NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

THE INTER-GROUP ECONOMY OF THE NEKEMATIGI, EASTERN HIGHLANDS DISTRICT, NEW GUINEA

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Field of Anthropology

By

Dana Eddy Keil

Evanston, Illinois

June 1974

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART TWO: THE GOODS THEMSELVES

PART THREE: SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE INTER-GROUP ECONOMY

PREFACE

The research on which this study is based was carried out over a period of thirteen months from mid-August 1970 to mid-September 1971 with a research fellowship and accompanying field research training grant from the National Institute of Mental Health (no. MH 46848).

Both during the course of the research in the field and in the course of writing up these results I have been fortunate to enjoy the companionship, both intellectual and personal, of Adell Johannes (my spouse). The results of her research on Nekematigi medicine will be presented in her (Northwestern University) Ph.D. dissertation.

Both the research problem and the site at which research on trade could be conducted were suggested to me by Dr. L.L. Langness to whom I wish to express my thanks not only for this initial assistance but also for his continued interest and support. References to his published works on Korofeigu, another Benabena district about thirty miles away

from my research site, which will be found throughout this study are the tangible evidence of his generous suggestion. During most of the period of the research, Dr. and Mrs. Langness were living at Korofeigu and their support in terms of hospitality and friendship was invaluable to us.

For reasons which will become clear in the body of the text, participant observation in the traditional anthropological manner was chosen to be the principal method rather than a geographically more wide-ranging survey of the routes of trade. The site chosen is a place known to the Administration of Papua New Guinea as Megabo #1 Village which, thanks to Dr. Langness' suggestion, I knew to be located on the path of a significant flow of goods. We lived in a house built for us by the people of Napaiyufa (clan) in the midst of their own houses (which, rather atypically for this society, are not built in one compact village but are set singly or in twos and threes several hundred feet apart with coffee groves, casuarina trees, gardens or uncultivated land in between).

Although it is unlikely that any of them will ever read this document (although perhaps their children will), I must express my gratitude to the people of Napaiyufa one and all whose hospitality was immeasurable. I have them to thank not only for the experience which has enabled me to produce this dissertation but also for human kindness, friendship and hospitality which I value far beyond contributions which made my research productive. Although I owe a tremendous debt

of gratitude to all the members of Napaiyufa in general, I must also single out Garaifa, Gotoga, Romutopa, Sotaibo and Getoa'e for their active assistance in furthering my work and Boinasa and Filhuto for their interest in our welfare.

Although I gained the large part of my knowledge of life in the Bena Bena Valley from the people of Napaiyufa with whom I lived during the entire period of the research, changes in the economy since the coming of the Europeans necessitated going outside the membership of Napaiyufa to find the greatest possible number of men who had actually engaged in trade before these changes took place. I must, therefore, thank the men of the neighboring districts of Megabo, Oregci, and Liorofa who readily answered my questions about trading visits to the Finisterre Mountains.

In order to learn more about the long-distance trade between the study area and the Finisterres, we followed the old trade route on foot. For the hospitality which we received along the route we must thank the people of Megabo #2 (who also received us hospitably on one other occasion when we visited them), the people of Nampavo #1, the people of Nampavo #2, the people of Segehi, the Solbergs of Renara Lutheran Mission, the people of Sisimba, the people of Tauta and the late Oren Classen of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who was then living at Tauta.

Finally, we owe our thanks to the people of Nupasafa (clan) of Korofeigu district (particularly Bonabo and Abuje) both for information about trade from their point of view

and for hospitality and kindness shown to us on several occasions.

The Time Period of This Account

The initial exploration of the Highlands interior by Leahy and Dwyer contacted people of the Benabena language group in 1930 and subsequent contacts were made by Leahy and by other prospectors, missionaries and Administration officials. Events connected with the construction of the Bena Bena airstrip in 1932 (Leahy and Crain 1937) and (after a lapse of some years) the manning of this airstrip during the Second World War (Dexter 1961) had serious repercussions in the patterns of the movement of goods in the Eastern Highlands.

Since World War Two, outside influences on the people of the Bena Bena Valley have steadily increased. A secondary road puts Megabo #1 only an hour's drive away from Goroka, the Administrative Headquarters of the Eastern Highlands District, with its relatively large airport and European population. The Highlands Highway connecting Goroka with Mount Hagen, the Western Highlands District Headquarters, with other Highlands towns and with the coastal port of Lae runs through the southern part of the Bena Bena Valley. Several cash crops, most importantly coffee, that provide the inhabitants with some limited cash income have been introduced. Since 1962 all Benabena speakers have participated in a Local Government Council form of government. These and other developments

have resulted in many changes in the traditional culture of the inhabitants of the study area -- including, of course, changes in their economy.

Since our goal is to describe the traditional economic system of the study area, we will be using (except where otherwise noted) the ethnographic present set at about 1930, the period immediately preceding the first presence of Europeans in the area.

PART ONE

THE STUDY AREA

CHAPTER ONE

THE NEKEMATIGI AND THEIR ECONOMY

The Bena Bena River has its origin in the Bismarck Range of the Central Highlands of New Guinea near Mount Helwig (approximately 145° 35' E. long., 6° 00' S. lat.). The montane rain forest at the source of the river is uninhabited; at altitudes greater than six thousand feet above sea level, the forest is a cold, dark, damp, and often cloud-covered place. A few miles from its origin, the river emerges from the forest, and in the valley formed by its thirty mile course live approximately 17,000 people who speak a common language today known as Benabena. The Nekematigi, our focus, are one of a number of named dialect groups which comprise the Benabena language group.

THE TWO ENVIRONMENTS OF THE NEKEMATIGI

The Nekematigi live in two rather different environments on either side of the divide of the Bismarck Range. Some of them live in the Bena Bena Valley (as do all the rest of the speakers of Benabena), while the others live on the north side of the Bismarck Range on the Ramu Fall. Paths connecting the two inhabited areas traverse the uninhabited montane forest through the Bena Gap, a 6400' pass which today is travelled not only by local people on foot but also by the aircraft of Papua New Guinea carrying goods and passengers between Goroka in the Highlands and the towns of the coast.

The Nekematigi on the south side of the Bena Gap live in the upper portion of the Bena Bena Valley just south of where the river emerges from the forest. Although the downstream portion of the valley is typical of the grassland valleys which characterize the New Guinea Highlands, the upper portion of the valley where the Nekematigi live is slightly different from the open grassland of the lower valley. The upper valley cannot be said to have any level floor; it is made up of steep slopes between which runs the river, a rushing mountain stream. As for its flora, the upper valley contains more pitpit (Neomelanesian -- phragmites and wild sugar cane) and trees in addition to the kunai (Neomelanesian -- Imperata grass) which is nearly the sole feature of the lower valley.

Compared to the forest, however, the area in which the Nekematigi south of the Bena Gap live is grassland. Grass first begins to be seen a few miles from the river's source. At first the grass is found only close to the river; but, if one were to walk south from this point, the line dividing the forest and the grass would seem to gradually recede up the steep slopes of the sides of the valley until only the higher portions of the valley slopes are capped with trees. The Nekematigi here live at altitudes between approximately 5100 and 5600 feet above sea level just below the dividing line between their grassland and the montane forest.

While the Nekematigi who live to the south of the Bena Gap are typical Highlanders as regards their environment, those who live to the north of the divide on the Ramu Fall of the range are more like the people that are referred to as Highlands fringe populations. The area in which they live is called the (Bena)[1] White Sands by the Administration (wesan in Neomelanesian) -- the name refers to the striking grey color of the stream beds in the area. The population of the White Sands is only a small fraction of the total population of the Bena Bena Census Division; members of four or five districts live there, out of the total of sixty-five districts in the census division.

The White Sands Nekematigi live in forested land between 3500 and 4800 feet and use land (for various sorts of hunting and gathering) at even lower elevations. To

the north of these northernmost Nekematigi people lies uninhabited territory which stretches to the southern banks of the east-west flowing Ramu River.

THE GRASSLANDERS -- OTHER BENABENA TRIBES AND OTHER NEIGHBORING LANGUAGE GROUPS

To the south of the Nekematigi, down the Bena Bena Valley, are located the rest of the Benabena speaking districts. All the Nekematigi are known as forest people (man bilong bush in Neomelanesian[2]). Those in the White Sands are true forest dwellers, but for the Nekematigi south of the Bena Gap the appellation refers to the fact that they have access to the products of the forest as distinguished from most of the Benabena speakers downstream who are known as grassland people (man bilong kunai in Neomelanesian) who do not have direct access to forest products.

The environment of the grassland people does not even have the scattered trees of the upper valley where the Nekematigi live, although planted casuarinas and bamboos keep the open grassland from being completely treeless. Even the addition of hand planted trees to the picture does not affect the relative distinction between grassland and forest people, however; the Nekematigi have many more cultivated trees than do the grassland people and this makes their area look more wooded than the open grassland.

The narrow upper valley of the Nekematigi is joined by

the narrow valley of a tributary stream which is physically very similar to the valley of the Nekematigi and which is inhabited by the Oregeigabo, another of the fourteen or so cultural-linguistic subdivisions of the Benabena language group.

To the south of the junction of the two streams, the river, which has become quite a bit larger from the many tributaries of various sizes which flow down from the forested mountain tops, begins to look more like a river and less like a mountain stream. The valley slopes are not quite as steep, the grassland area between the forested tops of the slopes on either side of the valley is larger, and the valley can be said (relative to the upper valley of the Nekematigi, at least) to have a floor.

Although there are people who live on the uppermost sides of the valley slopes close to the line between forest and grass who are known as man bilong bush, the majority of Benabena speakers are man bilong kunai who live in the relatively drier, treeless grassland ridges of the center of the valley. This downstream portion of the valley continues to broaden for the rest of the thirty or so mile course of the river.

The Asaro River springs from the Bismarck Range west of the origin of the Bena Bena and flows in a southeasterly direction eventually to be joined by the Bena Bena and become the Tua River which flows out of the Highlands. The valley of the lower Asaro is inhabited by members of

the Gahuku language group and their grassland valley merges with that of the lower Bena Bena to form a broad expanse of grass-covered ridges uninterrupted by forested area.

A short distance to the south of the junction of the Bena Bena and the Asaro, the river is joined by the Dunantina which in its lower reaches has run westward through territory inhabited by members of the Yagaria language group. The rest of the Yagaria speakers live in the forested area on the north slopes of Mount Michael south of the lower Dunantina grassland.

The upper Dunantina Valley lies to the east of the Bena Bena Valley which it parallels and from which it is separated by higher forested area, in contrast to the lower open grassland that is found between the Asaro and the Bena Bena. The Dunantina Valley is inhabited by speakers of the Kamano or Kafe language group; since they are called Kafe by the Benabena speakers who are the subject of this study, they will henceforth be so called herein. The environmental picture of the Dunantina Valley is quite similar to that of the Bena Bena, with a grassland lower portion which narrows gradually toward the headwaters where live the man bilong bush. There are also Kafe speakers on the north side of the Bismarck Divide; I am not certain whether this is called the Kafe White Sands or not. Communication between the Bena Bena and Dunantina Valleys focuses on relatively lower passes through the

forested areas (and one grassy pass through which the modern Highlands Highway runs) in contrast to the more diffuse pattern of travel available between the Bena Bena and the Asaro valleys.

People of the Yabi Yufa language group live to the southwest of Benabena speakers (west of Yagaria and south of Gahuku), but both these people and the Yagaria speakers were traditionally not very well-known to the Nekematigi who probably heard of them from Benabena speakers from the southern (lower) portion of the valley who did have contact with them and perhaps from Gahuku speakers who also had some contact with them.

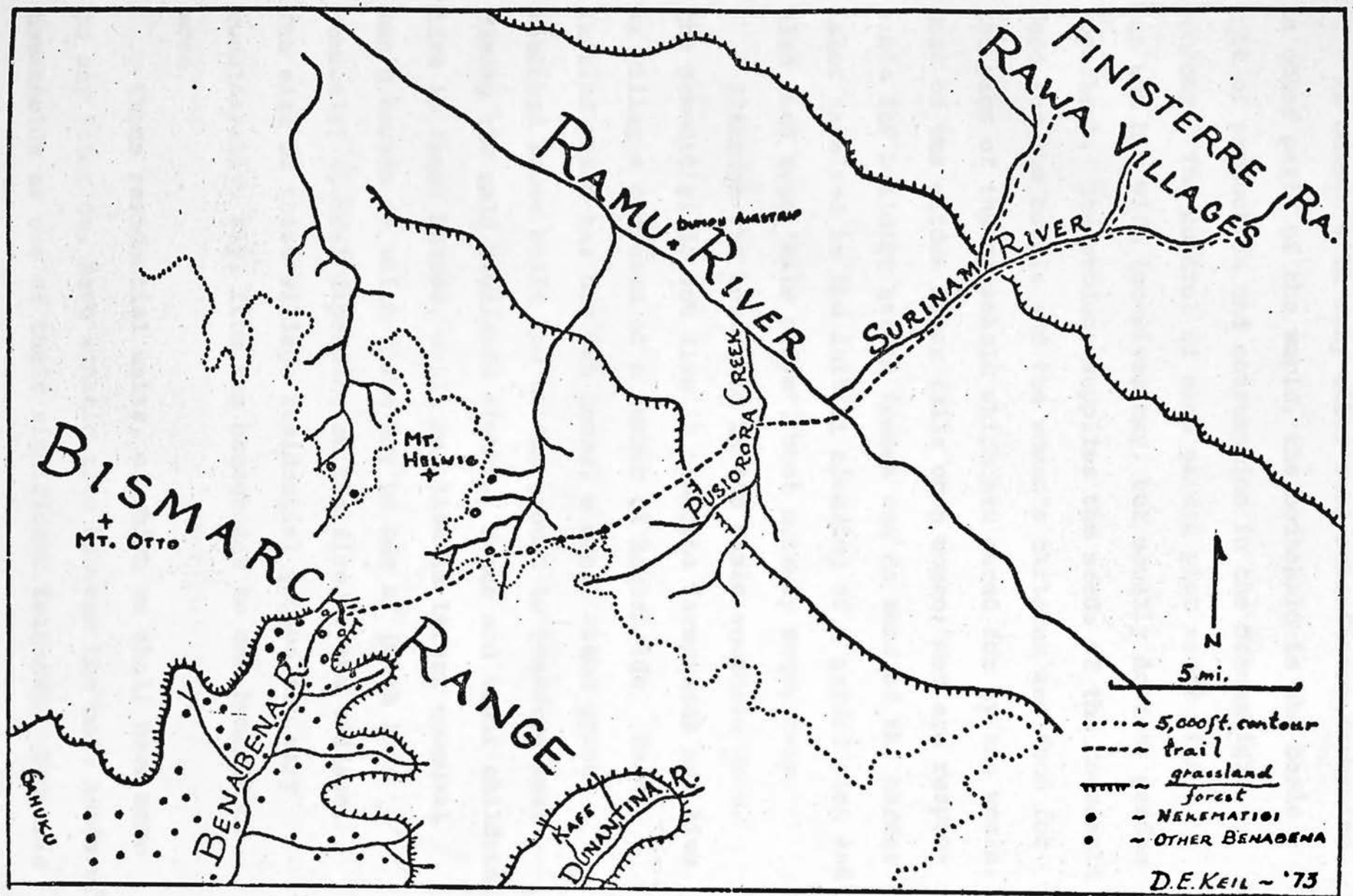
NEKEMATIGI ECONOMY

The household economy and the local economy

All the Nekematigi are skilled horticulturalists whose main staple is the sweet potato. Their gardens, whether situated on the steep slopes of the upper valley of the Bena Bena or carved out of the forest of the White Sands, are large plots containing evenly spaced rows of food plants separated by carefully laid out, straight ditches to accommodate the run-off from heavy rains. The perimeter of each garden is carefully fenced in order to prevent the depredations of swine -- pig husbandry being the other main feature of the subsistence activities of the Nekematigi.


BISMARCK RANGE
WHITE SANDS
MT. HELWIG
MT. OTTO
GOROKA
Gahuku
ASARO RIVER
Benabena
BENABENA RIVER
Yabiyufa
Kafe
DUNANTINA RIVER
(Kamano)
Yagaria
N
5 mi.
~ 5,000ft. contour
~ trail
~ grassland
forest
D.E. KEIL - '73

MAP ONE - A


FINISTERRE RA.
RAWA VILLAGES
RAMU RIVER
SURINAM RIVER
PUSIORORA CREEK
MT. HELWIG
MT. OTTO
BISMARCK RANGE
BENABENA R.
KAFE DUNANTINA R.
GAHUKU
N
5 mi.
~ 5,000 ft. contour
~ trail
~ grassland / forest
~ NEKEMATIGI
~ OTHER BENABENA
D.E. KEIL ~ '73

MAP ONE - B

In common with many other such subsistence economies in other parts of the world, the household is the basic unit of production and consumption in the Nekematigi economy. The control of each garden plot rests with a man and his wife (co-wives may, but usually do not, garden together). Its produce supplies the needs of the household -- food for the couple and the woman's children and food for the pigs of the household which are cared for by the woman. Most of the garden labor falls upon women; men are responsible for building garden fences and do some of the harder labor involved in the initial clearing of a garden plot and also tend some "male crops", most notably sugar cane.

Although the household is the basic economic unit, the Nekematigi do not live in separate farmsteads but live in villages composed of a number of households. Each married woman has her own house, a small round grass-thatched house built low to the ground to conserve heat during the cold Highlands nights. Women and their children live in these houses, while men live in larger communal men's houses of which there may be one or (much less commonly) several depending on the size of the village. The size of these village residential groups can vary considerably, say, from ten households to one hundred or more.

These residential units, of which we shall have more to say later on, have agnatic ties between the male heads of households as one of their significant features. Economic

activity in these groups can be identified as generalized reciprocity (cf. Sahlins 1965) among members of a kinship and residential group. Group endeavors such as informal co-operative labor among both the men and women of these groups are a common economic feature. Men of these groups receive and give material assistance among themselves in a constant, not-strictly-accounted reciprocity; contributions to the bridewealth for one man's son, for instance, will be made by most of the men of the group (generally on the basis of kinship sentiments, although as we shall see there are other features which can be identified). In interactions with other groups of the same composition such as the payment of bridewealth, this group acts as a unit that stands behind the actual principals (such as the father of the groom in the case of marriage). Finally, the (sociological) boundary of this group is significant since it is the line between generalized reciprocity within the group and a much more balanced reciprocity outside it.

The inter-group economy

Thurnwald identifies, in reference to Buin (1934:124), three levels of "economics," the first two being those just described -- the economics of the household and the economics of the residential group. This study will be primarily concerned with the third level -- economic activity between local groups.

On the basis of the boundary between the more generalized reciprocity of economic relations among the members of

the residential group and the more balanced reciprocity of economic contacts between the members of different groups, I am abstracting economic activities between groups to be my focus. The three levels are, of course, linked and I will have occasion to deal with certain features of the other two levels; my aim, however, is to provide a complete description of the third level only. Thus, garden production, pig husbandry, the sexual division of labor, cooperative labor, and other such matters that are the primary topics of interest from the point of view of the household economy or the local economy but are not directly relevant to economic relations between groups will not be emphasized.

Although there is apparent self-sufficiency of the local residential groups in regard to subsistence production, there is also a constant movement of goods between the members of these various groups. Before the advent of Westerners in the study area, certain products of different environmental areas were valued by both those with access to them and those without direct access to them. These products were transferred from the members of one local group to those of another in such a way that the overall pattern shows a flow of goods out of the areas of their provenience toward the areas lacking them -- shells, for example, from the distant seacoast in the hands of Highlanders, or forest products in daily use by people living in grasslands. This phenomenon is most commonly labelled traditional trade.

However, the label "trade" will be avoided in this particular study; for, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, identifying the phenomenon in this way would distort its fundamental nature. Such a label might be acceptable in ethnographic accounts focused on other cultural features or in studies concerned only with the movement of the goods rather than with the economic organization behind that movement. But it is not acceptable in a description that focuses on the socio-economic organization that accounts for the allocation of goods between local economies. Rather than "trade," we will identify our concern as the economics of inter-group relations -- or simply, the inter-group economy.

However, before we can turn to the structure of the inter-group economy which accounts for the allocation of goods between local groups, we must define the social universe in which the movements of goods take place. We will then describe the goods themselves that are transferred between local economies. This will lead to a further consideration of problems with the label "trade" and to a further consideration of the goals of this study.

After these introductory points have been established we can turn to Part Three and the subject proper of this study -- the socio-economic organization of the inter-group economy. It will then become clear in the course of the description and explanation in Part Three that the movement of goods between local economies cannot be understood as a discrete phenomenon called trade and divorced from other

features of inter-group relations; it can only be understood as part of the total system of inter-group relations including social and political as well as "strictly economic" affairs.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The problem of defining "a society"

Before being able to address directly the question of how and why goods are transferred between the members of different local economies, we must define the scope of the study. Inter-group economy, by its very nature, is a matter of relations between residential groups. A concern with economic (or political or social) relations between local groups necessitates definition of the social universe of which the local group is a part.

There are no criteria such as a centralized state to identify "a society" within the study area. We must, therefore, carefully identify and examine all units that can be said to exist, whether social or cultural-linguistic

and whether recognized by the inhabitants themselves or based on the observations of outsiders.

MODERN ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

Megabo #1 Village, where we took up residence, is not a village in the sense of a group of houses. It is, rather, a census unit based on the group of people who are enrolled in the Megabo #1 census book which is a part of the Bena Bena Census Division, Goroka Sub-district, Eastern Highlands District, Papua New Guinea. These units serve to label the site of the research. They are bounded political units created for the purposes of modern political administration. Some of them bear an imperfect resemblance either to units traditionally recognized by the inhabitants (on the basis of either social or cultural-linguistic criteria) or to those created in terms of the ethnographic or linguistic observations of social scientists. These political units cannot be used in a discussion of cultural-linguistic or indigenous social groups.

TRADITIONAL SOCIAL AND CULTURAL-LINGUISTIC UNITS

The tribe

The largest group traditionally recognized by the inhabitants of Megabo #1 Village and their neighbors is a linguistic and cultural one. The people of Megabo #1 and some of their neighbors are Nekematigi. The Nekematigi are distinguished from the members of other named groups

of similar composition by a distinctive form of speech (a dialect not unintelligible to neighboring non-Nekematigi), distinctive forms of clothing and personal decoration, and distinctive customs (such as betel chewing, among other things).

This type of unit is referred to in the revised terminology of Langness (1968) as a tribe. Although this unit is traditionally recognized by the people themselves, no generic term for it, as far as I know, exists in the language of the Nekematigi. Indeed, such a term would not be used -- reference to a specific tribe is by name and if the name of the tribe is not known, the word bo ("man") is used. The proper question is not "To what tribe do you belong?" but rather, "What kind of man are you?"

There are at least fourteen of these named tribes in the Bena Bena Census Division, which has a population of about 17,000. The population is by no means evenly divided among these fourteen tribes. There may even be other small remnants of tribes of which I am unaware since demographic factors (particularly deaths through warfare) have seen the expansion of some groups and the decline of others. Informants never indicated in either direct or indirect statements that there was any social basis for this unit. Observations clearly show that relationships of marriage, warfare, and trade with non-Nekematigi are no different in either quantity or quality from those among Nekematigi; it is a linguistic and cultural unit rather than a social unit.

The district

The tribe is usually composed of from three to seven named units (here again the vicissitudes of demography apply). These units will be termed districts (again following Langness 1968). There does not seem to be a clear generic term of this unit. The name of a district could be solicited from an interlocutor if the question "What place are you from?" were asked. The usage of the word for place (hepa'mo) would seem to be ambiguous, however. In addition to the broad territory of the district, it can refer to the naga'i village (described below) and can also be used for a very specific plot of ground such as a grove of trees or a hilltop. It is not usually necessary for this ambiguity to be resolved in everyday parlance for two reasons. First, those who are speaking generally know from the context or from previous knowledge of the name which kind of place is meant. Second, unresolved ambiguity is often consistent with social reality. For instance, if a man states that the men of his wife's place are angry with him, it is not certain from his statement whether he means his wife's district or his wife's naga'i, and unless the matter comes to some sort of confrontation it may not be generally known whether all the men of the district harbor ill feeling or only the members of her naga'i. It is therefore convenient to be able to use an ambiguous phrasing which will not prejudge a (relatively) unknown situation. The ambiguity may be resolved, when necessary, by distinguishing between a larger

or smaller place (biknem and likliknem in Neomelanesian).[1] The district name is also very commonly used with the suffix -bo (= man) as are the tribe names and the naga'i names.

The district in which we lived in known as Sobeyagu; (a perhaps slightly more proper way to say this is that we lived with the Sobeyagubo). The people of the district of Sobeyagu, through an accident of history, were enrolled in the census book of Megabo #1 Village along with some of the people of the district of Mega (the Magabo), although they have no special social relationship with the Megabo district other than those of the kind that they maintain with all other neighboring districts. Informants state that districts are groups of people who live in contiguous territory, who cooperate in collective pig feasts and male initiations, who helped each other in warfare against other districts and did not engage in warfare (defined as fighting with bows and arrows as opposed to fighting with sticks) among themselves.[2]

The naga'i

The district is usually made up of from two to five units called naga'i in the language of the Nekematigi.[3] Langness (particularly 1964) has described this unit in detail and has called it a clan; I will repeat only those features that are germaine to the discussion of the scope of this study. The naga'i is a localized residence unit; before contact each naga'i was normally a fortified village

separate from the other naga'i of the district. Marriage is forbidden between persons living in the naga'i; it is, thus, an exogamous unit. The people of the naga'i are said to be wanpela lain in Neomelanesian (from English one line) because most of them are agnatically descended from a named male ancestor although they are often unable to trace a precise genealogical connection to this ancestor. With a few exceptions, all the children of men who live in the naga'i (even those who do not make claim to be descended from the common ancestor) address each other as siblings; the naga'i has the ideology of common agnatic kinship. The Sobeyagu district used to have two naga'i at some time in the past but one was totally exterminated in warfare; Napaiyufa naga'i in which we established residence is therefore the sole surviving naga'i of Sobeyagu.

Summary of traditionally recognized units

The description of traditionally recognized units leads to two observations relating to the description of the scope of this study. First, these three traditionally recognized units of different sizes have varying significance from the point of view of several different criteria, some of them linguistic and cultural, some of them social, economic and political.

The tribe is a linguistic and cultural unit. Because it has no basis in social terms, it is not very useful for a study of the socio-economic organization of the inter-group economy, even though it is the largest traditionally

recognized unit.

The district is the largest traditionally recognized social unit. Defined mainly by the criterion of warfare, it is the significant unit that defines the boundary between inter-group conflict (warfare with bows and arrows) and intra-group conflict (fighting with sticks). The men of a district did sometimes band together for trading, but economic relations could be carried on between two fellow district members that did not differ from those carried on between two men who did not belong to the same district. The district boundary has limited significance as an economic boundary.

The naga'i is a social unit with a kinship ideology. It is the dignificant unit from the point of view of marriage -- the unit that defines the boundary within which marriage is not permitted. As has been noted above, it provides the boundary between the generalized reciprocity of the local economy and the more balances reciprocity outside of the residential group; thus, it is a significant unit from an economic point of view.

The second observation is that it is not possible to describe the scope of the study by means of one of these traditionally recognized groups. Naga'i and district provide the minimal units for the definition of marriage and incest, warfare and fighting, "trade" and local economy; but they do not provide the outer boundaries of marriage, warfare, or economic relations. Economic activity takes

place in a social universe larger than the tribe (as do warfare and marriage).

NON-INDIGENOUS CULTURAL-LINGUISTIC UNITS

It is necessary to turn, then, to those additional groupings which can be seen by outside observers rather than the actual participants. Let us do so with a view toward developing a concept that will also mesh with the observable facts of inter-group relations.

The Benabena

The Benabena language group and the Bena Bena Census Division are named by the extension of the name of the tribe Benabena'bo to the other tribal groups that seemed to the first Europeans in the area to resemble each other culturally and linguistically. Although the word Benabena (applied to people other than the original Benabena'bo) seems to have had a foreign origin[4], the commonality of their language and culture is recognized and accepted by the inhabitants today and has given the name Benabena an indigenous meaning.[5] This common identity is being reinforced by post-contact experiences of government and increased communication. The need to identify oneself to government officials, to fellow laborers in migrant labor situations, and to New Guineans encountered in towns with whom there was no communication in the pre-contact world leads to the increased use of terms such as Bena Bena to include all members of a language group. This, of course, leads to problems for

the ethnographer since people are accustomed to answering the questions of Administration officials in terms that the European is expected to require, terms which cloud over the traditional usages which would be more indicative of traditional social realities.

Two modifications often made by Benabena speakers themselves when using the concept also point out the unsuitability of the term for our purposes. It is sometimes necessary to distinguish Bena tiru from the rest of the people who can be called Bena. Tiru is Neomelanesian derived from English true. Bena tiru, strictly speaking, refers to the "type specimen" -- the tribe Benabena'bo. It is also used in a relative sense to distinguish the Benabena'bo and those closest to them from other Benabena. For instance, the Nekematigi are not Bena tiru when compared to some Benabena speakers who are less similar to the Benabena'bo than the Nekematigi are.

The second modification that is sometimes made is to identify some groups as hap cas Bena. Hap cas is a Neomelanesian word also used to refer to persons of mixed New Guinean - European parentage and is derived from English half-caste. The hap cas Bena are groups on the borders of what is known as the Benabena language group. Apparently, their language and culture are close enough to Bena tiru that informants feel it necessary to point this out, but not enough that they can unqualifiedly be called Bena. I am not certain whether these groups are actually bilingual

or speak a dialect that is midway between Benabena and the neighboring language. (It should be pointed out that the same group can be called hap cas from the point of view of either of the languages which they border. For instance, groups to the west of the Bena Bena Valley can be called hap cas Kafe or hap cas Bena. Both points of view can be contained in one statement such as: "Ol i hap cas, hap Bena na hap Kafe." -- "They are mixed, part Bena and part Kafe.") It seems unlikely that these groups could be bi-cultural (at least in such things as mode of dress); they are probably midway culturally whether or not they are bilingual. This question, however, is actually beside the main point -- that the Benabena speakers are not always comfortable with the concept Benabena and often need to qualify it.

The language group

In turning from the point of view of non-specialist European residents and officials to the findings of linguists, it soon becomes apparent that, although linguists have mapped out the various languages of this area of New Guinea, the boundaries may be deceptively concrete unless the assumptions upon which they are based are understood. Wurm and Laycock (1961) point out that the usual criterion for distinguishing between two distinct languages (less than 81% cognacy on a modified form of the original Swadesh basic vocabulary list) may not be reasonable for New Guinea. The figure was originally suggested by Swadesh, they state,

to give "a scientifically more exact basis than the criterion of greater or less mutual intelligibility...." (1961:129). Mutual intelligibility, however, was the original objective; and mutual intelligibility has been found by these authors not to be accurately reflected in New Guinea languages by the 81% lexical cognacy criterion on two counts. Namely, not only is the 81% lexical cognacy figure upto 10% too high in many cases (mutual intelligibility commonly existing between two forms of speech that share less than 81% cognacy on the basic vocabulary list); but also phonological and morphological features have a considerable bearing on mutual intelligibility and are not reflected at all in a distinction of language by percentage of lexical cognacy.

Wurm and Laycock point out in this article (1961) another feature of the linguistic picture of the area that has importance for this discussion -- the presence of mutual intelligibility chains. A mutual intelligibility chain is a linguistic situation in which there are, say, three neighboring forms of speech, A, B, and C. Form B is highly intelligible to both A and C, while mutual intelligibility between form A and form C is low. The ethnographer located in a group of speech form B would have little difficulty including groups of speech forms A and C in his unit of definition. The ethnographer located in a group with speech form A, however, would have difficulty deciding, if he were interested in presenting a bounded unit of study based on the criterion of language, whether or not C should be

included in the unit. Furthermore, chains can include more than three groups, thus limiting the possibility that an ethnographer may find himself in a situation as simple as that of the hypothetical ethnographer in group B.

The presentation of a bounded unit of study based on the criterion of a common mutually intelligible language, then, has several difficulties. First, the boundaries, as they stand at present, cannot be taken to indicate definitely bounded entities since the matter is more complex than simply determining the percentage of shared lexical cognacy. As they now stand, the boundaries between individual languages that appear to be concretely established on the map are based on criteria arbitrarily[6] established for the purposes of linguists in the context of a preliminary linguistic survey. In addition, the presence of mutual intelligibility chains suggests that it may not be possible to construct bounded units based on mutually intelligible speech forms of all the members of the unit even if all the lexical, phonological, and morphological factors were taken into account in the formation of a unit. The ethnographer cannot depend on the definitions of discrete languages by linguists to define a unit of study; indeed, the problems linguists have trying to define a language -- like the problems exemplified by the necessity to distinguish Bena tiru and hap cas Bena -- indicate the problems facing an ethnographer who wishes to formulate a bounded entity.

The language family

A larger unit based on linguistic criteria is the language family. The Nekematigi (being part of the Benabena language group) are members of the language family designated by Wurm (1964) as the East-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock. The speakers of languages in this family, in addition to their linguistic proximity, share many cultural similarities among themselves. These similarities not only are noticeable to the casual observer but also can be demonstrated by reference to published ethnographic descriptions (see bibliography for the works of C.H. and R.M. Berndt, R.M. and S.(Lindenbaum) Glasse, L.B. Glick, L.L. Langness, P.L. Newman, K.E. Read, and R.F. Salisbury). Read, in discussing the noticeable uniformity of culture throughout the Highlands, notes that in this eastern area "...there is not only a marked uniformity of culture but also a uniform emphasis on certain cultural themes." (1954a:11).

All these groups practice pig husbandry and intensive horticulture based on the sweet potato.[7] The settlement pattern is throughout that of a stockaded village composed of small round women's houses laid out in one or two rows accompanied by one or more larger communal men's houses which are usually distinguished by some spatial means, such as being situated at the uphill end of a row of women's houses. Villages are usually sited on a commanding spot, such as along a ridge top, and are surrounded by the gardens

of the inhabitants in which are interspersed "pig houses" used to house people at times of intensive garden work as well as to house pigs. The men's house in all these groups is the center of religious practices which have the playing of bamboo flutes as one of their central features.

Warfare is a major activity and an accompanying emphasis on aggression has been noted for all these groups. The ideal male role is that of a successful warrior and skilled orator well-versed in both physical and intellectual means of conquering adversaries. Socialization patterns which function to create this sort of man not only are similar in function but have deep similarities in content. Male initiation rites are a prime example of such similarities. Yound men are secluded for the purpose of training them in certain procedures -- the swallowing of lengths of cane to produce vomiting and several kinds of self-inflicted bloodletting -- designed to rid them of what is believed to be the polluting influence of women.

One of the objects of warfare is to vanquish enemies by driving them out of their territory (emphasis on conquering enemies, not land) and forcing them to go as refugees to live with other groups. The ready and often complete acceptance of refugees as group members is an important structural feature of social organization in this part of the Highlands (see Langness 1964).

Perhaps the most important point of similarity for the purposes of this paper lies in the realm of socio-political

organization. Ethnographers are basically in agreement about the largest functioning political unit to be found among the people of this language family. This unit is usually referred to as biknem (from English big name) in Neomelanesian; ethnographers have termed it variously: district, tribe, sub-tribe, clan-parish, phratry. For descriptions of this unit see Berndt (1964:188), Glick (1967:373), Langness (1963:152), Lindenbaum and Glasse (1969:166), Read (1954a:11&12), and Salisbury (1964:169).

The demonstrable presence of these and other similarities of language and culture might lead the ethnographer to state that it would not be unreasonable to extend the validity of at least some statements to the whole East-Central Language Family. On the other hand, describing the scope of the study in this way is less than satisfactory since there are also demonstrable differences of language and culture found among the people of the language family. In addition, the language family is really not a bounded unit either; for example, groups in the western part of the East-Central Family (such as the Siane and the Gururumba) have cultural and linguistic traits in common with the groups beyond the language family boundary in the Central Language Family (although this boundary is more marked than any other we have so far encountered among the non-indigenous classifications (Read 1954a, Wurm 1964)). More significantly, both the Siane (Salisbury 1962) and the Gururumba (Newman 1965) have social relationships with these groups. This

leads us to the question of the social criteria of group description. The investigation of social relationships will show that, in addition to the problems with linguistic criteria mentioned above, linguistic criteria do not correspond with social criteria.

NON-INDIGENOUS SOCIAL UNITS

Two approaches to the problem

It will be recalled that the largest traditionally recognized social unit is being called herein a district. Since warfare, marriage, and economic activity take place outside the district, social relationships are obviously carried on outside the district. Indeed, the quantity of these extra-district relations has been remarked upon by most ethnographers of the area and has led some to try to describe some "society" larger than the district to aid in delimiting the boundaries of their studies.[8] K.E. Read (1954a) defines a "socio-geographic region" that he calls Gahuku-Gama. He states that the basis for postulating this region is the intensity and quantity of social relationships that are maintained among the districts which are members of the Gahuku-Gama social entity. These relationships are primarily those of marriage and warfare and he states that there are exceptions -- linguistic, cultural, geographic and sociological -- that apply to the districts of this region.

The Berndts lived in a district which is part of the Usurufa language group. This district had its most intense

relationships with four other districts, one of the same language group, two of another language group, the fourth of a third language group. Berndt states, "If we are interested in the problem of how to define 'a society' in this region, we must consider the interaction which takes place between districts, regardless of their linguistic affiliations." (1955:106) Turning back to Read's socio-geographic region, it appears that he does not sufficiently distinguish linguistic and cultural criteria from social criteria when he includes the district of Se'uve in the Gahuku-Gama. It is clear from his description that Se'uve is a Gahuku district linguistically but maintains social relationships with Benabena districts (1951:157&8, 1954a: 42). Social relationships, then, seem to go on without regard to cultural and linguistic differences.

Berndt describes what he calls a "cultural bloc," stating, "Generally speaking, except at their outer fringes, these [Kamano, Usurufa, Fore and Jate language groups] comprise together a cultural bloc which is more or less articulately recognized as such. Within it, dissimilarities are acknowledged; but, overall, a common way of life and a common origin differentiate the human beings within it from the strangers who surround it." (1955:106). Berndt does not seem to make the mistake of trying to make a bounded social unit; although he does not stress the point, the "sphere of interaction" that he speaks of is obviously centered on the Usurufa group with whom he lived. He does,

however, imply that there is some sort of bounded unit in cultural terms ("strangers" versus "human beings" of the "cultural bloc"). The Benabena know very little of the distant Fore, but they know well the neighboring Kafe (Kamano) speakers whom they more or less articulately recognize as being part of their own cultural bloc.

The concept of the "activity field"

The question, then, is how to describe the scope of the study when it seems impossible to present a bounded unit larger than the district or, in some cases, the naga'i. The use of the concept of the field (or activity field) presented in detail by Jay (1964) will allow ethnographers to make adequate descriptions of the society which they are studying but would avoid the misrepresentation found in attempts to describe a bounded unit larger than the district. The field is reminiscent of such things as a personal kindred in that it is "ego-centric." It is made up of one unit and all the similar units with which this unit has relationships; the fields of the other units may include units not included in the field of the"ego" unit. The field has boundaries only when it is centered on one individual unit and these boundaries will shift each time the unit taken as ego is changed. The term network is reserved for the combination of all fields which are connected to each other. The network is a bounded unit; no member of a network can have a unit in its field that is not a member of the network.

Using the insight gained from the field concept, we can see that the problems of ethnographers mentioned above result from their attempts to describe a bounded network when they were in fact dealing with fields. The quotation from Berndt and the statement that the Benabena include Kamano in their cultural bloc are not at all incompatible when it is realized that rather than cultural blocs we are talking about two cultural fields -- one from the point of view of the Usurufa and southern Kamano and one from the point of view of the Benabena. The "except at the outer fringes" qualification is not necessary because the groups on the outer fringes of the field centered on the Usurufa area naturally have different fields than those in the center.

Similarly, the use of the field concept is not entirely contrary to Read's socio-geographic region. Using the field concept one can list the warfare and marriage fields of each district and demonstrate that the districts included in the Gahuku-Gama social "entity" fight more often, ally more often, and marry more often with each other than with any district outside of Gahuku-Gama. In other words, their fields are more nearly identical with one another than with those of any outside groups. The problem is more one of descriptive categories than of observation of reality -- as is indicated by Read's difficulties in accounting for the obvious exceptions which prevent the presentation of a clearly bounded social entity. A description using

the field concept presents a more accurate picture of the reality observed and obviates the need to get tangled up trying to account for exceptions.

Another advantage the field concept has for description is that fields can be described for a number of criteria. For instance, Read's field is made up mainly on the basis of warfare. Although warfare is probably the most important single criterion that could be used for the people of the Eastern Highlands, and although it certainly has an effect on the movement of goods, the movement of goods continues beyond the limits of the warfare field. Therefore, to describe only the warfare field is inadequate for a discussion of the movement of goods. Some of the members of Read's Gahuku-Gama social entity, in fact, had economic relations with the Sobeyagu; and the Sobeyagu, although they are definitely not a part of the Gahuku-Gama social entity based on the warfare field, must be included in the Gahuku-Gama socio-economic field.

If the variability of criteria of fields is kept in mind, it will also be easier to keep clear the correspondence or non-correspondence of social and cultural-linguistic criteria. Thus, for instance, social fields are sometimes not coextensive with linguistic fields, as Berndt pointed out, but in some cases (the Gahuku-Gama being one example) the linguistic and social fields are more nearly coextensive.

THE SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

Social fields of Nekematigi districts

Let us now apply the field concept to the question of the scope of this study. The largest bounded unit that can be identified is the tribe -- the Nekematigi. This is a unit based on linguistic and cultural criteria recognized by the inhabitants. Every statement or description that will be presented here, although the information is mainly gathered from only one district of the Nekematigi tribe, can be regarded as applicable to any Nekematigi district without hesitation.

The fields of all the Nekematigi districts will include almost all of the districts of the Benabena language group as well as some districts of the Kafe (Kamano) and Gahuku language groups; the scope of the study can be expressed as the social fields of the Nekematigi districts. It must be made clear that this "unit" -- the fields of all the Nekematigi districts -- cannot be regarded as a bounded unit; I have certain knowledge that if it were to be followed out to one or two steps (that is, the fields of groups that are in the fields of the Nekematigi, and so on), it would be necessary to include almost all the districts of all the language groups of the East-Central Language Family.

There are two things regarding this point that can be said on the basis of the documented cultural and linguistic similarities listed above. First, there is no reason to believe that the network stops at the groups one or two

removes from the center of the study. And second, it is highly probable that the social organization of the inter-group economy will change but little within the boundaries set one or two removes from the center of the study. The probability that the social organization of the movement of goods will change increases according to the number of removes and geographical distance from the center of the study. There is also much more likely to be change if the boundary of the East-Central Language Family is crossed.

The boundaries apparent herein, then, are the boundaries of a field centered on the Sobeyagu district of the Neke-matigi; these boundaries are those of this particular study and not the boundaries of a network. The purpose of this study is to deal with the social organization of the move-ment of goods between local economies and not to delimit the entire scope of the network; I cannot, therefore, state what the boundaries of the network are but have only been able to indicate the likelihood of the expansion of the network from the center of the study and the likelihood of change in the details of socio-economic organization as the distance from the center of the study increases.[9]

PART TWO

THE GOODS THEMSELVES

CHAPTER THREE

MATERIAL ASPECTS OF THE INTER-GROUP ECONOMY

Having identified the scope of this study, let us resume the description of the movement of goods between the members of different naga'i.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GOODS THEMSELVES

Although socio-economic organization is the focus of this study, the first step toward an understanding of the inter-group economy must be to list and describe the various kinds of goods which are involved in it. Several reasons, in addition to the fact that the material objects are a convenient concrete starting point, can be found for doing so.

One reason is that ethnographies usually do not give complete descriptions of the "imports" and "exports" of tribal societies. Although no claim is being made that the Nekematigi are at all typical regarding the number, variety and significance of items obtained outside the local economy, a complete listing of all the items and their significance for Nekematigi life will perhaps serve to alter the picture of tribal societies as being without exception completely isolated and self-sufficient. Accurate description, in other words, requires that the goods themselves be described in detail.

A detailed description of the goods themselves is also required in order to give an indication of the significance of the inter-group economy as a part of the totality of the society and culture of the Nekematigi. We shall see in the following description of the goods that are transferred from one local economy to another that the inter-group economy is not a system which merely distributes a small amount of exotic goods of doubtful utility. Just the mention of several of the goods -- bows and stone axes, for example -- is enough to indicate their importance; while, with a little explanation, it can easily be seen that others such as shells or bird feathers are of considerable importance in Nekematigi social and cultural life. A detailed and complete description of all the material items which move between local economies will help indicate the importance to be attached to the socio-economic description to follow.

A third point to be made, perhaps more closely related to the task of this description, is that the nature of the goods themselves may have some bearing on the nature of the socio-economic organization of the inter-group economy. Later on in this description we will have occasion to ask whether the nature of the goods (subsistence versus prestige, for example) has anything to do with the way in which the goods are transferred. The point at this moment, however, is a description of the goods themselves as the first step toward understanding the inter-group economy.

SOME CAUTIONS AND EXPLANATIONS

The following will be a detailed description of all the items that move between local economies within the study area, with their common English names, identification of the environmental area from which they come, uses of the items, and indications of their relative importance.

It is difficult to find neutral words to describe the transfer of goods. Therefore, the reader must be cautioned to form no preconceptions about the manner in which the goods to be described below are transferred. This chapter deals only with the goods themselves; the ways in which they are transferred will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

This description includes <u>all</u> the items known to me that move between local economies. Since we have noted above the desirability of a complete description of the

total movement of goods, I will not ignore any items nor will I use any undescribed categories of goods such as "other minor items of trade."

The common English names of most of the items are given without an attempt to give the scientific names because the items have not been identified by trained naturalists. I have arrived at most of the names through conversation and general reading, with the exception of the names of birds for which I consulted Rand and Galliard Handbook of New Guinea Birds (1968). As for the other animals and plants, I have gained the knowledge of their common English names from general reading and am not able to make specific citations; but among them I must give credit to Clarke's excellent description Place and People (1971) from which I learned many of the names for things that I did not know before.

The uses of items given in this section will be what might be called the straight-forward utilitarian uses. Description of socio-cultural uses (mainly the use of valuables in payments) will be deferred until a later chapter. These uses are, by their very nature, at one and the same time a use of the items and a transfer of the items and will be described along with the other types of transfers.

Statements about the importance of items will reflect the expressed preferences of the inhabitants, the quantitative movement of items and their importance to physical,

social and cultural life in the study area. That is, some items are important because they are preferred even though the quantity of these may be small; some items are important because they are transferred in quantity although their unit value may not be great; and some items are important to social and cultural life although they may neither have a high unit value nor be transferred in large quantity.

The environmental areas to which the occurrance of items will be ascribed, it should be made clear, are not those of Western ecological science, although in general they are probably quite similar to those which an ecologist might identify. They are not microecological zones; they are, rather, zones based on the three different kinds of environment to which the people of the study area have access in varying degrees. In the traditional social environment, travel outside one's own home place was a dangerous and difficult venture and travel for any distance was rather infrequently undertaken such that people had the regular access necessary for exploitation only to their own immediate physical environment. This access for exploitation to three different environments in a sense makes for three different kinds of people.

The environmental differences which allow the tripartite classification -- people of the grassland, people of the montane forest, people of the White Sands forest -- are certainly important in regard to the inter-group economy,

but do not have an effect on the main business of subsistence that would be noticeable to the casual observer. A possible exception to this statement is that the people who live in the forested areas (especially the White Sands forest) seem to get more food through hunting and gathering than do others. Hunting and gathering should not be overstressed, however; the people of the grassland probably derive a fraction of one percent of their subsistence from hunting bandicoots; the people with access to the montane forest get a little more from bandicoots, phalangers and birds (although the proportion is far from enough to classify them as hunters); the people of the White Sands, since they live right in the forest, have the heaviest dependence on hunting and gathering. Despite this relative distinction, however, no Benabena speakers can be truly classified as hunters and gatherers; the people inhabiting all three environments must be categorized as being primarily engaged in pig husbandry and intensive agriculture based on the sweet potato.

One important environmental effect on the inter-group economy is the movement of forest products from the Nekematigi area to the grassland which is entirely lacking in these products, some of which are of crucial importance to the grassland people as they are to all the people of the study area. In the description of the movement of forest products to the grassland, it will be noted from which kind of forest the products come. The products that are listed

as coming from only one kind of forest will be involved in movements within the Nekematigi area -- the second environmental effect -- to which the description will turn after the description of the movement of goods between the Nekematigi area and the grassland.

THE PRODUCTS OF TWO FORESTS

Clothing and personal decoration

Bird feathers are one of the most important items that come from the forest. They are highly valued by the people of both the forest and the grassland. Many bird feathers are used on an item common to most of the people of the East Central Language Family -- the dancing frame (kafe in the language of the Nekematigi). Although dancing frames are made in a variety of forms, I will describe a common type of dancing frame with the object of demonstrating the use of feathers and other forest materials in their construction rather than the object of describing the dancing frame and its variety and significance per se (see C. Berndt 1959 for such a description).

The kafe is a framework made of strips of bamboo. It can be over six feet in overall length and is attached to the back of the dancer so that its total height when being worn can be over ten feet in the air. At the very top of the frame are affixed the long black tail plumes of the Sickle-billed Bird of Paradise or the Princess Stephanie Bird of Paradise, both of which are found in the montane

forest. These feathers, along with the wing and tail feathers of the White (Sulphur-crested) Cockatoo from the White Sands which are attached in various places on the dancing frame, are attached first to the flexible quill from the feathers of the dwarf cassowary along with a stone of the proper weight. When the quills are then attached to the dancing frame, the step of the dancer causes the feathers to bob up and down, the total effect of which can only be described as spectacular. The down feathers of the White Cockatoo are stuck to some of the struts of the frame with vegetable gum.

In addition to the feathers and quills that come from the montane forest and the White Sands, the best type of bark cloth that is used to cover the frame comes from the forest and will be described below. The people of the grassland have a cultivated plant from which they can make bark cloth but the forest product is much more desirable both because of its whiter color and its larger size.

Another feature of the dance are hourglass-shaped hand-drums carried by the participants. These are entirely manufactured from and decorated with forest products. The wood from which the drum is made comes from the montane forest and the drum head is the skin (with the fur left on for decoration) of a phalanger found in both the White Sands and the montane forest. The drum is often hung with the nutshells of the Pangium edule tree and the beaks of the hornbill, both of which are found only in the White Sands;

these act both as decorations and as noise makers which rattle when the drum head is struck. I am not certain whether it is the kind of wood used or the skill in manufacture, but drums from the Dunantina Valley are said to have a far superior sound to those from the Nekematigi. Since these are so much preferred, there was probably not so great a movement of drums out of the Nekematigi area; but they were made by Nekematigi and certainly some of those made travelled into the grassland from there.

Dancers who do not wear dancing frames often wear assemblages made with White Cockatoo feathers, the reddish-orange plumes of the Raggiana Bird of Paradise, both of which come from the White Sands, or the tail plume of one of the other Birds of Paradise already described. These assemblages are made with a cassowary quill and a weight as on a dancing frame and are then fastened to a sharpened stick which is stuck into the hair.

Except for the small decorative assemblages and the dancing frame which are used in the celebration and dance attendant on a pig exchange, it is hard to distinguish special occasion adornment from everyday wear for men. That is to say, the extremes of personal decoration were worn only for special occasions but there was probably a considerable variation among individuals in their daily dress. Some males might daily wear their full regalia whereas others might wear only a belt and a pubic covering except on special occasions.

One of the most important animals that contributes to decoration and clothing is the dwarf cassowary which is found both in the montane forest and in the White Sands. In addition to the use of quills as springs mentioned above, the leg bones of the cassowary are ground down and sharpened into daggers which are worn by men in a woven armband on the upper arm. These cassowary bone daggers may have been functional in warfare (see below) and are used to cut up sweet potato for cooking. Cassowary legbones are also used to make lime spatulas used in betel chewing. Their significance as functional tools is overshadowed, however, by their importance as valuable items of personal decoration and by their ritual use in certain ceremonies.

The feathers of the cassowary are bound together into a headband which is worn over the crown of the head (on the line that could be drawn from ear to ear over the top of the head). In front of the cassowary plume headdress can be placed a headdress made of the feathers of parrots. Four kinds of parrots are found in the White Sands, of which a red one is the most desirable. A headband that passes over the forehead is made from the iridescent green wing cases of a beetle that is found in the White Sands where it lives on papaya trees. This headband is often decorated with the tree orchid stems which will be described in more detail below. The shells of the Pangium edule nut and a certain small gourd, both of which come from the White Sands, and the shells of the pandanus nut from the montane forest are

worn as pendants from the ears or head.

In addition to the birds already mentioned, there is a Bird of Paradise of the montane forest to which I am unable to give a name in English; the whole body of this small bird and that of a small psitticine (also of the montane forest) which is probably the Fairy Lory are worn on the head as decorations. The King of Saxony Bird of Paradise has long, thin, light blue occipital plumes which are used as decoration but are not as popular (and not as valuable) as the plumes of the other Birds of Paradise. The yellow crest feathers of the White Cockatoo are often stuck into the hair.

The other important animals of the forest that provide decorations are the several kinds of phalangers which are found in both the White Sands and the montane forest. As with the cassowary, their meat goes to the hunters but various parts of their pelts are valued as decoration and find their way from the forest to the grassland. Whole pelts are worn usually on the chest suspended from the neck. The use of the skin for a drum head has already been mentioned. The long furry tail of one kind of phalanger is worn on the head; a sharpened stick is affixed to the tail and the stick is stuck firmly in the hair so that the tail sticks straight up from the back of the head. These long straight tails are also used on some kinds of dancing frames. Tails and other strips of fur are worn as armbands or headbands (and, nowadays, hatbands) and one kind of tail is worn as a pendant from the ears or head. The fur of one or two varieties is also

twisted in with vegetable fiber during the manufacture of fancy string, which is then used to make special clothing or fancy bags.

Although other people of the East Central Language Family (and elsewhere) were known to make necklaces of the teeth of phalangers, I never heard it mentioned or saw any examples among the Nekematigi. I rather suspect that they were perhaps used in the not so recent past. A related form of important decoration is sea shells which will be dealt with later on.

Men and unmarried women wear waist, arm and leg bands that are woven from the flat fiber obtained from a forest vine. Other kinds of wrist and leg bands are woven from a cultivated fiber that grows everywhere. Armbands are sometimes also woven with thin strips of cane from the rattan palm which grows in the White Sands and in the montane forest. Armbands and belts are decorated with the orchid stem that will be described below and with a black fiber obtained from the inside of the stem of a certain kind of fern from the montane forest.

Another kind of cane that comes from the White Sands and which has great importance in the cultural life of all Benabena speakers is the thin cane that is used in male purification practices. A length of this cane about four feet long is doubled up and run down inside the throat to produce vomiting. This kind of cane can also be obtained from the south of the Benabena area from Yagaria speakers.

It is also split and used to make decorative woven bands on arrows, bows, and lime gourds.

As well as variation in the degree of adornment among individuals, there is a variation of types of dress among the male speakers of the Benabena language group, some of it based on differences between tribal groups. There were very few men who still wore traditional dress at the time the study was conducted and it was consequently difficult to investigate the range of variation either within or between groups. Therefore, I unfortunately do not understand these regional variations well enough to deal with them completely in this description. The description is given, then, with the object of pointing out options that grassland men might have had available to them; preferences for some styles of dress could only be satisfied through contacts with the forest sources of the materials. This uncertainty in my mind holds true only for male clothing (that is, waistbands and pubic coverings) which had many variations which I do not fully comprehend; all the other forest products described in this chapter are definitely necessary and demanded by the grassland people.

The Nekematigi men are said to have worn a barkcloth g-string and a barkcloth belt. The men in the heart of the grassland are said to have worn either a string apron (Read 1954 describes it as a sporran) or a butterfly-shaped piece of wood over their pubic region. The bark cloth for the g-string came only from the forest of the White Sands.

The other two types of men's clothing would not require this barkcloth although the wooden pubic covering would have to be got from the montane forest. The bark cloth was also used for blankets for sleeping in the cold Highlands nights and barkcloth did move from the Nekematigi south into the grassland. I cannot say how far into the grassland the barkcloth was used for men's clothing; perhaps it was used only for dancing frames and blankets in the heart of the grassland.

Netted string bags, although they are functional as bags, can properly be regarded as clothing. They are worn regularly (particularly by women) even when empty and the attitude toward them is rather like our attitude toward hats without which people in some portions of our society would feel not fully dressed even though there is not a very substantial immodesty to going bareheaded. Although both men and women traditionally carried string bags, it is mostly women who carry them nowadays since most of the men have abandoned traditional dress. The people with access to the forest gather fibers from several kinds of shrubs which they use to make string for net bags. The people of the grassland depend almost entirely on a cultivated shrub for their string making. Although the people with access to the forest also plant this cultivated shrub from which they make string for women's skirts and for women's work bags, the other forest fibers are used for making men's string bags and for women's fancy bags.

Apparently the string made from forest fibers is finer (or better in some way); for this reason it is not unlikely that it moves from the forest to the grassland in the form of already made bags. In any case, this movement of string bags cannot be said to be of very great significance either in terms of volume or in terms of importance to cultural life.

The prime variety of bark cloth, then, comes from the White Sands. A secondary variety is sometimes made by Nekematigi men when they are unable to get the bark from the White Sands to make the best kind. The men of the grassland make a different kind of barkcloth which is much inferior to the other two kinds. These were definitely traded into the grassland although the question of whether the forest bark cloth was used in the grassland to make clothing or only to make dancing frames and blankets is unclear. The bark which the grassland men use to make cloth is from the same cultivated shrub used in all three areas to make heavy string bags for women, to make women's skirts, and to make wrist and ankle bands.

The tools of war

Since all the members of the language groups of the East Central Language Family put a strong emphasis on warfare and active involvement in warfare appears to have been frequent before the coming of Europeans, it is somewhat surprising that even those people in the grassland with no direct access to the forest rely very heavily on forest

products for their tools of war. Bows, shields, most arrows, even bowstrings are made of materials that do not grow in the grassland. Even today in this part of the Highlands, an adult man leaving his immediate home territory without a bow on his shoulder and arrows in his hand is more unlikely than a commuting executive boarding the train without a briefcase[1]; even though the bow and arrows will not be used and the briefcase may be empty, they are both necessary as indicators of the identity of the persons carrying them.

The bow is made from the strong flexible wood of the black palm which grows in the White Sands; all the people of the Bena Bena Valley look toward the Nekematigi for this extremely important item. Both finished bows and unfinished "blanks" move out of the White Sands into the heavily populated valley; most blanks are finished by Nekematigi before they get much further into the valley. Although the black palm from which they are made is very long-lasting and sturdy, bows do break. Although they can be repaired with a woven band of rattan, a repaired bow is not really reliable enough to be depended upon in a fight. Therefore, there is a steady flow of bows moving from the White Sands toward the grassland.

Shields (which nowadays are rarely, if ever, seen) were made from the light wood of a montane forest tree and could be supplied to the grassland people from any of the places on the periphery of the valley having access to montane forest (this, of course, includes the Nekematigi). The

provision of bowstrings to grasslanders is similar. Made out of strips of wild bamboo from the montane forest, bowstrings, as they dry with age, either break or become unreliable and must be replaced periodically.

There are many different types of warfare arrows used by Benabena speakers. These types can be categorized into long, medium, and close range arrows. The long range arrows are made in great quantity and a fighting man would carry a bundle of these in a net bag slung over his back. The heads of the long range arrows of the grassland dwellers are often made of wood from casuarinas which they plant in their gardens and near their houses. This wood, however, is difficult to work with and makes an arrowhead that is a bit inferior to the long range arrows of the forest people who make them from a certain palmwood from the montane forest.

A medium range arrowhead is made of bamboo, which the grassland people also plant. Other medium range arrowheads and the intricately barbed fancy close range arrowheads are made either of black palm or of a similar, coarser grained palm, both of which grow only in the White Sands. Except for arrowhead material of black palm from broken bows (which, of course, comes ultimately from the White Sands also), all the raw material for making heads for fancy arrows has to come from the White Sands. Thus, grassland people usually obtain their fancy arrows from the Nekematigi already made.

Although the shafts of arrows are made from a kind of cane grass which does grow in the grassland, the fiber

that is necessary for binding the shaft so that it will not split when the arrowhead is wedged into the center pithy part of the shaft comes from a montane forest vine (the same used to make armbands). Fancy close range arrows are decorated with the yellow stem of an epiphytic tree orchid that grows only in the montane forest. These stems, woven into decorative bands which encircle the arrowhead, are held to be functional in warfare as well as being decorative. A spoken formula is said over the stems before they are woven onto the arrowhead; the loose ends (which are not trimmed off when the weave is finished) are believed to promote the death of a man shot but not immediately killed by one of these fancy arrows. Even if the arrowhead is removed, these orchid stems supposedly remain inside the wound to perform their function. Orchid stem fiber moves from the forest in two forms. Most commonly, the stems are gathered and prepared by being dried and split before moving from their place of origin. Sometimes whole living plants are obtained so that they can be replanted on the rooftops of houses.

In addition to the arrows themselves and the materials to make them, a special kind of bamboo which has a long stem between nodes which grows only in the White Sands and dried pandanus leaves which grow in either kind of forest are used to protect the fancy arrows in transport or storage and are also used to wrap feathers for protection.

To this list of warfare tools must be added the

sharpened cassowary leg bone which could possibly have been used in hand-to-hand combat. Hand-to-hand combat was probably quite rare, however; and this actually rather blunt dagger is more important as an item of decoration and ceremonial tool than as anything else.

Sorcery and medical materials

Many kinds of medicinal plants go to the grassland from the forest. Although a few cultivated plants used for medicinal purposes are grown in the grassland, many are wild plants found only in the forest. Medicinal plants go to the grassland either in the form of already harvested leaves or roots or in the form of seedlings to be planted in grassland gardens since some plants will grow in the grassland but cannot be propagated there. The plants are used as cures to combat different types of sorcery which will not be described here (see Johannes diss.).

In addition to the cures, the sorcery materials themselves all come from the forest. Some of the basic sorcery materials are leaves and roots of certain plants, others are mineral substances obtained from certain places where mineralized water seeps up from the ground, The actual objects which are necessary for the performance of sorcery are manufactured by taking the basic materials, be they mineral or vegetable, and making bundles with red parrot feathers from the White Sands which are bound up with the yellow orchid stems from the montane forest.

It seems that the main criterion for sorcery materials is that they be exotic; a far-away place in the White Sands is the main source of sorcery materials that are passed on to the Nekematigi who pass them on to the grassland people. In addition to the materials, grassland people could hire the services of knowledgeable Nekematigi who are nearer to the source of sorcery materials and know more about them.

Because of efforts by the Administration to discourage sorcery, it was difficult to investigate all the nuances of sorcery and especially trade in sorcery materials. Most men would not mind describing how "other people" performed sorcery, but giving information on the actual volume of traffic in sorcery materials made informants uneasy since admission of that kind of knowledge would be too personally incriminating. Information on the volume of traffic was of the nature of rumors about other places which were probably quite unreliable. All in all, one gets the impression that, although sorcery accusations and fears are very prevalent, the volume of traffic in sorcery materials is not as high as might be expected from the number of accusations. This statement must certainly be qualified, however, by the fact that any information about sorcery is hard to get because of the government ban.

Summary of forest products important to grasslanders

The forest products described so far, whether they are found in the White Sands or the montane forest, are important to all the Benabena speakers and have moved all the way

into the heart of the grassland. Things that have high value as single units are cassowary leg bones, the long black feathers of the Princess Stephanie and the Sickle-billed Birds of Paradise, the orange plumes of the Raggiana Bird of Paradise, drums, whole pieces of barkcloth (a single piece is about six by ten feet), sorcery bundles, headdresses of cassowary or parrot feathers, whole phalanger pelts, and bows and fancy arrows. Other things are either not as valuable or are more of the nature of bulk raw materials. These are armbands, pieces or phalanger fur, feathers other than those listed as valuable in single units, unbarbed medium range arrows (usually done up in bundles of five), roughed out "blanks" for bowstrings (strips of bamboo, often done up in bundles of five or more), medicinal plants, tree orchid stems (usually done up in bundles of varying sizes). The other things -- nutshells, bamboo tubes and pandanus leaves for storing arrows -- although they are desirable, are more of the nature of incidental items.

PRODUCTS FROM THE RAWA

In addition to these forest products, another class of items must be added to the description of the movement of goods from the Nekematigi area into the grassland. To the north of the Bena White Sands, beyond the broad flat valley of the Ramu River, lie the Finisterre Mountains (see map 1-b). On the Ramu Fall of the Finisterre Range live the Rawa people, in a place that the Benabena call Sogo[2]. The Rawa

live in an environment very similar to the White Sands forest of the Nekematigi, at elevations around 4000 feet above sea level. In language and culture they are related to the people of the Rai Coast of New Guinea rather than to Highlands people such as the Benabena.

Pots and wooden bowls

From the Rawa, the people of the study area obtained pottery vessels and skillfully carved wooden bowls. The Rawa themselves manufacture both of these items, although some wooden bowls are also carved by the people on the north side of the Finisterres. Pottery manufacture is unknown in the study area and only relatively crude wooden bowls are made. These items have high value among the people of the study area as rare utilitarian items but appear to have little, if any, symbolic value beyond that.

Shells

In addition to pots and bowls, the Rawa have sea shells which they get from people on the other side of the Finisterre Divide who in turn get them from the Rai Coast. In contrast to pots and bowls, shells have symbolic value more than utilitarian value.

Shells are used as valuables (to be described in a later section) and also have some utilitarian value as personal adornments. Olive shells are used to make a headband that is worn over the forehead (primarily by men). Conus shell is worn in several forms -- a worked disc which has a hole in the center from which it is suspended from the ends of

headbands (giving the impression of earrings), a worked disc which has a notch in the edge which allows it to be hung from the nasal septum, very small (two inches outside diameter) and very slightly worked annuli which are hung from pierced ears or stitched onto clothing or string net bags. A piece of worked shell (which is probably the edge of the egg cowry) that is about three inches long and about three-eighths of an inch in diameter is worn in the nose through a hole pierced in the nasal septum. The above shells are always used only as adornment and seldom used as valuables in the payments to be described later.

Dog whelk (Nassa sp., tambu in Neomelanesian) are used primarily for decoration when made into headbands which are worn on the forehead both by men and by unmarried women and when used to decorate armbands. They also find their way into usage as valuables, however, when they are stitched onto a base of woven string to make an object called silifi'a in the language of the Nekematigi. These silifi'a are important valuables used in death payments, marriage payments, and other such payments.

Money cowries are sometimes made up into necklaces but are most commonly used as valuables for payments. For this purpose they are sewn onto braided ropes (made from the bark of the cultivated shrub mentioned earlier) about ten feet long.

The two large shells that the people of the study area get from the Rawa are egg cowries and green snail shells.

These are the most valuable single shells and are most often used for payments. They have holes drilled in them to allow them to be tied together in a bunch for use in payments. These holes also allow them to be hung from the neck and they are occasionally used thus as decorations. Pieces of broken green snail shell are also sometimes hung from the ends of headbands.

THE "IMPORT" AND "EXPORT" OF SWEET POTATO

In addition to these movements of forest products and valuables into the grassland, during the dry season in the study area sweet potato moves into the heart of the grassland from people such as the Nekematigi outside of the grassland where the drought is less severe. Although the dry season, relative to droughts in other areas of the world, seems to be best described as a season of less rain rather than a true drought, the people of the grassland are described by themselves and by the forest people as being short of sweet potato from the height of the dry season until the new sweet potato plants begin to produce. The sweet potatos that have been planted in the wet season are harvested well into the dry season, but along toward the end of the dry season in September and October these are all gone. It may be that some people are actually hungry during these months, but it seems to an outsider to be more a culturally determined hunger than an absolute lack of all food. What people seem to mean is that they are hungry for

large sweet potatos since the sweet potatos are much smaller during this period (small sweet potatos being regarded as pig food) and the other kinds of food available such as yams, cassava, taro and corn are not considered suitable for full-time subsistence consumption. So, although getting large sweet potato from outside the grassland is not absolutely necessary to sustain life and many grasslanders do get along without it, it is a highly desirable luxury and many grasslanders do get sweet potato from places outside of the grassland where drought is never as severe as it is in the grassland[3].

THE PRODUCTS OF THE GRASSLAND

Given this long list of items, many of them of crucial importance to the grassland people, the question arises as to what kinds of things come from the grassland in return for them.

Pigs

One of the most important products of the grassland is swine. The importance of pork as a domesticated animal source of food is understandably great but the significance of pigs in the inter-group economy lies even more importantly in their use as crucial components of all kinds of ceremonial payments and exchanges (which will be described in following chapters). For reasons that I do not know -- but apparently having more to do with the needs of swine than with human culture -- pigs are produced in much greater

numbers by the grassland people than by the Nekematigi. Whatever the explanation may be, it is agreed by grassland people and forest people alike that the former have more pigs. Pigs move out of the grassland either as cooked pork or as live pigs.

Salt

The second grassland item of great importance in the inter-group economy is salt. Again, salt has clear-cut nutritional significance, but a portion of its importance lies in the fact that it has high single unit value and is used in certain kinds of payments. Salt springs are found in the grassland from which relatively large amounts of salt can be produced. The forest people manufacture their own vegetable salt by burning certain forest plants and leeching the salt out of the ashes and carefully evaporating away the water. This process produces a grey ball of salt about four to six inches in diameter which is considered by all to be inferior to the much whiter and larger (over six inches in diameter) ball produced from the salt springs of the grassland. The balls of salt are wrapped in banana leaves and tied with cordyline fiber. They are usually transferred as whole balls; once salt has been used from a ball the ball is not as acceptable for certain payment uses.

Stone axes

A third category of major products which come into the Nekematigi area from the grassland includes stone axes and barkcloth pounders. These are said to come from one stream

in the middle of the Bena Bena Valley. Stone axes were no doubt crucial to life in the study area. However, they were so quickly discarded in favor of steel tools as soon as the latter became available that there are none to be seen in the possession of the Nekematigi today. The sole example which I was able to examine was a broken fragment found in the course of making a new garden. Barkcloth pounders are still to be seen in the hands of some older men. They are smooth, cylindrical stone objects with several parallel groves etched lengthwise along a portion of the cylinder's surface; there are two named sizes. These items move out of the grassland either as finished stone (but unhafted) or as roughed out blanks.

Other grassland products

In addition to the above major items, the tubers of the wing bean, bark from the cultivated string plant mentioned previously, and pandanus oil find their way out of the grassland to the Nekematigi. Wing bean tubers are a seasonal food which take more effort to produce than most vegetable products found in the study area. They are produced by some men in rather large quantities and are made the object of festive distributions to friends and kinsmen; thus, they move as specialty food item from the grassland into the Nekematigi area (although they are also produced by households in the Nekematigi area). The bark of the cultivated shrub used to make string is also produced in both the grassland and the Nekematigi area. Since it is storable

and sometimes needed in quantity (when, for example, a new skirt is being made for a new bride), it also plays a part -- albeit a not very significant part -- in the inter-group movement of goods. Pandanus oil is produced in the White Sands as well as in the grassland but is not produced in the remainder of the Nekematigi area, and non-White Sands Nekematigi receive it from both directions (vide infra).

THE MOVEMENT OF GOODS AMONG THE NEKEMATIGI

All the Nekematigi have some kind of access to the montane forest; even those who live in the White Sands need only walk to a higher elevation to find themselves in montane, rather than White Sands, forest. Although not all the Nekematigi live in the White Sands, they can all be said to have, relative to other Benabena speakers, access to the products of the White Sands. This connection with the White Sands makes them different from some other groups who, because they have access to the montane forest on the fringes of the Bena Bena Valley, are man bilong bush but do not have access to the forest products of the White Sands to any greater degree than do the grassland people[4].

"Specialty" foodstuffs

There is a difference among Nekematigi, however, in the regularity of access to the White Sands forest; those who live in it, of course, have much more direct access to its products. Generally speaking, the forest products

already listed are obtained mostly through hunting or collecting; even people who do not live there can travel to the White Sands and obtain these things through their own efforts. Although the above mentioned products are often obtained indirectly as well as directly, there is a class of items which cannot be obtained by non-White Sands Nekematigi through their own efforts but must be obtained through White Sands inhabitants. These products require such things as planting, tree ownership or long preparation. There is, therefore, a movement of goods between Nekematigi.

The goods that can only move between persons in the two different Nekematigi areas can be called specialty foodstuffs. All of these have their origin in the White Sands forest save one. The food delicacy of the montane forest is the nut of a certain variety of pandanus. The nut-bearing trees produce in one special kind of ecological zone, the boundary line between the grass and the forest that has been mentioned previously[5]. Pandanus nuts, in their season, are sent by their owners who harvest them to people who either do not own trees or whose trees are not bearing that season. They can be eaten fresh or cooked or can be dried for storage. The trees are individually owned so that the trees of any grove are owned by a number of different owners. Of all the food products, these nuts probably travel the farthest from their place of origin into the grassland, but even so would probably be quite

rare in the heart of the grassland.

On the Ramu Fall, the dividing line between montane forest and White Sands can be put at about 5,000 feet above sea level; below this altitude there is a marked change in the fauna and flora (as well as temperature). Food items that the Nekematigi of the Bena Bena Valley get from the inhabitants of the White Sands are (in order of importance) the fruit of a variety of pandanus and the oil expressed from it, the nut of the areca palm, the prepared nutmeats of the Pangium edule, breadfruit, a variety of edible pitpit (probably a saccharum edule).

The fruit-bearing pandanus grows in the lower altitudes of the grassland but grows in greater numbers in the White Sands. In both places it is planted and individually owned, like the nut-bearing pandanus. The seeds of the cooked fruit are squeezed by hand to get the bright red, thick liquid from them which is put as a sauce over cooked tubers. This food is truly relished by those who can get it. If the sauce is left to stand in a container, part of it settles out to leave a clear reddish oil which is stored in bamboo containers and is used to dress the hair or to rub on clothing. Hair and clothing so treated not only glisten as do things rubbed with pig grease, the other substance used to this purpose, but also take on a red tint from it. The fruit is taken in quantity from the White Sands to the other Nekematigi, while the oil comes into the non-White Sands area both from the White Sands and from the grassland.

The nut of the areca palm, although not actually a food, moves like all the other White Sands delicacies. The areca that is used by the Nekematigi is the secondary variety called kabibi or kawiwi in Neomelanesian, not the primary lowland variety called buai in Neomelanesian. It is cultivated in not very great quantity in the non-White Sands Nekematigi area, but grows more profusely both wild and cultivated in the White Sands. Few non-Nekematigi chew betel; the movement of areca nuts is therefore limited to that between Nekematigi, of which there is a considerable volume. In addition to the nuts, the lime which is necessary for betel chewing comes only from two limestone quarries in the White Sands. The rock is chipped out and then burned in a wood fire so that it turns into powder. The powder then moves into the non-White Sands Nekematigi area.

The preparation of the Pangium edule nuts is an arduous process but it yields a product that is highly appreciated as a delicacy. The nuts must first be collected from the wild trees when they ripen in season. The nuts are brought to a shelter where they are laboriously shelled and steam cooked in an earth oven. The cooked nutmeats are then wrapped up with leaves into a large bundle that is shaped rather like a bell, three feet tall and three feet around at the largest diameter of the bell. This bundle is placed in a man-made pool at the side of a running stream and left for three months. The bundle is then taken out of the water and the light brown liquid paste which is the result of this

process is put into bamboo containers for storage or transport. The paste is eaten without further cooking, either by itself or mixed with edible greens.

Breadfruit and edible pitpit are not regarded so much as delicacies, but since they grow only in the White Sands they are sometimes transported as novelties out of the White Sands to the other Nekematigi area when they are in season. Papayas, which do not grow in the non-White Sands Nekematigi area (they do grow in the lower grassland), are very infrequently transported because they are too fragile to survive the trip.

THE MOVEMENT OF GOODS FROM THE NEKEMATIGI TO THE RAWA

Pigs, salt, and stone axes

The last major movement of goods that remains to be described is the movement of goods from the Nekematigi area to the Rawa in the Finisterres. Although some of the pigs and salt which come from the grassland are used by the Nekematigi, pigs and salt are two of the most important items which move from the Nekematigi to the Rawa. Stone axes from the grassland were also transported to the Finisterres but these declined in importance before contact in the Highlands since the Rawa began to get steel axes from the Rai Coast which was contacted much earlier than the Highlands. The movement inland of steel axes and knives stopped the trade in stone axes from the Highlands to the Rawa; the trade became reversed so that axes and knives

began going from the Finisterres to the Highlands.

Dog's teeth necklaces

The canine teeth of dogs are another item of major importance which move from the Nekematigi to the Rawa. The teeth are usually strung into necklaces of a size that reach almost to the waist when worn by an adult man. These necklaces are highly valued by the Rawa, a sentiment which the Nekematigi do not share except for the fact that they are useful to get shells from the Rawa. Indeed, the Nekematigi think that the Rawa are a little foolish for valuing dog's teeth and think it a wonder that the Rawa are willing to give up valuable cowry shells for them. The Rawa, on the other hand, think they are fooling the Nekematigi by exchanging worthless cowry shells for valuable dog's teeth[6]. In addition to dog's teeth, live dogs also move from the Nekematigi to the Rawa.

Other items received by the Rawa

In addition to the above major items, the Rawa get bows, fancy barbed close range arrows, Pangium edule paste, lime for betel chewing and fancy string bags from the Nekematigi. Although the Rawa make their own bows, arrows, and string bags, the superior workmanship of these items that they get from the Highlanders makes them very desirable. Although the Pangium edule trees grow in their area, the Rawa prepare the nutmeats differently and do not make the paste that the Nekematigi make. The Rawa also get lime from the Rai Coast where it is made from sea shells, but either

the superior quality of the lime from the Nekematigi area or the insufficient supply from the other direction causes them to desire lime from the Nekematigi.

ECONOMIC CONTACTS WITH THE INHABITANTS OF THE RAMU VALLEY

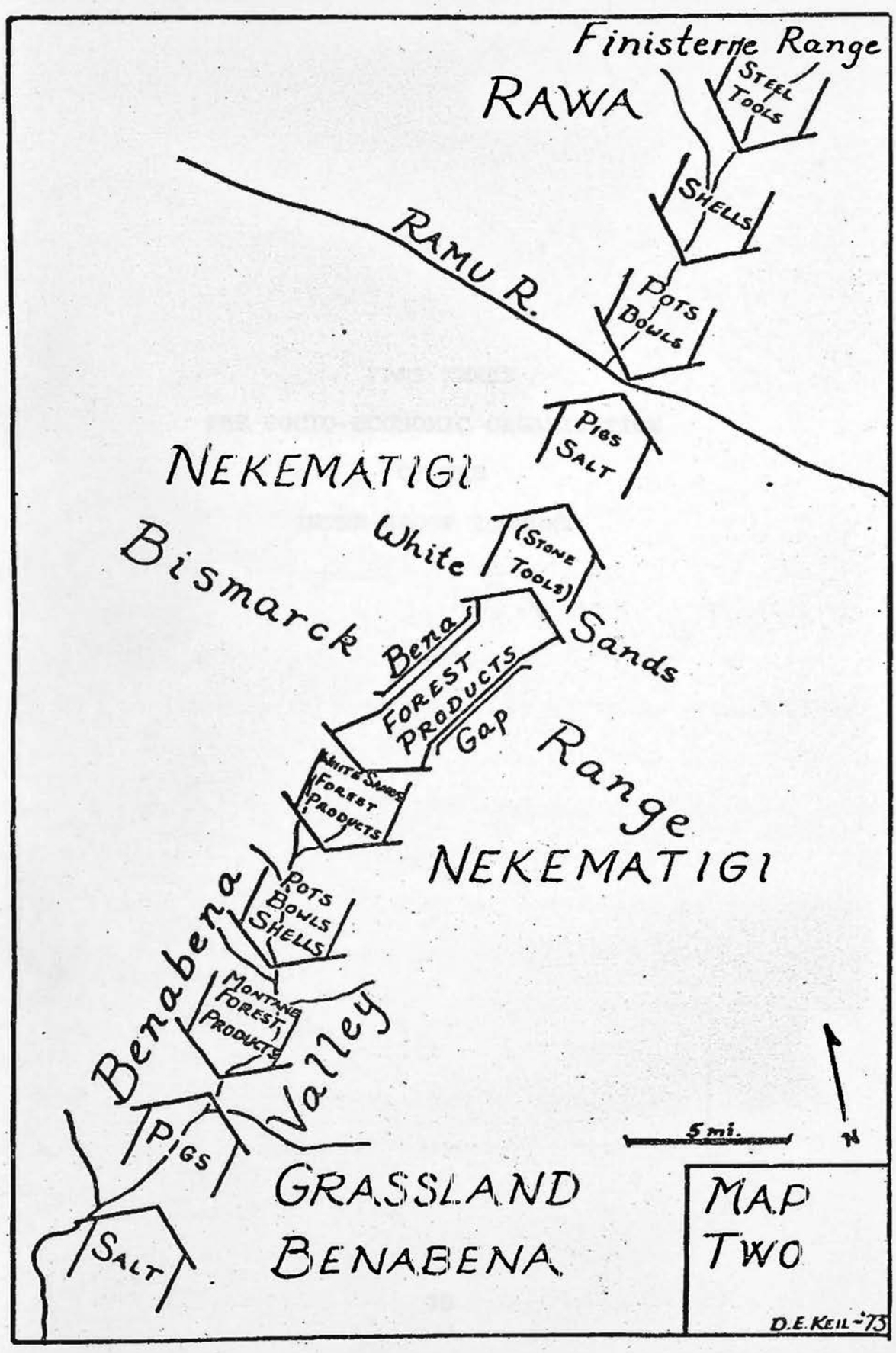
Although in terms of its volume it is of very minor significance to the picture of pre-contact trade, another point must be added to the description if only for its interest as a feature of the intercultural contacts of this area of New Guinea. The grassland which stretches due south from the south bank of the Ramu River to the forest of the White Sands Nekematigi is completely uninhabited. There are, however, small populations (relative to the population density of the Benabena speakers) who live upstream and downstream from this uninhabited portion and there are others who live in scattered settlements on the north side of the Ramu Valley.

These people who live on the flat grassland floor of the Ramu Valley are known to the Nekematigi as sorcerers to whom all manner of strange and dangerous practices are ascribed; indeed, perhaps a better phrasing would be "unknown to the Nekematigi" since they cannot be as bad as they are made out to be. Although they are generally avoided by the Nekematigi, they have some small significance to the movement of goods. If the Nekematigi happen to encounter any of these people (in spite of their attempts to avoid them) as they cross the Ramu Valley on their way to visit the

Rawa, the valley dwellers are given a ball of salt for their services as guides and for assistance in fording the Ramu River. The exhorbitant payment is explained by the fact that the Nekematigi are convinced these terrible sorcerers will not sorcerize them if they are treated well with a large payment for guide services. The Nekematigi also get coconuts and coconut shells from which eating spoons are made. If the valley dwellers are present, they are paid for their coconuts with fancy arrows; if they are not, the Nekematigi just help themselves to some coconuts without payment.

SUMMARY

As the first step toward an understanding of the allocation of goods between local economies in the study area, the focus in this chapter has been on the goods themselves. The following picture of the movement of goods has been developed: pigs, salt, and stone axes move north from the grassland of the Bena Bena Valley; shells, pots and wooden bowls move south from the Finisterre Range. The route of these items passes through the Bena Gap, on both sides of which live the Nekematigi who add the products of their two kinds of forest environment to the shells, pots and bowls flowing south and pass on pigs, salt, and stone axes to the north. The Nekematigi also exchange their forest products among each other -- especially specialty foodstuffs. This picture is presented cartographically in Map Two.


Finisterre Range
RAWA
STEEL TOOLS
SHELLS
RAMU R.
POTS BOWLS
PIGS SALT
NEKEMATIGI
White Bismarck
(STONE TOOLS)
Sands
Bena
FOREST PRODUCTS
GAP
Range
WHITE SANDS FOREST PRODUCTS
NEKEMATIGI
POTS BOWLS SHELLS
Benabena
MONTANE FOREST PRODUCTS
Valley
PIGS
5 mi.
N
GRASSLAND
BENABENA
SALT
MAP TWO
D.E. KEIL - '73

PART THREE

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

OF THE

INTER-GROUP ECONOMY

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRODUCTION TO THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

The goals of economic anthropology

A good case might be made for considering the description to be completed with the summary just given at the end of Chapter Three and the picture of trade presented in Map Two; certainly the flow of goods has been described. Quite a few descriptions of the movement of goods have indeed stopped at this point. To stop at this point, however, would be to ignore the goals of economic anthropology, and hence the main objectives of this study. Let us consider one very good study which does focus on the material aspects of the movement of goods. Comparison of the approach used by such a study and the approach of this study will shed light on what the goals of economic anthropology should be.

Hughes' excellent study of the economic geography of pre-contact trade (1970) traces the movement of goods over a large area of the New Guinea Highlands, its fringes, and beyond. Although they were conceived and carried out independently[1], Hughes' study and mine are complementary in at least two ways. One of these complementarities is fortuitous; my study area abuts on the eastern boundary of Hughes' study area and, in effect, adds the Bena Bena Valley to the area covered by Hughes.

The second complementarity between Hughes' work and mine is more significant for the present point -- the question of what the goal of economic anthropology should be. If we start with the assumption that the goal of economic anthropology should be to study the economy, our first task is to define the economy. I shall define the economy (following Dalton 1969) as the structured provisioning of the goods and services necessary for physical and social life. The word <u>structured</u> is the key word here. When we make the transposition into the terms of our present interest, economic anthropology's concern with structure means that the description of the movement of goods cannot stop at the fact that the goods are provided, but must describe the ways in which the goods are provided -- the socio-economic organization of the allocation of goods. The second complementarity, then, springs from the different goals of economic anthropology and economic geography.

Economic anthropology and economic geography

Hughes focuses on the goods themselves and describes their flow over a large portion of the Highlands, while I focus on the socio-economic organization of trade in a much smaller area. Each approach -- the extensive and the intensive -- complements the other. Hughes' study gives an indication of the extent of the type of trade I will be describing, and my description will give an indication of the kind of socio-economic organization that can account for movements of goods such as those described by Hughes. In practical terms (i.e. without a much longer period of time for research than that available to either Hughes or myself), it is not possible to either intensify the extensive approach or to extend the intensive approach; the approach must be chosen according to the goals of the discipline.

For the purposes of economic anthropology, the extensive approach yields a description which is too mechanistic. It does not deal with the persons who are the agents of the movements of goods and the ways in which these agents interact to effect the movement of goods. What we have so far in the present description is a flow of goods going north and south along the Bena Bena Valley but we have no indication of the structure of the economy which produces this flow of goods.

The problems of the word trade

One of the problems with such a mechanistic description of the movement of goods can be seen in the problem of the

word trade. The word has no precise, agreed-upon, definition. It usually carries the connotation of a direct exchange of goods (or money for goods) at one point in time in a single transaction (cf. Brown 1970); it is often equated with the word "barter" (which has similar problems of its own); it often carries the idea of a directional movement of goods (as in "Trans-Saharan salt trade"); and so on. The mechanistic description of the movement of goods gives the picture of a directional movement of goods and leads us to consider describing the total movement of goods in the study area as trade. When we move on to the description of socio-economic features involved in the movement of goods, however, it will become clear that the other connotations of the word trade do not always apply to the movement of goods in the study area.

The mechanistic description is not acceptable for the goals of economic anthropology since it obscures the socio-economic features of the economy which account for the allocation of goods. By presenting a unitary line of the flow of goods and not dealing with the organization at all, it gives the impression that there is only one kind of organization involved in the movement of goods and leads to the use of the word trade. Such usage, because of the confusion of what the word means, can lead to some of the movements of goods -- such parts of the economy as the payment of bridewealth, death payments, warfare payments, and so on -- being ignored or misrepresented.

The system of inter-group relations

The description of the goods involved in movements between local economies, then, is merely the first step toward an understanding of the structure of the inter-group economy. The unsuitability of the mechanistic view is the starting point for this study which will be concerned with the allocation of goods between local economies. In the following three chapters we will be dealing with the various ways in which the goods "travel" between local economies. In the course of doing so we will be attempting to describe what makes transfers of goods take place as they do, between whom, at what rates of exchange, and why.

In order to answer these questions we will become involved with the entire system of inter-group relations which includes such things as warfare, sorcery, leadership, refuge, political alliance, marriage, affinal kinship, non-agnatic kinship, agnatic kinship, residence and fictive kinship. We cannot, for instance, understand why a particular form of delayed reciprocal exchange commonly takes place between the members of groups located some distance away from each other and not between the members of groups geographically closer to each other, unless we understand the patterns of warfare and related political affairs.

Our task, then, will be to examine the system of inter-group relations in its entirety. We will, in the course of this examination, be able to identify the effects that various parts of this system have on the transfer of

material goods. These effects will add up to be the structure of the inter-group economy which, as we have noted previously, will account for the allocation of goods between local economies. We will then have the explanation, in terms of socio-economic organization, of the picture of trade presented in Map Two.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLITICS AND THE INTER-GROUP ECONOMY

Politics is an appropriate starting point in our examination of the system of inter-group relations and its effects on the inter-group economy. Political organization in the study area can be said to be almost entirely a matter of warfare. Warfare is well-known to be a highly significant part of life in traditional Highlands societies (see Berndt 1964) and the people of the study area are no exception in this regard. Thus, politics, although not the sole feature of the system of inter-group relations, is perhaps the most significant single feature of the system. An understanding of political organization, particularly warfare, will take us a long way toward an understanding of the system of inter-group relations.

THE WARFARE FIELD

Except for the prohibition of warfare between naga'i of the same district, any neighbors within a few hours' travelling time could be enemies. Beyond this limit it is simply impractical to carry on hostilities. Travel over longer distances is difficult and warfare is a matter of skirmishes and raids rather than extended campaigns in which the attackers would carry their own food supply or other supplies allowing them to carry on battles for long periods far away from their own territory.

In addition to these practical considerations, the reasons for engaging in warfare are such that hostilities between groups farther away than a few hours from each other are unlikely. The basic reason for warfare seems to be the desire to make one's own position strong by weakening or driving out one's neighbors -- to attack before the inevitable attack comes from their quarter. The immediate causes of any particular fight are usually arguments over pigs and women being stolen or lured away. These, by their nature, will happen between groups who live close to each other. Another immediate cause of the outbreak of fighting is accusation of sorcery. This also usually happens between neighbors. As with warfare, the most likely reasons for the performance of sorcery are problems over pigs and women and the constant problem of maintaining strength vis-a-vis one's neighbors. Furthermore, the methods of

sorcery require that the sorcerer be physically close to his victim at some point in his sorcery activities against him in order to be successful; although the requirements for physical proximity vary with different methods of sorcery, none can be done from start to finish from a long distance away.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WITHIN THE WARFARE FIELD

This boundary of the warfare field (including sorcery activity), set a few hours' travelling time away from the "ego-unit," obviously has great significance for the nature of the inter-group economy. Within the warfare field the question is: why do people bother to exchange goods at all? The first step toward an answer to this question is the distinction that can be made between the potential warfare field of a group and its actual warfare field at any given moment of time.

Although all groups within a warfare field have the potential to be enemies, they also have the potential to be allies. To be sure, there are several of its neighbors with whom Sobeyagu district has never been actively allied and to whom it is unlikely that they would ever give aid in fighting. These cases are due to accidents of history which have never given the opportunity for alliance, however, rather than to the operation of a social principle which produces "traditional enemies." And although it is possible that other districts in the Nekematigi tribe have enemies

with whom hostility is so strong that there have never been marriages between the two groups, no neighboring group is absent from a list of the natal groups of wives of Soḇeyagu men. This leads to the assumption that there must be periods of active non-hostility, if not alliance -- completely cordial relations are not absolutely necessary for marriages to take place.

Two examples will show the extremes to which the process of alternating alliance and enmity can go. In living memory, when one of the men of Napaiyufa naga'i who is now about fifty or sixty years old was a boy of about ten or fifteen, the people of Napaiyufa naga'i were driven off their land by their enemies, among whom were members of the Megabo district (the same with whom they are now enrolled in the Megabo #1 census book). When this man was between the ages of thirty and forty, he and other members of Mapaiyufa naga'i actually resided with people of the Megabo district in one of the naga'i of Megabo district; he lived with them there until after World War Two when he and the others finally moved back to where they now live. This man is the father of the young men who will be mentioned below in regard to the formation of mobi'afu - mopo'afu relationships. The fact that his sons entered into such a relationship with one of the women of Megabo, indicating cordial relations between their father and men who had driven his father out of his territory, is an extreme example of the extent to which the alternations of alliance and

enmity can go. When I was attempting to make up a general list of the groups who had been enemies of Sobeyagu, informants, while granting that Megabo had been an enemy in the past, indicated that they did not think it proper to include Megabo on a general list because the two groups are such good friends now.

The second example of alternating alliance and enmity is seen in the story of an unfortunate district called Yamane'i. The members of Yamane'i district used to live near the district of Oregei, not too far away from the district of Sobeyagu. The Yamane'i were living scattered about as refugees approximately forty years ago when the Oregei invited them to come back to their former land. This invitation is not a unique feature of inter-group relations in the study area and it meant that the Oregei were going to help the Yamane'i build houses and garden fences and would give them food from their own gardens until the new gardens of the Yamane'i were in production (which would take several months).

At about the time that the gardens were just coming into production, the Oregei one day decided to raid the Yamane'i; they did so, killing all but one or two men, several women and some children who all managed to escape and one woman whom one of the Oregei married and who lives there today. When I tried to find out a reason for the raid, the only explanation that I was ever able to receive was that the Oregei just decided that the Yamane'i were their

enemies after all (which, of course, they had been in the past). It was clear that there was no plan of betrayal when the invitation was first made. The fact that they were recently friends and allies was not important once the decision that they were again enemies had been made.

Ceremonial payments: komolu

This alternating enmity and alliance within the warfare field is the background for one of the uses of shell valuables which should be described in detail at this point. Here we shall see that the politics of inter-group relations is responsible for some of the movements of goods mapped in Chpater Three and is thus one of the socio-economic features directly related to the organization of the inter-group economy.

Let us set up a hypothetical situation in which there are three groups -- X, Y, and Z. Group X and group Y either (1) are currently engaged in fighting or (2) have a hostile relationship that is not at the moment active although a member of X has been killed by people of Y and his death remains unavenged. Group X is perhaps numerically weaker than Y and either (1) does not feel that the current fighting will go in their favor or (2) does not feel strong enough to openly attack Y in order to avenge their man. Group Z is friendly with group Y and can be either non-combatant or actively allied with Y in the fighting (although the latter would probably be quite rare).

The men of X decide to ask the men of Z to help them. They make up a bundle of food -- cooked pork and tubers -- in which there is a certain variety of yam and send it to the men of Z from whom they wish to solicit help. Upon opening the bundle and seeing this special yam, the men of Z know what is being proposed to them and discuss the matter among themselves. If they eat the yam, it means that they are willing to consider the proposition; if they do not eat it they are not. The person who has delivered the bundle stays to see whether they eat the yam or not and then returns to X and reports the outcome. The person to deliver the bundle would be either a young man, or an unimportant man whose death would not affect the fighting capabilities of his group, or a man who has kinsmen in group Z with whom his relationship is strong enough to make it unlikely that they would kill him when he comes alone to their place.

If the men of Z have eaten the yam, thereby signifying their interest in further negotiation, the men of X hurriedly gather all the shell valuables they can possibly muster. The name in the language of the Nekematigi for this payment is komolu, a word which today is used for any big expense such as the purchase price of a truck. On a night which was arranged at the time the bundle with the yams was delivered, the men of X and the men of Z (or more properly, the men of these groups who wish to become involved) meet at some point approximately midway between their home villages. The two groups stop some distance from each other with arrows

fixed at the ready in their bows, since there is no certainty on the part of either of the sides that treachery is not in the minds of the others. The men from X, carrying the collection of shells in string bags slung on their shoulders, squat in a group on one side of the meeting place and the men from Z squat on the other side.

After the men from X have made it known what they desire specifically (for instance, they may at this point designate a particular man from group Y whom they want killed to avenge the death of one of their men), the big man (or one of the big men) from group Z asks to examine the shells. A few of the men from X, guarded by the rest who squat holding their bows at the ready, carry the bags containing the shells to the center of the no-man's land area. After they spread out the shells and return to their places, the big man from Z approaches the shells while his men wait with their bows at the ready. He cautiously examines them without touching them and then returns to his place.

After discussion, the men of Z announce whether the payment is acceptable or not. If it is not, the affair will be closed. If the payment is acceptable, the men from X return to their village and butcher pigs which will be given to the men from Z along with the shells. The cooked pork and the shells are then carried at night to the central meeting place. The payment is left with two men whose deaths would not be very important if they were turned upon by the men from Z. (The fact that they are unimportant men

partially insures against them being harmed by the men from Z -- killing unimportant men would be relatively pointless.) These men wait until the men from Z come to collect their payment and are told by the men from Z when they will attack group Y.

On the designated day, the men from Z would pay a visit to their "friends" of group Y. (It should be soon after the acceptance of the payment, say, the second day after the night when they were given the pork and shells.) Since the people of Y presumably have no idea that they are about to be betrayed, the men from Z come right into the village and sit down to talk. Suddenly, they jump up and kill as many as possible, especially the one who has been designated for revenge. If the men from X have been waiting a short distance away, they come down to join their new allies when they hear the shouts of battle and, if possible, kill or drive out all the people of Y, burning their houses, destroying their fences, pushing over bananas and any other crops susceptible to quick destruction, and ring barking valuable trees.

Another transfer of goods should not be neglected here -- the spoils of war. The routed inhabitants most certainly did not have time to carry their valuables with them and any that are found are taken by the victors. It should be made clear, however, that never was this mentioned as a <u>cause</u> of warfare in general or in any particular fight; I found out about it while tracing the histories of the

ownership of pottery when one man informed me that a pot which his father once owned was taken when they were driven out of their territory by enemies.

If the payment was given for the death of a particular man, the arrow that killed him and a sprig of cordyline (which will grow when planted) are taken to those who commissioned the killing (if they did not attend the event). The arrow and the cordyline are planted over the grave of the one whose death has now been avenged.

Another possible variation in this sort of warfare payment is to secretly approach a man who is living in refuge with one's enemies. He could be asked to help by starting the fight so that the attackers would have the advantage over a surprised and disorganized enemy or he could be asked to kill one man for the purposes of revenge, then to quickly escape bringing the cordyline and the arrow to be put on the grave of the avenged.

I have purposely made it unlear what kind of groups are meant in this hypothetical description -- naga'i or whole districts. This question can be illuminated if it is recalled that the best way to view the situation is in terms of fields. The negotiations are conducted by big men and these men, depending on their achievements, may have a whole naga'i or a whole district (that is, a majority of the members) behind them. It is probably not too likely that a big man will have a very large majority of a whole district behind him on an offensive action such as this.

Those who are attacked will flee from their sacked village (generally speaking, a village is a naga'i) to the other naga'i of the district. If the attackers are strong enough they will pursue the fight to the other villages and try to defeat the whole district, forcing them all to take refuge with other districts. A complete rout such as this would probably require a large number of people drawn from several districts to be allied in the attack. It is much more likely, then, that defensive action will involve a much greater portion of the whole district.

Ceremonial payments: pig distributions

The exchange of valuables as warfare payment starts with a bribe such as this; the interconnection between the politics of inter-group relations and the movement of goods in the inter-group economy does not, however, stop at this point. Although some alliances are started with payment such as described above, there are also alliances that do not originate with a payment. These could be alliances formed in terms of mutual interest -- two or more small groups allying to drive out a larger group by whom they felt threatened. Another type of alliance would result if a rather sizable remnant of a group were living in refuge with another group and helped them in one of their fights and then later had the opportunity to move back into their own territory. Such a chain of events would be remembered as an alliance (i.e., aid given in fighting) between the two groups.

Whether or not the alliance has begun with a payment, it should result in a ceremonial distribution of pork later on in a relatively peaceful period. Either alliance in fighting or aid in re-establishing a village (such as that mentioned above) should result in a distribution of pork. The form of the event is the same in either of these cases (which should be distinguished from the giving and receiving of cooked pork in connection with marriage, death or other events).

The group that has been aided decides when it has enough pigs to hold a ceremony in recognition of help given in the past. This occasion may not arise until a generation or more after the events which it celebrates. Pig distributions are still being held in 1971 to commemorate past alliances and aid although the actual events other than the fact that "our fathers fought together" may be quite forgotten.

Indeed, considerations of present alliance which will be created or strengthened can, in one sense, be said to outweigh the first and "foremost" verbalized reason -- that "our fathers fought together." Ceremonial distributions of pork will probably continue to be held for the purposes of contemporary alliances but with the stated reason that past aid in fighting is being repaid even though the last period of traditional warfare ended around World War Two. There are still some fights which take place between groups, although they are usually stopped by the constabulary before

they get too far advanced. These fights will give groups occasions to help each other and thereby give opportunities for pig distributions to commemorate these occasions.

The men who are to give pigs meet among themselves to arrange the event. Pigs that are going to be given are represented by small sticks (or bunches of betel nut), one stick for each pig. These are gathered together and the receivers are listed out loud by the group in their discussion of the arrangements in order to make sure that there are enough pigs promised to go to every man in the group of receivers.

Every man in the group of receivers should get a pig, even if the distribution is to commemorate a specific battle in which some of the men of that group did not fight. Although local groups are formed on the basis of residence and agnatic kinship, participation in fighting is often more dependent on the personal fields of individual men than simply on residence and agnatic kinship. The principle of group formation on the basis of personal fields must be reconciled with the principle of group formation on the basis of residence/agnatic kinship. The fact that all are given pigs regardless of their past personal involvement also reinforces the idea that these ceremonies may have more to do with present formation of strengthening of alliance than with past alliances. There is, of course, the option of not holding a distribution of pork at all if it is felt that not enough of the men of that district did engage in the fighting.

But, say informants, "if we did not make sure to give a pig to every man regardless of whether he fought or not, they might get mad and not bother to help us at all the next time."

When, after long discussion, the givers have arranged everything among themselves, they dress up in festive costume (some may make dancing frames) and take the bundle of sticks to the receivers. Each stick is handed over to the receivers with statements to the effect of "Mr. A will be giving pig to Mr. X, Mr. B will be giving pig to Mr. Y," and so on until all the sticks, pigs, givers and receivers have been accounted for.

At this time, those who are to be the receivers of the pig in the distribution give some gifts to the givers. It was carefully explained to me -- without my asking -- that these gifts are not payment for the pigs to be given. It was explained that they are gifts given because the men who are to give the pigs have worked hard to care for them and because they have taken the effort to dress up and have spent a lot of energy dancing to the receivers' place to deliver the sticks. These gifts are foods such as sugar cane or other specialty foods, cooked tubers to eat on the spot, some cooked pork (say, a few pounds of meat per man at the most, certainly not as much as a whole pig per man), a few shells to be given to the big men, and other of the forest products such as bird feathers, arrows, bows, and so forth. These gifts are mainly regarded as food with a few presents

rather than the emphasis being put on the non-edible portion of the gift. A date is then set for the big presentation of pork and the givers return to their place.

On the date that has been set, the receivers, singing and dancing, go to the village of the givers. The receivers will have made dancing frames and will all be dressed in complete festive costumes. Little piles of food have been set out by the givers on the path on which the dancers will approach the village; these are for the dancers so that they will not have to dance on an empty stomach. While the dancers are approaching, the givers will have been making their final preparations, butchering and cooking pigs and cooking vegetable food. The receivers arrive and dance, while the cooking of the food continues. The givers lay out the pigs to be given in a row, and the receivers come singing up to the spot where the pigs are displayed. A big man from the group of givers stands up and, indicating each pig one by one, calls out the name of the man receiving it and the man who has given it. In addition to the large pig that is being given, piles of cooked vegetable food and perhaps a small pig or piece of pork are laid out at both ends of each pig, the one at the head to be eaten by the man receiving the pig and the one at the foot for his wife. When they have consumed these piles of food, the receivers pick up their gifts of pork and depart.

The exchange may stop at this point, but if there is a desire to continue friendly relations between the groups

the round of exchange may continue with the receivers becoming the givers the next time.

The payment in advance for assistance in fighting, the assistance given to a former enemy in order to re-establish a village, and the pig exchanges that result from these kinds of assistance are what can perhaps be called formal interconnections between the politics of inter-group relations and inter-group economics. That is, they are more or less clear-cut institutions with political aims as their primary features to which the transfer of goods, although certainly not insignificant, is explicitly subordinate. The transfers of goods in these cases are clearly initiated for some reason other than the mere transfer of goods.

Less direct connections: the politics of alliance

These formal interconnections between politics and economics do not exhaust the topic, however; there are transfers of goods which are not clearly tied to a specific ceremony with an other-than-economic purpose, transfers in which the transfer itself is not so clearly subordinate. There is, as we have seen, the potential for most of the neighbors of a given district to be either allies or enemies. Shifts of hostility and cooperation in the warfare field mean that former enemies may find themselves fighting a common enemy and it may be to their advantage to forget their enmity for the moment in order to deal with the more important threat. Their adversary district, of course, will also be

looking for allies to bolster its own position. Thus we have, aside from the formal transfers of goods already described, exchanges of goods between the members of different districts which, although they may be initiated for the express purpose of transferring goods, are acted upon because of a wish to maintain or create good feeling which will be conducive to an alliance in the future or strengthen an already existing alliance.

In this instance and in others to follow, we have the assumption that the exchange of goods will create or maintain good feeling and thereby promote some other goal -- political alliance in the case now at hand. It is probably not necessary to go into detail on this point -- it is a familiar notion in our own culture and it has even been postulated as a universal human trait (see Mauss 1925, Sahlins 1965) -- except to state that the idea is clearly held by the people of the study area that the exchange of material items (as well as non-material things such as assistance in warfare, assistance in gardening, and any other instances of generosity and hospitality) creates good will. During initiation young men are specifically instructed that the ideal male is one who is generous with his friends and kinsmen and hospitable to strangers. The ideal is so highly regarded that this instruction even goes as far as to advise that if a good man is known to be among one's adversaries in a battle, arrows should, if possible, be only directed in his vicinity rather than being carefully aimed at him. The

idea can also be clearly seen in its reverse: when assistance is refused and when material items are not given (the gift of material goods is often spoken of as "help"), it is clearly a sign of ill will and is treated as such.

The politics of warfare, then, influence the movement of goods because the exchange of goods creates good will which may be useful when there is a need to solicit aid from some other member unit of the warfare field. Within the warfare field the exchange of goods may take place because it is in part stimulated by the desire to create good will as well as because there is a wish to obtain the goods themselves. There will not be any exchanges of goods, of course, between the members of groups who are engaged in active hostilities; but, because hostility and alliance are fluid rather than rigid, exchanges of goods may take place between these groups at some other time.

Less direct connections: the politics of leadership

An examination of the pattern of leadership will clarify the process of alliance formation and will add more to the explanation of the effects of politics on the inter-group economy. Langness (1968) has given a detailed description of political organization in the study area, particularly leadership[1]. The pattern of leadership, as Langness describes it, is that of a leader who attracts a personal following of men who are willing to be subordinate to him. Such a man is spoken of as a man with a name -- a man with a reputation.

Except for the ascribed status of age (authority goes to the older man, other things being equal), authority is achieved rather than ascribed. The reputation of an important man is gained mainly through his success as a warrior and it is certain that a man would never become a man with a reputation unless he were a successful war leader. There are, however, other factors which add to (or subtract from) the chances of a successful warrior becoming a man with a great reputation. Success of any kind, whether in warfare, ritual activity, sorcery, marriage negotiations or economic activity, is what causes a man's name to become known.

The reputation which a man achieves enables him to attract followers, but his authority lasts only as long as his followers retain confidence in him and agree with (or can be persuaded to) his point of view. In order to maintain or build a reputation, men are constantly looking for the opportunity to be importantly involved in things. (There is in this a measure of those-who-have-get circularity, of course, because the fact that a man is successful and has a reputation gives him the opportunity to become involved in the affairs of his group.)

The influence of leadership on economic activity is thus two-fold. Men are always striving for followers within all the naga'i of their own districts (and perhaps even naga'i of other districts, see Langness 1968) and are therefore becoming economically involved with men outside of their local economy both through contributions to bridewealth and

other economic assistance or through the general exchange of goods not directly tied to a specific use. The second feature is that men will also be involved with other men outside their own followers because they wish to increase their reputations as men who are successful in inter-group affairs[2]. The role of these individuals in the formation of alliances between groups corresponds to their involvement in the payment of komolu and in pig distributions. As we have seen, pig distributions and the payment of komolu, although they are made in the name of the group, are handled by individual leaders. For instance, the important man (or men) among the group of givers at a pig exchange will take the major part in calling out the names of the donor and recipient of each pig. Similarly, political alliances depend in large part on the machinations of these important men. Important men will become more involved in economic activity since other important men from other groups will be trying to court their favor (and vice versa). An important man will be able to influence the opinion of the whole group in favor of alliance.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OUTSIDE THE WARFARE FIELD

"Men from far away"

Even though, as we have seen, there are reasons for undertaking economic activity within the warfare field, the patterns of hostility do have a tendency to "push" economic activity outside the warfare field. Beyond the

limit of several hours' travelling time, there are groups who are not potential enemies. Men are relatively safe when they travel once they get far enough from their own places to become "men from far away." They will be received hospitably by most people, even though they may be strangers, as long as their travelling party is not large enough to cause misgivings about possible attack and as long as they do not visit two enemy groups consecutively. In the latter case they would be liable to suspicion of treacherous intent and would be killed before they had a chance to carry out a plot. Places where there is heavy active fighting would be avoided by men from far away in order to avoid the danger of being accidentally or mistakenly shot.

One sort of transfer of goods, then, is between Nekematigi men and men from far away in the grassland who come to the Nekematigi area in search of the various items which are known to come from the direction of the Nekematigi. These men come to the Nekematigi area carrying live pigs, salt, pandanus oil and (formerly) stone axes which they exchange on the spot for articles of high unit value such as shells, pots, bowls, and bird feathers. These exchanges are based on standard equivalences which are held in common by both parties. These are on the order of one pig for a certain kind of shell, two pigs for another kind, and one pig equals a ball of salt.

Nalu'nifu and the provision of refuge

Not all of the economic activity between groups who stand outside of each other's warfare fields is of this type, however. There are more firmly established relationships than the ones described above and these relationships have more features than simply the exchange of goods.

In addition to hostility pushing economic contacts outside the warfare field, there is another factor which "draws" economic contacts outward. It will be remembered that the object of warfare is to drive enemies out of their territory in order to be free of the possibility that they will attack first. Although the best way to drive out enemies is to kill them all, those who are not killed are prevented from returning to their place after a rout by the destruction of houses, gardens, trees and livestock. Survivors, then, must take refuge with the members of some other group in order to have food and shelter. Women widowed by the fighting and their children can find refuge in the woman's natal group. If the woman's natal group is close by, however, older children or the woman's husband will often not be very safe taking refuge there. The long history of alternating alliance and enmity in which neighboring groups are involved makes it likely that, even if they are received hospitably at the moment, grudges may spring up to make the place of refuge a place of danger. Refuge-taking, then, is one of the primary factors to be considered in a discussion of economic activity outside the warfare field.

Relationships maintained between two men of two groups outside of each other's warfare field are used for the purpose of providing a place of refuge if it is needed. Although the benefits to the refugee are the most obvious, there are benefits to both parties no matter who is the refugee and who is the host. The host and his group are willing to take in refugees since they give strength to the group that takes them in and the host increases his personal position in the group since the refugees are sure to be his partisans, at least to some degree. The strength that the group gains is both the immediate strength of fighting men (and gardening women) and the strength of the addition of their descendents to the group if, as frequently happens, they never return to the place from which they were driven out.

There are two words in the language of the Nekematigi which refer to a relationship of this sort which involves the giving and taking of refuge and the exchange of goods. Men who stand to each other in this kind of relationship can call each other nalu'nifu or bona'ni (the latter being generally used as a collective term for a group in which there are persons who stand in this kind of relationship). Bona'ni can be easily translated as my man or my men; it is less easy to give a reasonable gloss for the word nalu'nifu except to say that it conveys the idea of a friend and that the -fu suffix finds its only other use in the formation of kinship terms.

These words, in common with many kinship terms among the Nekematigi (such as tata'afu which will be mentioned below), can often be used without the behavior that would be expected were there a complete correspondence between the usage of the term and specific behavior required of those who use the term. The terms can be used as greetings, exclamations, and so forth (with, of course, the proper sufixes for address) and are in this regard similar to English usage in such phrases as, "Say, my man," or "Well, my friend." This usage, as in English, can be directed to someone who is not one whom the speaker would list as one of his real friends if asked to do so.

This gives a clue to the way in which the relationship can be initiated. It can be started between two strangers who happen to meet (say, "men from far away" meeting in the context described above) and who react favorably to each other. If they react favorably to each other they would certainly address each other with these terms. The relationship would take a long time to become firmly established, however. After a long period of amicable visits, the relationship might become firmly established to the degree that the two men would instruct their children to regard each other as nalu'nifu, this being another way in which young men would acquire this sort of relationship -- as a result of their fathers' relationship. Many friendships would not, however, become firmly established to this degree. The relationship, then, is not a clearly absolute role but

varies with the situation.

The terms would invariably be used to refer to persons whose ascendents have come from the same group that one's own ascendents came from, but who do not now live in the same place. That is to say, if, a few generations ago, the members of a naga'i fled and took refuge in other places some of them later to return to their own place while others did not, their descendents would refer to each other by these terms. Also, if a father or a father's father had actually taken refuge with a man from another group at some time, he would be sure to tell his children to regard this man and his kin as nalu'nifu. An exception to this might be when a man has taken refuge with a group that is within his field of potential enemies and this group later changes from friend to enemy. In such a case the relationship would be likely to be dropped or de-emphasized. If hostility becomes very strong it would probably be dropped almost completely. It is not absolutely necessary, however, that any hostility will destroy the relationship altogether; for instance, the relationship could be maintianed at least to the extent that a man would not enter into a fight in which his group and his nalu'nifu's group were involved.

Exchanges between nalu'nifu

How, then, do nalu'nifu actually go about the business of exchanging goods? The grassland man who has a need for a specific item goes to the place of his Nekematigi friend to pay a visit. Although the visitor definitely may have

a specific need in mind, he does not flatly state that he has come to get such-and-such a thing. It is certain that comments about the likelihood of an upcoming war, pig feast, male initiation or other such event will fall in the general conversation. The host is supposed to be extremely hospitable and will pick up on these remarks. For instance, the visitor may mention in the course of conversation that his son will be initiated soon; the host will, later on, before the end of the visit, give the visitor "a little something" for the visitor's son to wear in his initiation. This is not to say that the visitor cannot hint quite broadly that he needs something, but the contrast between this transaction and those between strangers should be clear.

The return given from the visitor to the host is usually deferred, although a man who has an established relationship of this sort with another man may come bringing a pig or a ball of salt to exchange right away (particularly if it is an item of high unit value which he wants to get). The visitor who receives an item from his host may wait until his friend comes to visit him at which time he, being now the host, can give his visitor something. Or, he may invite his friend to come to attend a ceremony. Since all ceremonies involve the cooking of pig, the host will use such an occasion to give his friend a large piece of pork. This pattern is particularly common when grassland men have come to get feathers or other decorations for their sons' initiations; those who have given feathers for the young men to wear

are given pork at the final ceremony of the initiation.

Similarly, the Nekematigi man can go to the grassland and mention that he is planning to make a trip to the Finisterre Range or can let it be known that he needs some salt or a stone axe. He can either bring something to give immediately or he can repay his friend later with a pot or a shell or any item of suitable value. If he were going to the Finisterres, his friend from the grassland would probably make a point of visiting him a short time after he returns.

Gifts can also be made to provide for an expected return later on. A Nekematigi man might, for instance, give a grassland friend a pot even though the friend has not indicated a particular need for a pot. The relationship is one in which giving is the expected norm and it would be hard to say for many particular exchanges, as well as for exchange in general, whether the giver or the receiver is the initiator.

The relationship of exchange (and refuge taking) between men in the two different Nekematigi areas is similar to the relationship of exchange between a grassland man and a Nekematigi man except that it is more regular since it is based mainly on the exchange of seasonal products. When two men have this kind of relationship, the one who lives in the White Sands will give White Sands products -- pandanus fruit, Pangium edule paste and breadfruit -- to his man on the south side of the range each year at the

time of harvest. Areca nut, although not a seasonal product, is often harvested in quantity and given to Nekematigi men from outside the White Sands in a similar way.

I shall describe a typical sequence of events for one of these kinds of gifts of seasonal items, using pandanus fruit as the example. Areca nut and pandanus fruit are the two most important of these kinds of products and are the only two that are displayed with a bit of ceremony at the time they are given. Pangium edule paste is the next in importance; it is not given with as much ceremony as are the former two. The other less important seasonal items listed in Chapter Three are given with even less ceremony, although they are also part of the total relationship of exchange between a White Sands man and a non-White Sands man.

When the pandanus fruit comes into season, the man who lives in the White Sands will send a message to the man to whom he wishes to give fruit. The message will be an invitation to come for a visit rather than a specific call to come to receive something. The message will probably be sent with some person who happens to be going that way (rather than a special messenger sent only for that purpose). It will most likely be sent with either young men who are wandering about (to escape their new brides) or women who are returning to their natal place for a visit; these being the two types of persons who

travel most frequently. The opportunity for a young man to form friendships (which might develop into exchange relationships) in the course of delivering such messages should not be overlooked.

Although the message is not a specific one, the recipient probably will have a good idea of what the message means. First of all he knows that the pandanus fruit are coming into season and he will be expecting pandanus fruit because he has a relationship with the man who has sent the message. Even if he does not have a regular relationship with this man (say, if the relationship is not firmly established or if this man does not give him fruit every year) he will be able to get an idea from any gossip that might be brought with the messenger. The gossip, for instance, would tell him whether he was being invited to a marriage ceremony, a first menstruation ceremony, a male initiation or a similar event or whether he was being invited to receive a gift of pandanus fruit. There is also a possibility that he might be invited to attend a ceremony and to receive a gift too, since there is a tendency to combine several things into one big ceremony. This is particularly true of gifts of areca nut which is not a seasonal product; men invited to a male initiation, for instance, will be given large gifts of areca nuts (several bunches). Although a man who has an established relationship will get a larger portion than the others, all who attend such ceremonies are given some areca and

some pork. This, although it looks less like what might be called trade, must also be considered as part of the total movement of goods.

The recipient of the message, then, if he believes it to be an invitation to receive a gift of pandanus fruit will go to the White Sands with his wife (or wives) and children or others from his place to help him carry back the fruit. They would arrive in the afternoon and eat from an earth oven that the donor will have prepared in anticipation of their arrival. The next morning the donor and the recipient and their families go out to the pandanus groves and harvest the fruit that the donor indicates should be harvested. The fruits are brought to a central place and laid out in a circular display. Then they are stripped of their leaves and made into bundles to be carried on the head or to be put into women's string bags. The donor is supposed to try to give enough so that it is difficult for the recipient and his people to carry it all. The whole party then returns to the house of the donor where some of the fruit is cooked and eaten with sweet potato from another earth oven. The next morning the recipient and his party leave for home carrying the uncooked fruit and some cooked fruit which they will eat at the pass at the top of the range on the way home.

Any of the other White Sands products described in Chapter Three (black palm for bows, or bird feathers, for instance) and any of the items obtained from the Finisterres

may, of course, also be received by non-White Sands men from their White Sands friends who will receive products from the grassland (such as pigs and salt) or products from the montane forest in return. Although these items may often be transferred at the time that an invitation and subsequent visit is made to receive seasonal products, they may also be exchanged at any time in exactly the same manner as between Nekematigi and grasslanders described above. Refuge taking and the return of gifts by inviting a former host to a ceremony involving cooked pork and other features of the relationship described previously are all the same.

It should be mentioned, incidentally, that the collecting of bark and the making of bark cloth is somewhat unique. Men from outside the White Sands go in a group to visit friends in the White Sands. These friends have made note of the location of suitable trees from which bark can be taken. The visitors, assisted by their hosts, fell the trees and strip the bark from them. All then return to the hosts' place and the visitors prepare the cloth by pounding it with stone barkcloth pounders. The preparation may take several weeks -- several days at the least -- and the visitors stay with their hosts until the cloth is prepared. After it is dry it is rolled up and placed in bamboo tubes which the visitors carry back to their homes. The cloth is stored in the bamboo tubes until it is used or passed on to men from the grassland.

SUMMARY

We have been considering the politics of inter-group relations and the interconnections between politics and economics as two parts of the system of inter-group relations. In the course of the description we have seen that there are two somewhat different ways in which things political affect the movement of goods between local economies -- those interconnections which can be called direct or formal and those which can be called indirect.

It is not difficult to see how the connections we have called less direct can be of use in explaining the picture of the flow of goods north and south in the Bena Bena Valley. Clearly the best way for a man to ingratiate himself to a man who does not live as close to the White Sands is to give him some product from there or some item that comes from the Rawa. Thus, the aggregate result of the transfers of goods that have the creation of good will as part of their motive is that goods from the forest and the Finisterres move toward the grassland and vice versa (even if some of the transfers happen to "go the wrong way").

Other indirect connections between politics and the inter-group economy are the exchanges that take place between nalu'nifu and between "men from far away." The existence of these transactions is a result of the existing patterns of warfare; were the patterns of warfare and refuge taking different, these transactions would certainly not be carried out in the manner that we have described here.

The part these transactions play in producing the aggregate picture of a directional flow of goods is also easily seen. Since those who take part in them always live a relatively long distance away from each other, the tendency to exchange regional products is, of course, reinforced.

In regard to the formal interconnections, however, it seems at first glance that these would have no aggregate effect at all on the flow of goods since they are non-directional. That is to say, the nature of a komolu or a pig distribution does not vary according to the location of the givers and receivers in relation to the forest and grassland. To the extent that these payments are non-directional, they will indeed have no effect on the directional flow of goods. The only portions of these ceremonial payments that clearly may contribute to the directional flow of goods are the preliminary gifts that those who are to be the receivers of pork give to those who are to be the givers. Although it is conceivable that Nekematigi might include more shells than pigs or salt in a komolu and that grasslanders might include less of the former and more of the latter, there is no data to either support or refute such an hypothesis.

The primary significance of komolu and pig distributions, for our purposes, is that they indicate some of the political uses to which valuables are put. The most significant political features affecting the intergroup economy are the transfers of goods within the warfare field for the

purposes of creating good will (either for political alliance or for leadership) and the exchanges between nalu'nifu and between "men from far away" outside the warfare field.

NOTE: Page 116 not present in paper copy from which this digital version was created.

movement of goods in the inter-group economy. A number of types of transfers of material goods are formally linked with marriages and the affinal and non-agnatic kin ties created by marriages -- the payment of bridewealth (and other transfers of goods related to marriage ceremonies), death payments to non-agnates, the exchange of goods between parents of a child and the child's non-agnatic kin at the time of various rites de passage, and other transfers of goods devolving from the obligations of non-agnatic kin to each other. These transfers of goods and the social organizational features which determine them will be the subject of the body of this chapter. Before turning to these, however, let us identify the marriage field and discuss the indirect connections between marriage and the inter-group economy.

THE MARRIAGE FIELD

Due to the fluid nature of alliance and enmity within the warfare field, marriages can be undertaken between groups within a warfare field during times of relative peace between them. Not only are such marriages possible, there are several positive reasons for them. Since the marriage of any one of the members of an age set is not complete until all his age-mates have had brides obtained for them, there is pressure on the group to find a number of brides in a short time. If there is difficulty finding brides for all the age-mates, the search must be pursued

to every corner; the search cannot be postponed until later. Although brides can be obtained from other naga'i of the same district and from groups outside the warfare field, it is often not possible to obtain all the necessary brides from these sources. Some districts have only one naga'i and many have only two; enough eligible young women may simply not be available within the district. As for obtaining brides outside the warfare field, the difficulties of travel particularly apply to marriages since they involve a number of visits by relatively large numbers of people both for the bridewealth negotiations and for the ceremony.

The marriage field, then, includes groups within the warfare field as well as naga'i within the same district and groups outside of the warfare field. Another factor that accounts for marriages within the warfare field, of course, is that marriages are undertaken to reinforce or to lay the foundations for political alliance. It is also clear that political alliances are undertaken because of existing marriages or to foster the chances of future marriages. The connection between political alliance and marriage should be made clear, however. Although marriages are one of the things which may aid the creation or maintenance of political alliance, marriage itself is not enough to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Although people may agree that affines ideally should not fight, it is an ideal that is not held to be very important as far as

actual practice is concerned. If presented with a case in which affines are friendly, people will say that is as it should be; if presented with a case in which affines are fighting each other, people will say that is as it has to be.

INDIRECT CONNECTIONS BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND THE INTER-GROUP ECONOMY

As with the influence of politics on the movement of goods, there are economic activities in which the exchange of the goods themselves may be said to predominate but which are in part undertaken between individuals of different groups with the aim of maintaining good relations between affines and non-agnates and with the aim of creating good feeling in order to facilitate marriages in the future. This influence of marriage on the inter-group economy is particularly important within the warfare field.

Within the warfare field we can predict that the exchange of goods will be more likely between affines and non-agnatic kin (unless there is active hostility preventing any contacts whatsoever at the moment between their respective groups). If there has been hostility between them, we can predict that the resumption of friendship and the exchange of goods will be initiated on the basis of marriage ties. Affines and non-agnatic kin will often have a large part in promoting peace and convincing others not so closely involved in the marriage (everyone in the naga'i is involved in the marriage to some degree, of course,

since the local group is a kinship-based group) that friendship should be established.

CEREMONIAL PAYMENTS: BRIDEWEALTH

Let us now turn to the first of a number of more formally structured connections between marriage and the movement of goods in the inter-group economy -- bridewealth.

The principal persons in bridewealth negotiations

Marriages are arranged between the "parents" of the bride and groom with little, if any, choice or involvement in the negotiations on the part of either the bride or the groom. On the girl's side, negotiations are conducted by her foster father (see "First menstruation ceremony" below for more detail on the foster father role). He is the one to receive the bridewealth since it is said that a man should not be involved with the payment of valuables for his own daughter. The fact that the girl's foster father receives the bridewealth initially should not be construed to mean that he keeps all of it.

On the side of the prospective groom, the negotiations are usually conducted by his actual father. Persons other than a young man's actual father may, however, take the major role in his marriage negotiations. One or several of his brothers (either actual brothers or brothers in the sense of naga'i members of the same generation) may be the principals; or it may be done by another man who is thereafter called afo'afu (the same term as that for father and

father's brothers) even if he was not called by that term before (often, but not always, he would be a member of the same naga'i and would be called by this term to begin with anyway). This, of course, would be the case if the young man's actual father were no longer alive, but would also be done if the young man's actual father does not have the resources at the time when a marriage should be arranged.

This necessity arises because the marriages of a group of age-mates, as we have noted above, must all be arranged within a period of two years or so. The marriage of any of the members of the group of age-mates cannot be complete until all the members have had brides obtained for them. After the negotiations for a bride for one of the young men have been completed successfully, there is a ceremony which marks the arrival of this girl as a bride into the group. There is a ceremony of this sort for every bride obtained for the members of the age-set.

When all the members of the age group have had brides obtained for them, a marriage ceremony is then held in which all the brides and all the grooms participate. Until this ceremony, every member of the group of age-mates must avoid any of the group of brides, including, of course, his own; and the brides must avoid their husbands and any of their husbands' age-mates. It may be two years or more from the time when the first bride is obtained until the ceremony after which the couples can begin to build houses and gardens together and cohabit together. During this time

the new brides stay with their husbands' mothers in their houses and the grooms often visit people in other places (such as one of the non-agnatic kinsmen to be described below) in order to escape the bothersome avoidance and the intense embarrassment felt when accidental meetings with their brides occur.

If the father of one of the young men cannot begin the negotiations for a bride for his son, then, other men who are anxious to have the final marriage ceremony for their sons will probably step in either to assist him or to take over the responsibility entirely. There are, of course, other reasons why men would be willing to take over the responsibility besides the desire to get the marriages of all the age-mates finished. Men without sons of their own would be particularly willing to get involved with the marriage of a young man just from a desire to become involved in these kind of negotiations. A young man whose father is a refugee in the group may have his marriage negotiations done by someone from the host group; in this way the young man is incorporated into the group. Men will wish to become involved in marriage negotiations because, as has been noted, involvement in such things is necessary to a man who wishes to develop a name.

The amount of bridewealth

Before a group of age-mates approaches the age of twenty-five or so, their parents start the preparations for negotiations to obtain brides. The father of one of

the young men (his afo'afu, as noted above, the principal negotiator may be some man other than actual father) announces that he wishes to start the collection of a bridewealth for his son. He will do so when he either has in his possession or has promises for the necessary pigs for the bridewealth and the ceremony marking the arrival of the bride. In addition to the pigs, the young man's father will start off the collection of shells with a contribution of a portion of the necessary shells. He will never, however, contribute all the shells even if he is able; it is necessary that others be involved in the bridewealth by contributing to it.

The listing of the contents of a bridewealth is complicated by radical changes which took place in the number of shells in the bridewealth from first outside contact around 1930 until the complete substitution of Australian currency for shells around 1962. Inflation of shells was probably taking place even before 1930; but because changes before this date are too difficult to adequately document, I will take the decade before 1930 as the base period and refer the reader to Hughes' (1971) discussion of the likelihood of inflation in shells before this period.

A bridewealth for a girl who had never been married before would consist of one silifi'a (the decorative assemblage of nassa on a background of woven string), one green snail shell, two egg cowries and four strings of money cowries sewn on a braided bark rope between nine and twelve feet long. The bridewealth for a widow or divorcee

who had not cohabited with her husband (that is, she was widowed or divorced before the final marriage ceremony) would be two egg cowries and two strings of money cowry. In the case of such a widow, she would nost often be remarried to an age-mate of her first husband or to his younger brother, in which case there would be no payment beyond the original bridewealth. A divorcee will most likely have run away from her husband's place. This is quite common and she would initially be brought back to her husband's place by her parents. If she continued to run away or was sent away by her husband, the marriage would be dissolved, the bridewealth returned, and the bridewealth for her second marriage would be as listed above. If she had been sent away by her husband, the bridewealth would not be returned in full. It is unlikely, however, that the husband's people would allow him to send her away unless she were a complete troublemaker. Such problems with young women and the return of bridewealth that they entail are sometimes given as the cause of the start of active fighting between groups.

The negotiations for young women in the above two categories are conducted in the same way and will be described below. The negotiations for a woman who has borne a child before becoming divorced or widowed are different. In such a case the man himself, who would be either a widower or a man looking for a second wife, would take one green snail shell wrapped up in one string of money cowries and

go to the woman's brother (with whom she would probably be living if she had left her late husband's place). The woman's brother would take the shells and ask his sister if she would like to marry the suitor. The woman ideally has the final choice in this instance; even if her brother should not want her to marry the suitor, he would not tell the suitor so but would first go to his sister with the shells and try to convince her that she should not marry the man. In the case of a middle-aged widow who has borne several children, there would be no shells at all, only a pig as bridewealth. An old widow would probably not actually remarry but would simply become a dependent of a man who gives her garden space and a place to live. (This is one of several options, others being that she may go to live with a married daughter, go to live with her brothers, or stay with her sons.)

The collection of bridewealth

The father of the young man for whom a bridewealth is being collected, then, will start off the collection by putting up, say, one of the larger items such as the silifi'a, the green snail shell or the pair of egg cowries and perhaps one or two of the strings of money cowries. The actual number of shells that he himself puts up can vary considerably depending on both his own current supply of shells and his desires to have others contribute to the bridewealth. After his announcement and initial contribution, others come forward and contribute piece by piece the

remainder of the necessary shells.

Although most of the contributions come from men of the same naga'i, others from naga'i of the same district or even from other districts may contribute to the bride-wealth. The amount contributed is related to the degree to which the contributors wish to become involved with the principal or the degree to which they have been involved with him in the past. Those who have a strong relationship with the principal contribute the larger items; others who are unwilling or simply unable to contribute a large amount may contribute a handful of money cowries toward the manufacture of one of the long strings of the shells.

When all the necessary items have been contributed, the shells are tied together in a bunch. As mentioned above, the shells have holes in them for the purpose of tying them together. Some shells are always kept for use as valuables while others of the same kind are used for personal decoration. When the supply of shells is low, some of the shells that are being used for decoration can be put into use as valuables. As the shells are tied together, a loop is made at the top of the bunch. This loop allows the bunch of shells to be hung from the top of a stick planted firmly in the ground, the clump of shells at the top and the long strings of money cowry hanging down to the ground. The final tying of the bunch of shells is always made by a man who has knowledge of a powerful spell to say over the shells as they are being tied. This spell is intended to cause the bridewealth to

be accepted quickly and without complications; it is done by an important man -- a man with a name.

Bridewealth display and negotiations

The shells are then placed in a string bag for transport and the principal and several men of the naga'i carry the shells and the stick upon which to hang them to the men's house where lives a man with a foster daughter of marriageable age. The men start out early in the morning so that they can set up the shells on the stick outside the door where it will be seen when the man to whom they wish to display them first comes outside. They then remove themselves a short distance and squat down to wait until the man comes outside.

When the prospective bride's foster father does come out, his initial actions denote whether he is interested at all in the proposal or not. If he ignores the waiting men entirely and goes about on his business, it means that he is not interested in negotiating at all. If he offers the men food or firewood (it is still quite chill this early in the morning), it means that he is interested to some degree, the degree to which he is interested being indicated by the amount of hospitality he offers. The negotiations will probably not be finished to everyone's satisfaction on this first day and may take a number of weeks to be completed. If at any point during these negotiations there is some insoluble difficulty, the whole thing may be broken off and the groom's father will have to find some other eligible

for whom to display the bridewealth. If the negotiations are successfully completed, the bridewealth will be handed over to the girl's foster father.

Negotiations for the acceptance of bridewealth are complex. Since I was not able to witness any of these negotiations during the period of my research I am not able to give actual examples of them. Since they are so complex it seems quite certain that even if I had been able to observe actual negotiations I would still not be able to document all the things which might be debated in the course of negotiation; I can, however, indicate some of the things which are usually considered by the negotiators.

As to the actual amount of goods contained in the bridewealth itself (those goods that are initially displayed, that is), I am reasonably certain that face-to-face negotiation to change the amount is not done. The number of shells to be included in a bridewealth is a matter of recognized standards (as I have listed them above). This question is complicated by the inflation in shells since first contact. It seems that this inflation (and the inflation in Australian dollar amount of bridewealth since shells were superceded by currency) does not take place in the course of negotiation for an individual bridewealth but is, rather, an upward spiral that can be seen over time in the increased amount which is initially offered in displays of bridewealth.

Although the amount does not seem to be debated, it does appear that a bridewealth which is not large enough

may be rejected outright because of its size. The problem in trying to make this sort of statement, however, is that there are so many factors which go into the acceptance or rejection of bridewealth that it is not possible to state that the amount is the primary reason -- or even one of several primary reasons -- for bridewealth being rejected.

Although the amount of the bridewealth displayed is not debated, the number and size of the pigs which will be exchanged between the groom's people and the bride's people is an important part of negotiations. There should be an equal exchange of cooked pork at the time of the ceremony marking the arrival of the bride at the groom's place and the negotiations may break down if there is not an agreement reached on the exchange of pork that will take place at this ceremony.

The girl's foster father may wish to get a commitment from the men displaying the bridewealth that they will accept a bridewealth from him when he himself is looking for a bride for his son. This will have to be discussed in the negotiations and may cause them to fail if it is not settled to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Another question which may arise is whether too many brides have been sent to the group displaying the bridewealth with no brides coming in return. This point may also be the cause for the rejection of bridewealth and may take up a lot of time and effort in the negotiations before everyone involved is satisfied.

In addition to specific points such as these, the parties to the negotiations must also decide on the basic question of whether they wish to be affines or not; this decision will be based on whether good relations exist between the two groups or can be established during the course of negotiation.

If all points that come up in the course of negotiations are settled satisfactorily and the girl's foster father agrees to accept the bridewealth, it is then handed over to him. A few days afterward, the men of the bride's side visit the groom's naga'i. It should be noted that if the girl's foster father is not of the same naga'i as her own father, there will be men from three local economies involved in this meeting -- the foster father and members of his naga'i, the brothers and father of the bride, and the men of the groom's side. At this meeting the men of the bride's side have the right to demand gifts from the groom's people. It should be remarked upon again that naga'i membership can be held just by dint of residence, there is no need for demonstrable agnatic relationship either to the foster father or to the bride.

The men of the foster father's naga'i are given such things as they ask for one by one. They will demand small items of value such as armbands, feathers, dogs, fowl, or perhaps pots or wooden bowls. At this time also the foster father asks for and receives from two to five live pigs, these being not fully grown.

The brothers of the bride are given something as a group which they can later divide among themselves. I am unable to state the range of variation in this sum, the one case for which I have accurate information was twenty-five Australian dollars. Before the use of currency it probably consisted of a small amount of shell valuables or other valuable items such as bird feathers.

Delivering the bride

The date for the delivery of the bride to the groom's place will have been set at the meeting described above; it will usually be set to take place a week or so after this meeting.

A few days before the bride is to be brought to the groom's village, the groom and his age-mates are given a ceremonial meal. It is mentioned here to indicate the chronological placement of one type of exchange between non-agnatic kin which will be described later on. This meal also affords one example of the ceremonial use of the sharpened cassowary leg bone. At the start of this meal, cut up lengths of sugar cane are placed in front of the group of age-mates. An older man, using the leg bone to stab the pieces and pick them up, gives a piece of sugar cane to each of the age-mates who take it in their mouths without touching it and then, when all have a piece, chew in unison on cue. The cassowary leg bone is used in similar ceremonies marking the birth of a child to any of the age-mates and other such important events in the lives of the

group of age-mates.

Meanwhile, for about a week before she is to be sent off to her new place, the bride and the unmarried girls of her naga'i (her "sisters") spend all day and all night together roaming around or sitting in her mother's house singing. The day before she is to be taken to the groom's place, she and the other girls are given a meal which includes a portion of pork from a pig, the rest of which will be carried by the bride to her new husband's place the next day. If an exchange were to be made with the girl's aku'afu (a non-agnatic kinsman to be described below), it should be done at this time.

At this meal for the girls, the bride is also fitted in her new skirt which the women have made in the previous few days. All females wear a string apron in the front which comes to about six inches above the knee. Unmarried girls wear a backpiece three or four inches wide which hangs from the waistband to the backs of the knees. Married women wear a knee-length skirt connected to the apron so that skirt and apron completely encircle the hips. Newly married women wear a skirt made from one or two inch strips of pliable bark, while older women wear a skirt made of string.

The skirt is tried for fit at this time and the next day the bride will be dressed in the new skirt and taken to the groom's place. The name for this event can be translated as "they are putting a new skirt on her (and taking

her to the groom's place)." New brides can be called "new skirt" (yuhufa kata) from the time they come to their new husband's place until the final marriage ceremony. They are also given a new name by which they are called by all the people of their husband's place. A bride's parents will continue to call her by the name she had before she was married and her husband and his age-mates (after the final marriage ceremony) also call her by this natal name.

At the ceremony which marks the arrival of the bride into the groom's group, one or two pigs will be exchanged between the groom's group and the bride's group. Both groups will have spent the morning or the previous afternoon butchering and cooking these pigs. After they are cooked they are tied to a bamboo frame for transport between the bride's foster father's place and the groom's place. In addition to this pork, the bride herself carries a small cooked pig on her head and cut up pork (the remainder of the pig which was given to the girls the day before) in a string bag when she enters the village of the groom.

The entrance of the bride into the groom's village and the ceremony attendant upon it have been described by Langness (1964). I will not repeat the details but will only make mention of the use of valuables. The wife (or wives) of the foster father receive bits of pork that have been laid out for them by the groom's people. The women of the groom's group (that is, the wife or wives of his father) receive bits of pork that have been carried

by the bride. The men of the two groups exchange the larger pigs in an equal exchange. Nowadays, the bride's mother is given a small cooked pig and some Australian currency (usually about ten dollars) which is laid out on a table-like platform set up by the groom's people for her. Formerly, she was given a piece of pork (the backbone with the meat around it) which had a string of money cowries tied on it like a handle. This was hung on her shoulder as she followed her daughter upto the place where the ceremony was held.

That evening or the next day after the ceremony, another gathering is held in the groom's village. The bride's group have all left after the ceremony except for the bride and one or two old women (most often her own mother) who stay with her for a few days or longer while she is getting used to her new surroundings. All those who have contributed to the bridewealth gather in the groom's village. The bride is presented with another new skirt made by the groom's mother and other women of the naga'i. This skirt will be worn for everyday wear while the one that was made for her by her mother and the women of her natal place will be kept to be worn on special occasions. She is also given other presents such as a piglet to keep and care for and perhaps other minor items of decoration or functional items such as a string bag. Nowadays she is given store bought items -- cloth, aluminum cooking pots, a shovel, and such-like.

Distribution of pork in the groom's naga'i

At this time the pork which was brought by the bride's people is distributed out to those who have contributed to the girl's bridewealth. As the new bride sits watching, the pork is cut up and placed with cooked tubers on large leaves that are used as plates. A stick is stuck into the ground and lined up behind it are the plate or plates that will go to men of one naga'i; then another stick is stuck into the ground behind the last plate and the plates that will go to men of another naga'i go behind this stick; and so on, until all the men (and all the naga'i) are represented by sticks and plates. When the whole display is set up, the recipients are called by name in the order that the plates are laid out (i.e., by naga'i). The purpose of this procedure is to inform the girl what men have contributed to her bride-wealth. She is able to identify them as they step up to receive their plates of food and thus can know whom she must call mato (the same term by which the groom's father is called).

After the bride has come to the groom's place, the father of the groom, the groom's brothers and other men of the naga'i start a garden fence. The women of the naga'i, particularly the bride and the groom's mother, plant this garden with sweet potato. When the garden is ready to be harvested for the first time (one planting of sweet potato can be harvested twice before it is necessary to replant), the parents of the groom mark out portions of the rows

which will be given to the people of the naga'i and people from other places who have helped the groom's father with the bridewealth. The recipients harvest their portions and then the garden becomes the complete charge of the new bride. In keeping with the pattern of avoidance, the groom and all his age-mates will not have anything to do with this garden. Some time after the groom has begun to cohabit with his wife and they have made gardens and have pigs, he and his wife, it is said, should send a gift of pork to all those who have contributed to the bridewealth.

Distribution of the bridewealth by the bride's foster father

To complete the description of the usage of valuables in connection with marriage, we must describe the way that the foster father of the bride distributes the shells he has received in the bridewealth. The bundle of shells is taken apart and shells are given by him to those who have helped him in the past with his obligations in the rites de passage for the girl, particularly her first menstruation ceremony. In the (rather unlikely) event that he has received no help from anyone in the performance of these obligations, he may keep all the valuables himself. Even then he would probably not keep them all for very long since others will have need of valuables for one of the sorts of uses that are being described throughout this study and he will donate them to such purposes. He will not be able to refuse since the one who has need of them will almost certainly either have helped him in the past or will be in a

position to help him in the future. It is hard, then, to analytically separate out the chain of obligations and donations in such a situation -- indeed, the main analytical point to be made is that it is a situation of generalized reciprocity in which discrete transactions cannot be spoken of as complete entities.

CEREMONIAL PAYMENTS: TRANSFERS OF GOODS BETWEEN NON-AGNATIC KIN

Another effect of marriage on the movement of goods in the inter-group economy is that certain obligations between non-agnatic kin require the transfer of material goods. Marriage (and subsequent birth) is, of course, what sets up the pre-conditions for these non-agnatic relationships. Since the naga'i is an exogamous localized group of agnatically related collaterals, relations between non-agnatic kin are automatically a matter of relations between the members of two different local economies -- automatically part of the inter-group economy.

Transfers of goods having to do with non-agnatic kin are either formal payments and exchanges undertaken on the occasion of life crises and rites de passage or other less formally structured payments and exchanges which non-agnates should ideally make with each other.

Death payments

Death payments are the denouement of relationships maintained between non-agnatic kin throughout their lives.

I will therefore describe this final expression of the relationship and the usage of valuables entailed in it and then turn to a detailed description of how the relationships are carried out during the lives of the participants.

When a man[1] falls ill and it appears to be a serious illness which might be fatal, his sisters, brothers and children gather to attend him in his sickness. If the man then dies, his body is washed and dressed with all the items of personal decoration that he wore when alive. He is put in a house attended by two women (his sisters or his own or his brothers' daughters) who sleep one on either side of his body through the night. Other women (his or his brothers' wives or sisters) also sleep in the house. The women in the house light torches -- lengths of dry bamboo -- when a mourner comes to view the deceased (day or night the windowless houses are dimly lit).

Mourners are people from other places (other naga'i) who have some connection with the deceased (friendship, affinity, etc.); among the mourners are the people under consideration in this description -- the non-agnatic kin who will receive death payments. Mourners dress in old clothing without decoration and cover themselves with mud and ashes when they come to mourn (enemies who rejoice in the man's death would dress up in their finest decoration -- of course, they would not come to mourn the deceased). After the mourners have been received for one or two nights (the length of time depending on the status of the deceased),

the female attendants and a group of male pallbearers, after eating food ritually prepared to rid them of the influence of their close contact with the body of the deceased, carry the body to a site where a group of men have prepared a grave.[2]

On return from the burial site, the funeral party consumes other food specially prepared by those who have not attended the burial; these persons and other mourners who may be present eat food that has not been specially prepared. The female attendants and the male pallbearers stay for about two weeks without leaving the house and the immediate environs. During this time they continue to receive mourners who might not have been able to get there before the burial. At the end of this period, the attendants and the pallbearers are fed a small ceremonial meal and then return to their normal pursuits.

This small ceremonial meal can be combined with what can be called the final funeral ceremony; if there are not enough pigs at the moment, this final ceremony may be postponed (for as long as a year or more) until such time as there are enough pigs to do it properly.[3] At the final funeral all those who have come with mud on to mourn the deceased are given gifts of cooked pork by the brothers and children of the deceased. After all the other mourners have been given their pork and have departed, the non-agnatic kin who have maintained a relationship with the deceased will be given their death payments.

The amount of death payments

There are several reasons why it is not possible to give an exact list of the amounts of payments that should go to each type of kinsman. First, there was inflation in shells from 1932 until they were supplanted entirely by Australian currency around 1962. Second, the amount can vary according to the supply of valuables in the possesion of the givers at the time and the number of receivers who are expected to receive death payments. Third, the amount that the givers plan to give can be adjusted according to how strong the relationship between the deceased and the kinsman was (this variable will become clearer in the description to follow). Fourth, the amount can be adjusted according to whether the deceased's brothers and children wish to continue relations with his non-agnatic kin and to what degree they wish to do so.

There is an ideal death payment, however, which can be solicited from informants when the question is asked: "How much should a death payment be?" This ideal is the largest that a death payment will be; the adjustments listed above diminish this amount. At the period chosen as the time period of this study, an ideal death payment should consist of the following: one whole cooked pig, several little live pigs, a large shell valuable (either one green snail shell, one silifi'a or a pair of egg cowries) and two strings of money cowry. Although the ideal is stated in terms of shell valuables, it is possible to substitute

other valuable items (pots, wooden bowls, balls of salt) for some of the shells. For the various reasons listed, this payment might be diminished to only one large piece of pork. Another two of the large shell valuables and another one or two strings of money cowry should be added to the list in order to bring it up to date for the time just before shell valuables were completely supplanted by Australian currency. At the time the study was conducted (1971), a death payment consisted of one cooked pig, several little live pigs and two hundred Australian dollars.

Non-agnatic relationships resulting in death payments

The amount of death payment also varies according to the kind of non-agnatic kinsman to whom the payment is to be given; the ideal list given above is that which should go to a person who is "brother's child" of a deceased woman (brother's child of a deceased man would be an agnatic kinsman, of course). The same amount of death payment should also go to the survivor of a pair of men who stand in a "mother's brother's son" - "father's sister's son" relationship to one another. Death payments to a "sister's child" on the death of his "mother's brother" need not be as large.

As can be seen from the lists given above, death payments, in the aggregate, can account for a considerable amount of the movement of goods in the inter-group economy. In order to understand death payments and the other material obligations between non-agnatic kin which lead up to them,

we must examine in detail both the non-agnatic relationships themselves and the circumstances leading to the formal transfer of goods between non-agnates.

The description of the non-agnatic relationships which result in the exchange of valuables must include the following points: the kinship terms that are used for these relationships, the correct identification of the persons between whom these terms are used and how the usage of the terms is begun between two persons, and what the obligations are between persons who stand in such relationships to each other.

In the language of the Nekematigi there are (at least) four basic forms that a kinship term may take (two of which actually have nine different manifestations each, since they require pronomial possessive affixes -- singular, dual and plural number in three persons). For the sake of clarity in English I will use only one form -- the common form of reference in the third person singular -- even though the use of English possessive pronouns with this form will be redundant and though the use of this form will sometimes be incorrect in the English syntax.

The terms for the relationships with which the description is concerned can be listed with English glosses as follows: aku'afu -- used reciprocally between "mother's brother" and "sister's child"[4]; mopo'afu -- "father's sister" and mobi'afu -- "brother's child"; fo'afu -- reciprocal between "mother's brother's child" and "father's

sister's child". The English glosses are necessarily imperfect; a description of how they are deficient will give us the correct identification of the persons between whom these terms are used and how the usage of the terms is begun between two persons. The description of how the relationships are begun will give the answer to what the obligations of the relationship are (or, in other words, how the relationship is maintained).

Mopo'afu - mobi'afu relationship

The description of the deficiencies of the English glosses can best be started with an actual example of the mopo'afu - mobi'afu ("father's sister" -- "brother's child") relationship. Around the time of World War Two, the people of Napaiyufa naga'i neither lived in the place where they now live nor lived together. One of the men who now lives there was living at the time with the members of another naga'i with whom he had taken up residence as a refugee, the members of Napaiyufa naga'i having been scattered after suffering a defeat at the hands of enemies. Because he was living in their naga'i, this man began to address the naga'i members of his generation as sibling (although there was no genealogical connection between them and himself). It was decided that two sons of this man and one woman of the naga'i in which this man and his family were living would enter into a mopo'afu - mobi'afu relationship. The somewhat exceptional involvement of two sons instead of just one is explained by the fact that they are very close

age-mates, the man's two wives having given birth to them at approximately the same time. The woman, of course, is the boys' father's "sister" since she belongs to the naga'i the members of which their father addressed as sibling because of common residence. Only these three are involved in the relationship, although the two young men (in 1971) have other (older) brothers that stand in the same position to the woman as they do and in spite of the fact that there are other women who stand in the same sort of sister relationship to their father.

In order to maintain the relationship, these young men should be generous and helpful to this woman. They should, for instance, be ready to go out of their way to carry messages to people in other places when she asks them to do so, to repair her garden fences or to perform similar light tasks for her. They should make it a point to give her some of any specialty foods or pork that come their way (this finds its expression nowadays in the buying of rice and canned mackerel or other things from the store). They should be ready to donate a pig for which she might have need; a most common use that she would have for a pig is as part of the necessary cure if she should fall seriously ill (see Johannes, diss.).

The mopo'afu - mobi'afu relationship is the least common of all those that will be described here in that a woman usually has only one mobi'afu and sometimes has none; young men usually have only one mopo'afu and often none.

If a relationship of this kind is activated and maintained, however, the death payment due to the mobi'afu on the death of his mopo'afu should ideally be as large as any other kind of death payment, i.e., as large as the ideal list given above.

General principles of non-agnatic relationships

The example illustrates several points which all the non-agnatic relationships which result in the payment of valuables have in common. These relationships are not automatically formed by the birth of one of the principals nor do they extend to all the persons that are included in the English gloss, which only expresses the genealogical potential rather than giving a real prediction of the persons who will engage in such a relationship.

Contrary to what is expected from the English gloss, the "sibling" relationship upon which these relationships are based is often one which has no actual genealogical connection. The importance of the principle of residence over that of descent (or in addition to that of descent, so that residence "creates" descent) has been dealt with in detail by Langness (1964) with whom I fully concur. More examples of this principle in action will be found in the description to follow.

A further point, although one not readily apparent in this particular example, is that these relationships cannot be formed between persons who are genealogically too close. This means that, for instance, mother's actual brother (one

with whom she has one or both parents in common) is not eligible for this kind of relationship with his sister's child. Informants state that the mother's actual brother is too closely related to be engaging in exchanges of valuables relating to his sister's child and that the child's health would suffer if he were to do so. Mother's actual brother is termed afo'afu, the same term that is used for father and father's brothers, not the term which is used for the mother's "brothers" who are eligible for the relationship. The sibling relationship that is used in forming the non-agnatic relationships with which we are concerned here is the sibling relationship which exists between all members of the same generation in the naga'i.

The aku'afu relationship and rites de passage

The "mother's brother" - "sister's child" relationship has been dealt with by Langness (diss.). I will treat the subject in a bit more detail and will focus on the exchange of valuables that is entailed in the relationship; some repetition will be necessary, however, for the description to read coherently.

This relationship, like the other non-agnatic relationships, must be activated and maintained. Some, but not all, of the eligible persons actually participate in the relationship; and eligibility is not dependent simply on genealogical connection. At birth and certain other rites de passage and life crisis ceremonies, a "brother" of the child's mother is called upon to participate in the ceremony appropriate

to the particular rite de passage by engaging with the child's parents in an exchange of valuables and pork. Sometimes two of the mother's "brothers" are called upon to participate and on rare occasions more than two; from the time of the ceremony on, the "brothers" who have participated use the reciprocal term aku'afu with their "sister's" child.

The aku'afu relationship and rites de passage
(a) Payments at birth

The first occasion at which an aku'afu is involved in the life of a child is at birth. Nekematigi infants, for approximately the first six months or more of their lives, are carried around in a string bag of the same design as the bag that women use to transport loads of tubers from their gardens to their houses. Not only is the infant carried in this bag but also the bag can be hung on a tree limb or a fencepost and covered with a cloth to keep the sun off the infant when the mother is working in her garden or otherwise engaged away from home.

This string bag will be given to the parents of the new child by a man who is eligible (according to the criteria outlined above) to enter into an aku'afu relationship with the child -- the child's mother's "brother." The relationship can be started either on the initiative of the child's parents or by a man who stands eligible to enter into one. A man may speak up even before his "sister" becomes pregnant, if, for instance, he spoke too late when

a previous child was born. Generally, when it becomes known that a woman is pregnant (there is a small ceremony when a woman is two or three months pregnant), a man who is eligible can speak to the couple saying that he would like to become the child's aku'afu by supplying the string bag that the infant will be carried in. If no one has spoken before the child is born (or if they have particular reason to nominate a certain person), the parents of the child will choose someone to supply the string bag and become the child's aku'afu.

Usually within forty-eight hours after the child is born, the man who is to be the child's aku'afu and his wife (who will also be the child's aku'afu) will prepare a string bag by rubbing it with pig grease and lining it with a pandanus leaf mat so that it will maintain a shape and then lining it with a piece of soft bark cloth which will be the infant's blanket (extra bark cloth would also go to the sister's husband with which he could make clothing for himself). Then they fill the bag with cut up lengths of sugar cane (a locally grown food that is regarded as somewhat of a specialty food) and other specialty foods such as pandanus nuts or whatever is in season or available at the time, and a few bunches of areca nut. (It should be noted here that a woman who was making such preparations and wanted some pandanus nuts or betel could ask her mobi'afu for them; it is a good example of one of the occasions when a mobi'afu should help his mopo'afu.)

The couple will then carry the bag to the house of the infant and its mother at which place the father of the child and his naga'i brothers will have prepared food, often just vegetable food but perhaps a chicken or some small bit of meat if it happens to be available. The sugar cane, the specialty foods and the betel are then distributed to those present with the exception of the mother of the child and the child's father and his age-mates who are not allowed to eat until after this later ceremony; furthermore, the child's mother's actual brother is never supposed to eat any of the pork that is given to the child's aku'afu in any of these ceremonies. If the mother's actual brother were to eat the pork the child's health would suffer because the relationship between the two is genealogically too close.

When the child has cut two teeth, the father of the child kills and cooks a pig and gives it to the couple who brought the bag. There are several small ceremonial meals (after the birth ceremony at which the child gets an aku'afu) which mark the re-entry of the mother to a normal role from certain tabus that are placed upon her because of what is believed to be her polluted state after giving birth. The last of these and the gift of pork to the couple who brought the bag are sometimes held at the same time and place.

The aku'afu relationship and rites de passage
(b) Plaiting a child's hair

The next occasion in the life of a child that calls for an exchange between the parents of the child and his aku'afu takes place sometime between the age of three and six. The

child's hair is plaited at this time into many small braids to the ends of which are affixed long strips of bark from the cultivated shrub described previously. This gives the effect of long straight shoulder-length hair. The child's hair (and the bark) is then rubbed with pig grease and/or pandanus oil. At the time that the child's hair is done in this style, the parents hold a small ceremony (usually slaughtering only a small pig for the occasion). There is probably a wide variation in the scale of this ceremony (I did not actually observe an event of this kind), there could be pig exchanged between the aku'afu and the child's parents and perhaps some small amount of shell.

The aku'afu relationship and rites de passage
(c) New clothing

Around the age of six to nine the child adopts a new style of clothing. Young boys often do not wear any clothing at all until this ceremony at which they first put on the male barkcloth belt and pubic covering. Female children wear a short string apron from earliest infancy but at this time begin to wear a string "skirt" about three or four inches wide which hangs from the waist band down over the center of the buttocks. The ceremony and exchange are the same as the one for a new hair style; there is also probably a wide variation in the emphasis it may receive and along with the hair style ceremony is the least important of these ceremonies.

The aku'afu relationship and rites de passage
(d) Male initiation

The two most important rites de passage are the initiation ceremony for boys and the first menstruation ceremony for girls. Both these ceremonies require a considerable amount of preparation although initiations require more because they are done with groups of boys at the same time while girls' first menstruation ceremonies are performed individually at the onset of menses. Both ceremonies require one or two large pigs to be slaughtered for each child. Both ceremonies require the seclusion of the principals for approximately one month, although the nature of the seclusion varies for males and females. After the period of seclusion, the aku'afu and the parents of the child engage in an exchange of pigs and shells as part of the final "coming out."

Boys are initiated in groups the size of which and the range of age of which varies according to the size of the communities participating. Often more than one naga'i (all those in a district, most commonly) combine in order to hold a large ceremony; every two to three years gives a reasonable indication of the frequency, each naga'i might have a half a dozen boys or so. When a group of boys are initiated together they become age-mates and will retain a special relationship throughout their lives both in everyday interpersonal relations which are closer between age-mates and in regard to marriage and the birth of children to the age-mates which are marked by ceremonies in which all the age-mates

participate. When the fathers of the boys who are about to be initiated agree among themselves that they have all the necessary pigs and shells and other required materials, the period of initiation is started by taking the boys into the men's house and forbidding them to come into contact with women (even mothers and sisters). There is a ceremony performed that evening which marks the start of this period of initiation; then the next morning the initiates are taken to a running stream where their nostrils are bled by cutting the insides with bundles of sharp grass. This activity, along with the others that the boys will be taught, is intended to purify men from the polluting influence of women, particularly menstruating women.

The initiation period may last as long as a month or more. During this time neither the men participating nor the boys can eat food that has been touched by a woman. The boys are taken to the water during the day where they are instructed in all the means of bleeding and ritual purification one by one. The boys are treated roughly (informants say this is done so that the experience will be strongly remembered). This whole period is seen as a period of instruction aimed a making the boys able to perform the purification techniques on themselves for the rest of their adult lives. Instruction in these techniques at the side of the stream alternates with other verbal instruction in the men's house intended to shape the boys into adult men. Nights are spent in more such instruction; the boys, for

instance, are shown the playing of the bamboo flutes which are involved in ritual and are kept secret from women and children. The boys are instructed that they must take care of their pigs and gardens well (this in spite of the fact that it is women who do most of the actual work in gardening and pig husbandry) so that their children will prosper. They are told to be generous and hospitable to their affines and non-agnatic kin. They are also told to be hospitable (i.e., to give food and lodging) to strangers from other places. Finally, after they have been properly instructed in all these sorts of things and have learned all the purification techniques, they are taken down to the water to perform for the final time during the initiation period the techniques that they must continue to perform regularly throughout their lives.[5]

After the boys have been taken to the water for the final time, they are dressed and decorated with all the personal adornments of a fully dressed adult man -- shells, feathers, armbands, marsupial pelts, etc. Then the men who are initiating them (usually their own fathers but often other men who are from this time on called afo'afu, "father", regardless of genealogical connection) bring them ceremoniously out of the men's house to be displayed to all present and give them cooked pork. At this time the boys' aku'afu are also given pork and shell valuables which they either reciprocate on the spot or reciprocate at a later date. In addition, the boys' "fathers' sisters" and their husbands

may bring cooked pork to donate to the ceremony; if there is enough pig available this will be reciprocated on the spot, if not it will be reciprocated at a later date.

In addition to these payments properly considered a part of the ceremony, other payments not directly related to it may be taken care of at the time of the initiation ceremony. The ceremony often is an occasion for reciprocal giving to repay old obligations, to initiate new ones, or to continue on-going exchange relationships. This is true for all ceremonies which involve cooking and exchange of pork -- initiation, first menstruation, marriage, and the other rites de passage that have been described. This happens most frequently at initiations because these are the biggest and most elaborate of these ceremonies, but it is possible to invite to all ceremonies friends and relatives who do not have any real connection to the ceremony except that the participants want to give them something in return fo a previous gift on some other occasion. These persons will receive such things at some time during the course of the ceremony or its preparations.

The aku'afu relationship and rites de passage
(e) Female first menstruation ceremony

The description of the girls' first menstruation ceremony must start with a description of the role I will call foster father in order to distinguish this person in the text from the girl's actual father (and her father's brothers). This person is afo'afu as are the others; there is usually

either no need to distinguish this afo'afu from the others or the distinction is clear from the context. It is possible, if the need should arise, to distinguish him by making reference to the fact that he is the afo'afu who receives the bridewealth.

The Nekematigi state that it is improper for a man to be involved with the payment of valuables for his own daughter (notice how this is consistent with the statement that a woman's actual brother should not receive payments of valuables in connection with his sister's child). Every girl, therefore, has a foster father who handles the bridewealth negotiations and receives the bridewealth paid for her. This man is the one who conducts the girl's first menstruation ceremony and who is involved in the exchange with the girl's aku'afu.

Ideally, a girl gets a foster father when she is born and the foster father is the person who is involved in all the rite de passage ceremonies already described. It sometimes happens that a girl does not have a foster father at the time of these ceremonies either because of the death of her foster father or because a dispute has caused either her foster father or her actual parents to discontinue the relationship. In such cases, either the girl's actual father or her older brothers can perform the ceremonies and be involved in the exchanges -- although they should still remain apart from the bridewealth.

The foster father relationship is sometimes (but not

necessarily) undertaken between a man and a girl from two different naga'i. In these cases, the sons of the foster father become brothers that the girl would not otherwise have had. (If the man and the girl were from the same naga'i, of course, his sons would already be her brothers.) These brothers of the girl are also eligible to become aku'afu of her children.

When a young girl commences her first menstruation, she is secluded in her mother's house; there is a small ceremony at this time in which she is given a little food (often a bunch of pandanus nuts are saved by her father to be given to her on this occasion). While she is secluded in the house she is not allowed to go outside except during the night when she is carried outside by her mother to perform her natural functions (her feet are not supposed to touch the ground). While she is in the house, her foster father is arranging the necessary pigs and things, calling on friends and kinsmen to give him help if he needs it. Meanwhile, the women of the naga'i meet and sit outside the house for several days making new items of clothing for the girl[6] -- a net bag haircovering (a snood), a new skirt (apron and backpiece), a new string bag to hang on her back, beaded armbands, strung beads for her waist. Her foster father restrings the nassa shell headband for her to wear. When the women are gathered making new clothing for her, her foster father makes an earth oven and feeds the assembled women sweet potato and other vegetable food (no meat).

Finally after from two to four weeks, when everything is ready, all the arrangements for pig made and all the new clothing made, the women of the naga'i (and any other female visitors such as fathers' sisters or wives of men who are to be given things by the girl's father) gather in the girl's mother's house where she has been secluded (the men gather in a nearby men's house) to sing and view skits performed by young men (brothers of the girl) and by themselves. Although the men, who sing in a much more subdued manner in the men's house, claim that the women are supposed to be teaching the girl how to be a proper young woman, the women engage in high hilarity singing and joking (often lewdly) all night, even though the men sometimes come over to the house to stand outside and shout that the women are carrying on too much when they should be instructing the girl. At dawn, the girl's father or some important man comes to the house and stands outside giving the girl a lecture about being a proper young woman. After one final outburst of singing and carrying on, the women finally calm down and the preparation of the pig and other food begins.

After the food has been prepared, during which time the girl is washed and dressed in her new clothing, and her skin is rubbed with pig grease, a path is made of leaves (nowadays newspapers and cloth) leading from the door of the house to where the pig and food that will be given to her and her aku'afu and the shells that will be given to her aku'afu are arranged about five or ten yards away. The girl is

led out of the house decorated with pieces of pork on her head and in a string bag on her back. She sits near the arrangement and the aku'afu takes the gifts and then the food is distributed to everyone present. People eat and then leave.

The aku'afu relationship and rites de passage
(f) Marriage

The final rite de passage to be described in which there can be an exchange involving the aku'afu takes place when a girl is about to be sent to her groom's village or when a bride has been obtained for a boy. Neither of these occasions are marked anymore and I get the impression that the one for the boy was even less important than the one for a girl.

The aku'afu relationship and rites de passage
(g) Recent changes in rites de passage

All these rites de passage were probably not performed for all children even in pre-contact times, circumstances such as active warfare and lack of necessary pigs perhaps causing unambitious parents and foster fathers to skip some of the less important ones. The most important ones are the girl's first menstruation ceremony and the boy's initiation ceremony. The girl's first menstruation ceremony is still performed today for all girls, albeit in abbreviated form. Boys' initiation ceremonies have nearly died out completely or are only very perfunctorily celebrated. Boys who attend school are not given initiation ceremonies at all. That is, none of the purification bloodletting or other things

are performed on them since it is not deemed proper for a modern schoolboy to undergo old-style rites. They are given, however, a small ceremony that looks like the modern girl's first menstruation ceremony. (The similarity is apparent because the ceremony for schoolboys is done for individuals instead of groups, actually the male initiation and female first menstruation ceremonies always did have certain underlying similarities in form.) The birth ceremony with its donation of a string bag for the baby is still done and can be said to be second in importance to the puberty ceremonies. The other ceremonies have to do with clothing and hair styles that are no longer worn for the most part; for this reason the ceremonies are no longer performed although some parents have small ceremonies for their children when they reach the age at which they would have in former times assumed the particular clothing or hair style. The ceremonies involving aku'afu preceding marriage seem to have been the least important and are not at all so anymore.

The aku'afu relationship and rites de passage
(h) Summary

The aku'afu relationship is maintained by means of formal exchanges between the parents of a child and the child's "mother's brother" on the occasion of specific rites de passage held at intervals during the progression of the child toward adulthood.

In the case of a male child, those participating in exchanges with his aku'afu are usually his actual parents;

but in the case of a female child, her foster father -- the one who will be in charge of her marriage negotiations -- is the person who makes the exchanges. The people who put down the gifts in the display to be given to the aku'afu are said to be taking care of the child. Not only are they taking care of the child by giving him or her food and decorations to wear at these ceremonies, but also they are taking care of the child's future in that the aku'afu is one of the major types of person to whom one can go to seek refuge. Finally, they are taking care of the child in the sense that they are ensuring that he or she will receive death payments when the aku'afu dies. The death payment that goes to an aku'afu is not as large as the payment that goes to the other twp types of non-agnatic kin who receive death payments; it would, for example, consist of one live pig, a large piece of cooked pork and only one shell item.

The fo'afu relationship

The third kind of non-agnatic relationship that involves payment of valuables is the fo'afu relationship. In common with the other two relationships already described, the fo'afu relationship, although it can be glossed as a mother's brother's child - father's sister's child relationship, cannot take place between persons whose parents have a parent in common and the relationship must be activated and maintained in order to be the basis of exchanges of valuables.

Fo'afu are supposed to reciprocate gifts between each

other on certain occasions. The most common of these is the result of a pig distribution, or more properly, a result of the decoration and dancing that accompanies a pig distribution.

If a person particularly appreciates something made or done by someone or connected with him in some way, it is common among the Nekematigi for the person so affected to approach the one who "killed"[7] him and expect to receive a gift. For instance, I once observed a man giving a woman a bunch of extraordinarily large areca nuts and two dollars. I later found out that the woman had earlier seen the discarded shell of one of the nuts and their prodigious size had "really killed her." As the owner of the tree that produced them, he gave her a bunch of the nuts and two dollars as a gift to reciprocate the sentiment she had expressed. It should be noted parenthetically that the gift was given at the time of his daughter's first menstruation ceremony, a good example of the use of ceremonies to take care of other things which have no real connection to the ceremony itself.

Fo'afu are expected to be "killed" by their fo'afu when they see them dressed up for a pig distribution. The morning after the dance, the fo'afu plans to be outside the house of his fo'afu early in order to be there when he first comes outside. When the fo'afu who was dressed up comes out of his house and sees his fo'afu sitting there, he invites him in and either then and there or at a later date gives him some item of value (such as a shell, a bird plume,

a pot, etc.) or a large piece of cooked pork (a hindquarter, for instance) or both. It is very likely, of course, that the performer will have cooked pork on hand at the time, having just engaged in a pig distribution on the previous day. At some later date when the occasion arises for the other man to dress up for a pig distribution or other celebration, his fo'afu will visit him and receive a reciprocal gift. In order for the relationship to be maintained and to result in a large death payment, these reciprocating gifts should go on when there is occasion for them throughout the lives of the two men.

When one of the men dies, the fo'afu who has maintained the relationship with him throughout his life will receive the largest kind of death payment (such as the list given as ideal above). In addition to the death payment, if the man who dies was the recipient in the last exchange between himself and his fo'afu, this gift should also be reciprocated.

An interesting (although not really very important) connection between shell valuables and the fo'afu relationship is in relation to the long piece of worked shell (called so in the language of the Nekematigi) which is worn by men in the hole pierced in the nasal septum. One of a man's fo'afu can state that he wishes to inherit his so; upon the owner's death, this man will receive only the so and cooked pork without any more shells or other payment. If a man's so is lost or broken before he dies, his fo'afu who has put a claim on it will receive a large payment of pigs

and shells. I never heard of this item being transferred in any other way.

Summary

We have seen that the transfer of material goods plays an important part in three non-agnatic kin relationships. Indeed, the relationships can be said to be primarily defined by the transfer of material goods since this is the way that they are initiated, maintained, and terminated. They are initiated and maintained by means of gifts, assistance (in the form of material items as well as non-material help) and reciprocal exchanges between or on behalf of non-agnatic kin. They are terminated or concluded with death payments when one of the parties to the relationship dies.

Aku'afu relationships are more formally structured in comparison to mopo'afu - mobi'afu relationships and fo'afu relationships in that the former should result in the exchange of goods on certain specific occasions while the occasions for exchange or giving in the latter cases depend upon the parties to the relationships taking advantage of potential (but not mandatory) opportunities. A second contrast is that the aku'afu relationship should result in a death payment that is not as large as the death payment to a fo'afu or a mobi'afu.

SUMMARY

Under the heading "marriage," we have just examined a number of transfers of goods that take place between the members of different local economies. As was the case with political affairs, some of these have been identified as formal, i.e., undertaken on the occasion of specific ceremonies or events. Others have been labelled as less direct. Transfers of this second type are not directly tied to a specific ceremony or institution related to marriage or any of the non-agnatic kin relationships created by marriages. They are, rather, connected with marriage in the sense that, in part, the motivation for these transfers of material goods must be seen to lie in the realm of marriage-related considerations -- either the desire to maintain good relations between affines (and/or non-agnates) or the attempt to foster good will for the purpose of promoting future marriages.

As we have seen in the case of politics, these less direct connections between marriage and the allocation of goods can be easily used to explain the directional movement of goods in the whole of the Bena Bena Valley. What better way to live up to the ideal of being hospitable and generous to affines (or to garner the practical benefits of good relations with affines) than to give them products which they value highly but cannot obtain directly for themselves? (The word <u>give</u>, of course, should actually be read "make reciprocal delayed exchanges with.") Thus, these exchanges, indirectly (but not insignificantly) connected

with marriage and the affinal and non-agnatic kinship created by marriage, are parts of the system of inter-group relations that play important roles in explaining the allocation of goods in the study area.

Some of the marriage related ceremonial payments are also important in explaining the directional flow of forest products to the grassland and vice versa. In contrast to komolu and pig distributions, which we found not to vary according to the relative location of the two parties to the payments, we have seen that death payments, the payments to aku'afu at rites de passage, the gifts and exchanges made between mobi'afu and mopo'afu and between fo'afu, and the goods given to the men of the bride's side from the men of the groom's side (but not the bridewealth itself) can include a variety of forest products, items from the Finisterres or products from the grassland. Although some of these payments (especially death payments) should ideally be made in shells, the potential for substitution of salt, stone axes, bird feathers, bows, or other valuable items for shells means that we must include these payments in any explanation of the directional movement of goods in the study area.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MOVEMENT OF GOODS INTO THE STUDY AREA

So far we have been dealing with the movement of goods in the Highlands center of the study area. We have seen that the inter-group economy is clearly a part of the whole system of inter-group relations; in order to explain the movement of goods we have had to deal with leadership, alliance, refuge-taking, marriage, non-agnatic kinship, and so on.

We are now going to turn our attention to the way in which shells, pots and wooden bowls are introduced into the study area from the Rawa of the Finisterres. It is here that we find strongest the urge to label the phenomenon as "trade;" we shall see that marriage and political affairs, so important to our explanation of the movement of goods within the Highlands, have a much less significant role.

Relations between the Rawa and the Nekematigi, in comparison to those we have been describing upto this point, seem almost completely limited to the exchange of goods.

In describing this portion of the flow of goods, then, our task will be to describe how these exchanges actually take place and to identify the motives and institutions that can provide an explanation and understanding of them.

VISITS TO THE FINISTERRES

The visitors

Pottery, sea shells and wooden bowls are obtained from the Rawa and brought into the Highlands by groups of people from the study area who periodically make visits to the Finisterres for this purpose. Of the sixty-five or so districts in the Benabena language group, only about eight, all of them located in the upper Bena Bena Valley or the White Sands, are known to make these trips. Although three of this number are not Nekematigi districts, the Nekematigi area is generally regarded by other Benabena speakers to be the point at which shells, pots and wooden bowls enter the Highlands.

Except for perhaps a few individual friends or kin of group members, the members of a group going to visit the Finisterres would all be from the same district; members of more than one district did not combine to make trading trips. The groups are composed of men, married women and boys (who may make the trip for the first time after the rite de passage that marks the beginning of wearing clothes).

Not all the members of a district, of course, would go on any given trip. Some people would necessarily have to stay behind to take care of the pigs, gardens, children and old people. Other people who might be physically able to go would not go due to apprehension about the flat grassland terrain of the Ramu Valley which, besides being truly dangerous because of such hazards as malaria and death adders, is quite strange to people from the steep sloped valleys of the Highlands. The dangerous crossing that must be made of the Ramu River is another cause of apprehension which would prevent some people from undertaking the trip.

Some men, however, gain reputations as men who go frequently to the Finisterres and who have considerable knowledge of the right way to go about it. Although a reputation of success in trading trips is not as important as a reputation of success in warfare, the two reputations are similar in that the reputation is based not only on actual success but also on the possession of the knowledge which leads to success.

In addition to men who have reputations as frequent and knowledgeable travellers, one would expect to find men whose sons are coming of marriageable age in a group that was about to travel for the purpose of obtaining goods from the Rawa. These men would be concerned with finding valuables to be used for bridewealth for their sons.

We can also predict that those men who have items to trade, such as those who have just completed a dog's tooth

necklace, will be sure to be anxious to make the trip, while those who do not have anything to exchange at the moment will probably not go. The hazards of the trip and the effort involved are such that men are unwilling to go on behalf of someone else. Those who are going will be sure to have all that they can carry of their own and those who wish to have items exchanged must either go themselves or not be involved at all in this sort of trade.

Women go along because it is necessary to carry food for the several days that will be spent on the trail both coming and going. They carry the large heavy loads of sweet potato in net bags while the men carry the actual items that are to be exchanged. The young boys are given small string bags in which they carry some small items.

There are several reasons why the trip is made in relatively large groups rather than singly or in small groups. Strength in numbers is certainly desirable to cope with the hazards of the trip. As well as the environmental hazards of the river, malaria and death adders, the people who live in the valley floor always present a danger from sorcery and sometimes the potential of actual physical hostility. In addition to the strength of the group, there is the desire of those who are not expert in making the trip to accompany a man who has the knowledge and experience to cope with all these dangers. And in addition to the actual help that may be gained from travelling in groups, the fact that the trip can only be made during one season of the year favors

the tendency to make the trip in a large group rather than in small groups.

Making the trip

As the dry season approaches, discussion begins about whether anyone plans to go that year or not. If there is fighting or trouble going on in which the group is involved at the time it is unlikely that the trip will be made. But if it is a period of relative peace, plans will be made to go when the dry season is well established. At the height of the dry season, the depth of the Ramu River is at its annual low stage (about chest deep at the point at which the travellers will ford it). At other times during the year the river is impassible to people who have little familiarity with rivers other than the relatively small mountain rivers of their own place (which are, however, dangerous in their own right) and who have no knowledge of swimming strong currents or of the use of boats.

Each man who plans to go will try to carry a rather standard load consisting of a small to medium-sized pig, a dog (which can walk by itself), a collection of items of lesser value -- bows, fancy arrows, lime, string bags -- and any of the more valuable items that may be available -- a ball of salt, a stone axe (when these were still desired by the Rawa), a dog's tooth necklace. Loaded down with food for the trip and the items to be exchanged, the party will leave their place early in the morning.

Those who live to the south of the Bena Gap will

probably make their first leg of the trip to the northernmost Benabena speaking place[1] which lies on the trail leading out of the White Sands down toward the Ramu Valley, while those who do live in the White Sands will be able to strike out toward the Ramu Valley directly from their own villages without having to spend the night at this last Highlands habitation. From this place, which lies at about 4000 feet above sea level, the travellers begin to descend into the valley. At first the trail descends more or less gradually along a ridge through the White Sands forest from 4000 feet to 3500 feet. At 3500 feet the trail breaks out of the forest into the grassland and then drops sharply down a grassy ridge to the floor of the Ramu Valley, going from 3500 feet to 1400 feet above sea level in about two miles of horizontal distance.

The major trail used by Kafe speakers travelling to the same Rawa villages in the Finisterres joins that used by the Benabena speakers at Pusiorora Creek, a tributary stream of the Ramu flowing out of the Bismarck Range from a point opposite the headwaters of the Dunantina River. The Rawa make no distinction between the people who visit their villages for trading, all of whom they call Kaime. The Kafe visitors will not be described here, although there is no reason to expect that their dealings with the Rawa differ from those to be described, both because the Rawa apparently did not notice any differences between the two, and because it is consistent with the cultural and linguistic

similarities between Benabena speakers and Kafe speakers which have already been described.

From Pusiorora Creek, the trail continues for a mile to the south bank of the Ramu River. The travellers usually stop for the night on this side of the river where they can sleep under the overhang of rock outcroppings.

Early the next morning the group makes the crossing of the river. Before leaving the forest the previous day, the men have picked the leaves of a particular tree from which they now fashion pubic coverings for themselves to exchange for their bark cloth garments which would be ruined by becoming water soaked in the many trips back and forth that must be made. The crossing takes a considerable amount of time since the men take the goods and the food (except some which is cached for the return trip) across the river in many small loads in order to minimize the loss of food and ensure that only one valuable items would be lost if a man were to loose his footing and be forced to drop his burden in order to save himself.

While the men take the cargo across the river, the women change their skirts for improvised skirts of banana leaves. If their string skirts were to get saturated with water in the river crossing, their normal weight would be doubled, making it nearly impossible to walk with them on. One man has the job of carrying the women's skirts across the river. He is the only one to do it both on the outward and the homeward trip. The beliefs which men hold about

the damage that can be done to a man from contact with women have already been mentioned; the skirts of women are the most dangerous things which a man could encounter (next to a menstruating woman herself). The man who has carried the women's skirts across the river is given a festive meal and a large pig by the rest of the men upon their return to their home.

The forested foothills of the Finisterre Range are several miles north of the Ramu River. After the travellers have crossed the river, they strike out across the flat grassland of the valley heading for the point at which the Surinam River (a tributary of the Ramu) comes out of the foothills. If there is a lot of cargo, the party will, both because of the extra time necessary to carry it across the river and the slower pace necessary when carrying it, probably stop for the night after gaining the edge of the forest. If the party is lightly burdened, they continue up to the Rawa places of habitation without another night on the trail.

The travellers follow the course of the Surinam up into the Finisterres. Each of its several branches leads to a Rawa place, and sometimes the travellers may split up into smaller groups at this point, each group taking a different branch to a different place. As the visitors approach the Rawa settlements the Rawa beat slit drums, large hollowed out tree trunks, the sound of which carries a long distance. The Rawa do not live in large concentrated villages; they live in small hamlets of several houses each and the sounding of the drums lets the people in other hamlets know

that Kaime visitors have arrived.

THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS WITH THE RAWA

That afternoon or the next day, the Rawa men bring their goods to the place where the visitors are. In the center of the hamlet the visitors set out their goods (bows, arrows, string bags, salt, lime, etc.) and tether out their pigs and dogs with a rope fastened to the foreleg which is tied to a stake driven into the ground. They sit down next to these articles while the Rawa men bring out the items which they wish to exchange for what the visitors have brought.

The Rawa are so anxious to obtain any dog's teeth that the visitors have brought that they have (rather frantically, say the Highlanders) searched them for dog's teeth when they arrived. The Highlanders have hidden the dog's teeth under their pubic coverings in order to save them for last. The reason they do this, they say, is so that the Rawa will be so glad to see the dog's teeth at the end that they will give large amounts of shells for them.

Bidding by a Rawa

The focus of the description will change here to one pair of men. Although the exchanges are undertaken in a group context with the group of visitors exchanging things with the group of hosts, the exchanges themselves are between two individuals -- a Rawa and a visitor. The Rawa bids for an item of one of the visitors by bringing out the items that he wishes to exchange for it one by one, a wooden bowl

and a pot usually being the first two items brought out.

Although the Rawa only know that the visitors think it proper for a pot and a wooden bowl to be the first two items brought out, the visitors say that the two are a married couple, the pot the husband and the bowl the wife, and that the only proper way to use them is that food cooked in the pot be served in its own particular bowl.

Although the Rawa make a range of sizes of pots (all of which are of the same shape) the visitors prefer pots not larger than about one and a half feet from base to mouth since those any larger would be too difficult to transport back to their homes. They also prefer pots with thinner rather than thicker walls because of the problem of weight. If a pot is too heavy, the visitors say it is like the stump (of a tree) and try to get the Rawa to substitute one that is like the leaf.

As he brings out each item the Rawa sets it down in front of the seated visitor who is holding onto his pig or dog to make sure that there is no misunderstanding about when he is satisfied with the amount of items put before him. As he sets the items in front of the visitor and the pile of items grows, the Rawa asks "Enough?" each time another item is put in the pile. Until he is satisfied with the amount placed before him the visitor continues to respond "Not enough," while trying to appear disinterested, not looking directly at either the items placed before him of the man placing them there. The Rawa do not know anything

of either the Benabena or Kafe language; the words for the various items of trade and the words which signify enough and not enough are the sum total of the Rawa language that the visitors know. It was not until after World War Two that Melanesian Pidgin began to be used as a lingua franca. Another possible means of communication is through interpretation by Highlands women who are married to Rawa men; this practice will be described in detail below.

The final amount given for an item depends upon when the visitor indicates that he is satisfied. When he so indicates, the Rawa takes the item he has been bidding on and the visitor quickly collects the pile of items in front of him. It may sometimes happen that the Rawa has no more items to bring out or does not want to bring out any more items although the visitor has not agreed to the amount given so far. In such a case, the negotiations may be discontinued between the two and another Rawa may bid for the item.

The standard amount of an exchange

It is unlikely that this would happen frequently, however, since both the Rawa and the visitor share the same idea of what the proper amount for the exchange is. The Rawa realize that after a pot and a bowl, the visitors expect to be offered shells in a variety based on the idea of one of each kind. A pig, a dog or a ball of salt (all of the same relative value) should receive in exchange a pot, a bowl, and about a half a dozen shell items. The following

count as one shell item: one green snail shell, a pair of egg cowries, three to five of the lengths of money cowrie, one silifi'a (these were made both by Bena speakers and by Rawa), an olive shell headband, a nassa headband, and so on. The fact that the proper amount for the exchange was shared by both parties means that it would be unlikely that a Rawa would try to bid unless he thought he had enough to bid successfully. And if he were short on shells, the Rawa would usually be able to satisfy a visitor with another wooden bowl or a pot, of both of which he would have a good supply.

This sort of negotiation continues between pairs of hosts and visitors until either all the goods have been exchanged or everyone has reached an impasse. If the number of visitors is large, impasses may be reached because the Rawa have laready exchanged everything that they have at the moment. If such is the case, the visitors will move on to other Rawa places to try exchanging the goods there.

RAWA HOSPITALITY

When they visit Rawa places there are three ways in which the visitors can obtain food and shelter. The most common procedure is for the people of the Rawa hamlet to vacate one house which is given over to the visitors. The Rawa houses are exceptionally large and this is very easily done. The group of visitors is then given cooked food by the group of hosts.

"Trade acquaintanceship"

Sometimes, particularly in the case of men who visit the Finisterres frequently, a Rawa man and a visitor will already know each other. In such a case, the Rawa man may take the man he recognizes to his own house to stay for the night and will give this man food while the others stay in the vacated house. If a Rawa man takes a visitor in like this he expects to have his acquaintance exchange his items with him first. If he gets all that he wants or is able to exchange for and the visitor still has items left over, the Rawa man will arrange for others to bid on the remaining items.

For several reasons, this kind of arrangement is not very common. Except perhaps for those who have reputations as men who go on trading trips, individual men do not go to visit often enough to create and maintain regular relationships. Even most of the men who have reputations for going would not be able to go every year since local events (such as wars or other obligations) prevent the members of a district from forming a group for a trading trip regularly every year. A third reason is that the visitors do not make any effort to go to the same Rawa place every time they go; they visit about a dozen different Rawa places and do not visit all of them on every trip. We will consider this point in more detail below.

Marriages between Rawa men and Highlands women

The third source of the provision of food and shelter for the visitors devolves from the practice of marrying

Highlands women to Rawa men. The Rawa have a mythical story about the beginning of relations between themselves and the Kaime which goes as follows:

> There were once two Kaime women, sisters, who were sitting on the south bank of the Ramu River making string. As they sat there they noticed smoke rising from the Finisterres where the Rawa live. They realized that the smoke must be coming from a new garden plot being cleared in the forest and that there must be a man who lived there. One said to the other, "We can go marry that man if we can cross the river. You hold the end of this string while I cross the river; if the current starts to sweep me away you can save me by pulling in the string. When I get to the other side, I will hold the string so that you can get across and then we can go up into the hills and marry the man who is making a garden." The other agreed and held the string while her sister crossed the river. When her sister reached the other side, however, she let go of the string before the other could start across, saying, "Now you will have to stay on that side of the river and I can go marry that man and have him to myself." Since that time Kaime women have married Rawa men.

Although there are advantages related to trade which result from these marriages, namely, being able to stay with affines when visiting there and knowing that an affine will be sure to take one's trade items and possibly give a larger amount in exchange than would a stranger, the major reason the Highlanders give for sending brides to the Rawa is the large bridewealth that they receive from the Rawa. The bridewealth given contains pots and bowls (which the Highlanders do not include in bridewealth among themselves) and some of all the shells that have been described but particularly strings of money cowry. The arrangement suits both the Rawa and the Highlanders since the Highlanders are impressed by the large amount of shells while the Rawa are glad to give "worthless" money cowries in a bridewealth without having to give the dog's teeth, "Siassi" beads, and conus annuli which they include in bridewealth among themselves.

An interesting anecdote relating to intercultural relations is that the Highlanders are rather scandalized by the fact that the bride and groom start to cohabit immediately from the time that the bride is brought to the groom's place, rather than waiting until the bride has lived with the groom's mother for a while. They particularly mention the distribution of the pork which the bride carries with her on the day that she is brought to the groom's place. Instead of being given to the groom's mother and the other women of his group, it is eaten by

the bride and groom themselves on their wedding night. After eating the meat the bride and groom immediately go to the groom's house to have intercourse. This is facilitated, the Highlanders say, by the groom blowing tobacco smoke in the bride's face. The magic spell which has been put on the tobacco causes the bride to immediately forget her home and family and to go willingly with her husband. The Rawa confirm that they do indeed do this to Highlands women.

As is true of all types of contacts, marriages with Rawa men are more often arranged with women from the White Sands than with women from groups farther to the south. People from the White Sands travel more often to the Finisterres than do people from groups farther to the south simply because they live closer to the Finisterres and the trip is that much easier to make. The people from the groups to the south of the Bismarck Divide must make an extra day's travel just to get to the White Sands. The district farthest north on the trail to the Finisterres has much more constant contact with the Rawa than do any of the others. Rawa men journey to this place in order to obtain brides but never go any farther than this one place. It is not clear whether the Rawa men made these trips in pre-contact times or not; at any rate, the frequency of visits by Rawa men is low compared to those made by Highlanders and the picture is one of a one-way, rather than reciprocal, visiting.

THE RETURN TRIP

When the Highlanders have exchanged all that they have brought with them, whether they have been able to do this in one Rawa place or have had to go to several different places, they retrace their steps down the Surinam River, out of the Finisterres, across the Ramu Valley and back up into the Bismarck Range.

Precautions taken before and after the trip

The dangers of the trip have already been mentioned. The crossing of the river requires skill and the only precaution against death adders that the travellers take is not to say our loud the word for snake. If the word is spoken, they say, the snake will hear its name and come to bite someone. If a snake is seen, others can be alerted to its presence by calling it a rat instead. The danger of sickness, particularly malaria[2], is one for which several prophylactic measures can be taken.

Precautions against sickness should particularly be taken by persons who have never made the trip before while those who are experienced in travelling to the Finisterres need not be quite so careful. The proper spells to be recited over medicinal plants to be eaten before undertaking the journey are one of the items of knowledge that men with reputations as travellers to the Finisterres should have. The most common plant that is eaten is fresh ginger root which is a medicinal plant widely used for other curing besides the prevention of illness related to crossing the

Ramu Valley.

Upon their return from the Finisterres, the men who have made the trip should not return to live in their own houses but should stay for a period of weeks in "pig houses" or other isolated places. During this time, in order to avoid becoming ill as a result of having made the trip, they should not make garden fences, dig crops, or perform any work which involves breaking ground. They should not accept food cooked or handled by any females except very old women or pre-pubertal girls. They should avoid places where pig is being prepared for cooking so as not to smell the odor of burning hair when the pig's hide is being singed or the aroma of pork being cooked over an open fire (although they may eat pork that is steamed in an earth oven). The prohibition against breaking ground can be avoided if, while making the crossing of the valley, one were to break the ground with a small stick or twig at every point where one stops to rest en route (particularly the point where the grassland starts, the banks of the river, and the point where the forested foothills of the Finisterres begin).

The return home

When the travellers return to their homes those who have stayed behind rejoice that they have made the trip safely and butcher pigs for a festive meal for the returnees. Affines, non-agnatic kin and friends from other places who never go to the Finisterres come to visit those who have returned and are given some of the items that they have brought

back with them (although the returnees say that they keep the best things hidden in their houses for themselves). At this point, the movement of goods becomes part of the flow of goods within the study area which has already been described.

ANALYSIS OF THE TRADE BETWEEN RAWA AND HIGHLANDERS

Material gain as a motive

The explanation of why these visits (and the exchanges which result from them) are undertaken must rest heavily on the fact that the idea of material gain was clearly in the minds of both parties to the trade. We have already seen in regard to dog's teeth and money cowries that both sides felt they were getting something of great value for something of little value. We have also seen that all the items which the Benabena obtained from the Rawa -- sea shells, pots and wooden bowls -- are items of great functional value that could not be obtained elsewhere. Similarly, the pigs, salt, dog's teeth and other items which they received from their visitors are of considerable importance to the Rawa. The indications are that the Rawa were not such keen pig raisers as their visitors (at present they appear to have given up pig raising altogether). Thus, they were anxious to obtain pigs from the Highlanders. Although dog's teeth are one of the most important traditional valuables of the Rawa, their visitors did not value them at all (except for their use in obtaining valuable things from the Rawa). They were therefore the most important source of dogs and dog's

teeth because the other groups with whom the Rawa had intercourse also valued dog's teeth highly[3] -- a source of demand for dog's teeth rather than supply. The dog's teeth brought by the visitors, then, were desired by the Rawa not only for the uses to which they put them among themselves but also for trade which they carried on with the people on the north side of the Finisterre Range.

Motives besides material gain

Are there any motives apparent besides the desire for the material items themselves? As for the Kaime, although a man might augment his reputation by being a successful trader, this does not seem to be a very important motive when considered apart from the material gain which is the most important benefit to the successful trader. There was no pressing reason for the people of the study area to seek political alliance with the Rawa or any such motive similar to those which have been described for exchange within the study area; the people of the study area live too far away to be at all concerned with such relations with the Rawa.

In regard to marriage, we can see some motives for the continuance of exchange but these motives lie almost exclusively with the Rawa who clearly stated to me that one of the advantages of the relationship with their Kaime visitors is that they were a source of brides. For the Rawa a motive for maintaining trade relations was related to the desire for marriage partners, but as for the visitors, marriages of their women with Rawa men seem to be merely

tolerated for the purpose of maintaining the trade. The most important aspect of these marriages was always stated by informants to be the large bridewealth given for their women by Rawa men.

Although it would seem that the people of the study area might be anxious to marry their women to Rawa men in order to set up more permanent relations with particular Rawa groups for the purposes of trade, this is surprisingly not true. Although admitting the existence of Benabena women in Rawa groups to be convenient when visits were made, Benabena informants never indicated any importance of permanent relations based on marriage ties or any other ties with Rawa individuals or groups. Every informant, when asked what Rawa place was visited, gave a list of at least a half a dozen places rather than indicating repeated visits to one place. Except for those taken with the intention of marriage to a Rawa, unmarried women were never taken on trading trips for fear that the Rawa men would blow smoke on them and spirit them away. Furthermore, the White Sands people who live closest to the Rawa and were (infrequently) visited by them state that they always hid their young women when visited by Rawa so that the Rawa would not have a chance to blow smoke on them.

The general climate of friendship and hospitality

The reason why the people of the study area were not more concerned with setting up permanent relations with particular Rawa groups is probably found in the nature of

the basic climate of relations between Rawa and Kaime visitors. Although it seems to contradict the common notion of the tone of foreign relations in tribal societies, there was a general climate of friendship and hospitality between Rawa and the people who visited them which did not depend on any prior acquaintance between specific individuals but which applied generally between any and all Rawa and any and all Kaime. Between them there was no fear of sorcery or hostility. There was, of course, the problem that the Rawa might get away with their women if given a chance; but this problem was easily dealt with and (probably because of this) was usually mentioned to me by the Benabena in a humerous tone -- clearly not a very great threat. I never heard of an actual case in which a woman was taken in this way; actual cases of the use of the enchanted smoke occur only in connection with legitimate marriages. It was also mentioned that the Rawa sometimes brandished their bows and arrows in front of the seated Benabena before the actual trading took place but the Bena indicate that they were confident that this was just show which would come to no harm and remained seated with eyes cast down (notice the consistency of this subordination with the one-way marriage and one-way travel in visits).

This general air of hospitality and friendliness seems to persist even today, almost thirty years after the cessation of these trading visits. When we walked along the trade route from the Highlands to the Finisterres with three Bena friends

of ours, the Rawa whom we met, upon learning that these men were Kaime, were obviously pleased and without fail made enthusiastic statements that "our fathers were friends" despite the fact that nothing was known of these men other than that they were Kaime. In the Rawa village in which we stayed for a few days, our friends were readily taken in by one of the Rawa and given a place to stay and food to eat. When we left to go back to the Highlands, our friends showed us several things (such as an elaborate woven armband with an applique of shells and a cassowary leg bone dagger) that had been given to them by the Rawa in the name of hospitality. Although it is a personal observation that cannot be substantiated in any other way, it seems to me that the attitude of the Rawa toward our friends was much more relaxed and friendly than one expects to find between strangers in present-day Papua New Guinea.

An undoubtedly important contributing factor to this climate of friendship is that both the Rawa and the people of the study area, although recognizing definite cultural differences, consider themselves to share a life-style that contrasts with that of the Ramu Valley inhabitants. The Rawa in particular mention this contrast frequently. The main weapon of both the Rawa and the Kaime is the bow and arrow, whereas the Ramu Valley dwellers fight with spears; they inhabit the forested slopes on either side of the Ramu Valley which contrast sharply with the flat, dry grassland of the valley floor; their main staple is the sweet potato

and they do not have the coconut and sago palms which grow in the valley. The fact that the valley people live mostly on the north side of the Ramu River means that the Benabena speakers had little intercourse with them; the Rawa, however, actively fought these people and indicated that they sometimes received help in fighting from Kaime. Although none of my Benabena informants mentioned any such fights, it is possible that the Rawa did receive help from some Kaime other than the ones with whom I am familiar (such as the Kafe-speaking visitors). Whether there was actual aid or not is not really important; the significance of the story lies in the fact that the Rawa stress the similarity of themselves with the Kaime and consider that the similarity would naturally lead to assistance in fighting the foreigners in the valley -- "us" against "them".

I have the idea, although I cannot present it as a certainty because of the limited time I spent in the Finisterres, that the Rawa did not engage in warfare among themselves but only fought with the people of the Ramu Valley whose culture is radically different from their own. If this is true and the concept of warfare hostility among the Rawa applies only to relations with radically different foreigners, the recognition of similarities between the Rawa and the Kaime has even greater significance in regard to the general tone of friendship which prevails between the two.

An indication of the opinion that the visitors held toward the Rawa and their familiar environment is that

there were no ritual or medicinal precautions to be taken in regard to dealings with the Rawa. The precautions taken for the trip apply solely to the crossing of the Ramu Valley. The practice of breaking ground at intervals during the trip, for example, was only necessary within the boundaries of the Ramu grassland (it was usually done at both edges of the grassland and both banks of the river); once the travelling party of visitors left the valley floor and started to ascend the forested slopes of the Finisterres they were safe again in a much more familiar environment.

SUMMARY

The introduction of pots, shells, and wooden bowls from the Finisterres into the Highlands, then, comes about through one-way visits made by Highlanders to the Rawa. From the point of view of the Nekematigi (and other Highlanders who make these visits), political and social effects on the movement of goods are minimal. It is only from the Rawa point of view that we can see concerns of marriage and political alliance (i.e., aid in fighting the inhabitants of the Ramu Valley) having an effect on the maintenance of trade relations.

We have also seen that the transactions between Rawa and Highlanders are direct exchanges of goods according to an accepted standard held by both parties to the exchange; there is no delay between the transfer of goods from host to visitor and from visitor to host nor is there any relationship which necessarily exists between the visitor and the host either before or after the transaction takes place.

PART FOUR

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ALLOCATION OF GOODS BETWEEN LOCAL ECONOMIES

THE SYSTEM OF INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

Our starting point, it will be recalled, was a picture of the movement of goods in which the products of three different regions flow roughly north and south from the Finisterre Range through the Bena Gap and the territory inhabited by the Nekematigi to the grassland of the center of the Bena Bena Valley. Our stated goal has been to describe, explain and understand those things which account for the allocation of these goods within the study area.

The naga'i, a kinship-based residential group, characterized by generalized reciprocity among its members, has been identified as the local economy -- the basic unit of the inter-group economy. Our concern has been with the movement of goods in the inter-group economy -- transfers of goods between members of different naga'i.

In order to understand the transfer of goods between the members of different naga'i, we have had to deal with a number of features of social organization, all possessing one significant common feature: they all affect relations between members of different naga'i -- they are all part of a system of inter-group relations.

Any one of these features of the system of inter-group relations could, of course, be the focus of an inquiry into the nature of the system. For example, we could have viewed things from the point of view of marriage, describing a marriage system made up of a number of local exogamous units bound together by ties of marriage and affinal kinship. We would then have attempted to show the effects that warfare and the exchange of material goods (among other things) have on the nature of marriage relations between the local exogamous units. Or, we could have viewed it as a political system made up of a number of local polities bound together by ties of alliance and enmity. Our task would then have been to demonstrate the extent to which political relations between local groups are determined by considerations of marriage and the exchange of material goods.

Our focus -- one of a number of possible approaches to the system -- has been the transfer of material goods. We have seen that in order to understand the inter-group economy we must understand such things as marriage, political alliance, leadership and refuge-taking.

That we must understand all these other parts of the system of inter-group relations in order to understand the inter-group economy is, of course, the point that has been made by Polanyi and by Mauss. Polanyi speaks of the economy being embedded in society (1947). Mauss (1925) expresses the same point when he speaks of total social phenomenon (the difference being that Polanyi's object is to address himself to the place of the economy in the whole while Mauss expresses it from the point of view of the whole). The movement of goods is a part of a total social phenomenon -- the system of inter-group relations.

The problem to which this work has addressed itself has been to go beyond this general point to detail specifically the ways in which the movement of goods is part of a total social phenomenon. The results of this inquiry into the nature of the embeddedness of economy in society, in addition to yielding a precise description of the inter-group economy and the system of inter-group relations of which it is a part, can be applied to statements made about the nature of Melanesian economies and tribal economies in general. Before we turn to these, however, let us summarize the system of inter-group relations and its effects on the movement of goods.

THE FORMS OF TRANSFERS OF MATERIAL GOODS BETWEEN LOCAL ECONOMIES

We have seen that, although there is a clear contrast between economic activity within the naga'i and outside it (generalized reciprocity versus more balanced reciprocity), there is not simply one form of transaction which accounts for the allocation of goods between local economies. The geographic picture of an observable flow of goods which has been our starting point can only be accounted for as the cumulative result of several different kinds of transaction.

In the course of describing these various movements of goods, we have made a distinction between those that are directly connected with marriage or political affairs and those that are less directly tied to specific marital or political events (but are nonetheless significantly linked to the system of inter-group relations by considerations related either to marriage or to politics). A third class of transaction involves the movement of goods into the study area and, relative to the others, seems to be only minimally connected with marriage or political affairs.

Before turning to these effects on the movement of goods, however, let us consider again the items themselves in order to see the common background shared by all transactions involving material goods. The goods that move between local economies, we have seen, are predominantly prestige goods -- not items of basic subsistence. With two exceptions, the several kinds of foodstuffs that do move

between local economies are clearly not quotidian vegetables (or fish) that are transferred in some other Melanesian economies. Although pork must be counted as a subsistence item in a nutritional sense, pork and pigs are clearly items of prestige rather than subsistence in an economic context. The other foodstuffs transferred are, as we have noted, specialty or novelty foodstuffs which cannot be considered (and are not considered by the inhabitants) to be items of daily sustenance.

As for the two exceptions to this statement, they are exceptional not only because they involve the transfer of uncooked sweet potato intended to be used for subsistence needs but also because their structure differs from that of all other types of transactions and because their occurance is limited rather than general. In the case of assistance given for the purpose of re-establishing a settlement, the transfer of sweet potato is only a portion of a total subsistence "subsidy" which involves labor assistance as well. Furthermore, the transaction is undertaken between two groups, in contrast to the more individual nature, relatively speaking, of all the other sorts of transactions. This assistance is limited in time (until the new gardens begin to produce) and is limited only to those groups that have formed this (relatively rare) political association. That is to say, the transfer of sweet potato cannot take place without the rest of the political involvement of which it is an integral part.

The other transfer of sweet potato for subsistence use is that which takes place in time of drought. It, too, cannot be considered to be a regular economic arrangement. It is a temporary phenomenon limited to time of drought and takes place only between close affines. Return is always in the form of cooked pork; no other valuable enters into this type of transaction.

Omitting these as special cases, the general statement can be made that all transfers taking place between local economies involve non-subsistence items. Within this prestige sphere (cf. Bohannan and Dalton 1965:5ff.) there are no clearly defined subdivisions. Although not all goods are used in ceremonial payments -- bows, arrows, pots and wooden bowls, for instance, are not acceptable in bridewealth, and specialty foodstuffs do not enter into any ceremonial payments -- the fact that all items used in ceremonial payments can be transferred in any of the other transactions under normal circumstances and with no special moral or ethical restrictions prevents us from separating out any subdivisions within the prestige sphere or from considering any transactions to be anything by normal conveyances within a single prestige sphere. It should be noted that a large quantity of a single bulk item such as tree orchid fiber or of insignificant items such as string bags is unlikely to be exchanged for a single item of high value like a pig. Since these items can be included in such transactions (as distinguished from being the sole item involved), however, it

does not seem very useful to try to define them as belonging to a distinct transactional sphere. Nearly all of the items which move between local economies can be exchanged against any other item -- arrows, for instance, can be made up into bundles of five and exchanged for a pig, bark cloth is transferred in the form of a large ten foot square sheet equal to a pig, and so on.

Although all of the items must be classed as prestige goods rather than subsistence items, this must not be taken to mean that they are without functional or utilitarian significance. Many are functional tools or items of decoration -- bows, arrows, pots, wooden bowls, feathers, bark cloth, stone axes, etc. The primary significance of others such as salt, pigs and shells devolves from their function as required means of payment for such things as bridewealth, warfare "bribes" and so forth. No item is simply valuable for its own sake ("heirloom-like") without regard to the uses to which it can be put. This contrasts with other reported economic situations (the kula, for instance) in which the items appear to lack utilitarian significance. In such cases we are prompted by the apparent lack of utility of the items exchanged (but see Harding 1970) to search for determinants other than material gain which can account for the exchange of "nonutilitarian" goods.

In the Nekematigi economy, however, it would clearly be a distortion to ignore the fact that the goods are exchanged because of a desire to obtain the goods themselves.

We do not find any transactions such as direct exchanges of identical items (a pig for a pig, for instance) that would suggest that the goods themselves are irrelevant. The fact that utilitarian goods are involved must be counted as one of the determinants of exchange.

Although the desire to obtain the goods themselves must be included as one of the determinants of exchange shared by all transactions involving material goods, the degree to which this is so varies among the several types of transaction.

One type of transaction consists of transfers of goods that we have called ceremonial payments. In this group of transactions, we have said that there is a direct connection between the system of inter-group relations and the transfer of material goods. Handing over material goods is a required part of a specific institution, related to either politics or marriage between groups.

We have seen that a number of these -- bridewealth proper, warfare payments, and pig distributions -- are not likely in the aggregate to have an effect on the directional flow of goods. Ideally, the composition of these payments does not vary according to the location of the participants -- both a bridewealth given from a Nekematigi group to a grassland group and one going in the opposite direction between the two groups, for example, should contain the same amount and kind of shells. (There is the possibility that, if one were able to compile the necessary statistics, Nekematigi bridewealth might be found to contain slightly more shells,

or grassland pig feasts slightly more pigs. If this could be shown, a directional aspect of these transactions would be introduced; but I do not have the detailed statistical data to address this question.) These transfers are significant in that they stimulate the transfer of goods in other transactions that are directional -- in order for Nekematigi to stage a large pig distribution or for grasslanders to get up a warfare payment, they must obtain pigs and shells, respectively, from elsewhere -- but they do not themselves have an obvious directional component.

The other ceremonial payments quite clearly have the potential to be directional. Exchanges between the parents of a child and the shild's aku'afu, gifts given by a mobi'-afu to his mopo'afu, transfers of goods between fo'afu, death payments, and the gifts given to the men of the bride's side from the men of the groom's side can include forest products, shells, pigs, salt, pots and so on. There is no requirement that, for instance, a death payment intended for a grassland man be composed of forest products,however; individual death payments (or any other payment) may therefore result in shells (rather than salt, say) moving in the direction of the Nekematigi. But in the aggregate, since the Nekematigi have greater access to shells and grasslanders have greater access to salt, these payments will result in the directional movement of goods just as surely as if they were designed with this in mind.

The most signficant point about these transactions, however, is that they are not undertaken for the purpose of merely transferring material goods; the exchange of goods per se is clearly subordinate in these transactions to some fact of social life -- marriage, death, non-agnatic kinship, and such like. It is not possible to initiate one of these kinds of transaction on any but the proper occasion. The significance of the goods themselves, although not eliminated, would seem to be severely limited as a determinant in these transactions.

In bridewealth, for instance, the material goods involved are significant in that a bridewealth which does not contain the customary amount will not be accepted; but material gain is not significant enough that those to whom a bridewealth is being offered will hold out for more than the customary amount. Once the customary amount is offered, the goods involved are no longer significant as a determinant of the exchange.

Or, to take another example, the goods themselves are important in exchanges with a child's aku'afu; if the exchanges are not undertaken the child's health and well-being will suffer. But, if too much attention is paid to the material goods and there is bad feeling generated by argument or dissatisfaction over the amount of goods, the child's health will also suffer. Thus, the most significant determinant of the allocation of goods in the case of ceremonial payments (whether or not they are directional) is

not the fact that valuable material goods are involved but is, rather, the occurance of the occasions which require such payments.

Another type of transaction we have identified as being less directly connected with the system of inter-group relations. In contrast to the ceremonial payments just discussed, these transfers of goods between the members of the same warfare field are not connected with a specific ceremony or formally instituted transfer of goods. Their connection with the system of inter-group relations is that exchanges of goods create (or maintain) good feeling between the parties to them. These inevitable results of the exchange of goods can be used to set up good relations for the purpose of marriage or political alliance.

In these exchanges the desire to obtain the goods themselves seems to be less clearly subordinate in comparison to ceremonial payments. But, as we have seen, it is certainly not possible to state that such exchanges take place solely or even primarily for the purpose of exchanging goods. The desire to create good-will for the purpose of marriage or political alliance means that the exchange of goods is part of a multifunctional relationship. Although a given exchange may perhaps be said to be initiated primarily by the desire for goods or primarily by one of the other features involved in these multifunctional relationships, desire for the goods themselves as a determinant is always limited by the fact that other things besides simply the

exchange of goods are unavoidably involved in such transactions. Thus, in these sorts of transactions between members of the same warfare field the significance of the goods themselves as a determinant of exchange is equal to (not more than) the other determinants of exchange -- the desire to create good-will for the purpose of marriage or political alliance or the need to strengthen ties of marriage or political alliance.

Exchanges between nalu'nifu who stand outside of each other's warfare field are another of the ways in which the allocation of goods between local economies is effected. Here again it is not possible to say that the desire for material goods is the primary determinant. It is possible to look at it from one point of view and say that one gives goods to make a refuge host; but from the other point of view, it is just as accurate to say that one makes a refuge host to get goods. This relationship, the most important in terms of the volume of goods transferred directionally, is a multifunctional relationship involving both the exchange of material goods and the provision of refuge in time of need.

When we turn to the exchange of goods with strangers "from far away" and the exchanges which take place between the people of the study area and the Rawa of the Finisterres, we see that the desire to obtain the goods themselves becomes a primary feature of the exchanges. Social determinants of exchange such as we have seen in the previous types of

exchange are only minimally important.

We have seen that the other types of transactions operate as they do because either they are part of multifunctional relationships related to the system of intergroup relations or they are required parts of certain institutionalized payments. The question regarding the transactions we are now dealing with is what causes them to operate as they do. It is easy to see what keeps the balance in other transactions; the other determinants we have described ensure that generosity, hospitality and fairness keep the desire to obtain the goods from leading to attempts to alter the exchange to one's advantage away from the customary standard amount. We have seen that exchanges with the Rawa are also done according to a customary, rather than a bargained, amount. But if the primary reason for the exchange is to obtain goods, it would seem that rather than a mutually recognized standard there might be radical short-run fluctuations in the rate of exchange caused by attempts of each party to an exchange to obtain goods at a rate favorable to himself. We must examine these transactions in detail, then, in order to see why their rates are customary standard amounts.

In regard to a variation in the rate of exchange there are, of course, two possibilities -- either the visitors will get less and the hosts will get more or the visitors more and the hosts less. Although there is the appearance of some haggling in the exchanges that would seem to allow some

fluctuations in the exchange rate, a closer examination of the mechanics of the exchanges shows that it is a situation of bidding rather than true bargaining. In a bargaining situation, one party to the transaction states his first price and the other party counters with his first price; the final outcome of the transaction lies somewhere between these two opening amounts. In the bidding situation of these exchanges, the amount tendered by the host is the only side of the transaction that varies; the host keeps adding items to the pile until the visitor signals his acceptance and the transaction is completed. Fluctuations in the rate of exchange, therefore, must be the result of the visitor 1) signaling acceptance before the standard rate of exchange is reached or 2) successfully holding out for more than the standard rate.

We must next try to imagine the conditions which would lead to either of these actions. Assuming that the visitors do not wish to return home without having exchanged the goods they have brought for the purpose of exchanging, we can imagine a situation in which the individual visitor might accept less than the standard rate of exchange for the item he is offering in order to get it off his hands. This may happen, we can suppose, if the hosts either do not have enough things to offer the visitors in order to match with the proper equivalent all the things being offered by the visitors or have enough of the items being offered and will not wish to exchange unless the exchange rate is altered in their favor.

For instance, because of the seasonality of the exchange with the Rawa, it is quite possible that a Rawa group may have just been visited by another Kaime group and be either only able or only willing to exchange at a rate favorable to themselves. But since the visitors are not tied to one group of hosts and may go elsewhere, we do not have any difficulty explaining why they would not be forced to accept less than the standard rate. Not only is there a lack of factors which might promote the formation of permanent relations, we see here that there are definite reasons not to form them.

Thus, it is unlikely that the visitors will accept less than the standard rate of exchange; but, given the fact that they are free to go elsewhere, what prevents the visitors from causing the rate of exchange to go above the standard by holding out for more? It would seem very possible that the hosts might sometimes be very anxious to obtain the things being offered by the visitors. We can imagine the situation in which the individual host may bid up the exchange above the standard rate in order to get the goods that he wants. If the hosts had not yet been visited that season, they would have a lot of things to exchange relative to the number of things being offered by the visitors and therefore might be susceptible to pressure from the visitors who, by taking advantage of the common knowledge that they could go elsewhere, would hold out for higher bids.

There are two interrelated conditions for such fluctuations, given the way in which these exchanges operate.

The visitors must have the notion that they have a chance of being able to get more (note that this is not the same as wishing to be able to get more) in order for them to hold out rather than simply accepting when the standard is reached. The second condition is that the hosts must be willing to bid more. Neither of these conditions exist.

If the visitor knows that he will not be able to get a more favorable rate than the standard, he will not bother to hold out for more because the only thing that can happen is that the Rawa will stop bidding and force him to travel to another Rawa place, there to get only what he could have got in the first place.

The question, then, is why the hosts will not bid higher. So far in this discussion we have been considering these exchanges to be a matter of individuals seeking to obtain goods. Although the exchanges are undertaken between two individuals, however, they are done in a group context.

That each exchange is not a truly individual transaction unconnected with other transactions is the key to why the hosts are not willing to bid above the standard rate of exchange. No matter how strongly an individual host wishes to obtain the goods, the strength of his desire for the goods is modified by the fact that he must consider the effect of his actions on his fellows (other hosts). Instead of competitive bidding between the members of a Rawa group for the goods brought by their visitors, there is pressure on every member of the group not to bid up the amount for

an item above the standard rate of exchange because his actions would allow "them" (the visitors) to force all of "us" to give more. And although this sentiment might still have strength even if the exchanges were done privately, it will be recalled that in this case exchanges are done in a context in which covert deals are out of the question.

Group solidarity (to give this phenomenon its proper name) is thus a powerful force contributing to the maintenance of a stable rate of exchange in the face of fluctuations in "supply" and "demand" which, taken by themselves, would seem to indicate that there should be radical short-run fluctuations in the rate of exchange. Not only are the hosts subject to pressures from group solidarity, of course, but also the visitors refusal to accept less than the standard rate is based partially on the same principle. The individual who bids too much (or accepts too little) does not gain any prestige by getting the goods. Rather, he would be considered dangerously foolish for letting "them" get away with more than they should get and would seriously anger the people with whom he has to live on a daily basis.

Lest it be thought that this is an unfounded mystical force which displays itself only in the adherence to a standard rate of exchange, I should relate that I unwittingly put it to the test on one occasion when I paid the driver of a passenger carrying vehicle more that the standard fee because I was anxious to get home from town before nightfall and there were no drivers who were willing to make the trip.

When I happened to mention this to someone in telling about the difficulty I had getting home, I was told that I should never again pay more than the proper amount, even if it meant walking the entire thirty-odd mile distance from town in the dark, because it would cause the drivers to begin to charge more from everyone and ruin it for us all. I was able to escape with having caused relatively mild anger and concern because I was ignorant; others would not have this reason to be forgiven.

Thus, although the exchanges of goods between strangers from far away and between people of the study area and the Rawa of the Finisterres are based on the desire to obtain the goods themselves with no other social determinants such as marriage and political alliance significantly involved, group solidarity and the mechanics of the exchanges provide for the maintenance of customary equivalence rather than the maximization of material gain.

Summary

The several kinds of transactions which must be taken together to explain the geographic picture of "trade" in the Nekematigi economy vary in regard to the extent to which the desire for the goods themselves as a determinant of the allocation of goods predominates over other determinants of exchange to be found in the system of inter-group relations. Some transactions, we have seen, are best understood as being determined most significantly by some social or political institution. Others are best understood as the result

of both the desire to obtain material goods and the desire to pursue aims related to other facets of these multifunctional relationships. And in others, the involvement of other aspects of the system of inter-group relations is low and the desire to obtain the goods is of more significance as a determinant of exchange. This idea that the involvement of "non-economic" features is not constant in all types of transactions can be used to clarify some points about other Melanesian economies.

"TRADE" OR THE INTER-GROUP ECONOMY?

This study can be said to have had two starting points -- one theoretical and the other ethnographic. In terms of theory, our starting point was to state the goal of economic anthropology. We affirmed that "Economic anthropology deals with the practices and institutions by means of which people provision themselves." (Bohannan and Bohannan 1968:220) A second theoretical step was to state that we would be dealing only with the provision of goods from outside the local economy, not with the provisioning activities of the household or the local economy. Our theoretical starting point was thus stated as a concern with the allocation of goods in the inter-group economy. In terms of ethnographic "reality" our starting point was the geographic picture of a flow of material goods between local groups in the study area, and we stated that our goal was to understand this phenomenon.

It is important to note that, although both of these starting points can be conveniently spoken of as having to do with "trade," neither of them are accurately or completely described thus. We did not set out to examine the institution of trade alone; we set out to study the institutions by means of which people provision themselves (with items not provided by their own local economies) whatever these institutions might be. We did not see spectacular voyages of canoe traders; we saw forest products in use by grassland people, sea shells in the possession of Highlanders, and other such phenomena.

That we have been led to deal with more than can be subsumed under the heading of "trade" is, of course, due in part to the nature of the ethnographic reality with which we have been dealing. But it is also of significance in terms of the theoretical approach to be made to Melanesian economies (or any tribal economies) in general. Many studies making mention of things economic in Melanesia have focused on the institution of trade and have dealt with maritime traders who transport canoe-loads of pottery, foodstuffs, shells and other products along the coasts and among the islands of Melanesia. This approach is, of course, also directed by the ethnographic reality given to the observers of maritime Melanesians.

In this work I have tried to show that an economic anthropology study must begin with the concept of the intergroup economy rather than with the institution of trade.

(It is, of course, possible that in some cases it will be empirically found that the entire inter-group economy is best described as a matter of trade; this does not affect the general statement, however.) I have also tried to show that the inter-group economy is part of the system of inter-group relations and must be explained in terms of it. The system of inter-group relations has been shown to include a number of features of social organization (in the particular case at hand all related to either marriage or politics).

This brings us to the question of whether the inter-group economy is best understood in an economic context. When stated this way, of course, the question has a strange tautological sound to it. The question will be immediately recognized, however, if we put it in its more familiar wording: "Is the kula of the Eastern Massim best understood in an economic context?"

Harding (1970) reviews several analysts' statements addressed to this question, all of whom stress various non-economic aspects of the kula. Evans-Pritchard (1951), Firth (1957) and Uberoi (1962) have stressed the political aspects of the kula and White (1959) has dealt with it as a socio-psychological game. Harding criticizes them for ignoring the economic significance of the kula. To the extent that these treatments disallow any economic significance at all to the kula, Harding's criticism is well-founded. As he points out, the kula is certainly an economic phenomenon.

Harding then goes on to state that the economic context

is of primary significance in the kula trade. What he is actually saying, however, is that the economic context is of primary significance in the kula when it is considered as part of the inter-group economy. The kula must be considered as a vital part of the inter-group economy along with various other exchanges and payments involving kula valuables as well as other goods; it is one of the means by which people provision themselves and it also has an important relationship to other means by which people provision themselves. But it is also a part of the system of inter-group relations. When we view the kula from some other point of view appropriate to the system of inter-group relations, its significance appears to be much less economic.

Although Harding is quite right in criticizing others for claiming that the kula has no economic significance, he joins those he criticizes in confusing the significance of things from one point of view (that of the inter-group economy) with some general primary significance. An unproductive controversy is thereby generated in which various authors think they are making statements about the primary significance of trade when in fact they are each simply stating, "I am looking at trade from the (economic, political, ritual, game-theoretical or whatever) point of view."

If it is clearly stated as a starting point that the kula is being dealt with from the point of view of the inter-group economy rather than as an institution itself, the

question of whether it is best understood from an economic point of view looses all significance. We have seen in this study that many of the means by which people provision themselves are part of multifunctional phenomena; they are, that is, also the means by which people order their political existence, the means by which people arrange necessary marriages, and so on. The attempt to designate one of these as the most significant does not answer any meaningful question.

In conclusion, we have found that the allocation of goods in the study area cannot be explained only in terms of trade, but must be approached from the point of view of the itner-gorup economy. Although the phenomenon with which we have been dealing is one of trade in the sense that material goods are being transported into places where they are not produced, and although some of the means by which this is being done are very easily seen as various types of trade, other transactions which do not look very much like trade at all are just as much responsible for such things as sea shells in the hands of Highlanders who had no knowledge of the ocean, forest products in use by grasslanders who had never set foot in the forest, and salt possessed by those who live miles away from the salt springs which provide it. We have been able to describe and understand all these transactions, whether trade-like or not, by considering the practices and institutions by means of which people provision themselves rather than attempting to focus on a single institution labelled trade.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. There is also an Asaro White Sands area to the north of the Asaro Valley.

2. This should not be confused with bush kanaka, a derogatory term which can best be translated into English as hick, rube, or country bumpkin.

CHAPTER TWO

1. This distinction is most often heard in Neomelanesian rather than the language of the Nekematigi because, although it is certainly possible to make the distinction in Benabena, it is usually only necessary when dealing with strangers, with whom conversation would be in Neomelanesian. It is possible that this manner of distinguishing between the two uses of place may have originated with Neomelanesian -- I am not able to state whether or not it is autochthonous.

2. I have heard of one case in which the members of a district did take up bows and arrows against each other. The case was related to me as a strange, shameful, and horrible breach and there is no doubt that this sort of thing was rare.

3. Naga'i is also used to refer to string, rope or vines used as rope. The reader should be cautioned, however, not to confuse these with the descent groups called ropes described by Mead for the Mundugumor (1949) to which they bear no resemblance.

4. I often heard (unsolicited) the story of how the first white men in the area were given food by people from a Benabena'bo district. When they were asked their name, the people replied, "Benabena'bo." That is how, say informants, all of us came to be known as Bena Bena.

5. There is no one accepted form of the word -- Bena Bena, Benabena and Bena are all used. In Neomelanesian, Bena is most common. The river is usually rendered Bena Bena, and the language group usually Benabena. Since it is unlikely that clarity will be impaired, I will use all three interchangeably.

6. I do not mean to imply that these criteria may not be well-founded for the purposes for which they are intended.

CHAPTER TWO (cont'd.)

7. I will use the present tense here, in keeping with the time period noted in the preface. It should be noted, however, that many of these features, particularly those related to warfare, have changed.

8. Some ethnographers have not tried to deal with this problem, at least in some of their works, and have simply identified in some way the geographic area in which they did their research, leaving unanswered the question of the scope that might be applied to the findings of their research.

9. Hughes, whose study area abuts mine in the Asaro Valley, states, "Trade within the study area was one large segment of a web of trade that covered every part of the mainland of New Guinea, extended to the Bismarck Archipelago as Harding has shown, to all the offshore islands, to Australia and to Asia...." (1971:361)

CHAPTER THREE

1. This does not hold true if the man is going to be going to town or is going to be engaged in an activity which is modern instead of traditional. The carrying of weapons is actively discouraged by the Administration.

2. The Benabena speakers still know them as Elaba which, the Rawa told me, has been corrupted in post-contact times to Rawa, the name that the Administration and the people themselves now use.

3. The severity of the drought may vary, of course, and there may be years in which the importation of sweet potato is more necessary. These occasions must be quite rare if they do exist, however, since there were no indications from informants that there were regularly severe droughts.

4. This means that, from the point of view of the grassland people, items from the montane forest can come from any of the groups who are man bilong bush but forest products from the White Sands and pottery and shells can come only from the direction of the Nekematigi. (Passes at the head of the Dunantina Valley and at the head of the Asaro Valley are the main Highlands points of entry for these goods from the point of view of Kafe and Gahuku speakers, respectively. Although some of the pots and shells in the Bena Bena Valley may have come ultimately from these points (through the hands of Kafe or Gahuku speakers), Benabena speakers view the direction of the Nekematigi as the true source of the items.

CHAPTER THREE (Cont'd.)

5. I do not know if this is true for all areas of the Highlands or not. It is possible that it is only in the upper Bena Bena Valley that the altitude at which the forest starts and the altitude at which pandanus trees produce edible nuts coincide.

6. The Rawa do value to some degree the larger green snail shell and the egg cowry, but their highest valuables are dog's teeth, large worked conus annuli and spondylus shell beads (beads bilong Siassi in Neomelanesian) which they never passed on to the Nekematigi.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. After having written a proposal to do this research I learned of Hughes' research and was able first to correspond with him and then to meet him in Canberra on my way to New Guinea. I wish to express my thanks for his helpful suggestions.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Langness speaks of a personal network and says that Lawrence's security circle idea is the closest to what he means. This can be seen in my terms as the leadership field (or the political field at the local level).

CHAPTER SIX

1. For the sake of simplicity I am describing a funeral of a male. A woman's funeral would be similar except that it would be less elaborate unless the woman were very old. Very old women approach the status of men (at least in some respects).

2. Although all are now buried, it is said that formerly people would state before their deaths whether they wished to be buried, cremated or placed on a platform for decomposition in the open air.

3. Indeed, the final funeral can be held before a man's death if he is very old and his children have pigs to do it then.

4. The term tata'afu is sometimes used instead of aku'afu when there is a great difference in age between the two and especially when the child is small (in the address form, it is tata). Tata'afu is also used in an honorific, fictive way much like English uncle.

CHAPTER SIX (Cont'd.)

5. The frequency of performance is hard to determine because of 1) the tendency to discontinue such practices nowadays and 2) the idealization of past performance of older men. It is said that bleeding the tongue and vomiting by swallowing canes should be done every day (although I doubt that it ever was) and that nostril bleeding should be done not so often (every two weeks?). Penis bleeding was done only after a man started active cohabitation with his wife and was probably done less frequently than nostril bleeding.

6. A quilting bee would be a suitable Western analogue.

7. The usage resembles English usage as found in "You really kill me." or "I nearly died when I saw him." Although the expression is used in Neomelanesian as well as in the language of the Nekematigi, it does not seem very likely that its original derivation is from English. Indications are that it is autochthonous Benabena and that its use in Neomelanesian is co-incidentally appropriate to both speakers of Benabena and to speakers of English.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. This is actually a <u>hap cas</u> place (Bena and Kafe).

2. Malaria is not found in the Highlands home of the travellers.

3. Dog's teeth appear to be generally valued in the whole of the Rai Coast culture area to which the Rawa belong. The Rawa mentioned specifically that dog's teeth were valued by their contacts on the north side of the Finisterre Range and by the culturally similar Nahu speakers who live to the east of the Rawa at similar elevations on the Ramu Fall of the Finisterres. Incidentally, it would not be at all surprising if there were contacts between the Nahu and some people of the Kainantu sub-district in the Highlands similar to the trade between the Rawa and the Kaime with which we have been dealing here, including contacts over the Finisterres between the Nahu and their northern slopes opposite numbers. This is mentioned only as a possible place for further research; I have no definite information that such contacts do exist.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berndt, Catherine H.

1953 Socio-cultural change in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 9:112-38.

1953/4 Translation problems in three New Guinea Highlands languages. Oceania 24:289-317.

1957 Social and cultural change in New Guinea. Sociologus 7:38-56.

1958 Anthropology and mission activity. South Pacific 10:38-43.

1959 Ascription of meaning in a ceremonial context in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea. in Freeman and Geddes (eds.) Anthropology in the South Seas. New Plymouth (N.Z.): T. Avery and Sons, Ltd.

1966 The ghost husband: society and individual in New Guinea myth. Journal of American Folklore 79:244-77.

Berndt, Ronald M.

1952/3 A cargo movement in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea. Oceania 23:40-65, 137-58, 202-34.

1954a Contemporary significance of prehistoric stone objects in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea. Anthropos 49:553-87.

1954b Reaction to contact in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea. Oceania 24:190-228, 255-74.

1954/5 Kamano, Jate, Usurufa, and Fore kinship of the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea: a preliminary account. Oceania 25:23-53, 156-87.

1955 Interdependence and conflict in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea. Man 55:105-7.

1958 A 'devastating disease syndrome': Kuru sorcery in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea. Sociologus 8:4-28.

1962 Excess and Restraint: Social Control Among a New Guinea Mountain People. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1964 Warfare in the New Guinea Highlands. American Anthropologist 66(4,pt.2):183-203

1970 Political structure in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea. Anthropological Forum 2:327-369.

Bohannan, Paul and Laura Bohannan

1968 Tiv Economy. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Bohannan, Paul and George Dalton (eds.)

1965 Markets in Africa. Garden City, NY: Natural History Press.

Brown, Paula
1970 Chimbu transactions. Man 5:99-117.

Clarke, William C.
1971 Place and People: An Ecology of a New Guinean Community. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Dalton, George
1969 Theoretical issues in economic anthropology. Current Anthropology 10:63-104.

Dexter, David
1961 The New Guinea Offensives. Canberra: Australian War Memorial.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E.
1951 Social Anthropology. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Firth, Raymond
1957 The place of Malinowski in the history of economic anthropology. in Man and Culture, An Evaluation of the Work of Malinowski. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Glasse, Robert M.
1967 Cannibalism and kuru. Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Ser. II 29:748:754.
1970 Some recent observations on kuru. Oceania 40:210-13.

Glasse, Robert M. and Shirley Lindenbaum
1969 South Fore politics. Anthropological Forum 2:308-26.

Glasse, Robert M. and M.J. Meggitt (eds.)
1969 Pigs, Pearlshells and Women: Marriage in the New Guinea Highlands. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Glasse (Lindenbaum), Shirley
1964 The social effects of kuru. Papua and New Guinea Medical Journal 7:36-47.

Glick, Leonard B.
1963 Foundations of a Primitive Medical System: the Gimi of the New Guinea Highlands. unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania
1964 Categories and relations in Gimi natural science. American Anthropologist 66(4, pt.2):273-80.
1967 The role of choice in Gimi kinship. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 23:371-82.
1968 Gimi farces. Oceania 39:64-9.

Harding, Thomas G.
1970 Trading in Northeast New Guinea. in Harding and Wallace (eds.) Cultures of the Pacific. New York: The Free Press.

Hughes, Ian
1971 Recent Neolithic Trade in New Guinea. unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Canberra: Australian National University.

Jay, Edward J.
1964 The concepts of 'field' and 'network' in anthropological research. Man 64:137-9.

Langness, Lewis L.
1963 Notes on the Bena Council, Eastern Highlands, New Guinea. Oceania 33:151-70.
1964 Some problems in the conceptualization of Highlands social structure. American Anthropologist 66(4, pt.2): 162-82.
1965 Hysterical psychosis in the New Guinea Highlands: a Bena Bena example. Psychiatry 28:258-77.
1967 Sexual antagonism in the New Guinea Highlands: a Bena Bena example. Oceania 37:161-77.
1968 Bena Bena political organization. Anthropological Forum 2:180-98.

Lindenbaum, Shirley
1971 Sorcery and structure in Fore society. Oceania 41: 277-87.

Lindenbaum, Shirley and Robert Glasse
1969 Fore age mates. Oceania 39:165-173.

Leahy, Michael J. and Maurice Crain
1937 The Land That Time Forgot: Adventures and Discoveries in New Guinea. New York: Funk and Wagnalls

Mauss, Marcel
1925 The Gift. (1967 trans., I. Cunnison) New York: W.W. Norton.

Mead, Margaret
1949 Male and Female. New York: William Morrow

Newman, Philip L.
1962 Supernaturalism and Ritual Among the Gururumba. unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Seattle: University of Washington.
1964a 'Wild man' behavior in a New Guinea Highlands community. American Anthropologist 66:1-19.

Newman, P.L. (cont'd.)
1964b Religious belief and ritual in a New Guinea society. American Anthropologist 66(4, pt.2):257-72.
1965 Knowing the Gururumba. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Polanyi, Karl
1947 Our obsolete market mentality. Commentary 3:109-17.

Rand, Austin L. and E. Thomas Galliard
1968 Handbook of New Guinea Birds. Garden City, NY: Natural History Press.

Read, Kenneth E.
1951 The Gahuku-Gama of the Central Highlands. South Pacific 5:154-64.
1952a The Nama cult of the Central Highlands, New Guinea. Oceania 23:1-25.
1952b Land in the Central Highlands. South Pacific 6:440-49.
1954a Cultures of the Central Highlands, New Guinea. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 10:1-43.
1954b Marriage among the Gahuku-Gama of the Eastern Central Highlands, New Guinea. South Pacific 7:864-70.
1955 Morality and the concept of person among the Gahuku-Gama, Eastern Highlands, New Guinea. Oceania 25:233-82.
1959 Leadership and consensus in a New Guinea society. American Anthropologist 61:425-36.
1965 The High Valley. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Sahlins, Marshall D.
1965 Exchange-value and the diplomacy of primitive trade. in J. Helm (ed.) Essays in Economic Anthropology. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Salsibury, Richard F.
1956a Asymmetrical marriage systems. American Anthropologist 58:639-55.
1956b Unilineal descent groups in the New Guinea Highlands. Man 56:2-7.
1958 An 'indigenous' New Guinea cult. Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers 18:67-78.
1962a From Stone to Steel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1962b Early stages of economic development in New Guinea. Journal of the Polynesian Society 71:328-39.
1962c Notes on bilingualism and linguistic change in New Guinea. Anthropological Linguistics 4:1-13.

Salisbury, R.F. (cont'd.)
1964a New Guinea Highlands models and descent theory. Man 64:168-71.
1964b Despotism and Australian administration in the New Guinea Highlands. American Anthropologist 66(4, pt.2): 225-39.

Thurnwald, Richard C.
1934 Pigs and currency in Buin. Oceania 5:119-41.

Uberoi, J.P. Singh
1962 Politics of the Kula Ring. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

White, Leslie A.
1959 The Evolution of Culture. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Wurm, Stephan A.
1964 Australian New Guinea Highlands languages and the distribution of their typological features. American Anthropologist 66(4, pt.2):77-97.

Wurm, Stephan A. and Donald C. Laycock
1961 The question of language and dialect in New Guinea. Oceania 32:128-43.