

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

PATTERNS OF INTERACTION IN THE BEHA VALLEY:

A STUDY OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

IN THE EASTERN HIGHLANDS OF 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

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Evanston, Illinois

August 1975

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The fieldwork upon which this dissertation is based was carried out during the period from September, 1968 to March, 1970, and was financed by a fellowship from the Council for Intersocietal Studies of Northwestern University. Their assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. George Dalton and Dr. Roy Wagner, both of whom have read and commented upon parts of this paper. Their critical comments and suggestions have been most valuable. I am grateful also to Dr. L. L. Langness, my advisor during the period of my graduate studies and fieldwork, and to Dr. Ronald Cohen, my dissertation advisor.

I wish also to acknowledge the aid and advice given to me on many occasions by Mr. K. O'Brien, Mr. J. Vandenberg and Mr. J. Foran, government officials at Lufa during my residence there.

Finally, I am deeply appreciative of the friendship shown to me by the people of Beha, without whose help my fieldwork could never have been successfully carried through.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

One of the controversial issues in the literature on New Guinea Highlands societies published during the past fifteen years has focused on the structure of socio-political groups, the processes by which new members are recruited to them, and the nature of the corporate functions of groups of different sizes and composition. Specifically, discussion in the literature has centered on two problems: first, whether terminology and concepts originally devised to describe certain acephalous African societies can fruitfully be applied to the New Guinea data, and secondly, whether analytic models can be developed which describe the Highlands data more accurately than those stemming from the African experience.

The peoples of the New Guinea Highlands first became accessible to anthropologists only in the late 1940's, during which period analysis of acephalous political systems was dominated by theory and analytic models developed from the data on political activity in African stateless societies. Of particular interest to ethnographers working for the first time in the New Guinea Highlands were those models devised

to describe socio-political activity among the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1940), the Tallensi (Fortes 1945) and later the Tiv (Bohannan and Bohannan 1953). These particular socio-political systems, in spite of the very real differences between them in terms of both structure and function, were early classified as segmentary lineage systems and conceived of as a particular type of polity, following its own principles, and contrasting with other types (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940:6; Middleton and Tait 1958:3-8).

Briefly, the model devised to describe these 'segmentary lineage systems' postulates that genealogical descent reckoned unilineally -- and usually through the agnatic line -- is all-important to such societies, being the principle primarily determining both recruitment to all social groups within the society, and all political interactions among such groups. Structurally, the society can be viewed, in terms of the model, as composed of social groups organized vis-a-vis each other according to one all-encompassing genealogy, so that one group at a certain 'level' of the genealogy is included with others of the same level in a group of the level above it, and in its turn is inclusive of several groups at the level immediately

below it. A tribe, for example, may include several clans, each of which is composed of several sub-clans, each of which is composed of several lineages, each of which is composed of several lineage segments. At each level, the groups comprising it are perceived as being structurally equivalent.

Functionally, again according to the model, units of a particular level of segmentation join together for concerted political action, or oppose each other, according to the principles of agnatic descent from a common ancestor and collateral distance from each other in terms of that descent. Segments join together to constitute larger units in opposition to like units. Ideally, as Horton (1971:85) has pointed out, spatial distance corresponds to genealogical distance, and both correspond to social distance. Members of the smallest recognized agnatic unit live and work together, surrounded by and interacting somewhat less frequently with closely related agnatic units, with spatial and social distance then increasing as a function of genealogical distance. Units at various levels of inclusiveness have other specified functions. Groups at a certain level of the genealogy may have corporate identities (often formalized by a common name shared by all members): an

offense against one member is an offense against all, and all equally share in compensation paid by the offender's group; when one member of the unit commits an offense, all equally share the responsibility. Exogamic regulations are usually attached to groups of a particular order of segmentation, as also are ownership, usufruct and inheritance rights in certain property, and perhaps also the right to participate in a certain ritual.

Behaviorally, the model implies that such societies are distinguished by the relativity not only of political groupings, but also of each individual's behavior. Ideally, the allegiance of the individual is contextual, depending on situation and the level of inclusiveness of the acting unit. Rights and obligations of the individual toward others are, of course, determined at birth, since they depend on genealogical relationships; but they are also contextual, since (with the exception of rights and obligations toward co-resident agnatic kin) they also are activated only in certain circumstances and according to the level of inclusiveness of the acting unit. Morality is usually also relative to genealogical distance.

Authority, in these societies, is usually found attached to positions only with the localized lineage. Above

the level of the local group, unless attached to ritual offices, authority is usually absent, and power is achieved, situational and transient.

Social reality, of course, seldom if ever corresponds perfectly to the model, but as Horton (1971:87-89) has pointed out, a certain number of anomalies can be coped with by genealogical fictions: if spatial and social distance do not for some reason correspond to genealogical distance, then genealogies can be 'adjusted' to fit the spatial and social reality. The problem for the anthropologist, as Peters (1967:279) implies, is to determine whether genealogical descent is indeed the most important principle determining spatial and social distance in a given society -- in which case anomalies would indeed be fortuitous and infrequent -- or whether such anomalies can be better explained by postulating other principles which interact with genealogical distance to determine group formation and political action. The latter appears, in fact, to be the case for the Nuer, the Tallensi, and certain other societies which were, in the past, classified as segmentary lineage systems.

In any event, early workers in the New Guinea Highlands found there societies which appeared to share many of the characteristics of those African societies which gave

rise to the segmentary lineage model; they therefore adopted the model as a theoretical base, and reported divergences from it merely as anomalies, interesting but essentially unimportant, which could be explained as discrepancies between ideology and behavior. Political organization in both Western and Eastern Highlands societies was said to follow segmentary principles and agnatic kinship lines -- but with varying degrees of choice on the part of the individual. Local groupings were therefore described as being "loosely structured" (Pouwer 1960:109), "structurally flexible" (Brown 1962:57), or "quasi-unilineal" (Brown 1962:60). The one major exception has been the Mae Enga, described by Meggitt (1965) as a true segmentary lineage society.

In time, it became increasingly doubtful that such generalizations had any validity for the description and analysis of the majority of New Guinea Highlands societies. Barnes, in 1962, wrote a brief but influential article in which he pointed out "the distinctively non-African characteristics of the Highlands" (1962:5), among them the following: non-agnates are often numerous in the local community and frequently enjoy status as high as, or higher than, individual agnates; many individuals who claim an agnatic relationship are unable to trace it genealogically, and are

not interested in doing so; there is frequently no situation in which all men who claim agnatic relationship act as a unit; and, finally, either an ancestor cult does not exist or it does not provide any context in which a non-localized group of agnates joins together for any ceremony. Both Barnes (1962) and Langness (1964) have pointed out that a more careful examination of the New Guinea data may be of use not only in formulating new and more useful models for the description and analysis of New Guinea Highlands socio-political systems, but also perhaps for a re-analysis of the existing data on certain African societies.

In my view, the fundamental problem is the discrepancy between ideology and statistical norms. Attempts to deal with it seem to me to have been handicapped by certain preconceptions. Prominent among them are the "unilineal bias"; the notion that kinship, when important in the formation of human groups, closely reflects biology; the purely sociological interpretation of New Guinea warfare; and a tendency to confuse motive with function. As these ideas are relegated to their proper place, or discarded, we may hope to find more appropriate models for conceptualizing New Guinea societies (Langness 1964:182).

Although, in the past decade, several authors have explicitly noted in print that their data on Highlands societies do not fit the segmentary lineage model (Wagner 1967; Strathern 1969; Ryan 1969; Berndt 1971; Langness 1971; Brown 1972; and Strathern 1972), only Berndt and Langness have to date suggested alternate models, both of which are

based on Lawrence's concept of the 'security circle':

The organization through which political action (among the Garia of the Madang District) is carried out is a system of interpersonal relationships, which collectively can be called the security circle. The people who belong to a man's security circle are neither a distinct social nor a distinct local group. They are merely those individuals -- close kinsmen, affines, and persons tied to him in other special ways -- with whom he has safe relationships and toward whom he should observe certain rules of behavior (Lawrence 1965-66:379).

Langness has stated that among the Bena Bena public affairs -- specifically warfare, leadership and marriage -- can only with difficulty be viewed as activities involving groups, if these are defined as districts, tribes, clans or sub-clans. In the same article he notes the "overwhelming significance" of individualism and alliance, and the fact that the acts of individuals are at times at variance with those of their district, clan or sub-clan. He concludes that:

... to understand any given public affair in Korofeigu -- whether warfare, marriage, or whatever, it is probably necessary to begin from the standpoint of one or more 'egos' and proceed from there outward. What one finds is that the particular activity involves an exceedingly complex interplay of individual security circles. The security circles are the significant polities engaged in political action. Groups such as districts, clans and subclans tend to be involved by association, rather than as corporate, specifically political institutions (Langness 1971:313).

Complementing Langness's analysis, Berndt's analysis

of public affairs -- specifically warfare, sorcery and marriage -- among the Kamano, Usurufa, Jate and Fore of the Eastern Central Highlands focuses on group relationships, rather than on those of individuals. He identifies the district, composed of villages and hamlets and their constituent clans and patrilineages, as the political unit. He describes each district as being the center of a unique "interactory zone" of potential relationships of both cooperation and antagonism with other districts, with the potential for interaction of either type diminishing in intensity with increasing spatial distance. Berndt concludes that:

We can designate it as not simply a zone of social interaction but, more significantly, a zone of political influence. It was not unlike what Lawrence has called a 'security circle' ... In one sense, the situation here could lead us to speak of the zone of political influence as a security-insecurity circle. Within this range both order and disorder were expected and, what was more, accepted (Berndt 1971:396).

These theoretical developments have been paralleled in recent years by advances in the analysis of ethnographic data from African acephalous societies. Peters's and Horton's analyses are particularly noteworthy.

Peters (1967) has shown that even in an acephalous society with a strongly-held ideological belief in agnatic descent and genealogical distance as the determining factors influencing the opposition or united action of different

segmentary groups in different situations, in actual fact many other factors -- including affinal ties, spatial distance, and economic considerations -- may influence, for example, political alliances. He concludes that, for the Bedouin of Cyrenaica at least, the segmentary lineage model

... is a kind of ideology which enables them, without making absurd demands on their credulity, to understand their field of social relationships, and to give particular relationships their raison d'etre (Peters 1967:270).

Horton's article (1971) stresses the influence which ecological and demographic conditions have on social organization. He considers five such factors to have been of especial importance in the development of West African agricultural, acephalous societies: subsistence agriculture, with poorly developed exchange and monetary systems; long-term utilization of fixed tracts of land; a limited supply of arable land; an agricultural cycle requiring the physical labor of large numbers of people for key operations; and communications limited by lack of non-pedestrian means of travel. The interaction of these factors tended, he believes, to make unilineal descent an important principle in recruitment to, and the organization of, local groups. Whether it became the dominant principle, or remained merely one among several, depended on yet other demographic and cultural variables. Horton sees different types of acephalous societies in West

Africa as probably having developed through time in response to the differential importance of these variables for the survival of the societies in question. He sees these societies as being roughly classifiable into a three-fold typology.

First, true segmentary lineage systems, rare because they depend for their functioning on "a thorough-going correspondence between genealogical, social and spatial distance" (Horton 1971:85), and because they can only function in accordance with their ideology under certain conditions: a steadily expanding population; an unclaimed, available supply of land surrounding the group; and a dispersed settlement pattern with fairly even density. He further notes that the last condition can only be met when defense against aggression is not crucial to the survival of the society.

Second, the dispersed, territorially defined community, composed of a number of non-related or distantly related lineage groups, whose identity and solidarity is territorially defined in terms of co-residence, rather than in terms of genealogical ties -- although the lineages remain as important units of social grouping below the level of territorial integration. Horton sees this type of com-

munity as being the end result of serious inequalities in the amount of land surrounding and available to certain groups, so that with population increase lineages without access to land were forced to migrate and acquire land-rights from non-kin or distant relatives. Further, he feels that these demographic conditions, together with the almost universal West African belief in the sacred nature of the earth, may explain the common tendency toward a dual organization of such communities into 'land-owning' and 'latecomer' lineages, and for authority over specific and complementary community services to be vested in ritual positions in certain lineages. Finally, he notes that in such societies migrant groups may be able to retain for a while a dual allegiance to both their community of origin and their community of residence.

Third, the large, compact village, in which genealogical reckoning is only one among several principles of organization, and of only limited importance. Lineages remain, as the land-owning units, and complementary political and ritual offices are often distributed among the various lineages of which the community is composed, but their influence on village affairs is mitigated by a variety of cross-cutting institutions. Notable among these, in West Africa,

are age-grades and associations. As a result of the 'bonding' effect of these various institutions, there is an allegiance to the total community which is independent of, and above, that which is owed to the lineage. Horton relates the development of this type of community to, again, demographic, ecological and social conditions: "disjunctive migration" resulting from differential availability of land, and possibly the necessity for the members of the community to organize for defense of their land and lives against formidable opponents. These conditions, plus the effect on social distance of small spatial distances within the village, are seen as resulting in the cohesive institutions described above (Horton 1971:97-103).

Theorists working with New Guinean and African ethnographic data have, in the past decade, followed somewhat parallel paths. Both bodies of theory have begun to point out the flaws in segmentary lineage theory and the strikingly few societies which it can adequately describe; both have pointed out that ideology frequently does not correspond with behavior; and both have focused on the accurate and statistically-supported description of behavior, and have devised their descriptions of structure and function on the basis of their data. But the Africanists have, I believe, advanced

further than the New Guinea theorists in their attempts to isolate the demographic and ecological factors correlating with different types of social organization. There has been little communication between the two groups of theorists, and little feedback between the two bodies of theory. Yet the African theory can, I believe, provide valuable insights into the functioning and possible origins of New Guinea Highlands societies. Perhaps theory stemming from the research on Highlands societies could also prove useful to the Africanists.

Leadership in Highlands societies has been described in markedly differing terms: Brown (1963:1) describes the traditional pattern as a kind of "anarchy", Read (1959:425) describes it as "self-regulating", and Salisbury (1964:225) describes it as "despotic." These descriptions, although in conflict and usually based on work among one people, have often been generalized to all New Guinea Highlands societies. There is, paradoxically, general agreement on the personal qualities necessary for a successful leader in all areas (although the stress placed on particular qualities differs from one area to another), and similar agreement on the processes whereby leaders are chosen, decisions are made, and group tasks are organized. Much of the confusion seems to

stem from the uncritical application, or misapplication, of the segmentary lineage model.

On the basis of the available literature on the New Guinea Highlands it is not possible to perceive clear differences in the nature of leadership and political organization in different areas, nor to determine the underlying causal factors of such differences. Yet it is well-known that activities in the Western Highlands are carried out on a very large scale involving hundreds and at times thousands of individuals. Many months of planning and preparation are necessary to bring about a large-scale pig exchange, for example. Exceedingly large 'apartment' houses are constructed to house visitors, who may number in the hundreds. Food must be supplied for all of these people. Thousands of cooked pigs move along the valleys at these times in a well-organized, highly cooperative venture. All of this must somehow be coordinated and timed if it is to proceed without mishap. Similar activities in the Eastern Highlands involve much smaller numbers of people and relatively little long-range planning, and they do not involve visitors staying over or the necessity to house and feed these visitors except on a very small scale. The difference in scale is considerable. Langness has said of this:

Exchanges of pig and shell in the Western Highlands involve months of planning, a staggering amount of concerted action on the part of hundreds, if not thousands of people, the raising and killing of thousands of pigs, plus the production of tons of surplus food and the construction of enormous guest houses to be used during the ceremonies. Similar activities take place in the Eastern Highlands but always on a much smaller scale. Indeed, it is inconceivable that the Eastern Highlanders could organize and carry out any activity on such a large scale. Even so, there is little in the literature to suggest that patterns of leadership and authority are significantly different in the two areas, nor has it been widely suggested that there may be profound differences in political organization. How this can be poses some exceedingly interesting questions for students of New Guinea politics (Langness 1971).

This would imply a difference in the quality if not the type of leadership and a difference in the quality and probably the type of political organization although, as I have indicated, this is not apparent in the literature.

I intend in the following pages to present a detailed ethnographic account of socio-political organization among the Gimi-speaking people of the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea. I believe that my data indicate that the segmentary lineage model is of no value in describing and analyzing socio-political behavior in this society. Agnation is but one criterion among many used by the group to validate the membership of the individual, and but one value among many motivating action on the part of the individual and legitimizing his action in his own eyes and in the eyes of other

members of his group. Other kinship ties (affinal and cognatic) are often equally important criteria; friendship and 'trade partner' relationships often legitimately influence behavior. Residence is often a more important criterion than any of the above.

As Peters (1967) has documented, it is quite possible for a society to have an ideology stressing the value of agnation and the segmentation of groups according to genealogical distance even though behavior is in fact influenced by many criteria, of which agnation is only one. Some New Guinea Highlands societies, among them the Kuma (Reay 1959; Reay 1964), have been described as being of this type. There seems to be some probability that the description might also apply to the Mae Enga (Barnes 1967). It does not hold true, however, for the Gimi-speaking people, whose ideology and value system, rather than stressing agnation, clearly places a value on all of the criteria which I have listed as influencing individual behavior.

Keesing (1967:1-16) has provided concepts which I have found valuable in analyzing my data. He reports that among the Kwaio of the Solomon Islands a man can have multiple group memberships: he may have rights to participate in ritual with one group, rights to use land with another,

and rights to aid in his undertakings with yet another (the group he chooses to reside with). To each of these groups he has corresponding obligations. Keesing suggests that this poses no problems for the individual, since his rights and obligations are defined by situational context. He states that what is required to make such a system work is a situational sorting out, or clear labelling, of statuses, and a set of principles for making decisions in those situations where two allegiances conflict or the individual's presence would be required in two different places at once. He also mentions that, for the Kwaio, the principles by which choice of allegiance is made in such situations include temporal priority, cultural principles, personal strategies, and rough calculations of probabilities.

I intend to show how, in Gimi society, the multiple relationships of the individual with others, both kin and non-kin, result in a continuing choice of action. Choice of action is in turn influenced by, and perhaps determined by, various principles operative in the culture. From the point of view of the individual, his multiple relationships can be diagrammed as a network of interaction -- a form of 'security circle.'

In addition, I believe that my data indicate that

the quality of leadership found in this particular area of the Highlands does differ in some important respects from that which has been reported for other Highlands societies. This distinctiveness appears to be a function of the particular constellation of criteria which influences the behavior of the individual in Gimi society, and of the distinctive weights which Gimi culture places on each particular criterion.

Finally, if it is indeed true that there are very real differences in the structure of socio-political groups and in the nature of leadership in different regions of Highland New Guinea, then it seems to me that, as Horton has claimed, there must be very real differences in the particular ecological, demographic and perhaps cultural characteristics of the different regions, and that it should be possible to postulate causal factors operating through time and resulting in the different types of social systems found in the Highlands today. I intend in the following pages to describe those factors which I believe led to the development of Gimi ideology and values, social organization and leadership; to indicate the effects which certain striking differences in demography may have had on socio-political organization in different regions of the Highlands; and to

suggest some variables which might possibly be responsible for the differences in socio-political organization between the majority of Highlands societies and the acephalous societies of West Africa.

## CHAPTER II

### THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

Beha Valley lies approximately four miles southwest of Lufa patrol post, in the Lufa sub-district of the Eastern Highlands District of New Guinea. The land is mountainous and rugged, and even today -- although there is a dirt road suitable for jeep travel from the patrol post down into the southern part of the sub-district -- the only means of entry into the valley is by foot. To the northeast a series of ranges separates the valley from the patrol post; to the east lies Mt. Michael, a 12,500 foot peak which forms a natural barrier to communication with the peoples to the east of it; to the west of the valley the land slopes unpeopled down to the Asaro River (here called the Tua), and then rises again to the inhabited ridges of the Chimbu sub-district; to the south is a 1,000 foot escarpment, evidently the result of a fault in the earth's surface, behind which lie the ranges of the southern part of the sub-district.

The valley covers a land surface area of approximately twenty-five square miles. The eastern rim of the valley, its highest point, is approximately 7,700 feet in elevation. From this point the land slopes -- sometimes

steeply and sometimes gradually, but always unevenly -- down to the Tua River, at an elevation here of approximately 5,000 feet. Rainfall is abundant -- the average rainfall at Lufa over the four years from 1964 to 1968 was 99.6 inches per year -- and although a 'wet season' and a 'dry season' can be distinguished, it is not at all uncommon to experience consecutive periods of three to four sunny, rainless days in the wet season, and three or four days of continuous rain in the dry season. Consequently, most of the land surface in the valley is heavily covered with secondary rain-forest growth, and the upper elevations on the eastern rim appear to still bear undisturbed primary growth. Only to the northwest is there a change in this pattern of heavy forest cover, where large tracts of land near the Tua River are covered with kunai grass (imperata), interspersed with patches of trees and scrub along small water-courses.

The people who inhabit the valley have no name for it, although each portion of land within it is individually named. The village and hamlet communities within it, however, are now all subsumed for administrative purposes under the name of Beha -- the traditional name of the people of the largest community in the valley -- and for this reason (and because the people themselves said that I should refer

to them as such) I have decided to write of them as the people of Beha. They refer to themselves as hogavisu vana (men of Hogavi) and to their language as hogavisa kaina (speech of Hogavi). This, the principal language spoken in the valley, is a dialect of the language classified by Wurm (1961:114-16) as Gimi. It differs from the dialect spoken to the south mainly in the substitution of consonants for glottal stops -- for example, people born within the valley usually articulate 'k' and 'g'; to the south the glottal stop is invariably used in place of these consonants. Yet, partly because of their geographical position on the northern fringe of the Gimi-speaking area, and partly due to intermarriage, trade, ceremonial exchanges, and past alliances in war, eighty-nine per cent of the adults of the valley also speak one or more of the Yagaria dialects of the area to the northeast, and forty-six per cent speak one or more of the dialects of the Chimbu sub-district to the west.

The valley's estimated twenty-five square miles of land surface supports a population of around 823 persons -- approximately thirty-three persons per square mile. As in pre-contact times -- which in this region of New Guinea ended only with the first Australian government patrol through the area in late 1953 -- the people still live in

fenced village communities. These consist of one or more large, oval, communal men's houses and a number of smaller, square or round houses, each occupied usually by a married woman, her unmarried daughters, and her younger sons. Although the initiation ceremonies which once served to initiate young boys into the men's houses have been abandoned in recent years, adolescent boys still prefer not to sleep in the houses occupied by their mothers and sisters. Sometimes they sleep with the older men in the men's houses. Frequently one boy, or a group of two or three, will build and share a small house for a while. Occasionally a few boys will move into a house which has been abandoned by its owners.

In mid-1969 there were five communities in the valley, located at elevations ranging approximately from 5,900 to 6,400 feet. The largest village was composed of sixty-nine occupied women's huts and five men's houses, with a total population of 353 persons; the smallest hamlet was composed of five women's huts and one men's house, with a total population of fifteen. The other three communities all had populations ranging around 150.

The villages are named, one of their names always referring to the portion of land upon which they are currently

situated. This name can and does change over time, if the village is moved to a new site. But villages also bear an 'ancestral' name, and this is retained if the community moves to a new site or if a small group of men decide to leave the parent village and found a new hamlet with their wives and children. Glick (1967:373) has noted the instability over time of communities in the south of the Gimi-speaking area, a characteristic also prominent in the Beha Valley. Within living memory two of the communities have moved to new sites within the valley, and a third community has split into two spatially distinct villages and a small hamlet, each with its own men's house or houses. Although they are most frequently referred to by the names of their present localities, the three communities are all occasionally referred to as 'Hogavi,' bearing witness to the fact of their common origin.

The people of Beha admit that they are recent immigrants to the valley, and many of the older men can remember tales told them when they were young of their ancestors' wanderings, epidemics which overtook them, and wars in which they were involved. Although these tales do differ somewhat in detail, certain events are agreed upon by most of the story-tellers.

Most versions of the tale place the original home of the people at a portion of land called Labogai, near the present site of the hamlet of Ise, about twelve miles due south of the escarpment which forms the southern boundary of Beha Valley. There is disagreement over the reason for their migration from their home, some men saying that there were simply too many people at Labogai, and some saying that the reason for the exodus was an epidemic of sores, and subsequent fear of sorcery. A man from a village to the south of the valley, Menilo, said that his ancestors had also left Labogai at that time, and that the reason was defeat in a war with Kora. From Labogai they made their way north, stopping at several places for indeterminate periods of time, but always leaving again -- some say because of wars, and some because of subsequent outbreaks of sickness. They finally came to Gono, a community situated on the edge of the escarpment, settled there, built houses and worked gardens. A people called Yauma then inhabited the valley.

One of the most detailed accounts of subsequent events then tells how, one day, two Beha men went out to hunt kapul (phalanger). They sat down to rest on the edge of the escarpment, looked down into the valley, and saw

smoke rising from the cooking-fires of Yauma. They walked down into the valley, and when asked why they came explained that they had been walking all day, were hungry, and had come in hopes of receiving food. After at first refusing the requested food, the Yauma people gave them a great deal, which they carried back to Gono.

Havini, a leader, then called out for all of the people who had originated at Labogai to gather together -- some had decided not to move when the others moved north, and had settled in many different communities between Labogai and Gono. When they had gathered together, Havini suggested that they follow him down into the valley. "They (Yauma) sit down on good land. There is much food. We will go and join them. Do you agree?" Some of the people decided not to follow Havini -- they said that they had already found good land, and wished to stay where they had settled. But the people of Beha, and those of Hogavi, said that they would go. The people of Gono also said that they would follow Havini.

Then the men of Hogavi and Beha decided that they would take the piece of land called Abumari, where Yauma's village was located. They left their wives, children and belongings hidden behind a huge rock at Ya'agetai. The men

went past, over the River Yali, to Abumari. One of the Yauma men was there, in the village, and he saw Havini and the others coming and was afraid. He called out for the men of Yauma to come back from their gardens to the village. But they did not do so -- they ran away to Yutu'avi.

Some of the Yauma people had settled near Gono. These were told by Beha, "some of Yauma have run away. But you can stay with us." They agreed, and built houses for themselves at Lidakudapi. The men of Hogavi and Beha fetched their wives and children, and settled at Abumari. The tale continues:

Beha and Hogavi watched Yauma at Yutu'avi. But Havini told Gono, Beha and Hogavi, "You cannot follow Yauma. You must stop here." Then morning and evening they watched Yauma at Lidakudapi. Yauma were upset about this. They said, "Havini has taken our houses, gardens and belongings -- why does he follow us now?" They were afraid that he would persuade his people to go and kill them. So they ran away to join those of their people who had settled at Yutu'avi.

Then Havini took four men -- one from Beha, two from Gono, and one from Hogavi. He said, "We will go and visit Yauma. They saw us watching them and ran away. So you must come with me and visit them." So the five men went to Yutu'avi. The Beha man and the Hogavi man went and stood by one of the doors of the men's house. The two Gono men sat down outside. Havini went to the other door, and walked inside. He said to the men of Yauma, "You have lost your land. Why run away? We want to sit down with you in friendship." Havini continued, "We want to sit down with you in friendship. We have thought about this for a long time, and that is why we are here. Why did you run

away? I will go and fetch my wife and children and belongings, and bring them to Yutu'avi. We will all live together in friendship here at Yutu'avi." So Havini took his family to Yutu'avi. The two Gono men joined him with their families. But the rest of the people (Hogavi and Beha) stayed at Abumari.

The tale digresses somewhat at this point, and tells of a war between the Yauma people and the Lufa villages, in which Yauma defeated Lufa, routed them south to the Labogai region, and "walked upon Mt. Michael." But the Lufa people returned, routed Yauma from their land, and killed many of them. The story-teller commented here that the people from Labogai (Hogavi and Beha) did not join in this war -- they "sat and watched Yauma fight."

Those of the Yauma people who remained alive after the war with Lufa moved the site of their village again, to another piece of land within the valley, called Kupavi. Beha remained at Yutu'avi. Then -- at some later time -- a war occurred between Beha and Yauma. The story tells of the events which preceded and led up to that war:

Beha bought Kumu (or Gumumi), a Sua (Chimbu sub-district) woman, and gave her in marriage to a Beha man. Beha at this time suffered famine -- they had come and taken other men's land, and the gardens they had worked were not yet ready to be harvested -- and Yauma gave them food. But then Yauma seduced Kumu.

One Beha man, whose 'sister' had married a Yauma man, was caught in a storm one day near Kupavi, and went and slept in Yauma's men's house, on his brother-

in-law's bed. It was raining heavily, and the owner of the bed was very wet when he arrived at the men's house. The men inside the house looked at him and joked at his expense, "You are not a good-looking man, yet you had intercourse with Kumu, a handsome woman. It is a good thing that the rain has washed you clean." He responded by saying that they had first had intercourse with her, and that he had merely followed their example. The Beha man snored, and Yauma thought he slept, and so they joked together. But he heard what they said. He got up, took his axe in his hand, and embedded it in the door of the men's house, in anger. He left then, and went back to Yutu'avi. He asked his people who Kumu was, and they said, "She is a 'mother' of yours." So he called out for her to come to the men's house, and asked her, "What have you been doing? Where do you go, when you walk about alone? We thought that you went to visit your own village, but where did you go?" She admitted that the men of Yauma had had intercourse with her, when she walked about looking for food during the time of famine.

Then the men of Beha lit a big fire, sharpened their axes, and worked shafts for their arrows. They made new bows and arrows. They made everything ready. When they were ready, some of them went to talk to the men of Lufa. They said to Lufa, "We want to kill all of the people of Yauma." Lufa agreed to join them in the fight, and took their shields and weapons, coming down to the valley by way of Inadjoi, at night. The men of Labogai came from the other direction. They surrounded Yauma while they still slept.

The story goes on to tell how Beha and the men of Lufa together shot most of the Yauma people -- men, women and children -- and how the survivors fled to Vilativi, one of the Lufa hamlets. My informants disagreed concerning the course of subsequent events. Most said simply that they did not know what happened then to the Yauma survivors. One said that they received no refuge at Lufa -- that Lufa

pursued them and killed more of them, and that the remnant of the people fled north, into the Yagaria census division. But one old man claimed that the small group of Yauma people who survived stayed for a while at Vilativi, building houses and working gardens there. Only later, he said, did they again fight with Lufa, suffer defeat, and flee into the Yagaria region. He named for me Yauma women who married Beha men during the time Yauma stayed at Lufa, and named their descendants. Several men said that some of the Yauma people live still in one of the Yagaria villages, and that they have in the past occasionally come back to visit in the valley. But all claimed that they do not know the name of the Yauma village -- "Now we do not marry with Yauma; they are too far away."

At some point in time after the defeat of Yauma, claimed one informant, the people of Beha were themselves defeated in war and forced to flee. I could get little information about this event, apart from the names of the communities which fought against Beha -- Lufa, Kiosa and Habagabe'a (three communities to the north of the valley whose inhabitants speak a dialect of the Yagaria language) and Kiovi (a community in the valley itself). Beha, I was told, fled south to the Labogai region, but later returned

with a larger fighting force, fought again, and this time managed to hold the land they won.

Although I questioned them repeatedly about their original home, all of my informants insisted that their ancestors had told them that they had originated at Labogai, and that they had never known another home until they began their move north. Some of the more Christianized added that God had created them at Labogai. I repeated to them a legend I had found in the Lufa patrol reports, which began:

Once long ago a man whose name is now forgotten, his wife, and pigs became restless and unsatisfied with their life at Hila on the northern slopes of Mt. Michael, and so decided to see what lay beyond the mountain to the south...<sup>1</sup>

I received only limited response to the story. A young man said that an old luluai of Orivegu (south of Ise) once told him that the ancestors of the people of the Labogai census division came from around Hila. And an old man admitted that a Lufa man had once told him the story. Perhaps, he added, the people of the southern part of the census division had originated at Hila. But, he insisted, the people who speak the speech of Hogavi did not originate there --

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<sup>1</sup>From the patrol report of Mr. J. L. Thyer, dated February, 1955.

their own ancestors told them that their home was the piece of land called Labogai.

It would be impossible to date events in the migration tale with any degree of accuracy, since the Gimi-speaking peoples have no concept or word for 'year'. Although they are aware of the succession of 'dry' and 'wet' seasons, they keep no count of them and perform no ritual to mark their arrival or passing. Genealogical reckoning holds little interest for them -- they remember the names of outstanding men, but tend to forget those who performed no memorable feats during their lifetimes. Genealogies thus tend to become 'telescoped', and cannot be used to date events which occurred more than two -- or at the most, three -- generations back. Although it is often possible to estimate the approximate time when a particular event in an informant's lifetime occurred, by asking him to point to a child or young person of the approximate 'size' which he had attained when a certain event took place, this method was of no value in discussing the migration tale, since the events described in the story occurred long before the birth of any person then living in the valley. I was able to obtain only three clues. One old man, describing how the people of Beha were forced to flee back to Labogai after being defeated in the war with

the northern villages, said:

They fled, but later came back with more men. The second time they managed to hold the land they won. At this time there was much darkness, even at mid-day, and much dust, like the ashes from a fire, on the gardens.

The only event of historic significance which is documented as having caused such unusual atmospheric conditions in the southwest Pacific is the explosion of the volcanic island of Krakatoa, on August 27, 1883. The date seems probable, although not certain.

My second 'clue' is unfortunately even less satisfactory as a dating device. Yet another old man commented that Beha, when they defeated Yauma and forced them to flee from the valley, took over the pandanus trees which Yauma people had planted. He added that the trees did not cease to bear fruit until after he was married (about forty years, I estimate, prior to the date of our discussion). No information is available concerning the number of years during which the various species of pandanus continue to bear fruit. However, Clarke reports that in the Bismarck Range, at elevations comparable to those of the Beha Valley, pandanus trees planted by a man will outlive him and may be passed on to his son (Clarke 1971:80). Assuming that the trees referred to by my informant had been planted forty or fifty years prior to the time of their death, which seems likely,

then it is at least possible that the people of Yauma planted them around 1880. I judge this to be the general time period referred to in that portion of the migration tale which tells of Beha's war with Yauma, their subsequent defeat at the hands of the northern villages, and their later re-conquest of the valley.

My third and final 'clue' refers to the original descent of the Beha and Hogavi peoples into the valley. One old man, probably at that time around sixty-five years of age, while telling of the peoples' migrations included the following information:

The father of Mosiki saw (i.e. lived in) the house-line at Gono. He was the brother of Nali. Hogavi shot him. I saw his face, then he died...

Such genealogical data as I was able to gather on Mosiki's father indicates that he was in early middle age -- perhaps forty or forty-five -- when he died. Since my informant stated that he was told that Beha left Gono while Mosiki's father was still a small child, and since my informant was himself a small child when Mosiki's father died, then the original descent into the valley might have occurred approximately ninety-five to 100 years prior to the time when I was told about it -- around 1870 or 1875. This date, I feel, correlates well with the later date of 1880 or 1883

for the re-entry into the valley after the defeat of Yauma and the wars against Lufa and Gono.

Earlier events cannot be dated, since the stories give no indications of the number of generations who lived and died between the time of the exodus from Labogai and the first descent into the valley.

Very little appears to be known of the origins of the small group of men who now identify themselves as belonging to the community of Kiovi. Some of the old men claim that their ancestors came with the men of Hogavi and Beha from Labogai, and that they entered the valley at the same time. Some, however, say that they came later, after Beha and Hogavi had already routed Yauma and settled in the valley. One younger man said that he had heard that the land upon which Kiovi is now situated had once belonged to the people of Kiosa, whom Kiovi fought and forced to flee north -- but he could not say when this event had occurred. The only fact which is generally agreed upon is that Kiovi were settled on the land they now claim prior to the birth of any living informant.

Although Kiovi are not mentioned in any of the migration tales, it seems at least probable that they arrived in the valley at approximately the same time as the people of

Hogavi and of Beha, and possible that they also originated in the general Labogai region. My 'evidence' for these assumptions is mainly linguistic: they speak the dialect common to the people of Hogavi and Beha, which is distinguishable both from the dialect of Gimi spoken by the villagers to the south of the valley, and from the Yagaria dialect spoken by the people of Kiosa and the Lufa villages. In view of the lack of migration tales mentioning them, however, it appears impossible at this point in time to trace their early wanderings.

There are several points in the migration story which I wish to emphasize at this time, since I believe them to be indicators of significant themes in the culture of the Gimi-speaking peoples -- themes which I shall be returning to throughout this paper. First, it is interesting that this tale, handed down from generation to generation and always told with a wealth of detail concerning what men did and the phrases they spoke, should describe a relatively short journey, in terms of distances covered. An adult man or woman can, in fact, cover the distance from Beha village to Ise hamlet in two days, with time to eat, rest and sleep on the way.

Second, the tale tells of periodic movements from

one settlement to another -- of a group of people who settled in one place for perhaps a few years, built houses and planted gardens and raised pigs, and then moved on. But it also tells of some who decided not to move on, who liked the settlement they had migrated to and who decided to stay there when others left. Not all of the Beha people, for example, moved north with the others to Gono. When Havini called the meeting to discuss whether or not they should migrate down into the valley, some of these people decided not to go -- they had found good land, and wished to stay where they had settled. Not all of the Yauma people lived in the Beha Valley -- there were Yauma people living near Gono, on the escarpment. And some of the Gono people settled for a while at Yutu'avi, with Havini and his family. The tale thus gives a picture of ever-shifting population patterns -- a theme which I will return to later.

The tale tells also of sporadic warfare, and of alliances made for purposes of war, and of the shifting nature of such alliances. Two men of Gono, for example, are reported to have accompanied Havini when he confronted Yauma at Yutu'avi -- yet Gono is mentioned in many other tales of past events as having been the 'traditional enemy' of Beha. Lufa is mentioned as having aided Beha and Hogavi in their

war with Yauma -- yet there are also tales of war between Lufa and Beha. And, according to one informant, Kiovi joined Lufa, Kiosa and Habagabe'a in the war in which Beha was defeated and forced to flee back to Labogai -- an interesting and significant fact, since Kiovi is also often mentioned as being an ally of Beha, and today habitually joins Beha and Hogavi when they host a major pig-feast.

## CHAPTER III

### THE ECONOMY

Subsistence activities in the Beha Valley differ little from those of the surrounding Highlands areas. Like their neighbors, the Beha people are horticulturists and pig-raisers, supplementing their diet of garden-produce and pork with the occasional bird, small animal, or snake caught in the hunt, and with a variety of leaves, mushrooms, wild fruits and nuts which the women and children gather in the rain-forest. These basic subsistence activities have changed little since the first coming of Europeans to the area twenty years ago, except that a greater variety of vegetables is now available, due to the adoption of European pumpkins, cabbage, peanuts and some varieties of maize.

Ecologically, the valley can be divided into three vegetation zones, which the people themselves use for different purposes. The large 'sweet potato' gardens from which comes the bulk of their vegetable food are located mainly in the secondary forest belt, at approximate altitudes of 5,500 to 6,500-6,700 feet. This belt comprises about two-thirds to three-fourths of the land surface area of the valley. Pig-houses are built and pigs allowed to wander free

during daylight hours in the forest of this zone. Therefore all gardens worked there are fenced with double rows of stakes from four to five feet high, reinforced with vine roping. Since fifteen to eighteen stakes are required for every yard of fencing, this is in itself an enormous task frequently requiring three or more months of work to complete, even with the steel axes which are uniformly used for wood-cutting nowadays.

When fencing has been completed, plots within the garden are almost always given by the owner and his wife to various people, both male and female. The recipients of each plot then clear the land of large stones and brush. Stones are either heaped into large piles at convenient places within the garden, or carried to the edge and used to reinforce the fence. Brush is heaped and left to dry, after which it is burned. Later the ground is dug and planting takes place. Although many of the large trees within a garden fence are, of course, felled for use in fencing, it is customary for those not needed for this purpose to be left standing, with only the larger branches being cut off, so that sunlight can reach the growing crops. When the garden is eventually abandoned, these are cut down and used for firewood, fence-making, and building.

Although I was told by one informant that it is the custom to plant a new garden "when the leaves of the yage (a species of deciduous tree) turn red" (in late September or early October -- the beginning of the wet season), in practice planting takes place during all months of the year. Few specialized gardening techniques are employed. Drainage ditches are invariably dug, bisecting the garden into oblong plots and serving the double purpose of allowing the often torrential rainfall to run off freely from the planted plots and marking off each individual gardener's plot from those of other plot-holders. Occasionally a simple form of terracing is practiced, but only in gardens planted on exceptionally steep hillsides: logs are laid parallel with the contours of the land, and these are sometimes held in place by short stakes driven into the earth on both sides of them. Irrigation is not practiced -- nor is it needed, since rarely a week passes without some rainfall.

Traditionally, the only tools used in gardening were the stone axe and digging stick. Nowadays steel axes have taken the place of stone, and spades of European origin are common -- but the digging stick is still universally used.

When, as is often the case, a newly fenced garden includes within its boundaries a portion of a frequently used

footpath, it is customary for the gardeners to clear a new footpath either through their garden or skirting the fence. This is a matter of simple self-interest -- if it were not done, the people explain, others would continue to walk along the old path, and perhaps trample on the growing crops.

Although they are referred to as 'sweet potato' gardens, in practice it is customary for gardens in the secondary forest zone to be planted with almost the complete range of plants cultivated by the people of the valley. Usually, the earth is heaped into mounds about six inches to one foot apart, and sweet potato runners are then planted three to a mound. Other staples -- bananas, taro, yams, beans and maize -- are planted between the sweet potato mounds. Cucumbers, tomatoes and cabbages are also not uncommon nowadays, in addition to such traditional favorites as ginger, onions, pitpit, various leafy and flowering plants which can be used as decoration, and many varieties of 'greens.' Pumpkins can be grown in the lower altitudes of the zone. Pineapples, pawpaws, potatoes and peas are cultivated in small numbers by a few gardeners.

Unfortunately, the system of fencing used does not appear to deter the pigs from breaking into and spoiling the gardens. During an eighteen month period I found that

twenty-three per cent of all quarrels which were serious enough to be heard as 'court cases' arose over pigs spoiling gardens.<sup>2</sup> The people say that a garden can be replanted from three to five times after the first planting (a total period of about four to seven or eight years in continuous cultivation), depending on its fertility. It is usual, however, for a garden to be abandoned once pigs have broken into it several times. Occasionally gardens are abandoned even before the first crop is harvested. The people explain this by saying that once pigs have found their way into a garden they will remember that there is food there and will continue to break in. Therefore, they say, it is better to go elsewhere and make a new garden.

Once abandoned, garden land is left fallow for a considerable period of time before being cleared again for planting. My records include the following time estimates (which I believe but cannot prove to be representative) of fallowing in the secondary forest zone:

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<sup>2</sup>This may be somewhat higher than the percentage which would occur under more usual circumstances, since it included the period immediately prior to one of the large, infrequent festivals: before the festival the people had more pigs than they have in ordinary years, each individual pig was receiving less food from the gardens of its owners, and consequently they ruined more gardens in their search for food.

Hevilaroi Garden -- was cleared and planted in July of 1969 after a period in fallow. Two recently married young men (about eighteen to twenty years old) told me that the garden was abandoned when they were about the age of K.'s son (who was six years old at that time). The land has therefore lain fallow for a period of from twelve to fourteen years.

Kava'itai Garden -- was cleared and planted around August of 1968 after a period in fallow. N. (who was then about thirty-two years old) told me that during his lifetime the garden had been cleared and planted three times -- once when he was very young, before he was shown the sacred flutes; once when he was first married; and in 1968 for the third time. The two fallow periods must, therefore, have been approximately twelve and ten years in duration, respectively.

Savadavitai Garden -- was cleared and planted in February and March of 1970. N. told me that it was abandoned last when he was about the age of L. (a young man, not married -- perhaps seventeen years old). The land has therefore been in fallow for approximately fourteen or fifteen years.

Small, scattered groves of various species of

pandanus and bamboo are distributed throughout the secondary forest zone. It is customary to plant them, if one wishes to cultivate them, in a new garden, although they are cared for even after the garden itself has been abandoned and allowed to revert to bush.

Above an approximate altitude of 6,500-6,700 feet is found the primary forest, which has never within memory been used for gardening. Men sometimes go there to find kapuls, birds and the vines which are used as ropes in fencing, but women seldom do.

Below about 5,500 feet is the kunai. Here the people plant small gardens which they call yam gardens, although in actuality taro, greens (kumu), and sometimes banana palms and maize are also planted in them. Unlike the larger gardens cleared in the secondary forest growth, kunai gardens are never fenced because the people say pigs seldom venture into the kunai. The land is cleared by burning off the grass cover, after which a suitable plot of land is chosen as a garden site (usually in one of the shallow valleys, rather than on a ridge or slope, because of the lack of soil on the higher land). Drainage ditches are dug, the ground is prepared, and planting takes place. Such gardens are not usually replanted once they have been harvested,

because of the reputedly poor quality of the kunai soil.

The people also frequently plant tiny gardens behind their houses, within the fence which surrounds each community. Here they cultivate tobacco, taro, sugar-cane, greens, bananas, decorative plants, and occasionally other crops. Although the young taro plants are sometimes transplanted when large enough to either the owner's kunai garden or his 'sweet potato' garden, it is more commonly the case that the crops are simply harvested and used as they mature.

Garden magic is present in the culture, although it does not appear to be as elaborated, or its use as structured, as in certain other areas of Melanesia -- as for example, the Trobriand Islands (Malinowski 1935). Ritual takes the form of magical 'spells' -- exemplary tales -- which are sometimes murmured to the plants at various stages of their growth cycle. The sweet potato, for example, may be told when it is planted about a certain species of bird called aruya, which lays many eggs at one time, and which uses many leaves to build its nest. The sweet potato is told to note the customs of this bird, and follow its example (grow many tubers). When the shoots of the yam plant first break the surface of the earth, poles are

provided for the plants to cling to as they grow. The yam may then be told about a species of phalanger which is called hama: it sleeps through the daylight hours in a hole underneath a rock, but when darkness comes it emerges from its hole and climbs a tree, moving from one branch to another as it climbs. The yam is told to note the custom of the hama and follow its example (grow tall and climb high).

Plants are categorized as 'belonging to' either men (for example, yams, pandanus, bananas and sugar-cane) or women (for example, sweet potato, taro, and most other cultivated plants). Although there are no rigid taboos associated with handling the plants belonging to the opposite sex, it is nonetheless true that, in general, 'men's plants' are planted, cared for and harvested by men, and 'women's plants' by women. And it is rare for one sex to know the stories told to plants which are said to belong to the other sex. There is, however, wide variation in the amount of sex-specific garden magic which different individuals know. E., an old widow, was able to give me in detail the stories told to almost every 'women's plant' at various stages of its growth cycle; on the other hand, I., a man in his early thirties, told me that he knew only the stories told to bananas, and that he plants yams and sugar-cane without any

stories, since he does not know them. When asked why he does not know the stories, he explained that there is no formal teaching of them, either for boys or for girls -- children simply acquire the knowledge, if they do, either by observing their parents when they are gardening, or as a result of informal story-telling when the family members are together in the evening. Some children pay attention to their parents' speech, and learn, and some do not; some parents take care to repeat the stories often so that the child will learn, but others believe that there will be time to teach them later -- and sometimes die before they have done so.

Occasionally an older person -- one who has a reputation as an outstanding gardener -- will be asked to 'talk to' the plants belonging to a younger gardener who does not know the stories. No pay is given for this service (there are no real specialists in garden magic), although it is most frequently the case that such favors are part of a continuing pattern of reciprocity between relatives or close friends. One would not, I was told, ask such a favor of a stranger.

Division of labor by sex is not rigid. Although it is true that some tasks are customarily referred to as

'women's work' and others as 'men's work', in practice either sex may perform most of the tasks associated with gardening, with no fear of embarrassment or ridicule. Women do not customarily cut down trees or sharpen fence-stakes -- yet I was told of one woman who did so occasionally, and she was referred to with admiration as a 'strong woman'. The harvesting of sweet potatoes intended as food for the pigs is usually referred to as women's work -- yet W., a widower who is widely known as a 'big man', habitually harvests his own sweet potatoes, and can often be seen walking home from his gardens at sunset with a large net-bag of sweet potatoes over his shoulder. Attitudes toward all forms of labor appear to be pragmatic -- perhaps best summed up by N., who told me that although feeding pigs is generally women's work, a woman will become tired and angry if she feels that she is doing an unfair share of the work, and that therefore her husband should help her when she is tired, or sick, or has much other work to do.

In describing their system of land ownership, the people say that during the time when they fought with Yauma and forced them to flee north, each man of Hogavi and of Beha who then settled in the valley claimed certain pieces of land and 'marked' them by planting 'tankets' (plants of

the cordyline family) around their borders. Since then, they say, the various named pieces of land have been inherited by the successive generations of male agnatic descendants of the original claimants. Yet the reality of land ownership is, I believe, less rigid and clear-cut than such statements would indicate. There are several sanctioned cultural patterns, commonly practiced, which indicate that in actuality ownership rights tend to shift and change gradually from one generation to the next.

In the first place, not one of the many people I questioned concerning ownership of a specific piece of land could remember the name of that ancestor who had originally claimed it as his -- men say only that they know the land belongs to them and to their brothers because their father showed it to them when they were young, and because he told them that it was their land.

Second, as is true also for the Gahuku Gama (Read 1952:441), boundaries between differently owned pieces of land are often imprecise and vague. Even though the general location of the boundary line is known, its precise location is often subject to discussion and disagreement, due to the nature of the boundary markers which are commonly used -- tankets wither and die, and occasionally a man who bears a

grudge against another will deliberately uproot the plants which mark the boundaries of his enemy's land, usually leaving them lying on the ground as proof of his anger, but sometimes replanting some of them in a different location.

Land can also be given outright to someone else, as a gift, and I was told that this practice was not uncommon in the past. One informant gave me the following account of such a gift of land:

Prior to contact, during one of the wars between Beha and the Gono villages, Gono shot and killed M., a Beha man. Then F., who also lived in Beha but who was not related to M., killed a Gono man "to pay back the debt." K., M.'s brother, was grateful that his brother's death had been avenged, and gave F. a piece of land belonging to his kingroup, where M. had worked a garden prior to his death. K. said to F., "You have killed a man. So you can take this land of M.'s, and plant on it, and stay there."

F. 'owned' the land until recently, when he died. Since he had no living sons, and his daughters had married to other villages, K. then reclaimed the land. My informant added, however (and K. agreed), that if F. had had sons, they would have inherited and continued to own the land.

Finally, as will be documented later, changes in residence are frequent and common, and changing residence patterns -- perhaps more than any other single factor -- often result in eventual changes in land ownership patterns. The people themselves frequently boast that they are not

short of land, and numerical strength is valued -- members of a large community often speak with pride of their numbers, and a decline in numbers is viewed as unfortunate and as a state of affairs to be remedied if possible. Immigrants are almost invariably welcomed and given garden land. It is said that such land still belongs to the original owners, and that it will revert to them if and when the immigrants decide to leave the community they have settled in. But for all practical purposes the land 'belongs to' those to whom it has been given -- as long as they remain, they continue to use the land for whatever purpose they wish. Their male agnatic descendants inherit the right to use it. And, I believe, precise ownership is frequently forgotten after a few generations. Within the community of Beha, for example, live several families who are collectively referred to as people of Menilo. It is known that they originally came to the valley as refugees following a war in which they were forced to flee from their home to the south. They were welcomed and given land. However, no one now remembers with any exactitude the names of the original owners of the land they were given, and in everyday conversation the Menilo people themselves are referred to as the owners.

According to the ideology of the people, women may

not inherit land, nor may they have any voice in decision-making concerning it. A daughter is told by her father when she marries, "You are an arrow, and I have now shot you to another place," symbolically emphasizing the break with her own family and the beginning of a new life with her husband and his kingroup. Reality, however, is more flexible than the formal language used at marriage would indicate. In practice, a daughter and her husband are invariably welcomed if they decide to live in the bride's village rather than the groom's, and such a choice is quite common. Women also frequently return to their natal villages when widowed or divorced, and their children are often raised there, if for some reason the mother does not remarry. In all such cases, the woman is given garden land. Frequently males (a son-in-law or a daughter's son) come to have considerable say in decisions concerning use of the land. This is especially true when there is a relatively large amount of land available to the group, and few or no male agnates living in the village.

As a result of the interaction of all of the above-mentioned factors, the pattern of land ownership in the valley has, at the present time, the following characteristics: First, the portions of land claimed by any one

group of agnates are invariably dispersed in different areas of the valley. K. and his agnates, for example, own land near Kiovi, other land between Beha and the eastern rim of the valley, and yet another piece of land about halfway between Beha and Hogavi. Second, the amount of land owned by different groups of agnates varies greatly -- some kingroups have only one or two small pieces of land; others have several large tracts.

In spite of such discrepancies in amount of land owned, disputes over ownership are not at all common. During my eighteen months in the valley, I heard of only one such disagreement, and that particular case arose under circumstances which could not have occurred in pre-contact times. B., a Kiovi man, decided to buy a cow, and persuaded many of the men of his village -- and a few men of Hogavi and Beha -- to go into partnership with him. He made plans to fence off a portion of the piece of land called Karubarubi, for use as a cow-pasture. This news then came to the attention of a group of Beha men who claimed that only a portion of the planned cow-pasture was land belonging to B. and his agnates, and that the rest of the land belonged to them. They said that since the cow was owned primarily by Kiovi men, it would have to be pastured on land belonging solely

to Kiovi. After some discussion -- the dispute never became a court case -- B. and his partners chose land to which they had sole ownership rights.

Far more important in daily life than rights of ownership in land are the various rights of ownership and use which are associated with gardens, pandanus palms, bamboo groves and (nowadays) coffee trees. A man will usually choose as the site of a new garden land which belongs to his own agnatic group. But land may also be 'borrowed' for horticultural purposes, and I estimate that about twenty or twenty-five per cent of the gardens being cultivated in the valley in mid-1969 were located on borrowed land. A man who wishes to borrow land in this manner must ask permission of its owners, but I was told that this would only be refused in exceptional circumstances -- if, for example, the owner and his agnates needed a new garden, had no other suitable land available, and had already decided when and how they were going to use the land in question. I know of only one case in which this particular set of circumstances arose and permission was refused.

Once decisions concerning the site of a new garden have been made and the work of fencing has begun, the garden is said to belong to the man who originated the idea and

began the work. Other men may help him with his fencing from time to time, but he is invariably the one who performs most of the work. And the garden is always referred to as belonging to him, irrespective of whether the land it is located on belongs to him or has been borrowed. It is he, together with his wife, who decides who shall be offered a plot within the fence. If a relative wants a plot, and has not been offered one, that person must ask him for permission to plant.

Once a plot has been given to someone, however, the recipient is responsible for clearing the plot, and has the right to decide what shall be planted in it. Crops belong to the person who plants them, provided he or she received permission to use the land prior to planting. This 'rule' applies also to any useful or valuable cultivated tree. For example, I. offered me the use of a small piece of land behind my house, saying that I could use it for a garden as long as I chose to stay in Beha. He also announced that I could eat the fruit of one species of banana already growing on the land. But, he said, another species of banana (which he had 'marked' to be given as a gift when ripe to his wife's brother), the coffee trees, bamboo and sugar-cane still belonged to him, and those I must not touch.

Ideally, any man or woman who receives permission to make a garden on someone else's land, or one who is given a small plot in someone else's garden, should give a small portion of each harvested crop to the owner of the land or garden, in 'payment' for the use of the land. There are no formal sanctions to enforce this ideal of reciprocity -- the people say that they would not in the past have fought over such a relatively unimportant disregard of obligations, and nowadays they seldom take such a disagreement to court. But it would probably result in bad-feeling between the two individuals involved, and it is said that a land owner would be likely to "take his land back" (i.e. refuse permission to the gardener to plant on the land a second time). A garden owner would be unlikely to offer a plot in any other garden to someone who so failed the ideal of reciprocity. And, of course, such a person would soon acquire a reputation as one lacking in generosity and a proper regard for obligations.

Many gardens -- I estimate from fifty to seventy-five per cent -- are fenced, and so owned, jointly by two or three men. These men are often, but not always, agnatically related. Large communal gardens are also worked occasionally, although I was told that this practice was more common in the past

than it is now. I know of only one such garden made during the time I spent in the valley -- a very large garden, on land belonging to people from both Kiovi and Beha, fenced and owned by sixteen men from the two spatially contiguous communities.

The owners of a garden may give plots within it to a variety of people, and for a variety of reasons. A man may give garden land to any or each of the wives of those men who have helped him with his fence-making; to the wives of the owners of the land, if he has borrowed it; to wives of his male relatives; to a sister, if one is living in his village; to a widowed mother or mother-in-law; to the young wife of any boy whom he considers to be a child of his; to the wife of a friend or age-mate; or to the wife of any man to whom he owes a debt or from whom he wishes in the future to request a favor. The following examples are, I believe, representative of such gifts:

K. is one of four owners of a portion of the piece of land called Kamuroi. Three of these men worked a garden on the land. K. gave plots within the garden to two women: to D.'s wife, because D. was at that time away working for wages and his wife had no one to fence a garden for her -- K. said that she was a neighbor and he "felt sorry" for

her; to S.'s wife because he considers S. to be a 'son' (although he could not trace the genealogical relationship).

Ki. is another owner of the same piece of land at Kamuroi. He gave land to L., because L. helped him for several days with the fencing of the garden. He also gave land to Le. because when the garden was worked previously she then had a plot within it -- the land she then planted is outside the fence of the new garden, but Ki. said that he felt that it was 'right' that she be offered a plot.

Ka. is a Beha man who now lives in Kiovi. M., his daughter, is married to a Hogavi man, but the couple lives in Beha. Ka. worked a garden near Beha, and gave it to his daughter, because she has four young children to feed, and he "felt sorry" for her.

Since the usual practice is for a woman to be cultivating several small plots of land in various parts of the valley -- sometimes as much as an hour's walk one from the other -- the number of plots which any one woman is cultivating at any one time is necessarily small. In 1968, before an increase in incidents involving pigs breaking into and spoiling gardens led to one of the infrequent pig-festivals, I found that the average number of garden plots being cultivated by adult married women was 2.8 per

woman.<sup>3</sup> The maximum was six, and the minimum was one. Immediately following the festival the average was 1.9, the maximum five, and the minimum zero. Garden plots vary enormously in size. Those I measured varied from 376 to 2,483 square yards. Since I did not, however, measure all gardens belonging to all women in the valley, I cannot estimate the average size of garden plots. I can only state that four adult, married women all of whose gardens I did measure were cultivating a total area of garden of, respectively, 868, 973, 2,373 and 3,354 square yards before their gardens were spoilt by the pigs. I do not believe that this rather large variation in number and size of gardens cultivated is primarily dependant upon the amount of land owned by different agnatic kingroups, but rather upon a variety of other factors: the number of children (and pigs) which the couple currently has to feed; the absence or presence of the woman's husband in the village (if he is engaged in wage-labor and away from the village, she will usually have fewer garden plots, and often no garden which she and her husband own); her

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<sup>3</sup>Throughout this paper I have counted as 'adults' only those persons who are (or have been) married. I feel that this is a valid classification, since at marriage an individual begins to assume responsibilities which he or she does not have either as child or as unmarried teen-ager.

marital status (newly married women, and elderly widows, customarily have fewer garden plots); and the laziness, or industriousness, of the man and woman themselves.

The people themselves say that their land is good, and this is borne out by patrol officers' reports, which over the years since regular patrols into the area were begun consistently mention the large size and abundant quantity of garden produce. There are other clues indicating that the people of the 'bush' (forested country), which includes the Beha Valley, do not experience the periods of food shortage which occasionally occur in the grasslands of the Goroka Valley, further to the north. The Yagaria-speaking people, and the southern Bena Bena, say that nowadays they not infrequently travel to Lufa to buy sweet potatoes when they are short of food. The people of Beha do talk occasionally of experiencing a "time of hunger," and sometimes at such times may actually be short of those vegetables -- such as maize, cabbages and beans -- which add variety to their diet. But they are never so short of sweet potatoes, the basic staple, that anyone is ever compelled to go without a meal. Nor do they ever have to buy staples.

The valley is not, however, quite so prolific in its production of those goods which are valued for purposes of

exchange. Goldlip and cowrie shells, both still used occasionally for decoration, must be acquired by means of exchange with neighboring groups. Cassowary and the red-plumed bird of paradise (paradisaea ragqiana) are occasionally found in the forest claimed by the communities of the valley, and parrots and other small, brilliantly plumaged birds are present in abundance. But the black-tailed bird of paradise (astrapia stephaniae), whose plumes are the most highly valued of all, appears to be entirely absent. Many varieties of opossum or tree kangaroo (phalanger) are found in number. Several varieties of pandanus palm are found at various elevations. Some produce large red or orange fruits whose extracted oil is highly prized both as food and as body decoration; others produce large, hard-shelled clusters of edible nuts. The areca or betel-nut palm is also present; its nuts are prized by those men who have acquired a taste for betel-chewing during their sojourns on the coast. But the black palm, whose wood is highly prized as the material for making hunting bows, is almost never found in the valley itself. Neither is a type of soil used in the making of a face-paint, dark grey and iridescent, which is still valued. Orchid fibers, used for making arm-bands and belts and as decoration on hunting arrows, do not

grow in the area.

The valley does produce several other items which were traditionally (but are no longer) valued for exchange purposes. Rushes suitable for salt-making are found at several locations. The old men say that before the introduction of European salt, the salts of Beha were highly valued for their flavor by surrounding groups. Stones suitable for making axe-heads are found in many of the streams and rivers which flow through the valley to join the Tua, and the axes made from them were once widely traded. The primary forest on the eastern rim of the valley produces huge trees, whose trunks were once used to fashion the large cooking drums, often three feet high and two feet in diameter, still used by the people of the valley. They also traditionally were a prized exchange item. All of these skills, however -- drum-making, salt-making, and the fashioning of stone axe-heads -- appear now to be dying out. During my stay in the valley, only one old man made his own salt; no man made a stone axe-head, nor did any man use a stone axe in his work; and no man fashioned a cooking drum -- although the old men say that they still remember how to do so, and that they will again do so when the drums now in use split and become useless.

Primary forest and kunai, like the secondary forest zone where most gardening is done, are divided into named areas, each owned by a different agnatic kingroup. Boundaries between differently owned pieces of land are said to be marked by certain trees, rocks and (occasionally) tankets, but it was my impression that they are at best imprecise, and sometimes entirely unmarked for much of their length. Apart from the small kunai gardens, such land is used only for hunting and gathering, and precise boundaries would have little practical importance in daily life.

In terms of the amount of food which they contribute to daily subsistence, hunting and gathering are relatively unimportant activities. Most of the species of leaves, mushrooms, wild fruits and nuts which are gathered to add variety to the daily diet may be picked by anyone who notices them, without requesting permission to do so from the owner of the land they are growing on. This 'rule' applies also to insects, grubs, frogs, snakes, marmots, flying foxes, and other small animal life. I never heard of a quarrel or court case arising over their ownership.

Certain species of birds and animals -- opossum, the rare cassowary, the red-plumed bird of paradise, and other small, brilliantly plumaged birds -- do, however, fall into

another category. They are valued as exchange items, and the question of their ownership sometimes gives rise to disputes. Ideally, a man should not hunt these creatures on land other than that belonging to his own kingroup, unless he has received prior permission. In practice, of course, poaching is difficult to discover, unless a man is caught in the act by chance, and it is well-known that certain men habitually hunt on land belonging to others and then say that they bagged their catch on their own land. In the past, I was told, men would sometimes go to war over this, but nowadays such cases are seldom taken to court, since there is seldom any proof of the act.

There is no wild creature larger than the cassowary present in the valley -- and cassowaries are rare. Pigs which have ceased to answer to their owner's call are spoken of as 'wild' and sometimes hunted, but their ownership is always known and they may not be hunted without the owner's permission.

Hunting techniques are simple. Although blinds and a form of noose-trap are occasionally used, most bird and opossum hunting is done with bow and arrow, and small grass-dwelling creatures are commonly caught by firing the kunai and shooting those which flee the burning grass. Hunting

magic is far less elaborate than that connected with horticulture and pig-raising (or love, for that matter). I think that there are no magic spells, and I heard of only one example of practical magic: wild taro, which is widely used in many types of magic, is occasionally cooked with sweet potatoes and fed to hunting dogs. It is said that this will give the dogs superior ability to scent out game.

I am fairly certain that no fishing was engaged in while I lived in the valley. Yet the people are able to describe both an edible eel-like fish which they say lives in the Tua River and a type of fish-trap which they say can be used to catch it. It seems likely that fishing was more important in the pre-contact economy.

Apart from hunting dogs, which only a few men own, pigs are the only native domesticated animal kept in the valley. They are important in the economy both as a source of food and as an exchange valuable. As I have mentioned previously, they are allowed to wander free during daylight hours in the secondary forest, where they root for whatever food they can find. The ownership of the land they root on is a matter of no importance, provided they do not break into and ruin a garden which is still being cultivated.

Pig-houses are clustered and dotted throughout the

secondary forest zone, being built either on land belonging to the pig-house owner or, occasionally, on land which he has received permission to use for that purpose. However, while some pig-owners spend much time in their pig-houses, and make sure that their pigs are securely shut in at night, others only visit the houses sporadically, and leave their pigs out in the forest most of the time. There is also wide individual variation in the feeding and care of pigs. The people say that a pig should ideally be fed with sweet potatoes and other vegetable food twice a day, so that it will both grow fat and acquire the habit of coming promptly to its owner's call. Whether it is fed twice a day, or once, or even less frequently, however, seems to depend both on the industriousness of its owners and on the amount of garden produce which they currently have available. In times of scarcity, food is kept for the family, and the pigs must make do with what they can forage for themselves.

Small piglets, especially those whose mother has died or cannot care for them, are frequently raised by hand, being kept in the woman's hut and treated as pets. It is not at all uncommon to see a woman kissing a pig's snout, talking to it, and -- sometimes -- breast-feeding it. Pigs, the people say, have distinct personalities and physical

characteristics -- a man can always recognize those which belong to him. They are given names once weaned, and there is an elaborate system of magic designed to make a pig grow quickly, to bring back a lost pig, to ensure that a sow becomes pregnant and bears many healthy piglets, and to protect pigs from sorcery which might harm them. This takes the form of both 'spells' (exemplary stories of the type told to cultivated plants) and also of certain plants with magical properties which when cooked with sweet potatoes and given to the pigs will ensure the desired results. As with garden magic, there is considerable variation in the amount of pig-keeping magic known by different individuals. I was told that in the past, especially effective magic was guarded and kept secret from all but a son, daughter, or other child for whom one had a special affection.

There is also considerable variation in the number of pigs owned by different individuals. In late 1968, about seven or eight months before the big festival, the average number of pigs owned by a married couple in the valley was 6.7; the maximum was twenty-one, and the minimum one. Immediately following the festival -- an event at which 248 pigs were killed and given away -- the average number of pigs owned was 5.4, the maximum eighteen, and the minimum

one.

These figures thus represent, respectively, the maximum and the minimum number of pigs which a married couple would be likely to own and care for. Men having two wives have more pigs: before the pig-killing they owned an average of ten each, with a maximum of eighteen and a minimum of five; following the festival they owned an average of 8.8, with a maximum of fifteen and a minimum of two. The one man in the valley who had three wives owned twenty-four pigs, and killed none for the festival.

A widow or widower, especially if aged, usually owns and cares for fewer pigs. Before the pig-killing the average number of pigs owned by a widowed person was 3.4, with a maximum of eight and a minimum of zero. Following the festival the average was three, with a maximum of six and a minimum of zero.

Several of the pigs which are owned by a married couple are usually killed upon the death of one spouse to provide a funeral feast for those who come to mourn the death. If the husband is the survivor, whatever pigs survive the funeral feast belong exclusively to him and he may do with them what he wishes. Usually, however, he will -- especially as he becomes aged -- give away those which are

not 'marked' to be used in some ceremony, to a son's wife, a daughter if one is living in the same village, or perhaps to some other woman who cooks for him and helps him to plant his gardens. Upon the death of her husband, a woman is also said to own any of the couple's pigs which survive, but there are restrictions upon her ownership. She will depend upon her dead husband's brothers heavily in the future for plots of land in their gardens. It is expected that she defer to them if they wish to kill any of her pigs for use in any ceremony which concerns the agnatic kinship group, and it is expected that she will consult with them if she wishes to kill a pig for any purpose, as for example, to give a puberty feast for her daughter. If a woman remarries, and her new husband is not considered to be related agnatically to her dead husband's brothers, they will apportion any pigs she may have at the time of her new marriage. Some they may give to her to take with her to her new home; the rest they will keep, in payment for having 'looked after' the woman. They may use these to exchange with her new husband's relatives at the wedding feast.

By the time that the surviving spouse also dies, it is quite rare for many of the couple's pigs to survive the funeral feast, and usually those that do have already been

'marked' for use in some specific ceremony. A son or daughter seldom inherits pigs which have not been marked for a specific purpose. Usually, in fact, it is the surviving members of the family -- a man's brothers and his sons, a woman's husband's brothers and her sons -- who must kill some of their own pigs to provide the funeral feast.

People frequently help each other in the care of pigs, but only rarely is the care of a man's pigs provided totally by others, and generally only in unusual circumstances: for example, if he and his wife are sick, or if all of his gardens have been ruined by pigs. In such circumstances, a gift -- either of money or of a pig -- is usually given later as payment for the care, if the person who has cared for the pigs does not owe a debt of aid to the pig-owner, or if the care has been given over a long period of time. Small shoats are, however, quite frequently given to another with the understanding that they will, when big, be given back to the original owner. The people explain this by saying that in this way they can later eat the pig (there is a ritual taboo against a person eating a pig which he or she has cared for). It is recognized, however, that such an exchange is not a reciprocal one, and some compensation is usually made later by the original donor to the original

recipient, if the pig has not in the meantime borne a litter. If it has, the litter belongs to the original recipient of the shoat.

Valuables other than pigs -- a bow and arrows, an axe, perhaps a hunting dog, a plume or a piece of pearl-shell -- may be acquired by inheritance, although they are likely to be few in number. Far more frequently the dead individual, especially if aged at the time of death, will have given away during his last illness anything of value which he possessed. If not, then his valuables are given after his death either to those persons to whom he owed debts or to those persons who have looked after him while he was old and sick. There are no set rules of inheritance, and it is not all that uncommon for a quarrel to break out after an individual's death between two people both of whom feel that they have a right to the same article.

Although subsistence activities have remained essentially unchanged, there have, of course, been many changes in the economy of the valley since the founding of Lufa patrol post in 1954. Australian currency has been introduced, and has been assimilated into the culture to a point where, on certain ceremonial occasions, it has largely displaced the traditional valuables as the medium of exchange.

Other changes followed. Coffee trees were introduced into the area by the Australian agricultural officers, and were adopted by the people fairly readily. The coffee census figures of 1968 (the latest available to me) showed that sixty-one per cent of the men of the valley own at least a few coffee trees. Income from this source proved impossible to assess, although I would estimate that it seldom exceeds \$10 Aust. per month per family. In general, people work on their coffee only when they have no other pressing matters to attend to, or when they urgently require cash for a planned expenditure. At other times, the beans will often be allowed to rot on the ground.

Other cash-making activities have been adopted enthusiastically by the people. Store-keeping has become a popular cooperative venture: by early 1970 there were twelve stores in the valley. Introduced livestock has become valued: three men in the valley now own ducks, one owns turkeys, and one owns goats. Several own European-bred dogs. Cattle are another animal which is beginning to be highly prized. During the time I spent in the valley, there were only two, one owned cooperatively by a group of men from two villages, and the other owned by a small group of agnatically related men.

Cash is also acquired by working for Europeans in various capacities: occasionally both men and women are paid by the Administration for doing more than their required quota of work on the road; men very occasionally work for the patrol officers as carriers on patrols of the area, they work as wage laborers for the Public Works Department, and many of them have at one time or another worked as contract labor under the Highlands Labour Scheme. During the period from late 1968 to early 1970, sixteen to eighteen per cent of the men of the valley were at various times employed by Europeans. A further forty per cent have been so employed at some time during their lives.

Even this brief summary gives some indication of the flexibility of cultural rules for individual behavior having to do with subsistence activities which I believe to be one of the most dominant themes in the culture of the valley. First, although it is true that there is an 'ideal' pattern of agnatic inheritance of land ownership, limited to males, exceptions to the rule are frequent enough that the culture can provide for the eventual acquisition of land by immigrant groups, the children of daughters, and other persons who might have too little, or no land in the village they have chosen to settle in.

Second, in everyday life actual ownership of land is far less important than access to it for horticultural purposes, and here behavioral 'rules' encourage the distribution of land to others. Reciprocity and generosity are personality characteristics which are both admired and valued. The expression of them in behavior adds to a man's or woman's reputation. And one way in which one can both reciprocate for past favors and give evidence of generosity is by offering plots within a new garden to as many people as possible. Whatever their historical origins may have been, I believe that these culturally sanctioned behavioral patterns now serve a double purpose: they ensure that anyone settling in a village where he or she has either a friend or relative will be given the use of enough land to feed his family adequately, and they are a means by which the human population can be equitably distributed on the land. In the natural course of events, some agnatic kingroups become very numerous and others die out; cultural customs ensure that a numerous family will not be left the use of too little land to support it adequately, or a small family be left with too much.

Finally, inheritance 'rules' concerning pigs and other valuables evidence an equally striking flexibility.

In general, although members of the nuclear family and male agnates of the husband frequently inherit valuables, culturally sanctioned exceptions are many and frequent. And it is expected that the manner in which such valuables are distributed should satisfy any reciprocal obligations which there might be, and if possible give evidence of generosity. As has already been mentioned, it is common for an old person to give away valuables before his death to those to whom he owes a debt. After a person dies, people who believe that there is a debt still owing to them will not hesitate to claim repayment in goods. And anyone who comes to mourn a death expects to receive at least a small portion of pork from the funeral feast; the surviving family members by killing many pigs for the feast both reciprocate any outstanding debts the deceased might have, and can also, if they wish, exhibit their own generosity for all to admire.

## CHAPTER IV

### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Mention has already been made (Chapter II) of the fact that villages are invariably known by two names: one which refers to the portion of land upon which they are currently situated, and an 'ancestral' name, said to refer to the group of men whose ancestors founded that particular village. The individuals comprising such a group will almost invariably state that they are all agnatically related to each other. The older men will sometimes be able to name the male ancestor from whom they say they are all descended. Yet they could almost never, in my experience, give a genealogy showing that relationship. Nor were they interested in doing so. And only the smallest hamlet within the valley -- a community which had very recently split off from one of the larger villages -- was composed solely of men all of whom even claimed agnatic relationship to each other.

The percentage of non-agnates residing in the larger villages of the valley ranged from twenty to fifty-two per cent, and fluctuated over time as individual family groups moved from one village to another. Censuses taken in late 1968 and in early 1970 show that during that eighteen month

period, out of a total population of approximately 823 persons, seventy-three moved from one village to another within the valley, thirty-three moved out of the valley altogether, and thirty-four moved into the valley from villages outside it. If this is not a deviant period, it follows that about five per cent of the population is replaced each year by migration in and out of the valley. Such changes in residence may be either permanent or temporary, and they may involve either children or adults.

There are various reasons for changing residence. In the past, defeat in war and subsequent flight to a friendly village was a common reason. There are two small groups composed of such refugees and their descendants living in the valley, one of which came originally from the Yagaria-speaking area to the northeast, and the other Gimi-speaking people from further south. Another common reason was epidemic disease, with its accompanying fear of sorcery. The old men of one village in the valley tell of two moves to new sites made by their village for this very reason.

With the imposition of peace by the Australian government and with subsequent improvement in health and hygiene, total war between villages has been effectively terminated, and disease of epidemic proportions is now rare.

Personal reasons for changing residence still occur, however, as they did also in the past. A man may move to another village because of a quarrel with one of his male relatives. His children or pigs may die, and he will move through fear that someone in his village is practicing sorcery against him. He may be 'shamed' and run away if he loses an election, if he is himself accused of practicing sorcery, or if he is found out in a theft. Or he may simply visit his wife's village for a few months, decide that he likes living there, and stay.

Women change village residence even more frequently during their lifetimes than do men. This is largely due to the fact that, almost without exception, a young bride goes to live with her new husband's parents for at least the first year or two of her marriage. She usually shares the house of her husband's mother (in some cases, the house belonging to the wife of the man who has taken responsibility for the bridewealth payment given for her) during this time period. Later, when her husband's parents consider that she has been well-trained in the duties of a wife, and when it seems apparent that the marriage will last, she usually moves once again, to a house which her husband, his father, and perhaps their agnates build for her. This appears to be true

even in cases of later uxorilocal residence -- I know of no case in which a man is reported to have moved to his bride's village at the time of the marriage, even though cases of men moving to their wives' villages a few years after marriage are quite common. The only exceptions to this 'rule' of initial virilocal residence appear to be certain cases of polygynous marriage -- occasionally a man's second wife will continue to live with or near her own parents after her marriage, without ever spending any length of time in her husband's village. This, however, appears to be an alternate residence pattern only when a man takes a second wife later in life, or when his own parents are dead. In all other cases of polygynous marriage of which I am aware, the second wife was taken by her husband to live with or near his first wife, at least for the initial few years of her marriage.

During the period from late 1968 to early 1970, fourteen men living in the valley were married to two wives. In twelve cases, both wives lived in their husband's village; one man lived with his first wife in his natal village, while his second wife lived with her parents at Lufa; the remaining man lived with his second wife in her village, while his first wife lived (also at Lufa) with his parents.

Only one man then living in the valley was married to more than two women: of his three wives, one (his first wife) lived at Lufa in his natal village, one lived at Hogavi with her parents, and the other at Beha, her natal village. During the period of my fieldwork, the man himself changed residence twice -- from Lufa to Hogavi, and later from Hogavi to Beha.

Divorce is quite common during the first few years of marriage, and particularly so prior to the birth of children. If the married woman is living virilocally, divorce during this period of the life cycle almost invariably entails yet another residence change, since upon deciding to leave her husband -- or upon being told by him to leave -- she will rarely decide to remain in her husband's village. Almost without exception, young divorcees either return to their own natal villages, or they go to the village of a prospective new husband; the choice depends, usually, on whether or not the woman has a lover or prospective lover at the time of her separation from her husband.

After the birth of several children to a marriage, divorce is less common, and it becomes increasingly rare in middle age, although it does still occasionally occur. Women living virilocally and divorced at this stage of their

lives may make one of a number of residence choices. A woman may still choose to return to her own natal village, if her parents or brothers are still alive. However, if her parents are dead, and she has formed close friendships over the years with other women in her husband's village, she may choose to continue living there even after a divorce. Such a choice is, incidentally, often encouraged by her husband's agnates, who may both desire the woman to make a leviritic second marriage and not wish to have her children taken away from the village -- as they will be, usually, if the woman returns to her own village while her children are still young. Divorced women with married daughters, or with married sons themselves living uxorilocally, have yet other residence choices, and it is not at all uncommon for them to choose to live with a married child. Finally, although middle-aged women seldom have lovers waiting at the time of their divorces, this does occasionally occur, and thus should be mentioned as giving yet another residence option. Women widowed in middle-age or old age have all of the residence options open to divorcees of the same age range. Usually, however, a woman widowed at this stage of her life cycle chooses to remain in her husband's village. If she does, for some reason, choose to leave her husband's

village, it is almost invariably to join the household of a married daughter or of a son himself living in another village. Many widows change residence fairly frequently during this period of their lives, alternating their residence between the household of a married son or daughter and their own house in their husband's village, or periodically staying with each married child in turn. Such 'visits' last for months or even years, and may continue until the woman's remarriage or her death.

It is also not at all uncommon for a child who has been beaten by its parents -- or one who simply desires a change of scene -- to run away and live with its married sister, its father's or mother's sister, its father's second wife, or even its father's exchange partner for a few months. Adolescents, between the ages of puberty and marriage, also frequently spend several months at a time visiting with friends or relatives in other villages, engaged in the courtship practices which are considered to be suitable activities for young people of that age group.

Whatever the reason for change of residence, the individual -- child or adult -- is almost invariably welcomed. If the move is said to be permanent, adults are given land for gardens and help in building a house. As the

people of the valley say themselves, they are not short of land, and it is felt to be desirable for a village to be large in numbers. People will often say of a man who has left his natal village that he should return because he belongs to the village and the land is his by right of agnatic descent. But they also sometimes say of a man who lives in his mother's village that he belongs to that village because his mother was born there. And of a man who lives in his wife's village, if he has been there many years, that he belongs to that village now.

Yet in spite of the relatively high rate of mobility, most males do choose to spend most of their adult years in their natal villages. Those who return to their natal communities after an absence, or those who never leave, frequently explain their behavior by saying that it is best for a man to live on the land of his ancestors, because then he will never go hungry (i.e. he does not have to ask others for use of land, and he can depend on his agnates for food if his gardens are spoiled by pigs). Those who return to their natal villages in old age after a prolonged absence frequently mention also their desire to die in the village in which they spent their childhood, on the land of their ancestors.

The following information on residence changes was obtained from thirty-one adults who moved their residence from one village to another during the period of my fieldwork. This is by no means either a complete listing of the residence changes which occurred during this period, nor is it a random sample. Wives who moved with their husbands, and because their husbands chose to, were not interviewed. In addition, some individuals could not be interviewed due to lack of availability -- this was frequently the case with those who migrated from the valley to communities some distance away. The data do, however, give some idea of the range of reasons for residence change, and the frequency of different motives.

Data on Residence Changes

Case No.	Sex	Marital Status	Residence Change from... to...		Reason given for Change
1	M	Married	Wife's village	Natal village	Quarrel with wife's relatives -- was told to leave.
2	M	Married	Natal village	Wife's village	Defeated in an election, and was 'shamed'.
3	M	Married	Natal village	Wife's village and mother's village	Quarrel with father.
4	M	Married	Natal village	Wife's village	Too many of his pigs were killed - wife's village is further from the 'big road' than is his natal village.
5	M	Widowed	Natal village	Sister's husband's village	Anger with agnates - he blamed them for his young wife's death.
6	M	Single	Mo's second husband's village	Natal village	His own agnates persuaded him to return after his mother's death.
7	M	Married	Natal village	Wife's village	Quarrel with agnates.
8	M	Married	Natal village	'Friend's' village	He became a Christian - went to his friend's village to be baptized (natal village had no mission), liked it and stayed.
9	M	Married	Natal village	Wife's village	Anger with himself when first wife died - wanted a change of scene.

Data on Residence Changes

Case No.	Sex	Marital Status	Residence Change from... to...		Reason given for Change
10	M	Married	Natal village	Mother's village	To be with elder half-brother (case no. 11).
11	M	Married	Mo's second husband's village	Natal village	Anger with mother's husband's agnates - felt they were responsible for gaol sentence he received.
12	F	Widowed	Husband's village	Natal village and daughter's husband's village	To join daughter's household, after death of husband.
13	F	Divorced	Natal village	Father's friend's village	To look for a new husband - her father desired her to marry into his trade partner's village.
14	M	Married	Natal village	Father's natal village	Quarrel with village co-residents; also fear of sorcery following prolonged illness.
15	F	Widowed	Husband's village	Daughter's husband's village	To join daughter's household.
16	F	Widowed	Husband's village	Natal village	To live with brothers.
17	F	Married	Husband's village	First husband's village	To live with her sons by first marriage.
18	M	Widowed	Wife's village	Natal village	Death of wife.

Data on Residence Changes

Case No.	Sex	Marital Status	Residence Change		Reason given for Change
			from...	to...	
19	M	Married	Wife's village	Natal village	He is old and wishes to die in his natal village.
20	M	Married	Natal village	Wife's village	A change of scene - he said that he likes his wife's village better than his natal village.
21	M	Married	Natal village	Friend's village	Fear of sorcery following deaths of several of his agnates.
22	F	Married	Husband's village	First husband's village	Quarrel with husband - she went to join household of her first husband's married son.
23	M	Married	Friend's village	Natal village	He is old and wishes to die in his natal village.
24	M	Married	Natal village	Wife's village	Quarrel with agnates over sorcery accusation.
25	M	Married	Wife's village	Natal village	A man of wife's village twice broke into his house while he was away working (rape/theft?).
26	M	Married	Natal village	Sister's husband's village	Went during a prolonged illness, liked it there, and stayed.
27	M	Married	Natal village	Friend's village	Anger over gardens frequently spoiled by pigs.
28	M	Married	Natal village	Daughter's husband's village	To be with daughter.

Data on Residence Changes

Case No.	Sex	Marital Status	Residence Change from... to...		Reason given for Change
29	M	Married	Natal village	Sister's husband's village	To be with father (case no. 28). Anger resulting from a quarrel with father.
30	M	Married	Natal village	Wife's village	
31	M	Married	Mother's second husband's village	Natal village	

It should be emphasized that the data on residence changes presented here apply only to changes which occurred during the eighteen month period from late 1968 to early 1970. They can give no clear picture of the complexities of residence change which may occur during any particular individual's lifetime. The following examples will illustrate this point. They are, I believe, quite typical of individual residence patterns and of the motives which influence residence choices.

V. and Y. are full brothers, both between forty and fifty years of age. L. is their half-brother by a different father, in his early thirties. The mother of all three men was a Beha woman, married when young to a Lufa man. She went to live with her husband in his village, where she bore V. and Y. Then her husband divorced her and she returned to Beha, her natal village, taking her two young sons with her. She later remarried, to a Hogavi man. She went to live in Hogavi, taking Y., her younger son, with her. V., who was then about ten years old, decided to stay in Beha. He was brought up by his mother's agnates, and is now considered to be a full member of the 'line'. The woman bore a third son, L., by her Hogavi husband. Y. and L. grew up in Hogavi, married and raised families there. In 1969,

however, both men decided to move with their families to Beha, for the following reasons. Y. had been caring for the old widow of one of his mother's second husband's agnates. The old woman became sick and, fearing death, decided to spend some time with her married daughter in one of the Gono communities. Y. promised to look after her pigs while she was away. While she was gone, however, he killed two of the pigs and used them in exchanges connected with his daughter's puberty ceremony. The old woman, when she returned, complained about this to her dead husband's agnates. Y. felt that his use of the pigs had been justified -- he said that they were owed to him in recompense for his care of both them and the old woman. The woman's affines disagreed, accused him of theft, and took the case to be heard at Lufa. Y. received a two-month gaol sentence. After his release, continuing to feel anger toward his mother's affines, he decided to leave Hogavi and move to Beha, to be with his elder brother. His younger half-brother, L., decided to move with him -- L. said that he felt that his agnates had acted unfairly. (Cases 10 and 11 in chart entitled Data on Residence Changes).

Y. is an elderly man -- about sixty to sixty-five years of age. His mother, a Yauro (near Lufa) woman,

married a Beha man and moved to her husband's village, where she gave birth to Y. A few years after his birth she left her husband and returned to her natal village, taking Y. with her. He grew up there, married a woman from one of the Lufa villages, and a few years after his marriage moved with her to her natal village -- because he "liked it there." His children were born and raised at Lufa. In early 1970, however, he quarreled with his wife's agnates, and in anger they told him to leave. Although men do not always leave a village when told in anger to do so, Y. was 'shamed' and decided to return with his wife and youngest son to Beha. (Case 1 in chart entitled Data on Residence Changes).

Movement from one site to another within a village is also easy and frequent. Men's houses, like villages, are said to belong to the agnatic group of men whose ancestors founded them. Yet three of the villages in the valley have two or more men's houses apiece, and men frequently move from one to another if they do not like conditions in the house they have been living in.

Nor is it necessary nowadays for a man to live in any men's house. Due to mission influence -- and frequently to the mistaken impression that the Australian government

desires married couples to live together -- it is now thought by the younger men to be quite acceptable for a man to live with his wife in her house. At the beginning of 1970, seventy-two per cent of the men of the valley were sleeping most or all of the time in their wives' houses, although some of them still claimed a bed in a men's house and went there to sleep and eat occasionally.

Women move about as frequently as men within a village. During my eighteen month stay in the valley, twenty-five per cent of the adult women moved from one house to another within their respective villages, either by abandoning an old house and building a new one on a different site, by moving in with another woman (this happens most frequently when an older woman with no very young children is widowed), or by moving from a pig-house into someone else's abandoned house. In addition, nine per cent owned no women's hut in the village at all, and lived more or less permanently in their pig-houses.

As with inter-village residence changes, the reasons given for changes in residence within a village are many and varied. Quarrels are perhaps the most frequent cause, but these arise from such varied sources as accusations of theft, failure to reciprocate 'gifts' or labor, destruction

of crops by pigs, and personal slights and insults. Men mentioned moving from a densely inhabited men's house to one where only a few men customarily slept because there was too much activity at night in their previous residences, and they could not get enough sleep. Alternatively, two men said that they found life dull in their previous residences, and so decided to move to a house inhabited by more men. Women frequently move to be near a close friend, since they do not in general like to sleep and eat alone. Women quarrel over the treatment of one woman's children or pigs by another, over failure to reciprocate aid, and sometimes from jealousy over a man -- and all such quarrels may provide the impetus for a residence change. In sum, the reasons for residential changes within a village are idiosyncratic and personal, and residence patterns change over time as personal inter-relationships change.

Data on household composition in the valley reflect the same acceptance of variability and individual choice which is evident in all other aspects of the residence pattern. The following data were collected in late 1968, and reflect household composition as it existed during a one-month period in that year. The data refer to women's huts, plus those pig-houses which were serving at the time as women's

huts (i.e. the nine per cent of all adult married women of the valley who did not then own a women's hut in the villages have been included, since they and their families were then living more or less permanently in their pig-houses). Since approximately seventy per cent of the men of the valley were at that time sleeping more or all of the time in their wives' houses, I have included men in the data on household composition. It should be noted, however, that in approximately thirty per cent of all cases, the adult men sleep and eat with other members of the household only part of the time. In all cases, households have been classified in accordance with my informants' statements concerning ownership of the house and recognized decision-making rights over residence in the household.

### Household Composition

Type of Household	Number of Households	Percentage
<b>Marital-pair (husband/wife):</b> newly-married pair (6) middle-aged pair - no children (4) old pair - children married and/or gone (8)	18	10
<b>Nuclear (husband/wife/children of one or both):</b> man/wife/children of both (98) man/wife/children of both/child(ren) of man's previous marriage (7) (wife dead (6)) (wife divorced (1))	105	58
<b>Polygynous (man/two wives/children of one or both by him):</b>	8	4
<b>Single-person (man or woman alone):</b> old man (1) old woman (2) young boy (3)	6	3
<b>Three-generational familial (man/wife/children of one or both/aged parent of either):</b> man's aged mother included (6) man's aged father included (2) woman's aged mother included (1) woman's aged father included (1)	10	6

### Household Composition

Type of Household	Number of Households	Percentage
Two-generational familial (man/wife/children of one or both/sibling of either): man's younger brother included (2)	2	1
Matricentric or patricentric (man or woman/children): widowed woman and children (3) widowed man and children (3) divorced man and child (1)	7	4
Other extended familial: man/wife/children/son's wife (4) man/wife/children/son's wife and children (2) man/wife/children/wives and children of two sons (1) man/wife/children/children of dead son (1) man/wife/children/daughter's husband and children (2) man/wife/children/man's aged mother/man's younger sibling (2) man/two wives/children of both/man's aged father (1) widowed woman and children/wives and children of two sons (1) widowed woman and children/aged mother of dead husband (1) widowed man/children of two dead wives/son's wife and children (1)	16	9

### Household Composition

Type of Household	Number of Households	Percentage
Composite (including one or more members not linked to others by close kinship ties): man/wife/children/adolescent girl (2) man/two wives/children/old widow/adolescent boy (1) man/wife/adolescent girl (1) divorced woman and children/widowed woman (1) widowed woman and children/adolescent girl (1) several adolescent boys (3)	9	5
Totals:	181	100

Further analysis of the data on household composition in the valley, considered together with information collected concerning ages and genealogical relationships of the different members of each household, reveals the fact that households, like individuals, pass through 'life cycles'. Any individual, male or female, is more likely to be a member of one or two specific types of household in middle age, for example, than he or she is likely to be a member of other types.

At marriage, as has been mentioned, the young bride enters the household to which her husband belongs -- which may, depending upon circumstances, also be the household of his own father, his widowed or divorced mother, his mother's second husband, or of any man who then stands in the relationship of adoptive father to the young man.

After the first year or two of marriage, there are several options open to the young married couple: they may continue to live with the husband's relatives, even after the birth of several children to the marriage; they may (and this is the most frequent choice) move into a house of their own in the husband's village; or they may move to the wife's village. If the man at some point during the marriage takes a second wife, the two women may share a

house, or each may reside in a house of her own: of the twelve cases of polygynous marriage in which both wives lived in their husband's village during the period of my fieldwork, there were eight instances in which the two wives shared a house, and four in which the wives lived separately but near each other.

If one spouse dies while the children of the marriage are still pre-adolescent, the remaining spouse also has several options open to him or her. Most frequently the survivor, whether man or woman, will continue to live in the house which he or she formerly shared with the dead spouse. It is not uncommon, however, for young children to be 'adopted' by the parents or a sibling of either man or woman temporarily, until such time as their surviving parent remarries or they themselves are married. A divorced man is likely to make one of the same choices, although divorced women usually choose to take their young children with them if they either return to their natal villages or enter into a new marriage.

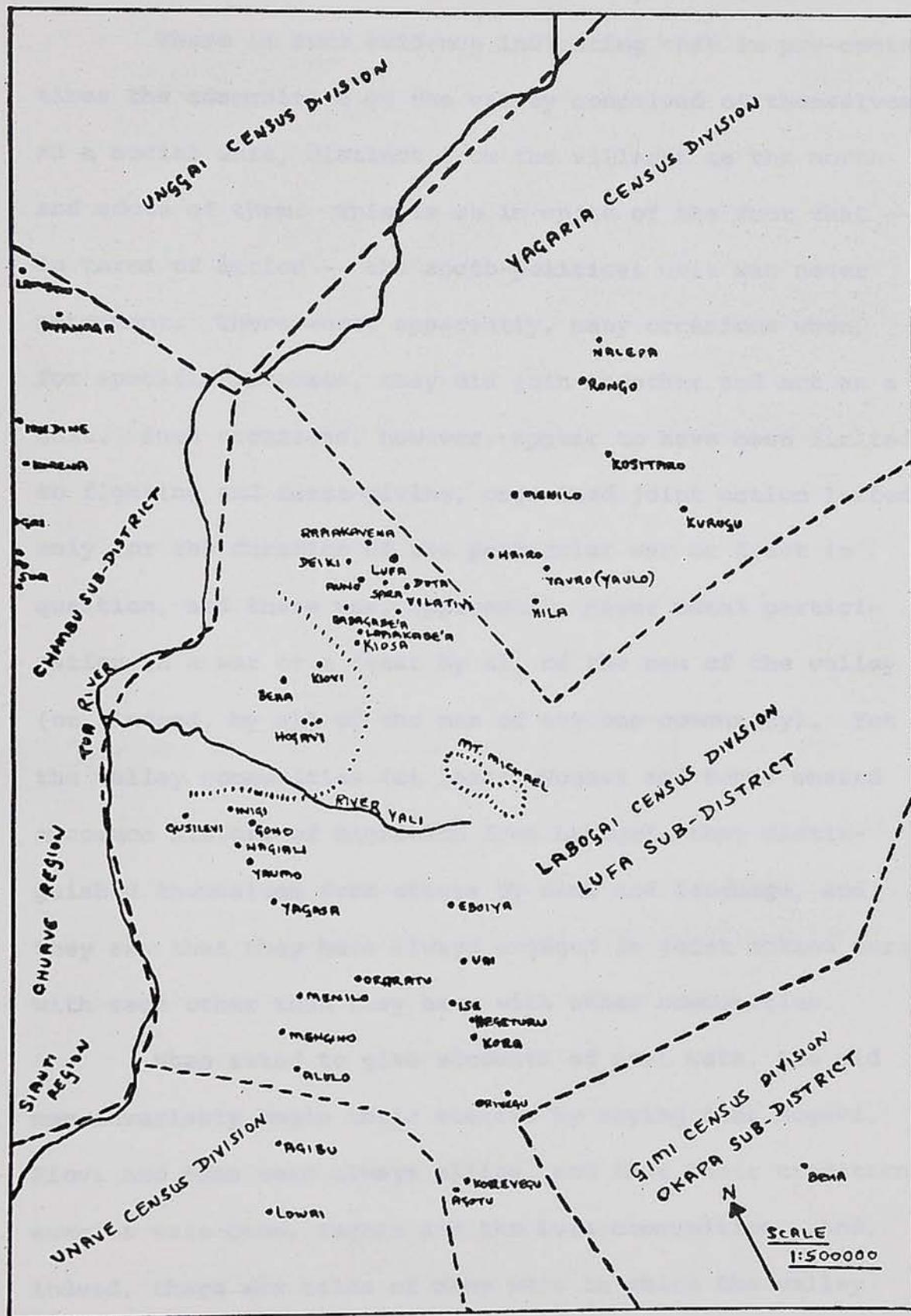
As the children of a marriage reach adolescence they have, themselves, several options with respect to residence. A group of two or three adolescent boys frequently choose to build their own house, which they then share for

sleeping purposes, while continuing to eat with the households of their respective parents or an older married sibling. Boys of this age-group, however, may have no fixed abode, but either sleep and eat at a men's house or in turn for varying periods of time in the households of older siblings, parents or parents' siblings -- or indeed, of friends in other villages. Adolescent girls also frequently spend a fair amount of time in the households of relatives or friends in other villages, although a girl usually continues to spend most of her time in her mother's house until her marriage. If her mother is dead, however, an adolescent girl will frequently join the household of a relative, a young bride whose husband is temporarily absent, or an older widow with no unmarried children of her own.

If a married pair reach old age together, they usually continue to maintain their own household. They may live alone, or they may take into their household an adolescent boy or girl, children of a dead or divorced child, or an elderly widowed friend or relative. Following the death of a spouse, however, the survivor, if old, will then usually join the household of a married son or daughter.

Thus the data, in addition to revealing a variability and acceptance of the right of the individual to set up or

join a household in accordance with his or her individual choice, also reveal the patterns of household composition which are most frequently found and the choices which are most frequently made at different stages of the individual's life cycle.



There is some evidence indicating that in pre-contact times the communities of the valley conceived of themselves as a social unit, distinct from the villages to the north and south of them. This is so in spite of the fact that -- in terms of action -- the socio-political unit was never permanent. There were, apparently, many occasions when, for specific purposes, they did join together and act as a unit. Such occasions, however, appear to have been limited to fighting and feast-giving, organized joint action lasted only for the duration of the particular war or feast in question, and there was, apparently, never total participation in a war or a feast by all of the men of the valley (or, indeed, by all of the men of any one community). Yet the valley communities (at least, Hogavi and Beha) shared a common history of migration from Labogai, they distinguished themselves from others by name and language, and they say that they have always engaged in joint action more with each other than they have with other communities.

When asked to give accounts of past wars, the old men invariably begin their stories by saying that Hogavi, Kiovi and Beha were always allies, and that their traditional enemies were Gono, Yagasa and the Lufa communities. And, indeed, there are tales of many wars in which the valley

communities did form an alliance to fight either Gono, or Lufa, or both. Yet the formation of alliances appears to have been mainly situational, and many of the surrounding communities -- Korena, Mengino, the Lufa communities of Auno, Deiki and Habagabe'a, and others -- are mentioned as having sometimes allied themselves with the valley communities, and sometimes with either Gono or Lufa, depending upon the circumstances leading to each particular war. Mengino, for example, customarily allied themselves with Gono against the valley communities; yet it is remembered that several times Beha formed an alliance with Mengino against Gono.

This we did many times. We sent word to Mengino to join us. We promised them axes, pigs, salt and plumes, and they would come and help us in the fight.

It was also apparently not uncommon for members of one village to take refuge in a community with which they had previously fought. Once the men of Menilo formed an alliance with the Gono villages, and fought Beha. Later, however, Gono and Lufa joined forces and routed Menilo, who then fled north and were offered refuge by Beha. Many of their descendants remain in Beha to this day. And Beha, when routed from the valley by Gono, fled in several directions: a few to Kora, some to Gai, but the majority to the

Lufa communities of Lapiakabe'a and Auno.

There are also a few tales of alliances with 'traditional enemies', in which two of the valley communities are reported to have fought on opposing sides and against each other. One such tale tells of an alliance between Gono and Hogavi against Beha, in a war which arose from the following set of circumstances. K., a Beha man, discovered that his Gono wife had a Hogavi lover. The two men quarreled over the woman's infidelity, and fought with wooden clubs -- a fight from which K. emerged the victor. Then another man of Hogavi, angry over the fact that his 'brother' had been injured "because of the woman," pulled her outside of the house, where she was shot at with arrows by her husband's agnates. She died. K. then became angry with his agnates -- he said that although the woman had been unfaithful, she was a good wife, and good wives were not easily come by. He left Beha, and went to live in Hogavi, and later persuaded the men of Hogavi to join the Gono village of his dead wife in a war against Beha, to avenge her death.

There were also occasions when one, or two, of the valley communities fought communities outside the valley in wars in which the other valley communities did not join. Once, for example, a small group of Hogavi people were

ambushed and killed by Gono while travelling south to visit relatives in Menilo. To avenge their deaths, Hogavi and Beha allied to fight Gono. Gai joined them, and the Lufa villages joined Gono. But Kiovi chose to remain neutral, and did not aid either side.

In summary, I believe it is accurate to say that the communities of the valley thought of themselves as allies, and that they thought of some of the communities surrounding them as allies, and some as enemies. Others were either enemies or allies, depending upon circumstances. And alliances changed as circumstances changed. In addition, war was never continuous, so that there were always long stretches of time -- sometimes of several years' duration -- in which even Gono and Beha (the most 'traditional' of enemies) enjoyed amicable relations, intermarried, visited and feasted together.

Such relationships, either of alliance or of enmity, seldom extended to communities more than a few miles in any one direction from the valley. The village of Beha, for example, fought with, and sometimes formed alliances with, Korena and the Gai and Sua villages -- but did not have relationships of either amity or enmity with any of the more distant communities in the Chimbu sub-district.

Similarly, Beha fought with, and formed alliances with, Kiosa and the Lufa villages, but seldom either fought or formed alliances with any of the more northerly Yagaria-speaking communities. Beha fought Gono, Yagasa, Menilo and Mengino -- and sometimes formed alliances with the latter three communities -- but rarely interacted with any of the more southerly Gimi-speaking villages. This pattern of interaction appears to have been characteristic of all of the Gimi-speaking communities of the Lufa sub-district -- and probably of the Yagaria-speaking peoples as well. The old men say, for example, that Gono fought with, and sometimes formed alliances with, Kiosa and the Lufa villages, but with none other of the Yagaria-speaking communities. They also, like Beha, sometimes fought with, and sometimes formed alliances with, the Gai and Sua villages, but seldom interacted with any of the more distant Chimbu communities. Gono were traditional allies of Mengino, Hegeturu and Agotu, whereas although Beha did sometimes form alliances with Mengino, they only interacted with the more southerly communities of Hegeturu and Agotu on those occasions when the latter joined Gono in warring against them. Hegeturu and Agotu, in their turn, had relationships of alliance and enmity with communities which many of the people of the

Beha Valley knew only by name or reputation. Such 'circles of interaction,' then, were generally both overlapping and circumscribed in extent. From the point of view of any one particular community, most social relationships extended at the most a day's walk away, and each particular community shared some of its 'allies' and 'enemies' with those communities to the north, south and east of it -- and yet any one village seldom had precisely the same 'circle' of relationships at any one time as any other community.

Tales of the big pig-feasts lend support to the picture of group organization which has been outlined in the preceding paragraphs. Although the feast-giving, and the feast-receiving, social unit was and is always temporary and somewhat variable, yet the valley communities appear to have always conceived of themselves as forming a social unit on these important occasions. The old men say that in pre-contact times the communities of the valley always joined together to hold such a festival. Although, on certain occasions, they would all join with some of the Gono villages to hold a joint festival, the tales indicate that on these occasions activity was coordinated, rather than combined:

Sometimes, in the past, Gono, Beha, Kiovi and Hogavi all joined to kill pigs, to give them to Lufa or Chimbu. Then Lufa would go and get pig from Gono, and carry it down as far as Beha. There they would say it was heavy, and give it to Beha. Beha would give their pig to Lufa, and eat Gono's pig, and Lufa would carry Beha's pig to their own place. Later, Lufa would kill pigs and give them to Gono, Beha, Hogavi and Kiovi...

One of the valley communities would occasionally hold a pig-killing alone, but this would not be considered a festival -- au mave faune -- since the sacred flutes would not then be played, and dance boards would not be constructed.

Since contact it has occasionally been the case that the three Hogavi communities have joined with the Gono villages to hold a festival which has not included Beha and Kiovi. The old men insist, however, that this never occurred in pre-contact times. And, they say, usually the valley communities still hold their festivals jointly -- "as we have always done."

Many of the Gimi-speaking communities share their ancestral name with other communities in the same and other language groups. There are, for example, six other communities with the ancestral name of Beha which the valley Beha (Anitoi) know of: the community of Gusilevi, near Gono; the community of Eboiya; the small village of Korevegu, at Agotu; Duta, one of the Lufa communities; and two villages,

both named Beha, in the Gimi census division of the Okapa sub-district. Knowledge of, and interaction with, these communities in pre-contact times appears to have depended more on geographical distance than on any other single factor. The old men of the valley say that Gusilevi and Anitoi are "one line" -- they had the same ancestor -- and that they also know that Duta are also related to both, since the Duta people migrated fairly recently from Gusilevi to their present home. They also claim that their ancestors told them that Eboiya are also one line with them, and that in pre-contact times Eboiya occasionally claimed refuge at Anitoi. But, they say, they do not know if Korevegu and the Gimi communities are related to them or not -- they assume that they are all one line, since they share the same name, but they admit that they have no knowledge to back up the assumption.

Patterns of alliance in war depended mainly on geographical location, and only secondarily (if at all) on recognized kinship bonds: although the old men claim that in the period immediately following their migration to the valley they did not fight with Gusilevi, yet they remember that shortly before contact there were several wars in which the men of Gusilevi joined Gono against Beha and the

other valley communities:

We are one line -- before the Government came we said this, and we did not fight them. But then, when the Government was near to coming, we shot two Gusilevi men. Gono and Beha were fighting, and Gusilevi helped Gono, and shot at us. So we shot two of them.

And in war, they say, Duta joined Lufa -- it is not remembered that they ever formed an alliance with Beha. Eboiya, although not traditional enemies of Beha, frequently allied with Gono, as did the men of Korevegu. One old man put these alliances into perspective for me by explaining that Eboiya and Korevegu could not have allied themselves with Beha in pre-contact times, even if they had wished to do so, since if they had done so Gono would have ambushed them on the road. With the Gimi villages, they say, they had no social interaction at all, neither of alliance nor of enmity, since "they were too far away."

The old men also claim that when the big festivals took place, Gusilevi always joined with the Gono villages, as either feast-givers or feast-receivers, and never with the valley communities. Similarly, Duta joined with the Lufa villages.

As with relationships of alliance and enmity, so with intermarriage: the men of Anitoi have never inter-married with women of the Gimi communities, with Korevegu

or with Eboiya, and the explanation given typically referred to both recognized kinship and geographical distance:

They are too far away. But if they are named Beha they cannot intermarry with us.

Yet, again, geographical distance appears to have been the deciding factor, since it is admitted that there have been several marriages of Anitoi men and women with both Duta and Gusilevi. With respect to intermarriage with both communities, the first marriage between two related 'lines' is claimed to have occurred inadvertently.

The sister of M., a Beha man, was married first to a Lufa man. He died, and she then married a Gusilevi man, who lived at Lufa. She thought that he belonged to Lufa, and so agreed to marry him. He gave the bridewealth for her, and they were married before anyone at Beha discovered that he was, in fact, from Gusilevi.

At first they thought that she had married a Lufa man, and so they did not quarrel with her. Later they discovered that he belonged to Gusilevi, and they talked. They said that he had married his sister. But he must have felt that he belonged to Lufa. She did not leave him when she knew that he was really from Gusilevi, and they are still married.

Another marriage, similar in the circumstances surrounding it to the marriage described above, then took place between another Gusilevi man living at Lufa, and a Beha woman. And then a third, between a Beha woman and a

Gusilevi man then living in one of the Gono villages.

She married him in times of war -- she went to Gono, found him and married him. She thought he was a Gono man.

With this third marriage, however, intermarriage between the two lines appears to have been accepted -- when I asked what people had said about the union, my informant said that they had not thought about it at all. When the war ended, they accepted bridewealth for the woman. They knew by then that she had married a Gusilevi man, but felt that the taboo against intermarriage had been finally broken, and that further marriages could legitimately follow.

"Gusilevi do not stop here -- they are Gono now."

From the point of view of any one of the valley communities, most marriages have always been contracted with communities which fall within that particular village's 'circle of interaction.' By preference, marriages are contracted with spatially contiguous communities -- and this has always included communities classed as 'traditional enemies,' as well as those classed as allies and those with which relationships varied according to circumstances.

On the following pages is presented data on marriages which have been contracted by persons of the valley communities within approximately the last forty years. Both

males and females are included, and each individual is listed under the name of the community in which he or she claimed membership at the time of marriage. The data are not intended to give a picture of current village residence patterns: most of the women, and many of the men, now live in communities other than the one in which they claimed membership at the time of their marriages. In addition, I have excluded from the data several couples both of whom were born and raised outside of the valley, and who married before moving to the valley: these include three native mission teachers and their wives; a Kiosa man married to a Lufa woman (whose mother was born in Beha) and currently living in Kiovi; and a man from Hegise, married to a woman from the same region, both of whom sought refuge with a friend in Hogavi during a past war and chose to remain. The 'ancestor' of the Havi line who now live at Kiovi has also been excluded, since his marriage to a Numago woman also took place prior to his flight to Kiovi during the wars; the marriages of his descendants, however, have been included in the data on Kiovi marriages, since they were born and raised in that village. There are two cases of men from communities outside of the valley, each married polygynously to a woman from outside the valley and to a woman from one

of the valley communities, who have chosen to reside in the valley communities of their respective second wives: their first marriages have not been listed, but their marriages to valley women have been included in the data. Finally, the marriage of a Beha man to a woman from Port Moresby has also been excluded: his agnates say that he went to Port Moresby to work as a young man, broke off all contact with them a few years afterward, and that they later heard that he had married a Coastal woman. They have not met his wife -- and, indeed, have had no word directly from him since he left the village. They said of him, "he belongs now to the Coast." Since his marriage took place after his change of residence, I have chosen to exclude it from the data.

Data on Marriages

Kiovi

Name of Village with which Marriage was Contracted	Approximate Date of Marriage		
	Recent (1968-1970)	Post-contact (1953-1968)	Pre-contact (prior to 1953)
<b>Intra-Village</b>			
With members of Habi 'line'	3	2	5
With members of Beha 'line'	-	3	-
Between members of Habi and Beha 'lines'	-	1	-
<b>Intra-Valley</b>			
With Beha	3	11	4
With Hogavi	-	-	1
<b>With 'Huvaisu vana' (peoples speaking the Lufa dialect of the Yagaria language)</b>			
With Kiosa	-	4	-
With the Lufa villages	-	6	4
<b>With other Yagaria-speaking peoples</b>			
With Hairo	-	-	2
With Menilo	-	1	1
With Kurugu	-	1	1
<b>With Gusilevi and the Gono villages</b>	-	-	-

Data on Marriages

Kiovi

Name of Village with which Marriage was Contracted	Approximate Date of Marriage		
	Recent (1968-1970)	Post-contact (1953-1968)	Pre-contact (prior to 1953)
With other Gimi-speaking peoples from the Labogai census division			
With Mengino	-	2	-
With Oraratu	-	-	1
With peoples from the Chimbu sub- district			
With Sua	-	-	1
With Iandine	-	1	-
With Korena	-	1	-
With the Chuave region	-	1	1
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>21</b>

## Data on Marriages

Beha

Name of Village with which Marriage was Contracted	Approximate Date of Marriage		
	Recent (1968-1970)	Post-contact (1953-1968)	Pre-contact (prior to 1953)
<b>Intra-Village</b>			
With members of Menilo 'line'	4	9	7
With a member of Sua 'line'	-	1	-
<b>Intra-Valley</b>			
With Hogavi	-	19	15
With Kiovi	3	7	3
With Habi - living at Kiovi	-	2	1
With 'Huvaisu vana' (peoples speaking the Lufa dialect of the Yagaria language)			
With Kiosa	1	3	2
With the Lufa villages	3	24	18
<b>With other Yagaria-speaking peoples</b>			
With Hairo	-	-	1
With Menilo	1	-	-
With Kurugu	-	-	1
With Kise living at Rongo	1	-	-
With Yaulo	-	1	-
With Kositaro	-	-	1
With Nalepa	-	-	1

Data on Marriages

Beha

Name of Village with which Marriage was Contracted	Approximate Date of Marriage		
	Recent (1968-1970)	Post-contact (1953-1968)	Pre-contact (prior to 1953)
With Gusilevi	-	-	-
With the Gono villages	2	7	5
With other Gimi-speaking peoples from the Labogai census division			
With Mengino	1	-	1
With Alulo	-	2	-
With Uai	-	1	1
With peoples from the Chimbu sub- district			
With Sua	-	-	8
With Iandine	-	-	2
With Korena	-	-	5
With Gai	-	-	6
With Avanaga	-	-	1
With Sianti (Gumine)	-	1	-
With Goroka	-	1	-
Totals:	16	78	79

Data on Marriages

Hogavi

Name of Village with which Marriage was Contracted	Approximate Date of Marriage		
	Recent (1968-1970)	Post-contact (1953-1968)	Pre-contact (prior to 1953)
<b>Intra-Village</b>			
With members of Menilo 'line'	-	1	3
With members of Mani (Unave) 'line'	-	1	-
With members of Kise (Yagaría) 'line'	-	1	-
<b>Intra-Valley</b>			
With Beha	-	14	13
With Kiovi	-	1	-
With 'Huvaisu vana' (peoples speaking the Lufa dialect of the Yagaría language)			
With Kiosa	-	1	-
With the Lufa villages	-	15	6
With other Yagaría-speaking peoples			
With Hila	-	-	2
With Gusilevi	-	1	1
With the Gono villages	2	29	5

Data on Marriages

Hogavi

Name of Village with which Marriage was Contracted	Approximate Date of Marriage		
	Recent (1968-1970)	Post-contact (1953-1968)	Pre-contact (prior to 1953)
With other Gimi-speaking peoples from the Labogai census division			
With Menilo	-	3	1
With Mengino	1	2	-
With Kora	-	-	1
With Alulo	-	1	1
With Gimi-speaking peoples from the Unave census division			
With Agibu	-	1	-
With Lowai	-	2	-
With Gimi-speaking peoples from the Okapa sub-district	-	1	1
With peoples from the Chimbu sub-district			
With Sua	-	2	3
With Iandine	-	5	-
With Korena	-	3	-
With Gai	-	3	-
With the Lambau region	-	1	-
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>37</b>

As is evident from the data, during the past forty years most marriages have been intra-valley unions, with the largest percentage of the remainder taking place between the valley communities and their nearest neighbors to the north and south -- Kiosa and the Lufa villages, Gusilevi and the Gono villages. Very few marriages have been contracted with communities located more than a few hours' walk in any direction. Those few marriages which do appear in the data as alliances between communities separated by considerable geographical distances -- for example, the marriage between Goroka and Beha -- are, without exception, explainable in terms of either migration or the temporary residence of one individual far from his or her home.

Second, in spite of the general similarities between the marriage patterns of the three valley communities, the data also clearly indicate that each community's 'circle of interaction', while overlapping those of the other two, is also unique to that particular village. Kiovi, for example, have not intermarried with Gusilevi or the Gono villages during the past forty years, whereas Beha have intermarried with Gono but not with Gusilevi who claimed membership in that village, and Hogavi have contracted marriages with both.

Finally, the data also evidence, as do tales of alliances and enmity in pre-contact times, the changes which appear to have always been such a distinctive characteristic of patterns of social interaction in this area of the Highlands. This is, perhaps, most clearly evident if one considers the changes which have taken place over time in interaction patterns between Beha and the communities of the Chimbu sub-district. Prior to contact Korena, Gai and Sua occasionally allied themselves with the valley communities in the periodic wars against Lufa and Gono, a few of the Beha and Hogavi people once sought and found refuge in Gai when forced from their land by Gono, and marriages were frequent between all three of the valley communities and the nearby Chimbu villages. Since 1953, however, there have been no marriages at all between Beha and the Chimbu villages -- although the data on marriages contracted by Hogavi and Kiovi clearly indicate that social interaction between them and the Chimbu communities continues to be important. The people of Beha are aware of the change, and aware also of the fact that Hogavi and Kiovi continue to intermarry with Chimbu, whereas their men and women do not. They regret it, but cannot really explain it, except by stating the obvious -- several people, when questioned,

replied simply that in the past they frequently exchanged visits, pigs, and courting parties with the Chimbu villages, and that many marriages took place as a result, but that now they seldom visit and seldom intermarry. There are several women of Chimbu origin still living in Beha, and my informants felt that it would be a good thing if they could find young wives from Chimbu for their sons -- they would have the company of the older Chimbu women, and so would probably adjust well to married life. But they professed that they did not know how to bring about this satisfactory state of affairs.

Perhaps even more clearly than the group of communities which make up a festival-giving and alliance unit, the individual community is clearly conceived of in the minds of its residents as a social and political unit. And this is so in spite of the flexibility in residence choice which allows the individual to move from one community to another more or less when he chooses to do so, in spite of the fact that in every village from twenty to fifty per cent of the men do not claim agnatic ties to the descendants of the ancestral founders of that community, and in spite of the fact that the recognized choice of the individual to act in most cases as he sees fit gives him also the

right not to participate in community activities if he does not wish to do so.

There was, apparently, never total participation in a war by all of the men of any one community. Since, in times of peace, even 'traditional enemies' intermarried, in any war between any two villages there were likely to be men on each side who had uterine kin or affines on the other, and it was accepted practice for such men not to fight if they did not wish to. There were also men who had chosen to reside permanently with affines, uterine kin or friends. If their natal village at some time fought their village of residence, they had a choice of action: they could fight with their host village against their own agnates, or they could (and this is said to have been the most frequent choice) abstain from fighting altogether. There were also men who had no aptitude or taste for warfare, and these also frequently stayed behind in the village and "looked after the women" when a raid was planned. I was told that other men might be angry with such a man -- might even insult him for his lack of courage -- but that no action would be taken against him.

Similarly, each individual has the right to participate or not to participate in the big pig-feasts, and his

choice will be determined by his own individual obligations and interests. When the festival of 1969 took place, only 105 of the 187 men residing in the valley at the time killed pigs.

Each man also determines for himself which of his co-residents he will help with their fencing and house-building, to whose bridewealth collections he will contribute money, and to whose small family feasts he will contribute a pig or garden produce. The only 'rules' dictating behavior in such situations are the 'rules' of reciprocity: one must pay back one's debts and obligations. A man must also, of course, be generous if he wishes to acquire a name. Men who do not observe these 'rules' are subject to mechanisms of social control which, although generally implicit and rarely operative, can be stated and do effectively control anti-social behavior: a man is 'shamed' if he becomes aware that he is being spoken of as ungenerous and unhelpful, and a man who does not help his neighbors when they need help will eventually find that they do not help him when he is in need.

Rules of conduct, concern over reputation, and the spontaneous nature of many of those occasions when aid is needed or requested all operate to promote community cohesive-

ness. A bridewealth collection, for example, is not infrequently decided upon with little or no advance notice; kin in distant villages may not hear of the decision until the collection has been made and given to the parents of the intended bride, whereas a man's village co-residents who are non-kin will know of it and may contribute if they wish to do so. Similarly, a man will only rarely request help with his fencing from anyone; his kin in other villages may not even be aware that he is fencing a new garden, whereas village co-residents will undoubtedly know, and will probably help him.

Childbirth is one occasion when women of a village aid each other; a woman's sisters or mother will seldom be present at the birth of her child, unless one of them by chance happens to be visiting her at the time of the confinement. Women also help each other with contributions to the small vegetable feasts which are invariably prepared for visitors, with the gathering of thatch for a new house-roof, and with the clearing and planting of a new garden. Whether or not a woman is given help on such occasions by female relatives living in other villages generally depends on the factor of geographical distance: if her mother, for example, is living in a community only a mile or two distant,

she will probably know of her daughter's plans and give help when it is needed; if, however, considerable distance separates the communities of mother and daughter, they may only see each other occasionally, and help will be given only if help happens to be needed when one visits the other. On all such occasions, however, village co-residents help each other, since their behavior is judged by the same ideals of reciprocity which govern male behavior.

The ideal of community cohesiveness is made explicit in norms of behavior governing the expression of aggression, in behavior which occurs as a result of transgressions of these norms, and in references to the community and its affairs which occur in everyday speech.

Although the people are well-aware of the fact that on occasion an intra-village fight will escalate and result in injury -- or even sometimes in death -- it is nevertheless a norm that co-residents of a community should fight only with clubs, and not with bow and arrows (i.e. with intent to kill). The norm expresses community solidarity, rather than the solidarity of a group of agnates or other consanguines, since it is said that it should apply not only to people born in a community, but also to refugees and other temporary residents. And injury to a co-resident must

be compensated for, by pork or other valuables, whereas compensation was never paid for the injury or death of an enemy in war.

Similarly, sorcery should not be practiced against another resident of one's village, and infraction of this norm was (at least in the past) punished severely: the old men say that the sorcerer would either be killed or run out of the village. Sorcery against a member of an allied village was also considered to be reprehensible -- but punishment was usually left to the relatives of the victim. Sorcery against an enemy village, on the other hand, was morally acceptable.

Finally, in everyday speech individuals are commonly referred to as 'belonging to' the community they dwell in, and further identification -- for example, in terms of community of birth -- is not usually given unless specifically requested. Individuals are not usually reminded of their 'foreign' origin except when altercations arise. And important and prestigious endeavors -- specifically, the festivals -- are referred to as community affairs, without further specification of those individuals who did participate, and those who did not. This identification of the community as a social unit continues even when, as

in the case of Hogavi, a group of community members split off from the original community and build their houses a short distance away from the parent village. Again, geographical distance appears to be an important factor in such social identification, since moves of any distance inevitably result in social interaction taking place between the new community and those surrounding it, rather than with its parent community. For example, although it is likely that Gusilevi and Beha (Anitoi) were both founded by members of the same group of refugees from Labogai, Gusilevi has invariably allied with Gono in war and festival-giving. Thus, although Beha and Gusilevi recognize a common ancestry, and although up until quite recently intermarriage between them was forbidden, they never considered themselves to be one social unit. If, however, two such communities are separated by no more than half a mile or so, then it is my belief that they are identified in the eyes of others, and identify themselves, as one unit up until that point in time when intermarriage occurs between the two parts of the unit.

One interesting indication of the reality of community cohesiveness, in spite of the equally real right of individual choice, is evident in the data on voting

patterns collected during the elections of early 1969. At these elections, the valley communities were told by the district officer to choose by vote their councillor for the following three-year term. P., the outgoing councillor (a Beha man), decided to again run for office, and there were two other Beha men who nominated themselves to run against him. Hogavi nominated one man for election. Kiovi did not nominate anyone -- they said that they had decided to vote for P. As will be described in more detail later, many of the actual decisions concerning this election were made prior to the voting, by the traditional process of discussion and consensus. Equally as interesting, however, is the fact that in the actual voting, 149 Hogavi people voted for the Hogavi nominee; only three voted against him. Kiovi and Beha divided their votes among the various Beha nominees, but only two persons voted for the Hogavi candidate. There are two men of Beha who have lived for several years in Hogavi, and two men of Hogavi who now live in Beha. In the voting, one Hogavi man currently living in Beha, and his Beha wife, voted for the Hogavi candidate; the other voted for one of the Beha candidates. Neither of the Beha men currently living in Hogavi voted for a Beha nominee -- both chose to support the Hogavi candidate.

Below the level of the individual community, several further units of social organization can be distinguished, although (with one exception) none can be referred to in Gimi except by using the name of a figure ancestral to the group one is referring to, with the addition of the suffix isa vana ('men of'). Neither do all of the men of any level ever join together in action which excludes members of other groups. Yet I will argue that the social units are real, in the sense that there are behavioral norms which are said to apply to certain levels of grouping, and certain possessions which are said to belong to others.

First, most communities except for the very smallest hamlets are composed of two or more social units: the group of men who claim to be the descendants of the ancestral founders of the community, plus one or more groups descended from refugees who settled in the community in pre-contact times. In everyday speech and action these various groups are seldom distinguished from one another, but they are important with respect to marriage: those who claim to be the descendants of the founders of a community intermarry with members of refugee groups, but marriage within either group is strictly forbidden. I know of no marriage between persons so related who lived in the same community

at the time of their marriages.

Second, in most of the larger communities of the Gimi-speaking region the group of men descended from the ancestral founders of a community is further sub-divided into two social units for which, again, there is no name in Gimi; they are, however, referred to in Pidgin by terms which translate into English as 'upper houseline' and 'lower houseline'. If the descendants of a refugee group are fairly numerous, they will form a third houseline within their community of residence. Beha, for example, refer to their houselines as the upper houseline, the lower houseline, and Menilo houseline. Kiovi has three houselines: the upper, the lower, and Habi houseline. Hogavi has two, upper and lower -- plus the small group of people who have only recently split off from the upper houseline and who have built their houses approximately halfway between the two houselines: they are sometimes referred to, logically enough, as "the houseline which stops in the middle."

The male members of a houseline usually share a men's house -- although they sometimes own two. They usually build their wives' huts spatially contiguous to one another, either surrounding or at a short distance away from their men's house(s). Their pig-houses will frequently also be

arranged in a similar pattern.

In the past, the men's house group, whether inclusive of all or of only some of the men of a houseline, was ritually very important, since its members as a unit sponsored the initiation ceremonies at which the young sons of the men of a house were formally granted adult ceremonial status.

As has been mentioned, marriage between members of houselines which claim a common ancestry is forbidden, and the kinship term nasi ("sibling of opposite sex") is used by the men and women of each houseline when referring to or addressing an opposite-sex member of the other houseline. Interestingly enough, however, the taboo against sexual relationships is not as strictly observed. Several young men, and many women, told me that although one is not really allowed to have sexual relations with any man or woman whom one calls nasi, it was nonetheless not a serious breach of taboo to engage in sexual 'play' with a nasi of another houseline, provided it was done privately and kept secret. Sexual relations with a nasi of one's own houseline, on the other hand, are definitely considered to be incestuous.

Below the level of the houseline, one other level of social organization can be distinguished: that of the 'door'. Each houseline, again, is composed of two doors.

Men of a door refer to fellow group members as negesu gavita isa vana ("men of my door"), and to male members of other doors as kaisa gavita isa vana ("men of another door").

If the houseline possesses two men's houses, then each will be said to belong to the men of one of the doors. The male members of a door also own collectively a pair of sacred flutes, which are kept in the rafters of the men's house belonging to the group. Of each pair of flutes, one is male and one female, and each has a personal name. In pre-contact times -- and, indeed, until the early 1950's -- these flutes were the focus of the male cult of the Highlands. The viewing of them for the first time, and first participation in the rights surrounding their use, was the culmination of the initiation ceremonies. The flutes were 'secret' as well as sacred -- it is said that females, and young uninitiated boys, were killed if they even accidentally caught sight of the flutes, and stories are told with enough detail to indicate that such ritual murder probably did occasionally occur.

Each door also 'owns' certain names which are traditionally associated with it (although, of course, each of the names is also usually associated with at least one other door in the Gimi-speaking region -- and some are so

common that almost all doors claim them). Two of these names invariably belong to the sacred flutes; others are names of ancestral men and women of the door. New brides of male door-members are invariably given one of these names when they take up residence in their husbands' communities -- a custom which is explained in terms of the embarrassment which would ensue for the bride and her new affines if she were to be referred to, or addressed by, her natal name while in the village of her husband, but a custom which also emphasizes the process of change in door membership which a woman begins at marriage. Children of door members are also quite frequently given one of the names belonging to the door -- although there is no 'rule' stating that they have to receive one of these names, and exceptions are quite common.

The pattern of daily activities is also usually focused on door membership. Men will frequently work gardens with one or two other members of their door, close friends within a door sometimes hunt kapul together, and door members customarily eat together in the men's house in the evening, discuss the day's events, and reach decisions concerning their door through the process of discussion, compromise and consensus.

Men of a door also commonly engage in exchanges with one another, and usually help each other (with money, valuables or labor) when such help is either requested or needed.

Women of a door (the wives and daughters of the men) frequently form work parties to engage in such activities as thatch-gathering, land-clearing, and the cooking of meals to entertain visitors. Women who are close friends frequently cook and eat together, and occasionally garden or collect firewood or kumu together. Close friends also help each other when help is needed -- in childbirth, during the period of confinement following a birth, and during sickness or following a death. Such help consists not only of companionship, but also of material aid in the form of food and firewood.

In the case of both men and women, however, daily interaction and help in crisis situations are both a function not only of door membership but also of personal liking: a woman may interact more with the wife of a new member of the door than she does with her co-wife or the wife of her husband's brother, and a man may interact more frequently with a distant agnate than he does with his own brother or father, if they so wish. It is also not uncommon for a

young man or unmarried girl to form a close friendship with a young person of his or her own sex of another door in the community, in which case daily interaction will be a function of friendship rather than of door membership.

I also wish to emphasize here that such interaction between members of a door does not in any case differ in either kind or quality from that which occurs between unrelated co-residents of a village, but rather in frequency: men and women of a door, on the average, simply interact more with each other than they do with members of other doors.

The group of houselines which, although spatially distant, share a common ancestral name (as do Gusilevi and Anitoi, for example) obviously has some of the characteristics of the social grouping commonly called a dispersed clan; that core group of each community which claims to be descended from the ancestral founders, the houseline, and the door obviously have certain characteristics of various levels of a lineage. They have commonly been described by Highlands ethnographers as clans and lineages -- with provisional statements emphasizing the fact that both social units are "loosely structured" (Pouwer 1960:109), "structurally flexible" (Brown 1962:57), and "quasi-unilineal"

(Brown 1962:60). I do not, however, believe that such descriptions adequately describe Gimi social units. In the following paragraphs I will illustrate my assertion by describing the manner in which door membership may be acquired, but it should be remembered that my statements are equally applicable to the more inclusive levels of social grouping.

Although the core of a door is composed of men who claim agnatic relationship to one another, membership can also be acquired through females (wives and mothers) and it is also not uncommon for a male friend or trading partner to provide the link through which a man becomes affiliated with a door. The crucial difference between the Gimi door and the African patrilineage with its collateral lines is that there is, in the Gimi-speaking region of New Guinea, no emphasis on genealogical remembrance, and no attempt is made to legitimize collateral (or other) affiliation with a door by deliberately fictionalizing the genealogy. There is no true ideology of patrilineal descent. After a generation or two, and sometimes sooner, people will claim that a certain man is an agnate of their door, as they do also in African patrilineal societies -- but whereas in Africa they are conventionalizing an unconventional link to a

lineage, for the Gimi-speakers it is more often the case that they simply do not know of the genealogical relationship, since it is considered too unimportant in most cases to remember or talk about. K., for example, is invariably referred to as belonging to the lower houseline of Beha. Yet, when I came to collect the genealogies of all of the men currently living in Beha, his name did not appear in any of them. I consulted an old woman, born and raised in Beha, and married to a man of the Menilo line. She said that I could put K. down in my notes as the brother of T., since T. had brought him back to Beha while K. was still a young child. Finally the following story emerged: T.'s mother was a Gono woman, who married to Beha and bore T. and his older brother, A. Her husband was killed in one of the many wars with Gono, and she returned to her natal village, taking T., her younger son, with her. She later married an Agotu man and went to Agotu -- again taking T. with her. T. grew up in his mother's second husband's village, and married a Mengino woman. After his mother's death, he returned to Beha, bringing his wife and the young boy, K., with him. My elderly informant said that she knew that K. was not T.'s child, but she did not know whether he was the child of T.'s mother and her Agotu husband, or the child of

another couple. (T. later confirmed that the former explanation was the correct one). There are two interesting points to the story: first, my interpreter (a man in his early thirties) appeared extremely surprised by this tale, and said that he had never heard it before; second, at the time the story was given to me K. did not 'belong' to the upper houseline of Beha (to which his half-brother belonged) but was considered to be a member of the lower houseline.

Another case in point is the story of S., who was taken as a child by his mother to her second husband's village. He lived there for most of his adult life, only deciding to return to Beha, the village of his biological father, in old age. While telling me of the feast which his agnates were planning to celebrate his return, several of my informants (all men in their late twenties and early thirties) commented on the fact that they had been very surprised to learn that S. actually 'belonged' to Beha -- they said that this was something which only a few old men remembered, and that they had never heard of it. One can speculate, I think, that if S. had chosen to die in his mother's second husband's village, in another twenty years or so there might not have been anyone left alive in Beha who remembered the fact that S.'s sons had agnatic ties to

the community. He and his descendants would have been remembered (by Beha) as belonging to the village of his mother's second husband.

It is my opinion that genealogical knowledge, individual choice, and geographical distance are all factors which influence whether or not a particular individual will become fully affiliated with a door or houseline other than the ones to which his own agnates belong. Children such as K., adopted in early childhood and brought up in a village at some distance from their natal communities, may not be told the facts of their biological parentage. Even when they are told, they may not activate their kinship ties and interact with their agnates. Whether or not they do, I feel, depends upon geographical distance and individual circumstances. If the distance separating a child's natal village from his community of residence is relatively great, interaction between members of the two communities will inevitably be infrequent -- perhaps limited to such important occasions as the funeral of a 'big man.' If friction surrounded the change in residence (if, for example, a woman is told by her husband to go back to her parents, and takes her young son with her to her natal village), and if resentment persists, then all social interaction between the two

groups involved is occasionally terminated for a period of some years. In either case, lack of interaction appears to result in a more complete affiliation with the residential group.

For men, a change of residence in adulthood seldom results in a complete change in affiliation, but rather in a form of 'dual affiliation', in which the individual acts as a member of both his natal door and his door of residence. Again, geographical distance is an important factor in the individual's degree of participation in the affairs of his natal door: if his natal village is at a considerable distance from his community of residence, he may interact only rarely with the members of his door, whereas if the two communities are only a half hour's walk from one another, he may spend equal amounts of time interacting with members of the two groups. A case in point is M., a young man from Hogavi who moved to his wife's village, Beha, a few months after his marriage (which took place about five years ago). M. gave as the reason for his residence change a quarrel with his father, because the older man had failed to give M. and his wife any small pigs to care for at their marriage. At the time of my fieldwork, M. had more or less forgiven his father for his failure to live up to the ideal of paternal

behavior, and acted on different occasions as a member of either his wife's door or his natal door, depending upon his own desires and judgment of circumstances. M. and his wife, for example, both voted for the Hogavi nominee in the 1969 elections, and at the 1969 festival M. chose to display his pigs with those of the men of Hogavi. When a girl of his natal door is married, M. and his wife invariably accept portions of the pork which is given by the girl's family to M.'s agnates. Yet the couple cultivate land which was given to them by M.'s wife's parents, they keep their pigs with those of M.'s wife's houseline, and they offer aid to members of the woman's door when aid is either needed or requested. M., for example, contributed to the bride-wealth payment which was collected for the son of his wife's father's brother, and he helped his wife's father with the fencing of a new garden; M.'s wife contributes food when the door entertains visitors.

There is also Ka., whose father (a Beha man) died when Ka. was a boy. His mother then married a man of the other Beha houseline. Ka. was at the time old enough to know of his biological parentage, and because his mother's new marriage involved a change in residence only from one part of the village to another, he grew up interacting with

the members of both his biological and his adoptive fathers' doors. At the time of my fieldwork, Ka. was married and had children of his own. He lived in the house next to that of his adoptive father, and cultivated land with his adoptive father, but participated about equally in the affairs of his agnates and those of his adoptive father. Members of the two doors said, when asked, that he 'belongs' to both groups: to the one by right of birth, and to the other because he was reared by its members and still chooses to reside with them and participate in their activities.

Such cases as those of M. and Ka. are common: most men who change residence at an age when they are aware of their agnatic ties do participate to varying degrees in the affairs of both their natal door and the door whose members they have chosen to reside with. The degree to which a man does participate in the activities of his natal door appears to be a matter of personal choice -- which in turn is influenced by such factors as geographical distance, personal likes and/or dislikes, and perhaps perceived economic advantage. The interesting point, I feel, is that such choices are allowed by the culture, and that people will only be disapproving of such a man if he first acts as a participant in the affairs of both doors and then at some point does not

fulfill his obligations to one or the other. If he does fulfill all obligations to both agnates and co-residents, his right to participate by choice in the activities of both doors will never be questioned. He may vote as he chooses. He may 'kill pigs' with either door -- provided that when he does kill them he gives pork to those individuals to whom he owes debts. He may cultivate gardens on land belonging to members of either his agnatic or his residential door. He may aid whom he chooses when aid is needed -- again, provided that he reciprocates for the aid which has in the past been given to him. Many men spend a lifetime in such dual participation; it is, in fact, expected that a man will maintain ties with his natal door so long as the man and woman who raised him (whether biological or adoptive parents) are still alive. Incorporation into a door, unless one is born into it, is in any case a process which takes place gradually, over a period of many years, and not a sudden occurrence or event. It is marked by no ceremony.

I will argue, however, that in spite of its processual nature, dual affiliation is possible in this area of the Highlands, and that a complete change in affiliation (although rare) is also allowed for by the culture. Men may, if they wish, acquire full rights and obligations of

membership in a door other than their natal one, and they may also if they wish repudiate all ties with their agnates. A man who chooses to do this can acquire usufruct rights in land from his residential group, which rights after a period of time will gradually become thought of as rights of ownership; his children can inherit these rights. There is, in fact, no right or obligation associated with membership in a door which may not be acquired by choice as well as by birth.

That affiliation by choice is a real option is, I feel, illustrated by the fact that until very recently boys were quite frequently initiated into the men's houses of houselines with which their fathers had chosen to reside. R., a middle-aged man of Beha, is a typical example. During the wars with Gono, when Beha were forced to abandon the valley for a period of some years, R.'s father took his wife and children and sought refuge at Kora, in the southern part of the Labogai census division, where he had an exchange partner. R. grew up at Kora, was 'shown the flutes' (initiated) there, and participated fully in the rituals of that houseline until the time when his father decided to return to the valley.

That such change in affiliation may be individual

choice be made permanent and total -- and that membership in one's natal door may be repudiated -- is illustrated by the case of F., an elderly man who by agnatic descent belonged to one of the Beha doors. F. was born and raised at Beha, and his Iandine wife was acquired for him by his Beha agnates. He later quarreled with them, and moved with his wife and children to Hogavi, where his married sister lived. F. broke off all interaction with his agnates at that time, and later announced that he 'belonged' to Hogavi. Some time after this he married a Beha woman -- a classificatory sister. Individuals whom I questioned concerning this did not seem to be quite positive that the marriage was fully legitimate, but they did appear to feel that the fact that F. had announced that he belonged to Hogavi somehow made the union acceptable -- whereas it would otherwise not have been. And several persons added, when asked, that they felt that it will be quite acceptable for F.'s son by his Beha wife to marry a Beha woman, if the boy later wishes to do so. Such a complete change in door affiliation is rare, but it does occasionally occur.

In summary of my data on social organization, I wish to emphasize only one point: although the valley group of communities, the individual community, the houseline,

and the door are real and viable social units, the high rate of mobility and the frequent intermarriage which occurs between any one community and all of the other communities which fall within its circle of interaction ensure that no community (and no social group within any community) can be looked at as a closed social system. Nor is the valley itself a closed social system. Each individual has kinship ties, which he may activate into exchange relationships if he so wishes, in many different communities. He may also, during his lifetime, form friendships which he can also use as the basis for exchange relationships with persons not connected to him by any kinship tie at all. All such relationships result in social interaction, the frequency of which is only limited by geographical distance and personal choice.

## CHAPTER V

### THE EXCHANGE SYSTEM

Before the introduction of Australian currency the economy of the Beha Valley appears to have been a multi-centric one (Bohannan 1959:491-503; Bohannan and Dalton 1965:5-10), marked by two more or less exclusive spheres of exchange. The first was associated with subsistence, and included most of the vegetable foodstuffs which the people either grew or gathered in the forests. The second was associated with prestige valuables, and included such items as live shoats, cooked pork, dogs, the cooking drums, black-palm wood, bows and arrows, certain animal products such as the skins and teeth of opossums and the plumes of various birds, stone axes, salt, shells and pandanus oil. Certain craft services (curing, the performance of sorcery) should also, perhaps, be included in this sphere, since their performance was always paid for with valuables.

The two spheres appear to have been marked only to a certain extent by different transactional modes, although they were clearly marked by different moral values. Subsistence goods were exchanged in the course of everyday living: food was shared with a friend or neighbor if one visited

him or met him by chance while food was being either prepared or eaten. But large amounts of subsistence goods were also given on ceremonial occasions: as a gift to the girl who had been marked for one's son, as repayment for services, or as a feast given for any one of a large number of ceremonial reasons.

Valuables were also exchanged on ceremonial occasions. They were also occasionally exchanged by commercial trade. For example, in pre-contact times the people of the valley often made salt and stored it in their men's houses; they sent word to their friends in other communities that they had salt available. They would often, at the same time, mention the valuables which they desired in exchange for their salt. People who desired salt would arrive with the required valuables, and the exchanges would be made. Occasionally, also, men of the valley went on trading expeditions to other areas, in search of valuables (such as plumes) which were not produced in the valley. They would take with them the items (such as stone axes or salt) which they had to trade, and the exchanges would be made when they met someone who desired salt or axes and had plumes to trade for them. Occasionally one item might change hands without a corresponding valuable being given at the

same time. An agreement would then be reached that repayment would be made at a future date.

Although subsistence goods and valuables were both exchanged ceremoniously, valuables were never given away in the course of everyday living. They might be given unceremoniously (for example, to a relative in the course of a visit) but an equivalent gift would be expected at some later date. And subsistence goods never, so far as I could determine, changed hands by commercial trade. There were no institutionalized market places. Neither was there, within either sphere, any item which standardized the exchangeability of every other item to a common scale (an all-purpose money) although each item appears to have had a recognized value in terms of prescribed sets of other items.

Valuables seem to have been traded according to ordinary commercial principles: an exchange took place when a man with a certain item to trade found someone who wanted that item and who in return could give him an item he desired -- what is ordinarily meant by barter. In cases of commercial exchange which I have witnessed, haggling over equivalences did occasionally take place, but it was rare. Generally, as Godelier (1971:66) has noted for the Baruya, equivalences are widely known and trade will not

be suggested if a man to whom valuables are offered has no item equal in value to give in return.

Gifts given ceremoniously or in the course of everyday living were subject to other rules: no gift should be refused, and all gift-giving, in a sense, instituted, continued, or reinforced a relationship between donor and recipient. If the gift was a valuable, or a large amount of subsistence goods given ceremoniously, then it had to be repaid at a later date. Even casual gifts of food, if repeated frequently, constituted 'looking after' the recipient, and would eventually have to be repaid on a generalized basis. Failure to reciprocate would result in loss of prestige; generosity in the acquisition of a prestigious reputation.

'Conversions' from one sphere to another could and did take place under special circumstances. When a large amount of subsistence goods was given on a ceremonial occasion, the recipient might in return give the donor a valuable -- salt, or a pearlshell. Such a conversion was something of which both recipient and donor would be proud -- the recipient because his friend had valued his gift of foodstuffs enough to give a valuable in return, and the donor because his unusual return gift marked him as a man

of extreme generosity. Foodstuffs, however, were never given as a repayment for valuables. My informants told me that to have done such a thing would have brought shame on both donor and recipient.

I believe that women must be considered as belonging to the second of the spheres which I have outlined above -- that of valuables. Certainly there does not appear to be any of that feeling, which Bohannan reports for the Tiv, that "The only 'price' of one woman is another woman" (Bohannan 1959:496). It is true that there are preferred types of marriage, and that some of these result, for all practical purposes, in an exchange of women. For example, it is felt to be 'good' to send a woman in marriage to the natal village of her own mother. Sister exchange (of either real or classificatory sisters) is also felt to be 'good'. And men sometimes express the opinion that sending a woman to a certain village opens up the possibility of future exchange. Yet a village which receives a woman from another in no sense owes a debt of a woman to the donor village, and one will only be sent later if the bridewealth offered is large enough and if the woman in question wishes to marry to that particular village. Sister exchange marriages (which are rare) still involve the payment of

two bridewealth payments. And it is also felt to be 'good' to send a woman to the village to which her 'sisters' have already married, even if that village sends no women to the first. Men also occasionally 'shop around' for wives for their sons: if the bridewealth is refused by the girl to whom it is first offered, they may walk on to the next village to see if there is any marriageable girl there who will accept it. In essence, the bridewealth of valuables and the exchange of pigs which legitimize a marriage also constitute full payment for all rights in a woman herself which are acquired by marriage.

As has been mentioned previously, a man seldom inherits pigs which have not been 'marked' for some specific purpose from a dead person. Other valuables are acquired by inheritance, but they are likely to be few in number. Far more important than inheritance as ways by which valuables are acquired are 'exchange' and 'gift'. The boundary between these two categories is tenuous, however, and perhaps should not be claimed to exist at all, since it is felt by the people that almost all gifts should be paid back eventually either in kind or in equivalence. Thus, with respect to valuables, including Australian currency, the stated ideal is balanced reciprocity (Sahlins 1965:147-8;

Sahlins 1972:194-5). There are, however, recognized exceptions to this rule. Certain specialized services, notable among which are the commissioned performance of sorcery and the curing of disease, are always paid for in valuables.

Second, it appears to be the usual practice that not all of the gifts given by a man to the 'mother's relatives' of his children are paid back on a one-to-one basis. Nor is it really expected that they will be. Although a man will state as an ideal that all gifts which he has given to his children's uterine kin should be repaid, that same man will sometimes say that he does not have to repay all gifts given to him by his sister's husband, because "he married our sister, and she has borne many children."

Finally, generalized rather than balanced reciprocity appears to operate between a man and his 'sons' (a category which includes not only the biological parent-child relationship, but also many other possible relationships: for example, that between a father's brother and brother's son, or that between a man and a child whom he has cared for during its early years). A man will aid his sons with gifts of pigs and other valuables many times during his active years. In addition, it is common for an aged or sick man no longer to take an active part in the exchange system. He often

gives some of his remaining pigs to those of his sons whose wives give him food and care for him. It is not expected that such gifts should be repaid strictly on a one-to-one basis. Rather, a son will directly repay some of the gifts given to him by a father and repay the rest on a generalized basis by caring for the father in his old age and by killing a pig or two for his funeral feast. Such practice is acceptable, although a man who does not repay any of the gifts given to him by a father, or a man who does not look after his father when he is aged, will be referred to as a 'rabisman' (worthless man) by his neighbors.

Generalized, rather than balanced, reciprocity applies with respect to the unspecialized services which co-residents of a community are continually performing for each other. Women help other women to plant their gardens, or donate vegetables for a feast given to guests. Men help other men to thatch a house-roof, or to chop down a tree intended to make fence-stakes. Such services are never repaid on a one-to-one basis, although, again, a man who has received help many times and who never repays it will find that his neighbors cease to help him eventually. The same ideal of generalized reciprocity also applies to the small gifts of cooked vegetables and cooked pork which are in-

variably given to anyone who happens to arrive while a meal is in progress, whether it be a ceremonial feast or a simple family meal. It is considered to be extremely impolite to fail to offer food to a guest -- and also extremely impolite to refuse to accept such a gift. Such gifts, and indeed all gifts, whether of services, food or valuables, increase the reputation of the donor as a man of generosity, and aid him in the acquisition of a name.

In the past, a man's exchange networks only rarely extended more than a day's walk from his own village, due to intermittent warfare between neighboring communities and the constant possibility of ambush. In more general terms, however, exchange networks extended far and in all directions. The valley produced then three valued exchange goods which were not produced by certain of their neighbors. Kapul teeth were abundant. They were strung as necklaces and exchanged to the villages around Lufa to the northeast and the Chimbu villages to the west and northwest, from whence they were exchanged on, the old men say, to the kunai areas of the Asaro valley, where kapuls are not found. The valley received in return, among other things, two which they did not produce: the iridescent face-paint which originates in the area around Kundiawa and which was ex-

changed to them from the Chimbu villages, and goldlip and cowrie shells, probably coming originally from the northern coast, which they acquired from the Lufa and Chimbu villages.

The huge cooking drums were also exchanged to the Lufa area, which shares the cultural trait of cooking in drums but which has no trees suitable for making them.

Third, the valley exchanged its salts to villages in every direction except across the eastern barrier of Mt. Michael. They received in return the afore-mentioned items from the north and west, and also many valued and rare items from the Gimi-speaking villages to the southwest: black-palm wood, items used in the practice, cure and prevention of sorcery, and the yellow and black orchid fibers used in making decorative arm-bands and belts, all of which are found in the Unave and the southern part of the Labogai census divisions of the Lufa sub-district; a few shells; and the black-tailed bird of paradise plumes, which originate in the Gimi-speaking area of the Okapa district, the region called Sianti to the southwest, and the Unave and southern Labogai census divisions. Certain types of stone suitable for making axe-heads which were not found in the valley were also exchanged in, one from the Yagarai-speaking villages to the northeast, one from the Unave, and

four from Gumine to the southwest.

European contact has had many important effects upon the traditional exchange system, both directly and indirectly.

First, by putting an end to the warfare and feuding of the past, it has widened the extent of all exchange networks. People from other areas have come to work for the Australian administration at Lufa in various capacities, and with these men some of the men of the valley have set up exchange relationships. These relationships do not usually persist when the workers return to their own villages, but very occasionally they do. In addition, the young men of the valley now quite frequently go themselves to work in the plantations on the coast, one works in Goroka, and in the early days of the Australian administration several of them went on patrol as far as Karimui. On the coast they sometimes form friendships with villagers from their own or neighboring sub-districts, and these relationships are occasionally maintained once they return to their respective villages, if the distance between communities is not too great. In Goroka and Karimui they make contacts which can be maintained (if only at sporadic intervals) and when they visit each other's villages and town they serve as means by which other friendships can

be initiated, by extending invitations to others to visit the valley. There are also many more men now who have exchange relationships with people from the Yagaria-speaking area and from the southern Labogai region, simply because travelling is no longer dangerous and almost everyone loves to travel.

Second, contact has served to introduce to the people a wide variety of goods of European origin which are now valued as exchange items. European rice and tinned foods are now used at almost all feasts. Trade cloth and beads are often given to decorate brides and girls who have reached puberty, in place of the decorated bark-cloth, kapul teeth and cowrie shells which were the traditional items of decoration. Ducks and turkeys -- although neither is equal in worth to a small pig, and neither can be given in exchange in place of a pig -- are now more than acceptable for use at a feast in place of a chicken. They can also be sold for cash.

There is now no traditional valuable (with the probable exception of a large, live pig), and no introduced one, which cannot be bought with money. Although the people are loath to part with their pigs if they own few, a man will willingly sell a small pig if he has a large newborn

litter. Money has also almost entirely taken the place of the traditional valuables in discharging the payments due to the mother's relatives at various stages of an individual's life ('head payments'), and in the payment of bridewealth (although pigs must still be exchanged between the families of bride and groom). During the eighteen months I spent in the valley, no bridewealth was either given or accepted which did not consist almost entirely of money. The only partial exceptions were three bridewealth payments, one given to and two accepted from groups outside the valley, which included a few plumes.

Contact has also had the effect of decreasing the value of certain traditional exchange goods. Stone axes are now no longer made or used as exchange items (although axe-heads are occasionally found in the gardens, given a new haft, and sold to tourists during the bi-yearly Goroka singsings). Goldlip shells are only occasionally used to decorate a bride or a singsing participant. Kapul teeth are now thrown away, salt is seldom made, and the cooking drums are seldom, if ever, traded. All of these items once were important to the exchange system as bridewealth, 'head payments' and 'special purpose monies' (Polanyi 1957:266; Bohannan 1959:491-2).

The value of certain traditional exchange goods, as measured by their exchange value in Australian currency, has risen steadily since the first contacts with Europeans were made, and appears to be still rising. Pigs which at the time of first contact were worth \$10 Aust. are now sold at market for between \$20 and \$30. My informants told me that they could be sold for \$50 if sold live. Plumes, worth from \$3 to \$5 ten years ago, are now sold for from \$4 to \$10. Chickens, formerly worth 50¢, are now uniformly sold for \$2, irrespective of size. And bridewealth has risen astronomically. Around the time of contact the following bridewealth was given for one woman from the valley:

- 5 feather head-dresses
- 3 bird of paradise plumes
- 3 goldlip shells
- 12 six-foot ropes of cowrie shells
- 2 large pieces of salt.

A few years after contact a woman was acquired by one village in the valley from a neighboring village to the south for \$50. And in late 1969 \$200 was given for a woman from the Yagaria-speaking area to the northeast.

Australian currency, acquired mainly by the sale of coffee and labor to Europeans, now enters into a wide variety of transactions, both traditional and modern in character. It is used to buy a variety of introduced goods.

Such items as lengths of cloth, ready-made clothing, steel axes, beads, hair oil, face paint, soap, kerosene, newspaper, cigarettes, stick tobacco, rice, tinned meats and fish, salt, sugar, tea and biscuits are all frequently bought items.<sup>4</sup> Store-keepers in the valley buy them (when funds are available) from the representatives of Goroka-based companies, and then resell at a profit to other members of their communities. When a desired item is not available in the valley, individuals often walk to Lufa to buy from the stores there, and occasionally they even travel to Goroka. Cash is used also to buy introduced livestock. Finally, three men of the valley had used cash to buy coffee-husking machines.

Cash also enters into numerous transactions between the villagers themselves. It is sometimes used as payment for traditional craft services, such as the performance of sorcery, curing, bow-making and tattooing. It is used as payment for non-traditional services, such as use of the coffee-husking machines and the commissioned help of small boys in picking coffee beans. Fines agreed upon during a

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<sup>4</sup>All of these goods are luxury items; many of them are used mainly on ceremonial occasions; for example, rice and tinned meats and fish are seldom cooked and eaten at routine family meals.

village 'court case' are almost invariably paid in cash. It is used also on numerous ceremonial occasions: bride-wealth and 'head pay' invariably include a payment of cash; 'marking' gifts, recompense for injury to another, and the gifts given by the prospective recipients of pork upon the announcement of a festival may do so. Cash is sometimes used as payment for traditional trade items, such as bird of paradise plumes, dogs, orchid fibers, black-palm wood, love potions, contraceptives, kapuls, face paints, arrows, chickens and live shoats. It also changes hands at card games, and is used to buy cooked pork when a pig is 'marketed'. Such informal markets are invariably impromptu occasions, held usually in the open space in front of the men's house to which the pig's owner belongs. There are no established market places. Meat is sold on a "first come, first served" basis, either for cash or for a promise to pay in cash at a later date. Most of the pork is invariably sold to members of the owner's community, but strangers may also buy if they hear of the impending sale and arrive in time. On the one occasion when a young bull was slaughtered and marketed in one of the valley communities, people from many of the surrounding villages attended the sale.

There is also a very limited involvement in the

produce markets which are held at Lufa twice weekly for the benefit of the administration officials and their non-Lufa employees. During my stay in the valley, pandanus fruits, betel nuts, pumpkins and pork were all sold at the Lufa market on separate occasions.

Insofar as I could discover, the people of the valley do not appear to have found the introduction of Australian currency (the first truly all-purpose money) to have been a traumatic experience. They admit that when they first saw money they were reluctant to exchange their valuables for it, but explain that this was because they did not know what money was. Once they discovered what money could accomplish, they say, they desired it. Concerning the payment of bridewealth in money, they say:

In the past, there was no money, and we lost much pearlshell and many plumes on women. Now money has come, and we follow the customs of the past: we lose much money on women.

There are several ceremonial occasions during the life of every individual when pigs and/or other valuables may be given in payment to celebrate his or her passage from one status to another. Such occasions begin with birth and end only with death. Of no such rite de passage, however, can it be said with finality who will make or receive payment, or even when the payments which mark the occasion will

take place. For example, ideally a feast should be given within a few weeks after the birth of a child to celebrate the event. The father of the child should invite to such a feast the close relatives of his wife, those women of the village he lives in who have given food and firewood to his wife during her pregnancy and confinement, and those women who have been present at, and have aided in, the birth of his child. He should kill a pig for the feast. The brothers (either real or classificatory) of his wife should also bring garden produce or rice to the feast, and may, if they wish, also kill a pig. Large portions of cooked pork should be given to the female relatives of his wife and to the women who aided at the birth. In actuality, such a feast may not be given at all, if the father of the child and his male relatives have no pigs available. A small shoat may simply be 'marked' at the time of the birth to be killed at a later date. The marked pig may then be killed four or five years after the birth of the child as one among a number killed for a large pig festival, cooked and quartered, and handed over to those people to whom pork is due -- with little ceremony. Even if a feast is given, chickens may be killed instead of pigs. And the relatives of the mother of the child may not be invited --

and they certainly will not be expected to kill and bring a pig to the feast -- if they live a great distance away.

Puberty is the second such ceremonial occasion to be so celebrated. Nowadays this applies only to females and, again, puberty may not be celebrated until years after the event, if no pigs are immediately available. It is also possible for a payment to be made before the event. For example, if a man has marked a pig to be killed when a young girl reaches puberty, and in the meantime that pig is injured or dies, he may give it to her then, at the same time announcing that he will not now kill a pig when she is confined. All young girls are confined to their house at the onset of their first menstrual period, and may not then set foot to the ground until their menstrual period is over. They may be confined for as long as two or three weeks. The feast which marks their new status as marriageable young women takes place when they are finally allowed to emerge from the house and begin their everyday lives again. A feast of choice vegetables is always given, but pigs may or may not be killed, and the young woman may or may not be given such valuables as pearlshell and plumes to wear. Pigs may be killed by the girl's father, his brothers, a relative of the girl's mother, or by any man who has looked

after the girl and who hopes to collect a portion of her bridewealth -- or by a man who has already collected it. Any one of these individuals may also decorate the girl with new finery. Large portions of cooked pork will then be given to the girl herself, to any young girl or woman who has chosen to remain with her during her confinement, to the wife of any man who has looked after her during her lifetime, and to those women who have given new finery to her. Pork will also be given to the girl's mother's relatives if they are present at the feast. Also to the relatives of the boy to whom she has been promised in marriage, if she has already been marked for marriage. If several pigs have been killed, large portions may also be given to men who have come to sing in the girl's house during her confinement, or even to men to whom her father simply owes a debt of any kind.

Up until quite recently (around 1966) the male equivalent of the girls' puberty ceremony was also celebrated. This was the boys' initiation ceremony, when small groups of boys were taken into the men's houses of their fathers and shown, for the first time, the sacred flutes. Such boys may or may not have already entered into puberty: there appears to have been wide variation in the ages of

the boys comprising any one group. But like the girls' ceremony, the boys' initiations also involved confinement for a period of a few days, and a feast when the boys were finally brought outside again. Any one of a number of persons might kill pigs for the feast, including the boy's mother's relatives, his father and his father's male relatives, and any man who had chosen to look after the boy during his lifetime. Large portions of cooked pork were then given to the boy's mother's relatives if they were present, to any man to whom the father of the boy owed a debt, to old men and already-initiated boys who had chosen to stay with the boy during his initiation, and perhaps also to mother's relatives of the boy's own father.

Girls are quite frequently marked for marriage at a time when both they and their future husbands are children. The marking may involve no more than the father of the boy giving to the small girl a shilling with a hole in it and saying to her father "this child is now mine." Or it may involve the killing of a pig (usually by the father of the boy or one of his male relatives) and the gift of that pig and an installment of the bridewealth to the father of the girl. In any event, the girl continues to be brought up by her own parents, and the two families begin a complex

series of exchanges. At periodic intervals, the parents of the boy send choice vegetables and pieces of cooked pork to the parents of the girl and the girl's parents reciprocate. Any person within their communities may help the parents to gather together any one of these food gifts. Almost certainly the male relatives of the father of the child will help, if they are able to do so. So also will any man who has been looking after the child. Others help if they wish to. Anyone who helps in this manner, however, will expect to be repaid in kind when the person he has helped receives a food gift in his turn.

As the girl nears puberty -- or sometimes after her first menstruation -- the bridewealth is paid. This invariably involves a large sum of money and a large number of contributors: bridewealth payments given in the valley during late 1968, 1969, and early 1970 varied from \$80 to \$200, collected from between sixteen and thirty-four contributors. Anyone at all may contribute to a bridewealth. It is not at all uncommon for persons from neighboring villages, or even visitors who just happen to be in the village when a bridewealth payment is collected, to contribute, since this entitles them to a portion of the pork which will be given at the wedding. Plumes may also be

given. Bridewealths received are not distributed so widely: they are seldom distributed to more than seven persons, and the usual number is three or four. They also may be given to any of a number of persons. Nearly always the brothers of the girl's father will receive a portion, and sometimes other relatives of the father and the girl's own brothers. Any man who has looked after the girl and who has promised a pig to be killed for her wedding is given a portion. If the parents of the girl have opposed the marriage and some other man has been instrumental in persuading them to agree, he also is given a share. Occasionally a sister of the father, or a relative of the mother, is given a portion -- but only if they happen to be visiting in the community when the bridewealth is received.

Sometime after her first menstruation (and often several years afterwards) the girl is sent in marriage to the village of her new husband. Pigs are then exchanged by the two groups of people concerned with the marriage. The number of pigs exchanged by each side should ideally be precisely equal -- in fact, a week or so before the day set for the wedding a member of the bridegroom's kingroup will usually be sent to the bride's village to ascertain the number of pigs they intend to kill. He will then go

back to his own village and his kingroup will attempt to raise the same number of pigs. Very often they are successful, although occasionally someone who has promised a pig will fail to deliver it for slaughter (he will then promise that it will be sent later), or someone who has not promised a pig will decide at the last minute to give one. As many as seven pigs, or as few as two, may be given by one kingroup to the other, but the usual number is four or five. Anyone may, if he wishes, contribute a pig. Usually the persons who kill one will do so either because they have a vested interest in the marriage by reason of having received part of the bridewealth, or because they are closely related agnatically to one of the principals, or because they owe a debt to the father or brother of either bride or groom. Occasionally they give one because they just wish to help the parents of bride or groom. Pigs are exchanged, ideally, when the bride is brought to her new husband's village. The groom's relatives may, however, be given pigs on one of their visits to the bride's village prior to the actual wedding, and the bride's relatives may collect the pigs given them when they deliver the bride. The bride's kingroup may at this time request more bride-wealth. A member of the bride's community, for example,

may stand up during the wedding feast and complain that he looked after the girl while she was young, yet was given no part of the bridewealth. Invariably the groom's kin-group will then take up another collection on the spot, in order not to be shamed by a refusal of the request. Anyone of those present at the feast who has money and who wishes to give it will then contribute. The money is then given to the disgruntled person, or perhaps distributed among several men and/or women who feel that there is a debt due them.

Occasionally the bride is given money by her kingroup to take with her to the village of her new husband. She may also be elaborately decked out with plumes and pearlshell (although this was more common in the past than it is at present). She is also quite frequently given one or two small, live pigs to take with her to her new home. If so, the money, plumes and pearlshells are collected in the same way as is a bridewealth payment, and are apportioned between those persons of the groom's community who have helped pay the bridewealth given for the girl. The bride herself will keep the shoats and help her husband to raise them. The pigs which are exchanged are usually cut up and pieces are distributed to a variety of persons for a variety of reasons. Anyone who helped carry a pig from one village to the other

is given a large portion of a pig received in exchange. So also are those men of the groom's village who took the bridewealth to the bride's village, and those women who helped to dress the bride in her new finery and who escorted her to her new home. Any relative of the mother of either bride or groom who happens to be present at the wedding will probably be given a large portion. Small portions are also given to all those who contributed to a bridewealth or to the gift of money which a bride takes with her to her husband's village. Occasionally a whole pig may be given to someone who has contributed a pig to the wedding, in order to repay the debt there and then.

The sequence of events described above as being typical of marriage is not, however, invariable. Girl children are not always marked for marriage at an early age. Sometimes a girl's parents will decide to wait until she is old enough to indicate whether or not she wishes to marry one of the young men on whose behalf bridewealth will have been sent to her -- and a young girl may refuse to marry two or three men before she finally indicates (often after much persuasion from her brothers, parents and father's brothers) that a bridewealth may be accepted. A girl may also run away from a husband she does not like and begin

living with the man of her choice. In such cases the girl is often considered to be married (she may even be pregnant) before all of the pigs and bridewealth given for her first marriage are returned to their donors and a new bridewealth collected and given and new pigs exchanged.

Death imposes the final change in status in the life of the individual, and it is observed by mourning, burial and a funeral feast. The period of mourning and the size of the funeral feast vary depending on the status of the individual who has died. The parents of a dead child may mourn its death for only a few hours, then bury it and hold a small feast for the father's close relatives, killing only a small pig belonging to the father himself. On the other hand, the passing of a 'truly big man' (or of the wife, father, or mother of a big man) may be observed with several days of mourning, during which the dead person lies in state in his or her house. During this time people from villages as much as a day's walk away may come to wail at the house of the dead. As many as ten or eleven pigs, but usually between four and seven, may be killed for the funeral feast. Again, pigs may be killed by almost anyone. Close agnatic kin of the dead man (or, if a woman, close agnatic kin of her husband) will almost certainly kill pigs.

So also will the bereaved spouse. Sometimes a dead woman's agnatic kin will also kill pigs, if they live in a neighboring village; if a man dies, occasionally his sisters' husbands may do so. Any person who owes a pig to the dead person will probably take this opportunity to discharge his debt, and anyone who owes a debt to the dead man's close agnatic kin may also do so. When the pigs are cut up and distributed, anyone at all who has mourned the death (even if they only knew of the dead person by name) is owed a gift of pork. Those who have kept watch with the body through the night are given a large portion, as also are those women who have cleaned the mouth and nose of the dead, those men who have made the coffin, those who have given cloths or towels to line the coffin, and those who have carried the body to its grave. In the past, when selective cannibalism was practiced, anyone who ate of the body was also due a large gift of pork. If a woman has died, her agnatic kin may be given a whole pig; if a man has died, his sisters may be given the same. Whole pigs, or certainly very large portions of pork, will also be given to any uterine kin of the dead person who attend the feast. In the past, the uterine kin were also given plumes and other valuables, as the final installment of "pay for the head of the child."

Currently this custom is still observed, but only if the dead person was not a baptized Christian -- and nowadays money is usually given instead of the traditional valuables.

Again, the sequence of events described above as typical of death is not invariable. 'Secret' burial is not at all uncommon: the relatives of the dead individual will sometimes bury him or her with little wailing and no funeral feast. The usual explanation given for this practice is that the relatives of the dead did not have any pigs suitable for killing at the time of the death. In this case the death will be publicly announced a few months, or perhaps a year, later, and the 'funeral' feast will be given then. Sometimes, also, the 'funeral' feast will be held before the death of the individual whom it honors. If, for example, a woman is seriously ill and it is evident that she will die, her brothers may arrive with a pig to give to her. If her husband and his relatives have many pigs at that particular time, they may decide to hold a feast in her honor there and then. They will announce, at such a feast, that they are giving this feast in lieu of a feast when she dies. Usually they will also kill one or two pigs when the woman actually does die, but not as many as they would otherwise have killed.

Pigs may also be killed, and/or valuables given, upon any one of a number of occasions which may occur during the life of a particular individual.

In the past, and to some extent also today among those persons who are not baptized Christians, many food taboos are imposed upon each individual. Some of these taboos are temporary, as, for example, a food taboo placed upon a small child by its father when it first enters school. Some taboos begin when a boy is initiated, or when a man or woman is married, and must then be observed until death. Some must be observed most of a man's (or woman's) adult life, but may be raised in extreme old age. Whenever a taboo is raised a feast is given and a pig is killed, usually by a close agnatic relative of the principal -- or by her husband's relatives, if the principal is a married woman. Large portions of pork are given to the principal himself, to any uterine kin or affines who attend, and perhaps to certain others to whom a debt is owed.

Pigs may also be killed when a person is seriously ill and a curing ceremony is held. In such cases a specialist is called in to divine the cause of the sickness and to advise what should be done to cure it. Such services are handsomely rewarded -- usually by one or more whole pigs

and/or the equivalence in valuables or currency. But most persons present at the curing will be given some pork.

If a man has spent several years living in a community other than his natal one, and then decides to move back to his natal village, pigs may also be killed and a feast given by the community he is leaving. His natal village may also give a feast to celebrate his return. In the former case most of the pigs killed will be given to the man who is leaving, and he will then give most of the portions back to his particular friends and creditors. In the latter case most of the pigs killed will be given to persons in the community the man is leaving, to repay them for their hospitality. Neither type of feast is, however, invariably given when a man changes his residence.

Pigs, valuables and currency are also given, at intervals throughout an individual's life, to his or her 'uterine kin.' The people are quite explicit about the reason for this custom: they say that when a man is old and his son's children are grown enough to 'take his place', "pay for the head of the child" is due the agnatic kin of the children's mother. In reality, however, pay may also be given to persons related to the child in any of a number of ways: to any man who looked after the child's mother

during her youth; to father's sister's husband and sons; to mother's mother's agnatic kin; to mother's sister's husband and sons; to father's mother's agnatic kin; and to the descendants of any woman from the mother's natal village. If a woman bears no living children, and yet has been a good wife, her own agnatic kin sometimes claim 'head pay.' And if a woman's own agnatic kin live a great distance from her husband's village, head pay for her children may not even be given to them at all, but may be given instead to men in her husband's village or in neighboring villages whom she has 'adopted' as brothers.

Usually the first installment of head pay is given while the individual for whom it is given is still a child (perhaps six or seven years old), and the last installment is given when the funeral feast is held (if the individual has not been baptized a Christian). It may be given at any time, although frequently such payments are combined with one or several of the feasts held to celebrate a rite de passage. Anyone may contribute to a payment, although the major part of the total payment given for any male will usually be contributed by his agnatic kin -- by his father and his father's brothers when he is a child, and by his sons and his brothers' sons at his death. Payments

for a female are given by her agnatic kin before she marries, but by her husband's agnatic kin from the time of her marriage until her death. A total payment is usually quite large: perhaps five or six pigs, and five to ten plumes or \$40 to \$60. The people state that all payments made to the 'mother's relatives' should, ideally, be repaid in kind. Usually some payments are repaid. All payments are not likely to be, sometimes because the donors tell the recipients that they need not repay, and sometimes simply because the recipients fail to live up to the ideal.

There were also, in the past, occasions connected with the cessation of inter-group warfare and intra-group fighting upon which pigs were killed and payments of pork and other valuables made. The old men say that in pre-contact times indemnity was never specifically given for the death of a member of an enemy village -- such deaths were simply reciprocated in kind during some future battle or skirmish. Occasionally, however, neighboring communities which considered themselves allies, or two kingroups within a community, would fight, and then a special indemnity of one or two pigs was frequently given to the relatives of the dead or injured man during the feast which was nearly always given to mark a cessation of hostilities between any two

groups of any size or relationship. Such feasts might consist of one or of many pigs, killed by each side and then exchanged and distributed. Each man who had drawn blood in the fight would be expected to give a pig to the feast, either one which he had killed himself or one given by his friends and relatives to help him. If such a feast was given to mark the end of hostilities between communities which considered themselves enemies, small gifts of plumes, live shoats and/or other valuables might be sent by the men of each community to their sisters who had married into the other. Often, at this time, plans would also be made to hold a big festival sometime in the future, and further hostilities would be banned until after the festival had taken place.

Any kingroup, or community, which helped another in a fight which did not personally concern the helping group had to be recompensed. Often such help would be requested, and then the group requesting aid would send with their request (or promise at some future date) a gift of axes, plumes, kapul teeth, cowries, pig or pearlshell -- "all of the things which were used to buy a woman," the old men say. If any member of a helping group was injured or killed in the fight, then special recompense was also due him or

his agnates. Such indemnity might consist of pigs, or of the above-mentioned valuables. It might be paid during the feast marking the end of a period of hostilities, or at a separate feast, or later during a big festival. Such recompense for injury was due even from one man to his brother, if that brother helped in a fight which did not personally concern him.

If a community was routed in war and forced to flee to a friendly village, pigs might be killed and a feast given to welcome the refugees. They were invariably lent land upon which to work gardens, and given small shoats and seeds. Usually they would stay in the village of their hosts at least until their pigs were big enough to kill, when they would give a feast to repay their friends. Some groups then managed to retake their own land; some have stayed on permanently with their hosts until the present day.

The old men say, also, that women were occasionally 'given' to other groups for various reasons connected with war. If one community prevented another friendly to it from shooting the members of a refugee group, the refugees might later send a woman to the community which had aided them. Or a woman might be sent in recompense if a fight

broke out between allied communities and a man was killed. Such women, however, were never sent as free and outright gifts. Bridewealth was, on all such occasions, given for them -- although the old men insist that in such cases the bridewealth given was smaller than one given for a woman sent in marriage when no such debt was owed.

All-out warfare has, of course, been effectively ended by the Australian administration, but quarrels and limited fights do still occur, and the resumption of amicable relations is still often marked by the killing of a pig and a feast. Injury to another is also often recompensed by pay -- usually, these days, by currency.

Pigs are also killed and given in exchange on innumerable other occasions. A community may decide to do so to celebrate the completion of a certain job of work (for example, a large communal garden, or their section of a new road). They are especially likely to do so if people from other communities have helped them with their work. Or a big man, or an aspiring big man, may turn a not uncommon occasion (for example, the completion of a new house, or the visit of a district officer to his village) into an occasion for giving a feast, in order to impress his status as a big man upon his friends and neighbors. A man may

also kill and give a pig, at any time, to a creditor who has been complaining in public about a long-overdue debt. Finally, a pig which injures itself, or one which consistently spoils the gardens of others, is often killed and used either to repay a debt or to commemorate in advance an impending ceremonial occasion. Or it may be marketed.

There are also many occasions upon which currency (in the past, other valuables) or a vegetable feast, with perhaps a little pig if the donor of the feast has any available, is given for a specific service rendered. Such occasions range from the traditional to the very modern. For example, bow-making is a specialized art, and a specialist who carves a hunting-bow for another (out of black-palm wood which the future owner of the bow supplies) will expect to be paid for his work. Such pay may take the form of a piece of the wood, or currency, or the promise of a piece of pork in the future. Tatooing is not a highly specialized art, since many men and women know how to do it. But if a woman's work is known to be especially fine, and she is requested to tatoo another woman, she also must be paid -- either with a small vegetable feast, or with currency, or with some other small valuable. These are traditional occasions. On the other hand, a small vegetable feast, or

currency, may be given by a man in order to recompense some friends for helping him to pick his coffee. And this is a very modern situation.

Finally, there are the big pig festivals, which are, in terms of the numbers of pigs killed at any one time, the most important occasions of ceremonial exchange known to the people of the valley. Such festivals take place at intervals of approximately four to seven years, and are said to be held for the basic purpose of enabling the communities of the valley to repay some other group of communities which has at some past time held a festival to give pigs to them. The group of communities who are the major recipients of the pigs thus varies from time to time.

The old men say that there was always a close relationship between a festival and the initiation of young boys, marriage, warfare and indemnity, and the giving of 'head pay.' Any individual men's house might, of course, initiate a small group of three or four boys at any time. Similarly, an individual marriage might take place at any time. But at a festival each village participating in the pig-killing would send many young girls in marriage, and each men's house in each participating community might hold an initiation ceremony, individually but concurrently.

An agreement to hold a pig festival often, in the past, also cemented a truce between two warring groups of communities. At the small feast held to mark the cessation of a period of hostilities, plans might be made for a double festival to be held sometime in the future, and perhaps also for marriages between members of the two groups to take place at one of the festivals. If so, then a truce on further hostilities would be declared to be in force until the final festival had been held. Both sides would then tend their pigs and gardens. Finally one side, and then the other, would hold a festival -- after which hostilities often began again within a short space of time. Not only were pigs given at such a festival by one side to its 'enemies', but some were also usually sent to allies (those communities which had aided in the fighting) as indemnity for injury and death.

Since festivals are always large affairs attended by several hundred guests, they also provide an ideal opportunity for the requesting of 'head pay' by uterine kin. Invariably such pay will be requested of the parents of any young person who is being married at the festival -- and also, in the past, of the parents of any young boy who was undergoing initiation.

Since I have participated personally in only one such festival, I hesitate to say that what I observed was typical. In fact, since warfare and the initiation ceremony have now ceased to be aspects of the culture of the valley, undoubtedly the festival which I observed was not identical with any festival which took place in pre-contact times. The old men say that it was also not typical in another sense -- they say that it was a 'small' festival, and that often they hold festivals at which many more pigs are killed. It is difficult to know if that is really so. However, the old men also said that the festival I observed was typical in all other respects -- that they did things in the traditional way -- and I therefore feel that it is worth describing. The following is an account of the sequence of events.

Around August or September of 1968 four communities south of the Beha Valley held a festival, and gave the majority of the pigs they killed to the communities of the valley. Shortly after this festival had taken place, the men's houses of the valley began to play their flutes occasionally, thereby announcing that certain men of the valley had many pigs and would sometime in the future hold a festival and repay their debts. As the flutes began to be played, further

killing of pigs before the festival was prohibited (although in actuality people continued to kill pigs for various reasons up to the day when the festival took place). At this time, also, people began to speak of possible marriages which might be arranged to take place at the festival, although at this time they said that the event would probably not take place until two Christmasses had passed.

Late in 1968 the incidence of court-cases and quarrels concerning gardens which had been broken into and devastated by pigs began to increase, and it increased further during early 1969. Some of these cases were taken to the district officer for settlement. In a few cases concerning pigs which had been particularly troublesome he ordered that they be shot. People began to grumble that their gardens were ruined and that they had no food to eat themselves. Then, in April of 1969, one man who was beginning to acquire a name as a big man (although people said that he was not yet truly a big man) persuaded many of the men of his particular community that the pigs were becoming inordinately troublesome, and that they should all be killed and the festival held promptly. He said that he was tired of paying money in fines for gardens his pigs had spoiled. He and his supporters began to play their flutes every night, and

a few days later they sent word to the other communities of the valley that they wished to hold a meeting to discuss the matter. Very few of the truly important men of the valley attended that meeting, and none of them agreed that the festival should be held promptly. They said that the people should repair their garden fences, look after their pigs, and wait until some yams which had been marked for the festival were ready for harvesting. Other meetings were held in the days which followed, some composed of the men of only one men's house, and some at which members of all of the valley communities were present. Argument concerning whether or not the festival should be held that year went back and forth. Some of the big men capitulated early and then talked as if the idea of holding the festival was their own; some only changed their opinion when they were outnumbered by the men of their own men's house. By early May (approximately two weeks after the first meeting was held to discuss the matter) it was decided to hold the festival in approximately one month. Around the same time each men's house individually held a meeting to decide how many pigs they would kill, with each man present putting down a stick for each pig he intended to kill and naming the person to whom he intended to give it. Two hundred and

five pigs were marked for killing. At this time it was also decided which of those girls whose bridewealth payments had already been received should be sent in marriage at the festival.

Other events took place from then until the festival was actually held at the end of June. The flutes were played almost every night. Two of the men's houses in the valley were torn down and rebuilt, and six entirely new ones were built (although the old men said that four of these merely replaced men's houses which had existed in the past). Some of the women's huts were also rebuilt (but no ceremonial guesthouses were constructed). People began to go on visits to other communities, dressed in singsing finery and playing the flutes, to announce that they intended to kill pigs for certain friends and relatives. They expected, and sometimes received, a gift of money or plumes when the announcement of their intentions was made. Singsings were held, some given by the members of a community for their own enjoyment, some given by one community within the valley for another, and some given by visitors from outside the valley, who thus expressed their pleasure in the pigs promised them. During these singsings all of the young unmarried men and girls were actively encouraged to

enjoy themselves, and in particular those young girls whose marriages were planned to coincide with the festival. Guests began to arrive, many from communities as much as one or two days' walk from the valley. By the day of the festival there were approximately 855 adult guests (plus children, whom I did not count) staying in the valley. They were housed in the men's houses and women's huts of their own particular friends and relatives. On the day of the festival itself a further 350 guests arrived from those communities to the south in whose honor the festival was being given.

Four days before the festival a special singsing was held. Certain young girls and women of the valley were decorated very elaborately and given the five foot high, brightly painted festival dance-boards (keruba) to wear on their shoulders as they danced. Only the daughters or wives of men who have and intend to kill many pigs are permitted to wear the keruba, and in fact there were only thirteen girls and women in the whole valley who did so on this particular occasion. A pig was killed in honor of each keruba -- although only in eight cases by the father or husband of the female who wore it -- and pieces of those pigs were given to all who admired the boards. Six of the dance-

boards were made by the man whose wife or daughter wore it to celebrate his status as an owner of many pigs; each of the others was made by an agnatic relative of the pig-owner. Plumes and other decorations worn by the women and girls were lent for the occasion by many people of the pig-owner's community. Only in three cases did a female wear decorations contributed by persons outside of her own community: by the father of a fiance, by a brother (lent to a married woman), and by a mother's agnatic relative.

In the days which followed this singsing cooking pits were dug, firewood collected, vegetables harvested, and the pigs were killed. Most of these pigs were then given directly to other men of the valley as payment for debts or as gifts. The recipients then cooked them and prepared them for presentation to guests from communities outside the valley. A few men who had no debts owing to residents of the valley cooked their own pigs for direct presentation to their guests. The presentation to guest communities took place on the day of the festival itself, on the singsing ground of the central and largest community in the valley, Beha, in accordance with traditional custom. Each community laid out its pigs in individual rows. The communities in whose honor the festival was being given arrived,

were led ceremoniously onto the singsing ground, and were given food to eat while waiting for the presentation. Then the pigs were cut up, the names of the recipients called out, and their portions handed to them. There was no ceremonial presentation of live shoats or other valuables. While the presentation of pork was going on, many orders were shouted out, some by big men and some by the younger men and the elected officials. Some of these orders and suggestions were obeyed, and some not. After the presentation the names of those girls who were being given in marriage, and the names of the kingroups to which they were being given, were called out, and the girls were ceremoniously handed over. At the same time, on different parts of the singsing ground, money and other valuables were being handed over as 'head pay', extra bridewealth, payment for debts due, and as gifts to relatives not seen for a long time. Most of the honored guests then returned to their homes.

In the two or three days following the festival other pigs were killed. Most of these were given by their owners to men of their own community -- again either in payment of debts or as gifts. A few were cooked by the owner himself. Some of the portions of pork were then given to those guests who had not been honored at the festival, both

as gifts and in payment of debts, and some were used to hold ceremonial feasts. A funeral feast took place during this time, and a 'birth feast' for a seven year old child.

In the two weeks following the festival, singsings again took place. Some were given by the members of communities who had been guests at the festival. Some were given by the communities of the valley for each other. All expressed gratitude for the pork which had been given, and all involved the wearing of a particular type of dance-board (kafi) by those individuals who had received much pork.

Finally, a small feast, using leftover pork, was given by each men's house individually in honor of its sacred flutes. The flutes were then carefully oiled, wrapped up, and put away in the rafters of the men's houses, and the valley communities returned to their everyday life.

In all, a total of 248 pigs were killed for the festival. Of these, 184 were presented to guests on the day of the festival itself, and a further sixty-four were killed in the days which followed. Only 105 men, out of the 187 residing in the valley at the time, killed pigs. Of these men, only twenty-five killed three or more pigs; only four men killed five pigs; and only one man killed more than five.

The latter was the aspiring big man who had originally suggested that the festival be held at this time; he killed eleven pigs. Not all of those who killed three or more pigs were big men, although most of them were men who were known to have many pigs. Not all of those who killed pigs were men who had been born in the valley. One, in fact, was a mission teacher from another district, and two were men who had been born in one of those communities in whose honor the festival was held.

Of the eighty-two men who did not kill any pigs, some explained that they had no debts outstanding at the time. Some were men who had no pigs to kill. Others had both debts and pigs, but foresaw that they would have to kill pigs for some ceremony in the near future, and intended to repay their debts then.

No man in the valley received more than five pigs in the first round of internal exchanges which took place before the festival. No man had more than five pigs to give to guests in his own name on the day of the festival.

Fourteen girls were given in marriage at the time of the festival. Of these fourteen marriages, seven were intra-village unions, one was a marriage between members of two different communities within the valley, and six

were marriages between members of the valley communities and communities outside it. Sixty-six of the pigs which were killed for the festival were given in exchanges connected with these marriages. Forty of these pigs were given in intra-village exchanges, six were exchanged between two communities of the valley, and twenty were given by the villages of the valley to villages outside it. Twenty pigs were, of course, received in exchange for those sent with the brides to villages outside the valley, and these were then used as prestations at the festival.

In summary, I wish to emphasize what I believe to be the most culturally important characteristics of the exchange system of the valley. First, the variety of ceremonial occasions on which pigs and other valuables may be exchanged -- there are a large number of occasions during the life of every individual when, ideally, feasts and exchanges of valuables should take place. At the same time, there is a flexibility about the whole system of ceremonial exchange which allows for wide individual variation in behavior. A man may, if he wishes, engage in exchanges of valuables not only at the life crises of his children and agnatic relatives, but also at those of his wife's relatives, his mother's, and those of any co-resident of his community.

He may kill pigs for the festivals, for curing ceremonies and the raising of taboos. He may even choose to turn an ordinary occasion (the completion of a new house, for example) into a ceremony, by killing pigs and giving a feast. On the other hand, there are few occasions on which he is obligated to do so -- the marriage of his own child would, perhaps, be the only exception. Other life crises may, or may not, be celebrated in this manner. And a man need not even kill pigs for a festival, if he does not wish to do so -- eighty-two men of the valley chose not to do so at the 1969 festival. There is also considerable flexibility in all other aspects of ceremony and ritual, and a wide range of culturally allowed individual behavior. As has been mentioned, many life crises may be celebrated either before, during, or after the event, depending on the desires of those whom the society holds responsible for decisions concerning them. A 'birth feast' may be held seven years after the birth of the child concerned; a 'funeral feast' may be held before the death of the person it honors. There is little ritual which must be observed. A girl must be confined to her house during her first menstrual period, but apart from this one aspect of the puberty ceremony, other ritual again depends on the desires of the

main participants -- the parents, and the girl herself. She may stay in the house for a varying length of time, anywhere from a few days to two or three weeks; she may be given instructions concerning suitable behavior for a wife and mother, or she may not. Singsings and a pig-feast may be given for her, and she may be given new clothing and decorations -- but none of the above may be done for her. Similarly, if and when a feast is given, the number of pigs which are killed for it depends on individual decisions -- there is no 'culturally correct' number for any occasion. Again, the only exception (a partial one) is the marriage feast, when the number of pigs killed by the family of the groom and the family of the bride must be precisely the same.

Second, in all exchange ceremony, there is flexibility concerning the participants. Even though there are occasions, such as a daughter's puberty ceremony, when a man will be shamed if his 'brothers' kill pigs and he does not, at the same time it is recognized that he has a right not to do so, if he chooses not to. On most ceremonial occasions, whether or not a man kills pigs or exchanges other valuables depends entirely upon his own decision. Similarly, the choice of recipients is dependent upon the

decisions of the donors of a feast. It is often stated by the people that on all ceremonial exchange occasions pork and other valuables should be given to certain defined groups of persons. Yet in practice pork is often given to individuals and groups who are not culturally defined as recipients, and it may not be given at all to those who are so defined. Occasionally such non-ideal exchanges are rationalized in kinship terms, but often they are merely recognized and accepted.

Finally, there is a strong emphasis on reciprocity as a cultural ideal. Even though there is no culturally defined occasion on which a man must give valuables to his creditors, it is nonetheless expected of him that he reciprocate at some time. A man who does not do so will lose status; his neighbors will cease to help him when he needs help, and his exchange partners will eventually cease to give valuables to him. At the same time, there is emphasis on generosity as a means to attainment of status: to give more than one has received is something to be proud of, and also something which others will talk of with respect and admiration.

## CHAPTER VI

### POWER AND AUTHORITY

The old men say that in the past there were two distinct kinds of big man recognized in the valley. These were both called by the general term agege vana ('men with names'). The most important agege vana were the wasigi vana -- the fight leaders, renowned for their courage and skill in war. Less important agege vana were the kali vana, men known for their skill in gardening and pig-raising, and for their generosity in giving away the products of their skill. The people say that the fight leaders had a great deal of authority over matters concerning the safety of their own communities, that they sometimes called a truce in inter-community wars and were obeyed, and that they were sometimes also able to mediate successfully in intra-community quarrels. Judging by present-day attempts at mediation by former fight leaders which I witnessed, however, such mediation would not have been successful unless the compromise suggested was acceptable to all of the participants in a quarrel. And their sphere of authority can at no point have been very wide, since as far back as can be remembered there were at most points in time at least two,

and sometimes three or four, fight leaders in each community. Such wasiqi vana, and men who aspired to the title, competed for renown. Although on certain occasions it is said that one particular fight leader led two or more communities in one particular fight, no fight leader ever succeeded in imposing his authority consistently over even his own community. Authority appears to have been situational: it is said that many of the fight leaders said little or nothing when decisions concerning where and when to begin work on one of the big, communal gardens were reached, because "that was not their job." Such matters, and decisions concerning when to hold one of the big singsings and when to hold one of the festivals, were reached by consensus, in the reaching of which the kali vana are said to have had an important voice. Kali vana are, today, the real agege vana of the valley communities, but they are said to have been definitely less renowned than the wasiqi vana in the past:

The men who excelled at fighting and looked after the land -- their names flew up like birds. Men who looked after gardens and pigs had names, but their names did not win. The men who planted food looked after us, but their names went underneath. The men who won at fights, their names alone went on top. All men heard their names.

Seldom, if ever, was a wasiqi vana also a kali vana:

Fighting was sweet to them. They did not think of their gardens, or of their pigs. They thought only of shooting our enemies.

Yet, because of their fame, they received many gifts of pork and other valuables, both from members of their own communities and from other communities which had heard their names. Some of these gifts were freely given, and did not have to be repaid. Women, it is said, flocked to both types of agege vana: to the fight leaders because women admired them and knew that they would be safe with a fight leader as a husband, and to the kali vana because they knew that they would always have plenty of food.

Soon after contact, however, the inter-village feuding and warfare which were traditionally such important concerns of the men of the Highlands were effectively ended by the Australian administration. Skill in war became an outmoded quality, no longer useful. But the qualities of skill in growing food and pig-raising, and generosity, are still admired, and older men who have these qualities are still spoken of as being men with names. They also retain a measure of authority in certain group activities. Some of the old fight leaders have, since contact, begun to take more interest in their gardens and pigs, and have retained their names. Others have died, or have become so old that

they no longer take an active part in either the exchange system or in group decision-making. They are remembered for their past deeds in war, and are sometimes spoken of as men who have names, but they actually have little authority nowadays, and are not always accorded even respect. Such incidents as the following are not uncommon.

A court case was brought before the committee member for Beha, concerning some tankets marking the boundaries of land belonging to two men of one kingroup, which K., belonging to another kingroup, had cut down -- in anger at the failure of one of the land owners to repay a debt (of a pig) which he considered long overdue. W., one of the land owners, began proceedings by saying that he was not angry about the question of land ownership -- that if K. had merely dug up the tankets there would be no question of a court case. But, he said, K. had cut them down, and this was as though he had cut W.'s own skin. He felt that K. should pay for the damage to the tankets. Ka., a former fight leader, then embarked upon a long monologue concerning the history of ownership of all of the land in the vicinity of the damaged tankets. And T., an old but outspoken widow, told him to shut up, adding for the benefit of the spectators that Ka. always wants to discuss the cause of every-

thing, and that people are tired of listening to him. Ka. attempted to go on with his speech, but was ignored by the main participants in the case, and eventually subsided into silence.

Another time Y., also a former fight leader, was injured when he fell from a homemade 'ladder' while trying to wrap bananas in order to hasten their ripening. A fence post pierced his thigh, leaving a deep and nasty wound. Several people began ministering to him, but he became angry and began screaming that nowadays no one looks after him. He said that before (in the old days) he was a big man, and everyone did as he told them to do. But now that the Government has come, no one helps him with his garden any more. He gardens alone, gets his own food and firewood, and even sleeps alone. And, he complained, he was alone when he fell and injured himself. At this point Y.'s younger son arrived. Y. began directing recriminations at him, and he also became angry. He said that Y. does not care for his children, but only for those of his elder son. He stated that Y. could die, for all he cared, and walked away.

Occasionally people will remark of these and other former fight leaders "In the past he was a man with a name,

but now his name is falling down."

Knowledge of sorcery is not, and apparently never has been, a means to acquiring the status of an acknowledged big man. People say that, in the past, some of the known sorcerers were also fight leaders, and had status because of their skill in war; others, however, were known to be poor fighters who preferred to stay in the village rather than engage in a fight, and these are said to have had little status. No one could remember the name of any sorcerer who was also known as a kali vana -- a man known for his wealth in pigs and generosity in feast-giving.

There is a wide range of individual knowledge of, and beliefs about, sorcery among the population of the valley. I was told by some people that women do occasionally engage the services of a sorcerer to do away with an unwanted husband. One old man told me that many times when he was a young man sitting in the men's house in the evenings his fathers would tell him not to beat his wife too frequently, because men who abused their wives lived short lives -- they died of poison. He said that two widows of the village (whom he named) were known to have rid themselves of their husbands in this manner. Those women whom I questioned agreed that they had also heard of women who

employed sorcerers. Yet other men said that although women know of sorcery, they would not ever attempt to employ a sorcerer to 'poison' anyone, because women think only of working their gardens and raising their pigs.

There was also disagreement about the identities of the sorcerers in the region -- most people suggested a few names, but admitted that they did not really know, since the practice of sorcery is something which is usually well hidden. People were also divided in their opinions concerning whether or not curers also know how to practice sorcery, in addition to knowing how to cure the illnesses resulting from its practice. As one old man said:

The men who cure poison say "you went to this place and these men poisoned you." Now we do not know how they know this. We wonder if they know how to poison. They make accusations, and this talk alone becomes a big thing. We don't know if the talk is true or not.

All of the people I questioned however (both male and female) agreed that only men are known to practice sorcery. They also agreed that sorcerers are generally wealthy in pigs and valuables. They explained that a sorcerer's fees are high. One informant told me that he personally knew of a court case brought because some men of Gono sent a pig to a Hogavi sorcerer in advance payment for sorcery to be practiced against another Hogavi man.

They promised him a further \$20 if the sorcery was successful. The narrator of the story said "Poison is not acquired for nothing. Food, salt, pigs and money -- it is bought with these things."

My informants agreed that, in the past, although sorcerers were greatly feared by residents of other communities which were enemies of their own, and although they may have been wealthy in pigs and valuables, they had little authority in their own villages in matters not connected with sorcery. It is said that most people would not listen to a sorcerer if he tried to persuade them to accept his decisions concerning the holding of a festival or the making of a communal garden, because "that is not their work." Indeed, the practice of sorcery, rather than lending authority, can actually be dangerous to the sorcerer himself. Stories are told of sorcerers who, in pre-contact times, were accused of 'poisoning' members of their own villages and either killed or forced to flee their homes at night. Today it is not uncommon for a sorcerer to be taken to court by residents of his own community. In late 1968, for example, the following incident occurred.

A man of Hogavi died while staying overnight in the village of Beha. Some of his male agnates, convinced

that he had been the victim of sorcery, took up the corpse and ran around the village, so that the corpse could by some sign identify the sorcerer who had caused his death. Nothing occurred, so they took the dead man back to Hogavi. They said later that as they approached the house belonging to K.'s wife, in Hogavi, the corpse suddenly sat up on its stretcher and stopped them. The following morning they called a meeting, and accused K. in public of having practiced sorcery against a member of his own 'line.' The accusations and discussions continued until late in the afternoon, when K. suddenly announced "Every time that someone dies, you accuse me of killing him. Very well, then, I am finished." He ran into his house, got a piece of rope, and dashed toward the bush -- with the intention, people said, of hanging himself. He was prevented from doing so by one of the Hogavi committee members, who said later that in preventing K. from committing suicide he thought of the trouble which would come to the village from the Government, if he allowed it. Soon after this incident, the meeting ended. Nothing further came of the affair. I was told that everyone was embarrassed by K.'s threat, and that for this reason they decided not to take him to court. They felt that now that he had been publicly

shamed, he would not be likely to again poison anyone from his own community.

There are, currently, three men in the valley whose names were most frequently mentioned as being known sorcerers. While two of the three are known as men who have many pigs, none has a reputation as being a 'truly big man.'

Both men and women may become curers, and there are well-known curers of both sexes. There is a certain prestige attached to successful specialization in any one of a number of techniques and/or classes of ailment. Curers also get paid for their services, and some are said to be wealthy. As is true also of sorcerers, however, the sphere of authority of a curer is limited to the practice of his specialty, unless his prestige as a big man gives him the authority to command attention when he speaks of other matters. For example, Ki., a man wealthy in pigs, called in a curer to treat his wife, suffering from a long-standing illness. He said that he wished to kill a small pig for use in the cure. The curer disagreed with this decision -- he said that the woman's illness was serious, and that a small pig would not have enough fat on it to make the cure effective. He said that they must kill a large pig. Ki. did not wish to kill one of his large pigs, since he said

that he had already killed two pigs for cures which had not been effective. He grumbled about the decision, but the following day capitulated and killed a pig of the size requested by the curer.

Everyone whom I questioned agreed, however, that if a curer chose to speak at meetings involving decisions on matters other than curing, he would only be listened to insofar as he was known as a man of generosity, wealth in pigs, or expertise in the matter under discussion. One informant said:

You know, if you are boss of one kind of work, I am not likely to pull it away from you. The man who poisons, his work is of one kind; the man who cures has another kind of work; the man who looks after pigs has another kind of work. Each bosses his own work.

Of the eight curers living in the valley, not one was known as a truly big man, and only two were known as men who had many pigs.

As in other areas of the Highlands which were not 'discovered' until after World War II, the Australian administration of Lufa sub-district was for the first decade one which was modelled partly on the British principle of Indirect Rule (Lugard 1965). In each of the villages a luluai and tultul were appointed by the district officers, given badges, and delegated certain duties: the luluai to

keep the peace in his village, to settle those disputes which he could handle and to send those which he could not himself adjudicate (and perpetrators of serious offences, such as murder and cannibalism) to the 'kiap' (Australian district officer), and to see that the people showed up for their allotted days of work on the 'big road' through the sub-district; the tultul as a second-in-command to the luluai -- and frequently as an interpreter between the kiap and the luluai.

Tultuls were generally chosen for their knowledge of Pidgin, all other things being equal. Apparently there was, however, a sincere attempt on the part of the administration to choose as luluai the big man of each village.

An early patrol report suggests:

Close supervision of the people's work and ability during the period necessary to complete the road should provide valuable information; pertaining especially to the correct choice of clan leaders.<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, the truly big men frequently remained in the background in dealings with Europeans, allowing younger, less renowned men to claim leadership in village affairs. At one point I questioned various informants

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<sup>5</sup>From the patrol report of Mr. J. L. Thyer, dated November, 1954.

concerning the status at the time during which they held their positions of eight former luluais, three from the Beha Valley, three from the Gono villages, and two from Lufa. My informants agreed that none of the eight was a 'truly big man' when he was appointed luluai. Three of the eight, however, had had fathers (all then dead) who had been in pre-contact times renowned fight leaders. Two others belonged to villages whose fight leaders were all dead; they themselves were beginning to acquire names as fight leaders when pacification was accomplished. Of the remaining three, my informants said merely that they had no name of any kind -- nor did their fathers.

Interestingly, however, four of the eight have in recent years acquired names as 'truly big men' on the basis of their generosity and their wealth in pigs.

In September of 1965, participatory democracy was introduced to the sub-district with the formation of the Sub-district Council. The people were introduced to the idea through a pre-election campaign by the Australian administration of Lufa, during which the concept of the Council (self-government with guidance from the kiaps) was explained to them and they were shown how to vote. Each group of from two to five communities voted for a councillor,

and each major community for a committee member. The population of the Beha Valley was told to elect one councillor and four committee members.

Essentially, the duties of the new committee members were, and are, not too different from those of the former luluais: to keep the peace, to see that administration orders are complied with, and to adjudicate lesser crimes and disputes in their villages. The councillor must oversee the work of the committee members, aid in the formation of new laws at the monthly Council meetings, and see that the people are advised of all laws and administration edicts.

Although a few of the councillors chosen by their people in this first election were truly big men of their villages, most of them were not. Although I did not know many of the men personally, and although many of them were from villages too far away for their status to be known to the people of the Beha Valley (and I could thus get little information about them from the people themselves), it is my belief that most of them were chosen -- as was Beha's own councillor -- for their ability to understand and speak Pidgin and for their relatively unimportant status in the traditional culture (which made them useful middlemen between their people and the administration), rather

than because of any status as 'native leaders'. I believe that the following biographical data on the first councillors of the Lufa sub-district lend support to this argument: of the forty-four councillors, twenty-three were at the time they were elected under the age of thirty, and a further fifteen were between the ages of thirty and forty. Only six were in their forties, and thus of an age when they might be expected to have acquired a name as a big man -- it is rare for a man under forty to be considered more than a promising candidate in the competition for status; men under thirty are even now considered to be merely in the process of settling down to their responsibilities, and most certainly never have an important voice in village affairs. Second, of the forty-four men, thirty-one are mentioned specifically in the Lufa patrol report of the election as having worked for Europeans and/or attended mission school -- thus obviously acquiring a knowledge of Pidgin.<sup>6</sup>

P., the councillor for Beha Valley, was a young man in his late twenties when he was first elected to the position in 1965. He was not and is not a big man (nor was his father) but he did speak Pidgin. My informants' answers

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<sup>6</sup>From the patrol report of Mr. C. T. Davies, dated September, 1965.

to my questions concerning the reason why he was chosen councillor without exception mentioned the fact that he spoke Pidgin -- a skill which few men had in those days. Their thought is perhaps best summed up in the words of one middle-aged informant, himself a relatively important man:

We thought that a young man who knew Pidgin could get talk from the big men and take it to the (Council) meetings. A man who did not know Pidgin would just have to sit and say nothing at the meetings. He would not talk for the people. Now bigger men could have stood for election, but we thought that we would choose a young man and the older men could 'school' him.

In 1967, and in 1969, P. was again elected by a sizeable majority of the valley's population -- in the 1969 election he received 113 votes out of a possible 148 from his natal village, Beha. Following this last election, I again inquired into the reasons for their choice. I was especially curious since I had heard from various sources that P. seldom spoke at Council meetings, and I knew from observation that he had taken little part in decision-making meeting concerning the pig festival. Indeed, for several months prior to the 1969 election he had been convinced that he was dying from sorcery, had retired to his pig-house, and was seldom seen by anyone except his own wife and owners of neighboring pig-houses.

The answers I received in response to my questions

without exception focused on the fact that P. left the people alone: he did not report them to the kiap or gaol them when they did not show up for work on the road, and he did not push them to work in the village -- and so they had time to attend to their own affairs.

Again, any authority which those of the councillors and committee members who are not considered to be big men have appears to be situational. From late 1968 to early 1970, for example, P. did adjudicate those disputes which were brought before him, and some of his decisions on these cases were accepted by the disputants. He did (apart from the months when he was sick) quite frequently announce administration orders concerning road work and village clean-ups to the people, and these orders were complied with by some of the people some of the time. As has been mentioned, however, he took little part in decision-making of a more traditional kind. And even when his orders fell within what might be considered his delegated sphere of authority, there were always some men and women who decided that they had valid reasons for not obeying -- and so did not.

Following the 1969 elections, I also inquired of several acknowledged big men of the valley concerning their reasons for not standing for election. Their explanations

focused on the following reasons: several said that the position of councillor would involve much running back and forth between Lufa and the valley, and that they would not have time to tend properly to their gardens and pigs; one said that he was not familiar with the ways of the Government, and thought it best that younger men, who had worked for Europeans and knew their ways, took the job; and several explained that they did not know how to speak Pidgin, and thought it would not be good for the valley's people if a man who could not understand the talk of the Council meetings took the position, since he could not then either explain their point of view to the Council or explain new laws to them.

Three men, all in their thirties and fluent in Pidgin, did stand up against P. in the 1969 election. One received a majority of the votes (149 out of a possible 152) from his own village of Hogavi -- but lost on the total count. The other two received very few votes, either from their own village of Beha or from the other villages of the valley. Since these latter two men are frequently referred to as "becoming big men", I inquired of several informants why they were not chosen. Concerning one of the candidates, I was told that in the informal decision-making meetings

which preceded the election it had been decided that they did not wish to "let go of" P. until after they had the opportunity to give a pig-feast for him, and that because of this it had been decided to vote for him a third time -- but that the second candidate could take the job of councillor at the next election. People said of the other candidate (and he agreed) that he had served a term as committee member following the first election, but that he had been 'hard' with the people, forcing them to work on the projects which the kiap had ordered, and fining them when they did not do so. In other words, they felt that he had exceeded his delegated authority.

There are at present seven men in the valley whom it is generally agreed are 'truly big men.' These men are all probably over forty-five years of age: all of them have adult children, and four of them have grandchildren. Five of them currently have one wife each, one has two wives, and one is recently widowed. They are known not only for the large number of pigs which they own (an average of 11.0 per married couple before the festival, compared with 6.7 for other married couples in the valley), but also for their skill in gardening, their industriousness, and their generosity and helpfulness to others. Some, but not all,

are also known for their skill in public speaking. There is not, however, that emphasis on oratorical ability as a characteristic of the big man which is found in some other cultures of the Highlands. Brandewie, for example, has said of the Mbowamp of Mt. Hagen in the Western Highlands:

A very important characteristic of the big man is his ability to speak well and forcefully. A person may have most of the other characteristics of a big man, but if he cannot speak well he will not become very well known or become a really important man. (Brandewie 1971:203).

In contrast, although some of the Beha big men are known as 'forceful' public speakers, some are known as men who seldom say much and who, when they do speak, speak quietly and without dramatic emphasis. The ability to speak well in public is not a necessary factor in the making of a big man -- there are a few who seldom attend public meetings. The ability to speak sensibly is, however, admired, and increases the prestige of men who are already beginning to acquire names on the basis of their other qualities.

There are, in the valley, in addition to the seven big men, many men whom one informant will cite as a man with a name, whereas others will disagree. There are some very old men who once had names, five or six younger men (probably between thirty and forty years of age) whom it is

agreed are beginning to gain names for themselves, and many young men who are considered promising candidates. There are also men who are known to be skilled in gardening and pig-raising, and yet are never spoken of as having names, because they do not 'look after' others in their community, do not entertain visitors, and choose to take no part in community or the occasional inter-community decision-making meetings.

In sum, in order to acquire a reputation as a big man today, an individual must give evidence of his generosity and helpfulness to others. In part this generosity and helpfulness must be founded on skill and industriousness in gardening and pig-raising, since without pigs and choice garden produce no man can give feasts and entertain visitors in the manner which will result in his name becoming widely known and his character admired.

Perhaps the most valuable initial advantage which a young man who intends to acquire a name can have is to have a father who is an agege vana. It is believed that children acquire the qualities of their parents by watching and imitating them while they are growing up, and there is a general expectation that the sons of big men will become big men themselves. The people, however, are aware that

this expectation is not always realized.

A hard-working wife is also an asset. Here, again, having a father who is a well-known agege vana is to a young man's advantage. Parents are eager for their daughters to marry the sons of big men, since they know that such marriages will ensure that the girls are well cared for. Many young women also take this factor into consideration when agreeing to marry. Personal attraction, however, is also important, and men who are considered to be very attractive to women have no trouble in finding wives, whether or not their fathers have many pigs and gardens. Young men who possess either asset have a wide choice of women, and can afford to court and reject many until they find one who is both attractive to them and a hard worker. Quite frequently they marry and divorce once or twice before they settle down with one woman. Occasionally they take two wives.

Polygyny, however, is a mixed blessing, and most men are ambivalent in their attitude toward it. While it is recognized that two wives can take care of approximately twice the number of garden plots and pigs which one woman can care for -- men will say that a man who has two wives always has plenty of food to give away and eat himself -- yet such a man must fence approximately twice the garden

space which one wife would require. Given the system of fencing which the valley people use, this involves a great deal of very hard work. Even if, as is usually the case, a man's neighbors give his wives space in their gardens or help him with his fencing, this places the obligation upon him to help them sometime in the future, and does not lessen the total amount of work he will have to do. Women dislike the idea of having a co-wife, and almost invariably a man who brings a second wife into his community must experience a long period of constant fighting and quarreling between the two women. Not infrequently one or the other of them will also fight with him. Usually such attempts at polygyny end with one or the other of the wives running away -- although in a few cases the two women after a while accept the situation and become friends. During the time I spent in the valley, only fourteen men had two wives, and one man had three. No man had more than three. Men say that a man must be very 'strong' in order to keep more than one wife.

Control over land does not appear to be a factor of any importance in determining which men become big men. While it is true that some agnatic kinship groups own more land than others, yet each man appears to have available to

him as much land as he chooses to work. The Menilo people, who are known to have migrated to the valley as refugees and been given the use of land by the original owners (Beha) have, on the average, as many garden plots in cultivation as do those who claim to be descended from the original owners. The people themselves say that they have more land than they need at present, and garden space is freely lent upon request.

It is said that while a boy is still a child it is impossible to discern whether or not he will grow up to be a big man, and almost as difficult to predict while he is an unmarried teen-ager, since little is really expected of unmarried boys in the way of responsibility and hard work.

Many young men nowadays leave the villages for a while to work for Europeans, and a few are away attending mission schools. Some, however, do spend much of their time in the village, help their fathers in the gardens, are generous with any money or other possessions which they may have, and make suggestions which are acted upon by their age-mates. It is these boys who are commented upon favorably by their elders, and noted as possible future big men. At the present time all young men, without exception, marry for the first time between the ages of seventeen and twenty-

two. Young men nowadays always have, if they wish it, some say in the selection of their first wives -- but they not infrequently choose from among those girls suggested to them by their parents and other concerned elders, and may leave all of the negotiations to these elders. I knew of several boys, in fact, who were away at mission school while the negotiations of their marriages were going on, came home only to attend the wedding feasts, and then left again.

Young men do not invariably settle down to their responsibilities with marriage, moreover. Some continue to work for wages, leaving their new wives to be cared for by their agnates. Others continue to spend a good deal of their time visiting other villages in courting parties. Few, if any, begin to acquire names while still under thirty. Even if a young man does work diligently in his gardens and help his wife to care for the shoats which have been given to him by his own and his wife's kin upon his marriage, he has little opportunity to build up a large pig-herd or show his generosity in any significant fashion, since most of the pigs he has will be forfeit to those men who gave pigs for his wedding.

Young men of this age group also seldom take part in decision-making. They may attend the men's house meetings

when decisions concerning their kingroup are being reached, but they seldom express their opinions -- they say that they would be ashamed to do so in front of their elders. Probably they would be reprimanded if they did do so.

During these years, however, a young man does begin to initiate and then maintain his own exchange networks, beginning a few years after his marriage, when he is expected to pay back the pigs which were killed for, and any plumes which were given to, his wife's relatives at his marriage feast. Both then and in their thirties, young men who have ambition to acquire a name work hard, both at their own tasks and by helping their neighbors with their work. They contribute to bridewealth payments when they are able, look after one or several young girls of their community, and encourage the young children of the community to eat at their houses. When they visit other communities they extend invitations to some of the men they meet, and they treat such visitors generously when they arrive. Later, they kill as many pigs as they are able for all ceremonial occasions which concern them and their kin, striving to make the feast as large and important as possible. By these means young men begin to acquire names for themselves. As they do so, most of them also begin to take an active part

in decision-making, by stating their opinions at meetings and by trying to persuade others to their point of view.

N., for example, is one of the six men of the valley -- all probably in their thirties or early forties -- who are beginning to be spoken of as in the process of "becoming big men." He has one wife, who bore him two children, but both died shortly after birth. His childlessness is one of the regrets of his life -- he says occasionally that if it were not for the fact that he is a Lutheran, he would take a second wife to bear children for him, as the big men of the past used to do. He has, however, many children whom he 'looks after.' During the time when I knew him, he killed a pig for, and received part of the bridewealth of, two of the young Beha girls sent in marriage to other villages. He explained that they were both his 'sisters,' and that he had looked after them well while they were growing up. His wife's brother's son frequently comes to his wife's house, to visit for periods ranging from a few days to several weeks. He has an adopted daughter, a child given him by one of his 'brothers.' Since the girl's own parents live only a few houses away from N. and his wife, and since she was already four or five years old when she was given to him, she usually sleeps with her own mother. But she spends

much time with N., his wife and the old man whom N. calls his father (his biological father died while he was still a child). N. feeds the child, gives her store-bought gifts from time to time, and usually makes sure that a portion of pork is kept for her when he receives it.

N. frequently contributes to bridewealth collections taken up by men of the village, sometimes quite heavily. He has also himself once initiated and been the main contributor to a bridewealth payment collected for the son of a 'brother.' This, I was told, is customary behavior for big men, although usually a man will initiate a bridewealth collection for a boy other than his own son only if the boy's father is dead. In this particular case, the boy's parents were both alive, but opposed the marriage. The girl herself came to the village during the singsings which preceded the festival, and decided to stay for a while. She slept and ate during most of her visit in N.'s wife's house, and spent much of her time helping them in their gardens. Thus, when the girl decided that she wished to marry this particular boy, N. said that he had watched her and observed her customs, and they were good, and that she would make a very suitable wife for his brother's son. He went to speak to his brother, who had lived for many years

in Beha's other houseline. This man said that his son was too young to marry. N., however, for reasons which he never made explicit, decided to initiate the bridewealth collection. At this point the boy's father took N. to court before the councillor, who said that the boy himself should choose. He said that he would marry the girl, and at this point his parents capitulated. Since N. had already initiated talk of 'buying' the girl, however, no one made any objection when he proceeded with the bridewealth collection. He was proud of this achievement, and mentioned many times that it was only through his strength that the marriage had been successfully finalized.

N. and other big men, however, explain their care of the children of their villages not only in terms of their own reputations, but also in terms of reciprocity -- N. said, when I asked him why he looked after a particular child, that if he did not do so, then when he is old and blind there will be no one to lead him around and care for him.

N. maintains exchange relationships not only with several of the men of his own village, his Gono wife's brother, and the Hogavi descendants of his father's father's sisters, but also with other men with whom his ties are more tenuous. While working briefly at Lufa patrol post

some years ago, he became friendly with several policemen from different parts of the Highlands who were stationed there. He initiated exchange relationships with two of them; one has since been reassigned to a distant patrol post, and N. has lost contact with him, but the other is still at Lufa and N. and his wife periodically take pork or choice vegetables to him and receive money in return. In pre-contact times, when Beha was attacked by Gono, N. once fled to Gai and stayed there for a while with his own father's exchange partner, and since then has occasionally exchanged visits and gifts with the old man. And while on a tour of the southern Labogai sub-district with me, he met a Gimi man from Okapa sub-district, whom he brought back with him to Beha for a visit, fed and gave gifts to. He talked then of initiating an exchange relationship with the man, in hopes of acquiring valued black-plumed bird of paradise feathers. Later, he and his wife went to visit their new friend, but were told that he had no plumes available at that time. N. felt that he had been treated unfairly, and did not continue the friendship.

As is evident from the above, each man has, during his lifetime, a variety of potential exchange relationships which he may initiate and then maintain if he wishes to.

These comprise relationships based on co-residence, consanguinity, affinity, friendships entered into by their own fathers and friendships based on chance acquaintance. Not all of these relationships are maintained, even when they are activated. N. maintains at present no exchange relationships at all with the natal village of his mother, a Lufa woman who died in childbirth. Men set up, and drop, many exchange relationships during their lifetimes. Whether or not relationships are maintained depends on the personal desire of the two individuals involved, and may be affected by factors such as geographical distance, personal liking, the opportunities for profit which a man sees in the tie, and the belief of each partner that he is being treated fairly by the other.

In addition to owning slightly more pigs than the average (he had eight before the festival, and killed three for it), N. -- like many of the younger men whose names are beginning to be mentioned -- is involved in a range of entrepreneurial activities, and is continuously considering new ways to acquire cash. He owns more than the average number of coffee trees (around 370), is part-owner of a store and a coffee husking machine, and at one point experimented (not too successfully) with duck breeding.

Such a man may, in middle age, be spoken of as a "truly big man." In casual speech people will refer to the agnatic kingroup to which he belongs as his 'line,' and the men's house he customarily sleeps in may even come to be spoken of as his men's house (although big men do, extremely rarely, break away and found a new men's house of their own). Such men are listened to with attention if they choose to speak when decisions are made concerning activities (such as the festivals) which are seen as being traditionally within their sphere of interest. But decision-making is also very much a matter of consensus, and men agree most often with decisions which they see as being in their own self-interest. A big man is often said to have considerable authority, but it is my belief that this authority consists more of the ability to manage consensus than it does of the ability to sway others to obedience. As has been mentioned, 'sensible' speech is admired, but in essence, as among the Siuai, 'sensible' speech appears to consist of the ability to make decisions which are likely to be approved of and accepted (Oliver 1955:396-8). As has also been mentioned, none of the "truly big men" approved holding the festival in 1969 when the subject was first broached, yet all of them eventually agreed to it. And at least two of

them, to my knowledge, timed their change of opinion so skillfully that it was later said that the men of their men's houses agreed to the suggestion because they had commanded it. Such men are often given pigs and other gifts -- sometimes a portion of the bridewealth of young girls whom they have not looked after -- even when no debt is due them. Such gifts, however, are not 'free' -- invariably the donors will explain that they were given because the recipient is a big man and can help them later with pigs for an impending ceremony.

Some time in old age (earlier, if he is chronically ill) a man begins to take less and less part in the exchange system. He "puts aside his axe," gives his few remaining pigs to his sons' wives, and is spoken of as a man who once had a name. Eventually he dies and is given a large funeral feast, attended by people from communities as much as a day's walk from his own.

Very little has been written about the role of women in Highlands decision-making. While it is true that Beha women (like most Highlands women) take very little part in public decision-making, and while it is true that Beha men (like most Highlands men) share an ethos of male supremacy and the belief that political activity is the business

solely of men, yet the women of the valley are by no means totally without influence over public affairs.

Women, with the occasional exception of a very old woman or a very young girl, are not allowed to sit in the men's houses where much of the community decision-making takes place. They may, however, be spectators if they wish to at any meeting which takes place in any open space in the village. They rarely say much, and do not in general influence such decisions as are discussed there: when to hold a pig-feast, the divination of a sorcerer's identity, which land a communal garden shall be made on, or (in the past) the decision to go to war or to call a truce.

Nowadays, however, women can, and quite frequently do, indirectly influence such decisions as the number of pigs which a man is going to kill for a festival, when a new one- or two-owner garden will be fenced, and occasionally even the identity of the recipient of a pig. Although the people say that if husband and wife disagree the man has the right to make the final decision, yet they also say that ideally husband and wife should discuss and come to an agreement on such matters as concern only the nuclear family unit -- gardening, pig-raising and the disposal of the products of their work -- together. I believe, although

I cannot prove it statistically, that many men do discuss these matters with their wives. I do know of several men who did discuss with their wives prior to the 1969 festival such matters as the number of pigs which they would kill and the identities of the recipients. I know also of one woman who, when told by her husband that he could not send a pig to pay back a debt to her brother at that particular time, became angry and threatened to take him to court. He capitulated, decided that the intended recipient would have to wait a while for his pig, and gave it to his wife's brother.

W., an old widower, also told me that a long time ago one of his wives left him because he refused to pay any attention to her wishes concerning their pigs. She told him when she left that she did so because he killed too many of her pigs. He says now that he regrets her loss, and that perhaps he should have listened to her speech.

I suspect that the degree of influence which any particular woman has over her husband's decisions depends upon the personalities of the two. Some women are known to be 'strong' and verbal about their wishes, just as some men are known to be quiet and docile. Some men are also known to dominate, and beat, their wives.

Women can, nowadays, also have considerable control over their own marriages and divorces, if they are determined enough to insist upon having their own way. They can thus influence the exchange relationships of men. Parents usually try, as do the brothers of a woman's deceased husband, to influence or determine the marriage choices of both young girls and widows. But rarely is physical force employed (although I was told that it sometimes was in the past). People know that nowadays, if a woman "takes the case to court" (complains to the kiap) usually the decision will be in her favor -- her parents, or her brothers-in-law, will be told that she has the right to choose her own husband. Although I do know of many young girls who were persuaded by their brothers or fathers to marry a boy of the men's choice, I also know of several girls who insisted on their own choice, and won. T., a young orphan of Beha, refused three bridewealth payments set out at her door while I was in the village, despite pressure from her uncles and elder brother which became more insistent with every refusal. And men are continually complaining that women 'foul up' bridewealth payments. They also, of course, cause untold trouble for men when they run away from their husbands, as they do quite frequently -- resulting in the returning of

a bridewealth to the abandoned husband's kingroup.

Women quite often own at least some cash in their own right, acquired from the sale of coffee they have picked, the sale of small amounts of garden produce at Lufa, the practice of skills such as curing or tatooing, or perhaps as a gift from a brother or son. They can, and do, sometimes use this money to contribute to a bridewealth payment in their own names, or to buy items for themselves and their children at the tradestores. But I know of no woman yet who has engaged in any business activity of her own.

It is also not unheard of for a woman to take a man to court -- although the people I questioned about this said that ideally a woman should tell her husband about any complaint which she has against a man, and that her husband should bring the case to court. But I know of several women who themselves complained against men to the kiap, the councillor, or a big man of their village. As will be described more fully in the following chapter, these cases involved rape, the spoiling of gardens by pigs, and marriage disputes.

Finally, women have the vote. Since, in the 1969 elections, most of the population of Beha village voted for P., I did not have much opportunity to observe differences

in voting behavior between husband and wife. Yet twelve women did make choices different from those of their husbands, including the wives of the two unsuccessful Beha candidates. I believe this to be especially significant since the decision concerning who should be chosen as councillor was discussed and decided upon at public meetings several days before the election was actually held. The women thus without question knew how their husbands were going to vote, and chose to vote differently.

Women do not, as yet, very often run for public office. Although I did know several women who admitted that they had been thinking about standing for election, and would like to, I heard of only one woman who actually did so. She was also elected, as committee member for her Gono village. She must, however, be considered an anomalous case, since her son was then member of the House of Assembly for Lufa sub-district, and it seems probable that she was elected because she was his mother, rather than for her own abilities or character.

The patrol report of the 1965 election, however, mentions that (although they withdrew their candidacy at the time of the election) three women in the Lufa sub-district were nominated by their respective villages to

stand for election. The report does not mention whether they were nominated by women or by men, or whether they nominated themselves (which is common). But it does explain the reasons for their withdrawal:

The reasons were that they anticipated little support from the male population, considered it a man's job, if successful would probably cause disaffections amongst the male factions, and decided not to split up their villages' votes.<sup>7</sup>

K., N.'s wife, also told me that she had seriously considered standing for the 1969 elections. She said that she had discussed this with her husband, who had reluctantly agreed, but that she had then been forbidden to do so by V., a big man of Beha who is also a 'father' to her husband.

In summary, women's influence over public affairs is at present mainly indirect, through their own influence over their husbands' decisions. And it is limited to certain areas of public decision-making, and not extended to all. Yet Australian law allows them much more decision-making power than they ever had in pre-contact times, and many of them are not slow to take advantage of this power on occasion. I believe that it is likely that they will, with time, begin to experiment more with decision-making in other areas -- perhaps beginning first with public office

<sup>7</sup>From the patrol report of Mr. C. T. Davies, dated September, 1965.

and with small businesses.

I wish now to consider the effect which the introduction of Western goods and Australian currency has had on the distribution of valuables among the different age-groupings of the valley, and its effect upon the authority structure. It would not be true, I think, to say that in pre-contact times the big men of the valley held an effective control over access to valuables. The old men say that certain big men -- those who had names as being truly great warriors -- generally had few pigs and thus played a relatively unimportant part in ceremonial exchanges, simply because they had little interest in spending their time on gardening and pig-raising. And most adult men, excepting only those who were very aged or sick, owned at least one or two pigs. Yet it was also probably true, as it is today, that those men who had names as pig-raisers were also those who took the most active part in ceremonial exchanges -- they gave and received more pigs than did other members of their communities. The same was probably true, in general, of other valuables. Virtually any man could, in the past, make salt or axe-heads. The raw materials from which these things could be made were not considered to be particularly valuable, and a man could nearly always obtain permission

to gather the materials from the land of a neighbor, if he himself was not an owner of land upon which they could be found. He would merely give in return for the right of usage a portion of the finished product. Each community, and each kingroup within each community, owned forest land where opossums could be hunted for their teeth and skins, and birds for their plumes. Therefore each man in each village could, if he had skill and diligence, create valuable exchange goods. Yet men who had many pigs tended to have more valuables pass through their hands than did other members of their communities. To take one example: any man may, if he wishes, 'look after' any girl of his community during her childhood. In addition to giving her cooked pork when he receives it, and choice vegetables when he has them, he will often kill a pig for the feast which is given when she reaches puberty. In return for his care he may, if he wishes to, claim part of the bridewealth which is given for her -- but only if he is prepared to kill another pig for her wedding feast. Thus large amounts of valuables from this particular source would not, in general, pass through the hands of men who did not have pigs to kill.

Today, as in the past, a man can earn a name for himself by raising, giving away and receiving many pigs.

Although such men may not necessarily take an important part in any one exchange, over the year they do tend to take part in more exchanges than other men in their communities. They also tend to be more involved than others in bridewealth transactions -- the most important traditional ceremony, in terms of frequency and size of monetary transactions, by means of which Australian currency may be acquired. There are now, however, many non-traditional methods by means of which money may be earned, and in these methods (either because of lack of inclination or lack of faith in their own ability) the established big men do not at present often participate. During the eighteen month period from late 1968 to early 1970, as previously mentioned (Chapter III), from sixteen to eighteen per cent of the men of the valley were at various times employed as wage laborers by Europeans. Of these men, not one was also known as a man who had many pigs. During the same period, sixty-one per cent (114) of the men of the valley owned at least a few coffee trees, but only nine per cent (sixteen) owned more than three hundred trees. And of these sixteen, only five were known as successful pig-raisers, and only two were men who had, or had had, important names.

Similarly, in early 1970 there were twelve stores

in the valley, of which stores twenty-five men were major co-owners. Of these twenty-five men, only eight were known as pig-raisers, and only two were men who "truly had names." Of the three coffee husking machines in the valley, none was owned by an established big man. Only two established big men were major co-owners of a cow, and none owned goats, turkeys or ducks. In addition, big men seldom sold pork at market, although younger men who were just beginning to earn names quite frequently did so. The older men said that they did not like to "just give away" their pigs for money.

In contrast to the big men, all of the six men who are now beginning to be spoken of as probable future big men are involved quite intensively in both the traditional exchange system and non-traditional entrepreneurial activities. Although none of them were employed as wage laborers by Europeans during the eighteen month period, all of them had so worked at one time. They could all speak some Pidgin (four of them were fluent), and were to some extent familiar with European practices connected with the buying and selling of coffee, small-store trade and other new ways of earning cash. Two of the six had more than three hundred coffee trees; three others owned more than two hundred trees. By early 1970, five of them were major co-owners of a store,

and two owned coffee husking machines. Several of them were also among the major co-owners of a cow; one owned goats and two owned ducks.

In addition, all of them had more than the average number of pigs, and all of them killed several pigs for the festival. One was instrumental in initiating the discussions which led to the holding of the festival in 1969; he also built a European-style house for his family, and held a large and much talked-of pig-feast upon its completion.

At the present time, then, contact is serving to concentrate introduced valuables, and specifically Australian currency, in the hands of men who are still too young to be considered as "truly big men." Yet only those among this group who are also more than commonly active in the traditional exchange system are ever spoken of as probable future big men. The fact that the majority are not so considered, I feel, is due to the fact that the acquisition of money alone does not as yet give these men full access to participation in the exchange system. Although the people state that a fully grown pig is worth \$50, I found no man in the valley who was actually willing to sell an adult pig for that sum of money. Small shoats can be bought on occasion, but a man must still care for them over a period of several years

before they are large enough to be given in exchange. And to do so he needs gardens and a wife to work those gardens with him. Finally, control over marriage, and thus control over a young man's entry into the system of pig-raising and exchange, is still effectively in the hands of the elder generations. Parents are not willing for their daughters to go to young men whose kingroups do not have an adequate number of gardens and pigs, since they feel that otherwise the girls will not be cared for properly. Pigs are also necessary to legitimize a marriage, irrespective of the amount of money which is also handed over to the bride's kingroup. Thus, unless a young man's kingroup is willing to care for his bride and kill pigs for his marriage, there is (at present) no way by which he may marry and begin pig-raising.

Essentially a big man must depend, as must other men, upon his own hard work and that of his wife in acquiring the pigs he needs to repay his debts and build a reputation for generosity. This is so because all help given should be, and most is, eventually repaid. Without reciprocating -- and generously -- all pigs, food and aid given him, no man can hope to build a reputation he can be proud of.

On a short-term basis, however, if a man needs many

pigs to fulfill a particular ceremonial obligation, he usually depends first and foremost upon his own agnatic kin -- or upon the agnatic kin of his wife, mother or other relative, if he happens to be living in the community of one of them. Other members of his community may also help him, if they owe him a debt or expect to receive help from him in the future. Debts are, however, often difficult to call in at will; especially so if the debtor lives some distance away. I have frequently heard a man, when requested to repay a long-standing debt because his creditor needed another pig to celebrate a marriage or other life crisis, explain that at that particular time he had no pigs of the right size, or that he had already given his one large pig to another creditor, or that he could not then give away a pig because he needed it for a particular ceremony he was planning. The creditor is relatively powerless in such a situation, if he wishes to maintain that particular exchange relationship. If he does not object to ending it, of course, he may take his debtor to court -- but a man cannot afford to alienate many of his exchange partners if he wishes to retain his reputation for generosity.

There is no means by which a big man can gain control of more labor than other men. Each unit of man and wife (or

wives) acts independently in all its exchange relationships, and each is essentially independent with respect to gardening and pig-raising. A big man may attract his sons, or even his daughters' husbands, to live nearby, and such 'followers' may help him with his gardens. He will then be expected, however, to help them with their gardens. And he will have no real claim to any of their pigs. Occasionally an old man or woman will join the household of a son. Old people prefer to maintain their own households, however, and by the time they move in with a son are usually too feeble to be considered as laborers. Younger, divorced or widowed men and women also prefer to maintain their own households, and generally continue to work their own gardens and look after their own pigs. It is not considered to be demeaning for a widowed man to plant crops and feed pigs. Most depend upon the wife of a friend or kinsman to care for their children, and in return help that kinsman with his fencing or other tasks. They may give a pig or two to him when he needs help, but they retain control over their own herds and maintain their own exchange networks. Widowed young women are in a different position. They usually remarry within a year or two, but in the meantime (if they stay in their husband's community) they are relatively dependent

upon their husband's kinsmen. Their husband's agnates also have a definite claim over their pigs. Big men, however, are no more likely to have control of a widow than are other men.

Strathern has noted (1969:42-67) that among the Enga and the Melpa-speaking Hageners one means by which big men gain eminence is by establishing a leading place for themselves in prestation chains. This does not appear to be the case among the people of the Beha Valley. When the pig festival was held 'chains' of exchange did not in any case exceed two links: almost without exception, a pig was first given to a co-member of one of the donor communities, and then was sectioned and further given to members of the recipient communities. Some of the portions were then undoubtedly passed on to yet other communities, but not according to a traditional pattern. Furthermore, big men did not play an outstanding role in these exchanges (as they do among the Enga and the Melpa-speaking Hageners): of the seven established big men in the valley, only one killed five pigs, and none killed more than five. None received more than five from co-members of the donor group of communities.

There are several points which I wish to make in

summary of my data on power and authority. First, involvement in the decision-making process is today, as it was in the past, largely situational. Elected officials give commands, and attempt to persuade people to obey them, when decisions have to be made concerning activities (such as road repairing) which are innovations of the Australian administration. Curers have authority in decisions concerning curing ceremonies. And the big men are listened to and their words considered seriously when decisions are made concerning traditional activities, in which they are believed to have expertise.

At the same time, there is a strong cultural emphasis on individuality and the right of each man to make his own choices in most areas of his life. One of the commonest phrases used to explain an individual's motives is "it was his choice." No one is obligated to accept the decisions of a curer or a big man if he does not wish to do so. Indeed, although the 1969 festival was announced as a group activity involving all of the communities of the valley, only fifty-six per cent of the men actually chose to kill pigs for the occasion. And each of the men who did choose to participate decided himself how many pigs he would kill and the identities of the recipients. A wife, a father or

an elder brother may give advice or their own opinions to a man concerning the disposal of his pigs, but he does not have to heed them if he does not wish to. And it would be considered very bad manners for anyone not a close relative to suggest how a man should use his pigs. They may request the repayment of a debt owed to them personally, but they should not interfere in matters which are believed not to be their concern.

The elected officials, of course, have the power of the law behind them when they issue orders given to them by the kiaps, and they can (if they wish to) enforce such orders by reporting refusals to obey -- resulting in a fine or a gaol sentence for the offenders. Many of them, however, do not care to risk the resentment which this would earn them from their people, preferring instead to warn them of the kiap's anger when he discovers that his orders have not been complied with, and the punishments which he will mete out.

Big men also state their opinions when meetings are called explicitly for the purpose of group decision-making. But they do not issue orders -- they have no right to do so, and no mechanisms for enforcing such orders. Rather, the success of their decision-making depends on

other factors: their skill in gauging majority opinion and adapting their own opinions to comply with it and/or their skill in timing a change of opinion to take advantage of group sentiment.

Second, the traditionally circumscribed authority of the big men in this area of the Highlands can, I think, be explained by the interaction of the many cultural practices and beliefs which have always functioned to limit the degree of control which any man has over the actions of another.

For example, a man always has a range of ties which he can activate into exchange relationships if he wishes to, but there are few (if any) which he must maintain. Even exchange relationships with affines and uterine kin, which are those most strongly sanctioned by the culture, can be suspended temporarily -- even broken permanently -- if one of the partners is justly angry with the other. A big man has no means of forcing any other man to maintain any kind of relationship with him.

In addition, as has been mentioned (Chapter IV), ease of mobility is such that any man can change his residence if he wishes to do so. Although I never heard of it being given as a reason for change of residence, it would

be possible for a man to leave a community whose big man became too despotic.

As has been detailed, big men have little control over the labor of other men. The fact that a young man may be in debt to a big man for part of the bridewealth paid for his wife, or for pigs killed for his wedding, does give his creditor the right to expect eventual repayment of the debt in kind, but gives no right to the debtor's labor.

Finally, the methods of pig-raising and of gardening customary in the valley, and the fact that pigs are allowed to wander free in the secondary forest zone and that therefore all gardens made there must be strongly fenced, limit the number of gardens which a man can make, and thus the number of pigs which he and his wife can raise. And they also, I believe, limit the number of wives which even a big man can have at any one time: it is rare for a man to have more than two. Since men usually have control over the labor of only one or two women, they cannot raise enough crops to feed large numbers of pigs. This also sets limits on the extent of their exchange relationships.

In sum, big men do not have either the number of 'followers' dependent upon them, nor the wealth in pigs and

other valuables, which they are reported to have in some areas of the Western Highlands. Their authority is correspondingly limited.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT

When asked to tell what kinds of disputes led to fighting between different groups in the past, the old men of the valley often say "Women, pigs and gardens are the sources of all trouble." And, indeed, tales of past wars do indicate that many of them did originate in anger over the actions of women or (occasionally) their mistreatment by men; pig-stealing; or damage to garden crops by pigs, the theft of valuable tree crops, opossums or birds, or (occasionally) quarrels over the ownership of land. Not a few, however, were started to "pay back a debt" -- usually a 'debt' of a man killed in a prior skirmish or ambush or raid, or by suspected sorcery.

As has already been mentioned (Chapter IV), the communities of the valley appear to have fought, at one time or another, many of the communities surrounding them. They also occasionally fought each other. And although the old men say that co-residents of a village were supposed to fight only with clubs, and not with bow and arrows, they still admit that on occasion an intra-village fight would escalate and result in injury or death.

Although the physical act of fighting with bow and arrows has always been considered to be exclusively a male concern, women in this area of the Highlands have never been totally excluded from warfare. They participated as spectators at certain rituals, held prior to the ritualized form of warfare known as makana, which were performed to give strength to the warriors. They decorated themselves, as did their men, and frequently went along with the men -- to carry arrows, to collect enemy arrows which overshot their mark, and to help carry the dead and wounded back to the village when the fighting ended. The old men do say that women of childbearing age were frequently spared and kept as wives when they were ambushed near an enemy village. Yet during a raid, when the raiding party itself was in enemy territory, they were as likely to be victims as were the men or children.

It is difficult to say, at this point in time, how much authority the fight leaders actually had over decisions connected with warfare. It is clear, I think, that they were not always the instigators of a fight -- many wars are reported to have originated when one quite unimportant man, angry over injury to himself, a child, wife or brother, enlisted the aid of other men of his village in seeking

vengeance. And both offensive and defensive strategy appear to have been planned only in outline. Once, for example, men from one of the Gono villages shot a Hogavi man while he and his father's sister's son (a Beha man who was known as a great warrior) were returning home from a visit to one of the Chimbu villages. Later, people from the same Gono village also went to visit in Chimbu. M., the Beha fight leader, called together men from both Hogavi and Beha who wanted to avenge the death, and they agreed to attempt an ambush at the bridge spanning the Tua River, by which route Gono would have to return to their village. They were seen, however, and most of the intended victims ran away -- all except one man, K., whose mother was from Beha. He believed that his 'mother's brothers' would not harm him, and continued over the bridge. Then, said W. (who was telling the story) he thought to himself "this man is kuntri to me. It would not be a good thing if he were killed." W. could not call out to K., since Hogavi and Beha would have been angry with him. So he shot an arrow into the water, to warn K. of the ambush. But K. paid no attention. So W. touched him on the leg as he passed. Again he paid no attention, but walked on to where Beha waited. They turned their heads away, and pretended not to see him. He walked on to

where the Hogavi men were waiting. They were angry over the death of their agnate, and they shot him.

While it is clear from the above story that the main plan of ambush was discussed and agreed upon prior to the attempt, the story also indicates that such fine points of strategy as the use of men to cut off the retreat of the Gono group, the coordination of action and alternate plans of action, were not planned.

Defensive strategy appears to have been similarly handled. Once, discussing the defense of a village when a raid was expected, I asked W. how decisions were made concerning which men should watch for enemies along which path. W. said that the men of each men's house would watch along the paths leading to that men's house and the houses of their women. When I questioned whether the fight leaders ordered each man to watch on a certain path, W. said

They would gather, and decide where they would watch. If one man was tired of watching, and wanted to sleep, the fight leaders would rouse him. They would say to such a man "You go and watch on the path." They would say "You are a man -- you go and kill our enemies." But all men, each made his own choice.

And some men are still remembered as wadaha vana (literally, 'women-men') -- men who preferred to stay with the women rather than fight.

Concerning the resolution of conflict, the stories

usually describe how a particular war was terminated when a fight leader decided to announce a taboo on further fighting. "They were big men, and we listened to their words." Yet there are indications that mutual agreement on an end to a particular conflict probably preceded the taboo -- or perhaps the fight leaders, like the big men of today, were merely skillful in interpreting the changing moods of their communities. The following tale, for example, tells of the termination of one of the many wars between Gono and Beha.

Then K.'s father, the most renowned fight leader of all Gono, called out the names of the great fighters of Beha. He said "I want to talk, and you must listen. You and I have fought, and we are tired now. We must rest, for it would not be good if we became old while still fighting. We will end the fighting now, and sit down and plant food for a while." All of the people then cried out loudly (in agreement). One man of Beha then cut down a hudu tree. One man of Gono did the same. They cut branches with leaves on them, held these in their hands, and went to meet. The men of Gono and Beha gathered. They said "we cannot fight any more now." Then they sang out loudly, and went home.

In spite of the recurrent and almost endemic quality of pre-contact warfare, all indications are that pacification of the area was accomplished by the Australian administration rapidly and with little difficulty. Stories told by the people of their first contact with the Australians tell of only one serious battle, terminating when two men

of Menilo were shot:

Then Menilo died. Men looked at the guns, and were afraid, and gave up fighting. They pulled out their eyebrows, and planted them with tankets, to end the fighting. They broke their bows and arrows, and never fought again.

Although the phrase "never fought again" is an exaggeration of the truth, yet it is true that inter-village warfare has been infrequent and of limited scope since the early days of contact. Patrol reports dating from this time (late 1954 on) comment on the peacefulness and tractability of the populations of the sub-district, mentioning specifically their respect for the law and their willingness to aid the administration in apprehending law-breakers.

Yet basic cultural patterns have, I believe, remained relatively unchanged. Inter-village warfare has almost ceased, but this can be seen as in large part due to the awe in which the administration and its officials are held, and the people's awareness of the fact that fighting on a large scale will inevitably bring prompt retribution in the form of fines or a gaol sentence. As in the past, quarrels are frequent, and fighting with fists or stones not uncommon.

Many quarrels are now brought to the elected village officials for mediation, but those of their decisions which are accepted and acted upon are almost invariably those

which the disputants themselves feel to be fair -- or those which they are aware that the district officer would uphold.

In disputes involving individuals from two different villages, the claimant will usually take his case to an official of the village in which the individual against whom he has a grievance is currently residing, since it is felt that that official will be more effective in persuading the defendant to comply with a judgement made against him than would be an official of the claimant's own village. I found it difficult to collect data on court cases involving individuals residing in distant villages, particularly so when the case was heard by officials of villages located outside of the valley. The following data apply, therefore, only to court hearings held either within the valley or at Lufa, by the judge or the district officer.

During the eighteen months from August of 1968 through March of 1970, eighty-one quarrels involving one or more disputants from the valley became serious enough to be heard as court cases, within the valley and/or at Lufa. Of these, seventeen were heard by the elected councillor; thirty-two were heard by the committee member of the village to which the defendant belonged; three involved the coun-

cillor and the Beha committee member; and one (a complex case involving two Kiovi people, but with accusations made against men of both Hogavi and Beha) was heard by the councillor, the Kiovi committee member and the two committee members for Hogavi.

More interesting than the above, perhaps, are the number of cases in which the claimant decided to by-pass the village officials altogether: twelve cases were taken directly to Lufa to be heard by the circuit judge, and a further eight cases were brought directly to the district officer when he made one of his periodic visits to the valley.

The remaining eight cases were taken to persons who in theory had no obligation to hear them, but whom the claimants felt would settle the case to their satisfaction, for one reason or another. An adultery case, involving a New Guinean mission teacher, was taken to the American missionary who was his superior; two cases involving disputed rights to land were taken to the former luluai of Beha, because the claimants apparently believed that he had been told by the district officer to settle land disputes (although this was not the case); one case, involving an absent husband's attempt to divorce his wife, was taken to

a renowned big man of the wife's houseline; and four cases were taken to a committee member other than either the claimant's or the defendant's own elected official. When asked the reason for this action, one claimant said that his own committee member had refused to hear his case; the remaining three merely said that they did not like the decisions handed down by their own committee member, and did like the way in which the member they chose settled disputes.

The rather low percentage of cases (sixty-five per cent) taken directly to those elected officials delegated the authority to hear them indicates, I believe, that although a majority of disputants are willing to accept the right of those officials to act as mediators in their disputes, the emphasis on individual choice which has been traditional in the culture allows those who wish to choose other mediators to do so. Twenty-five per cent of disputants chose to by-pass the elected officials altogether, taking their cases directly to persons who in theory should act as a court of appeal; the remaining ten per cent chose as mediators individuals whom they felt would settle their cases to their satisfaction.

This emphasis on the right of the individual to make his own choices is supported by further analysis of the

decision-making process involved in the settlement of disputes. Decisions handed down by the Lufa judge or by the district officers are, of course, automatically accepted. Although the villagers do have the right to appeal decisions to the court in Goroka, no one has yet taken advantage of this right: awe of the administration makes acceptance of its officials' decisions in most cases unquestioned; Goroka is far away and getting there expensive; ignorance of the judicial process above the level of the court at Lufa is almost universal; and the older people are unwilling to spend much time so far from the valley for fear of enemy sorcery.

At the local level, however, acceptance of any individual's right to make and enforce decisions is by no means automatic. Of the sixty court cases heard by either an elected official or a chosen local mediator, in only twenty-four cases (forty per cent) did that person hand down a decision which was accepted and acted upon by both claimant and defendant. In another twenty-four cases, although an elected official or chosen mediator was present at the hearing, defendant and claimant themselves argued and/or discussed their case until they reached a compromise satisfactory to both -- after which the compromise, without exception, was accepted by the person 'hearing' the case.

A further four cases (all taken to an elected official for a hearing) involved disputes which those officials considered too intricate for solution at the local level:

Case Number One -- a dog was shot with bow and arrow while stealing eggs. The owner of the dog took the case to the councillor, claiming compensation in the amount of the value of the animal. The dog had disappeared after being wounded, however, and had not yet returned to its owner. The owner claimed that it was dead, but had no proof.

Case Number Two -- a former luluai ordered two men of his village to stop playing the flutes one night, because a man had died the previous day. They paid no attention to the order, so he hit one of them, whereupon both men attacked him and gave him a beating. He claimed compensation for his cuts and bruises.

Case Number Three -- a Hogavi man married to a Beha woman and currently living in his wife's village decided to aid his wife's agnates in fighting Gono after two Gono men attacked and injured an old 'father' of the houseline. He received a gaol sentence for his part in the fight, and later claimed compensation from his in-laws for the time he spent in gaol on (he felt) their behalf. When they

refused he brought them to court.

Case Number Four -- a rather complicated case involving a question of the ownership of plots within a garden, which was taken to one of the committee members for hearing. He refused to hear the case, saying that it was not his job to settle disputes over land.

In all four cases, the disputants were told to take their cases to the district officer, and did so. In another four cases either claimant or defendant refused to accept the decision handed down by the elected official hearing the case. The remaining four cases involved defendants who simply refused to attend a hearing -- one of them, accused of cutting down pandanus palms not belonging to him, said to the official who called out to him to come and hear the case against him "They are not your trees", and walked away. Since the elected officials themselves have no means of enforcing compliance with their decisions or attendance at hearings, there is nothing which they can do in such situations beyond advising the claimant to take his case to the district officer for settlement.

The elected officials themselves usually report to the district officers only the commitment of the most serious crimes -- such as feuding, murder, sorcery resulting in

death and cannibalism. Minor infringements of the law -- card-playing, failure to show up for roadwork, and the holding of a traditional curing ceremony, for example -- are usually ignored until the district officer himself discovers them.

Although those cases which the village officials advise claimants to take to Lufa are invariably those which they consider either too serious or too intricate for solution at the village level, there does not appear to be any direct correlation between a disputant's first choice of arbiter -- village official, district officer or circuit judge -- and the degree of seriousness or intricacy of the case. Of the eighty-one court cases which were heard in the period from August of 1968 to March of 1970, twelve were taken directly to the Lufa judge and eight were taken directly to the district officer. Of these twenty disputes, only seven were likely to have proved difficult of solution at the village level:

## Cases Taken Directly to Lufa

Number of Cases	Reason given for Dispute
1	A case of adultery, involving a Beha man and a woman married to a Lufa man but born and currently residing in Beha.
1	A Gono woman, married to a Beha man, who ran away from her husband and refused to return. (Since this particular woman had previously been the cause of a feud between Beha and the village of her previous fiance, the case was considered to have serious implications, and so was taken directly to the judge).
2	Failure of store-keepers to repay money given to enable them to set up their stores. (In both cases, several claimants from several different vil-liages were involved).
1	Dispute over the collective right of the people of Beha to free use of the water tank belonging to the medical aid post.
1	Cow breaking into gardens and destroying cultivated food crops. (Since the cow was considered to be a very valuable prestige item, this case was considered to be far more serious in its implications than the more usual pigs-spoiling-gardens dispute).
1	Failure to repay debt of money. (Again, this case was felt to be more serious in its implications than the usual case involving failure to repay a debt, since the councillor himself was the defendant).

The remaining thirteen cases were all of a type which is usually handled without much difficulty by the elected officials: destruction of banana palms, the adultery of a married woman, a woman gambling with her husband's money, failure to reciprocate the gift of a pig, several cases of pigs spoiling cultivated gardens, theft of a pig and theft of cultivated pandanus fruits, a case of wife-beating, and the accidental (but minor) injury of a child. It is difficult to determine the reason why these particular cases should have been taken directly to higher authorities, rather than to the village officials. Such questioning as I was able to do, however, resulted in 'reasons' all centering around the individual's right of choice of arbiter and his (or her) estimation that taking the case directly to Lufa would result in a more profitable outcome: people said that they felt that the village officials had not settled comparable cases satisfactorily in the past; or they felt that they would receive a greater amount of money in compensation if the case were heard by the higher authority; or they realized that their particular grievance would be viewed differently according to whether it was judged by traditional custom or by Australian law, and desired to have it judged by Australian law.

As in the past, 'women, pigs and gardens' are still the causes of a large percentage of serious disputes. Of the eighty-one court cases discussed above, fifteen (eighteen per cent) were directly traceable to disputes arising over the 'illegal' activities of women. The actual causes of these disputes were as follows:

Number of Cases	Reason given for Dispute
1	Disputed marriage -- the young woman involved insisted on marrying the boy of her choice in spite of the objections of his parents.
1	A fight between women, arising over the adultery of the husband of one of the disputants and the other woman.
1	The refusal of a young, unmarried, pregnant girl to marry the father of her child.
2	Refusals of wives to leave after being told by their husbands to go back to their parents.
4	Wives running away.
5	Adultery of married women.
1	Woman gambling with husband's money.

In addition to the above, there were a further eight court cases (nine per cent) which arose out of disputes for which the women involved were considered to be at least

partly responsible:

Number of Cases	Reason given for Dispute
3	Attempted rape. (In all three cases my informants considered it to be at least possible that the man involved was not entirely to blame -- they questioned whether the woman had acted in a seductive manner).
1	A man destroyed net bags belonging to his son's wife. (He claimed that his action was justified, because she had not shown proper respect toward him: she did not offer him sufficient food).
1	A young Chimbu girl visiting in the village claimed payment for sexual favors. (This case was dismissed by the official who heard it -- he said that according to the custom of the valley, no payment was due since the girl had acted of her own free will).
3	Wives beaten by husbands. (In all three cases the wife initiated action. Two of the three cases were brought before village officials; in both cases the wife was told that since her husband "had not broken her skin" she should go home, make peace with her husband, and not give him cause to beat her in future. One case was taken directly to the judge at Lufa; the husband was sentenced to two months in gaol).

Thirty-six court cases (forty-four per cent) were directly traceable to disputes arising over pigs and/or

gardens. The specific reasons given for these disputes were as follows:

Number of Cases	Reason given for Dispute
19	Pigs breaking into gardens and destroying cultivated food crops. (This comprises twenty-five per cent of all court cases).
1	A cow breaking into gardens and destroying cultivated food crops.
1	Injury suffered by a woman when she was attacked by a semi-feral sow.
1	Pig shot in error during an organized hunt.
1	Theft of pigs.
4	Theft of cultivated food crops (pandanus, bananas, coffee and sweet potatoes, respectively).
4	Destruction of cultivated plants (one case of destruction of tankets, two of banana palms, and one of pandanus palms). In all four cases the defendants justified their action by claiming anger over the disposal of land (in the case of the tankets) or crops (in the cases of the banana palms and pandanus palms).
1	Destruction of garden fence. The defendant justified his actions by claiming anger over the settlement of a court case involving his garden plot, destroyed by pigs.

Number of Cases	Reason given for Dispute
3	Disputes arising over the ownership of land. In all three cases the defendant was accused of starting work on a garden without first obtaining the permission of the owner of the land.
1	Dispute over the disposal of a garden plot. Two brothers, both owners of the land, disagreed concerning whether or not a certain woman had the right to use a certain plot within a newly fenced garden.

Of the remaining twenty-two court cases, eleven (14.5 per cent of the total of all court cases) were traceable to disputes arising from 'traditional' causes other than women, pigs and gardens:

Number of Cases	Reason given for Dispute
4	Failure to reciprocate the gift of a pig.
1	Failure to compensate (with the gift of a pig) for the claimant's aid in carrying a corpse from the place where death occurred back to the dead man's natal village.
1	Failure to compensate for gaol sentence incurred while helping affines in the 'war' against the Gono villages.
3	Failure to compensate for physical injury. (Two cases involved accidental injury to a child; the other case concerned injury to the <u>luluai</u> referred to previously).

Number  
of Cases

Reason given for Dispute

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | Man discovered breaking into an old woman's house. (His reasons for his action were never determined, but general opinion favored theft). |
| 1 | Dog shot while stealing eggs.   |

Only eleven cases (14.5 per cent of the total) were directly traceable to disputes which were non-traditional in nature, in that they would not have arisen in pre-contact times. The reasons given for these disputes were as follows:

Number  
of Cases

Reason given for Dispute

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 3 | Failure to repay a debt of money.   |
| 1 | Theft of money.   |
| 1 | Dispute over the ownership of money received from the sale of coffee.   |
| 2 | Failure of store-keepers to repay money given to enable them to set up their stores.  |
| 1 | Dispute over whether or not a Beha man should be allowed to contribute money to enable his Hogavi affine to set up a store. |
| 1 | Woman refused credit for some item bought at a store, which she later wished to return.                                     |

Number of Cases	Reason given for Dispute
1	Dispute over the collective right of the people of Beha to free use of the water tank belonging to the medical aid post.
1	Dispute over money lost while gambling with cards: the loser felt that his money should be returned to him. (The case was dismissed, on the grounds that he played and lost of his own free will).

The majority of court cases appear to involve disputants both (or all) of whom reside in the same village; of these, the majority appear to involve either persons not sharing a kinship tie, or those whose kinship link is tenuous or distant. Analysis of the eighty-one court cases under consideration gave the following data on residence and genealogical ties of the disputants:

Number of Cases	Residence of Disputants
68	Both (or all) disputants resided in the same community.
8	Disputants resided in two (or more) communities within the valley.
5	One (or more) of the disputants resided in a community located outside of the boundaries of the valley; the other(s) resided in one of the valley communities.

It should be noted here that the preceding table probably reports an under-estimation of the number of cases involving disputants residing in communities outside the valley, due to the difficulty in acquiring data on such cases.

Number of Cases	Genealogical Data on Disputants
7	Disputants were spouses.
6	Disputants were affines: one case involved co-wives, one involved a young woman and her husband's father, and four involved a man and his wife's agnates.
4	Disputants were close relatives: one case involved a man and his son, one involved brothers, one involved a man and his adoptive father, and one involved a man and his wife's son by a previous marriage.
51	Disputants resided in the same community and frequently called each other by kinship terms; but in all cases actual kinship was either distant or questionable.
13	Disputants did not claim kinship ties with each other.

Although women are frequently involved in court cases, either as defendant or as the 'cause' of the dispute which led to the court case, they are relatively seldom involved as claimants. Of the eighty-one court cases which took

place in the period from late 1968 to early 1970, only seventeen (twenty-one per cent) were initiated by a woman. All male informants whom I questioned concerning this agreed that women have the right to take a dispute to court, and all agreed that it is quite proper for one woman to 'court' another woman. Only a few of the younger men, however, felt that a woman should initiate a court hearing against a man. The majority (both young and old) believed that a woman with a grievance against a man should let her father or husband take her case to court for her, and that only an older widow -- "a woman with no one to speak for her" -- should speak on her own behalf.

The majority of court cases heard result in decisions involving the payment of compensation in Australian currency by the guilty party to the individual whose rights are judged to have been infringed upon: in fifty-seven (seventy per cent) of the eighty-one court cases discussed above the judgment made was of this type. In the remaining twenty-four cases the following judgments were handed down by the official hearing the case:

Number  
of Cases

Decision made in Court Case

- 9           The claimant was told that he or she had no valid grounds for a case.
- 2           The defendant was given a gaol sentence. (These two cases were judged at Lufa and the decisions enforced by the district officer).
- 6           The disputant judged to be at fault was told, essentially, to cease the behavior which had led to the dispute.
- 2           Judgment was deferred to a later date. (Both cases involved pregnant women, one single and one married but accused of being pregnant by a man other than her husband. In both cases final decision was deferred until after the birth of the child).
- 1           Compensation other than currency: the claimant charged the defendant with failure to reciprocate the gift of a pig; the defendant was told to repay the debt in kind.
- 4           The judgment made involved what can only be called compensatory behavior on the part of the disputant judged to be at fault: two persons whose pigs had ruined cultivated crops were told to kill the offending animal; a man who had uprooted another man's tankets in anger was told to re-plant them; and a mission teacher caught entering the house of another resident of the village to which he was assigned was told to leave the village permanently.

I have attempted to show, in the preceding pages, how the traditional values of the culture of the valley were reflected in pre-contact methods of handling and resolving conflict, and how these values have persisted in spite of the institution of new methods of dispute settlement by the Australian government: how the new court system has been adapted by the people to allow for expression of their traditional values. Basically, the values are two: self-determination -- the right of the individual to make his own decisions and act as he sees fit, provided he does not infringe upon another individual's rights; and reciprocity -- the right of the individual to expect and receive payment of all debts, discharge of all obligations, and recompense for any injury done him.

In pre-contact times, it was necessary for the individual to rely on self-help to ensure that his rights were observed. A man could, of course, usually rely on the members of his door or houseline to aid him if his dispute escalated into a fight, but only if he had, previously, fulfilled his obligations toward them. Today this necessity is even more evident: it is up to the individual, if he believes himself to have been wronged, to take his case to court. No one else is likely to do this for him.

In the past, a man had the right to accept or reject mediation of his dispute, in the uncommon event that it was offered him. Nowadays this right is still usually asserted, as is evident in the data on court cases: an individual by no means automatically takes his case to be heard by the village officials who have been delegated the authority to hear it. Instead, he frequently chooses a mediator whom he considers will hear his case fairly.

Finally, the individual, now as in the past, usually asserts his right to accept or reject any decision handed down by his chosen mediator -- with the exception of the district officer and the circuit judge (who have the power of the Australian government behind them), no mediator's decision is automatically accepted and acted upon.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have tried to describe the main features of one particular Highlands social system. Notable among these, it seems to me, are the values of the culture: individualism, which is evident in the right of the individual to make his own decisions in most areas of his life, provided only that he does not infringe upon the rights of others to do the same; and the ideal of reciprocity, evident even in the right of parents to expect care in their old age from their children, provided that they cared well for those children when they were young. At the same time, there are obligations which necessarily follow from the assertion of these rights: one has the obligation to accept aid if it is offered (it is considered extremely impolite to refuse a gift or an offer of aid); one has the obligation to reciprocate even unwanted gifts and aid; and although one may make suggestions concerning a close relative's or friend's course of action, one has the obligation to allow him to make his own decisions.

Individualism is manifest, it seems to me, in the instability of communities over time and the relatively high

mobility of individuals, both notable characteristics of the social system. As in other New Guinea Highlands societies, a patrilineal ideology of descent groups is often stated: the ethnographer is frequently told that the members of certain groups within a community are all descended from a common ancestor. Yet in reality the individual, through ties of kinship and of friendship, has a wide range of residence choices open to him, and the right to make such choices. He may, if he so chooses, maintain a dual affiliation throughout his life with his community of birth and his community of residence. He may even, by choice, repudiate his ties with his own agnatic descent group, and over time become affiliated with another. Non-agnatic membership in communities is often high, and full affiliation to a 'door' or houseline other than one's natal group not uncommon.

Individualism and the ideal of reciprocal behavior are apparent also in all aspects of the exchange system. These values are expressed in the essential independence of the man-wife unit in all exchange relationships. This is the pig-owning unit and the decision-making unit with respect to all matters concerning the killing of pigs and the giving of them in exchange. Exchange networks are individually determined, even when (as at a festival)

corporate action is engaged in. It is often stated by the people that on all ceremonial exchange occasions pork and other valuables should be given to certain defined groups of persons. Yet in practice pork is often given to individuals and groups who are not culturally defined as recipients, and it may not be given at all to those who are so defined. Occasionally such non-ideal exchanges are rationalized in kinship terms, but often they are merely recognized and accepted.

Among the Gimi-speaking people of the Beha Valley, the individual acquires at birth certain options for later social interaction. Agnatic and uterine kinship ties provide these options, as do his father's friendship and 'trade partner' relationships. Co-residential ties provide other options. Later in life the individual acquires still other options, partly through his own choice and partly through decisions made by his father, when at his marriage he acquires affinal relationships. He may also, of course, form friendships and institute trade partner relationships of his own, by his own choice. Finally, he may choose to change residence from his community of birth to another, in most cases using as a means of access to the new community one of his many ties of kinship or friendship; such a

move will lead to yet more options for interaction, with co-residents of his new community of residence. Through all of these avenues, the individual acquires options which he may activate into social relationships. If the options are activated, then the value of reciprocity becomes one principle influencing behavior. Other principles derive from the very nature of co-residential and kinship ties: ideally a man should aid his co-residents if they request aid, even if he does not at the time owe them aid. He should similarly aid his consanguines and affines if his relations with them are active and amicable at the time aid is requested.

The ideal of generosity may also influence behavior, if the individual has aspirations of acquiring a name. But so too may self-interest. There are, for example, set formulas of speech which may be used if an individual is asked for aid and does not wish to give it: he may say that he does not have the item which has been requested, or that he has already 'marked' it for someone else, or that he has promised to help someone else on the day his labor is needed. Even though the recipient of such an evasion knows that the statement is untrue, it is invariably accepted without challenge. Self-interest can thus be used to balance

the demands of reciprocity, since although the ideal of reciprocity states that all aid and gifts must be repaid, the time element involved is to a great extent left up to the individual.

The cultural principles influencing behavior, derived from the value system of the culture, result in a continuing choice of action on the part of the individual: he must, frequently and recurrently, decide whether to maintain or terminate each of the multiple relationships which he has at any one time with others, both kin and non-kin. He must also decide whether or not to institute other, new relationships. Like the Kwaio (Keesing 1967:1-16), Gimi-speakers make such choices, when they have to be made, by balancing the values of their culture and the norms of ideal behavior one against the other -- and both values and norms against personal preference and self-interest. From the point of view of the individual, his multiple relationships with their rights and obligations can be diagrammed as a network of interaction. Lawrence has called such a system of interpersonal relationships a 'security circle,' describing it as neither a distinct social nor a distinct local group, but composed rather of those individuals with whom the individual has safe relationships and toward whom he should

observe certain rules of behavior (Lawrence 1965-66:379). Such a description fits my data on the Beha Valley well, although I would quarrel with Lawrence's use of the word 'circle,' which to me implies that the individual's interpersonal relationships extend outward in space to a limited radius. For the Gimi-speaking people, this is obviously not entirely accurate: although most of a man's social interactions are with persons living within a radius of a few miles from his village of residence, nowadays it is not uncommon for an individual to have a few relationships with persons living at a greater distance. The conceptual model of a network fits the Beha data more accurately: although it is usual for a man to have more social relationships with individuals living close by, and for these relationships to be more intense (interaction is more frequent) than with more distant individuals, at the same time there are many persons living in the same or spatially contiguous communities with whom any one individual interacts only infrequently. In addition, it must be remembered that such networks are by no means permanent, but rather change through time as the individuals comprising them institute new relationships or let old ones lapse.

The principles which influence behavior result in

groups which are, as many Highlands ethnographers have noted, structurally rather 'flexible.' Membership in them may be obtained not only through agnatic kinship links, but also through a variety of other ties of both kinship and friendship. Each individual has a variety of options with respect to his affiliation, and the final decision is based on individual choice. There is no right or obligation associated with membership in any socio-political group which may not over time be acquired by choice as well as by birth. The groups are also 'flexible' in another sense: there is no occasion upon which individuals join together for group action when either the people themselves or the ethnographer can predict precisely the identities of all of the individuals who will participate. Yet I have argued that certain groups can be distinguished as being relatively permanent units in the social system, in spite of the fact that membership in them is impermanent and changeable over time, and in spite of the fact that all of the members of any specific group never participate in any activity which excludes members of other groups.

The relative permanence of these social units appears to derive, as does their 'flexibility,' from the values of the culture, expressed in stated norms and prin-

principles of behavior. These norms and behavioral principles can be viewed as resulting in an irreducible lower limit placed on flexibility. Although membership in any social unit may be obtained through a variety of social relationships, for example, there is nevertheless a limit to the number of groups which any one individual may join or interact with at any given time: a man cannot choose to reside in a community where he has no social tie of any kind; he may not request aid from strangers; and although theoretically a man is free to offer a bridewealth or a trade item anywhere he chooses, in practice he would not do so in communities where no social relationship existed. Finally, once membership in certain groups has been acquired, norms governing behavior and penalties for transgressions of these norms ensure that a certain degree of peaceful social interaction and stability is maintained.

Of these relatively permanent social units, the individual community, village or hamlet, appears to me to be the most socially and politically significant. It is conceived of in the minds of its residents as a social and political unit, and although there is never total participation by all residents in any community event, certain important events (wars, pig-feasts) are spoken of as if they

were corporate activities. Community cohesiveness is, I believe, an ideal or value -- one which is promoted by rules of conduct, concern for reputation, and the spontaneous nature of many of those occasions when aid is needed or requested. And the ideal is, as I have documented (Chapter IV), made explicit in norms covering the expression of aggression, in behavior which occurs as a result of transgressions of these norms, and in references to the community and its affairs.

Below the level of the individual community, other units can be distinguished by reference to either behavioral norms or corporate ownership of certain ritually important objects. Each of the larger communities of the valley is composed of two or more groups of men, one of whom claims descent from the original founders of the community, while the others are recognized as being descendants of immigrant refugees. Distinctions between these groups are unimportant in most areas of life, but they become important when marriages are arranged, since members of each group may intermarry with members of the others, but marriage within each group is strictly prohibited.

In most of the valley communities, those men who claim shared descent from the ancestral founders are further

divided into houselines, spatial units which are also distinguished by their 'ownership' of one or more men's houses. Traditionally, the men's house group was ritually important, since it sponsored the ceremonies which functioned to initiate the young boys of the houseline into manhood. The houseline also, to this day, functions to regulate sexual relationships, since these are forbidden to members of the same houseline. Refugees, if they are numerous, will form yet another houseline; if few in number, they are usually incorporated into an existing houseline.

Finally, I have distinguished the group called the 'door,' whose members collectively own a pair of sacred flutes. The door also functions in daily activities, since although social interaction between members of a door does not necessarily differ in either kind or quality from that between members of different doors, it does usually differ in frequency.

Above the level of the individual community there was, traditionally, no permanent socio-political unit. Even though there is some evidence that the communities of the valley conceived of themselves as a social unit -- members of them state that they were always allies in war and joint givers of festivals -- yet corporate action in

such situations was not invariable. The valley communities, for example, sometimes fought each other, and they sometimes fought on opposing sides in wars between communities outside the valley. Occasionally, a single community would hold a pig-killing. And, for the past forty years or so, the pattern of marriages made by the membership of each community in the valley has been distinctively different from that of each of the others.

Ties between communities sharing a common ancestral name are even more tenuous, and very variable. Whether or not a kinship relationship and its concomitant prohibitions against intermarriage are even acknowledged appears to depend upon both geographical distance and the length of time which has passed since one community split off from the other. Segmentation, in all cases, takes place along lines which are unpredictable in advance, since when decisions must be made concerning whether to go or stay, the option is very definitely a matter of individual choice, influenced by both kinship relationships and perceived self-interest.

Traditionally, there appears to have been no socio-political unit among the Gimi-speaking people fully comparable to the 'district' which Berndt (1971:385) identifies as being the political unit among the Kamano, Usurufa,

Jate and Fore, since "potential relationships of both cooperation and antagonism" were, and are, slightly different for each individual community. From the point of view of any one community, however, social interaction can be diagrammed using Berndt's conceptual model of a circle: the data indicate that most group interaction, both of a social and of a political nature, has always taken place between spatially contiguous communities. Beyond this circle there is a further circle of communities at a distance of six or seven miles with whom interaction occurred, but infrequently; beyond this are communities with which, traditionally, interaction never took place. Among the Gimi-speakers, the nature of such 'circles of interaction' varies, depending upon which community is taken as the focus of analysis. Some communities are surrounded by traditional allies, and can be analyzed as being at the center of an interactory zone of relationships of cooperation -- although the potentiality for antagonism is always present, and thus even their innermost circle of interaction can hardly be thought of as a 'security circle.' This description is applicable, for example, to Beha, whose immediately contiguous neighbors, Hogavi and Kiovi, are both traditional allies. Other communities, however, can only be analyzed as being at the

center of a circle of interaction which includes both traditional allies and traditional enemies: an interactory zone of both cooperation and antagonism, although these relationships, also, are subject to change at any time. In the past, disagreements could lead to war between formerly friendly communities and traditional enemies were, in times of peace, among those with whom one intermarried. This description is applicable, for example, to Hogavi, with its traditional ally Beha to the north, but with the Gono communities, traditional enemies, immediately contiguous to the south.

Patterns of power and authority among the Gimi-speaking people of the Beha Valley reflect the same cultural values which are evident in patterns of social organization. There were, traditionally, no ascribed positions of authority. There were various means by which a man could obtain prestige and a certain measure of power in public decision-making, but power itself was always achieved by means of a man's abilities and personal qualities, and it was circumscribed, situational and transient. Men who were recognized as possessing skill in a particular set of activities -- gardening and pig-raising (the kali vana), attack and defense (the wasigi vana) or curing -- had,

undoubtedly, a certain amount of influence over decisions pertaining to their particular specialties. Yet their influence was always limited to their own specialty and did not diffuse to other activities, it lasted only as long as the individual retained those abilities through which he obtained prestige originally, and it was countered and circumscribed by the strong cultural emphases on individualism and the right of the individual to refuse to accept any decision which he perceived as being against his wishes or self-interest. Although the Australian administration has now introduced the concept of elective positions of authority into the Gimi-speaking region, the nature of power remains essentially unchanged. Elected officials have the authority to enforce governmental decisions, and the power of the law behind them, but their power even in this area of life is limited, and their power in more traditional situations depends upon the amount of prestige which they have achieved through their participation in traditional activities.

It is apparent, I believe, that the segmentary lineage model does not provide an accurate conceptual framework with which to analyze the Beha Valley data. 'Descent' groups provide for affiliation by choice, through not only uterine and affinal ties, but also through ties of friend-

ship and trade partnerships. And they do not fission and fuse according to segmentary principles, but rather join for group action and split according to the perceived self-interest of their members. Nor is authority vested either in positions within descent groups or in ritual offices. As I have described above, traditionally there were no positions of authority, but only power -- which could be achieved by virtue of a man's own abilities, but by no other means.

It is relevant here, I believe, to speculate concerning the functional origins of these characteristics, rather unusual among sedentary horticulturists, of the socio-political system. In order to do so I wish to turn to a consideration of historical, ecological, demographic and cultural factors.

Watson, in a well-documented article on the origins of horticulture in New Guinea (Watson 1965) gives evidence indicating that the introduction of the sweet potato as a cultivated crop into the Highlands probably took place only recently -- within the last three hundred years. He further suggests that the domesticated pig may have followed the introduction of the sweet potato. Although it appears evident that root crops were cultivated in the Highlands

prior to the introduction of the sweet potato (and that other crops were also cultivated), Watson suggests that horticulture could have been only sporadic and residence patterns only semi-sedentary prior to the introduction of the sweet potato, the staple crop of the majority of Highlands societies.

Watson, using concepts developed originally by Steward (1955) and Service (1962), speculates in the same article concerning the origins of the patrilineal ideology but 'loose' social structure which have been reported for so many Highlands societies. He suggests that:

It is reasonable to suggest that small, patrilocal bands of hunters or intermittent gardeners may have existed widely, if not generally, in the Central Highlands until two or three centuries ago (Watson 1965:17).

Watson claims that "patrilineal sentiments generally prevail in the Central Highlands," and that patrilineality would be a likely development given a prior patrilocal residence rule. He concludes that:

It would seem almost impossible to deny past agnatic conditions, patrilocality in particular, without being able to ascribe present Highlands agnation to some subsequent development of extraordinary magnitude (Watson 1965:28).

While I find Watson's sources (Brookfield 1964; Bulmer 1964; Conklin 1963; Nishayama 1963; Robbins 1963; Yen 1963) on the introduction of the sweet potato and the

possibility that subsistence activities were based on hunting and gathering and intermittent gardening prior to its introduction persuasive, I strongly disagree with his assumption that pre-ipomoean<sup>8</sup> hunting bands (or intermittent gardeners) were necessarily patrilineal, or even strongly patrilocal. In spite of Steward's and Service's claims for the existence of patrilineal, patrilocal hunting bands, I have always found the ethnographic data on hunting-gathering, band-level societies to indicate that few, if any, were traditionally strongly patrilineal or patrilocal. Rather, they appear in general (at least under non-contact conditions) to allow for a choice of band membership on the part of the individual male, and some choice of residence on the part of the newly married couple. Further, both Murdock (1949:349-50) and Goodenough (1955:71-83) offer convincing evidence for their claims that the original form of Malayo-Polynesian social structures was characterized by 'Hawaiian' characteristics: bilocal extended families, bilateral kindreds, the absence of unilineal kingroups, and Generation-Hawaiian kinship terminology. I believe that

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<sup>8</sup>Watson (1965) introduced the term 'pre-ipomoean' to refer to the cultural stage preceding the introduction of the sweet potato (ipomoea batatas).

too little consideration has been given to the possibility that Austronesian social structures (to which category Highlands New Guinea societies belong) may have been derived from a similar prototype.

Data on social structure, power and authority from the Gimi-speaking region seem to support this view: ease of mobility, a lack of emphasis on genealogical reckoning, affiliation by choice, social groups composed of a membership having a variety of formal relationships (agnatic, uterine, affinal and trade partnership) to each other, lack of institutionalized positions of authority and presence of decision-making power dependant upon personal characteristics, are common characteristics of hunting-gathering societies.

I wish, then, to put forward the theory that these characteristics of the socio-political system of the Gimi-speaking peoples are pre-ipomoean, pre-horticultural and pre-sedentary characteristics, rather than being (as Watson suggests) relatively recent innovations. The theory is not only congruent with the present-day data, but these characteristics would also have been functional given the ecological and demographic conditions which we can postulate to have existed prior to the introduction of the sweet potato. Among these conditions, I believe that the following

must have been crucial in setting limitations on the variety of viable socio-political forms which could develop.

Susan and Ralph Bulmer, in a comprehensive article on the prehistory of the New Guinea Highlands (1964), have reviewed the ethnobotanical data in detail, and conclude that early horticulturists are likely to have relied upon taro, a species of legume (pueraria lobata) and bananas for their staple crops. Their findings indicate that yams may possibly have been cultivated, but only below an altitude of 5,500 feet. They suggest that these crops are unlikely to have supported anything approaching present-day population densities between 5,000 and 6,000 feet, and can only have supported very sparse populations at higher altitudes. It can be postulated that hunter-gatherer populations, lacking any dependable cultivated food crop, would of necessity have been even less numerous and more sparsely distributed.

The land is mountainous and rugged, streams and rivers are not navigable, and there are not (and apparently never have been) any indigenous draft animals. Communication between small groups must always have been pedestrian, difficult and limited in geographical range.

Present-day cultivated root and tree crops, with

the sole exception of pandanus nuts, do not lend themselves to either storage or preservation for long periods of time with simple techniques. This is also true, of course, of the game animals and wild plants upon which hunter-gatherers would have had to subsist. And sophisticated storage and preservative techniques have, apparently, never been part of the cultural inventory of Highlands peoples. The Gimi-speakers have no storage techniques other than air-drying (resulting in root crops suitable for use as seed, but inedible) and no preservatives other than salt (which in the highly humid climate of the valley will preserve meat in edible condition for only a limited period of time).

Many of the products which are today and/or have been in the recent past both valued exchange goods and items necessary for subsistence -- certain types of stone axe-heads, black-palm wood, salt and kapul meat -- cannot be produced in all climatic and vegetation zones.

No archeological excavations have yet been undertaken in the Gimi-speaking region, and it is therefore undetermined whether the original immigrants were hunter-gatherers who adopted horticultural techniques from their neighbors, or intermittent gardeners who had themselves adopted horticultural techniques not too long prior to their

migration into the area. Whichever may have been the case, it appears reasonable to postulate that, given the conditions which I have outlined above, the culture would have included many of the features which are characteristic of that of the present inhabitants. This I believe to be particularly true of socio-political organization. Given an indigenous flora and fauna incapable of supporting present-day populations (approximately thirty-three persons per square mile) at the altitudes of the valley and the surrounding regions (between 5,000 and 7,700 feet) prior to the introduction of the sweet potato, we can postulate that structurally the population must have been organized into small bands, which perhaps joined together into larger groups at certain seasons of the year or for certain important ceremonial occasions, but which for most of the year remained relatively independent of each other. Lacking effective food storage and preservative techniques, such groups must, in spite of the well-watered and fertile nature of the soil, have suffered periods of food shortage, and perhaps even occasional periods of famine. As I have mentioned (Chapter II), periods of food shortage are even now not uncommon among the Yagaria-speakers and the southern Bena Bena of the grasslands, and it is reasonable to suppose

that they also occurred in the bush country prior to the introduction of a reliable and rapidly maturing root crop.

Under such ecological and demographic conditions, small populations must be able to adjust their numbers to the available food supply. Ease of mobility, a lack of emphasis on genealogical reckoning, and affiliation by choice to a group other than one's natal group then become not only logical postulates but, more importantly, functional characteristics of social organization. The bands must, I believe, have been composed of men and women related to each other by a variety of consanguineal and affinal ties, and they must have allowed for some choice of residence on the part of the individual, both at marriage and in subsequent times of hardship.

Perhaps the cultural value of individualism also originated during this period. In times of scarcity, it would have been functional for each adult male to have the right to make decisions concerning the movements of himself, his wife and children. Individualism would also have been encouraged by the nature of most subsistence activities in the Highlands: with the exception of the wild pig (and in some areas also the cassowary), all game is small, non-herding and non-migratory, and most effectively hunted

by one or at most two or three men; gathering can be undertaken as a group activity, but it is also most effectively pursued by an individual working alone. Certain horticultural activities -- for example, fencing and the clearing of land -- must always have been most effectively accomplished by groups, but these activities must then have only occupied a small portion of the yearly cycle.

Given an uncertain food supply and small populations organized into bands, it appears likely that skill in subsistence activities -- and perhaps also skill in curing -- would have early become important and prestigious accomplishments. It would be functional in such circumstances for the group to grant influence over decision-making to the skilled individual -- but only when decisions relating to his or her particular skill had to be made. It would have been non-functional to allow power over decision-making to diffuse to activities in which the individual had little ability, or to allow ascribed positions of authority to develop. And -- since every adult individual must of necessity have been involved in subsistence activities -- full-time economic, ritual or political specialization could not have developed.

Perhaps the combination of qualities which today

characterizes the kali vana came to be valued first in this hypothetical period. Again, diligence and skill in subsistence activities, coupled with generosity in giving away the products of that skill, would have been functional for the group in times of food scarcity.

Stone axe-heads and black-palm wood for hunting bows are items which must then have been vital for survival; salt and kapul meat are valued and enjoyable subsistence foods. Given the fact that these items are not found in all climatic and vegetation zones of the Eastern Highlands, it can, I think, be assumed that exchange networks originated early in time. Within groups lacking institutionalized positions of authority, the redistributive mode of exchange would be unlikely to develop. The reciprocal mode must early have become both an inter- and an intra-group mechanism for acquiring scarce and valued products -- and perhaps, in times of scarcity, a mechanism also for assuring that everyone could acquire subsistence foods. Reciprocity, logically, would have become a cultural value.

The question why these values and forms of socio-political organization were retained in the culture after the adoption of sedentary horticulture and a settled community life remains to be answered. It seems to me

that, for the Beha Valley, ecological and demographic factors can be seen as having been strongly influential in the retention of the distinctive characteristics of social organization: the lack of emphasis on genealogical reckoning and agnatic descent, ease of mobility, affiliation by choice, and communities comprised of individuals sharing a variety of kinship and associative ties to one another. The land is well-watered and productive in growing a wide variety of subsistence foods and items which were, in the past, valued as exchange goods. In addition, population density has remained low and consequently control over land is relatively unimportant. It is relevant here to mention that Meggitt, describing the strong patrilineal emphasis of the Mae Enga of the Western Highlands, and the high population density of that area, has speculated that high population density may in fact be correlated with patrilineal emphasis, since with increasing population density control over land becomes more important due to its relative scarcity (Meggitt 1965:261-66). Horton, writing about the origins of the acephalous agricultural societies of West Africa, arrives at conclusions which support Meggitt's theory:

... in a mainly subsistence economy, buying of land is an option that does not arise. With buying ruled out and a relatively limited supply, inheritance would seem to be the principal channel for orderly access to this essential resource. This means a strong tendency for up-and-coming young men to settle down with their close maternal or paternal seniors, according to which rule of inheritance is involved... Even where there is expansion, then, the neighbourhood group will still tend to be based on a body of close male kinsmen related through the line of land inheritance. And from this situation, it is but a short step to make kinship in the relevant line the guiding principle in the organisation and recruitment of the local group (Horton 1971:83).

Certainly the Beha data, indicating the absence of both land scarcity and unilineal emphasis, would support these views, and I would theorize that with productive land resources and a continuing low population density there was functionally no need for the development of means for limiting access to land.

Yet 'flexible' social groups can also be seen as serving a positive function. As Langness has noted, given the traditional conditions of intermittent but frequent warfare, refuge was at times a necessity, and strength in numbers was valued (Langness 1964:173-4). There is no evidence, archeological, historical or mythological, to indicate at what point in time warfare came to be a part of the cultural patterns of the Highlands. Susan and Ralph Bulmer have suggested that the introduction of the sweet

potato and the adoption of sedentary horticulture must have led to major redistributions of population, particularly in the Western Highlands (Bulmer 1964:47). It seems possible that as populations increased in numbers and began to encroach on each other's hunting and gathering land, warfare either originated or (if it was already present in the cultures) became more frequent. Migration tales from the Gimi-speaking region tell little about origins, but they do indicate that at the time of contact, both redistributions of populations and warfare connected with these redistributions were continuing. Given this pattern of frequent warfare, necessity for refuge and the practical considerations of acquiring a large fighting force would have encouraged the retention of flexible social groups with few requirements for membership. I would argue further that the present-day pattern of an initial period of virilocal residence following marriage reflects the cultural values of male solidarity and superiority, rather than an ideology of unilineal descent, and that these values can in turn be seen as being directly related to conditions of frequent warfare.

The retention of reciprocal exchange relationships would also have served a positive function, given the fact

that many of the items found only in specific ecosystems continued to be valued foods, condiments, and hunting and horticultural implements. In addition, Watson has suggested (1965:21) that the domestication of pigs may have followed the adoption of the sweet potato, and Strathern (1969:65) has noted that in the absence of any means of preserving pork for long periods of time, it must of necessity be shared with others. It seems probable, then, that the domestication of the pig led to an elaboration of existing exchange and trade relationships. The current 'flexibility' of these relationships -- the almost unlimited choice allowed the individual in activating, maintaining and terminating them -- could have either originated or become more strongly emphasized as a cultural value during this same period of demographic and cultural change. War often isolated communities and/or groups from each other, at least for a time, and led to a situation in which it was not always possible to share with those whom cultural precepts defined as the recipients of gifts. Yet pork had to be shared, or it would spoil. Under these conditions, exchange and trade relationships could have been instituted between individuals having little in common but geographical proximity. Being functional, the behavioral pattern would

over time have become an accepted cultural norm.

Finally, I wish to consider the retention in the culture of achieved status based on personal skills and abilities; of power over decision-making which is circumscribed, situational and transient; and the failure of institutionalized, ascribed positions of authority to develop. Again, ecological, demographic and certain cultural factors appear to me to have functioned interdependently to inhibit both the development of ascribed authority and the development of 'despotic' achieved power.

The particular combination of personal abilities characterizing the wasiqi vana must have originally become a means to achieved status at that point in time when warfare first became a frequent occurrence. Although all young men were given some training in warfare, the Gimi-speaking people believe (and I see no reason to disagree) that a taste and ability for fighting are qualities which can be developed in only a few men. In circumstances of intermittent but frequent warfare, which sometimes resulted in the burning of an entire community and the killing or eviction of its inhabitants from their land, defense of the group would have been too important, indeed vital, to be entrusted to men lacking the necessary abilities. It would have been

non-functional for the role of 'fight leader' to have become an ascribed position.

Other ascribed positions of authority did not develop, I believe, primarily because there were no cultural mechanisms by which an individual could gain effective control over resources or labor, and no mechanisms by which great wealth or control over natural resources or individuals could be passed on by inheritance to the next generation. And the failure of such mechanisms to develop can be traced, directly in some cases and indirectly in others, to ecological and demographic factors.

Of primary importance as a causal factor, it seems to me, are the methods of pig-raising and of gardening customary in the valley. I am unqualified to comment concerning the possible feasibility of other horticultural and pig-keeping techniques, given the ecological characteristics of the valley. On the basis of both my informants' opinions and my own observations, however, I would speculate that pigs must of necessity be allowed to roam free much of the time, since it would be impossible for any one woman to grow enough food for her family and pigs, if the latter were not allowed to obtain a portion of their daily diet by rooting on uncultivated land. Since pigs are allowed to

wander free, however, gardens must be fenced, limiting both the number of gardens which can be cultivated and the number of pigs which can be adequately cared for by any one woman. Yet pigs are the most highly valued exchange good which the people possess, and the desire of every married couple is to have pigs without limit. Perhaps partially because there is a strong emphasis in the culture on individualism, it would occur to no one to intentionally limit the size of his pig-herd for the general good of his own and neighboring communities. What does occur is that between big festivals the number of pigs increases. Their growing destruction of the gardens causes discord both within and between communities and the people's fear for their own food supply increases until the pigs are killed and enter the exchange system. The relative frequency of other ceremonial exchanges is also, I feel, determined by the same factors. The small size of pig-herds is clearly an effect of these cultural practices.

Rappaport, in a detailed analysis of ritual and its relationship to fluctuations in the size of Tsembaga pig-herds, has reached the conclusion that among these people of the Bismarck Range the decision to hold a kaiko (pig festival) is 'triggered' primarily when the relationship

of the pigs to their owners changes from one of support to one of "parasitism" -- burdensome or even intolerable demands on human energy, in terms of time and labor (Rappaport 1968:153-60). Rappaport notes, however, that population density among the Tsembaga is low (about sixty-four persons per square mile) and that during the period of his fieldwork all of the Tsembaga gardens were located on one bank of a swiftly flowing, steeply banked stream, while people and pigs were located on the other. On the basis of data gathered from the neighboring Tuguma and Kanump-Kaur, he speculates that:

... it may be that the relative importance of the two aspects of large pig herds, their parasitic requirements and their competitive abilities, vary with population densities ... In more densely settled areas, and in areas such as those occupied by the Tuguma and Kanump-Kaur, in which the gardens are more easily accessible to pigs, it may be their competition that determines the consensus. In other words, where population density is high and the gardens are accessible to the pigs, the number of animals required to reach an intolerable level of destructiveness might be fewer than the number required to reach an intolerable level of energy expenditure on the part of the women (Rappaport 1968:162).

Since population density in the Beha Valley is even lower than among the Tsembaga, it appears at first glance that my conclusions concerning the sequence of events leading to a decision to hold a festival among the Gimi-speakers directly conflicts with Rappaport's theory. Yet

I do not feel that our theoretical positions are entirely irreconcilable. Rather, it seems to me that Rappaport has overlooked one demographic factor which may be of more importance than population density per se in determining the accessibility of gardens to the pigs, and so the latter's potential for destructiveness: the distribution of both human population and gardens on the land. I would speculate that when the human population is distributed, as it is in the Beha Valley, in fairly large communities immediately surrounded by their gardens and pig-houses, whereas large areas of the land (the kunai and primary forest) are relatively little used, the potential for destructiveness of a given number of pigs is greater than when the population and its gardens and pig-houses are distributed in scattered homesteads, as they are among the Tsembaga, Tuguma and Kanump-Kaur. It appears likely that in the former situation, the level of destructiveness would become intolerable with smaller populations of humans and pigs than would be the case among the latter-named peoples.

In addition, it seems evident that among the Gimi-speakers, and among other societies which allow their pigs to obtain a significant portion of their daily food by rooting on uncultivated land, the likelihood that a married

couple's pig-herd would ever reach a size which placed an intolerable requirement of energy expenditure on the woman is very small indeed. Among the people of the Beha Valley, the cultural solution to this problem is simple: if a woman acquires more pigs than she can feed adequately, she simply gives them what sweet potatoes she can spare, and assumes that they will find whatever else they require. The family is always fed first; the pigs are only given what can be spared. When given less food, of course, the pigs become more destructive, and so a large number of pigs can be seen as an indirect cause of the decision to hold a festival. But it is their destructiveness which 'triggers' the decision and reduces the pig-herd to a manageable size.

Nor is it possible for a man to gain control over the labor of more than a few other individuals and thus increase the number of his pigs and gardens. Given the amount of labor involved, few men are able to fence enough garden land for more than one wife. The low incidence of polygyny (eight per cent of the total male population) can be viewed as both a direct result of customary horticultural and pig-raising techniques, and also as a factor inhibiting the acquisition of personal wealth in pigs. And, since few men can acquire more than one wife at any one time,

there is no lack of marriageable women, and no group of "permanent bachelors" over whom a big man can gain control, as has been reported for certain areas of the Western Highlands (Meggitt 1974:183).

Low population densities, sufficiency of land suitable for horticulture, and endemic warfare must have functioned interdependently to result in the lack of importance placed on control over land and the value which was placed on strength in numbers of the local community. Given a situation in which refugees and migrants were always welcome, since they would add to the strength of any local group and would need only garden land which could readily be spared, control over land could not become a factor in the acquisition of power, nor could it become the basis for inherited authority. Of equal importance, I feel, is the availability of those items which are valued for exchange purposes to most, if not all, men. Although some men have more than others, there is (and was in the past) no effective means of control over access to these goods by one or a few men. In addition, since no man could acquire and retain control over large numbers of pigs or other valuables, and since all gifts given had to be reciprocated at death if they had not been returned prior to it,

inheritance of valuables could not become a means to the acquisition of wealth, status or power.

Finally, there were no organized unilineal kingroups within which positions based on age and seniority could develop -- age and the cultural wisdom the aged might be expected to have learned during their lifetimes were not, in any case, particularly valued. Nor were there stable communities with a permanent membership within which positions of authority over community activities would have been functional. This latter factor also, I believe, explains why power in the Gimi-speaking region could never have been 'despotic.' Ease of mobility, an assured welcome in other communities, ease of access to garden land, and frequent displacements of both groups and individuals would all have functioned to limit the amount of control which any one individual could gain over others against their will.

Considered as interdependent, these factors can be seen as functioning to limit the power of the big men. They do not have either the number of 'followers' dependent upon them, nor the wealth in pigs and other valuables, which they are reported to have in some areas of the Western Highlands. Their authority is correspondingly limited, and

the success of their decision-making must of necessity depend on other factors: their skill in gauging majority opinion and adapting their own opinions to comply with it and/or their skill in timing a change of opinion to take advantage of group sentiment.

It is not my intention in this paper to present a detailed comparison of all Highlands New Guinea societies, but rather to comment briefly on certain striking differences between Western and Eastern Highlands socio-political systems, and to suggest some lines of inquiry which could profitably be followed in attempting to determine the causal factors underlying these differences. As has been noted (Chapter I), political activities in the Western Highlands, in general, take place on a scale unknown in most of the societies of the Eastern Highlands. Such pig exchange 'cycles' as the Te of the Mae Enga and the Moka of the Mt. Hageners involve thousands of participants, both as donors and as recipients; thousands of pigs circulate in a well-organized, highly cooperative and conventionalized pattern of exchanges among all of the participating localized groups; and elaborate preparations are made to house and feed the large numbers of guests. Similar activities in the Eastern Highlands involve far fewer participants and

pigs, little long-range planning and organization, and simple one- or two-stage exchanges of prestations, rather than the long series of exchanges which characterize the Moka and the Te.

These differences in scale appear to correlate with differences in the quality of leadership in the two regions. Among both the Mae Enga and the Mt. Hageners, for example, big men appear to be able to gain a degree of control over the labor of others which is not found in the Eastern Highlands. Meggitt (1974:182-83) describes how certain Mae Enga men, lacking the socio-economic resources which a man needs in order to acquire a wife or otherwise acquire regular access to female labor, are "forced into permanent bachelorhood" and usually become the "retainers" of big men. Strathern (1971:35) describes how prospective big men in the Mt. Hagen area attempt to persuade their married sisters to live in their settlements, thereby gaining the right to claim aid in their undertakings from their sisters' spouses and later their sons. In both areas, the rate of polygyny is higher for the total male population than it is among, for example, the Gimi-speaking people of the Beha Valley. Big men, in general, tend to have more wives than do Gimi big men. In addition, both Mae Enga and Mt. Hagen big men

compete for positions in exchange cycles which are highly structured, with formal rules governing the manner of their participation, and this appears to allow for a degree of differential access to particular scarce and valued resources which is, again, unknown in most areas of the Eastern Highlands.

Finally, there appear to be very real differences in the type of social organization found in the two regions. As has been mentioned (Chapter I), Meggitt describes the Mae Enga as having a segmentary lineage system. Strathern describes the Mt. Hagen societies in terms more frequently used by Highlands ethnographers in recent years: they allow for the affiliation of non-agnates to the local group, such non-agnates often comprise a large percentage of all of the men of a group, and non-agnates have a certain degree of access to participation in political activities. Yet the Mt. Hagen peoples, like the Mae Enga, appear to place an ideological emphasis on unilineal descent which is unusual in the Eastern Highlands, and societies are organized into named groups with associated rights, obligations and functions which not only include more structural levels than are found in the Eastern Highlands, but which at the highest structural level also include many more members. Strathern,

for example, says of the Mt. Hagen groups:

... we can compute that the average size of tribes or tribe-fragments in the four areas is: South Wahgi 670, Central Melpa 1,590, Western Melpa 1,115, Northern Melpa 820. Overall, the average is about 1,059. (Had I included the tribe-fragments with the larger groups they are associated with, or had included the fragments with the main sections of their tribes, the average sizes would have been higher.) (Strathern 1971:16).

These differences in socio-political organization and in the quality of leadership between the Western and Eastern Highlands also appear to correlate with demographic differences. First, population densities in the Western Highlands are in most cases undeniably higher than is usual in the Eastern regions: Meggitt (1971:195) mentions that among the Central Enga, population densities average more than ninety per square mile, while in some localities along the upper Lai River they reach 350 to 400 per square mile; Strathern (1971:231) gives population densities ranging from 67.81 per square mile for the Northern Melpa to 268.31 for the Western Melpa. These figures should be compared with the average of thirty-three persons per square mile which I have given for the Gimi-speaking people, thirty-three per square mile for the South Fore (Glasse and Lindenbaum 1971:363) and Berndt's figures for the Kamano, Usurufa and Fore:

The Kamano (Kafe), about 12,000 in number, covered an area of approximately 320 square miles. Adjoining them on the south were about 900 Usurufa (Uturupa) in a small stretch of no more than 12 square miles. Farther south again the general label of Fore was applied to a somewhat more heterogeneous population of perhaps 10,000, made up of several fairly distinct regional-linguistic groupings and covering possibly 240 square miles of country. (Berndt 1971:381-82).

Second, populations are distributed differently on the land: while the usual pattern in the Eastern Highlands is one of small hamlets and villages, from the Chimbu sub-district to the West Irian border the typical settlement pattern is one of homesteads, each consisting of a men's house and one or two women's houses, which are "scattered over territories belonging to clan groups" (Strathern 1971:8).

There is very little in the literature on the New Guinea Highlands concerning the influence which these different patterns of population distribution and different population densities may have had in the past on the development of social groupings and patterns of leadership in the two regions. There is even less concerning the causal factors which may have led to the differential distributions of population on the land. As I have noted, Susan and Ralph Bulmer (1964) have suggested that the introduction of the sweet potato and the adoption of sedentary horticulture may have led to greater redistributions of populations in the

Western than in the Eastern Highlands. This would suggest that conflict associated with these dispersals of populations must also have been more intense and frequent in the Western Highlands. Yet logic would dictate that more intense warfare should influence people to gather together into compact, fortified communities (the traditional settlement pattern in the Eastern Highlands) rather than in homesteads composed of one or a few adult men with their wives and children. As Horton has noted, in speaking of the probable causal factors underlying different settlement patterns in West Africa:

Such a pattern (of scattered homesteads), it seems, can only prevail where the organisational demands of small-scale agriculture do not have to be weighed against those of defence against aggression. For while the former dictate that each small producing unit sit in the middle of its farm, the latter dictate that people should forgo proximity to their plots and band together in large, compact aggregates. (Horton 1971:85).

While it is probably too late to gain a clear understanding of the frequency of warfare and the precise numbers of people involved in the different regions of New Guinea, it seems to me that more ethnographic data could be collected on patterns of warfare in general, with a view to resolving this conflict between theory and reality. In addition, we need to look more closely at the effects which differential distributions of population can have on the

development of mechanisms by which individuals join together in groups for social and political action. Are the structure and functions of social groupings really different in the Western and Eastern Highlands? And if so, why? It is my belief that Highlands ethnographers have erroneously tended to perceive Highlands societies as being of only one type, whereas data on group structure, composition and ideology suggest that we may in fact be dealing with a continuum of societies which, although they share certain values and a common cultural tradition, have nevertheless been shaped by combinations of different demographic and ecological forces.

In determining why the quality of leadership is different in the two regions of the Highlands, we need to look again at demographic factors. In addition, it seems to me that not enough consideration has been given in the past to determining either the distribution patterns of natural resources vital or important for survival or the cultural mechanisms by which individuals and groups gain differential access to these goods. The varying productivity of land needs to be looked into, as do the mechanisms by which an individual may gain control or influence over the labor of others. Finally, it seems to me possible that

gardening and pig-raising techniques may vary slightly in the two regions and if this is so, these differences also need to be described on a comparative basis. When all of these ecological, demographic and cultural factors have been described for enough societies in both the Eastern and Western Highlands, perhaps we may begin to perceive clearly the differences in social organization and leadership in the two regions, and the causal factors underlying their development.

It should then prove profitable to compare New Guinea Highlands and African acephalous societies, with a view to determining the different ecological, demographic and cultural variables which have influenced the development of their various forms of socio-political organization. It is obvious that societies in the Western Highlands of New Guinea share some of the demographic and ecological characteristics which Horton defines as distinguishing the acephalous, dispersed, territorially defined communities of West Africa, and that the Eastern Highlands societies are demographically and ecologically similar in some respects to the large, compact villages of West Africa. It appears likely that, in both West Africa and the Highlands, differential availability of arable land has had a direct

effect on social organization; that in both culture areas those societies faced with a shortage of land relative to their population densities have had to develop cultural mechanisms limiting access to that land. Horton implies that this variable -- "land in somewhat limited supply relative to population" (Horton 1971:82) -- applies to all West African acephalous societies, and that it directly influenced the development of social groups using the unilineal principle to determine recruitment of their memberships and the inheritance of rights in land. As I have indicated above, data on population densities and group structure in both Western and Eastern Highlands suggest that there, also, land shortage may in fact be correlated with degree of unilineality.

Second, warfare appears to have been, although for different lengths of time, a part of the cultural pattern of all Highlands New Guinea and many West African acephalous societies. Once we have more data on Highlands warfare, it may be possible to determine the validity of the correlation which Horton has drawn between the relative need for defense against aggression and different patterns of population distribution.

Yet there appear to be major cultural differences

between all New Guinea Highlands and all West African acephalous societies. Nowhere in the Highlands, for example, can be found that emphasis on the "spiritual essence of the earth" which Horton describes as being almost universal in West Africa (Horton 1971:95). There is in the Highlands no priesthood serving the earth spirit. Nor do most Highlands societies share the West African interest in ancestral genealogies and cults. Religious beliefs and practices, in fact, appear to be vitally different in the two culture areas. And, as Horton has pointed out, religious beliefs and practices have, in West Africa, had an important effect on the structure of both dispersed, territorially defined communities and large, compact villages, and also on the functions of the unilineally organized social groups of which both are composed. It seems probable that the lack of such emphases in the cultures of the Highlands may also have had an effect on the development of their social structures, and this also needs to be investigated.

One final point remains to be considered. It appears likely that subsistence agriculture has been the major means of gaining a livelihood in the West African societies I have been considering in this chapter for well over a thousand, and probably closer to two thousand

years (Murdock 1959:222). On the other hand, archeological discoveries in Highlands New Guinea indicate that agricultural techniques were probably of only minor importance for subsistence prior to three hundred years ago. The difference in time span is considerable, and needs to be taken into account when we begin to methodically compare Highlands and West African acephalous societies. For a great length of time -- on the order of two thousand years -- obviously allows for the development of more complex structures than does the comparatively brief period of three hundred years.

Perhaps, when more is known about the nature of Highlands social and political organization, it will be possible to determine those variables which have acted interdependently to influence the development of the various types. Perhaps it will then be possible to engage in valid speculation concerning a sequence of development, and to contribute something of value to theory concerned with the evolution of societies. In such investigation of the factors determining social and cultural change and particular sequences of change, it seems to me that the Highlands societies, and in particular the societies of the Eastern Highlands, will be of vital importance to theory. For

although the particular society whose social and political organization I have described in this paper differs from its neighbors only in language and in certain minor cultural customs and beliefs, as a group the Eastern Highlands societies are in many ways distinctive. With the exception of hunter-gatherers and some of the modern industrial societies, there are no other documented examples of societies which allow for the same degree of individual choice in affiliation to social and political groups, and few which place so little emphasis on genealogical reckoning and consanguineal relationship where the group membership of the individual is concerned. With the exception of hunter-gatherers, we know of no other societies with a complete lack of ascribed positions of authority and a total cultural emphasis on decision-making power achieved by virtue of personal qualities and characteristics. Finally, their lack of interest in ancestral genealogies and cults, and indeed in all supernatural beings other than ghosts of the dead and certain spirits of the forest, is also unusual among horticulturists. All of these characteristics can be viewed as contributing to the distinctive flexibility of social groupings and political power in the Eastern Highlands. Viewed in conjunction with the relatively recent

adoption of sedentary horticulture, these characteristics make the Eastern Highlands societies a vitally important subject for future research, for it is relatively seldom that we are given the opportunity to study at first-hand the changes in social and political organization which occur following the adoption of agriculture by a former hunter-gatherer society.

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