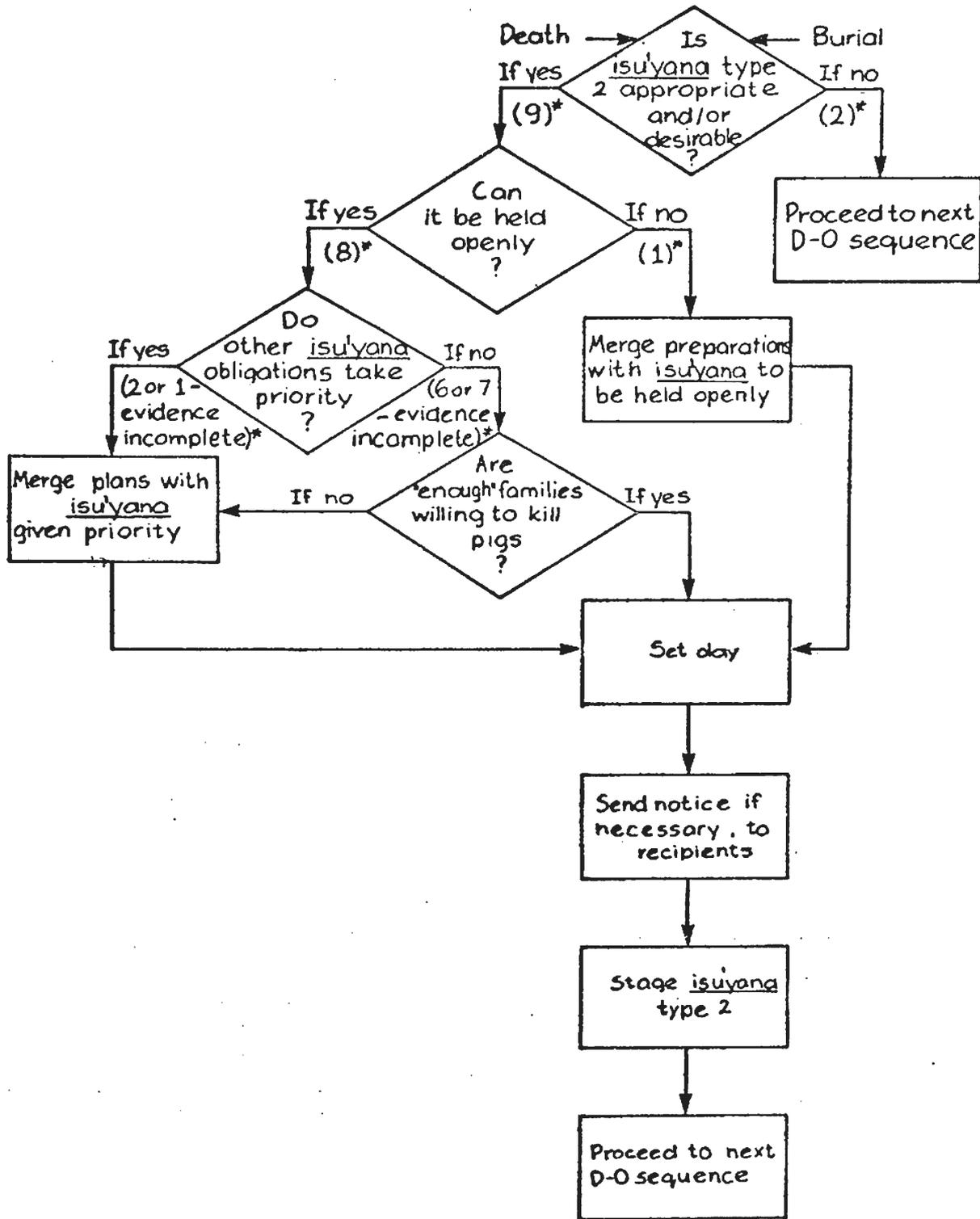
Figure 11b deals with isu'yana type 2. Isu'yana of this type was

FIGURE 11a: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome. The total is only 9 cases since in the remaining 2 cases no outside mourners were present and, hence, this particular D-O sequence was irrelevant.

FIGURE 11b: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo
Death-Related Behaviors



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome.

considered inappropriate in only two cases: no one was invited to mourn the death of the illegitimate infant J so no compensation was due; and the man responsible for initiating isu'yana efforts on behalf of the old woman E (her daughter's husband) was a man of low social standing who in any case had pre-emptive porcine responsibilities to the isu'yana of his classificatory father B.

When isu'yana is considered appropriate and there are no special obstacles to staging the event, the agnates try to select a day. This may require months to resolve even though a "final" decision was supposedly made during the funeral. Most informants maintain that in the past isu'yana was always held on the day of death or only a day or two later. This happens occasionally now (Cases F, G, and I), but it is more usual for the distribution to be deferred for months.

¹It is possible to speculate on how this change has come about. In spite of Kafe assertions to the contrary it is unlikely that isu'yana was invariably observed on the day or the day after burial. Delays, though probably shorter than now, would inevitably have arisen as relatives squabbled over who would kill pigs and how many or as a result of further hostilities between enemies.

The reasons for isu'yana have not changed, but current conditions make the event both more dramatic and more time-consuming. The emphasis in isu'yana is parish prestige through generosity in the prestation of pigs. Nowadays it is possible to amass great quantities of pork and other valuables. Pigs can be purchased and sometimes transported by truck. Money from cash-cropping may be used to obtain other gift items. With the Pax Australiana would-be isu'yana givers can plan on holding the distribution on a given day with no interference either in planning for it or carrying it out. With partial literacy and the limited use of a Western-style calendar a day can be set far in advance. Prior to these changes the unstable and uncertain conditions made long-distance plans too precarious. No one could be sure that in a year's time there would be any more pigs to present than at the current moment or that fighting would not break out again. Moreover it is likely that the number of pigs considered suitable for a funerary display has increased with the wider economic base. Previously, fewer pigs would have sufficed to accomplish what now often requires long-term resource management.

Setting a day for isu'yana is difficult for a variety of reasons. Some men will feel that the pigs are not numerous or fat enough and that additional time is needed with everyone tending to their pigs' welfare; others will feel that the number and size of the pig population is adequate to the task and that the others are merely being unnecessarily possessive of their livestock. Some men have a better sense of the drama of isu'yana and the time necessary to plan well for it and to see to it that all recipients have been properly notified. When other deaths have ensued some men will feel the burden of the debt more and will want to end it so that they can worry less about prestations and more about guarding themselves against further sorcery attacks. Others will want to stick to plans made at some earlier stage. Personal squabbles may also arise as brothers vie with each other for the authority to name the day. The only recourse for a man who is dissatisfied with the date finally selected is to withhold his pigs and not otherwise participate.

Isu'yana of more than one person may be merged into a single event. After the secret burial of C Homaya agnates did not wish to publicly acknowledge his death by an isu'yana held in his honor. They still had the duty of repaying the matrilineal kin for their role in his life, and their solution was to merge the distribution for C with the public celebration for B which had been deferred for a year. The payments made for C would be under the guise of payments made on behalf of B, and only C's relatives would understand the true nature of the prestation.

Isu'yana are merged for reasons other than secrecy. In the case of D whose isu'yana was also merged with that for B, the close relatives were willing to expend the energy and pigs in commemoration, but the

others unwilling to do so and prevailed. Most felt that any distribution for D would be lackluster, done under duress, and would shame the parish because only a few pigs would be killed since most of the agnates were planning ahead and managing their porcine stock for B's distribution. Moreover by deferring D's distribution and merging it with B's, the presence of the added pigs would further enhance the prestige of the parish in front of the large number of people who would congregate for the latter's distribution.

Similar arguments for deferring distribution were advanced by many of the Homaya agnates following the death of the young man F. However, four men decided that F's death was sufficiently important enough to warrant an isu'yana celebration on its own. They further reasoned that the parish had deferred too many obligations and was in a constant, undesirable state of debt. Since these four men had pigs to kill they overcame the others' reluctance and created the "need" for isu'yana by dragging three dead pigs into the group of people waiting for the funeral service to take place. The three pigs sufficed because the number of mourners to be repaid for their grief was relatively small and there were no other debts. Their wish that everyone slaughter pigs and hold isu'yana for B as well was ignored.

Once the agnates decide upon a day for isu'yana they must notify the participants if the latter are not already present observing feru'mani'naye. Most recipients will arrive on the day of isu'yana though some will come earlier and visit with relatives.

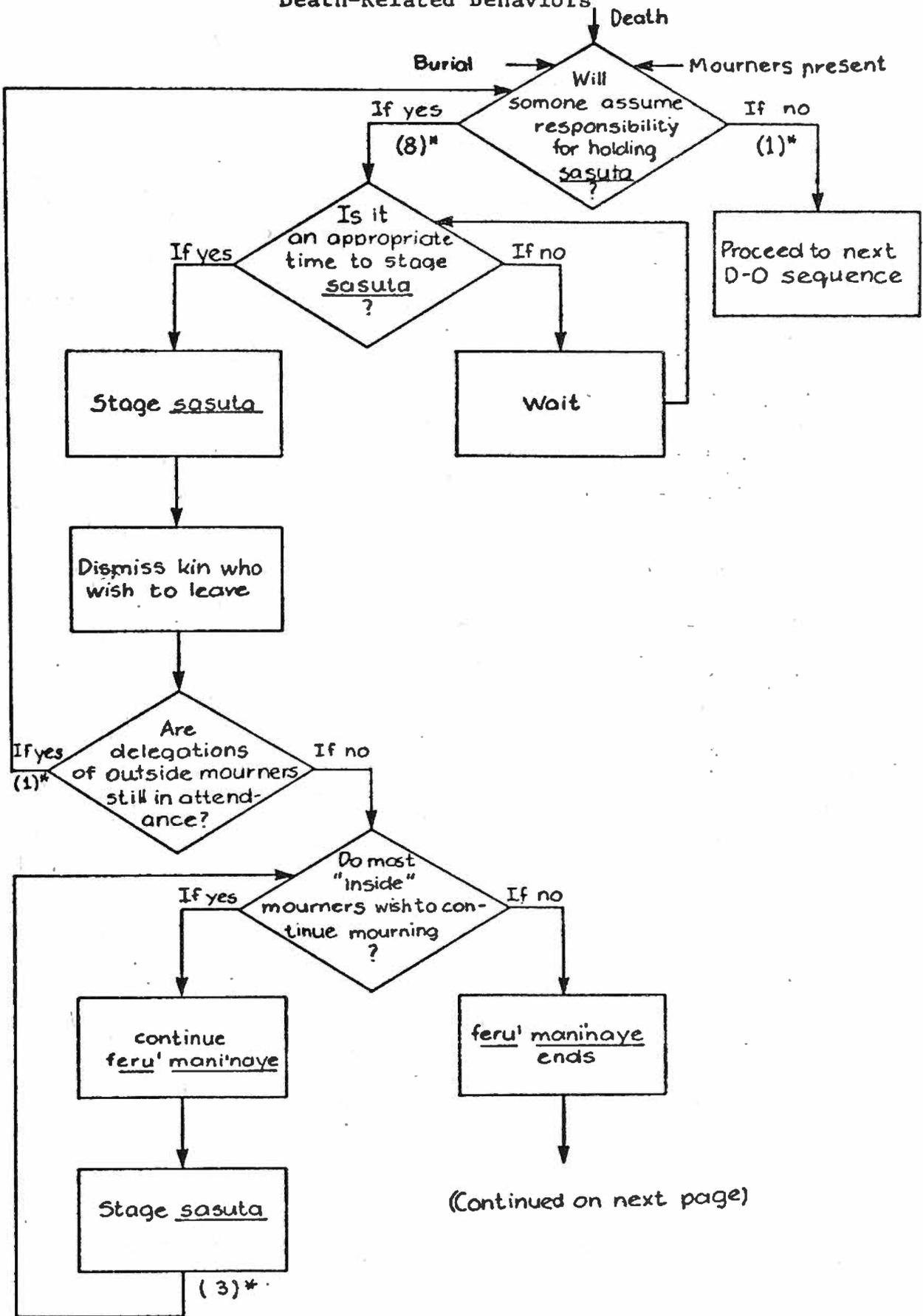
There are many more decisions and operations, in the form of sub-routines off the main D-0 sequence shown in Figure 11b and as separate

D-0 sequences, than have been discussed here. The actual isu'yana involves operations like "Kill pigs," "Obtain firewood," "Prepare earth oven sites," "Butcher pigs," "Bring cooked pigs to actual distribution site," etc. Individual families must also decide the extent to which they will participate and whether, in particular, they will slaughter one or more pigs for the occasion. They must also decide how they will distribute their pork. Differing answers to such considerations result in the variability summarized in Table 3, 19d.

In eight of the ten cases on which I have records (excluding F), the agnatic group staged at least one sasuta. In general the larger the number of mourners the greater the number of sasuta. Though the times at which sasuta are staged and the number of classes of people who are involved are somewhat variable the basic principle involved is relatively straightforward and is mapped in Figure 12a.

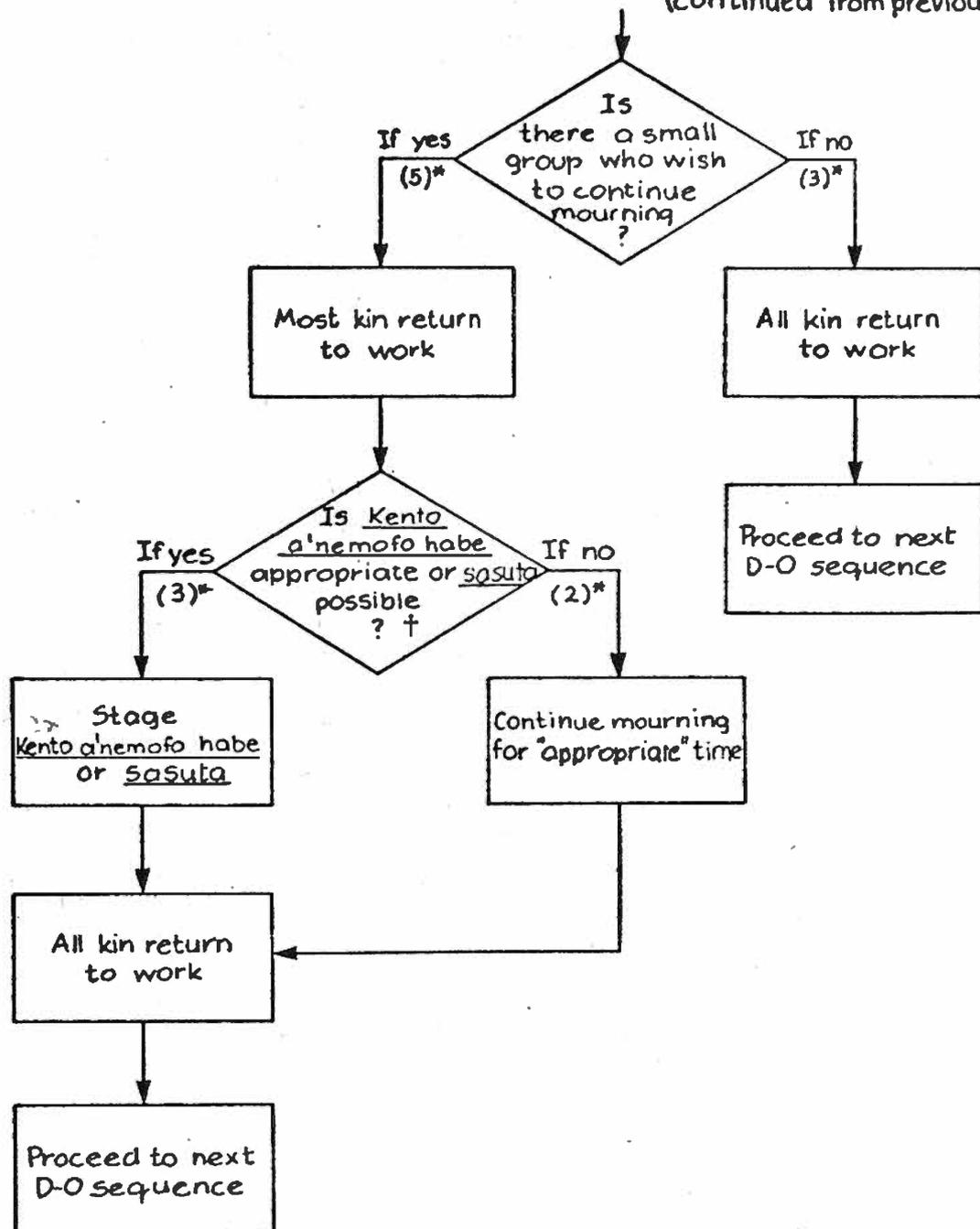
As a rule a sasuta is held if there is someone who will organize the preparation of the earth oven and supply an important share of the food to be cooked and if there is a group of mourners. With many mourners present less closely related kinsmen are dismissed after the first of several sasuta. The closest kin (e.g., widows, brothers) may continue their mourning beyond the formal end of feru' mani'naye. They are formally dismissed by a final feast--a kento a'nemofu habe for a widow (if not already staged) or bagarie. In two cases, a final feast was considered inappropriate. In Case G the widow was seriously ill and secluded as a health measure, and in Case I the only people in a position to stage a sasuta had already done so. In both cases the mourners continued to mourn for an "appropriate" time and then quietly

FIGURE 12a: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo
Death-Related Behaviors



(Continued on next page)

(continued from previous page)



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome.

† Stated in full: Is kento a'nemofu habe appropriate; or will someone assume responsibility for another sasuta?

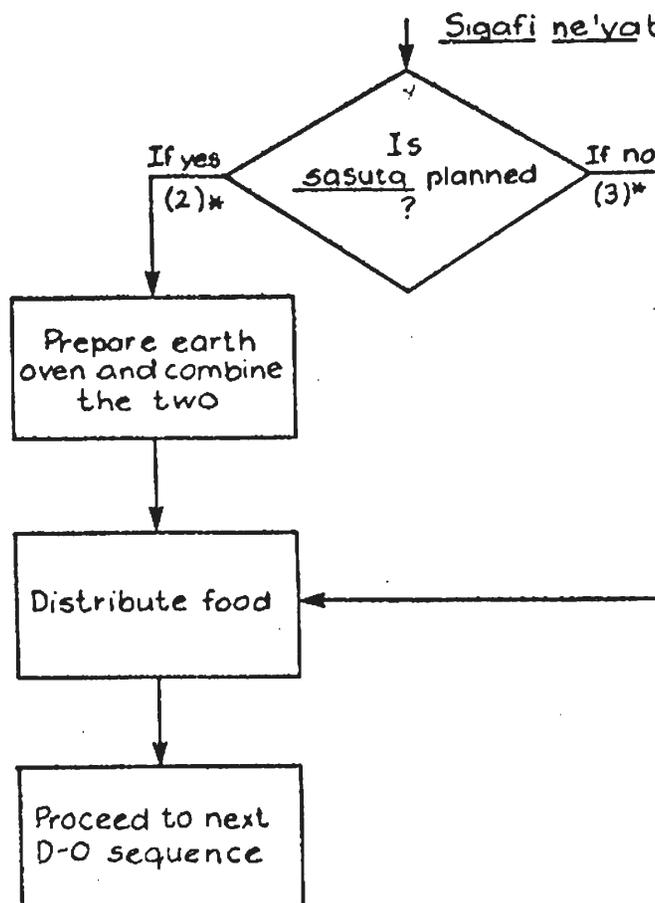
returned to their daily chores.

Setting a time for a sasuta is, aside from the general difficulty of getting agreement on anything, relatively complicated. The agnatic core of the parish must decide how long they wish to have outside mourners in the village who must be fed, housed, and otherwise attended to. The agnates must also decide on the total number of sasuta and the length of time necessary to honor the memory of the deceased by those continuing to observe feru' mani'naye. Nowadays the Kafe often use the introduced concept of a week which ends on a Sunday as a convenient unit of time. Plural sasuta may be scheduled for subsequent or alternate Sundays with mourners going "back to work" on the following Monday.

There are a variety of sub-branching routines of Figure 12a which, though critical to the manifest behavioral content of any particular case, are omitted here. They are involved with the following issues: is it appropriate to publicly impose certain taboos on the property of the deceased; are kimamofa greens to be rubbed on the mourners; and are mourners to use bamboo sections for cooking? Individuals must also decide upon the extent of their participation.

The presentation of sigafi ne'ya, though usually unexpected, is such a common event that a separate D-0 sequence (see Figure 12b) is available for integrating the event into the on-going proceedings. Kin who bring sigafi ne'ya often live close enough to the receiving village to have heard of their plans and bring the pig on the day sasuta is planned. This gives the host village a chance to distribute the pork as part of their sasuta celebration. If a sasuta has not been planned, is already in progress, or has just been completed, the pork will be

FIGURE 12b: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of instances this outcome was manifested. The four instances stem from only three Case Histories (A, B, and K).

accepted and redistributed. If an earth oven has just been prepared the pork will not likely be recooked; otherwise a new oven will be prepared and the food cooked prior to distribution.

Figure 13 shows the "major" concomitants of widow seclusion. Nowadays the Kafe are somewhat lax in deciding when the widow should end her seclusion. The widow of C, for example, ended her seclusion the day before the kento a'nemofo habe; and the two widows of B just stopped one day because the other old women decided that it was bad for them to be sequestered for so long. Much later, when all were ready to return to work, the men prepared an earth oven in their honor which took on the appearance of a kento a'nemofo habe. There are further sub-branching routines off the main sequence of Figure 8c which deal with related issues: the preparation of any "widow's weeds," the reversal of the grass above the door of the house upon her exit from seclusion, and accompaniment of the widow out of the house.

Table 7 lists the remaining items of Table 4 not included in a D-0 sequence or otherwise discussed. Consideration of the "Public discussion" item is reserved for section 6.2.

The pork presented by one of the Homaya agnates as an isu'yana payment (Item 1) was given during the last sasuta (bagarie) for A because, it was announced, the recipient was a member of a parish group which lived at a great distance and it was unlikely that they would be able to attend the distribution. In truth no one intended to kill a pig for this sasuta. The pig was caught inside someone's garden and shot on the spot. Since no pig would ever be wasted the owner decided to use it as sasuta which was conveniently being held that day. He

FIGURE 13: D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors

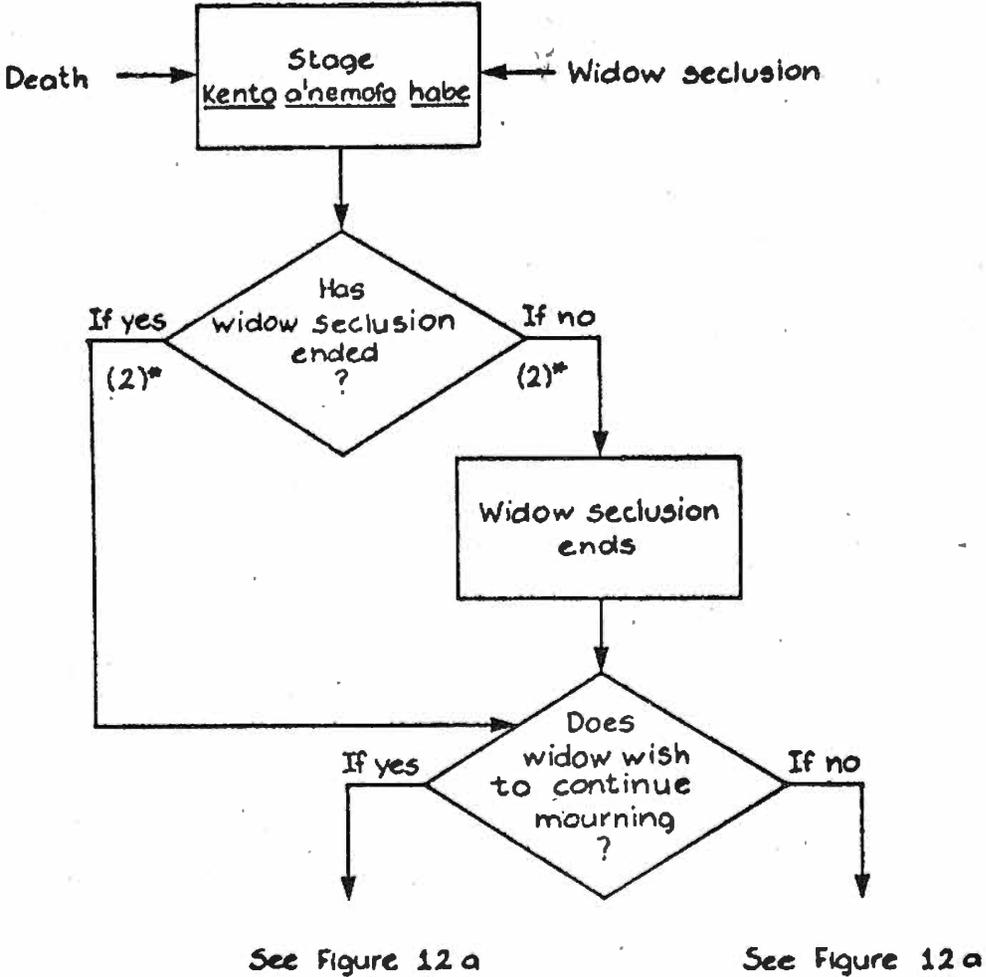


TABLE 7: Behavioral Items from Table 4 Not Included in D-O Sequences 10 through 13

	<u>Case A</u>	<u>Case B</u>	<u>Case F</u>	<u>Case K</u>
1.	One <u>isu'yana</u> payment made	---	---	---
2.	Pigs killed in a garden	---	---	---
3.	<u>Isu'yana</u>	---	---	---
4.	---	Sugar cane cut and left to rot	---	---
5.	---	Sorcerers "sighted"	---	---
6.	---	Pig offered as <u>sasuta</u> is refused	---	---
7.	---	---	Money collected	---
8.	---	---	Money dispersed	---
9.	---	---	---	Garden magic used as retribution
10.	---	---	---	Self-mutilation by two agnates

added to his prestige by offering part of it as isu'yana.

Very similar circumstances explain Items 2 and 3. Three pigs were discovered in a man's garden and, in his rage, he shot and killed them. Many of the adult men met and, with the owners, agreed to cook the pigs and carry them off to a few of those who were to be recipients at an upcoming isu'yana. The D-0 sequence governing the socially acceptable use of pork "overrode" the sequence dealing with formal ceremonial distributions.

Item 4 is an example of tasa atre'yane, something of value destroyed by the owner in his grief. In this case the deceased asked for sugar cane before he died; but no one cut some for him, perhaps unaware of the seriousness of the illness and the closeness of death. Remembering the unfulfilled wish one of the mourners went to his garden, cut some sugar cane, and left it to rot in a tree near the site where the body once lay in state.

When village members are edgy from frequent sorcery attacks, sorcerers are frequently "sighted" (Item 5). The call goes out, and the men respond by grabbing their bows and arrows and going off in pursuit.

Item 6 bears a resemblance to Items 1, 2, and 3 though Homaya in this case was on the receiving end of the pork prestation. A man from Bafo found that his pig had been shot in another man's garden. The owner decided that his kinship ties with the deceased man B allowed him to offer his pig to the survivors as sigafi ne'ya. Much to his humiliation the idea was not immediately accepted, and he eventually used the pig for another obligation.

The issue raised by Items 7 and 8 took place during F's funeral. The classificatory brother of F took F's body to Homaya for burial, and automatically assumed responsibility for his actions. When Homaya men learned of the arrival of the corpse by plane in the town of Goroka some hired a truck to carry the body back to the village. This cost became their burden and F's classificatory brother refused to pay it. The money that was dispersed (Item 8) was the extra money raised by F's classificatory brother to buy a coffin for the deceased and plane fare to Goroka. In Homaya he placed the money on F's coffin. The surviving kin shared this money on the basis of their contribution to F's funerary observances. It was an unusual proceeding but was governed by rules of sharing and reciprocity.

The last two items (9 and 10) occurred during K's death. Close kin of the deceased used a go-between to inform an important group of non-resident agnates of K's death. This man was irresponsible and the kin did not learn of K's death until after he was buried. They were furious; and, when they finally arrived, got their revenge by using garden magic to make Bafo run short of food. Such action is common when the relations between two groups who are not otherwise enemies are strained.

Self-mutilation by cutting off finger joints or slitting earlobes was previously a common reaction to death, but is rare now because of mission pressure. During K's funeral a non-resident brother of the deceased cut off a joint of his little finger. When his sister saw this she felt shame, as a woman, for not having done so first and felt sorry for her brother in his pain. She mutilated herself in a similar way.

4.6. Descriptive Adequacy and the "Psychological Reality" of D-0

Sequences

I have approached the reality of Homaya-Bafo death-related behaviors by focussing on decisions about and operations for behavior and by regarding these as questions about how and what information is processed. Ultimately, of course, the brain is responsible for this information processing, actively retrieving, categorizing, contextualizing, and matching all stimuli, whether external or internal to it. How it does this--i.e., what neurochemical or neuro-electrical code it uses--remains largely a mystery though the neurophysiological processes and neuro-anatomical structures by which it does this are receiving increasing attention from investigators (Laughlin and d'Aquili, 1974; Pribram, 1971).

The D-0 sequences used here are a way of simulating the cognitive procedures that individual actors employ before embarking upon a course of action. Like flowcharts used for computer programming, the D-0 sequences presented here do not function in terms of a fixed order of steps; but rather a "series of tests" (Restle, 1969) during which information inherent in a current situation is matched against similar information, placed within a salient context created by the brain, and, if necessary, evaluated for further decisions or operations.

These "series of tests" are cultural units, cultural in the sense that they generate acceptable behaviors and reflect shared experience and units in the sense that once the input conditions are met and the series thereby set in motion there will be a follow-through until an exit point is reached. The further question which must be asked is

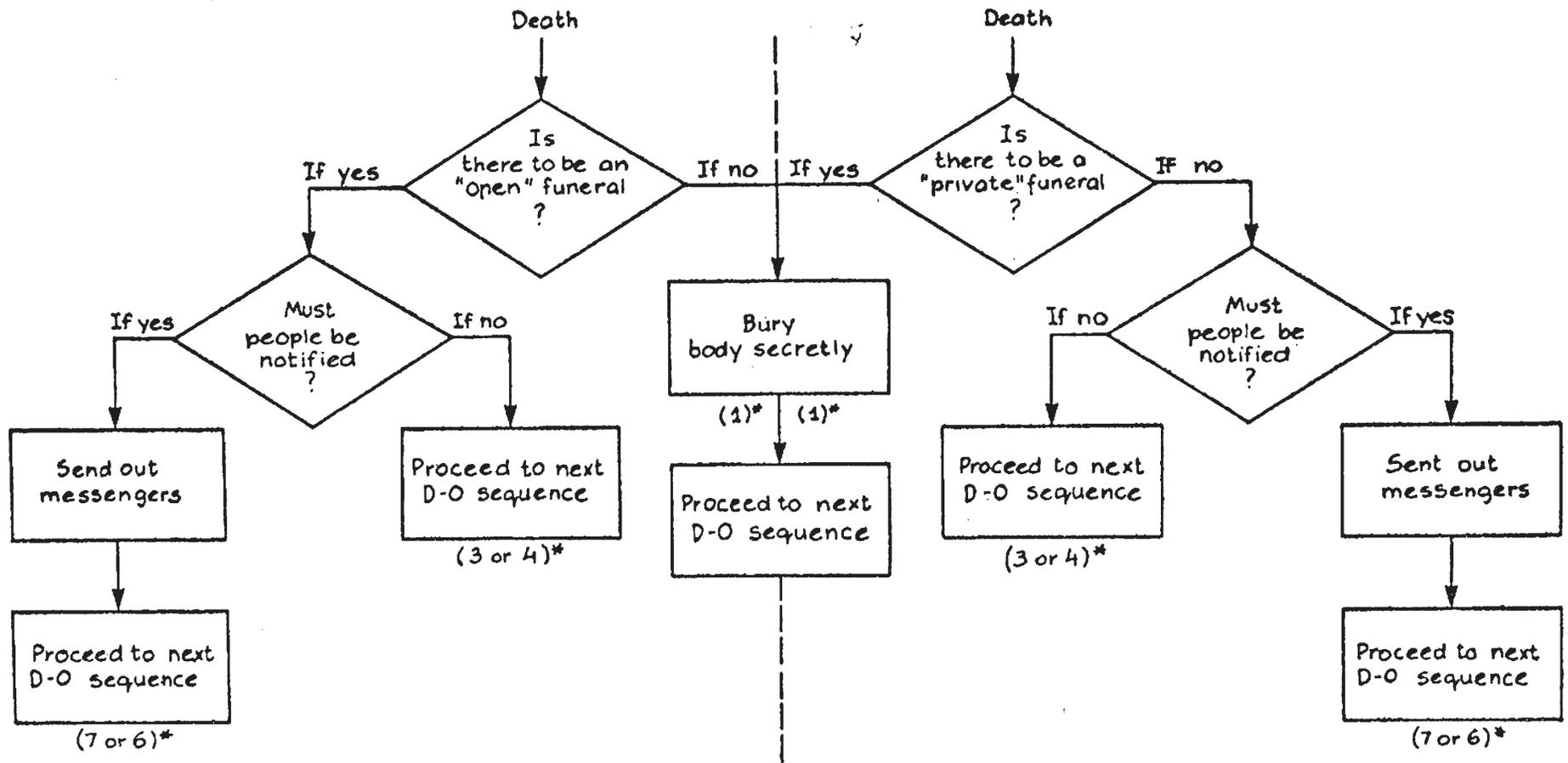
whether these units are in any sense psychologically real (Wallace, 1965) as well. That is, do they mirror the way the Kafe actually think about what they are to do and in the terms set out by the sequences?

There are a number of issues which relate to the question of the psychological reality of the descriptive paradigm used here. In the first place nodes may be "collapsed," a more inclusive one being used rather than a less inclusive one either for the sake of brevity or because of incomplete data. This is exemplified in Figure 1 and 1a. After the kin perform a divination they must decide whether the culprits have been adequately pinpointed or whether further evidence from another divination is necessary. In Figure 1, I have indicated that a negative answer results in further divinations until all agree that the evidence is satisfactory.

Figure 1a, on the other hand, specifies the expanded form which could have been written into Figure 1. It raises the issue of whether the first type of divination need be replaced by a more efficient or trustworthy type. Hence the branching exhibited in Figure 1--and elsewhere as well--is an abbreviated form and is therefore not "psychologically real." On the other hand, such additional branching can be fleshed out--data permitting--if the level of description warrants.

A second issue is illustrated in Figure 14 which is an expanded version of Figure 2. Here the two figures on each side of the dotted line are mirror images of each other, and are produced simply by changing the wording of the first decisional node. Having an "open" funeral has the same behavioral effect as not having a "private" funeral.

FIGURE 14: Mirror-Image of D-O Sequence Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



* Numbers in parentheses refer to number of case histories manifesting this outcome. The double number reflects uncertainty over whether news of the death was disseminated in the case of individual H.

In many cases where the data allow two different phraseologies, the use of one over the other may beg the issue of psychological reality, but still generate the same subsequent behavioral and decisional nodes and case history outcomes.

A third issue relates to the fact that some decision nodes, as set out in the flowcharts, are timed in anticipation of some event rather than in reaction to one. In Figure 8b, for example, there are decisional nodes such as "Is grave dug?" and "Has coffin been sealed?" which may be considered by participants numerous times after the death. However, they may not become behaviorally manifest until immediately before the grave is filled since it is at this time that these nodes undergo a final "run-through." If we admit to their probable existence at other times this limits the psychological reality of the D-O sequences as constructed. It might perhaps be more "correct" to have another D-O sequence, or series of them, in which these nodes continually recycle and are intertwined with the other, reactively defined nodes.

Fourth, some of the decision nodes are not strictly defined in temporal terms, but are logical necessities given observationally-based preceding and subsequent nodes. Thus the node "Is type of divination used available and/or satisfactory?" of Figure 1a might be, in the minds of some Kafe, more specifically written as "Are the personnel or are the necessary props available to do this divination?" or perhaps something else again. It frequently occurs that, away from the field, one discovers a seeming logical inconsistency in informant behavior. One can construct the missing link with some certainty, but one simply cannot be assured of the exact content.

Fifth and finally, with the exception of Figure 5, all branchings from decision nodes have been rendered in a bipolar, "yes-no" format. This is partly for convenience and partly because it frequently seems to be the way the Kafe consciously resolve issues. To the extent, however, that information is processed simultaneously such that multiple alternatives are considered at once the procedure followed in the D-0 sequence is erroneous. Nevertheless it does seem to be the case that all information meeting certain requirements can be recoded within such a binary format (Oldfield, 1954), and that it may represent a functional property of neural processing. The model as a whole may offer us an analog of what goes on in the "black box" (Keesing, 1970b: 444).

Summing up the evidence it is clear that the decision nodes, as presented, do not necessarily reflect how people actually think and are not in this sense psychologically valid. Indeed, any linear, graphic representation of cognitive processes will be subject to some kind of distortion. However, I have tried to show that, at least in most cases, how the anthropologist might phrase the decision--or, indeed, how the Kafe might actually do it (and this may differ from occasion to occasion)--does not necessarily have any bearing on the relation of this kind of consideration to subsequent operational and decisional nodes. The purpose of D-0 sequences is to give the direction of thought and action (Reitman, 1965), not only by way of describing appropriate behavior within a given set of circumstances (Keesing, 1971: 46), but also by defining elements in a system in terms of their sequential relationships. This is an important part of the answer to

the problem of specifying the context within any single D-0 sequence in which overt behavior occurs in order to account for why action X was undertaken rather than Y with which it seems to logically contrast.

The D-0 sequences are valid in another respect. By examining the contexts that the nodes and external inputs establish for other nodes one can isolate the points in any D-0 sequence whether further knowledge about the context is needed both by the investigator and by the actor. Both may be at a loss, but both know it; and each has an idea of the additional kind of information needed.

5. Subjective Evaluation of Decision-Making Criteria

5.1. The Analysis of Context

Virtually all of the D-0 sequences in the previous chapter contain decision nodes which require cultural members to actively, but subjectively, evaluate a series of complex factors. In many cases I have itemized some of these factors, but have not suggested how this cognitive reckoning process actually takes place. In this respect the description of on-going behavior during Kafe funerals falls short in its effort to model the individual's perceptions of relevant social stimuli and the correlation of these with overt behavior. In this section I wish to advance such a paradigm for subjective decision-making.

Modeling subjective decision-making requires an understanding of "context," a concept apparent in some recent anthropological work, but explicitly investigated only in the writings of Bateson (1972) and Keesing (1967; 1970b; 1972). Bateson placed the concept within a cybernetic, information-processing framework and treated it as a cover term for all those variables which affect how environmentally-based messages are classified and interpreted by the organism. Together Bateson's and Keesing's writings have made two important propositions explicit: that context is something in the minds of informants, not something which exists as an independent environmental entity; and that what is important to the organism is not events and objects per se but the information which is contained in them. This theoretical orientation implies that the main task in the formal description and interpretation of subjective decision-making (and other cultural phenomena)

lies in coming to terms with how humans retrieve, evaluate, and process information. Elaborating salient context is a significant part of this undertaking.

Human information-processing must obviously take place in the brain/mind. Pribram (Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, 1960; Pribram, 1971) has suggested a logical, neurobehavioral "unit" to account for a great deal of human cognitive functioning. This unit is the TOTE, or Test-Operate-Test-Exit. The TOTE incorporates the concept of feedback, whereby "external" stimuli are compared and tested against some pre-existent neurologically-based model (the Test phase) which initiates activity (the Operate phase)--either within the nervous system or in the "external world"--to reduce any discrepancy between input and model until the Test phase is "satisfied." Once this occurs the organism proceeds (or Exits) from one TOTE unit and on to the next. In complex behavior TOTE units are arranged in hierarchies, from lower level, simple technological tasks to higher-order thought processes.

Given this view of mind and neurobehavioral process, "context" may be defined as all information, whether ultimately perceptual, social, emotional, or otherwise, relevant to the organism during the Test phase of cognitive activity. It is the background against which new informational inputs are measured, evaluated, and which together are related, probabilistically, in complex stimulus-response chains to overt behavior. While the emphasis on this approach is on individual structuring of environmental cues the fact that actors in any given culture have expectations of one another's behavior which are sufficiently congruent and minimally correlated with reality suggests that there are cultural

rules for the contextualization process. Certainly this position underlies all anthropological attempts to come to grips with the emic definition of context.

5.2. A Model of Subjective Decision-Making

I have selected two decision nodes from the thirteen D-0 sequences in Chapter 4 to present the model. The nodes are as follows: "Is divination necessary?" from Figures 1 and 3b, and "Is sorcery involved in the death?" from Figure 1.

In Table 8 I have listed three variables that pertain to how individual Kafe decide whether a death requires divination. The two critical issues are: (1) whether we can refer at least part of the internal "model(s)" that informants have and against which they evaluate (Test) environmental messages (stimuli) for similarity or difference in pattern, and (2) whether we can discern how that pattern is matched with overt behavior (response). All three variables relate to circumstances surrounding the death. Item (a) concerns the presence or absence of a diagnosis of sorcery prior to death; item (b) discusses the manner of death, whether it was relatively sudden or came only after a "lingering" illness; and item (c) refers to whether the time and place the victim contracted his fatal illness is known. The yes-no entries in the Table refer simply to the presence of absence or these contextual features in the twelve instances of death on which information is complete.

The headings for the items used in the Table are not to be understood as necessarily representing conscious thought processes. Rather these variables approximate the kinds of information which are salient

TABLE 8: Variables and Their Distribution Affecting the Decision

"Is Divination Necessary?"

Individual Cases	Contextual Items	(a) Diagnosis of Sorcery Prior to Death	(b) Relatively Sudden Death	(c) Etiology (time & place) Known
A		Yes	No	Yes
B		No	Yes	No
C		Yes	No	Yes
D		No	Yes	No
E		No	Yes	Yes
F		No	Yes	Yes
G		Yes	No	Yes
H		No	Yes	No
I		Yes	No	Yes
J		No	Yes	Yes
K		Yes	No	Yes
L		No	Yes	No

to the Kafe. They follow from how the Kafe talk about situations and the decisions they have to make, the answers to questions designed to elicit contextual clues, responses to hypothetical situations in which suspected variables are manipulated, and on my knowledge of Kafe belief and society. Also some of the variables represent an abstraction of the known facts. Thus in (c), for example, no Kafe spoke in terms of an abstract concept of etiology, comprised of "onset of illness" and "place where the illness may have been contracted." Rather, the Kafe speak in great detail and with great specificity about where a particular person became sick and in what way, and they recognize a variety of outcomes. What is important in the following analysis, however, is not the specifics of a particular case but simply whether or not the time and place at which an illness was contracted is known, an order of analytic abstraction which allows identification of informational congruency among all cases. This procedure follows from Keesing's suggestion that, at the lowest level, contextual stimuli may be clearly structured, simple, and relatively easy for the anthropologist to grasp (Keesing, 1970b: 447).

For convenience Table 9 transforms the entries of Table 8 into a binary coding language. It also matches the contextual items for each case with whether divination was considered. The three distinct informational patterns manifested in the data are listed below:

(a)	(b)	(c)	
0	1	0	Yes (4 cases)
1	0	1	Yes (5 cases)
0	1	1	No (3 cases)

TABLE 9: Variables and Their Distribution Affecting the Decision "Is Divination Necessary?" and Case History Outcomes

Individual Cases	Contextual Items	(a) Diagnosis of Sorcery Prior to Death	(b) Relatively Sudden Death	(c) Etiology (time and place) Known	Outcome: Divination Considered?
	A	1	0	1	Yes
	B	0	1	0	Yes
	C	1	0	1	Yes
	D	0	1	0	Yes
	E	0	1	1	No
	F	0	1	1	No
	G	1	0	1	Yes
	H	0	1	0	Yes
	I	1	0	1	Yes
	J	0	1	1	No
	K	1	0	1	Yes
	L	0	1	0	Yes

Key:

0 = No

1 = Yes

The question is which combination(s) of items could serve as the context for the decision to perform a divination.

Considered both individually and in groups the three items (a, b, and c) may be arranged in seven different combinations (ignoring their internal arrangement) as follows¹: (a), (b), (c), (a) + (b), (a) + (c), (b) + (c), and (a) + (b) + (c). Four of these combinations-- (a), (b), (c), and (a) + (b)-- are not predictive and may be discarded as contextual indicators because their values (0 or 1) do not constitute unique sets differentiating between "Yes" and "No" outcomes. In the set (a) + (b), for example, both the "Yes" and "No" outcomes are matched with an (0) + (1) pattern. Thus in spite of informant statements or observer-based observations some variables can be shown to have no regular input to the structure of context.

The remaining three combinations do differentiate between the two outcomes:

(a) + (c) → Outcome			(b) + (c) → Outcome			(a) + (b) + (c) → Outcome		
0	0	→ Yes	1	0	→ Yes	0	1	0 → Yes
1	1	→ Yes	0	1	→ Yes	1	0	1 → Yes
0	1	→ No	1	1	→ No	0	1	1 → No

¹Number of combinations derived from the following equation:

$$\sum_{r=1}^n n C_r$$

The sum of all combinations of n items taken r at a time with r ranging between 1 and n.

Thus even though the two "Yes" patterns for each combination of items are different each is unlike the "No" pattern. The crucial item here is (c) since it appears in all three combinations. When (c) has a "1" value and (a) is "0" and/or (b) is "1" there will be no divination. In other words, we are left with the conclusion that all three items are important variables to the Kafe as they analyze and contextualize the death; and when the etiology is known and there is no diagnosis of sorcery prior to death and/or it is a relatively sudden death there will be no divination performed. If this is the mental pattern which the Kafe hold they presumably "scan" memory and immediate external events to determine whether the case at hand conforms to the pre-established informational pattern (see also Maron, 1965).

Divination is the most often used method to determine whether a death was caused by sorcery; but, as mentioned earlier (see 3.3.2.), this is subject to conscious and unconscious human manipulations. Results are "planned;" they are not left to chance. Hence it is valid to search for contextual determinants of divinatory procedures. Moreover in three of the twelve instances examined here there was no divination and sorcery was still adduced as the cause of death in one of these three.

Initial examination of Kafe statements reveals the potential importance of seven variables:

- (a) Sorcery practices reported to be of frequent occurrence.
- (b) A prior death in the village as yet unavenged.
- (c) The presence of close kin of the deceased who have some "advantage" to be gained in terms of enhanced prestige if sorcery

were involved in the death.¹

(d) The presence of symptoms indicating the operation of sorcery prior to death.

(e) Additional illness factors, such as length of time between onset and death, which might suggest the operation of sorcery.

(Though such factors may be extremely diverse they are regarded here as having information similarity.)

(f) Diagnostician in to see the patient prior to death.²

(g) Sorcery strongly suspected before a death.

The presence of these variables in the twelve cases is shown in Table 10.

Table 11 assigns values (0 or 1) to contextual items. Two items--the frequency of sorcery practices (a), and an unavenged prior death (b)--consistently show a "1" value, and may therefore be discarded. They are irrelevant in spite of, or perhaps because of, the Kafe belief system which predisposes them to think of constantly hostile and unsatisfied enemies.

¹Sorcerers tend to attack only the powerful and well-known. Being attacked by a sorcerer or having a close family member attacked is therefore a confirmation of one's status.

²"Diagnostician" is a convenient shorthand but misrepresents the Kafe material. There is no such official in Kafe society nor even any such formal role. Any adult male and most women can make a diagnosis. It is clear that what the Kafe are referring to is a man classed as a ra behe (older, influential man), called in by the victim's close relatives, asked to give a diagnostic opinion, and probably asked to undertake any suitable cure known to him.

TABLE 10: Variables and Their Distribution Affecting the Decision

"Is Sorcery Involved in the Death?"

Contextual Items Individual Cases	(a) Sorcery Prevalent	(b) Prior Death Unavenged	(c) Advantage to be Attained by Sorcery Diagnosis	(d) Symptoms for Citing Sorcery	(e) Additional Factors Relating to the Illness
A	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
B	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
C	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
D	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
E	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
F	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
G	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
H	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
I	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
J	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
K	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
L	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

TABLE 10: Variables and Their Distribution Affecting the Decision

"Is Sorcery Involved in the Death?" (con't)

Individual Cases	Contextual Items	(f) Diagnostician In to See the Patient	(g) Sorcery Strongly Suspected Before Death
A		Yes	Yes
B		No	Yes
C		Yes	Yes
D		No	No
E		No	No
F		No	No
G		Yes	Yes
H		No	No
I		Yes	Yes
J		No	No
K		Yes	Yes
L		No	No

TABLE 11: Variables and Their Distribution Affecting the Decision "Is Sorcery Involved in the Death?" and Case History Outcomes

Individual Cases	Contextual Items	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
		Sorcery Prevalent	Prior Death Unavenged	Advantage to Be Attained by Sorcery Diagnosis	Symptoms for Citing Sorcery	Additional Factors Relating to the Illness
A		1	1	0	1	1
B		1	1	1	1	1
C		1	1	0	1	1
D		1	1	0	1	1
E		1	1	1	1	1
F		1	1	0	1	1
G		1	1	0	1	1
H		1	1	1	1	1
I		1	1	0	1	1
J		1	1	0	0	0
K		1	1	0	1	1
L		1	1	1	1	1

TABLE 11: Variables and Their Distribution Affecting the Decision "Is Sorcery Involved in the Death?" and Case History Outcomes (con't)

Individual Cases	Contextual Items	(f) Diagnostician In to See the Patient	(g) Sorcery Strongly Suspected Before Death	Outcome: Sorcery Operative?
A		1	1	Yes
B		0	1	Yes
C		1	1	Yes.
D		0	0	No
E		0	0	Yes
F		0	0	No
G		1	1	Yes
H		0	0	Yes
I		1	1	Yes
J		0	0	No
K		1	1	Yes
L		0	0	Yes

Key:

0 = No

1 = Yes

The five remaining items (c through g) may be arranged individually and in groups, into 31 combinations.¹ Of these 19² do not have values (0 or 1) which predict whether or not sorcery was cited as the cause of death. Of the 12 combinations which do have value patterns that reliably predict outcomes, two of them are two-item combinations, five are three-item combinations, four are four-item combinations, and one is a five-item combination.³ As in the previous problem, the minimal combination necessary to predict both "Yes-No" outcomes is the two-item set. The patterns for both two-item sets [(c) + (f), (c) + (g)] are summarized below:

(c) + (f) → Outcome				(c) + (g) → Outcome			
1	0	→	Yes	1	1	→	Yes
0	1	→	Yes	0	1	→	Yes
1	0	→	Yes	1	0	→	Yes
0	0	→	No	0	0	→	No
0	0	→	No	0	0	→	No

$$1 \quad \sum_{r=1}^5 s C_r$$

²(c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (c) + (d), (c) + (e), (d) + (e), (d) + (f), (d) + (g), (e) + (f), (e) + (g), (f) + (g), (c) + (d) + (e), (d) + (e) + (f), (d) + (e) + (g), (d) + (f) + (g), (e) + (f) + (g), (d) + (e) + (f) + (g).

³Two-item combinations: (c) + (f), (c) + (g). Three-item combinations: (c) + (d) + (f), (c) + (d) + (g), (c) + (e) + (f), (c) + (e) + (g), (c) + (f) + (g). Four-item combinations: (c) + (d) + (e) + (f), (c) + (d) + (e) + (g), (c) + (e) + (f) + (g), (c) + (d) + (f) + (g). Five-item combination: (c) + (d) + (e) + (f) + (g).

The contextual item common to both sets is (c). A "No" value for (c) and a "No" value for either (f) and/or (g) is sufficient to distinguish "No" outcomes from the variety of patterns matched with "Yes" outcomes. In other words, the analysis reveals that sorcery was not involved as the cause for death when the death occurred in a context in which, 1.) no one had anything to gain by attributing sorcery as the cause, and 2.) no diagnostician had offered an opinion and/or sorcery had not been strongly suspected before death.

5.3. The Analysis of Subjective Decision-Making: Further Considerations

The information-processing approach used here attempts to "tease out" the conditions which are related to types of performance (of whatever kind) in order to produce a cognitive model which is generative and which "explains" the phenomena in question. The resultant model need not necessarily be unique (Reitman, 1969: 263). Though context is meaningful in terms of the pattern of bits of information the internal ordering of the pattern is not crucial to the argument here--whether a binary pattern reads 0 0 1 0 or 1 0 0 0 or 0 1 0 0, etc. Variables are explicitly given equal weight and define the total message on a non-priority basis.

There may be additional relevant items than those listed in either of the two examples. However, it is likely that the discovery of additional variables will enrich, rather than negate, the model. Moreover, other variables cannot be adduced simply because they seem to be relevant. Their addition must be subject to a test: they either fit with the pattern already developed or they must be discarded.

Human behavior, particularly subjective decision-making, is admittedly complex, and it may be that a fully explanatory model is impossible. Nevertheless, there must be some level at which simulation of cognitive processes is possible. Children of a culture learn the rules for behavior and how to "read" environmental cues before producing that behavior. This suggests the anthropologist can also learn to do so. Within limits the anthropologist should be able to replicate the rules for the contextualization of behavior and recognize what are presumably relatively simple informational patterns.

6. Kafe Death-Related Behaviors, Decision-Making Models, and the Organization of Diversity

6.1. "Structure" in Kafe Death-Related Behaviors

The description of death and funerals in Kafe society is represented by Figures 1 through 13 in Chapter 4. In principle, all the decision nodes in those sequences requiring subjective decision-making are resolved by the cognitive process illustrated in Chapter 5.

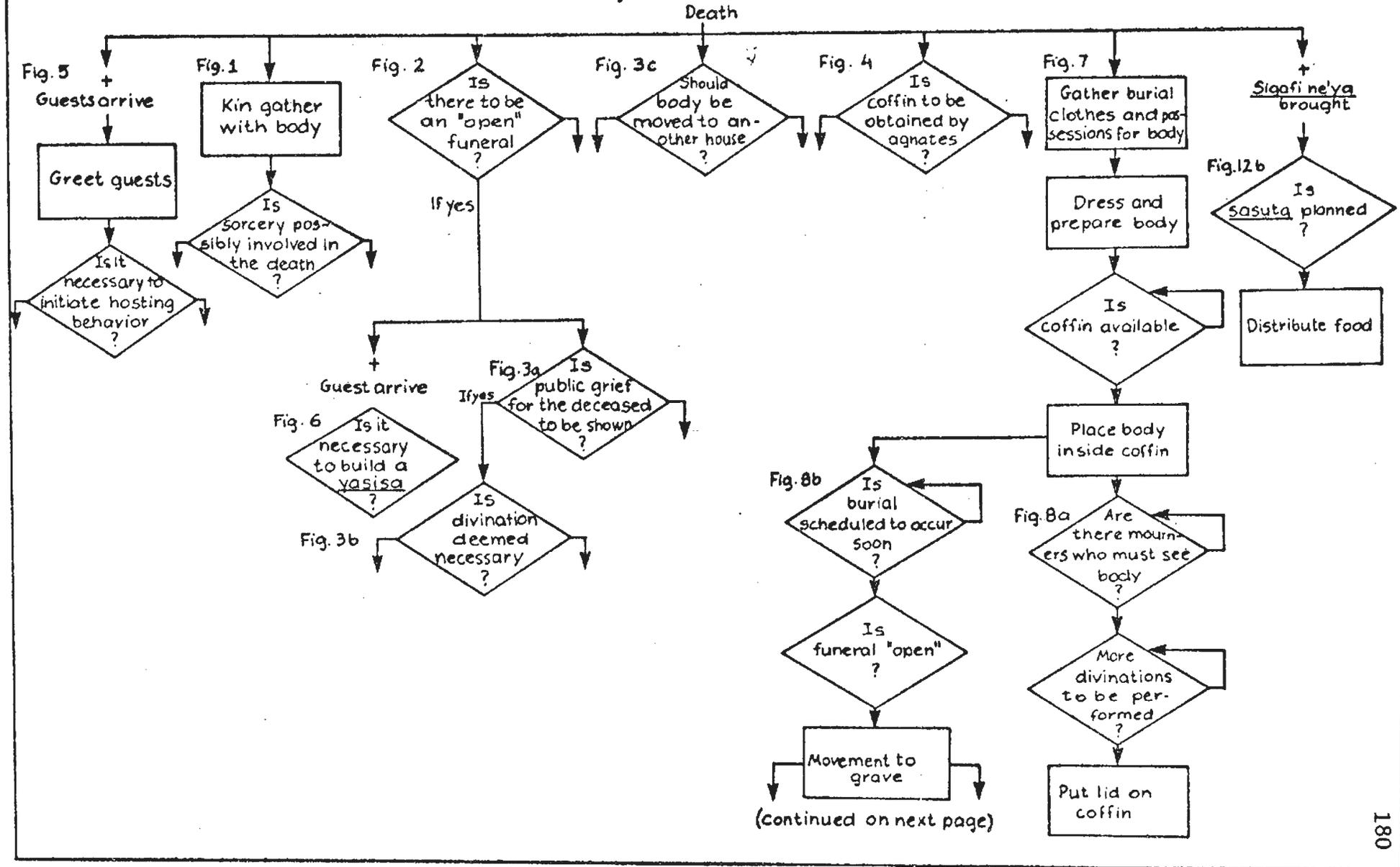
Both the flowcharts and the subjective decision-making models are "summary" accounts. They do not depict the actions of any single participant, but include the potential actions of any participant based upon the total sample of observed and recorded behavioral data. Whether the actual behavioral differences stem from essentially the same cognitive "map" and represent different "expressions" of it or whether they stem from markedly different maps is unclear, but both are possible. From the standpoint of participants in a funeral this distinction is irrelevant. Faced with culturally acceptable behavioral diversity the relevant issue for participants and anthropologists alike is how actions and crucial decision nodes are structured so that individuals may be mobilized and organized when a death occurs. Examination of the flowcharts themselves reveals this structure.

Figure 15 shows the interrelationships of the D-0 sequences through their initiating inputs. All the initial nodes of the D-0 sequences are included as well as all subsequent nodes which are invariably found.

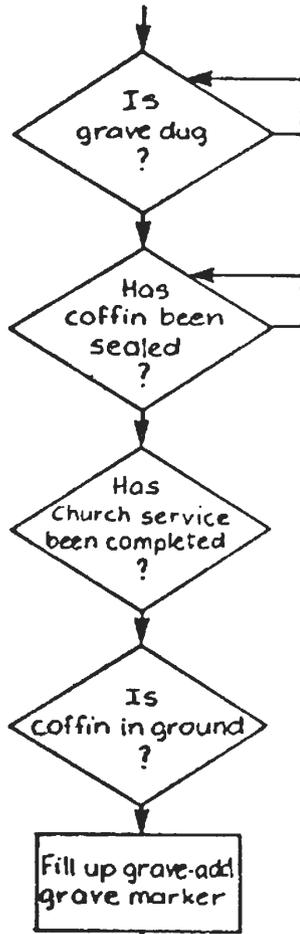
The input conditions for the D-0 sequences in Figure 15 divide into three classes: (1) those in which the fact of death is a necessary and sufficient condition to initiate a sequence; (2) those in which it is a

FIGURE 15: Interrelationships of Invariable Features of D-O Sequences

Isolated from Homaya-Bafo Death-Related Behaviors



Burial



Presence of a widow Fig. 8c

Begin widow seclusion

Fig. 13

Stage Kento a'nemofa habe

Has widow seclusion ended?

Does widow wish to continue mourning?

Fig. 11b

Is isuyana type 2 appropriate and/or desirable?

Fig. 9

Fear for body or contact with deceased?

Is grave free from destruction by pigs?

Fig. 10 Are people to observe feru'mani'nyaye?

Return to village

Perform ritual at house where body lay in state

Is feru'mani'nyaye appropriate?

Kin recommence daily chores

outsiders mourn

Fig. 11 a

Is isuyana type 1 appropriate and/or desirable?

Fig 12a

Will someone assume responsibility for holding sasuta?

necessary but insufficient condition; and (3) those in which death is neither necessary nor sufficient. Inputs of the first class result in certain D-0 sequences always being present after a death. Inputs of the second class may be further divided into two sub-classes: (2a) those which invariably follow or accompany death and invariably lead to further D-0 sequences, and (2b) those which are generated by particular outcomes of D-0 sequences so that their presence is conditional. The third class of inputs occurs on occasions other than death so that the D-0 sequences they trigger occur at other times as well as part of other cultural domains.

Figure 16 includes only those sequences invariably triggered by the fact of death or invariably produced by other sequences which are in turn triggered by death (i.e., sequences with input conditions belonging to classes 1 and 2a). The result is eighteen decision nodes and ten operation nodes, none of which are dependent upon other, extrinsic factors, subjective evaluations, or the outcomes of particular nodes. This combination of D-0 sequences contains and integrates behavioral, cognitive, and temporal components of everyday behavior into a single guiding framework.

In terms of overt behavior, Kafe funerals are rather mundane. At this level there is little to distinguish them from death-related behaviors elsewhere in the world. After death, surviving kin gather with the corpse, seek the proper clothes and personal articles for the body, dress and prepare the body for burial, and then place it in the coffin. They schedule the burial, take the casket to the grave before or after which they place the cover on the coffin and nail it shut.

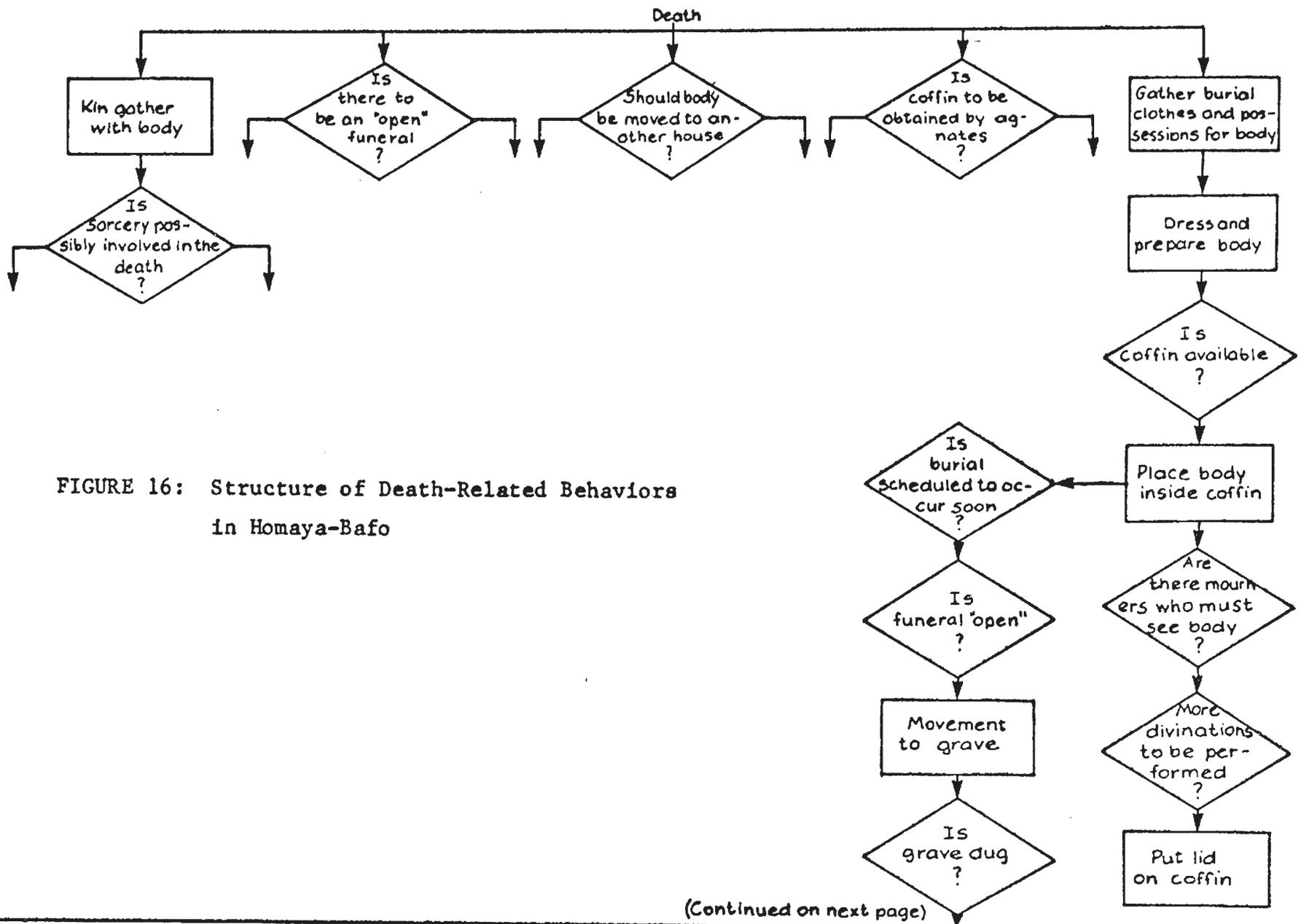
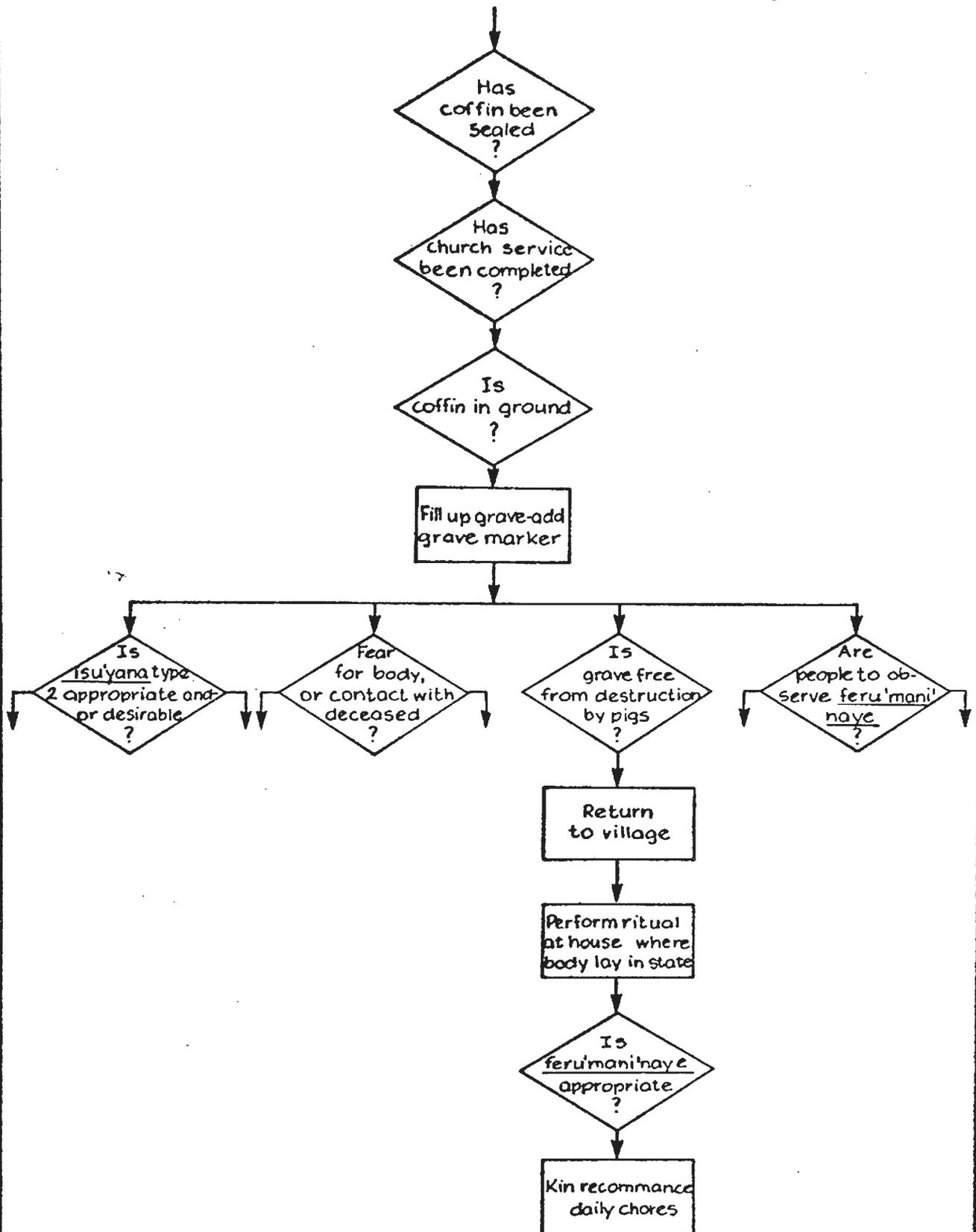


FIGURE 16: Structure of Death-Related Behaviors in Homaya-Bafo

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from previous page)



After burial they add a grave marker and return to the village where they perform a brief "cleansing" ceremony. After a proper time of mourning they recommence their everyday routine.

Death also requires that a variety of important decisions be made: is sorcery potentially involved, is there to be an "open" funeral, should the body be left in the house where death occurred or moved, and what class of kin should be responsible for obtaining the coffin? Before burial participants must further decide whether there are additional mourners who must view the body and whether there are more divinations to be performed. Four other mundane procedural issues must be resolved: is the grave dug, has the coffin been sealed, has the church service been conducted, and, obviously, is the coffin in the ground? After burial there is a final set of important issues: should a type 2 isu'yana be held, is there fear for the preserved sanctity of the corpse or is contact with the deceased expected, is the grave free from destruction by pigs, and are the mourners intending feru' mani'naye?

There are important temporal dimensions in the phasing of nodes. First, events may co-vary in time or follow one another, but simultaneity and sequentiality are properties of relational rather than absolute time. That is, nodes are timed solely by the occurrence of other nodes or appropriate inputs.

Secondly, sequentiality of decision nodes may be reactive or anticipatory. That is, either they are triggered by a particular input condition--the node "Is there to be an "'open' funeral?" is directly triggered by the fact of death--or they are dependent upon the existence of a later node. For example, run-through of the four nodes "Is grave

dug?", "Has coffin been sealed?", "Has church service been completed?", and "Is coffin in ground?" depends upon the mourners' wish to fill up the grave and return to the village.

At both the abstract level diagrammed in Figure 16 and at the "lower" level of specific D-O sequences, nodes are interrelated through stimulus-response, rather than cause-and-effect, chains. This is generally true of communicational systems of whatever type (cf. Bateson, 1972). At the level of individual D-O sequences only the stimulus is predictable from the correct input condition. Branching alternatives make a variety of outcomes possible. At the higher level, however, represented in Figure 16 both stimulus and response automatically follow from a given input condition. Thus whatever the eventual outcomes of the sequences initiated, the next node of Figure 16 will always occur. This imparts regularity to the system and defines a structure.

6.2. The Organization of Behavioral and Cognitive Diversity in Kafe Funerary Observances

In presenting a single structure of Kafe death-related performances I have presented a "shared" model of cognitive process which assumes that there is some overlap in the individual cognitions which are being described in the model. The model ignores just how much individual variation there may be, and concentrates on expressions of cognition whether these be the product of basic individual differences or merely of different situational demands.

The Kafe must account for variability in others behavior and, necessarily, in the decisions which produce that behavior. People and supplies must be provided, events scheduled, and plans organized.

Univariant cultural rules cannot, for the most part, achieve the necessary degree of organization. Moreover even granting a unitary model for cognitive process not every member of the community will have access to the same input conditions. This may be for structural reasons--an in-married wife, for example, simply does not hear about issues which relate to whether or not a divination should be performed--or because of happenstance a participant may be absent at a crucial time. Lack of adequate input information may also arise from personal and motivational reasons---e.g., an old argument between participants may result in one withholding important information from the other.

Wallace (1970) has cogently argued that cognitive diversity is not only natural in cultural systems but desirable as well since "...it permits a more complex system to arise than most, or any, of its participants can comprehend...[and since] ...it liberates the participants in a system from the heavy burden of learning and knowing each other's motivations and cognitions" (Wallace, 1970: 35). The crucial issue then becomes how socio-cultural organization is maintained and how the patterns of cultural life which anthropologists describe and analyze are organized.

Wallace presents several possible mechanisms by which such diversity is organized. The first is what he calls a "secondary equivalence structure" (Wallace, 1970: 27ff.) which defines a system of interdependent behavioral expectancies. In this formulation an individual learns that an "instrumental" act on his part predictably results in a "consummatory" act by a second person which in turn allows the first his own consummatory act. The behaviors in this structure are satisfying to the persons involved and can thus persist irrespective of their underlying motives or

cognitions.

As Wallace has presented them, secondary equivalence structures apply to repetitive, or "ritualized," behavior and to non-probabilistic situations. Such behavioral sequences do occur in some of the D-0 charts describing Kafe funerary practice. However, the vast majority of D-0 charts reveal behavioral diversity stemming from bipolar decision-making processes which themselves may be highly variable in occurrence. In addition even in many of the D-0 sequences involving relatively predictable S-R chains, it is clear that the participants are aware of each other's different roles and skills in the total event--in fact depend upon them--and share the same underlying goals and assumptions. These characteristics of on-going "ritual" behavior require other organizational mechanisms to properly reflect and order the diversity of actual case history materials. Wallace (1970: 111ff.) has proposed several such mechanisms. Two of these, end linkage and ad hoc communication, characterize the Kafe data.

In the primary sense in which Wallace uses it, end linkage refers to a type of organization featuring complementarity of subplans which articulate into a complete plan. He illustrates the concept with the example of the husband-wife economic unit in hunting societies. The husband tracks, kills, and butchers the game while in an alternating sequence his wife locates the animal, carries it back to camp, skins it, prepares food and clothes from it, and so forth. Neither need know (and probably do not know) the action plans of the other; but the activities of each are mutually interdependent and coordinated, and both share the need for food and clothes.

Individual D-O sequences in Kafe funerals are also plans of action. In some cases, as in Wallace's example above, the knowledge connected with a particular plan is limited to a small group of people. Thus only a few adult men carry out divinations or watch over the grave and know how to do so. Similarly during a feast the men kill and slaughter the pigs while the women clean the intestines to prepare them for cooking. In many cases, however, knowledge of the plans for some aspect of funerary behavior and opportunity to carry them through are shared by a large number of people. When these conditions obtain the structure in Figure 16 serves primarily as a marker of progress.

The Kafe must have some way of gauging the stage of the funerary proceedings since they will not always know what others are thinking or which D-O sequence they are currently "carrying out." Nor will they always know what they will be called upon to do. The information embedded in Figure 16 meets this need because it specifies what minimally must be accomplished and in what relational order. Figure 16 is not a basic "plan" for a death ritual as it does not provide nodes which would generate all possible behavior nor, indeed, nodes which would generate even the cognitive and overt behavior invariably found. It is rather a mechanism which allows but also controls individual differences in thought and performance by permitting them only at certain times and in certain contexts as provided for in the shared, underlying structure of death-related behavior.

The second organizational mechanism discussed by Wallace is ad hoc communication, or the repeated use of linguistic interchange to foster agreement and understanding. In Kafe funerals, this function is

performed by the event labelled "Kin group discussion." A kin group discussion may be public or private, small- or large-scale. The total number of these discussions which are held after each death varies (though there is at least one) as well as their timing. Frequently specific decisions are made at kin group discussions about how to proceed. At the very least issues are debated and alternate courses of action individually presented. In this way group meetings facilitate movement through the D-0 sequences. More importantly, they allow concerned individuals to "trade" information on how information and on which information is relevant and which decision-operation sequences each is operating "within." It is possible that these kin group meetings are triggered by some sort of cognitive dissonant state produced by uncertainties of others' actions and one's own in relation to them. Leaving the timing of such meetings open but maintaining their formal nature imbues them with a flexibility and an authority that more regular or automatic and less formal controls would prevent. Thus those who convene and/or attend such meetings would either be those most involved in the proceedings and/or those who are experiencing contradictory or insufficient informational inputs to help guide their action.

6.3. The "Character" of Kafe Death-related Behaviors

Stripped of all the sometimes miniscule procedural details of funerary behavior the nodes in Figure 16 provide an opportunity to examine the critical concerns which the Kafe express when confronted by a death. There are four such concerns and each appears repeatedly but in different ways throughout the total series of events.

Immediately upon death the two concerns which are most important to the living are the satisfaction of social obligations and proper treatment of the corpse. Thus the local parish kin gather with the body and decide upon a variety of issues that relate to whether outsiders--including agnatic and matrilineal kin of the deceased--must be included in the funerary observances. If they are to be included the local kin must also later decide on whether the former are entitled to repayment for their contributions of sorrow, labor, foodstuffs, and/or formal prestations. In theory, the resident agnatic kin of the deceased have a variety of demands placed upon them by the matrilineal kin of the deceased, his SiSo, and by non-resident agnates. How the local parish group chooses to deal with these demands in large measure reveals the relative strengths of the potential adversaries and their political ambitions. The death becomes a "vehicle" for the expression and validation of political maneuverings: either group may choose to assert its strength and hence its prestige by the vociferousness of its demands; new alliances may be forged by cooperation at a death; or weakened parishes may seek to accommodate the demands of others as readily as possible or fail to make any themselves. An analysis of the specific outcomes of these "social obligation" decision nodes provides a clue to the relative strength and intention of the resident agnates of the deceased.

The second major concern expressed immediately following death is that proper respect and treatment be given the corpse. This sequence tends to have the greatest degree of regularity, and there are a finite number of "ritual" procedures which must be performed: the body must be

properly dressed for burial; placed in a sealed coffin; given a church service; buried; and "remembered" with an appropriate grave marker.

At the same time that the corpse requires proper treatment, death itself must be treated with respect. While it would be overstating the case to say that Kafe greatly fear death and that when confronted with it are in a state of extreme ritual contamination and danger it is true that the Kafe are assiduous in taking steps to assure that further deaths do not occur. They achieve this in a number of ways. They impose a kind of isolation on those who stayed overnight with the corpse prior to any public mourning. These people must sleep and eat together. Others who join them in all-night mourning must remain in the vicinity at night lest they carry death elsewhere. Similarly, in the journey to the grave those accompanying the body must not look back into the village or, when they return, look back at the grave. The entire village is freed from the burden of potentially causing further deaths once those who went to the grave perform the brief ritual ceremony at the house where the body lay in state.

Two of the decision nodes in Figure 16 demonstrate a fourth concern. Whatever else death requires of the living it also provides them with an opportunity to receive certain kinds of knowledge not otherwise available to them. If there is a fear of sorcery the Kafe can contact the hankoro of the deceased to obtain information on who their enemies are. If they mount a night watch over the grave and contact the hankoro the latter may impart to them secrets of the afterworld and information of use to them in the present one.

These four concerns have a general, pervasive effect on the character and content of Kafe funerary behavior. In essence, D-0 sequences and models of the subjective evaluation of decision criteria operationalize this effect by translating cultural values and concerns into meaningful units of behavior. Diversity in this behavior provides the major clue for isolating the structure of these meaningful units.

Spells, plant and animal parts, and rites are variously used in the sorcery act, but the efficacy of sorcery depends upon a range of potency principles. Indeed these principles define the prime discriminant variables for the set of sorcery terms which comprise a bounded semantic domain of Kafe sorcery types. An example of this phenomenon may be seen in the class labeled abo'taga which includes five members: abo'taga, ufa, iyana, imusa, and afa'. The illness symptoms and afflicted body part(s) caused by the action of these sorcery forms vary a great deal. Iyana, for example, affects the stomach while imusa causes profuse external bleeding. Abo'taga and ufa produce yet other symptoms, and in afa' there are no manifest symptoms: its operation is normally suspected only after a sudden death (i.e., when there is no obvious illness preceding a death).

The procedure for administering abo'taga, ufa, and iyana is very similar. A sorcery "packet" is used by the sorcerer. This packet consists of magical substances (bird feathers, leaves, etc.) which are bound up in a large leaf. The sorcerer conceals the packet in his hand while covertly sighting the intended victim, uttering a chant, and snapping a twig in his hand. The packet is then placed in the rafters of the sorcerer's bush house and the sorcerer and his companions must spend the next several days secluded there. They must abstain from sexual intercourse, cannot eat certain foods, and cannot drink or wash in cold water.

¹See also Levine, n.d.

The procedure for administering imusa is in most respects quite different from the preceding three. The sorcerer obtains an aboare leaf (a common ingredient in sorcery preparation but extremely rare), and the sperm of his victim. He makes an arrow. All three items are placed inside the hollow stem of a special variety of cane. The cane is then embedded, accompanied by a spell, in the trunk of a wild banana tree which "causes" the tree to swell. Later when the unsuspecting and still hearty victim journeys to the sorcerer's village, the latter lies in wait for the former at a secluded spot. There the sorcerer shoots the victim with a small arrow. When the sorcerer removes the arrow profuse bleeding occurs from the wound and the victim dies almost immediately. Taboos must be followed for several days following the insertion of the cane into the banana tree.

The last member (afa') of the abo'taga class of sorcery types is not actually performed by the upper Dunantina Kafe and is thought by them to originate among the Fore, a cultural group to the southeast of Kafe territory. Afa' requires the presence of five to ten sorcerers who waylay the victim, render him/her speechless by threats and possibly by hypnosis, temporarily insert poisoned needles into various bodily parts, and then send him on his way. It is said that the victim is unable to speak of the experience and that unless certain peculiarities of his speech are noticed there will be no clues of his impending death. Dependent upon the "set of instructions" which the sorcerers recite while injecting their poisoned arrows the victim will experience some "mishap" in which he will be injured and die, seemingly from the injury itself. Unlike the other forms of sorcery discussed, there are no post-adminis-

trative taboos which the sorcers must follow.

It is clear that in spite of many differences in the sorcery act, in its physical effects, and in the presence or absence of post-operative taboos there are three components of meaning which each item possesses and, together, mark them off from other classes. These are the presence of a spell, a magically potent substance, and the need for the sorcerer to sight, if not always to actually come in physical contact with, the intended victim. Other classes are defined by the common use of substances some of which in and of themselves are probably toxic and depend on the victim ingesting them for their effectiveness; by the manipulations of otherwise impotent substances such as stones, water, lizards; by the use of refuse such as betel nut husks or sweet potato skins discarded by the victim which is mixed with potent magical substances and magically manipulated; by the use of magically potent substances which are secretly touched to the skin of the victim; and so on. In all Kafe informants identify eight distinct categories subsuming 20 types of sorcery.

The number and use of sorcery types is subject to change. Many new types were incorporated into the culture over the last 30 years and others were unavailable or less satisfactory. Either the men who knew how to make or apply them died without passing on their knowledge to younger men or the sorcery type itself "went cold," i.e., became less effective, over the years. Also, among the types of sorcery available to the population certain types tend to be more frequently used. This partly results from availability. Nowadays the upper Dunantina Kafe

have to purchase their sorcery ingredients from elsewhere as there are no longer in the area any of the aboare trees the leaves of which are the single most important ingredient in many forms of sorcery. Hence the Kafe must buy what is available. Also, just as certain types lose efficacy others may achieve a reputation for virulence and quite naturally these tend to be selected where possible.

In spite of the reputation which some forms of sorcery achieve it is sometimes painfully obvious to the Kafe that their enemies refuse to die from them, even when repeated efforts are made and different kinds used. Of course appropriate medicine administered in the right way and at the right time might account for this. But often the intended victim never even becomes ill. The Kafe deal with this seeming discrepancy by the use of secondary beliefs to buttress the primary belief in the efficacy of sorcery practices. Four of these are listed below:

a) The sorcery materials, symbolically regarded as "hot," were compromised, made to go "cold." This may be because of over-use (analogous to a battery losing its charge), contact of the potent magical substance with water, or a broken taboo (such as stepping in a stream after having sighted the victim and administered the sorcery without first nullifying the "effect" of the water by throwing a stone across it).

b) "Magical packet" sorcery is made outside of Kafe territory and purchased from non-agnates or possibly from strangers. There is always the chance that the packet was already without power or was a fake. Opening the packet to check renders it inoperative.

- c) Some forms of sorcery take on a particular character from the "set of instructions" spoken by the sorcerer with the spells and/or magical substances. When the sorcerer and his co-conspirators observe that the victim does not go, as per instructions, into the forest and have an accident leading to injury and death, the sorcerer himself is blamed. He is believed not to possess the internal "strength" or "power" to assert his will over the victim. The potency of other aspects of the sorcery--spell, magical substances, and manipulations of substances--is presumed still to be active.
- d) The sorcery was administered incorrectly--the spell was not repeated accurately or integral procedures were not done according to proper form.

Appendix II: Divination Among the New Guinea Kafe

Divinatory techniques are not substantially different from those reported elsewhere in the Highlands. Types of divination are generally known from village to village though the specifics may differ or a group of village men may have their own preference(s). The techniques observed in Homaya are briefly described below.

- a) Pieces of sweet potatoe are wrapped, bound, and cooked in a small, indoor earth oven. Each piece is named and represents a different parish or nofira. The piece which remains uncooked after a given length of time identifies the name of the guilty party.
- b) The diviner suspends a half coconut shell by a string, fills it with water and magical substances, chants over it, and then twirls the string between his two hands while concentrating on the suspects. When the water spills out of the shell the suspect in the diviner's mind at the time is confirmed.
- c) A special sea shell brought in from the coast is placed upright in the palm of the dead person among magical plant substances. The shell is then tapped with a stick while the diviner asks himself questions of death causation and personal culpability. When the shell fails to fall over but remains steadfast the diviner has a confirmatory answer to his question. A variation of this method includes two shells, the diviner trying to balance one on top of the other. When the second shell is poised and balanced the

suspect in the mind of the diviner at the time is confirmed.

d) A "wicker-work" of arrows is constructed forming a rough kind of "alter." Magical substances, pre- and post-contact forms of wealth, and a mirror are suspended from this frame. The diviner and his assistants sit before the mirror, their backs to the remaining participants. By the use of incantations, tobacco smoke, special rattles, and exhortations, the diviner cajoles the spirit of the deceased to appear, in human form, on the mirror leading behind him the disembodied spirits (hankoro) of his murderers.

e) A strung bow is placed on the ground concave side facing up. Magical substances are rubbed on the inside curve of the bow and three or more flat rocks placed on top. Each stone is labeled by the diviner with the name of a suspect. The diviner then stoops over the bow, grasps each end of the bow by the string, lifts the bow off the ground, and begins to gently sway the bow back and forth toward and away from his body. If all the stones fall off, the process is repeated. When at least one stone remains after a short period of time the rocking of the bow becomes more energetic. One diviner whom I witnessed was then able to translate the back-and-forth motion while stooped over into an overhead version with the bow going back over the crown of his head and forward in front of his forehead. The stone(s) which remains after such rocking identifies the culprit responsible for the death.