

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

INCORPORATING THE WORLD SYSTEM:
CULTURE AND HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATION
· AMONG THE KAMANO OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the early 1930s, European miners and missionaries entered the Kratke Mountains in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. But while such men are generally referred to as explorers, it was not they who discovered something new. It is true that little was known about Highlands people, but after four hundred years of European conquest, the range of possibilities could not have been great. "Natives" might be more or less "primitive" and could certainly be friendly or hostile, but pertinent categories had long since been established in Western culture.

For the Kamano inhabitants of these mountains, however, the European intrusion presented that rare phenomenon for which there is no established category. It was they who were confronted with something entirely new. As is often the case with the unknown, such events were perceived as decidedly dangerous:

When we saw them [i.e., the Europeans] we went to the bush and collected kosavampa and mi'gufa [edible leaves]. We rubbed these leaves against their skin, spit them onto pork, and ate them . . . We said it wouldn't be good for us to die. This

is called yo'ya'. When you see something that can kill you, you eat this yo'ya'.¹

Such reactions were not isolated events during the contact period in this area. When a piece of manufactured cloth was traded southward from Kainantu, identical measures were taken (R.M. Berndt 1952-53:51). A bit later, nearby Fore villagers gave pork to men of the Markham Valley in exchange for their first steel axe. After cutting down a tree, the shavings and sawdust were mixed with leaves and eaten (R.M. Berndt 1952-53:55). Yo'ya' (which can be translated as "protection") was often consumed during the ensuing cargo cults that swept the area (R.M. Berndt 1954).

Within Kamano culture, the use of consumption to counteract danger had its basis in the treatment of illness. Yo'ya' was rubbed against the skin of sick men and then eaten by villagers to prevent contagion. A related custom called seva was employed to neutralize sorcery. After the identity of the sorcerer had been divined, an attempt was made to steal his half-consumed food or tobacco, and this was fed to his victim. If the person recovered, this was considered proof of the allegation.

Much light is shed on these practices when we turn our attention from symbolic to actual cannibalism. The

¹From a taped interview dated September 2, 1979.

consumption of an enemy was felt to create a physical tie between killer and victim. The eaters were said to become "one-skin" with their victim, and this was felt to preclude direct acts of vengeance from his close kin. Consumption was perceived as an act of incorporation, and it was this relationship that counteracted potential danger.

If the initial response to Europeans and their artifacts was a symbolic incorporation designed to render them harmless, it was only the first step in a more general cultural process. From this point onward, new phenomena were brought into relation with the already existing structure of shared concepts and meanings that comprised Kamano culture. People or things incorporated in this way were transformed from new to old, from alien to known, and from unpredictable to expectable. To pursue our culinary metaphor, however, digestion is a process that transforms the eater as well as the eaten. The traditional alignment of categories could not be unaffected when these categories were augmented by Western phenomena. The study of culture contact from this perspective becomes the search for alimentary structures.

In their act of symbolic cannibalism, the Kamano illustrate an aspect of culture change that is antithetical to most descriptions of the colonial encounter. While the image of incorporation is common in such descriptions, it is the colonizer who is said to incorporate. In order to pursue this distinction, it will be useful to refer

to various authors who have been labeled world systems theorists.

World systems theory developed as a Marxist critique of various models designed to explain the inequality among nations and how this might be alleviated. Such criticism was first brought to bear by Frank (1967) on theories developed in mainstream social science. These approaches relied on isolating the typical social characteristics of developed societies, how these characteristics might be diffused to undeveloped societies, and how undeveloped societies might best make use of the new social forms they received. Frank complained that these approaches ignored both the history of colonialism and the international social structure that developed during that process. Economic imbalance was the obvious outcome of the systematic underdevelopment of "satellite" areas by "metropolitan" nations bent on capital accumulation. From this perspective, the diffusion of capital and new social forms merely enhanced colonial exploitation.

The unit of study is of primary importance in this approach. Rather than viewing imperialism as "the highest stage of capitalism," it becomes instead its defining feature and birthright. Capitalism is said to have developed in sixteenth century Europe as an international system in which various parts of Europe were exploited to serve the interests of successive metropolitan centers. The conquest

of the New World, the Far East, Africa, and other world areas gradually subsumed these regions into a world system, defined by Wallerstein (1979:5) as "a unit with a single division of labor and multiple cultural systems."

Since attention is focused on the world economy, smaller units are categorized according to their position within that system. Wallerstein makes use of a tripartite classification consisting of core, periphery, and semi-periphery. The relationship between core and periphery is marked by the appropriation of surplus value through the mechanisms of "unequal exchange,"¹ and is seen as analagous to the relationship between capitalist and worker. Semi-peripheral states are said to occupy an intermediate economic position and serve as a political buffer for the more powerful core countries. Historically, Wallerstein notes the existence of a residual "external arena"--regions that core nations raided for slaves and wealth--but observes that these areas have long since been absorbed into peripheral states (1979: 18-29).

Involved in this classification is a criticism of more conventional social categories that world systems theorists consider epiphenomenal. Both the creation and the maintenance of national boundaries, according to Wallerstein (1979:19), "[have] historically been a defensive mechanism

¹This process is described by Emmanuel (1972).

of capitalists located in states which are one level below the high point of strength in the system. Wolf extends this critique to anthropology when he challenges the manner in which interacting populations are separated into single "societies":

Yet the concept of the autonomous, self-regulating and self-justifying society and culture has trapped anthropology inside the bounds of its own definitions . . . Indeed, has there ever been a time when human populations have existed in independence of larger encompassing relationships, unaffected by larger fields of force? Just as the sociologists pursue the will-o'-the-wisp of social order and integration in a world of upheaval and change, so anthropologists look for pristine replicas of the precapitalist, preindustrial past in the sinks and margins of the capitalist, industrial world. (Wolf 1982:18)

As opposed to the intensive case study that characterizes contemporary anthropology, Wolf suggests that world systems theory could "take cognizance of processes that transcend separable cases." In all instances, the processes to which he refers are "the effects of European expansion" (1982:17-18). The central assumption of this approach as described by a second author is that "capitalist penetration is seen as creating and shaping the social formations of the third world" (Fitzpatrick 1980:1). Wolf (1982:23) describes the goal of his study in a critique of Frank and Wallerstein:

Although they utilized the findings of anthropologists and regional historians, for both the principal aim was to understand how the core subjugated the periphery, and not to study the reactions of the micro-populations habitually investigated

by anthropologists. Their choice of focus thus leads them to omit consideration of the range and variety of such populations, of their modes of existence before European expansion and the advent of capitalism, and of the manner in which these modes were penetrated, subordinated, destroyed, or absorbed, first by the growing market and subsequently by industrial capitalism. Without such an examination, however, the concept of the "periphery" remains as much a cover term as "traditional society."

One criticism Wolf levels at mainstream sociological theory is that "it denied societies marked off as traditional any significant history of their own" (1982:13). He repeatedly chides anthropologists who treat cultures as survivals rather than as the product of various historical processes. It becomes clear, however, that the history offered the "people without history" is solely that of European expansion. In his summation, Wolf (1982:385) distinguishes this as "real" history:

These changes affected not only the peoples singled out as carriers of "real" history but also the populations anthropologists have called "primitives" and have often studied as pristine survivals from a timeless past. The global processes set in motion by European expansion constitute their history as well. There are thus no "contemporary ancestors," no people without history, no peoples--to use Levi-Strauss' phrase--whose histories have remained "cold."

If, ultimately, history is a European export, we must question whether Wolf has really overcome the assumptions inherent in the concept of "traditional society." History is still being denied to a large number of societies prior to the colonial period. Are we to assume that such societies

did not have significant histories of their own that might be quite relevant to their present form? Amilcar Cabral--a leader of the national liberation movement in Guinea--presented an alternative view:

There is a preconception held by many people, even on the left, that imperialism made us enter history at the moment when it began its adventure in our countries. This preconception must be denounced; for somebody on the left, and for Marxists in particular, history obviously means the class struggle. Our opinion is exactly the contrary. We consider that when imperialism arrived in Guinea, it made us leave history--our history. We agree that history in our country is the result of class struggle, but we have our own class struggles in our own country; the moment imperialism arrived and colonialism arrived, it made us leave our history and enter another history. (Cabral 1969:68)

The existence of at least two relevant histories at the moment of culture contact finds support when we consider the nature of historical inquiry. Lévi-Strauss reminds us that it is the historian who creates historical facts through a process of abstraction and selection. Events deemed relevant are but a small subset of actual events. "History," he explains, "is therefore never history, but history-for" (Lévi-Strauss 1966:257). By relegating history to the domain of colonial expansion, Wolf denies those elements of meaningful history that originate in cultures with decidedly different agendas. In order to understand the resolution of social forces during the period of culture contact, surely we must consider the historical

and cultural processes of non-European societies to be of at least equal importance.

For the most part, Wolf's description of these societies remains true to his agenda of examining how they were "penetrated, subordinated, destroyed, or absorbed." History is perceived as a destructive process that is enacted upon them. Much of Wolf's book is a chronicle of colonial injustice. This pattern is also evident in his selection of groups. Areas of the world that were most germane to capitalist development are described in depth, while other populations, like those of the Pacific, are barely mentioned. The description of these latter societies as peripheral is thus reinforced in an analysis that in this way mirrors the values of the capitalist system.

In his discussion of individual cases, Wolf is sometimes more sensitive to the active role played by indigenous societies in the colonial process. With regard to North American Indians, he notes that "in the course of fur trading and enhanced warfare the forms of kinship affiliation remained the same, but their meaning and function underwent a major change" (Wolf 1982:167). Describing African middlemen in the slave trade, he observes that "pre-existing institutions were placed in the service of European mercantile expansion" (Wolf 1982:208). A similar issue comes to the fore when the long-term survival of traditional modes of production are considered. Wolf explains that the capitalist world

economy is "an articulated system of capitalist and non-capitalist relations of production, linked by relations of exchange that are dominated by capitalist accumulation." He goes on to state that "social arrangements built up in the kin-ordered or tributary modes may be tolerated, maintained, or even reinforced in auxiliary or marginal areas." Such populations, he suggests, become part of the reserve army of the unemployed, and are mobilized according to the needs of the system (Wolf 1982:353).

This notion that the capitalist world economy may sometimes reinforce traditional social formations, rather than recreating them in its own image, has a long history in Marxist thought. In the act of explaining the Russian Revolution, Trotsky (1967:23) opposed the "pedantic schematism" of theories based on set historical stages with the "law of combined development" that created "an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms." Of course, Trotsky's use of notions like "skipped" stages to explain this phenomenon still bound him to the evolutionary framework he was criticizing. His recognition, however, that the success of his revolution depended ultimately on its relationship to the international economy certainly foreshadowed world systems theory. This basic theoretical premise was the central point of contention in his battle with Stalin. Wallerstein (1979:11-13) points out that such issues were also of critical importance in the dramatic split between

the USSR and China during the 1950s and then again during China's Cultural Revolution.

A more current reformulation of these issues can be found in Bettelheim's critique of Emmanuel's theory of "unequal exchange." Bettelheim contests the "tendency of the capitalist mode of production to become worldwide" by noting two tendencies in peripheral social formations. In the first where the capitalist mode of production predominates, the central tendency is for other modes of production to become completely subsumed. A secondary tendency, however, involves the "conservation-dissolution" of these other modes in which they are "restructured" and maintained as functioning parts of the capitalist marketplace. In social formations where capitalism does not predominate, this latter tendency is said to become the primary dynamic. While the world economy may temporarily conserve these social formations, Bettelheim still maintains that they will ultimately be dissolved (Bettelheim 1972:293-298).

This latter assumption of the gradual dissolution of traditional social formations under the impact of the world economy is in turn questioned by Banaji. Borrowing extensively from the work of Trotsky, he suggests that the world economy is marked by its "unevenness" rather than any progressive development. In different times and places, the proletarianization of rural economies can be alternatively reinforced, rendered static, or even hampered.

To some extent, this is dependent on the nature of colonial penetration--e.g., whether foreign workers produce directly for the capitalist marketplace or are exploited through a local bourgeoisie, etc. Ultimately, however, there is a contradictory process in which the "colonial-capitalist industrialization has the distinct character of a recurring and continually frustrated primitive accumulation." When the world economy is strong, the local comprador class is weakened by the imperialist bourgeoisie and cannot complete the process of primitive accumulation. When the international economy enters into crisis, the local capitalists lack the power to further the capitalist transformation that their European forerunners were able to carry out historically (Banaji 1973).

This particular line of theory is of obvious relevance to areas of the world that are truly peripheral to the world economy. Howlett (1973) has described the movement from tribalism to peasantry in rural Papua New Guinea as "terminal development." While such syncretic formations appear to be transitional, given the ideal types of social science, they in fact show little potential for significant change. In his recent book, Law and State in Papua New Guinea, Fitzpatrick (1980:247) has tied this together with world systems theory:

With the extensive colonization of the later nineteenth century, capitalism's penetration of the third world did not fundamentally transform

resident social formations. Such social formations were of course, in many varying ways, profoundly affected in this. But to an extent that is central, resident social formations were conserved. Indeed, the social formation, as colony or nation, is grounded in an operative combination of the capitalist mode of production and what I have hesitantly called the traditional mode of production, with the capitalist mode occupying a dominant integrative position.

In addition to the general weakness of later imperialism, Fitzpatrick notes several other explanations for the survival of traditional social formations in Papua New Guinea. Both the "economic debility" of Australia and the conflicting interests of colonial and national bourgeoisie are partially blamed for the minimal incursion of capitalism into the hinterland (Fitzpatrick 1980:21, 251). Still other explanations focus on policies devised to "conserve" the traditional and the conscious or implicit motivations for such laws. By maintaining village society, he claims, colonial and national governments provided a reserve labor pool, subsidized villagers' production of cash crops for the marketplace, softened the effects of unstable prices, and prevented the formation of a landless proletariat. In a more conspiratorial vein, such policies are said to maintain ethnic divisions and prevent the growth of class consciousness (1980:11, 13, 18, 38, 56, 71, 149, 163, 198, 246, 251). Given these functional requirements, the form of law and state in Papua New Guinea becomes somewhat contradictory; i.e., "to combine the capitalist and traditional

modes of production into an operative whole yet keep them sufficiently apart to conserve the traditional" (1980:38).

By recognizing the contradictory effects of the world economy, such authors go a step beyond more simplistic trends in world systems theory. At a theoretical level, however, they maintain the assumption that colonial interests are primary in determining the historical trajectory of "peripheral" social formations. The validity of this assumption must be challenged when, in specific case studies, these same authors recognize that these societies "adapt and vigorously interact with capitalist penetration" (Fitzpatrick 1980:75). To explain the "combined forms of economic venture" that characterize contemporary enterprises in the New Guinea Highlands, Fitzpatrick refers to indigenous systems of land-tenure, inheritance, political power, and clan structure. These new social forms, he observes, "combine investment in production for the market with elements of traditional distribution and organization" (1980:108). The existence of syncretic forms, based partly on the vigorous adaptation of traditional societies, raises important questions that cannot be answered within the framework of world systems theory. If capitalist processes are being organized according to traditional social relationships, we must wonder how this affects both their meaning and their place in history.

Certainly, world systems theory is useful in placing these societies in an international context that provides

both opportunities and limits to social change. But, while commodities and wage-labor may have been introduced as part of a uniform process, their reception has varied greatly. Studying this latter process shifts our focus to how contemporary phenomena are incorporated into other cultural systems. We can expect that some aspects of capitalism will be accepted and transformed, some used briefly, and others rejected. Turning from a Eurocentric to a Kamanocentric perspective, we want to know what is selected to eat, how it is digested, and what part is excreted. Such a study falls within the corpus of world systems theory while reversing its emphasis. Rather than concentrating on how a village society is incorporated within the world economy, we want to know how the world economy is incorporated into village society.

Sahlins (1983:578) has noted that "different cultural orders have their own modes of historical action, consciousness, and determination--their own historical practice." Through cultural appropriation, the Kamano have transformed colonial and national processes into elements of their own history. This independent history was not merely a transitional world view that can be expected to succumb to Western ideologies. A goal of the present paper is to explore the continuing re-creation of that history as a mechanism of perception and adaptation in novel situations.

This dissertation traces the meaningful incorporation of the world system into Kamano culture and how this culture

continues to reconstruct itself in this contemporary context. Various sections represent variations on this basic theme. Part I is a treatment of different aspects of social organization. In the first chapter, a brief account is offered of traditional society. Chapters II to IV describe various contemporary social alignments and how these reflect transformations of traditional patterns and processes. Part II highlights political relationships, and traces the historical processes of change through the colonial and then national periods. In the Conclusion, I will explore some of the historical and cultural processes that emerge from this material.

PART I
SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

CHAPTER II

AN INTRODUCTION TO KAMANO SOCIETY

The Kamano are one of four language groups residing near Kainantu in the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. In the northern range of their settlement, northern Kamano (or Kafel¹) villages are situated along the Kamanontina and Dunatina River Valleys that lead up into the Bismarck mountains. These mountains overlook the Ramu Valley and form a dramatic escarpment that separates the Highlands from Papua New Guinea's northern coastal area. Kainantu itself lies close to the Kamano's eastern border with the Agarabi and Tairora. Immediately west of this area, Kamano settlements continue along the Gafutina (or Kompri) Valley and then southwest along the Fayantina River Valley. Bordering these settlements on the west are the Bena Bena in the north and the Yate and Keyegana in the south. To the southeast, the Kamano reside along the rugged ridges and valleys of the Kratke Mountains.

¹The northern Kamano are often referred to as Kafe, although the two languages are actually mutually comprehensible dialects and cultural differences are minimal.

Their neighbors in this region include the Gadsup, Usarufa, and Fore.

It is generally assumed that the Kamano were expanding their territory during the three hundred years preceding European contact. Unlike other groups in the Kainantu area, Kamano is classified in the East-Central family of Highlands languages, together with Bena Bena, Siane, and other populations farther to the west (Wurm 1964). based on stone club heads and other artifacts found in the region, Sorenson has suggested that the autochthonous population were the ancestors of the Anga who now reside farther to the south. Taro is thought to have been introduced from the Markham Valley several hundred years ago and adopted by a proto-Gadsup group as an initial agricultural crop. About three hundred years ago, sweet potatoes were introduced into the Kamano area, thus allowing them to expand into altitudes above the 5,500 foot cut-off for taro cultivation. Judging from blood-group frequencies, Sorenson (1976:104) concluded that a proto-Kamano group was a "major source of subpopulations that diverged both geographically and genetically into most of the rest of the Highlands."

The altitude in the Kamano range of settlement varies between 5,000 feet in the east near Kainantu and 7,500 feet farther south in the Kratke Range. Grasslands predominate in the north and along the valleys where horticulture has been most intense. Covering the higher ridges,

and becoming more common as one moves south, are rain forests of varying size.

The other factor that distinguishes the Kamano from their neighbors is a relatively large population. According to the 1960 census, the Kamano number approximately 31,000, with concentration averaging about sixty-seven per square mile. Like most other Highlands groups, they practice slash-and-burn horticulture in small individual gardens. The staple crop is sweet potatoes, with yams, taro, corn, greens, wing beans, peanuts, cucumbers, squash, bananas, and sugar cane comprising the remainder of their diet. Gardens are fenced to prevent encroachment by pigs who are allowed to forage during the day. At night, pigs are housed in small enclosures where they are fed sweet potatoes. Coffee was introduced as a cash crop during the early 1950s and provides the major source of income for most rural villagers.

This dissertation is based on research conducted in 1978 and 1979 in the village of Sonofi and its immediate neighbors. Sonofi is situated approximately twelve miles southwest of Kainantu in the Kratke Mountains. Located along the headwaters of the Ramu River, the hamlets of Sonofi were centered around a series of limestone caves that provided the community with a defensible haven during attacks by their neighbors. Today, Sonofi is bisected by a secondary road branching off of the Highlands Highway

in the north and leading south to Okapa. A community school for the children of the surrounding area is located within the village. Sonofi is also the administrative center of the Iyevenonta Area Community.

Kamano Kinship Categories

Like many other Highlands kinship systems in groups lying east of the Strickland Gorge, Kamano terminology most closely approximates an Iroquois type (O'Brien and Cook 1980:464). Kinship categories distinguish by gender and generation, with parallel and cross-sexed relatives differentiated in ego's generation as well as in the immediately ascending and descending generations. The discrepancies between the Iroquois model and the Kamano kinship system most often illustrate the importance of nongenealogical factors in defining relationships. Rather than passively reflecting genealogical ties, Kamano kinship represents an active process that weaves these ties together with social relationships established during the lives of participants. Adoption, migration, co-residence, a shared upbringing, the exchange of wealth and labor, and geographical propinquity are some of the factors used by the Kamano in explaining kinship usage.

The relative importance of these factors in determining a "primary" reference for Kamano kinship categories presents an ambiguous picture. Asked about the meaning of various

kinship terms outside of any immediate context, Kamano villagers usually respond with a genealogical definition. Moreover, as Mandeville (1979:110, 117) points out, a Kamano child "belongs in an inalienable way to a certain group of known men and women by virtue of its begetting," while a tie created by co-residence "does not outlast the permanent removal of one party to another village." It is not uncommon for an adopted child to switch residence and affiliation to the hamlet of his genitor for some period of his life.

From a different perspective, however, nongenealogical relationships frequently supersede ties of consanguinity. When tracing a genealogy--even when questions are posed in terms of physical reproduction--informants almost always group children with their adoptive rather than with their physiological parents. At life-cycle distributions of cooked pork and beer that form an enduring aspect of kinship relationships, it is exchange-based kin rather than genealogical kin who are the actual recipients. As Glasse and Lindenbaum (1980:457) have described for South Fore kinship:

Biological information defines one part of a relationship. The exchange of obligatory payments and services is, in the long run, the overriding element.

Table 1 lists Kamano kinship terms and their minimal consanguineal or affinal referents. In all cases, these terms are recorded with prefixes and suffixes indicating possession in the first person singular, i.e., "my ____."

TABLE 1
KAMANO KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kamano Kin Terms	Minimal Consanguineal or Affinal Referents
negigemo	FFF, FFFB, FFFM . . . (reciprocal)
tata'nemo	FF, FM, FFB, MF, MM . . . (reciprocal)
nefa'nemo	F, FB, FZH . . .
anta'nemo	M, MZ, MBW . . .
ne mofavre'nemo	S, BS . . .
mofa'nemo	D, BD . . .
nenafu	B, Z . . .
nempu'nemo	eB . . .
nuna'nemo	eZ
negana'nemo	yB, yZ
nenesaro	opposite-sexed sibling
aku'nemo	MB (reciprocal)
momo'nemo	FZ (reciprocal)
nenafo	MBS, MBD, FZS, FZD
antaru	MZS, MZD
nenabe	H
a'nemo	W
nenafunega	co-wife
nenagru	ZH, HB
nenameho	BW, WZ
nenenemo	DH, WF, WM
nenofero	SW, HF, HM
nefaru	age-mate
nenesamo	namesake

While it is beyond the scope of this short introductory section to resolve the nature of Kamano kinship, I hope to describe some of its complexities in the following subsections.

Lineal Ties

Among the Kamano, only senior men are deemed competent to report genealogies. The oldest recalled ancestor in these recitations is almost always a great-grandfather who is referred to as negigemo. Included within this category are all people considered relatives who are three or more generations distant from ego. The use of the term negigemo--or "my toe"--for this category establishes the similarity between a distant digit and the most distant of lineal relationships. In a broader sense, the term is used to describe a general class of "ancestors" or "descendants." Relatives who are two generations removed from ego are referred to as tata'nemo. With both of these categories, consanguineal relationships are only a subset of the people to whom the term is applied. In addition to actual lineal relatives and their siblings, any of their clan or village "siblings" or even a close acquaintance would be included as a member of the class. Essentially, both of these terms are generational in character and used with anyone with whom ego wishes to acknowledge a relationship. Although they are not distinguished terminologically, patrilineal

grandparents are said to delight in the birth of grandchildren who will "replace" them. Maternal grandparents, who lack this sense of social identity with their grandchildren, are said to appreciate the help with small chores that will be offered to themselves and their daughter.

A description of parental terms (nefa'nemo and anta'nemo) and filial terms (ne mofrave'nemo and mofa'nemo) must begin with a cultural account of procreation. Unlike other Highlands groups, the Kamano show relatively little concern for reproductive substances. Accounts of conception are not complex or necessarily consistent. It is generally agreed that the semen (hanori) of the genitor mixes with his wife's blood (kora) to form the offspring. Several bouts of copulation are felt to be necessary for conception to take place, with even more necessary where the woman has not yet borne a child. In some accounts, the semen and blood are said to "fight" with the predominant substance determining the offspring's sex. Other informants suggest that the maternal blood forms a cup-like shape into which the semen flows. When the blood encompasses the semen, conception results. If the maternal blood fails to take on this shape or to surround the semen, it becomes transformed into menstrual flow.

The act of procreation establishes a general sense of physical continuity between parents and offspring that

is expressed in terms of consanguinity.¹ Beyond this, however, there is little specific ideology about the inheritance of bodily substances. Because of a conceptual association with strength, the bones of an offspring are said to come from the genitor, as is the semen of his sons. Blood is usually felt to be of maternal origin, although this is explained as a result of gestation rather than as a genealogical inheritance.

While the genitor and genitress are not distinguished from other parents in terms of address, the modifier "kesenente" can be placed before the kin term in reference to specify "my father [mother] who sired [bore] me." This distinction becomes important in various contexts. Because of their shared blood, genealogical parents are prohibited from eating pork received from their children's life-cycle payments. In addition, while reproductive substances are of limited social relevance, other aspects of procreation establish a more enduring sense of relatedness. The labor invested by the genitress during pregnancy, delivery, and suckling creates a permanent debt regardless of who is responsible for later childrearing. A child must repay this debt over his lifetime to his mother, mother's brother, and paternal cross-cousin. Maternal labor also distinguishes female

¹In Kamano this tie is described as norakora; in pidgin, wanblut or "one-blood."

from male lines of filiation. Compared to the genitress' "hard work" during childbirth, the genitor is said to just "play around." The enduring relationship between child and genitor is phrased in terms of social identity. Sons are said to "replace" their fathers, and both children maintain an inalienable right to their genitor's land. This land is referred to as a person's "root-land" (moparafa).

A second class of parents are those people considered to be the same-sexed siblings of either parent (i.e., FB and MZ). A small subset of these mothers and fathers may be genealogical siblings or first cousins of the genealogical parents. For the remainder, there being no traceable physical links, parental terms are employed to reflect a "siblingship" with parents that may be based on friendship, co-residence, or social identity. Virtually all of the men of the father's generation who reside in nearby village hamlets are considered "fathers of the line." In Kamano, these men can be referred to as "big father" (FeB) or "small father" (FyB), although these categories may reflect a contemporary need to distinguish "classificatory" from "real" fathers rather than a traditional usage.

In addition to genealogical parents and their siblings, there is a third, overlapping class of parents whose relationship to their children is based on an egocentric system of reciprocity. Describing Kamano society, Berndt (1962:xiii)

noted that "even between close kin, every minor service must be reciprocated." This statement can be further extended to state that certain of these services can themselves create kin ties. In reference, such parents can be described as kru' nefa'nemo or kru' anta'nemo, i.e., "The father [or mother] who takes and looks after me." Involved in this relationship are all the goods and services provided for children in the process of raising them. Day-to-day services so enumerated include supplying food and a house, caring for the child during sickness, defending the child, giving money, and purchasing clothing, soap, towels, food, and other essentials. Participation in rites of passage also creates parental ties. Traditionally, men who "shot the nose" of boys during initiations were considered to be fathers. People considered parents typically contribute pigs and/or money to the child's maternal uncles and affines in various life-cycle payments. Particularly in relation to marriage, this type of parent would be expected to contribute heavily to a bridewealth payment made for a son, and to the dowry sent with an out-marrying daughter.

This "looking after" relationship supersedes genealogical ties where it forms the basis for permanent adoption. Adoption is quite widespread in Kamano society,¹ and several

¹In a rough census, approximately 16 percent of the members of one clan and 33 percent of a second resided on a long-term basis with adoptive parents.

reasons are offered for its use. Following the death of a mother and/or father and in the case of divorce, it is likely that a clan-father or a mother's brother will adopt the children. In other situations, children are adopted in order to help the adoptive parents with small menial tasks like fetching water or cutting firewood. Elder grandparents whose children have all moved away to establish independent households will sometimes adopt a grandchild for this purpose. Similarly, a younger brother may accompany a sister who is marrying far from home to help her in this regard. A further reason offered for adoption occurs where, by community standards, parents are not adequately caring for their child. In this case, another member of the clan will begin to look after the child on an informal basis.

Other adoptions are established with an eye toward future transactions between parent and child. When a man has no surviving children or children of only one sex, clan brothers will often give him a child to raise. Such adoptions are felt to mitigate the discrepancies produced between rates of fertility and access to resources. Fathers with several children and limited gardenland give children to brothers who can better endow them. Raising children of both sexes is also important because of the services they are expected to perform for aging parents in repayment for their upbringing. A daughter should bring food back

to her parents as well as care for them when they are ill or when they travel. On the eve before a bride leaves her natal village, a meeting is held during which clansmen impress upon her the need to compensate the people who have looked after her in these ways. Daughters and sisters who have failed in this obligation are scolded and beaten as an example. For sons, repayment is a more extended process. They are expected to remain living close to the fathers who raised them and in a social sense to "replace" them. Sons should "look after" their parents as they were looked after by providing various day-to-day needs, distributing wages earned in cash-cropping and wage labor, and finally by building their parents' coffins. Children who fail to make adequate repayment in these ways can be sued in the village court.

While in its extreme form such processes can culminate in long-standing adoption, there are also less permanent gradations possible. Adoptive parents may look after a child for a short period of time after which the child will return to the house of his genitor or yet another parent. Or, even more informally, a child might sleep some nights with his genealogical parents and some in the house of his adoptive parents, according to his whim. Where the child is young and the adoption is envisioned as long-standing, adoptive parents may try to assure his loyalty by claiming to be genealogical parents or by performing

sorcery to make him "forget" prior ties. At some stage, however, the child usually discovers the truth and may or may not change residence.

For most children, it is probable that several adoptive relationships will be established before they reach the age to marry. Each of these adoptive parents will expect to be compensated for the services they have provided. When a daughter marries, her genealogical parents and siblings are prohibited from receiving payment; it is said they should not eat their own blood. The adoptive parents and any sponsors who contribute to the dowry, however, will expect to receive part of the incoming bridewealth. In order to establish this kind of sponsorship at an early age, an adoption is sometimes arranged between two sets of genealogical parents who exchange daughters. These parents will both raise these daughters and contribute to their dowry, thus guaranteeing that they will receive a substantial portion of the bridewealth. Sons can be exchanged and adopted for corresponding assurances, although sons are never traded for daughters.

It should be noted that usually, albeit not always, the adoptive relationship acts to transform an already existing kin tie. People who would already be referred to as clan-fathers, elder brothers, affines, or mothers' brothers are placed in a new role with respect to the child. In terms of both address and reference, a choice must be

made as to which relationship will be marked. While Kamano possess the necessary ideology to trace genealogical ties when necessary,¹ the reciprocity expected within the adoptive relationship creates an interest in maximizing the importance of these other parental ties. In cases where the adoption is long-standing, it clearly supersedes any other kin ties which preceded it. Parental terms will also be employed where the services performed are deemed important or where wealth and goods given to a child are significant. A forum for judging the validity of these ties is created in distributions of pork and beer where claimants expect to be reciprocated.

Parental and filial ties among the Kamano may be spread over several clans and villages.² One way in which such relationships are established occurs when maternal or affinal relatives adopt a child. Other mechanisms of parental dispersion rely on the actual migration of the genitor or other clan-fathers. While there is a norm that men should remain with their paternal line, it is not rare for new grooms to take up residence with their wife's father. This residence can be temporary or permanent,

¹Genealogical reckoning becomes relevant when the image of shared blood is important, as in the aforementioned problems surrounding bridewealth.

²For a detailed example of this phenomenon, see Zuckerman (1981).

and can be motivated by fear of sorcery, a poor inheritance of land, or the strong desires of a bride. Prior to pacification, warfare provided the central motivation for migration. When a village was overrun by enemies, men frequently went into exile with cross-cousins living in distant areas. Such men might return to their land during a truce or remain to form an enclave in the host village. Parental or sibling ties are maintained with people in these areas. Over the course of a family history that spans four generations, parental relationships can usually be traced with "lines" in several other clans and villages.

Sibling Terms

When asked to gloss sibling terms, Kamano informants almost always offer a definition that emphasizes shared patrification. As with other kin terms, however, genealogical siblings are only a small subset of people considered siblings and are not distinguishable by a separate term. Siblings who share a genitor and/or a genitress can be described in Kamano as consanguineous, but this modifier is also used in an ideomatic sense to emphasize many other axes of social connectedness.

Also included within the sibling category are any children of men who ego's father considered brothers. Elder men usually begin a genealogy by listing a "line" of brothers that spans the entire village. This list of

brothers emphasizes birth order over any sense of shared substance; indeed, few of these men share actual genealogical links. Instead, brotherhood in its extensive sense reflects relationships of co-residence, shared upbringing, generalized reciprocity, and peaceful interaction that has spanned generations. One informant described the generic sibling term "nenafu" as:

. . . when your grandfathers got along well together, and then your fathers, and then you. You've all been raised together. When you're close with another area, you're nenafu. Then you fight and you're not. You buy beer for them and they return it later.

In this, its most extensive sense, nenafu is almost a universal term of address. Virtually any Kamano-speaker of the same generation may be addressed as nenafu so long as he is not in active conflict with the speaker. It may, moreover, be substituted as a term of address for kin with whom a more exact relationship exists. When it is used with people with whom one is unacquainted, the term nenafu represents an attempt to establish a minimal kinship relationship. Employed in this fashion, nenafu creates an expectation of peaceful interaction and generalized reciprocity that may or may not be affirmed during the interaction. Because it involves only a minimal sense of social precedence, nenafu is translated by contemporary Kamano as "*wantok*" and "friend," as well as "brother."¹

¹ Throughout this paper, Kamano terms will be underlined in order to distinguish them from Melanesian Pidgin terms

More specific sibling terms reflect differences of birth order and/or gender between speaker and hearer. Both of these features are relevant with regard to elder siblings who are distinguished as "elder brother" (nempu'nemo) and "elder sister" (nuna'nemo). Younger siblings are classed together as negana'nemo, while a fourth term (nenesaro) can be used to refer to all opposite-sexed siblings.

While siblingship denotes a general sense of solidarity, relative ordering by age injects a notion of dominance and subordination into the relationship. This is especially true with brothers. Even within a single clan, the range of ages covered by a "line" of brothers (or kogana) will overlap with adjacent generations at either extreme. It is probable that the eldest brother will be older than the father of the youngest, and may well have children older than many of his brothers. For a brother near the middle of this range, elder brothers will have helped to "look after" him by giving him garden land or by contributing pigs and money to his bridewealth payment. He, in turn, will have filled this role for younger brothers. These services tend to obscure generational lines by creating a quasi-paternal tie in which younger brothers must repay the wealth and labor that has been expended.¹ As with

which will be italicized. For a more detailed exposition on the contemporary usage of nenafu, see pp. 234-235.

¹In some circumstances, a younger brother may even

paternity, status accrues to this debt. The eldest sibling of a generational line of brothers is expected to be a dominant village leader. Figure 1 illustrates how status based on birth order can obscure generational lines within a sibling generation.

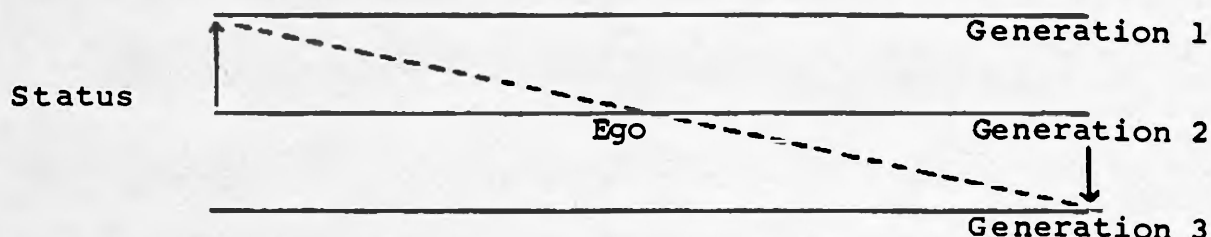


Fig. 1. Birth order becomes status within the sibling line.

While brothers are expected to cooperate in most daily activities, the debt and status inherent in the relationship generate a substantial amount of conflict.¹ In both myth and social practice, this fraternal conflict is one basis for the segmentation of patriline, clans, and villages. One such myth begins with two brothers who were covered with hair and lacked fire to keep them warm at night. After the elder brother discovers fire, they lose most of their bodily hair. This rather momentous transition from nature to culture is immediately followed by a violent altercation between the two brothers over the theft of

take an elder brother's name as his second name, a fact indicating paternity.

¹See pp. 273-277.

firewood, at the end of which the elder brother takes his family and migrates to lands farther to the east. Fraternal conflict, in this myth, constitutes the first act of brothers emerging from a state of nature.

As with brothers, the term for opposite-sexed siblings is used to refer to ego's genealogical brothers or sisters as well as members of ego's generation within the clan. Outside of the clan, the term is used with members of other groups considered close on the basis of geographical propinquity, shared descent, or frequent interaction. The relationship between brother and sister is marked by personal affection and sexual avoidance. Sexual intercourse with a sister is considered incestuous, although this varies according to the strength of the tie. In general, sexual contact with any sister within the clan is prohibited. An exception to this rule occurs when a "small-line" has only recently become incorporated into the clan. Both sexual contact and marriage may be acceptable in this situation. Sexual relations between brothers and sisters from closely associated clans within the village may also be prohibited.

Where birth order breeds competition in fraternal relationships, it generates a sense of personal affection between brother and sister. Beginning around the age of eight, girls are given partial caretaking responsibilities for younger siblings. It is not uncommon to see girls

of this age carrying younger brothers on their hips while their mothers are off in the gardens or otherwise occupied. Elder brothers buy things for younger sisters as they grow up, and will often make substantial contributions to their dowries. Ideally, reciprocity for these services should survive a sister's shift in residence following marriage. Brothers and sisters supply food to one another during illness, at the birth of a child, or when there is economic need. Their children continue these exchange relationships with their parent's siblings and with their cross-cousins. Out-marrying sisters retain usufructory rights to their brothers' patrimonial lands. It is not uncommon for sisters to return to their brothers' village in the event of divorce or when they reach old age. Even when their husbands are still alive, old women are said to wish to return to their "root-place" to die.

The conjunction of personal affection and sexual avoidance between brother and sister is contrasted by the Kamano with the relationship between husband and wife. Traditionally, wives often came from villages that were in active conflict with their husband's clan. Because of their enduring ties with their brothers, they were sometimes accused of conveying military information or bodily substances to be used in hostile sorcery. Kamano marriages tended to be foci of intervillage rivalry. To a lesser degree, this pattern has survived pacification. During an Area

Community Meeting, the Local Government Councilor scolded a man for beating his wife. He claimed that in the time of the ancestors, men depended on their wives and did not hit them, and that now, this is illegal. Assembled villagers seemed somewhat bewildered by the Councilor's liberal revision of history.¹ An elder judge responded in a way that supported the Councilor's point while reaffirming the norms of Kamano kinship. Indicating the ethnographer and his wife, he stated, "Look at this couple. They get along like brother and sister, but they're married. They don't get angry at each other."

Significantly, a second myth of cultural origin involves the relationship between an elder sister and her brother. Traveling through the Kratke Mountains, Jugumishanta stops at each village to distribute animals, languages, people, and customs. Each of those episodes is described in song to her younger brother. When they reach the Markham Valley, Jugumishanta's younger brother commits incest with her. On the following morning she endows him with facial hair and gives him a bow and arrows, telling him he will have to fight his enemies as a punishment for his crime.²

¹ Indeed, anthropologists who have read Berndt's Excess and Restraint would also have reason to doubt his statement.

² For a fuller account of this myth, see pp. 195-197.

This myth alludes to the brother-sister relationship as the source of intervillage distinctions and rivalry.

The remaining sibling relationship--that between sister and sister--is a much less formal tie in Kamano society. Following their marriages to men of different villages, the relationship between sisters is indirect, depending as it does on a shared relationship to a single "line" of brothers and to their natal village. Unlike relationships between brothers or between brother and sister, the sororal tie does not instantiate a corporate relationship. An exception to this occurs when two village sisters marry into the same clan or village. Such sisters will tend to be friendly and to help each other in daily tasks.

Collateral Terms

In the origin myths described above, it is the sibling-pair that comprises the focal relationship. Rather than tracing historically back to an apical ancestor or mother and father, original interactions and conflicts are conceptualized as occurring between siblings. Collateral relationships reiterate this emphasis on siblingship. First or second cousins describe their relationship in terms of descent from a sibling-pair rather than in terms of sharing a grandfather or great-grandfather, or by emphasizing an affinal tie. In the case of first cousins, the character of the relationship is dependent on the gender of the parental sibling-pair.

Within the parents' generation, collateral terms respect the classical Iroquois distinction between parallel and cross-sexed relatives. Both FB and MZ are classified with parents while separate terms are used for the MB/ZS, ZD relationship (aku'nemo) and the FZ/BS, BD relationship (momo'nemo). In ego's generation, this distinction is maintained with cross-cousins who are all referred to as nenafu. Parallel cousins are distinguished, however, according to the gender of the sibling-pair. The children of FB are classified with siblings, while MZS and MZD are called antaru. This latter distinction reflects the emphasis placed on agnatic kinship and patrilocal residence.

One feature which serves to distinguish cross from parallel relatives is the exchange of wealth. Life-cycle payments are directed to the MB, FZ, and cross-cousins. The events marked by these exchanges include marriage, birth, initiation, and death. It is the MB/ZS relationship that is pivotal in these exchanges. Informants explain that they must compensate their MB for giving birth to them, or alternatively, that they must "buy the man's milk." Pressed further for explanation, they state that this man gave them his sister and that she worked hard to bear them. By giving wealth to their MB, a ZS thus repays his mother for the labor she expended in childbirth, breast feeding, and early child rearing. While it is often the genealogical MB who is repaid at these times, other MBs can also demand

compensation. In cases where the mother's family shifted residence during her childhood, there are commonly adoptive brothers who can claim repayments for "looking after" her. Following the death of their ZD in Sonofi, two clans claimed compensation--one based on a genealogical relationship and the other on the basis of later residential/adoptive interactions. Each claimed to be the "true MB." both sets of MBs would have to be compensated unless, as occurs in some cases, the woman's son can indicate past exchanges in which he has been slighted by one of the groups. Even when this exchange is unrelated to the payment in question, a refusal to pay might be seen as appropriate retaliation.

It is obvious to an observer that these exchanges represent a continuation of payments between wife-givers and wife-takers that began with bridewealth and dowry. For the Kamano, however, affinal relationships gain much importance in the following generation when they are phrased in terms of cognatic descent and the need to compensate maternal labor. This conceptual displacement reflects the tenuous and hostile character of Kamano marriages. It is only when marriage becomes descent that the relationship becomes one of solidarity. Kamano warriors would readily ally themselves with another village in order to avenge the murder of a MB or ZS. Military alliances were always conceptualized in terms of descent rather than marriage.

At its root, the MB/ZS relationship continues the tie established in the previous generation between brother and sister. Payments directed to one's FZ have a similar basis in the care given and received by one's father and his sister during childhood. Where a father has contributed significantly to his sister's dowry, these payments take on additional significance. Debts in labor and wealth are in this way transposed from intraclan to intervillage relationships. This is especially evident in exchanges between cross-cousins who are the obvious inheritors of their parents' sibblingship. Following the death of their FZ, cross-cousins will demand compensation because a woman of their clan has "filled up" her affinal village with sons and daughters. Similarly, at the death of a MB cross-cousins will be compensated for the food they have given him in repayment for his sister's labor.

Often the choice of which sibling relationships are relevant in these exchanges are made at birth. Following the birth of a daughter, one of her father's clan-brothers may designate one of his young sons to sponsor her and receive compensation in exchange. Alternatively, this clan-brother may assure this sponsorship by adopting his BD. Other clan relatives enter into these exchange relationships by helping to "look after" a clan-sister or by contributing to her dowry. Ultimately, such compensation is dependent on how well relatives fulfill their responsibility

of sponsorship. A ZS who has not adequately repaid his MB with gifts of food during his life may be shamed at the latter's funeral when his cross-cousins will say they "have not seen his leg" and refuse to give him cooked pork.

Another aspect used to characterize cousin relationships are norms about conflict and marriage. These descriptions contrast cross-cousins (nenafo) with whom one can fight or marry, and matrilineal parallel-cousins (antaru) with whom these things are prohibited. Patrilineal parallel-cousins who are classified with siblings are not even mentioned in these comparisons. Viewed as a continuum of dependable solidarity, matrilineal parallel-cousins fall in between true siblings and cross-cousins; they are said to be "one-skin" and "like siblings." In corporal metaphor, antaru are likened to the internal "sap" of the body, while cross-cousins are considered "outside" and compared to the skin on the side of the body. This quality of being inside the body extends to the norms of the body politic as well. Clan exogamy and (at least ideally) clan norms against mortal combat also apply to matrilineal parallel-cousins. The antaru of one villager was said to have shot the latter's clan-brother in his presence. When asked to explain why he didn't avenge his clan-brother, he replied, "He is my brother too. I wanted to shoot him, but my hand was heavy." Informants note that the antaru relationship involves individ-

uals rather than groups. The solidarity inherent in the relationship is not extendable to other clan-siblings.

Posed against the relationship with siblings and parallel-cousins with its strong sense of social identity is the cross-cousin relationship. Informants almost always begin their descriptions of the cross-cousin tie by stating that these are the people they marry and fight. In fuller explanations, however, the character of a cross-cousin tie is found to vary according to the strength of the relationship. During warfare, for example, warriors who came face to face with a genealogical cross-cousin would move to a new part of the battlefield. They had no such compunctions about killing the cross-cousins of their clan-brothers, however.

As with other types of kin, there is no way to distinguish terminologically between different kinds of cross-cousins. In contexts where such distinctions are relevant, Kamano may emphasize that the tie is theirs by adding an additional possessive, i.e., nenafo ni' amoe. Other descriptions may be added to specify the exact nature of a close tie. Genealogical cross-cousins are described as "one-blood," and in both address and reference may refer to each other with sibling terms. Similarly, cross-cousins from closely associated clans or villages can be distinguished from cross-cousins who reside "far away."

All of these distinctions become relevant when evaluating the marriageability of cross-cousins. Past accounts of Kamano social organization have suggested that cross-cousin marriages are preferred (R.M. Berndt 1954-55; Mandeville 1979:110). If this were the case, we might expect to find ongoing relationships between wife-givers and wife-takers that would constitute some kind of elementary structure. In fact, while the Kamano profess an ideology that resembles such a pattern, affinal relationships are displaced from any sort of genealogical basis. Marriage between genealogical cross-cousins is prohibited. Two reasons are offered for this prohibition. Because genealogical cross-cousins are considered "one-blood," their pseudo-siblingship places them within the incest taboo. The second explanation emphasizes the desire to disperse affinal ties rather than concentrating them with a single group. Men reason that, since they are already receiving wealth based on past affinal ties, it would be unwise to marry a genealogical cross-cousin or indeed the cross-cousins of close clan-brothers.

Informants explain their statements about the marriageability of cross-cousins by referring to how the term may be extended. While only genealogical cross-cousins would use the term nenafu in address, it can be employed referentially by any of their village-brothers. It is to these brothers "of other lines" that a cross-cousin may be returned in marriage. Informants deny that cross-cousin marriage was

ever preferred, insisting instead that it is only permissible. They go on to state that a marriageable cross-cousin should reside some distance--both geographically and socially--from the village.

These various social displacements of cross-cousin marriage would suggest a variant of elementary structures that is based on social groupings rather than on genealogically linked lineages. In addition, because there is little distinction made between matrilineal and patrilineal cross-cousin marriage, we would expect the pattern of wife-giving and wife-taking between groups to be flexible rather than static. This is, in fact, the case. The Kamano readily state that women should be exchanged between groups, but do not distinguish wife-giving groups from wife-takers. Moreover, cross-cousin marriage is only one way in which wives can be exchanged. Ideally, a clan-sister sent out in marriage should be reciprocated by one of her village-sisters returning as a wife. Cross-cousin marriage merely delays this exchange by one generation. The resulting pattern is one in which "roads" of marriages exist between villages, but without the steady alliances suggested by ideal-type elementary structures. Other aspects of the marriage tie will be treated in the section on affinal terms.

Second cousins are the most distant collateral relatives with whom the Kamano are still able to trace a relationship. The terminology employed for second cousins

is important from an academic perspective because it is at this degree of relationship that we can first distinguish an Iroquois from a Dravidian system of nomenclature (Scheffler 1971). In Dravidian terminology, the use of cross or parallel-cousin terms is affected by the changes in sex of all the intervening relatives between ego and his second cousin. Iroquois terms for second cousins depend only on whether the sex of ego's parent and the parent of his second cousin are like or unlike. The gender of the sibling-pair in the grandparental generation is irrelevant in this form of reckoning.

Strictly speaking, the choice of second cousin terminology among the Kamano falls into neither of these patterns. As in the Iroquois system, the sexes of the grandparental sibling-pair are virtually irrelevant to the reckoning. But rather than depending upon the like or unlike sex of their linking parents, the choice of terms for second cousins is related instead to various contextual considerations. Figure 2 illustrates actual kinship configurations and terminology employed by the informants in different cases. It should be noted that only in diagrams b and c is the terminology predictable from an Iroquois form of reckoning. Much more importantly, however, while diagrams a and c and diagrams b and d are structurally equivalent, the terminology employed is different. In diagram a, person 1 migrated to the village of his MZDS

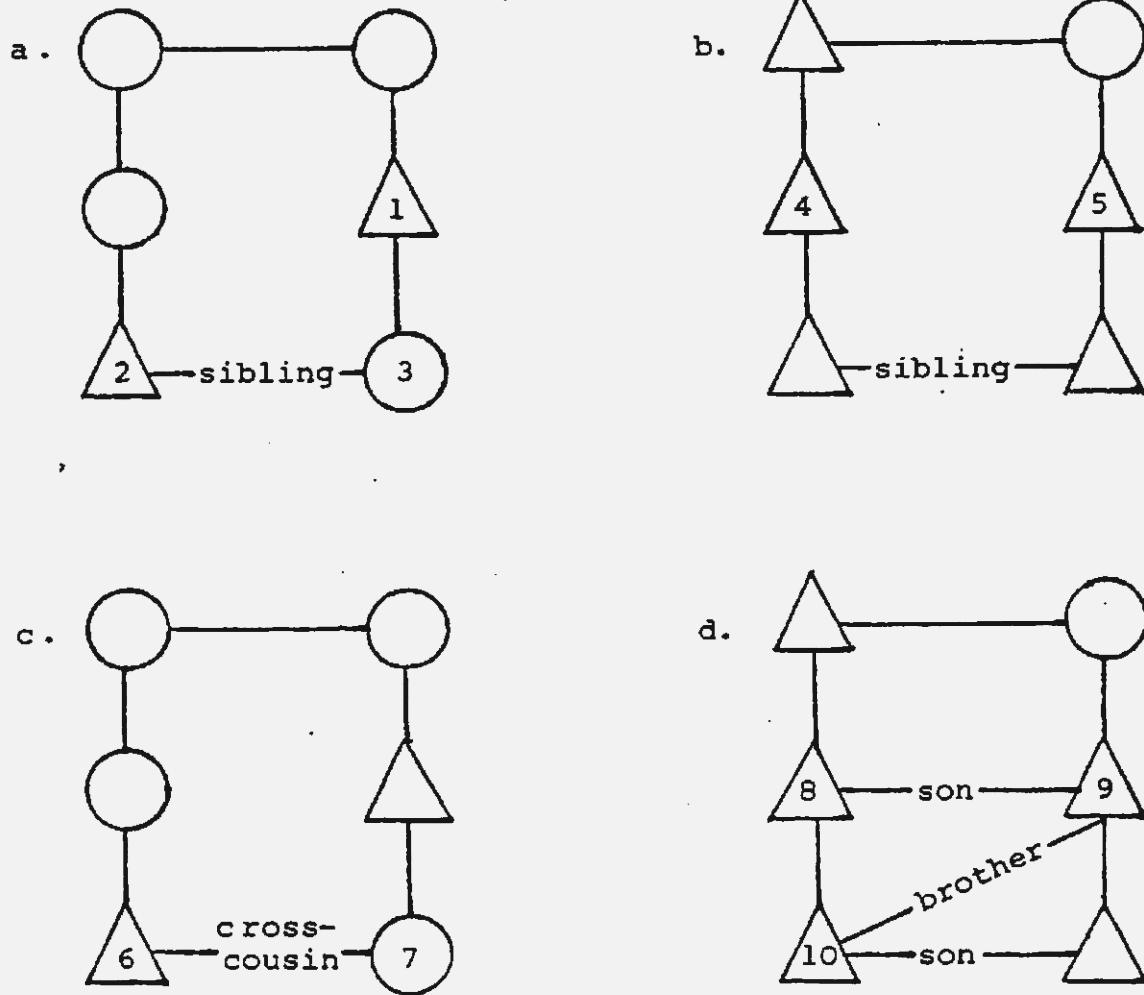


Fig. 2. Kamano terminology for second cousins.

(person 2) and became affiliated with his clan. Person 2 looked after person 3 and was the primary sponsor in accumulating her dowry. This is the basis of the use of sibling terminology. In diagram c, while the configuration was identical, there was no co-residence to offer a basis for siblingship. In fact, persons 6 and 7 are married, and the genealogy was offered to illustrate cross-cousin marriage. The use of sibling terms in this situation would have suggested an incestuous relationship.

In diagram b, the father of person 5 took up residence with his wife's clan (i.e., the clan of person 4). Their children were raised together and therefore employ sibling terms with one another. Diagram d illustrates how a similar situation can be complicated by adoption. When she was dying, the mother of person 9 sent him to live with his cross-cousin. Because he is older and a prominent big-man, person 8 adopted person 9 and refers to him as "my son." Persons 9 and 10 were raised together as brothers. Here a second cousin relationship is transformed into a paternal-filial relationship.

In these examples, migration and co-residence prove to be the dominant factors in determining second cousin terminology. This is quite consistent with Modjeska's (1980:317-18) description of Duna second cousins for whom the closeness of their parents' tie and shared social identity are primary considerations in the choice of terms. It

is perhaps no accident that so many of the Kamano examples involve migration. Except for patrilineal second cousins who would most certainly be classified as siblings, there are few contexts in which a villager would be able to reckon his collateral ties this far. Once they lead outside the village, kinship ties are rarely traced past two generations. An exception to this occurs during exchanges of wealth when self-interest often dictates the use of sibling or cross-cousin terms. Migration is the only context in which non-patrilineal second cousins find themselves in constant interaction and there the exact nature of the relationship is emphasized as a basis for the new social affiliation.

Affinal Terms

According to most Kamano informants, the selection of spouses depends on the personal desires of young men and women. But while young people can initiate their own marriages, or override a decision made by their parents, their choices are circumscribed by various social patterns. Pressures come in the form of affinal exchanges arranged by clan-fathers and in the availability of money and pigs to pay bridewealth and dowry. It is common for young men to experience these pressures as premature. Young men who feel they are not yet mature enough to marry will sometimes flee to the cities and may or may not return in time to take advantage of an arranged marriage.

The systematicity of marriage patterns depends primarily on the Kamano's expectation that women should be exchanged between villages. If possible, a girl sent to marry in another village should be reciprocated immediately by one of her village-sisters coming to marry one of the village's young men. When this can be arranged all at once, the bridewealth demanded is significantly less than it would be otherwise. In situations where this is not possible, it is expected that a wife will be returned in the following generation. Such a marriage will be described in terms of cross-cousin marriage whether or not the tie involved is genealogical. The Kamano are clearly uncomfortable about allowing a debt like this to go unreciprocated for long periods of time. As one informant described it:

When we have a good pig, sometimes a friend will see it and buy it. Now we have nothing. Later, we go to his village and take one of his pigs. It's the same with women. It's not good when a woman goes and bears good children in another area and we don't have enough. We go and get one of their women to come to us and bear children.

In this manner, the Kamano establish "roads" of marriage with all the villages in their immediate vicinity. To the extent that clan-fathers employ strategies in selecting spouses for their children, the relevant distinctions involves social and geographical distance. Roughly nineteen percent of marriages are contracted with women in other clans of the natal village. Another thirty-seven percent of marriages involves women from villages considered close, while the

remaining forty-four percent are marriages between distant villages. There is almost no variation in this regard between generations preceding and following pacification.

Each of these categories has different implications for the affinal tie to be established. Marriages contracted within the village or between neighboring villages assure a lively exchange of wealth as well as an ongoing relationship with the outmarrying daughter. The farther away a daughter marries, it becomes increasingly less probable that she and her children will be able to repay her debt to her fathers and brothers. On the other hand, affinal relations with neighboring villages are fraught with a sense of danger. Conflicts over land, pigs, and past debts create a constant state of tension between neighboring villages that can be easily exacerbated by disagreements over bridewealth and life-cycle payments. The interactions between affines during funerals or other distributions of wealth provide a context in which suspicions of poison and sorcery are rife. Such conflict is much less pronounced between villages that do not share a border. During a court case concerning bridewealth distribution, a father berated his daughter for disregarding his wish that she marry far away. He told her that he already had many enemies nearby and didn't need more.

Bridewealth is used to mediate between these different types of marriage. Because an ongoing economic relationship

is assured between closely situated clans and villages, the bridewealth payment demanded is substantially less than that between more distant groups. Within the village K200 was seen as an appropriate brideprice in 1979. At the other extreme, when a village girl married a teacher from the Sepik area, her fathers and brothers demanded K1700 in payment. They explained this high figure by noting they might never see her again when she moved to her husband's area. The ability to amass a large amount of bridewealth or dowry becomes in itself a factor in determining a particular affinal choice.

Given these complications, an optimal strategy for a father seems to involve a dispersal of his children's affinal ties. Marriages made between a village's clans or with neighboring villages demands a smaller brideprice while promising a long history of exchange. In the case of outmarrying daughters, a close proximity would allow them to provide care for their father in illness and old age. More distantly based marriages lack the conflict inherent in closer ties and traditionally provided a potential haven should the village be overrun in battle. Today, having daughters or sister in more distant villages provides an opportunity to travel. Arriving in such a village, fathers and brothers may be referred to with a term that combines their kinswoman's name and the word for "man."

The establishment of an affinal relationship is at least partly dependent upon the process by which bridewealth and dowry are amassed. Marriage negotiations can be initiated by either a genitor, a village kinsman who wishes to be a primary sponsor, or by an adoptive father who has already established his priority in sponsorship. This man will host a meeting at which he will ask other kinsmen to volunteer pigs, traditional artifacts, and today, money, to make up the bulk of the affinal payment. When it is a dowry that is being gathered, these sponsors (tugufa bahe) will also be expected to purchase clothing, tools, and household utensils to "fill up the net bag" of their daughter or sister. Many of the mature brothers and sisters of a bride or groom are expected to contribute small amounts of money for which they will receive cooked pork during the ensuing payments. Traditionally, sponsors were supposed to distribute most of the pork and wealth they received. Today, while the pork is still distributed, money is often retained by the primary sponsors. Genealogical parents and brothers are prohibited from eating pork received in affinal payments.

At the minimum, it is the close genealogical kin and primary sponsors of bride and groom who will employ affinal terms in reference to one another. When the marriage is contracted between "close" clans of a single village, the remaining kin will employ the descent-based terms they have always used. In cases where the villages involved

are distant, all the village men may utilize affinal terms to address the close kin and sponsors of the bride. With her less immediate kin, the term "ally" (arone) is employed. It is important to note that the act of sponsorship creates a voluntary affinal relationship. Most young men act as a primary sponsor for at least a few of their "sisters" located outside of their immediate patriline, but within their own or closely associated clans. Older and wealthier men will have sponsored several daughters and sisters in this manner. Their numerous affinal relationships and ongoing exchanges with these groups is part of what constitutes their status.

Within this framework, the use of affinal terms by siblings varies further according to the relative ages of the people involved. To take an example, the term offered by informants to characterize the relationship of BW is nenemeho. In practice, however, the term nenemeho is employed by only a subset of clan-brothers. When a brother and his wife are much older than this younger brother, they will have looked after him in childhood and probably have contributed to his bridewealth payment. In this case, the younger brother will call his BW "mother" (anta'nemo). By the same logic, an elder brother who has helped to raise a younger brother and to buy his wife will call her "younger sister" (negana'nemo). In order to use the term nenemeho, a clan-brother must be of approximately the same age as

his brother, and furthermore, he should have refrained from eating the pork brought with his brother's wife's dowry. It is the consumption of this pork that establishes an affinal relationship between a bride and groom's clan and village kinsmen. By not participating in the bridal feast, a HB declares his right to the levirate when his brother dies. This characteristic of marriageability is a defining feature of the nenemeho relationship.

In general, the affinal relationship can be characterized as highly formal. It is prohibited to call an affine by his proper name--a custom explained by informants as a result of their decorating him and giving him pigs in affinal transactions. As a kinsman, an affine is transitional. When children are born, an element of cognatic descent is added that can transform a brother-in-law's relationship to the clan. Before this, however, expectations are ambiguous. Although affines can be hosts for a migrating family, their goodwill cannot be assumed. There was no norm against killing affines in warfare, and in fact they are often tacitly assumed to be enemies. While it is less formal, the relationship between husband and wife shares many of these characteristics. Traditionally, wives were frequently suspected of carrying military intelligence or substances to be used in sorcery back to their natal villages. During a contemporary court case, a husband sued his wife for not paying him to build a menstrual hut. The court supported

him when he explained, "I'm not a kinsman. I'm her husband." While husband-wife relations are normally more cordial today, this distinction emerges easily during conflict.

Age-Mates and Namesakes

Although it does not involve ties of consanguinity or affinity, the relationship between age-mates is significant for a discussion of Kamano social organization. Age-mates are generally village-brothers who were born in the same day or month. As neonates they were sometimes nursed in the same menstrual hut by their mothers, and later would have undergone various rites of passage and initiations together. Age-mates address each other as nefaro. Their relationship is one of identity. When a man dies, his age-mate is a prime candidate to remarry his widow. During distributions of wealth, he will always be included as a recipient. In its contemporary usage, age-mate relationships have been expanded to include brothers born in the same year.

An additional type of social relationship is established in the process of naming. It is a common practice for fathers to select a child's name from forebears in their parents', grandparents', or great-grandparents' generation. Fathers name children after dead ancestors so that "their names will not be forgotten." In conjunction with a kinship system that encompasses only three or four generations,

this pattern of naming creates an ongoing cycle of generational groupings. It extends a relatively short genealogical history by recreating its members in cycle. This cycle is perceived by the Kamano as the replacement of ancestors by descendants. After recounting the family history of his grandfather, Oniya, an informant stated:

They pierced my nose and I grew up. I looked after my gardens and pigs. I married and raised children. Now I have changed my grandson's name to Oniya. He will grow up and get married, raise pigs, and take care of the land. Then his grandson will replace him.

When an elder is still alive, the act of giving his name to a child is seen as a sign of respect. Forebear and child refer to each other as "my namesake" (nenesamo). An elder should offer his namesake continuing support by seeing to his needs and helping him with various life-cycle payments. In turn a young man will look after his namesake as he ages. Although all patrilineal grandchildren are felt to "replace" their grandparents, this relationship is individualized and enhanced through the possession of a shared name.

Social Groups

The first attempts to understand Kamano social organization relied on notions of unilineal descent and segmentary structure. Based on his work with the "Kamamentina River people" in 1935, Fortune described villages occupied by a single clan whose component patrilineages were "conceived

to be related by converging common ancestry." These clan-villages were said to act as "independent and sovereign" units with marital ties dispersed among all the village in a five-or six-mile radius. Arriving prior to pacification, Fortune (1947a, 1947b) concentrated primarily on the complications produced by the concurrence of marriage and warfare in intervillage relationships.

A second study of Kamano society was undertaken by the Berndts in 1951-1953. Combining observations from the southernmost Kamano villages with data collected from the neighboring Jate, Usarufa, and Fore areas, Berndt presented a more complete account than that of Fortune. At the lowest level of Kamano society, he claimed, was a "rope" (nofi) composed of "men and women who trace descent through males to a common, remembered male ancestor" (R.M. Berndt 1954-55:27). Berndt's informants could generally trace their ancestry through both grandparents and to at least one great-grandparent. Frequently, however, ties to collateral relatives traced through the second and third ascending generations were lost--particularly when the connecting relative had died prior to the informant's birth. In these cases, the patrilineage tended to be a minimal lineal unit. Members of a "rope" lived together within a hamlet, shared gardening land, and cooperated in daily activities.

The second level of Kamano social organization was referred to by Berndt as a clan. Although no indigenous

term is offered for this unit, clans were equated with local hamlets and named for the geographical sites they occupied. Within a clan, according to Berndt, patrilineages claimed common descent without being able to trace the genealogical lines involved. He explained clan formation by positing a patrilineal, segmentary structure in which "the shortness of genealogical memory is encouraged by a relatively high death rate" to produce parallel patrilineages without discernable connections (R.M. Berndt 1962:25-26). Situated on high ridges, clan-villages were composed of one or more men's houses and the individual houses inhabited by inmarrying wives, unmarried daughters, young sons, and female clan members who had returned to the village when their marriages had been dissolved through divorce or death. The clan was exogamous and was the key unit for ritual and political purposes.

The largest corporate grouping--a level missed entirely by Fortune--was called a "district" by Berndt and associated with geographical "big-names." He was unsure whether the clans thus united were connected by genealogical links, but felt that the use of kinship terms was largely "classificatory" and based on their patrilineally derived ownership of district land (R.M. Berndt 1954-55:28-29). Districts acted as a unit during rites of passage and cooperated to attack other groups. But while the district presented a "conventional facade of solidarity and cooperation,"

it was subject to fragmentation along clan lines, particularly in response to the political machinations of clan big-men (C. Berndt 1953:115).

The social models offered by Kamano informants at least partially support the segmentary structure hypothesis of Fortune and Berndt. At the minimal social level, the patriline is portrayed in terms of patrification and traced from a surviving elder through sons to their youngest living descendents. Such units are referred to according to the name of the elder, e.g., "Nesao's line." The patrilineal inheritance of land supports the continuity of this group. Even where men choose to reside on the land of their wives or mothers, a tie to their patrilineal inheritance is maintained in the concept of "root-land." Rights to reclaim root-land are maintained for as long as the relationship is remembered. While widespread adoption makes this unit a much less than analytically perfect patrilineage, it does not interfere with informants' use of patrilineal principles in their models.

Moreover, classical segmentation is one of the processes described by the Kamano in characterizing the relationship between a clan's patrilineages. Using his finger to divide a tiny rivulet of water, an informant explained, "One man bears two sons. Each one is a line." In fact, segmentation is an active process that is initiated when a mature man leaves his fathers and brothers to establish

his own hamlet. When his father dies, such a man will become the senior of his own patrilineal unit. The Kamano respect this process when they recite their genealogies. While a Kamano elder can generally trace a genealogy back three or four generations in a way that could potentially connect two or more of their clan's patriline, they tend to ignore relationships involving a residential shift. In an extreme example, when a son takes up residence with his wife, his descendants are omitted from the genealogy on the grounds that they live "far away." Collecting the genealogy of an entire clan generally involves consulting between two and six elders, each of whom recites only the story of his own line. By underplaying the role of deceased relatives and paring away relatives who have shifted residence, the Kamano create genealogies that tend to be discontinuous, whether they are in fact or not. The passage of time merely enhances this effect. Kamano genealogies are rarely used to establish a sense of historical connectedness between groups. They tend, instead, to emphasize the independence of minimal lineage units whose alignments in this way acquire a certain degree of flexibility.

Above the level of the patrilineage, segmentary models are employed in only the vaguest of senses. Clans are occasionally thought to have originated through fraternal conflict in which one brother is forced to migrate. It is not uncommon in Kamano villages to find clans named

Aranofi ("big line") and/or Henganofi ("last line"). These names are said to indicate the relative age of the fraternal founders in relation to one another. Informants will sometimes even state that a village has a single, semi-mythical ancestor. In these cases, however, the ancestor is usually conceived of as having established an area of settlement without assuming a descent-based tie to a particular constellation of social groups.

In reality, the segmentary model is insufficient to explain the social organization of either clan or village.¹ Many of the clan's component patrilineages deny any sense of converging ancestry. Their presence is explained instead in terms of migration. Traditionally, migration was a common outgrowth of intervillage warfare. Patrilineages, whose land had been overrun, would disperse to seek refuge with allies. For a transitional period of three or more generations, the social affiliation of these migrant lines was often ambiguous. They might be given land by their host-clan while still maintaining patrilineal ties with their village of origin. While both of these relationships contravene the norms of segmentary structure, neither is perceived as anomalous by the Kamano. The dispersal of patrilineal ties outside of clan and village is, in fact,

¹I am employing the term village, as Berndt used district, to describe a grouping of clans assumed by the Kamano to form a maximal territorial and social unit.

an important aspect of military alliance. These non-segmentary features are multiplied at the village level of organization where there is even a weaker sense of converging ancestry.

Social models employed at the clan and village level take account of these variable features. Patrification and segmentary models are sometimes employed as social charter but are generally down played in relation to modes of affiliation based on centripetal loyalty and on the horizontal solidarity of brotherhood. Both of these models are implicit in the structure of the traditional men's house. Prior to pacification, a hamlet was composed of either a single clan or several closely associated clans. The social core of the hamlet was a collective men's house. Inmarrying wives and their young children resided in individual houses arranged in patterns determined by the geography of the site. Surrounding these was a wooden palisade equipped with small "fighting rooms" for use in defensive warfare.

Figure 3 is a diagram of a traditional men's house (joraga'no) that was drawn by an elder informant. Men's houses were oriented around their center-posts (anumuya) that reached from the ground up through the house's conical roof. The center-post was equated with male strength and personified in young military leaders, called "center-post men," who were said to hold the men of the village together as the center-post held together the men's house. During an initiation described by Berndt (1962:66), novices were instructed to hold the center-post as they moved around

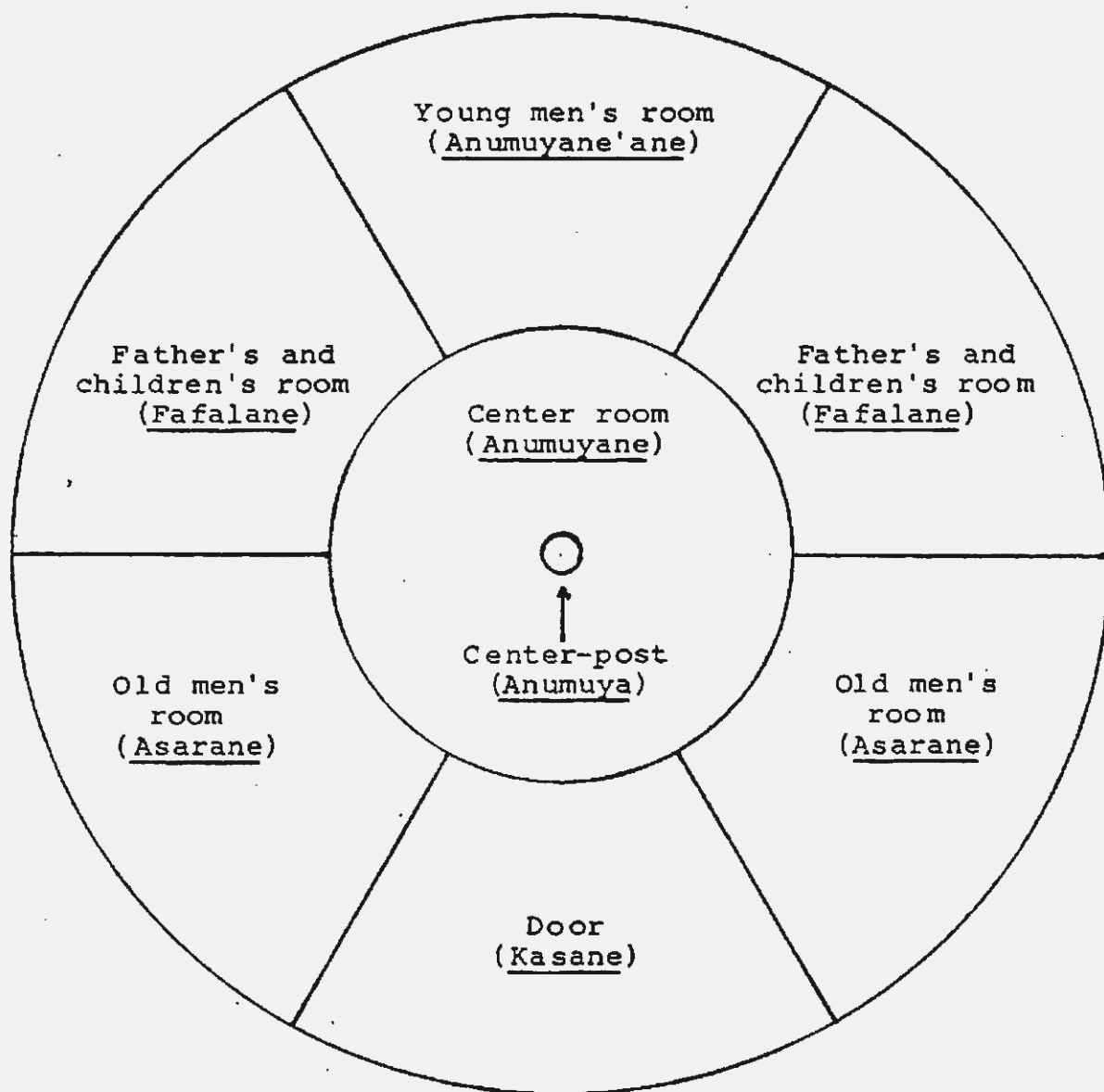


Fig. 3. Diagram of a traditional men's house.

it in a circle. An elder would instruct them, saying, "Hold the central pole. Thus you grow You must be strong like this central pole--so you will become big-men." The center room (anumuyane) that surrounded the center-post was the site of all such collective male rituals and meetings. Men would circle this area when they played flutes and jew's harps; instruments stolen from women in mythic times and kept hidden from them in daily life.

Rooms surrounding the collective central area were arranged according to stages in the male life cycle. Young, unmarried men were positioned opposite the door so they could use their keen eyesight to raise the alarm in case of intruders. Next to the door were located older men. These elders were said to sleep poorly and were thus able to keep track of which men went nightly to the houses of their wives. Sexual contact was felt to debilitate a married man. If elders felt that contact was too frequent, they would indirectly, but publicly, shame a man by scolding an innocent bystander in his presence. Married men slept in a separate room together with their younger sons who had not yet been initiated.

Thus, at the clan level of organization, social cohesion took the form of centripetal loyalty to the center-post, or center-post man, both of which symbolized the male ideal. For men without shared descent to unite them, the cult of masculinity that structured the men's house posed them as a group against women. Women were

never permitted to enter the men's house; the produce of their gardens was delivered to husbands and sons at the door. Any woman caught watching a male initiation or rituals involving flutes or jew's harps was murdered.¹ The secret knowledge and ritual artifacts appropriated from women in myth were utilized in social practice to unify men at the expense of women, who were thereby rendered socially peripheral.

The arrangement of rooms within the men's house illustrates a second form of social cohesion within the clan. Rather than sleeping with members of one's patrilineage, men shared rooms with their generational brothers. The tie of clan-brotherhood is partially based on a shared upbringing. Clan-brothers played together, were initiated as a group, and cooperated with one another in warfare. Over time, succeeding generational lines of siblings formed an informal series of age-grades that were related to each other as fathers and sons. The emphasis placed on horizontal ties of brotherhood at the expense of vertical patrilineages served to promote clan solidarity as a primary affiliation. Together with the overarching sense of collective masculinity, brotherhood provided a social charter for the clan that allowed for the social flux resulting from migration and conquest.

¹As part of this masculine mystique, men asserted to women that they did not defecate and would only do so in secret.

A sense of social cohesion declines as one moves from clan to village. The shallow depth of genealogies combined with the displacements of migration and warfare to remove any real sense of converging ancestry among a village's clans. Instead, the village was perceived as a basic and relatively dependable form of alliance between clans whose lands were adjacent with one another. In response to a question about the source of solidarity at the village level of organization, an informant devised this ad hoc myth of social contract:

Many fathers bore the clans, but all of their root-land was next to each other. At first, they remained separate, but they lost their land and decided this wasn't a good custom. So they massed together and decided they were all Sonofi.

Because the patrilineal inheritance of land is a norm in Kamano society, early observers felt that the village would tend to adhere to a segmentary structure despite the absence of recognized genealogical ties. In the times predating pacification, however, the orderly transference of land from fathers to sons was merely the most conservative manner of attaining land. Historically, we have noted that the Kamano were in the process of expanding their area of settlement into uncultivated regions and into areas occupied by earlier groups. Many contemporary clans relate histories of migration and conquest to explain their present locations. Alternatively, clans whose land had been overrun by enemies sought refuge with cognatic kin. Those refugee groups that did not return to their

territories during the give and take of warfare were offered land by their hosts and, eventually, might be incorporated into a new clan and village structure. Most villages in this way increased their own military strength. In any case, claims to land were generally overlapping and complicated. Men who had not inherited a tract of land patrilineally might initiate a claim through the labor they expended in clearing, fencing, and cultivation. In time, of course, this claim would be reaffirmed when the land was transmitted in the male line through two or more generations. Ultimately, however, the ownership of land depended on one's ability to prevent military encroachment.

The images invoked to describe the solidarity of the village were much the same as that of the clan. Because warfare was the primary raison d'être of the village, loyalty to the center-post men was even more pronounced than at lower levels of organization. When such a warrior-leader was killed the structural integrity of the village was threatened and fragmentation could result. While the village lacked the residential unity of a clan, a village's clans did coalesce when they came under protracted attack by enemies. Ties of brotherhood were extended across clan lines. Even in contemporary times, when accusations of sorcery threatened to disrupt interclan relationships, elders responded by listing their brothers in a way that ignored primary clan affiliation.

It is important to note, however, that village-wide sibilingship is taken somewhat less seriously than sibilingship within the clan. Because the members of a clan generation are considered brothers and sisters, sexuality between them is deemed incestuous. This prohibition is not extended to relationships between clans. In fact, roughly nineteen percent of marriages are contracted with other clans within the village. The pre-existing sense of village solidarity acts to mute the normal antagonism between affines in these cases. In a limited sense, the cognatic relationships established by these marriages contributes to the social web the holds a village's clans in place.

Villages did not, however, comprise a stable unit. While attempts were made to stem conflict within the village, such conflict occasionally escalated to cause serious rifts between clans. When this conflict involved deaths, an offending clan might be chased off their land. It was possible that a clan in this position would shift its affiliation to a neighboring village. Contributing to the tentative ambience of the village was the recognized military strategy of enemies bribing a clan to murder another member of the village. Such shifts in clan affiliation are still an important aspect of contemporary social dynamics.

It is even, perhaps, a slight distortion to think of social groupings as steadfast units. there are no Kamano terms that translate unambiguously as patriline, clan, or village. Instead, groups are described in terms of

their size relative to one another. For social units, the central term is usually "line" (nofi). In the context of discussion, a "small line" (osi' nofi) can be contrasted with a "large line" (ara nofire) when reference is to a patriline rather than to a clan, or to a clan rather than to the village. Residential terms, similarly, are oriented around the term for village (kuma). A "small village" (osi' kuma) can describe a hamlet or closely situated hamlets, while the term "big village" (ara kuma) is used to refer to more encompassing territorial units. The ambiguity of these terms reflects the flexible construction of social groupings. A small village that has been chased from their land might be incorporated as a clan into the village of their new host. Similarly, groups united in a single clan can fragment to form several clans or combine with other groups to form a single, named clan.

As a description of Kamano society proceeds, it becomes increasingly obvious that a synchronic analysis is inadequate. Far from being anomalous in an otherwise static hierarchy of nesting social categories, the dynamics of conquest and migration were the driving forces of the social system. Faced with similar problems, Watson (1970) attempted to understand Tairora society by treating it as an "organized flow" of individuals and groups. For the Kamano, consideration of these factors suggests a cyclical rather than a static model.

During periods of peace, the Kamano resided in hamlets composed of one or more closely associated clans. These hamlets were situated close to the gardens currently under cultivation. When the village came under prolonged attack, the clans gathered at a more easily defended site--usually a steep ridge or a series of caves. Larger villages were composed of two or more men's houses and numerous houses for wives and children. If the attackers were successfully routed, this village would gradually succumb to the centrifugal forces that made it a relatively unstable unit. Conflict over women, land, and pigs, accusations of sorcery, and the need to prevent encroachment on clan lands would eventually result in a return to clan-hamlets scattered over the village territory.

In cases where the village was overrun by its enemies, a more severe type of social fragmentation occurred. The surviving members of a conquered village would break up into separate patriline and flee to take up residence either in isolated gardens or with cognatic kin in distant villages. With its patriline scattered, a village was said to "have no name." Sometimes villagers were invited back by their enemies who took pity on their exile. More commonly, however, the reconstitution of the village was initiated by center-post men who would return to their land, build a house, and send word to the scattered patriline to return. The decision of some groups to remain as enclaves

in their hosts' villages prevented this pattern from becoming a perfect oscillation of social groupings.

It is in terms of this short-term cycle of social fragmentation and reconstitution that we can begin to understand traditional Kamano social organization. At different stages of the cycle, the patriline, clan, and village each emerged as dominant social forms for a brief period. In this way, the form taken by social groupings at any one moment was dependent on the vicissitudes of intervillage warfare.

Alliance

In a society where warfare was a constant feature of traditional life, the formation of military alliances was obviously of crucial importance. It was somewhat confusing then, when early descriptions of Kamano alliance seemed to contradict basic theoretical assumptions. Dating from the time of Tylor, for example, the association between marriage and alliance has been a constant in social anthropology. During Kamano battles, however, Fortune (1947b:109) noted that there were no taboos on killing affines and, in fact, overheard men bragging about how "they had just made their sisters war-widows, or their wives brotherless." He observed two cases "in which men sent a sister and a war-widow of their own making across the lines in prospective remarriage to an enemy of that time" (1947a:247). Fortune did note that individuals might sue for alliance with the villages of their maternal uncles or paternal aunts, and,

if overruled, would be exempted from battles involving their cross-cousins (1947a:247). In any case, he emphasized the tentative nature of alliances that were established. During one battle, he saw allies chased away without plunder and told that they were now enemies after they had accidentally killed an outmarried daughter of the principal antagonist (1947b:109).

From fieldwork conducted fifteen years later, Berndt further explored the transitory nature of Kamano alliances. Rather than resulting from a specific configuration of kinship relationships, he claimed, alliances were negotiated by military leaders who for the moment shared an interest in disposing of a common enemy. These alliances were cemented by bribery and the promise of plunder if the enemy was routed (R.M. Berndt 1962:266). While marriages between villages might occasionally create a sense of cooperation, they were more often overshadowed by the suspicion and distrust that permeated the relationship between husband and wife (R.M. Berndt 1971:389). In fact, rather than predisposing villages to alliance, a concentration of affinal and consanguineal ties tended to be correlated with active conflict:

On the whole, however, marriage and close relationship in this region are intimately correlated with warfare. The more closely districts are bound by kinship ties, the greater the likelihood of dissension and open hostility. The greater the distance between two districts, sociogeographically as well as genealogically speaking, the less the likelihood of warfare. (R.M. Berndt 1962:234)

An attempt to reconnect Kamano alliance with other aspects of social organization was made in a recent study by Mandeville. Agreeing with Fortune and Berndt, she quickly discounts the impact of marriages. "Affinity," she states, "is not a distinct relationship and does not order relations between descent or territorial groups"; its contribution to social structure is "minimal" (1979:119-120). Instead, Mandeville notes that Kamano lineages almost always have lineages in other villages that they refer to as "brothers." It is these non-specific agnatic relationships between patrilineages that can be appealed to for refuge when one's village has been routed. Frequently the names of clans reflect these agnatic connections with groups in other villages (1979:109, 116, 120).

In order to locate a social pattern amid these seemingly contradictory observations, we can begin by understanding the importance of sociogeographical distance in Kamano culture. Despite the fact that many contemporary informants were born after pacification, they can provide a list of villages they consider enemies. This list represents a social classification, rather than a variable or ad hoc alignment, and relies on a distinction between closely situated and distant villages. All villages who share a territorial boundary are considered enemies. Between these villages, day-to-day conflict was allowed to take precedence over whatever affinal or cognatic ties existed. While cognatic ties were not ignored in the context of

active warfare, they were treated as individual relationships rather than social links. Men might refrain from confronting a cross-cousin on the battleline, but their village-brothers and allies were not similarly constrained. These relationships were allowed to regain social significance during the establishment of truces. When a truce had been arranged, the combatants would line up opposite one another and dance forward and backward near a territorial boundary. After much aggressive posturing, women who had married into the enemy group would cross the battleline bearing symbols of peace. Truces established in this manner were always temporary, as were any alliances that might have been arranged between neighboring villages. Mortal debts between enemies could be suspended, but they were not forgotten. Sooner or later, retaliation in the form of sorcery or ambush would lead to the renewal of active conflict.

Outside of this encircling ring of enemies, more stable forms of alliance were possible. Just as men can list enemies, so can they designate villages with which alliance is the normal state. These villages could be depended upon both to help their allies during warfare and to provide a refuge if their allies were overrun. Potential allies fell into one of two classifications. In the first, villages referred to each other as "vulva-root men" (hagayu rafa bahe) or "squash-root men" (hago'nifa rafa bahe). This relationship was said to be established when a woman of one village married into the other and

bore many children, and was likened to the underground runners with which squash plants propagate themselves. Often such an alliance was maintained even after the name of the woman involved had been forgotten. Although it was permissible for cross-cousins to kill one another, this category implied an actual genealogical relationship that would make descendants "like siblings."

The second type of alliance posited an agnatic relationship between groups who referred to each other as "semen-root men" (hanori rafa bahe). These groups claimed to be descended patrilineally from two brothers. Usually, the geographical separation of agnatic kin was explained in terms of migration resulting from either fraternal conflict or previous military defeats. In the latter case, a patriline may have sought refuge with cross-cousins and then chosen to remain with their hosts after their home village had been re-established. Even after the exact relationship was forgotten, and the refugee groups had been fully incorporated into their host-village, they retained a patrilineal identity with their village of origin. Such groups still utilize the terms "father" and "brother" when referring to each other and usually observe taboos on sexual contact with "sisters." Because agnation reflects an unambiguous sense of solidarity, this type of alliance was considered more reliable than those between the descendants of a brother and sister. The importance of these external agnatic ties is reflected in clan names. For the most part, clans were

named for distant villages that were seen either as a place of origin or as a haven during warfare. During peacetime, villagers related in this way would visit with one another regularly and take part in each other's feasts and rituals.

Given these two bases for alliance in Kamano society, it becomes important to reassess the supposedly "minimal" role of marriage in creating these ties between villages. Certainly, as earlier observers have emphasized, cultural ideology links marriage with conflict rather than alliance. "We marry our enemies" is a stock Kamano phrase--a phrase that was confirmed by Berndt (1971) when he mapped out concentrations of affinal ties and found them to be closely correlated with warfare. Still, the data are not unambiguous. One of the terms used to designate allies--arone--is also used to refer to one's brothers' wives' brothers; i.e., to affines with whom the tie is not necessarily reinforced by relationships of genealogy or sponsorship. Moreover, affinal links were hardly insignificant when villages joined alliances to avenge cognatic kin who had been killed in battle. It was precisely wife-givers and wife-takers who provided allies when their maternal uncles, paternal aunts, or outmarried sisters and daughters were among the casualties.

The Kamano insistence on equating affines and enemies expresses two cultural truths. It both describes the concentration of marriages with a relatively few neighboring villages with which conflict is a constant, and confirms the assertion that relatives by marriage are not really

relatives at all. Because they usually lack a descent-based tie of shared blood, marriages do not create a sense of solidarity. Affinal links can serve as a basis for alliance, however, when they supersede these two limits. When marriages are contracted with distant villages, the affinal tie does not necessarily imply enmity because there are fewer opportunities for conflict to develop. These distant affinal relationships can then become potential alliances when a woman bears large numbers of children. An individual affinal relationship is in this way transformed into a cognatic tie that can serve as a basis for solidarity and alliance.

That alliances usually have some basis in either agnatic or cognatic relationships does not discount the role of political maneuvering in the process. Here, however, we must distinguish between allies who joined with a village to attack an enemy and villages that merely served as a haven for a group of refugees. In the former case, the village acted as a unit under the guidance of younger, military leaders. After discussions with the men of the village and clan elders, it was up to these leaders to designate which villages should be approached to form an alliance on the basis of either common grievances against an enemy or their susceptibility to promises of payment and plunder. Based on immediate expediency, such alliances tended to give way easily to internal dissension and were usually temporary. Havens for refugees became relevant only after the village had been defeated and had fragmented

into clans and patrilineal. The relationships utilized in this process were based on pre-existing agnatic or cognatic ties that were relatively dependable and stable. It was lineage and clan elders who led their families into exile. Indeed, military defeat and the resultant dissolution of his village left little power base for the warrior-leader.

In the end, it is the cultural opposition between close and distant villages that is the decisive one in determining the nature of Kamano alliance. The same affinal and cognatic ties that provide a potential alliance with distant villages are sources of hostility and conflict between neighboring villages. While affinal, cognatic, and agnatic ties comprise the content of intervillage relationships, it is sociogeographical distance and political expediency that determine the character of those relationships. Kamano alliances with distant villages tended to create a checkerboard pattern in which villages were encircled by enemies. This pattern is perhaps the logical result of population movement in the period of time preceding pacification in which groups were being pushed slowly to the south. In this context, an expansionist clan or village posed a distinct threat to its neighbors that was allowed to override relationships of consanguinity and affinity. It was only with distant, non-threatening villages that alliances could be formed.

CHAPTER III

THE TRANSFORMATION OF RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURE

As the most visible and concrete manifestation of Kamano social structure, residence was more directly affected by colonial interactions than any of its concomitants. Where traditional residential patterns reflected the dynamic flexibility inherent in the system, colonialism represented a force of stasis and rigidity. It was the process of pacification that first introduced this tension. By repressing intergroup warfare, patrol officers incidentally removed the main motivating force in the short-term residential cycle of dispersal, coalescence, and migration. The repercussions of this act emerged later when attempts were made to map land, individuals, and groups. The static grid envisioned by Western officials never achieved the congruence with the population necessary to establish logical or administrative order.

The carrying out of the census was the process that most focused the confrontation between colonial needs

and indigenous society. Sonofi was first censused in 1945 (Kainantu Patrol Report #K3 1947/48).¹ Over the following

Throughout this paper, reference is made to patrol reports written by colonial administrators. Most of these reports are on file at the government archives in Port Moresby or at District Offices in Goroka and Kainantu. A small number of these reports were made available to the ethnographer by Rick J. Giddings, a former patrol officer, from his personal files.

three years, the last few remaining Kamano villages in the Kainantu Sub-District also came under census (Kainantu Patrol Report #5 1947/48). For the patrol officer, the census and selection of village officials followed pacification as the next step in establishing order in an area. As described during a patrol to the Fayantina Valley, the process of censusing was carried out by "lining" the entire village in the clearing near the rest house:

Up until the present moment no attempt had been made to do a census of the people South of Henganofi and consequently the indigene did not easily understand what was required. L/Cpl Agoripena assembled them into family groups as near as possible, then they were again questioned by Constable Vesunufa and finally by myself, so

¹ Throughout this paper, reference is made to patrol reports written by colonial administrators. Most of these reports are on file at the government archives in Port Moresby or at District Offices in Goroka and Kainantu. A small number of these reports were made available to the ethnographer by Rick J. Giddings, a former patrol officer, from his personal files.

the results should prove fairly accurate. (Kainantu Patrol Report #1 1949/50)

To "the indigene," however, understanding the census involved trying to grasp the complexities of colonial power dynamics and the contradictory feelings evoked thereby. Thus, on the one hand, to be censused was felt to bring one into a closer proximity with a new, albeit poorly understood type of power. The very act of having one's name written down in a book--of being named and publicly recognized by such a power--brought with it a sense of honor. The subordination imposed on the colonized via pacification and census was then transferred to the geographic and cultural border between contacted and uncontacted villages. Villages closer to the main bridle paths used their knowledge of white men to dominate "*bus kanaka*," who in turn built rest houses and begged patrol officers to come census their clans (Goroka Patrol Report #1 1949/50). During a patrol to the Mount Michael area, a group of such men approached the *kiap* with ropes around their necks and threatened to hang themselves if he did not come to their village and conduct a census.¹

If being censused put one in contact with power, however, it was a power suffused with danger. In Sonofi

¹These were Lufa-speaking villages that bordered the southern Kamano of the Fayantina Valley (Goroka Patrol Report #2 1949/50).

men recalled how as children their mother hid them during census patrols: "The *kiap* wrote down everyone's name in a book and then gave it to the *luluai*, Ranuo. They built a rest house in Sukionka. Makeo was afraid they would shoot us, so we didn't go." Associated with the fear of colonial firepower in the Fayantina Valley was a theory that a somewhat fetishized census would be instrumental in controlling and punishing villagers who did not conform to new rules and laws. The large kernel of truth in the villagers' observation is reflected in the patrol officer's confirmation of their terror:

- ' It was noticed that the people were very nervous at times when standing in front of the table to have their names recorded, one woman being so much so that she was most embarrassed by wetting herself, whilst some of the men were visibly shaking. Upon being questioned about their trepidation it was found that they held the idea that the Government put their names in a book and then if they misbehaved themselves the books would more or less report them with the result that a member of the Constabulary would be dispatched to bring them to justice. As this notion might prove conducive to good behavior, they were not told otherwise. (Kainantu Patrol Report #1 1949/50)

As late as 1972, a patrol officer noted that the Kamano census books "seemed to bear only a vague relation to the present village population" (Kainantu Patrol Report #2 1972/73). Initially, this was probably due to high rates of non-attendance at the census. With memories of colonial retribution during the pacification-era battles, and fears that the census was merely the latest stage of

this process, whole hamlets hid in the bush when patrols approached. Young women and children were especially protected in this way. During a second census conducted in the Dunatina Valley, the census rose 54 percent with *luluai* listed such people (Kainantu Patrol Report #2 1951/52). Other factors complicating this process were the difficulties and subjectivism involved in estimating ages, and the various names and nicknames acquired by Kamano villagers over the course of their lives.

Still another group of problems encountered by patrol officers concerned the nongenealogical emphasis of Kamano kinship:

One of the main difficulties was that these people consider themselves as brothers when they have been initiated at the same time and only by estimating their ages was one able to separate true brothers from their "pulman" which is the Pidgin expression for those of the same age group. (Kainantu Patrol Report #1 1949/50)

A custom which the writer found most vexatious, though hardly a serious matter, was that of adopting each other's children, either on a temporary or permanent basis. Adoption is common enough in almost every society, but here there is hardly a family group without either an adopted child or some of the natural progeny adopted by others. This makes census work more tedious than normal, as they seldom bother to explain the situation until exhaustive enquiries are made. (Kainantu Patrol Report #2 1952/53)

As adoption not infrequently involved shifting clan and/or village affiliation and could occur several times during the life of an individual, it conflicted readily with colonial expectations that a person should live with his genitor

and be associated with a single set of nesting residential groupings.

From the perspective of villagers, the census introduced a new type of context that contrasted with the flexibility of traditional social dynamics. The act of writing down one's name and social affiliation lent a degree of immutability to normal flux. While this did not significantly limit social reaffiliation within the village, it became a situation that villagers could manipulate in dealings with external powers.

Perhaps the most widespread problem noted by census officials and certainly the most telling with regard to the social effects of pacification was group migration.¹ The main motivation for this migration was the desire to return to "root-land" from which groups had been chased in previous bouts of fighting. While return migration by refugees was an established part of short-term military cycles, the imposition of colonial peace opened the way for many such residential movements to occur at once. Patrol officers were generally sympathetic to land claims made by these groups and tended to see such movement as

¹Group migration caused by the return of wartime refugees to their land was recorded in virtually all Kamano regions: Dunatina Valley (Kainantu Patrol Report #3 1949/50, Goroka Patrol Report #11 1952/53), Fayantina Valley (Kainantu Patrol Report #1 1959/50), Kamanuntina Valley (Goroka Patrol Report #6 1959/50), Kratke Mountains (Kainantu Patrol Report #3 1952/53, Goroka Patrol Report #15 1952/53).

an affirmation of belief that the Administration's hegemony would continue indefinitely (Kainantu Patrol Report #3 1952/53). The effect of this pattern on the census was that families or whole clan/hamlets were listed simultaneously in a number of village books (Kainantu Patrol Report #21 1972/73).

An added motivation for group migration came from aspiring big-men. Much like traditional "center-post men," they attempted to gather villages around themselves using now, however, the power of the patrol officer rather than their own military prowess:

, Luluai of Ranofi is very keen on getting his people together again and thinks they should be forced to return. However, I have told him to spread the word that there will be no more fighting and those wishing to resettle in their own place may return and should they desire to remain permanently in their adopted villages they may do so. (Kainantu Patrol Report #33 1944/45)

Contesting with leaders who were trying to regroup their own villages were more established big-men in the process of recruiting individuals and clans to augment their strength. Usually, this took the form of offering land, intermarriage, and protection to groups that were then incorporated as a clan or subclan into the village. A special case of this form of recruitment involved giving conquered land back to former enemies. Continuing a traditional interaction, enemy clans or villages were offered back their "root-land" and thus their "name" in exchange for

an alliance against a new set of rivals. The colonial peace presented an unprecedented lull in fighting, viewed by villagers as an interregnum, during which political maneuvering/recruitment could be concentrated:

When whole sections of villages start migrating as was the case in No. 1 Kamano (Homuri to Kanamba, Tapo to Kanamba, Tapo to Hengkai) then political pressures to retain and to gain adherents does nothing to assist census taking. (Kainantu Patrol Report #21 1972/73).

One further form of group migration developed through interactions with the colonizers themselves. In a series of ambushes and murders between villages neighboring Sonofi, patrol officers took an active part in punishing a group of allied villages whom they saw as aggressors. About ten villagers were killed by the police during these expeditions and one policeman was also shot and killed. As a direct result of these raids, the clan/hamlet of Tingkafio that was accused of shooting the officer migrated away from Musabe village to an uncensused area a two-hour walk to the south (Kainantu Patrol Report #K3 1947/48). The fear of continuing colonial retaliation in this case motivated the people of Tingkafio to make use of the border between "controlled" and "uncontrolled" villages and accept a settlement site which they felt would be safe. They still reside in this latter area.

If pacification acted to facilitate group migration in these ways, it also antithetically froze group configurations

where intergroup hostility persisted via sorcery or where land was actively contested. Indeed, with warfare removed as a mode of redress, there was little recourse for clans or villages whose conquerors currently occupied their territory. By halting the short-term military/residential cycle at an arbitrary historical point, the colonial administration effectively isolated such villagers from their land. The *Kaunsil* of Sonofi described this dynamic in order to explain why a clan, now residing half in Sonofi and half in hamlets of its southern neighbor, could not return to their true residential site in a northern valley:

Before all men lived on their land and were sometimes chased off. But soon a big-man would go back and settle on his "root-land." When the Government came, they stopped this and now some men can't get back to their "root-land." Henganofi's "root-land" is at Unanofi. They want to go back, but Unanofi and Pomu said no. They still go there to harvest their pandanus nuts, but they can't go there to live. The Government stopped this.

The often temporary migration of the militarily vanquished traditionally could involve groups at any level of Kamano social structure ranging from individuals to whole villages--although the latter rarely remained a unit during population movement. In the cases where pacification prevented their resettlement, such groupings were frozen as affinally or matrilocally-based enclaves in the village of their hosts. Although such immigrants would be completely incorporated into their new village during the third generation,

social tension would remain as long as rights to land and pandanus trees are remembered.

This tension emerged in the 1950s in the form of large-scale land disputes; what one patrol officer then called "the one outstanding problem in the Kamano" (Kainantu Patrol Report #3 1957/58). The conflict over land that had traditionally been submerged in the give and take of warfare mixed poorly with the colonial emphasis on inflexible boundaries and adjudication:

Now with the last outbreak of fighting almost a decade away, there is a general bickering over boundaries. Some groups claim that all the land taken away from them in some battle fought twenty or thirty years ago should be returned instead of only part of it, and some opportunists bring court actions on groups which, although not justified in their own eyes, may possibly fool the court into giving them something. (Kainantu Patrol Report #2 1952/53)

While patrol officers lamented the villagers' ability to "think most illogically about such matters as land tenure" (Kainantu Patrol Report #17 1954/55) they fared little better in settling disputes. Discussing a fight over village boundaries that resulted in the death of a boy, a *kiap* asserted that "no two people can agree as to what was originally their land." For the villagers, conflict emerged when "they can see people from other villages working over land that was certainly in the possession of their grandparents." The overlapping claims--created by military expropriation, group migration, inherited versus usufructory rights, and

the rights of adopted children to the land of either genitor or foster father--were far too complex to be unraveled during a single patrol. Even when disputes had already been mediated, however, "no agreement can be gained on boundaries previously fixed by Government officers" (Kainantu Patrol Report #3 1957/58).

As with group migration, land disputes occurred between social groupings of all different sizes:

In some cases the disputes were concerned with a small family group moving to land claimed by another village, but there are also, and these are the most important, those that concern whole census units. (Kainantu Patrol Report #3 1957/58)

The cumulative effect of such conflict is impressive. It has been estimated that between 20-25 percent of land in the Eastern Highlands Province is under active dispute, while up to 60 percent is under latent dispute.

One further way in which pacification exacerbated conflict over land was by removing military impediments to land usage. Before contact, according to one patrol officer, "the bulk of land on the Kamano could be said to be unoccupied forming extensive no mans lands between groups." The imposition of peace, however:

. . . led to the expansion of these areas of land that could be security [sic] held. Villagers pushed out as far as they could under the administration's control of fighting leaving gardens and planting markers until today the No Mans Lands have disappeared. In their place are the uncertain boundaries marked by only the conflicting claims of rival groups and individuals. (Kainantu Patrol Report #24 1972/73)

With warfare outlawed and colonial adjudication too infrequent, inconsistent, and unenforceable, sorcery became the primary mode of redress in handling the increased number of land disputes (Kainantu Patrol Report #35 1969/70).

While administrative control allowed an expansion of villages into surrounding lands, it concurrently reinforced a contraction of residential sites that favored large villages over small hamlets. To some extent, this was a conscious policy on the part of patrol officers who deemed hamlets "sectarian" and actively encouraged the "rebuilding of villages in an ordered fashion and without hamlets or with fewer hamlets" (Kainantu Patrol Report #K1 1947/48; Kainantu Patrol Report #15 1962/63). Some motivation for this push to centralize came from desires to make patrolling easier and introduce latrines and hygiene to prevent the spread of dysentery and other diseases (Goroka Patrol Report #9 1945/46). More important, however, was the need to establish a power base for village officials who could then consolidate colonial control. The lack of influence exerted by *luluai* and *tultul* over their villages is directly attributed to "the natives' custom of living in scattered houses" (Goroka Patrol Report #8 1945/46; Goroka Patrol Report #15 1952/53). Concentrating population into large settlements was seen as part of the process of "developing communal life and fostering civic responsibility" (Kainantu Patrol Report

#K3 1947/48). In one Kamano area, groups previously censused as four separate villages, combined into a single "house line" of approximately 900 people (Kainantu Patrol Report #7 1953/54).

A second impetus for large central villages came from the missions. In the process of gaining adherents and weaning them away from old political affiliations and rivalries, the churches brought several villages together to form a single "mission village":

In several areas two or more villages have grouped together though still preserving their own identity. In the Habai area in particular three villages with a total of 660 people are living in an area of less than 200 acres. This appears to be the centre with the gardens radiating out around them. This tendency to form large communities will probably continue, as the Missions have set up Stations at each of those focal points and the people appear to be gravitating towards rather than away from these centres. (Goroka Patrol Report #4 1951/52)

Such settlements were not always occupied on a daily basis. In these situations, villages would gather for services, mass baptisms, and other religious activities, and then disband to scattered hamlets. As with most mission activities, patrol officers complained about the crowded mission villages as well as their unhygienic and generally decrepit appearance (Kainantu Patrol Report #17 1954/55).

While the missions and administration had their own reasons for favoring the contraction of hamlets into villages, this shift in residential pattern also represented

a culturally meaningful response by villagers to the colonial intrusion. Even before their appearance in the mid-1930s, rumors percolated down from the north to the effect that the Europeans were sending snakes to enter the wombs of pregnant women in order to kill them and devour their unborn children. To defend themselves from this threat,

The men built a large round house big enough to hold all members of the parallel patri-lineages and their wives and children inhabiting one small village; some villages had two or three such houses. Each house, with special latrines for men and women, was enclosed by a stockade. Firewood was collected and stacked within, with lengths of bamboo for holding water . . . From their gardens people dug sweet potatoes and yams and cut bunches of bananas, which they stored in the house, and from the men's house they brought all their spare weapons and sacred objects. (R.M. Berndt 1952/53:52-53)

While Berndt (1952-53:142) claimed this communal house had "no local precedent," it in fact represented a traditionally-based response to overwhelming and incomprehensible external threats. An old man from Sonofi remembered how such a house was constructed when he was young to shelter the village following a volcanic eruption that darkened the sky and rained ash over the land. The village struck a similar defensive posture in 1962 when warned by Australians about the impending solar eclipse. In each case, the communal house was a temporary response to an extreme and immediate stress and, according to informants, served the dual purpose of protecting the village from a perceived threat and also

from the possibility of military attack while their attention was otherwise focused.

In contrast to the transitory nature of the communal house, a slightly more stable form of village concentration occurred during the late 1940s as part of a series of cargo cults that swept southward through the Kainantu area. Unlike regions further to the south where contact at this time was limited to the sighting of airplanes and the trading of fragments of western cloth over traditional trade routes (R.M. Berndt 1952-53:50-53), the area near Sonofi had already been pacified by this time. A Lutheran mission station had been established by German missionaries at Onerunka in 1933. Some residents of Sonofi claimed that cargo ideology had in fact been introduced by Lutheran-trained catechists from Finschhafen who entered the region in 1934-35.

Described briefly, the Kamano experienced the cult as a contagious type of spiritual possession in which the ghosts of dead parents and grandparents entered the bodies of their descendants and suggested various ways of attaining new types of weapons and possessions. Different theories linked these ancestors to Europeans in various relationships. For some, the Europeans were the returning ancestors themselves; for others, they were intermediaries who were monopolizing wealth sent by the ancestors.¹

¹For a fuller account of cult ideology see p. 323-333.

Frequently, a central aspect of cult activity was the construction of a large house (called a "store") in which an attempt was made to conjure up the new wealth of Europeans/ancestors. At this or some other significant site within the village, the small clan-hamlets were then gathered into a single, large "house-line." In Sonofi, this residential consolidation was at first linked with cult ritual, and later with the expectation that a church could be built in a centralized village:

When the "ghost-thing" came we built a big house-line in Kekerenonka. We worked day and night and finished building it quickly. There had been a huge garden there, but we dug it out and built the house-line in its place. [Why did you build this house-line?] They said if you build a house-line, a church would come there. But then enemies from Afamu, Bobonabe, and Jagonofi brought the police and attacked us.

The residential shift described here encompassed all three of Sonofi's clans. Two large men's houses were constructed at the ends of the house-line, with individual women's houses filling in the space between them. On a hill overlooking this new village, the cult leaders built their houses and addressed their followers in a mixture of Kamano and magical, but incomprehensible *tok pisin*. When neighboring villages enlisted the help of police in a vengeance raid on Sonofi, villagers retreated to caves from which they could defend themselves, but eventually split up and fled to allied villages.

Even after the demise of the cults, villages continued to mass around centers of colonial power. In addition to churches, rural police posts and the "rest house" built for passing patrols became the sites of the new concentrated villages. This dynamic is most dramatically illustrated by the eagerness with which villagers built roads in the Sonofi area:

It is indeed pleasing to note that the natives are taking such interest in their roads. On the other hand it is not considered that such work should be carried out to excess. This is the case as regards to Bobinapi-Sonafi road where natives have been attempting to construct a jeep road through difficult, heavily timbered country, entailing the felling of trees and the removal of stumps and roots . . . and all to no purpose, for the road leads to nowhere in particular. (Goroka Patrol Report #6 1945/46)

While road-building became an important aspect of colonial interactions at a later date, the villagers' premature efforts reflected a symbolic attempt to construct lines of communication with the new and mysterious power of white men. Once extended and properly articulated with other roads, this road quickly began to serve as a primary marker for orienting new settlements.

The various forces promoting village centralization as a response to colonialism produced a social dichotomy between these new "village dwellers" and more conservative "hamlet dwellers" (Goroka Patrol Report #15 1952/53). Translated further into colonial terms and interests, this distinction developed between people residing in valleys

and near the roads who evinced some concern with "economic development" and people living off in the bush whose paths, hamlets, and root houses were in "poor condition" (Goroka Patrol Report #3 1953/54). Reflecting the patrol officers' desire for "proper villages," local leaders and police from other areas of the country sometimes burnt outlying houses and hamlets (C. Berndt 1953:123). Seen in this light, the new, larger villages situated on roads represented a convergence of cultural interests. They aligned colonial needs to establish order and promote development with indigenous motivations to appropriate a new kind of power. Indeed, the thought on which cargo cults were based merged easily with concepts of development. The distinction between magical and secular means for attaining wealth that is so relevant to the western frame of reference is virtually insignificant to the Kamano. Thus, the concept of uvatega includes both sorcery and poison without distinction. Similarly, the one man designated to me as a successful cult leader and said to have discovered the secrets of cargo had achieved this by becoming a rural entrepreneur.¹

The consolidation of the village was paralleled by a second type of transformation in village structure. According to government estimates, the men's house organization in southern Kamano villages began to be superseded by individual

¹See pp. 330-333.

family dwellings in 1950 (Kainantu Patrol Report #6 1964/65). By 1954, this metamorphosis was complete (Kainantu Patrol Report #2 1953/54). While there is little mention of this process in patrol reports, villagers recall an active campaign by government and missions to eradicate sorcery. This campaign was focused on the men's house where the ingredients used in sorcery were kept and where intervillage conflict was planned and initiated.

In a less direct manner, pacification also led to the demise of the men's house by rendering obsolete the role of the warrior-leader. The Kamano term for such a leader--anumuya bahe or "center-post man"-- was indicative of his social position as the main structural support of the men's house. Just as the center-post held together the men's house, it was said, so the center-post man held the village together. Indeed, after a battle in which the center-post man was slain, the village fragmented into its component "lines" (nofi) and scattered to various allied villages. Following a period of exile, a new center-post man was the first to return to the land to build his house and summon back his co-villagers. The end of warfare undercut the role of the center-post man and the centripetal cohesion he represented. Residential patterns reflected this shift by replacing the collective men's house by smaller nuclear and extended family dwellings.

An additional cultural assault on the men's house was directed against rituals that marked the distinction between male and female. The missions especially attacked male initiations and the sacred flutes in this campaign. By exposing the secrets of these rituals to women and children, and actively desecrating the bamboo flutes by using them as cooking containers, missionaries acted to destroy the mystical cement of the village's collective male presence.

The missions' attempts to substitute themselves for the men's house as the central power in the village was combined with pressure to dismantle traditional social units into nuclear families. As the main obstacle to this goal, polygyny was especially singled out for attack. Along with "high pressure sales talks of Hell, fire and brimstone," the missions used their power to deny baptism to enforce their ban on polygyny (Goroka Patrol Report #6 1949/50). Although opposed vociferously by patrol officers, mission representatives were also able to exploit the ambiguity inherent in the colonial situation to threaten recalcitrant villagers with imprisonment if they failed to comply:

Apparently Christianity and humanity are not compatible in the mind of native missions, as the sending of women and children away from their husbands and fathers respectively, to live like pigs in the bush, is far from humane. The husbands of the women were called in and they asserted that they had no desire to lose their wives and children but as no "Kiap" had been around to tell them differently, they had accepted the native mission's word that it was against the

law to have more than one wife. (Kainantu Patrol Report #3 1948/49)

Estranged wives either rejoined their husbands under government sanction, married other polygamists, went to live with married children, or sued for support through village courts.

The social transformation from a society based on nominal patrilineal, male age groupings, and peripheral women to one that emphasized nuclear and extended families was especially manifested in residence. Replacing the collective men's house (joraga'no) and individual women's houses (keme'no) were generic houses (no or none) in which husband, wife, children, and assorted relatives all live together. New types of houses were also developed to meet functions once filled by the men's house. The "fire-house" (tevenone) emerged as a large house in which people meet for collective discussions. Similarly, adolescent boys, wishing to live together and away from the dangerous feminine presence of mother and sisters, began to build or appropriate a "young man's house" (neheya no) (Kainantu Patrol Report #2 1953/54). For women, the menstrual hut (namu no) still remains a constant feature in all Kamano villages. The "young girls' house" (mofa'ne no)--a house once used by adolescent girls where they could freely receive lovers--fell victim to mission morality.

A final indication of the social transformations of the early 1950s occurred in architecture. Traditional

men's and women's houses were generally circular or oval, with low walls and conical roofs culminating in a central, vertical pole. In building their new houses, however, villagers adopted the western-type rectangular houses with high walls and gable roofs supported by a ridge pole. According to one estimate from this period, up to 90 percent of newly constructed houses were being built in this manner (Goroka Patrol Report #4 1951/52).

In order to trace the social/residential transformations that occurred after this period, it will be useful to focus on the village of Sonofi. The social composition of Sonofi has shifted greatly from before contact to the present day, with clans immigrating and emigrating in response to various historical and cultural vicissitudes. It is this inherent fluctuation that has led Mandeville (1979:112) to characterize Kamano villages as "houses which retain their names, position in space and some constant relationships with other houses and their occupants, while the occupants themselves change." While an attempt can be made to chronicle historical changes in social content, it is at best an approximation. Each big-man tended to report village history from his own perspective and in a way that maximized the primacy of his clan's claim to the land. This account will, however, do much to illustrate the forces affecting social transformation.

When Europeans first entered the Sonofi area, the village was composed of three clans: Jubinofi, Abaninofi, and Namunkinofi. While Jubinofi claimed to be indigenous to the land, both Abaninofi and Namunkinofi had but recently invaded the area, with the latter clan getting its name from chasing the village of Beneganamonka to its present site on the no-man's land between two other villages. These three clans lived in two men's houses, the first including Namunkinofi and Jubinofi, and the second controlled by Abaninofi. Yababi, a Keyegana-speaking village that had been chased off of its land in the Fore area, was also currently residing at Sonofi. During the Second World War, a fourth clan (Bantanemo) was incorporated into Sonofi and moved from a valley immediately south of the village. Bantanemo was said to have been "pulled" to the village by big-men trying to build up Sonofi's military strength. The alliance was cemented when they gave the new clan a sister in marriage. A third men's house was formed when Jubinofi went to live with Bantanemo.

Immediately following World War II, the village of Yababi left its wartime refuge in Sonofi when a village about four miles to the south offered them a large tract of land (Kainantu Patrol Report #K5 1947/48). Yababi and Sonofi are still considered strong allies. This period also saw the incorporation of Henganofi--a clan fleeing intra-village fighting and sorcery in an area northeast

of Sonofi. Henganofi came to occupy the land in between Sonofi and its southern neighbor/enemy with the village affiliation of "lines" within the clan divided between the two. The process of pacification that occurred at this time enabled other of Sonofi's "small-lines" to return from villages where they had fled as refugees. Describing his role as a "center-post man" during this period, one informant spoke of recruiting these lines along with Sonofi's sixth clan--Hayanofi. Previously, Hayanofi had alternatively been affiliated with Sonofi and its northwestern neighbor:

When the enemies came, some people from Sonofi fled to Kompri--others to Oiyana. After I married, I brought my father and we built a house at Keker-enonka. I sang out to Oiyana and Kompri and they all returned. I pulled them. I brought these men and they all remained. Hayanofi was at Kompri. Now the fighting was over and they also came back.

A similar statement was made by this big-man's son in describing how, as Local Government Councillor, he succeeded in recruiting Sonofi's seventh clan--also called Henganofi:¹

In 1971 I sang out for Henganofi to come. [Why?] This is their root-land. I was the *Kaunsil* and I sang out to them--"It's not good for you to live far away. When you want to plant a garden,

¹While there are two clans in Sonofi called Henganofi, they are not seen as related by descent. Henganofi ("last line") is often posed against Ranofi ("big line") to distinguish two lines conceptualized as descended from younger and older brothers. Clans called Henganofi appear in many villages without their being a relationship posited between them.

they tell you it's not your land. You must come back and bear many children here."

In this brief account of Sonofi's history, warfare stands out as the main force motivating social migration. Whether the conflict occurred between villages or between the clans of a single village, the effect was similar. In the former case, the "lines" of a village scattered and sought refuge with their allies, while in the latter it is only one clan that was routed. Recruitment to the host village was also an outgrowth of warfare in that it augmented their military strength. While pacification removed warfare and allowed some "lines" to return to their home villages, sorcery expanded to maintain the basis of conflict between social units. In both situations, the exploitation of these forces was a basis of political power.

Land in these accounts functions as a symbolic object that indexes the underlying social relationships. Of particular importance is the opposition posed between "root-land" (mopa rafa) and land offered for usufructuary exploitation. Strictly interpreted, "root-land" refers to land that has undergone at least one or two generations of patrilineal inheritance. Claims to such land are made by planting target leaf markers or through one's inherited rights to pandanus trees located on the property. Where inheritance is reinforced by active usage, land rights are virtually inviolable. If, however, the land is allowed

to lie fallow for excessive periods of time, and a second person plants a garden on it (with or without permission), the labor he performs provides the basis for a conflicting claim. Such conflict was traditionally settled by force of arms and is today adjudicated through village or land courts. The possibility of compensation offers a compromise that was unavailable previously.

With regard to social migration, the concept of "root-land" is a conservative force that represents one's ties to the paternal village. To garden actively on inherited land is seen by villagers as a responsibility that helps the village prevent usufructuary encroachment by neighbors. In this way, the call to reassert rights to "root-land" has a strong psychological impact on emigrants and is used wherever possible by leaders bent on recruitment. When land is lent to immigrants it is a brittle contract that underlines their tenuous position in the community:

In the old days, you were a big-man in your village. But then there would be fighting and the enemy would chase you to another area. There, without your land, you would be reduced to a boy--you could not talk.

Especially before the immigrant's claim to land is solidified through one or two generations of inheritance, it remains a weak link on which any intra-village conflict that might arise can be focused. After this time, the immigrant's line is more fully incorporated into the village family as indicated by the use of patrilineal kinship termin-

ology and their rights to the village estate. This does not, however, preclude their subservient position as refugees being used against them when tempers flare. During the court case in which Abaninofi accused men of Hayanofi with complicity in murdering one of their young men, a big-man yelled angrily:

The root of this case emerges now. This isn't your land. Your land isn't down here--it's us in the hills. We said you could come and live with us, but you come and poison our children. In wartime, you came inside Sonofi--you couldn't hold your own land. We gave you land. Now it's a good time and there's no more fighting. You went up to live on your own land again. Now you become arrogant and try to kill our children.

Following the transformations in village structure that occurred in the early 1950s, the next major change involved a process of hamletization. During this process, the village was transformed from a single multi-clan settlement to a series of hamlets scattered over the village's land. Villagers date this shift to the advent of the Local government Councils in 1962 and commemorated it by naming the newly born brother of the *Kaunsil*, Lenkegahupme. The root of this name--lenkegahu--described the process in which, following a military defeat, the survivors broke down into "small-lines" and fled to the village of their allies.

Hamletization was precipitated when colonial policy created an imbalance between centripetal and centrifugal forces in Kamano culture. By discouraging the men's house and outlawing warfare, the government and missions removed

both the structural form of village solidarity and its defensive raison d'être. The association of the process with the first steps in establishing self-government reflects the symbolic disempowering of the colonial bodies that had attempted to act as central powers in Kamano society. While mission churches and government patrols continued during this period, they were no longer invested with the structure or authority they once possessed.

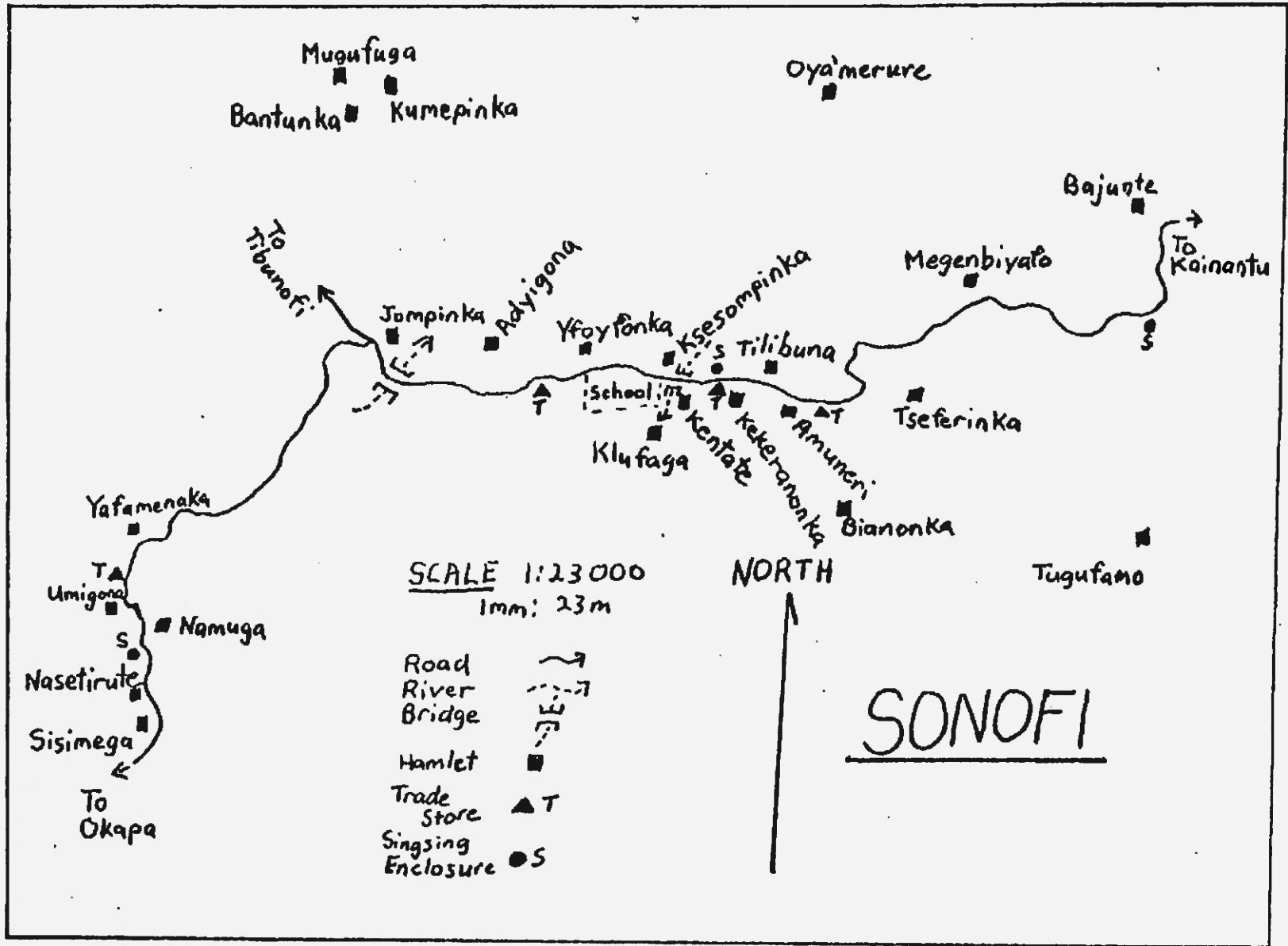
With centripetal social forces neutralized, the centrifugal tendencies that had always been present within the villages were given free reign. Informants offered many short-term conflicts as reasons for the residential fragmentation. One man attributed the shift toward hamlets to complaints by women over the theft of pigs and peanuts. On the more serious end of the continuum were accusations of murder through the use of sorcery and disagreements over exacting vengeance. While sorcery is not normatively performed within the village, suspicion is ubiquitous and surfaces in the form of rumor and accusation. Enemy villages are known to bribe people to kill co-villagers from other clans or to obtain their body substances and food for such spells. The secrecy and ambiguity surrounding sorcery as a phenomenon make these accusations difficult to disprove. Before pacification, such activity led to clans being chased off their land and eventually shifting their village affiliation. Hamletization provided a social adaptation to this

internal stress that reduced cohesiveness while maintaining village identity.

A more passive and diffuse force promoting hamletization was the desire to be closer to gardening land. In addition to making the site of daily labor more accessible, moving out to live on clan lands created an active presence that prevented other clans or villages from establishing conflicting claims of land ownership. With inheritance, conquest, and migration serving as the basis of rights to land, there is considerable overlap in land claims. The act of building a hamlet near a tract of garden land provides the necessary active component to land claims that pre-empts potential rivals.

While pacification, and then self-government, fostered the emergence of these centrifugal forces in Kamano society, the resulting residential fragmentation was held in check by the emergence of a new centripetal focus. Rather than scattering over the village's territory, hamlets were strung out along the Kainantu-Okapa road that bisects Sonofi (see figure 4). The importance of the road in selecting residential sites reflected both the growing significance of the town for villagers, as well as the desire to facilitate socializing within the village itself. Economic factors are also of import. Roughly paralleling the Ramu River, the road cuts through the best irrigated land that is most desirable for growing coffee. In addition, coffee beans are purchased

Fig. 4. The alignment of Sonofi's hamlets along the Kainantu-Okapa Road.



from villagers by trucks coming from nearby towns and cities. The central gathering places of most villages are located near the Village Court House or a local trade store that are always located near the road.

To some extent, the orientation of the villages to the road and its adjacent coffee gardens reflects the villagers' concerns with the concepts of *bisnis* and *divelepmen*. While poorly understood by all but political officials, these linked concepts are associated by villagers to earning money and eventually presiding over various petit-bourgeois concerns (e.g., owning trucks, selling produce and poultry, running a trade store). Earning some money has become a requisite of village life in order to buy clothing, tools, and special foods. Money has moreover become the main form of wealth used in life-cycle payments. Although it has not yet come to dominate the subsistence production as the basis of the society, its looming importance is felt as an attraction to be near a new source of power.

Two contemporary examples will help to illustrate how these two sets of social forces come into conflict in selecting sites for hamlets.

1) Bagimo, a 32 year old Bantanomo man, had lived for most of his life in Tugufamo--his father's hamlet located some distance from the road. Recently, he had built a house on land next to the river and road, and had then been joined by his younger brother and two of his father's younger brothers in establishing the hamlet of Tseferinka. Since it is felt that every hamlet should have at least one "big-man" to supervise

activity and carry out the garden rituals necessary for the crops to grow, Tseferinka was seen as something of an anomaly. In explaining why he initiated the move Bagimo said, "I wanted to live near the road. [Why?] Only old people live in Tugufamo. Young men would never come and visit. They passed me by. I wanted to live closer."

2) Jamao--related to Bagimo as "age-mate" (nefaru)--lived in the hamlet of Ksesompinka. Ksesompinka is one of the village's larger hamlets and is situated on a hill overlooking both the road and the trade store that serves as the central gathering place for Sonofi. During my stay, Jamao began to cultivate Tsafinke--a garden site bequeathed to him by his genitor. Tsafinke was a hard hour's walk into the bush and was located near old hamlet sites where Oronofi had lived before invading their present location. Afraid that the neighboring clan of Hayanofi would begin to encroach on this land, Jamao tried to convince several of his clan-brothers to establish a hamlet and began gardening at the site. These men responded that they wanted to stay near their coffee gardens and the road. Jamao went on to suggest that they could live at Tsafinke a few days a week and thus remain actively involved in both areas, but was again refused.

About two weeks later, and following the death of a prominent Jagonofi man, Jamao's genitor distributed cooked wing-beans to Oronofi and other nearby clans. His speech dealt with various issues including the land near Tsafinke.¹ Before he died, he wanted to show the young men which parcels of land were theirs and warned that if this was not done, some other old man will claim the land and they would be powerless to contest this. Jamao added, "We don't have tangets or casuarina trees to mark the land. Our grandfathers gardened this land and we must go up and mark it. Otherwise, if all the old men die, we'll never know which is our land--there won't be any boundary markers. We must mark the gardens, but we don't do this. We sit here and do nothing."

¹The details of this speech can be found on pp. 278-279.

In these examples, the two protagonists are of identical age and similar social position within the village. Their attempts to establish new hamlets represent responses to the same set of cultural forces, but within this structural framework, the first is drawn to the social center while the second tries to move back to the outer borders of his clan land. In the second example, the conflict generated by the interaction of these forces is especially well documented. The need to retain control over clan land is posed directly against the lure of the road and cash cropping.

Table 2 offers a demographic picture of the twenty-five hamlets that currently comprise Sonofi. The sample is fairly well balanced, with the mean hamlet composed of 6.72 households and 25.92 inhabitants. The median hamlet contains six households and has a population of twenty-three. In two of the smallest hamlets (numbers 9 and 10), only two of the houses are permanent residences. Both hamlets are located a bit farther back in the bush and are used on a temporary basis by families whose main residence is in hamlet #8. The main social units living within a hamlet are "small-lines" (osi' nofi), representing families related by patrification and adoption. Exactly which small-lines group together in a single hamlet is governed by patterns of land inheritance and personal preference rather than degrees of kinship relatedness. Personal preference is also expressed by individuals and small families who build their houses close to people they consider friends.

TABLE 2
HAMLET DEMOGRAPHY

Hamlet	Primary Clan Affiliation	Other Clan Present	Number of Households	Popu- lation
1 Bajunte	Henganofi I	---	10	37
2 Megenbiyafo	Henganofi I	---	11	36
3 Oya'merure	Jubunofi	---	3	12
4 Tilibuna	Jubunofi	---	3	19
5 Amuneri	Jubunofi	Bantanemo	6	32
6 Tugufamo	Bantanemo	---	5	12
7 Tseferinka	Bantanemo	---	6	18
8 Bianonka	Bantanemo	---	14	54
9 Afatinonka	Bantanemo	---	1(2) ^a	3(7) ^a
10 Usegofonka	Bantanemo	---	1(4) ^a	5(9) ^a
11 Kekerenonka	Oronofi	Jubunofi, Bantanemo	7	28
12 Klufaga	Oronofi	---	4	11
13 Yfoyfonka	Oronofi	---	9	44
14 Ksesompinka	Abaninofi	Oronofi	13	53
15 Kentate	Abaninofi	Oronofi	6	29
16 Adyigona	Abaninofi	---	6	25
17 Jompinka	Abaninofi	Henganofi II, Hayanofi	12	42
18 Ya famenaka	Henganofi II	---	6	18
19 Umigona	Henganofi II	---	4	15
20 Nasetirute	Henganofi II	---	1	11
21 Namuga	Henganofi II	---	7	27
22 Sisimega	Henganofi II	---	6	23
23 Kumepinka	Hayanofi	---	5	15

TABLE 2--Continued

Hamlet	Primary Clan Affiliation	Other Clans Present	Number of Households	Popu- lation
24 Mugufuga	Hayanofi	---	1	6
25 Bantunka	Hayanofi	---	21	73
Total.			168	648

^aBoth of these hamlets serve as a temporary residence for some of the inhabitants. The first number reflects the number of people living there permanently. The second number adds those people (primarily from Bianonka) who maintain a temporary house here.

The relationship between hamlet and clan structure is complicated on a lesser scale by the same forces that caused hamletization in the first place. Although all hamlets are affiliated with a primary clan, four hamlets include members from one or two other clans (see Table 3). Reasons offered by people to explain this process most often reflect the need to maintain some presence on land they claim by right of inheritance:

It wouldn't be good if our mothers' brothers took our land . . . If they take the land and look after it, they're strong and don't have to give it back.

The hamlet of Kekeranonka, for example, is seen as affiliated with Oronfi, despite the fact that it lies on land claimed by Bantanemo. Bantanemo men explain that Oronfi took this land without permission, but since they did not require it to support their current population,

TABLE 3
SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF HYBRID HAMLETS

Hamlet	Pop. of Primary Clan	Population of Clan 2	Pop. of Clan 3	Total Pop.
Amuneri	Jubunofi 28 (88%)	Bantanemo 4 (12%)	--- ---	32 (100%)
Kekeranonka	Oronofi 17 (61%)	Bantanemo 9 (32%)	Jubunofi 2 (7%)	28 (100%)
Jompinka	Abaninofi 28 (67%)	Haganofi II 9 (21%)	Hayanofi 5 (12%)	42 (100%)
Ksesompinka	Oronofi 20 (38%)	Abaninofi, Nonke 33 (62%)	--- ---	53 (100%)

they allowed this to occur. By maintaining a couple of households in this hamlet, Bantanemo men feel they have a basis to contest this encroachment should it become necessary in the future. The older Jubunofi couple living in Kekeranonka moved to shame the younger men in their clan whom they felt failed to look after them adequately.

An additional factor contributing to the hybridization of hamlets is their proximity to the road. Jompinka is an Abaninofi hamlet situated at the juncture of the main Kainantu-Okapa road and a tertiary road leading up to villages in the northwest. Henganofi II families live there in order to look after gardens they claim in the area. For Hayanofi, however, Jompinka represents the clan's only access to the main road. In order to take advantage of

this, they have activated land claims stemming from their sojourn with Abaninofi as wartime refugees.

When centrifugal social forces continue to act on the already fragmented village to produce hybrid hamlets, this process can ultimately feed back to transform clan structure itself. An example of this is seen in the case of the Nonke subclan of Abaninofi that currently resides in the hamlets of Kentate and Ksesompinka. When Abaninofi men describe the history of their clan, they tell a story of two brothers who lived on a mountain northwest of Sonofi. One day the elder brother gathered firewood and left some of it piled in the house. Returning from the garden, his younger brother used this wood to cook food. The argument that ensued escalated until the younger brother left and went down to settle on the grasslands of the Gafutina Valley. The descendants of these brothers continue to use kinship terms for each other and forbid intermarriage despite their geographic separation.

The process of hamletization allowed a similar clan segmentation to occur within Sonofi. Prior to pacification, the clans of Abaninofi and Namunkanofi were closely associated. The men of Abaninofi lived in one large men's house supported by two center posts--one called Mamba and the other Nonke--around which two different subclans were grouped. Following hamletization, Namunkanofi changed its name to Oronofi to reflect their patrilateral ties

with a Gadsup-speaking village to the west. Fairly recently the men of the Mamba and Nonke subclans argued over the distribution of a pig received as a bride price and sugar cane. These arguments precipitated a residential separation in which Nonke came to live in oronofi hamlets on the eastern edge of their clan lands. Today, the men of Nonke claim affiliation with both Abaninofi (through descent) and Oronofi (through daily interactions). One man compared their position to that of "half-castes" (*hapkas*, the offspring of Europeans and Papua New Guineans). When they share wealth, they divide it with both clans.

The role of hamletization in this process is to more easily allow the creation of subclans which, as in this example, could result in a realignment of clans. In the act of founding a new hamlet, a brother or half-brother creates the potential for the formation of a new subclan or clan. While traditionally clan segmentation occurred during a military rout and might be sustained as the basis of an alliance between villages, the existence of hamlets enables this process to occur within the village itself.

In addition to its effect on the nature of clans, the social fragmentation engendered by hamletization can also alter kinship relations. A good example of this is seen in the use of affinal terms within the village. The term negru' is used in both address and reference to refer to one's brothers-in-law (both WB and ZH). Inherent in

the negru' tie is a taboo on using names, ongoing economic responsibilities, and overt enmity. The basis of using affinal terminology is participation in the marriage contract either by contributing to the gift of an outmarrying women or by eating some of the pork received in bridewealth. When the bride and groom are from two different villages, the negru' term can be used by the entire generation of village siblings as a term of address. Within the village, the hostility associated with affinity conflicts with the normative amity expected from village brothers. Traditionally, this contradiction was resolved by limiting the use of the negru' term to the actual WB and ZH, with other siblings in the "small-line" retaining the sibling terms. Today, however, an opposition is made between "close" and "distant" hamlets. Marriages contracted with distant hamlets are treated as if they were different villages, in that all members of the "small-line" used the negru' term. Just as hamletization transformed clan segmentation from an intervillage to an intravillage process, so it allowed affinal relationships to acquire a collective basis within the village.

With regard to architecture, contemporary styles represent an amalgamation of indigenous and Western forms. Roughly two-thirds of Sonofi's houses are circular and have conical roofs. They look much like traditional houses, but for their relatively high walls and neatly trimmed

roof grass. The remaining third are square or rectangular, but only a few are constructed with a ridge-pole to support the roof. More common is a four-sided roof meeting at a point that is more traditional in style.

While the dissolution of the men's house reflected radical changes in social structure, many of the important features associated with the male/female opposition have been transposed to contemporary house structure (see Figure 5). The interior of the house is divided into two parts, with the axis bisecting door and hearth. These two sides--the "male's side" (be bahe tega) and the "female's side" (a'bahe tega)--each contain a raised platform used as a bed and are not consistently situated to one side of the door or the other. Male and female members of the household sleep separately except for children under the age of four or five who can sleep on either bed. When a couple wishes to have sexual intercourse during the night, the man always comes to the woman's bed. Food is never placed on the woman's bed for fear that it will become tainted by sexuality and render men sick and weak.

By structuring their houses in this way, Kamano villagers retain the social distinctions once incorporated in separate men's and women's houses. Men traditionally prepared food and ate in the men's house. Nocturnal visits to individual women's houses for sexual contact were carried out secretively, and if discovered by older men, became

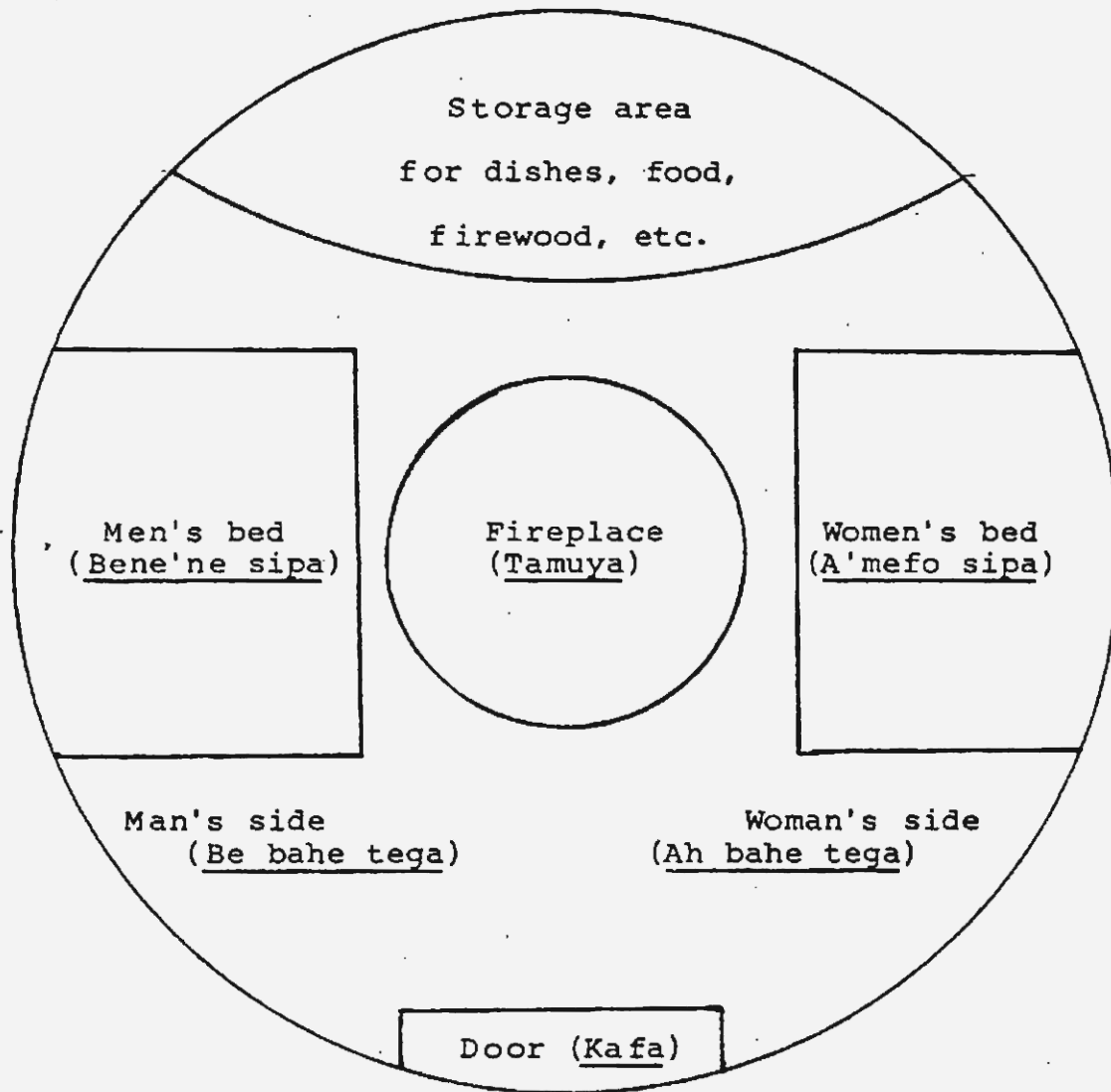


Fig. 5. Contemporary House Structure

the subject of diatribe designed to shame a man for allowing this debilitating influence. The destruction of the men's house certainly weakened the structured analogy between male/female and center/periphery. The mores surrounding sexuality and eating, however, are maintained and reduced in scope. Meaning once associated with the distance between men's houses and the scattered houses of their wives is now applied to the distance between separate beds in nuclear family houses.

As is often the case, this historical transposition of structural distance does not create an exact substitution. Adolescent boys, most notably, find themselves in the difficult position of being increasingly vulnerable to the dangers of women and sexuality, and yet are expected to sleep in the house of their parents or married brothers. Where once boys slept together in a separate room within the men's house (see Figure 3), they now seek out alternatives when they are available. In Sonofi, adolescent boys grouped together to sleep in trade stores and houses used for storage, and following the completion of a dance enclosure, used the stalls as a makeshift *haus boi*. One young man built himself a separate bed in his brother's house. Temporary migration to Port Moresby is yet another adaption made by boys of this age to escape their problematic situation.

The transformation of residence can be seen as a process in which the vicissitudes of post-colonial history

alter the relationship between the social categories and groupings that form the basis of Kamano social structure. In this process, various elements of meaning associated with these categories are de-emphasized while others are reaffirmed by the addition of new types of meaning emerging from the colonial interaction. These shifts in the domain of meaning in turn feed back to change the relative alignment of the categories so that now one and then another emerge as the prominent form of residence at any one time. In Saussurian terms, colonialism transforms the relationship of signification between social categories and their meanings in a manner that alters their relative value to one another. The remainder of this chapter will attempt to illustrate this process with regard to residence.

The Kamano categories relevant to this discussion can be divided into three classes. The first represents a general way of classifying social groupings and consists of the terms "big-name" (ara agi') and "small-name" (osi' agi'). These terms can be used to describe both social and residential groupings as they are relatively valued to other groupings in their domains. Within the domain of residential units, these concepts are translated around the term for village (kuma). "Small village" (osi' kuma) is used to describe a hamlet, while the term "big village" (ara kuma) describes a large village or group of hamlets. In terms of social units, the central terms are "line"

(nofi) or "clan" (naga). A "small line" (osi' nofi) usually refers to a patriline,¹ a "line" refers to a clan, while "large line" (ara nofire) describes the group of clans grouped together at any one time within the village. These concepts are somewhat fluid depending on the context of the discussion. Thus, a speaker sometimes refers to a clan as a "small line" when the comparison is being made to the large group of clans comprising a village.

Traditionally, groups corresponding to each of these categories emerged as prominent in different stages of the military cycle. Under the impetus of a prolonged series of battles (or natural/supernatural emergencies) the entire "large line" would gather in a central village containing two or more men's houses. The ability to cooperate in military defense was the cultural basis of this unit. During periods of truce, the nonmilitary centrifugal forces--the need to defend land claims and various forms of intravillage conflict--would cause a gradual separation of the village into separate clans, each residing in its own hamlet. The men's house was the basis of solidarity at this level. Finally, when the village was militarily overwhelmed, "small lines" would scatter to garden houses and eventually seek refuge in the villages of allies. At this point, kinship

¹Other terms used for these units are "one line" (nogo nofire) and "another line" (aru nofire).

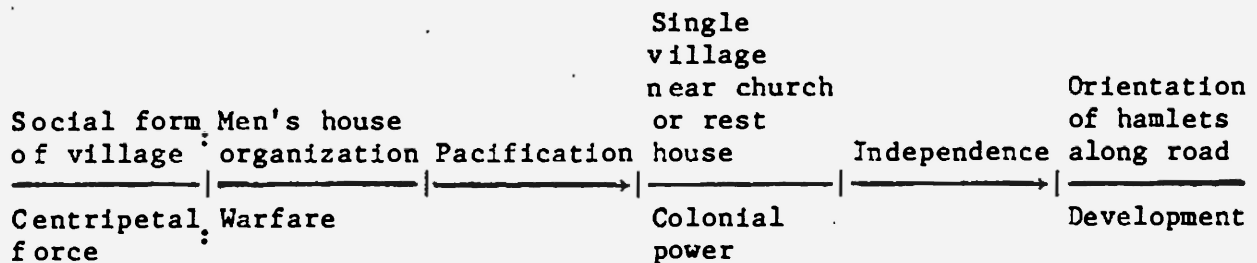
became the marked cultural force both in defining a big-man and his descendants and as the basis for acceptance by potential allies.

Pacification disrupted this alignment of social categories by negating a crucial element of meaning. Since warfare had been the main force motivating social fragmentation and reconstitution, it weakened groupings at both ends of the social continuum. At the highest level of social organization, the repression of warfare removed the functional basis for village cohesion and was instrumental in the dissolution of the men's house. At the opposite extreme, it removed one basis of village fragmentation. But if colonialism undermined parts of the social system, it also introduced institutions that gave new meaning to Kamano categories. When they regrouped villages around rest houses and churches, colonial representatives reinvented the centripetal forces they had destroyed by outlawing warfare. The contraction of the villages and sporadic cargo cult activity testified to the villagers' affiliation to these symbols. With its reference transformed, the centralized village rose in value with relation to other societal categories.

The granting of self-government and independence reduced the credibility of those colonial symbols. In response, the village began to break down and disperse into hamlets inhabited by smaller social units; a process

likened by villagers to the fragmentation that traditionally followed military defeat. While the Papua New Guinean government offers a new centripetal force in the form of "development" and its pull toward cash cropping, wage labor, and towns, this is still relatively weak for rural dwellers. Moreover, the power of such concepts is not concentrated at one central place within the village, but rather emerges as an orientation of hamlets along the road. The road itself becomes the primary rural symbol of modernization.

The historical transformation of residence distilled from these descriptions is a process in which social symbols external to the society are grafted onto an already existing social structure. Few of these symbols were directly associated with the society's centrifugal impetus and smaller groupings. Instead, it was the social forms and meanings involved with centripetal cohesion that became a template for colonial and then national affiliation. The following diagram portrays this process in which new forces and forms were substituted for old:



It should be noted that this process is not entirely conservative. By associating external symbols with traditional categories, these categories are themselves transformed. Traditional villages with their men's house organization are not the same as "mission villages" or today's grouped hamlets. Just as the symbolic complexes promoting centripetal cohesion changes, so did their associated social forms. Part of this transformation can be attributed to the nature of these imposed symbols. The pull of modernization represented in the road does not provide the same kind of forces as a village mission. In addition, however, this change in signification affects the relative strength of the village to withstand its inherent centrifugal forces. The traditional village was able to remain intact only to the extent it remained militarily viable. Similarly, the relatively weak force exerted by the concept of development is not yet sufficient to prevent hamletization.

The picture presented by residential structures in contemporary Kamano villages is one of moderate fragmentation. Hamlets, "small-lines," and families are emphasized at the expense of villages, clans, and "big-lines." Village solidarity emerges openly only in the few remaining contexts where villages confront each other either in celebration (singsings) or death (funerals). With these social categories, temporarily in the background, any kind of concerted action becomes difficult while intravillage conflict is rife.

It would be an error, however, to assume that this trend is irreversible. If socioeconomic development were to become more relevant for rural dwellers, it is quite possible that larger social groupings would acquire added importance. Already there is an inkling of this in the fantasies of some big-men and high school graduates who wish to revive the men's house. Sonofi's Local Government Councilor contrasted this possibility with the relative anarchy of contemporary life:

Now everyone lives separately and each man does what he wants. The men's house would be a good thing. If everyone sat down in one place, there would be one center-post man and we would all follow his talk. He would say, "Let's do this tomorrow," and we would support him.

CHAPTER IV

CELEBRATION AND DEATH: THE TRANSFORMATION OF INTERVILLAGE GATHERINGS

In a society that has lost much of its public ritual, dawn-to-dusk "singsings" stand out as one of the few arenas in which Kamano villagers express pride in traditional cultural forms. Singsings (obofine or namafine) are secular celebrations involving up to 1,500 participants from several different villages who gather to sing, dance, drink, strut, court, and fight. They are held about once a week in different villages between the months of June and January.

The motivation to host a singsing can come from many sources within the village. In general, men are expected to reciprocate invitations they have received in the past. As singsings are expected to take a profit from admission monies, material interests also enter into the planning. The primary host, called the "father of the singsing," is expected to provide pigs and lay out money for the purchase of beer, rice, and canned fish and meat. In exchange for feeding the dancers from other villages, he receives all the money taken at the gate. Initial outlays can exceed K300. When an individual acts as primary host, the resulting

profit is his to do with as he pleases. Sometimes, however, this role is taken on by a church official or the Local Government Councilor in order to raise money for a community project. In one case, the annual tax collection was made more palatable in this fashion. Other villagers buy beer, cigarettes, tobacco, and coffee, and prepare various dishes which they can then sell at a profit to dancers and onlookers alike.

If one is not already in existence, the hosts must then construct a dance enclosure (abonone). For a smaller village, one such structure is sufficient to serve the entire community. In Sonofi, however, there were three--each associated with between one and four neighboring clans. A dance ring encloses a roughly circular space with a diameter of approximately two hundred feet. Around the periphery is a continuous line of stalls about six feet deep, giving the entire structure the appearance of a wheel rim. Once the circumference has been marked off by a group of men, the actual construction of separate booths is undertaken by the small groupings of clan-brothers and fathers who will eventually use them. Each stall is about ten feet long and is walled on three sides. The fourth side, facing the danceground, is built with an entranceway, and a half-wall and counter on which provisions can be marketed. As with regular houses, the walls are constructed with woven *pitpit* (Micanthus floridulus) over a framework of wood posts,

and the roofs are thatched with sword grass (Imperata cylindrica).

After the initial preparations are set in motion, the primary host consults with co-villagers to set a date for the singsing and to specify those villages to receive formal invitations. Singsings are most often held on weekend nights, both to coincide with mission-designated days of rest and to allow people employed in Kainantu or on coffee plantations time to return to the village. It is not an uncommon occurrence that various circumstances will cause a singsing to be postponed. To hold a celebration too soon after a death in a nearby village, for example, would be seen as tantamount to admitting guilt in the deceased's slaying via sorcery. Sometimes in such a situation, special permission is granted by the grieving clan for the singsing to continue as planned.

Although anyone can attend a singsing as an onlooker, formal invitations are extended to a handful of villages that are related to the host clans as affines. These villages are expected to send a large contingent of decorated dancers and to pay a large collective admission. Most often, the invitation is conveyed by a clan-sister who has married into the host village. Alternatively, a passing PMV truck will pull up to a village gathering spot and a member of the host-clan will cry out the invitation to the assembled men. As guests are expected to reciprocate this invitation

at a later date, an independent exchange system is established during this process. Singsings also, however, tie into the ongoing reciprocity begun with marital exchanges. Thus, during the distribution of wealth following the death of a brother's wife, a big-man told her kin and other recipients that, instead of reciprocating with food, they should come to his village's singsings and pay admission.

On the morning of the singsing, men go to the bush to collect the materials used to make the decorative standards that the young men will wear while dancing. Namayafa (literally "bird-tree") are cloth-covered wooden structures, ranging in size from three to twenty feet high, that are adorned with feathers and strapped to the backs of the dancers. Lengths of light balsa-like wood are brought to the village along with tree trunks (Gnetum gnemon) from which a kind of light-colored tapa cloth is beaten. Alternatively, cloth rice bags or any other light material or paper is used to cover the standard's wooden "bones." Other materials collected at this time include clay which is used to reseal opossum skins onto the heads of drums, and leaves to be processed into paint.

As men begin to gather at a selected site, either in a hamlet or near the river, discussions ensue over what kind of decorations are to be used. The more vocal big-men take the leading role in these exchanges and ultimately formulate a decision. Dance standards come in many different

shapes and sizes. Some, like the "tall bird-trees" (ya'ya namayafa), are said to have little representational meaning. Other types are shaped to look like specific kinds of plants, trees, or birds.¹ The choice of such a theme for decoration does not constrain dancers from other subclans or clans from selecting different motifs.

Excitement mounts over the course of the day as more and more men gather to help with the decorations. From hilltop hamlets come the bursts of rhythmic pounding produced by men in the process of readjusting their drum heads and the small wads of tree sap or chewing gum mixed with ash that give the skins a sharper reverberation. Drums are carved from a single piece of wood from two to three feet in length. Once the outer hourglass shape of the drum has been obtained, the compartments at either end are carefully hollowed out. The last step in sculpting the drum's shell comes when the maker pierces the "neck" that joins the drum's two halves. While he does this, he calls out the name of "strong" village women who are known for their sharp tongues and ability to talk back to their husbands. In this way, it is hoped that the drum will "call out to all men."

¹ In the past, there is evidence that most decorative standards were to some degree representational. C. Berndt (1959) describes several motifs taken from traditional and colonial contexts. It would seem that some of this meaning has been lost by contemporary villagers.

After the cloth coverings are tied onto the standard's wooden framework, they are decorated with red and black paint. Black paint is made by combining melted pig fat with carbon taken from either cinders or used batteries, and when applied to decorations is called "old man's shit" (oyafa rifa). A plant called fitu is boiled to produce red paint, which in this context is called "old woman's shit" (trababa rifa). Old men play the main role in designating which motifs will be used. The primary elements of these designs are loosely representational:

Brompe. Diamond and triangular blocks running down the center of the standard that are said to resemble the long "tails" hanging down behind men's bark skirts.

Tuture. Dots used mainly to fill in borders that represent the small holes pierced into the tips of women's noses to hold decorative quills.

Hofa yankuna. A design that portrays the leaves of one kind of edible green.

The final decorations affixed to the standards are feathers--the "birds" of the "bird-tree." The long, thin, black feathers of the cassowary are plaited onto a rope which is then wrapped around the center post of the standard above the main section. Along the sides and on top of the structure are placed white feathers measuring from one to three feet and mounted onto decorated wooden blocks and long metal springs. When tied to the back of

young men, the feathers bob up and down in time to the drumbeat and the bouncing movement of the dancers.

These feathers, along with other types of decorations, are owned by the old men. They are treasured possessions that bring their owners great pride:

Sitting in his hut during the evenings, after my wife and I had recorded a story or conducted an interview, Sa'ako would pull over the old suitcase that sat at the foot of his bed. One by one, he would unwrap his decorations and show them to us, proudly grinning as we savored their beauty. The barbs of each white feather would be smoothed out and replaced between the pages of books or rewrapped in newspapers. Those already mounted on springs, and called amou'ya, he would bounce up and down to show us how they would look on the top of namayafa or in the hair of dancers. Other feathers--mainly in bright blues and greens--had been affixed to stiff headbands in such a way that they would fan out diagonally from the brow. The longer bird-of-paradise plumes, acquired by trade or purchase from Chimbu or Western Highlanders, were kept in long bamboo containers hanging on the side of the hut.

Other decorations exhibited proudly to us by Sa'ako were necklaces made of dogs' teeth and curved boar tusks and various ornaments made with shells either traded up from the coast in the old days or acquired by men on their sojourns to Port Moresby. The most impressive of these were the fafana--large chest decorations made of dangling segments of plaited twine onto which small cowrie shells (fanto) have been sewn into patterns and suspended from a sheathed stick with large cowries (ksena) affixed to both ends. Both these and the plaited headbands (also named fanto for the cowries sewn onto them) were colored in reds and blues. Crescent-shaped mother-of-pearl shells, smoothed pig bones to be worn through the septum, and plaited arm and leg bands were other decorations stored in Sa'ako's suitcase.

Like most forms of wealth in the Highlands, the value of singsing decorations is realized in distribution. For, while old men own the ornaments

and feathers, they do not wear them at the dances. Instead, before each singsing in which his clan participated, Sa'ako would pull out his suitcase and carefully designate which ornaments he would lend to each of his children. Self-decoration and traditional dress are reserved for the young. There was only one occasion--when the dance was hosted by the village of his wife's brothers and the excitement of Sonofi was especially great--that Sa'ako decorated himself in the old style. As we watched him rehearse, looking splendid and proud, a clan-brother remarked, "Ah, Sa'ako becomes young again tonight."¹

At dusk, people return to their huts to eat a light meal and put the finishing touches on their regalia. They reassemble a couple of hours later to rehearse songs and dances with other village clans that will attend the singsing. This is a time of tremendous excitement as the village's decorated dancers form a large circle facing inward and begin to dance in place in time to the drums and songs. Men, women, and children from nearby hamlets stream down into the clearing, bearing kerosene lanterns or burning bundles of grass, and form a second ring outside that of the dancers to watch and sing along. Inside the circles, old men and married men who have not decorated make slow circuits, stopping frequently to readjust springs so that the feathers are synchronized with the dance. The decorative standards, bound to the backs of dancers with large strips of cloth coming over their shoulders and around their abdomen, are shifted around to achieve a comfortable balance.

¹From my field notes.

Singsing rehearsals are one of the few remaining contexts in which large groups of people from many of Sonofi's clans assemble in one place. The resulting feeling of village solidarity combines with feelings of pride in the number, beauty, and martial bearing of the dancers. People try out various songs composed by village men¹ and, particularly where a motif has been selected, the old men teach traditional variations of dance that accompany it. The rehearsals last an hour or more, and just before the dancers depart, the Local Government Councilor often gives a short speech in which he tells the dancers that, since the hosts are affines, village pride depends on their paying a large amount of money for admission. He goes on to warn that if fights occur, all the dancers and onlookers from Sonofi should gather together and stay inside the dance ring. People are hurt, he says, when they flee individually and can be picked off by enemies. Rather than running away, Sonofi should stay and fight.

As the time to depart nears, many men who had decided not attend the singsing get caught up in the excitement of the rehearsal and return to their huts to grab bows,

¹Kamano songs come from many sources. Some are taken from myth and fable and combined with a particular decorative motif. Others have been composed by villagers--living and dead--to commemorate an event or social conflict. These ballads range in content from mundane to important events and, in tone, from serious to ironic and humorous.

tobacco, and admission money. Unless they have kin in the host village, married women and children generally do not accompany the dancers. Participants from the village begin the walk to the singsing as a group and then gradually string out into several small groups along the road. People sing and joke during the walk, and stop only to regroup and rest when the dance enclosure is in sight.

After a short period of time, the village prepares to make its entrance. A line is formed in front of the admission gate roughly divided into three types of dancers. At the head of the line are the young and married men who are, fully decorated and bear dance standards. Behind them stand adolescent girls and boys, and married men who, while not carrying standards, are otherwise dressed and decorated in traditional style. In addition to the ornaments described above, various types of leaves are added to complete a dancer's regalia. Cordyline leaves are favored in this context and worn hanging down over the brow or crenelated and hung on the upper arm and calf. Flowers are plaited into especially decorative net bags slung over the dancer's back, and small branches of leaves are suspended from their bark skirts.

Under mission influence, young girls always wear brassieres to cover their breasts. Other kinds of Western objects, however, are incorporated solely as decorations and sometimes to replace traditional counterparts. Red

cloth produce sacks are shredded and worn in a way that resembles the traditional male hairstyle of plaited string grafted into thin braids. Multiple strands of brightly colored beads replace bark belts used to cover the lower abdomen. Also utilized in decoration are shredded newspaper and plastic bags, and small Oriental fans. Although seldom worn by Kamano during the day, sunglasses become a nighttime ornament.

Lined up behind the decorated dancers are old and married men who are called bystanders (*pasindia* or "passengers"). These men wear little or no decoration, but like all male dancers, carry either a drum or a bow and several arrows. They dress in day-to-day Western clothes. Among bystanders are usually some Seventh Day Adventists whose church likens singsings to the Old Testament Hebrews' worship of the Golden Calf beneath Mount Sinai and forbids their followers to attend. Some of these followers compromise by coming to the dance, but not dressing or decorating in the old style.

The minimal price for admittance to the singsing is K1 for decorated dancers and 50t for onlookers. This discrepancy occurs because dancers expect to receive sweet potatoes, pork, rice, cigarettes, and beer freely from their hosts while, for the most part, bystanders will buy food at the stalls. Complaints that the hosts did not provide enough food and beer to compensate admission money

are almost inevitable. Above the basic admission price, additional money is paid to assert the stature of an individual and his village. Big-men always pay more money than expected, and where a clan's affines are involved, its dancers are expected to pay K5 or K10. At dawn, when the primary host wishes to signal the end of the dance, he climbs atop a stall and, after silencing the dancers with a whistle or shout, reports how much admission money was paid by each of the participating villages. The winners are then awarded cases of beer and cooked pig to take back to their homes. At a very successful singsing, the primary host can take in as much as K1, 500 from admission money. In one case, the receipts were so low due to a recent death that the host took a monetary loss and refused to give a prize.

There are two ways for a village to make its entrance to the singsing. In the first, a prominent old man collects all the admission money and pays for the village as a group. He then enters the enclosure and shouts to the assembled dancers and hosts, "I come from _____ village. I pay _____ for admission. See how many we are!" After a brief silence, the village enters singing and dancing, in an impressive display. Where the dance is already well in progress, the village's dancers all stop individually at the entrance gate and assemble again only on the dance ground.

The dance takes the form of a large ring circumscribing the enclosure. Individual villages form segments of this ring, which gradually rotates around a central bonfire. Although there are variations, the most common arrangement is for men bearing standards to stand on the outer edge of the circle facing inward. Facing them across a shallow corridor are other decorated dancers. Both of these lines remain stationary while dancing, with the main step being to bounce up and down at the knee in time to the drumbeat. The back is kept straight. Undecorated men with arrows notched in undrawn bows dance down the corridor with short, quick steps.

Short bouts of song and dance, lasting between five and ten minutes each, are interspersed with brief breaks during when men rest and take a few steps around the dance circuit. Then a new song is begun by an individual. After a couple of lines, the surrounding men take up the song with voice and drum, and punctuate the new bout of dancing by drawing back their bow strings and releasing them with a sharp twang. Although neither rhythm nor song is synchronized around the dance ring, contingent segments will for a brief time dance and sing together. The singsing goes on like this for the entire night, with decorated dancers taking few, if any, breaks to go warm themselves by the fire or to visit kin at the stalls. Dancers who carry standards do not rest at all. They take great pride

in the size and beauty of their standard and in the strength needed to dance with it through the night.

When asked why they hold singsings, men answer, "It delights us. We are all dancing together." Indeed, to see a thousand people dressed traditionally and fully decorated, dancing in the light of fire and stars, is a breathtaking experience. Singsings are festivals of mechanical solidarity whose power lies in the gestalt of large numbers of people, the repetitive drumbeat, songs, and bobbing feathers--all coordinated to produce a strong feeling of social wholeness. In feeling, it much resembles Radcliffe-Brown's description of the Andaman dance:

In the dance the individual submits to the action upon him of the community; he is constrained, by the immediate effect of rhythm as well as by custom, to join in, and he is required to conform in his own actions and movements to the needs of the common activity. The surrender of the individual to this constraint or obligation is not felt as painful, but on the contrary as highly pleasurable. As the dancer loses himself in the dance, as he becomes absorbed in the unified community, he reaches a state of elation in which he feels himself filled with energy or force immensely beyond his ordinary state . . . This state of intoxication, as it might almost be called, is accompanied by a pleasant stimulation of the self-regarding sentiment, so that the dancer comes to feel a great increase in his personal force and value. And at the same time, finding himself in complete and ecstatic harmony with all the fellow-members of his community, experiences a great increase in his feelings of amity and attachment towards them. (Radcliffe-Brown 1964:251-52)

The approach of midnight is usually the signal for the host to begin distributing food and drink to the

dancers. Men circulate through the crowd bearing large basins full of sweet potatoes, hunks of pork, and rice topped with tinned mackerel. Over the course of the night, bottled beer is also dispensed both by the primary host and, more informally, by members of the host village to their friends and kin. A second distribution takes place among the recipients of beer for whom the ideal is to drink half a bottle and then pass it on to a village-brother or father. In this way, it is felt that no one person will get too drunk.

What began as a relatively orderly arrangement of village segments in a large ring of dancers gradually breaks down as the night progresses. Small groups of men dance in short lines while others mass together and dance forward and back around the enclosure. Village and village segments lose their identity as men go to visit and dance with friends and family from other areas. Within the stalls surrounding the enclosure, onlookers from participating and nonparticipating villages visit and share food with maternal, paternal, and affinal kin. In one such stall, where people from Bitebe were sitting with their kin from the host village, Katom, a Sonofi resident, told me how he had been born in Bitebe, but carried to Sonofi by his father during a series of battles. Deeply moved, he patted the dirt floor of the stall and explained, "I live in Sonofi now, but this--this is my root-land."

Social identity also shifts at singsings when dancers perform krina. Traditionally, krina were short skits enacting either Kamano fables (kenihe) about people and spirits, or simple, bawdy farces. Men frequently wore costumes and masks during these performances (C. Berndt 1959:164; R.M. Berndt 1962:148; Murphy 1978:28). While this type of krina has become quite rare, men have come to apply this term to male dancers who dress as women or who present a humorous figure. At one singsing, a man performed krina by tying leaves all over his body and wearing a Halloween-style gorilla mask. Other dancers, while not having the comic intent of krina, imitate costumes and dance steps from neighboring Gadsup and Fore areas.

In the months prior to the provincial elections, singsings also served as an arena for campaigning. Candidates attended dances at this time as bystanders with the purpose of reviving social ties to other villages. One enterprising candidate went so far as to pay dancers from his village 25t to write campaign slogans on their standards. At a singsing held just before the polling began, a big-man/judge of the host village blew a whistle to halt the dance just after midnight. He talked briefly about the election and told people they should choose from only the three candidates who came from the participating villages' Area Community.

Another aspect of contemporary Kamano singsings is courting. Before they were repressed by the missions,

special dances were held where the unmarried men of two villages would exchange their village-sisters. These singsings were called mori, a term used to describe the rubbing together of cheeks and chins and associated by Kamano with the Western "kiss." Young men and women took great care in decorating themselves for mori and sang special songs that described the courting. Partners circulated during the dance until, at its climax, a big-man told the participants to go to the bush and gather firewood. There, couples would copulate without any social obligation or expectations that they should marry.

The active suppression of mori by the missions eventually transformed Kamano courting into an informal and secret activity. Contemporary villagers most commonly arrange trysts in the gardens or bush. Singsings are today the only context in which courting is concentrated and widely recognized, if not publicly condoned. As the night wears on, and particularly under the influence of alcohol, men and women from different villages flirt and arrange rendezvous in the bush or near paths along which participants will return to their homes.

Flirting and courting act as a catalyst for the fistfights that almost inevitably erupt as dawn approaches. By this time, most of the dancers and onlookers are quite drunk, and this combines with long-standing intervillage grievances to create an explosive situation. Men say that

at singsings it is the beer within them that fights, but also admit that they save up grievances until beer and context present an opportunity to express them. In a typical scenario, a man from one village accuses a man from another village of sleeping with his clan-sister. The accused and his brothers respond by claiming that the girl in question had been actively seducing many men. A quick social mobilization then occurs as villagers support individuals and alliances are activated. The resulting fights often escalate from fists to wooden posts and bottles, but rarely beyond that--this, despite the fact that the vast majority of men bear bows and long, barbed arrows.

As darkness approaches light and celebration gives way to the feeling of impending hostility, the social fluidity of the nighttime dance ends as separate villages or close allies regroup in the corners of the dance ring. The fights bring this process of social fragmentation to its climax. Particularly when the confrontation involves the host village and a weaker contingent, the latter are forced to flee. Leaving behind personal belongings and money stored in stalls, as well as the more cumbersome decorations, singsing participants are chased down roads and paths until they regain their own or allied territory. Alternatively, where the village contingent is large and not directly involved in the fight, they sometimes remain in the dance enclosure. In this situation, the armed, but undecorated, onlookers

form a defensive barrier between their dancers and the other villages. With arrows notched and facing outward, they continue to sing and dance in place, verbally asserting their strength in numbers and their enemies' inability to attack them. Ideally, after the fights die down or are quelled by onlookers, the village leaves as a group, thus precluding acts of vengeance on individuals.

At the only singsing I attended where fights were not allowed to escalate at all, it was big-men who played the decisive role. On the day of the dance, the host village's councilor had gone to Kainantu and received from the District Health Officer a "strong speech" to read to the assembled dancers. During his dramatic and impassioned translation, he warned men not to seduce women, fight with enemies, or carry weapons, and to lie down in a stall when they got drunk. He said that if men made trouble, they would be arrested and fined by the courts, but "if you listen well and celebrate, it will go until dawn." The only fistfight that erupted was quickly stopped by the councilor and his counterpart from a visiting contingent. In such situations, when the singsing did not disintegrate during hostilities, the dance ended when the main host climbed atop one of the stalls and halted the activity by blowing a whistle and yelling. After the winning village and prizes are announced, the dancers gradually disperse in small, straggling groups.

Singsing fights only sometimes provoke direct vengeance. Occasionally young, unmarried men who hit their village-fathers or brothers are brought before the Village Court where, as one big-man noted, they hang their heads in shame and apologize, despite their desire to be known as "cowboys" (i.e., warriors). In one instance, a fight that began at a singsing over the theft of a shirt was continued over the next week as intervillage skirmishes in which individuals isolated on roads or in town were beaten up. Generally, however, where the consumption of alcohol is a precipitant in conflict, it is treated as an extenuating circumstance that makes vengeance unfair. Such conflict is added on to the informal tally of grievances that emerge in more serious court cases and fights, or in the underground vengeance and countervengeance of sorcery.

There are two central types of social opposition brought into contact within the singsing arena. The first of these is the generational relationship between the eldest "line" of village-brothers called old men (oyafa), and the married men (bene'ne) and adolescent boys (neheya) who comprise their son's "line" together with a few older grandsons. Embedded within this relationship is the radical disjuncture between pre-contact and post-contact Kamano culture. Whereas prior to the European intrusion, only the most productive, knowledgeable, and vocal of the elders were called big-men, this term is today extended to all

elders because of the traditional types of knowledge they possess. Within the context of the singsing, the old men give the younger lines traditional decorations and customary motifs of dance, decoration, and song. The structural constellation between generation and cultural change, i.e., old men : traditional culture :: young men : contemporary culture, is thereby inverted. Singsings are the only situations in contemporary life where the young don the traditional bark skirts and decorations worn by their fathers in "the time of the ancestors." They become transformed into proud warriors and lovers at a time when warfare is outlawed and the morality of the missions holds public sway. For their part, old men who take part in these activities are said to become young again.

The second social opposition of import at singsings is that between wife-givers and wife-takers from different villages. This relationship is first manifested between the host village and each of its guest affines in the long-term exchange of dance invitations, and the more immediate exchange of admission payments and beer, pigs, and food encompassed therein (Figure 6a). A second type of relationship is engendered by this series of dyadic ties and emerges as a competition among all visiting villages over who contributes the largest collective gift to their host affine (Figure 6b). Since Kamano villages contract marriage with almost all nearby villages, it is more than likely that relations

between guest villages will also involve affinal links. Finally, a third kind of affinal relationship involving hosts as well as guests, is seen in alignments created by courting and fighting (Figure 6c).

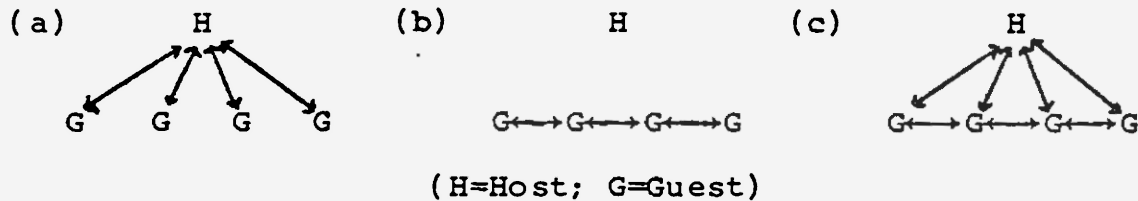


Fig. 6. Social alignments of host and guests at singsings.

The first of these affinal relationships--between the host and each guest village--reproduces the ongoing pattern of life-cycle payments generated by marriage. In the example cited where a big-man asked recipients at a funerary distribution to reciprocate by attending his village's singsing, the exchange of invitations, admission money, and food clearly becomes a step added on to a relationship usually terminated by death. The second relationship, in which guest villages compete over the size of their gifts and are rewarded with additional compensation, mirrors the underlying hostility between the recipients at any distribution of wealth. At a distribution following a death, for example, a limited amount of pigs, beer, and food is distributed among sisters' children, cross-cousins, and friends from several different villages. The varying size of these gifts is meant to reflect past inputs of wealth and labor, and inevitably leads to shame and anger

on the part of people who feel slighted. They respond by refusing the gift, with sarcastic thanks and much grumbling, or by taking the case to Village Courts. The final relationship encompasses both host and guests, and characterizes the content of affinal ties. Just as courting provides the basis for fistfights at singsings, so warfare and sorcery are seen as the inevitable outcome of marriage in Kamano social structure.

The singsing provides a context for the conjunction of these social oppositions that is demarcated by cultural boundaries of space and time. During the period immediately following pacification, Catherine Berndt (1959:162) described singsings as being held in the village clearing after dark. Prior to this time, and more irregularly at the time of Berndt's study, these villages were organized around a "line" of men who resided in a large communal house surrounded by the individual houses of their wives and children. Surrounding all was a large wooden palisade designed for defensive fighting. In order to discourage warfare, Australian Patrol Officers pulled down palisades and spoke strongly against the men's houses, which they saw as focal points for sorcery and other forms of intervillage rivalry. Moreover, without the centripetal force exerted by constant attacks, villages broke down into hamlets and moved to sites where they could protect their land from usufructuary encroachment. Today, these hamlets are composed of loosely organized

"small-lines" who tend to live in nuclear family units and are surrounded by a short wooden fence to prevent the incursion of pigs and to mark the limits of the site.¹

The social fragmentation of bounded clan or multiclan villages based on the central pull of the men's house all but dissolved the concept of a village clearing. In some villages there is a small piece of land near the "rest house" built for colonial officers, and today associated with Village courts and Area Community government; it is public, but purposely set apart from hamlets and their parochial interests. This residential transformation created a cultural gap in which the dance enclosure emerged as a functionally-specific architectural form. In a way, the structure of the dance ring reproduces the circular cohesion of the traditional village with its outer wall and inward-facing host stalls. At the same time, however, it geographically encapsulates the dance and separates it from other village areas.

A second form of cultural boundary is imposed on singsings by relegating them to the nocturnal hours. While this continues a traditional pattern, it has acquired an additional contemporary meaning in terms of the opposition between old and new. Men say they dance at night because they are ashamed of their traditional dress and decorations.

¹See Chapter III.

In general, traditional clothing (kukena, "net bag-bark skirt") is seen as more becoming than the Western tee-shirts and shorts that comprise daily apparel. The reason offered for not wearing traditional dress more regularly is its relative discomfort and the feeling that the constantly refurbished coating of pig grease needed on bark skirts is "dirty." More importantly, however, men feel that, despite the beauty of traditional dress and the other singsing decorations, wearing these things is the sign of a *bus kanaka*--an "uncivilized native." The darkness of night in this context serves to relax contemporary mores in a way that allows people to exhibit personal beauty in a proud, assertive, and traditional manner.

Just as darkness eases the generational inversion by allowing men to accept the pre-colonial knowledge of their fathers, so it provides an atmosphere in which the normally hostile relationships between villages are temporarily suspended. It is this loosening of social identity--as seen in the relative breakdown of village segments during the dance and in men imitating women and spirits during krina--that produces the euphoric feeling of mechanical solidarity. Dusk, with its competitive presentation of admission monies and segregation of villages in the dance ring, provides a transition into the liminality of night. Rigorous social oppositions are reconstituted with the coming of dawn. This is seen most dramatically in the

regrouping of villages and allies during the fistfights that focus and condense intervillage grievances. The normal competitiveness between host and guest affines and among co-affines is re-established by reading the list of collective admissions and rewarding the winner with beer and pigs. By holding singsings at night, the Kamano utilize the cultural opposition between light and dark to relax both sets of social oppositions. Darkness enables the young to become old and the old to become young. It similarly encapsulates a period of time during which courting and truce supplant conflict and sorcery as the primary modes of intervillage relationship.

A second form of temporal boundary that sets off singsings, and in so doing places them in relation to other elements in Kamano culture, is their place in the annual calendar. It is the height of the coffee harvest in June that marks the advent of the singsing season, which then continues until Christmas. This bisection of the year also corresponds roughly with the division between the rainy and the dry seasons. One reason given for this is that, with coffee the main source of income, this is the only time of the year when people have enough money to spend on admission, beer, and food. More importantly, however, there is an increase in sickness and death during the rainy season (January to June) that the Kamano attribute

to an increase in sorcery during this period. Funerals supplant singsings as the dominant form of public ceremony.

The seasonal aspect of the paradigmatic relationship between singsings and funerals is indicative of a more general mutual exclusiveness. As described above, people cannot host or participate in a singsing during the period of time immediately following a death in their own or nearby villages. Traditionally, informal singsings were held to celebrate the death of an enemy in battle or by sorcery, and, while their function has shifted somewhat, it is this meaning that would be emphasized should a dance be held too soon after a death. The ubiquity of sorcery during the rainy season thus acts to preclude dancing.

As a ceremony, funerals afford interesting parallels to singsings. A death is typically followed by a four- or five-day period in which the body is "hidden" in a house and only the closest clan relatives are admitted to mourn. During this time, divinations to locate the guilty sorcerer are held, relatives are summoned from distant towns, and a coffin, food, and money are prepared for the funeral. Before the body decays too much, the death, along with a date for public mourning, is announced. The wake is sometimes held in the dance ring itself, with a small covered stall built in the center to house the coffin. Alternatively, large open sheds are built in the deceased's hamlet so that they form an enclosed ring with the other houses.

Similar to the stalls of the dance enclosure, these sheds are used by groups from other hamlets and villages during the few days preceding the burial. As with singsings, the most important parts of the ceremony occur at night.

In addition to the paternal kin from the various clans of the deceased's home village, people attending the funeral include paternal aunts, maternal aunts and uncles, cross- and parallel cousins, and paternal kin from other villages. People arrive in groups according to clan and village, with each man bearing bow and arrow, bushknife, or axe. While the costume finery of the singsing is absent, mourners plaster face, hair, arms, and legs with a mixture of ash and mud. Arriving around dusk, people greet friends and relatives, and then approach the coffin enclosure in small groups to keen. Mourning consists of singing "cry-songs" (yibite yagamere), each line of which is punctuated with weeping. Some of these songs are specifically lamentations, while others are the same songs sung at singsings, albeit with the mood appropriately transformed. The keening continues until two or three o'clock in the morning when men make informal speeches, and is then continued until dawn.

The actual burial can take place the next day or can be put off to allow for a longer period of mourning. Debates over this issue concern the extent of bodily decay and the amount of time it takes for relatives to come from distant areas of the country. Also of import is the status

of the deceased, with up to a week of mourning accorded to big-men, and ranging down to the token ceremony held for children. Mission affiliation is also considered. Since they oppose traditional customs in general, and especially sorcery which is a dominant motif during mourning, the Seventh Day Adventists favor a minimal period of time between death and burial. As the local SDA pastor explained in this situation, "you have to love your enemy--you give food to him. Jesus will avenge the death later on." The distribution of food to reciprocate those people who "looked after" the deceased is held immediately after the burial. Occasionally, where the resources of the community have been depleted, the burial is held secretly and public announcement is postponed until enough pigs and money are amassed for a proper distribution.

Because a death places the entire village in the role of a debtor within the ongoing cycle of vengeance and countervengeance, the wake and funeral are permeated with tension. Ideally, the guilty sorcerer is identified and the process of vengeance initiated while the body is still hidden. The desire here is to "straighten the skin" of the deceased before the death is announced. Often, as when divinations are inconclusive or contradictory, this is not possible. In these cases, target leaves are sometimes touched to the forehead and finger of the deceased and then attached to the posts of the funeral enclosure.

When the sorcerer enters--as he surely will to gloat inwardly--the target leaves shake violently. Tension is sometimes magnified when the sorcerer leaves a sign (kesa) close to the village. A kesa can take the form of plants and grass woven into a ring, or a cucumber sliced up suggestively, and is interpreted by villagers as both a challenge and a threat of future attack. During a funeral following the discovery of a kesa, I found two armed villagers hiding near the road. They had heard two sorcerers approaching the village and had subsequently chased them into the bush. People were warned not to leave the clearing during the night.

At the funeral, the tension created by unavenged sorcery emerges most obviously as intervillage conflict. Following the death of a woman who had married into and lived at Sonofi, a big-man arose and angrily condemned people for using sorcery and particularly for killing women. He said that other villages had done ksena (a type of divination) and accused Sonofi of killing her, but that they lied. "She's not another line," he yelled, "she's our line!" A series of speakers from the woman's natal village replied by accusing Sonofi of killing their daughter either actively with sorcery or passively through negligence:

This is my "root-land," but you men of Sonofi don't look after it. I can prove this by where my pandanus trees are located. Furthermore, you give us money for our women and then don't look after them.

Even in the few deaths where sorcery is not an issue, the accusation of negligence is still precipitated in the context of the funeral. Thus, after the body of a young man killed by the police in Port Moresby had been returned to his village, his genealogical brothers from a second village accused his adoptive father of not adequately looking after him.¹ They suggested that by allowing their brother to go to Port Moresby--a "bad place"--his adoptive father was directly responsible for his death. In this situation, and not uncommonly at funerals in general, the gravity of these charges led to fistfights between the villages. As at singsings, and again despite the presence of weapons, these fights rarely escalate and are usually quelled quickly by onlookers.

Another expression of intervillage rivalry often seen at funerals occurs when a mourner becomes possessed by the ghost (hankro) of the deceased. Possession is experienced as a sudden wind that causes people to tremble violently and to whistle. As a rule, it happens to women rather than men, with certain women being particularly susceptible. Although other mourners initially try to restrain a possessed woman, she is soon released and then followed by a small party of armed men. The ghosts of the dead, it is felt, will sometimes lead men to the hamlet and house of their

¹These events are described in Zuckerman (1981).

murderers. The following translation is an informant's description of a possession occurring at a funeral in a neighboring village during my stay in the field. While lengthy, this account indicates the seriousness of an accusation obtained through possession and the role it can play in catalyzing intervillage conflict:¹

After they closed the coffin, a tall woman began to shake. The wind came as they closed the coffin . . . We cooked rice and the woman was still shaking. She walked strangely. I was sitting on the road and gave her room to get by. Four men followed her. She began to run, but the four men soon grew shortwinded. She went to Runenofi in six minutes. Two of the men had to stop about half of the way up. The other two continued on a bit farther before they, too, were out of breath.

The woman went to Runenofi and then to the house of Famabe'me, an enemy of Tumapinka [the deceased's village]. She was Oyampa's [the deceased] sister's daughter. She took a hammer and a hatchet from Famabe'me's house, and also some tapa cloth [kfen-anofi] recently gotten from the garden. Wrapped inside the cloth was Oyampa's trousers with blood on them. They had changed his trousers when he was waylaid. They had rolled ufwe [a type of bark used in one kind of sorcery] in with his pants, wrapped them both inside the cloth, and then threw the bundle under the bed. She didn't look at it then, but ran back and on the way picked up first one pair of men and then the other. She told them to follow her, and then beat them all running back.

I was just finishing my rice. I'm not lying. It's a three-hour walk and she ran it in six minutes. I had thought she just went to the garden, but she brought back the hammer, hatchet,

¹Due to the illegal and dangerous nature of these events, I have changed the names of individuals, clans, and villages to preserve the anonymity of my informants.

and cloth. Everyone came outside and looked at her. She said, "You are all celebrating, but you should be ashamed for just sitting around." She went by them, chose three men, and took them to the house of Oyampa's third son. She gave him the hatchet and asked, "What is this I've brought you?" He said, "It's a hatchet." She said, "Yes, it's a hatchet, but what's with it?" On the back of the hatchet was blood and men's hair. He said he understood. Blood and hair was on the hammer also. She told him next to look at the cloth. He looked inside and found Oyampa's trousers with blood on them. He wrapped them up again. The woman said, "Let's go cry now."

Famabe'me came up and said they should return his things. The woman sat by the body and cried. When he came close, she fainted. Famabe'me said that some men wanted to kill his wife and children, and so he was performing sorcery on them. Oyampa's sons reached for their bows and arrows. The big-man stopped them because they were in public and had not yet buried the body. . . . They buried Oyampa, cooked food in earth ovens, and distributed it to cross-cousins and mothers' brothers. Afterward, the village of Tumapinka gathered together and designated four men to kill Famabe'me.

While this kind of mortal conflict between villages is the dominant motif precipitated by death, the tension at funerals also pushes out through other social fissures. At the funeral of the Sonofi woman described briefly above, the village councilor was furious at his first son and at the entire sibling "line" of young village men for failing to respond to his summons to come help build the funeral enclosure, prepare food, and cut firewood. Only the fathers' "line" had helped with funerary preparations. As soon as his son arrived, the Councilor loudly berated him for riding around in a truck all the time rather than looking

after his mothers and fathers. His son responded sarcastically, "Thank you very much for insulting me. I am your first-born son!" The argument escalated until the Councilor slapped his son's face and the two were separated by other villagers. After several more angry exclamations, the son leapt into the coffin enclosure and, weeping hysterically, threw himself full-length onto the casket.

The accusation of failing to look after their mothers and fathers often leveled at young men is particularly damning at funerals. Above and beyond the pragmatic preparations for the wake, the young are blamed for their inability to protect the old from sorcery or to avenge them. After asserting the powerful magic his line had prior to Western influence, an old man chided his sons' sibling "rope": "You don't know sorcery--all you know how to do is play cards and wander round. We didn't train you in this and you don't ask about it. Now what are you going to do to avenge this death?"

Still another type of social conflict seen at this same funeral coalesced around where the body was to be buried. Normally, a woman is buried near the hamlet of her husband, but given the complexities of Kamano social structure, this can often generate contention between hamlets and/or clans within the same village. In this case, the woman's husband had been born in Abaninofi clan and lived the early part of his life in an Abaninofi hamlet. After

the death of his father, however, he was adopted by a man in Bantanemo and lived his entire married life in the hamlet of his adoptive father. Much debate ensued, with her husband wanting his wife buried with his natal clan. Eventually, however, the issue was left up to the adoptive father, who was a powerful center-post man in his clan. His decision was that since she had died in his clan, she would be buried there, but that when he died, her body should be moved to the natal clan of her husband.

Within the cultural context of public ceremony, singsings and funerals enter into a relationship as paradigmatic elements along a meaningful as well as temporal axis. Both of these secular rites are held in roughly circular enclosures; involve the use of song, decoration, and weapons; and serve to focus social relationships in dramatic arenas. But where the power of singsings lies in their temporary assertion of solidarity, funerals gather and concentrate themes of social fragmentation. At singsings, the clans of a village form a unit that later merges with other villages in the dance. A cultural bridge is formed between old and young and past and present. It is precisely at these social seams that funerals generate conflict.

Having described contemporary singsings and how they are meaningfully situated in the cultural framework, it is now possible to broadly outline the process of historical transformation that produced them. For the sake of compari-

son, the following account of singsings dates from the period during and immediately following pacification:

In this region a ceremony may be held in conjunction with a marriage, an initiation ritual, a peace agreement or a pig festival; but it is just as likely to take place without them. In any case the focus of attention is normally a feast. Each host district in turn supplies food cooked in the communal earth ovens in the village which is to be the scene of the dancing. Although the guests ordinarily eat at intervals while this is in progress, the bulk of the food is eventually shared among the districts concerned, through their representatives, and taken home. Usually the proceedings begin after dark. (C. Berndt 1959:162)

From this description and the statements of informants, it would appear that singsing celebrations were traditionally held in two types of situations. In the first, an ongoing cycle of intervillage reciprocity was established in which the dance and feast were themselves the main point of focus. As such, these singsings were "the only occasion apart from warfare when members of a number of different districts, of both sexes and all ages, can come together in face-to-face contact in a relatively organized way" (C. Berndt 1959:163). A second type of singsing represented the celebratory aspect of a more primary context: military victory or truce, initiation, marriage, or courting. To understand the emergence of contemporary singsings and the development of their form from these two sources, it is important to briefly trace the impact various colonial forces had on them.

During a patrol to a northern Kamano area in 1937, the patrol officer reported that "the natives are quite friendly, but more interested in their 'sing sings' than in the patrol" (Morobe Patrol Report B 1936/37). What active European opposition there was to singsings emerged in the mid-1940s as mission influence spread throughout the Kainantu region. In 1948, R.I. Skinner gave the following account of a government patrol to the Sonofi area:

Lutheran Mission influence has gained a foothold in all the Komanu groups and is particularly strong in the Bitebe area where missionaries were the first visitors. Astute use has been made of local helpers so that villages which have never been visited by a missionary have erected a church and have a "pappatulla"--a mission representative. The only undesirable effect is that a prohibition has been placed on singing and dancing by Rev. A.C. Frerichs, Raipinka. I was asked if it was true that the administration would support this ban. On receiving my negative reply "singsings" were held in a number of villages. On my return I received a note from Mr. Frerichs in which he asked if it were true that I had ordered singing and dancing to commence and pointing out the anti-social effects of some of the dances. (Kainantu Patrol Report #K5 1947/48)

As singsings became a point of contention between mission and government, the ambivalence thus engendered was played out in Kainantu-area villages. Men who took part in singsings were insultingly called tambaran (malign ancestral spirits) by mission representatives and threatened with imprisonment if they persisted (Kainantu Patrol Report #10 1944/45). In the nearby Usurufa area, a *tultul* sentenced all the men in his district to a week's work on the roads

for holding "too many singsings" (C. Berndt 1953:123). Using a combination of ridicule and threat, mission workers tried to eradicate singsings and many other "old" customs, so that by 1953 a patrol officer mourned the passing of singsings in the Kamanuntina Valley (Kainantu Patrol Report #2 1953/54).

While it is a bit vague as to exactly which "anti-social effect" of singsings missionaries most objected to, those with explicit sexual imagery were especially singled out for attack. Describing a 1954 revival of courting singsings (mori) throughout the Kamano area, N.F. Fowler reported:

The Rev. Flierl of Raipinka told me that he considered Moiri a greater evil than polygamy, and it can therefore be seen that as far as the Lutheran Mission is concerned this revival is a serious matter. (Kainantu Patrol Report #17 1954/55)

Fowler goes on to posit that the revival of mori represented the villagers' realization that the missions did not fully control their lives, but that its outcome depended on the missions' response.

The often bawdy krina also met with strong mission disapproval (C. Berndt 1959:180-81). Although rarely performed today in the Sonofi area, mission opposition to krina has continued in their criticism of Raun Raun Theater--a national dramatic ensemble that has incorporated krina into their repertoire. In a recent article, the director of Raun Raun Theater defended the use of krina against mission charges of "raunchiness" by tracing its roots in Kamano

culture (Murphy 1978). An incident that occurred during my stay in the field illustrated this situation. Raun Theater had come to Sonofi to present a series of films and plays including traditional krina and skits dealing with contemporary rural problems. After performing a slightly erotic and very funny play in a nearby village, the actors were challenged by a European missionary from the Swiss Mission who felt that the sexual humor was a bad example for his flock. Despite the moral message of the skit--that men should spend money on their families rather than squandering it on alcohol and prostitutes--the missionary complained that it was only the erotic aspects that villagers would remember. The actors very articulately countered his argument by claiming there was nothing wrong with this type of humor and that it served to make the theme of their play more comprehensible and enjoyable.

In general, it was the contexts associated with singsings that came under most direct attack by missions and government administrators. Just as mori was ridiculed and disrupted, so were initiation ceremonies actively suppressed. According to informants, mission workers desecrated the sacred flutes (a central aspect of male initiation) by exposing them to women and children and then ordering women to steam greens in them.¹ For an intermediate generation

¹This is reiterated in Kainantu Patrol Report #17 1954/55.

after this, initiation ceremonies and attendant singsings were held, but without the bloodletting and induced vomiting that were so objectionable to Western representatives. Finally, these too stopped. Other activities celebrated with singsings, like military victory and truce, fell victim to pacification. With warfare and murder driven underground and transformed into sorcery, public acclamation of temporary military ascendance or equality would be illegal or irrelevant.

With all of this pressure focused on singsings and associated activities, Catherine Berndt (1959:181) suggested that they might gradually be replaced by mission ritual and ceremony. In fact, change has occurred dialectically, with singsings continuing in a modified form and the missions themselves realigning their stances. Evidence of this second trend was seen quite early in the missions' use of dance standards and a desexualized type of krina in their baptismal ceremonies (C. Berndt 1959:181). The Lutheran Church, once the most vocal opponent of traditional custom, has today reconciled itself to singsings and other manifestations of the old life style that do not directly impinge on religiosity. In a nearby village, the Lutheran pastor was the "father" of two successive singsings held to raise money for church projects. Posing itself against Lutheran syncretism, the Seventh Day Adventist Mission has taken on their old role of presenting a "new fashion" steeped in religious and cultural ethnocentrism. At a

celebration in Sonofi where village officials received uniforms from the Local Government council, the local SDA pastor successfully disrupted plans to hold a children's singsing that had been formulated by community school teachers.

Although mission pressure to forbid singsings could not outweigh the importance they held for Kamano villagers, the colonial repression of initiations, courting rites, and warfare was instrumental in developing their contemporary form. For with these activities interdicted, singsings lost their function as an attendance celebration at these ceremonies, maintaining only their more independent manifestation within the ongoing exchange network of intervillage dance invitations. But unlike the simple dance-and-feast format such independent singsings presented traditionally, the contemporary pattern of nighttime courting and fighting at dawn represents an attempt to reincorporate activity-based celebrations whose public expression was previously forbidden. Thus, while military and courting singsings no longer exist as separate ceremonies, their inclusion as more controlled aspects of contemporary singsings reflects the continuing power such themes retain in Kamano culture.

At a slightly more abstract level, a similar process can be said to have occurred with initiations. While many aspects of traditional adolescent initiations (such as cane-swallowing to induce vomiting and the cutting of nose, finger, tongue, and penis) were geared specifically toward

transforming boys into adult warriors, equally important was the passing on of other types of knowledge.¹ Mission threats and ridicule combined with the decline of the warrior ethos in Kamano culture can account for the disappearance of formal initiation rites. The gap between maturity and marriage is bridged for males today in the pattern of temporary urban migration. But the transference of knowledge from old to young has become quite diffuse and informal. Such knowledge is today meaningfully augmented by the colonial break so that old men become the repository of pre-colonial customs and myth. With regard to this pattern, singsings have been adapted to provide an encapsulated context in which contemporary youth learn about traditional dance and decoration, song, courting, and fighting.

In these examples, the transformation of singsings as a meaningful element in Kamano culture relied on a redistribution of social referents. Symbolic public rituals were repressed by colonial agents only to have the social dynamics they represented incorporated into the more informal and secular singsings. Another way in which singsings have changed, however, involves the introduction of new elements that are then culturally appropriated in the singsing context. Such is the case with admission money. Whereas

¹E.g., the mythic relationship between men and women, secret and magical stories to make gardens fertile, etc.

traditionally the exchange of dance invitations included the short-term exchange of decoration and dancing by guests for cooked pig and food by hosts, the introduction of wealth (in the form of money and beer) added a new level into the reciprocity. Food and pig, but especially beer and cigarettes, are now seen as part of a short-term exchange for admission money encompassed within the larger exchange of dance invitations. Singsings are transformed in this process to the extent that they become a marginal type of business, generating either capital for community projects or personal profit.

Within the village, pacification was marked by the dispersal of clans no longer constrained by defensive considerations and worried about encroachment on their land. Today, this fragmentation has continued until hamlets are composed of clan segments. In response to my many questions about clans and smaller "lines," informants constantly reminded me that "before we were all one line--all Sonofi." It was only now, they claimed, that small groupings have come to the fore. Sorcery not only does not reinforce residential cohesion, but can be used between the clans of a single village despite normative strictures to the contrary. In this social context, singsings represent an assertion of village solidarity. Residentially, the circular dance ring recreates the centripetal cohesion of the traditional multiclan village. Socially, singsings

are one of the few situations in which the village acts as a unit in preparation, rehearsal, travel, dancing, and fighting.

The historical transformation of intervillage ties most clearly seen at singsings involves an inversion of public and private domains. Whereas before both warfare and sorcery were publicly acclaimed and alliances were based on individuals and small groups, this has been reversed so that:

$$\frac{\text{intervillage hostility}}{\text{alliance}} : \frac{\text{public}}{\text{private}} \longrightarrow \frac{\text{intervillage hostility}}{\text{alliance}} : \frac{\text{private}}{\text{public}}$$

Thus, today people assert that "we are all allies" because of the cessation of warfare. Sorcery has become a matter of secrecy, the details of which are known to only the deceased's closest clan relatives. Where the mechanical solidarity of singsings once stood in sharp contrast to the suspicion or outright violence prevalent in relationships between villages, it today reaffirms a public alliance, but an alliance that rests unsteadily on undercurrents of accusation and sorcery. With the coming of dawn, these grievances are allowed to emerge publicly in fights that enact, in a controlled way, the warfare of previous generations.

CHAPTER V

FROM VILLAGE TO CITY

While Papua New Guinea remains a predominantly rural nation, urban migration is becoming an increasingly important aspect of contemporary life. According to the 1971 census, 9.5 percent of the indigenous population currently resides in towns and cities (Levine and Levine 1979:26). This figure represents a compounded rate of urban growth of 17 percent per annum for the five years preceding this census (Garnaut 1977:74). Levine and Levine (1979:26) estimate that over 50 percent of the urban population is born outside of the districts in which the towns are located. This chapter will attempt to analyze the role played by urban migration in Kamano culture and how traditional social structure is transformed by villagers adapting to life within this context.

Unlike many other areas in the Third World, there were no towns in New Guinea before the arrival of colonial administrators in the 1880s. During this period, Madang and Rabaul were established by German officials at the site of deep harbors close to the copra plantations they had appropriated (Epstein 1969). In order to protect their

shipping lanes through the Torres Straits and under Australian pressure, the English established their administrative center at Port Moresby on the southern coast. Until World War II, these towns were small European enclaves where indigenous peoples were forbidden to reside except for those few employed as servants, laborers, and "police-boys." Port Moresby at this time has been aptly described by a Papuan novelist as a "white man's place" (Eri 1976:37). Local workers were expected to live in barracks supplied by their employers or, in the case of servants, in small "boys' houses" located behind the houses of masters. Their existence was circumscribed by laws forbidding entry to European establishments, specifying when and where they could be outside, and prescribing what articles of clothing they could and could not wear (Oram 1976). These laws were eased following the second world war as more coastal laborers were brought into the towns. Still, the government's failure to provide adequate low-cost housing or even to include indigenous people in the urban census until 1966 reflected a desire to limit internal migration and maintain European domination of the towns (Levine and Levine 1979:17).

Migration to the towns from the Highlands began in 1949 when the administration succumbed to pressure from employers to tap a new labor pool. Recruitment was carried out under the Highlands Labor Scheme in which employers

paid the migrants' passage, lodging, board, and wages in exchange for a two-year contract. The menial labor, low wages, and restrictions of free movement experienced by recruited Highlanders contributed to a low rate of re-engagement under the Highlands Labor Scheme and to its progressive demise. In 1974, it was replaced by the Rural Employment Programme in an attempt to remove the sense of indenture from labor recruitment (May and Skeldon 1977:5-6).

Also influencing the failure of contract labor were concomitant efforts by the administration to spur rural development in the Highlands by introducing coffee as a cash crop. With the construction of the Highlands Highway, villagers were able to earn money independently by selling their coffee to processing plants located in nearby towns. Cash cropping both provided an alternative to wage labor and enabled those men interested in migrating to pay their own passage to urban centers. This kind of independent migration was seen as far preferable to the restrictions imposed by indenture contracts. Salisbury and Salisbury (1977:224) have correlated these variables for migrants from the Siane area:

Virtually no Siane from villages near the highlands road go to Port Moresby. The few migrants from those villages are in relatively skilled employment in the highlands. Villages a little distance from the road have sufficient money available to pay the fares, but the individuals who migrate are those who do not have enough to occupy themselves fully at home . . . Few migrants come from the distant villages where there is insufficient

cash for the fares and where indentured labour is the quickest way of earning cash.

In line with this hypothesis, most contract labor is today recruited from the Enga and Southern Highlands Provinces where development is less pronounced (May and Skeldon 1977:5-6).

The first urban migrant from Sonofi left the village under the Highlands Labor Scheme in the early 1950s and returned from Port Moresby two years later. A second wave of contract workers, numbering about twelve, worked in Port Moresby, Samarai, and Kerema in the late 1950s. The small group of men from this wave who remained in Moresby after their contracts expired formed an initial base for independent migrants who began arriving in 1960. These migrants included adolescents of fifteen and sixteen as well as their fathers. Money to purchase air fare from Goroka was earned through the sale of coffee by the father's generation and contributions from returning workers. From 1960 to the present time, sporadic independent migration has continued unabated. Migrants are usually adolescent boys or young married men who remain in Moresby for a few years before returning to the village. Almost all men under the age of forty have participated in this circular migration, with a few returning to the city for visits or more prolonged stays. The exception to this pattern are those few men who find semi-skilled positions (e.g.,

truck drivers, construction workers, store keepers) and secure adequate housing or who simply prefer the urban life style. These men envision a longer stay in Moresby and may then send for their wives, children, or parents.

To a certain extent, the choice of Moresby by Sonofi's emigrants as an urban destination is predicted on the foundation laid down by contract workers in the 1950s. It is significant, however, that despite the improvement of roads and relatively easy access to towns in the Highlands and on the northern coast, Moresby remains overwhelmingly the destination of choice. At present, sixty-five men, women, and children from Sonofi are living in Moresby; this subcommunity comprises 9 percent of the village population. This figure contrasts dramatically with migration to nearby towns. The town of Kainantu, for example, is twenty-five kilometers from Sonofi by road. Transport between the village and the town is entirely by way of PMV trucks on which a trip takes forty-five minutes. Trips are undertaken to shop for food and supplies, to seek treatment at the medical clinic, to sell food at the market, or for recreation in the form of Saturday afternoon movies. Young men often go to Kainantu simply for a break in the slow tempo of village life. Despite the ease and informality of access, only three men are employed in town. One of these men, the Local Government Councilor, maintains his primary residence in the village and commutes to town when

his work requires it. The remaining two men live in houses provided by their employers.

In order to understand this pattern of urban migration--and the preference for migrating to more distant towns--we must first analyze the circumstances that motivate migration in the first place. Of particular interest are the motivations of young men who inevitably initiate the move to urban areas. For the Kamano, these motivations are embedded in a predominantly rural life strategy. The first act in comprehending them, therefore, involves recontextualizing them in Kamano culture. Salisbury and Salisbury (1977:217) observe:

As the Siame themselves all look at the town through eyes trained in the rural context, the perspective on their urban behavior, gained by an anthropologist who has also worked in a rural context, may indeed be closer to the correct interpretation on that behavior than is any interpretation based only on the urban behavior.

Migration to Escape Sorcery

As if to illustrate the above quote, the main reason offered by Kamano villagers for migrating to cities is not the economic factors so often assumed in western accounts, but rather their intense fear of intervillage sorcery. Sorcery is a central concern for all Kamano. Soon after arriving in Papua New Guinea, I met with a Kamano student at the university in Moresby in order to get ideas on the research I hoped to conduct. He listened patiently while

I described my project in general terms. When I had finished, he said that it sounded interesting, but that the main problem encountered by contemporary villagers was a new type of sorcery--called afa--that had diffused up from the Sepik during the last twenty years. He wished to research this sorcery so he could present the results to the Provincial Government which could then pass laws against such practices.

Such concerns were common for young men. Kamano villages are encircled by enemy villages whose sorcerers reputedly select their targets according to sex, age, and status. As the potential fathers of a new village generation, young men felt they were especially singled out for attack. Failing to kill a young man, sorcerers would make their next attempt on old men whose battle exploits provided the source for most of the grievances involved. The murder of women and children was generally felt to be unethical, although they were acknowledged lesser targets. Status brought with it a definite vulnerability to attack. In addition to recognized big-men, young entrepreneurs and students at high school and college felt in great danger when they returned to the village. The tension generated in this situation was emphasized by the majority of young urban migrants as their reason for temporarily fleeing the village.

In informants' accounts of the history of sorcery, pacification always emerges as a key event. A migrant

to Goroka from another Eastern Highlands group described this process in the following manner:

The white men came, bringing with them pacification and the words of the "Big Men." I was forced to lay down my bow and arrows and my aggressive instincts and more peaceful living followed until I realized I would be dead before I knew it because I was being preyed upon by sorcerers. I moved to various parts of the village but still the hungry sorcerers kept tracking me so I had to flee somewhat far and Goroka has been the destination of my flight. (Koroma 1977:206)

In general, pacification can be said to have increased the scope and importance of sorcery in Kamano culture. Prior to this time, intervillage rivalry took the forms of overt warfare (ha'bahe ene ha'hie, "they fight enemies") or sorcery (uvatega). While most deaths were attributed to warfare and vengeance, there were also a variety of "natural causes" recognized including sickness, old age, childbirth, pre-natal injuries, and accidents. R.M. Berndt (1962:209-10) asserts that "there is no grounds for saying that these people are obsessed with constant fear of sorcery" and contrasts this with sorcery in Trobriand and Dobu society. Indeed, older informants remember only three major forms of sorcery from this period, each of which caused sickness and death in a different manner:

imusa--involves a classic type of contagious magic in which parts of the victim's body (e.g., sperm, blood, feces, hair) or offcast food are cooked or beaten to produce sickness.

karana--in which various substances (e.g., special kinds of bark, a girl's first menstrual blood,

etc.) are mixed with the victim's food or tobacco and thus ingested.

amoke kerifa--where a kind of leaf is placed into a slit piece of bamboo from which magical darts are symbolically projected into the victim's body.

The most obvious effect of pacification in this context was the elimination of overt warfare as a cause of death. In addition, however, pax Australiana widened the social horizons of Kamano villagers and enabled a rapid diffusion of new types of sorcery to augment the old. Today, young men know a variety of techniques from other areas of the country, some of which employ objects introduced from the West. Muramura, for example, involves the use of DDT. As indicated by my first informant, the most significant of these new types of sorcery is afa (also called sanguma from its Sepik name, or *sutim nil*--"to pierce with nails"--in *tok pisin*). When practicing afa, the sorcerer renders himself invisible and awaits his intended victim in an isolated spot. He mesmerizes his victim by throwing a stone over his head and then, sometimes with the help of confederates, throws him to the ground. In classic descriptions, the sorcerer proceeds by taking long thorns or carved sticks and piercing his victim's arms, legs, and internal organs without leaving marks on the skin. Alternatively, the victim's bones are broken with stones or his viscera are removed and replaced with dirt and coffee beans. The victim is then told how and when he will die

and sent back to his village. He cannot communicate his condition to friends and family, and either progressively sickens or has a fatal accident.

It is a somewhat contradictory effect of pacification that in removing warfare as a cause of death in Kamano culture it has allowed an expansion of sorcery's domain of meaning that has more than filled this gap. The practice of afa provides an explanation for virtually any kind of sickness or accident, with the result that almost all deaths are attributed to one form of sorcery or another. Today, only the very young and the very old are said to die "for no reason." If there was no sorcery, contemporary villagers claim, all people would die of old age. In this way, despite the termination of warfare, intervillage hostility has retained its importance in Kamano society. Following most deaths, the body is hidden while men known for such abilities conduct secret divinations to locate the village, hamlet, and sometimes the individual responsible for the death. It is preferable to plan or actually enact reprisals before the body is publicly exposed, mourned, and buried.

Although most men possess a working knowledge of sorcery and some are known as particularly skilled in any village, it was not uncommon (even traditionally) for men to pay sorcerers from other villages to enact vengeance. Such men, it was felt, might not arouse the suspicions of the intended victim when they steal scraps of his food

or offer him ensorcelled tobacco. In the southern Kamano region, transactions of this nature were often contracted with the neighboring Fore who were known as particularly potent sorcerers. One further effect of pacification was to expand the social pool from which sorcerers could be hired. The nominal peace established by the Australians and maintained by the present government has allowed the Kamano to create relationships with people from all of the language groups in the Kainantu and Okapa areas. In cases where, under mission influence, village sorcerers refuse to act or train their sons, this widening of social horizons enabled young men to go to other areas and pay someone to avenge them. This is now seen as superior to hiring a Kamano sorcerer from another village because it is less likely that there will be a pre-existing obligation that could move the assassin to inform the victim of his client's intentions rather than killing him. With prices ranging from K500 to K1000, these payments constitute a major drain on village resources.

To the extent that sorcery has replaced warfare as the main form of intervillage conflict, it has pre-empted the re-emergence of "tribal fighting" increasingly common in other areas of the Highlands. The price of this adaptation, however, is the terrible psychological toll it exacts from contemporary Kamano villagers. Sorcery is a secretive and ubiquitous threat that requires constant vigilance.

Among other precautions, men are always armed when they leave their hamlet and rarely travel alone to distant gardens or into the bush. At noon, when the heat of the sun provides the ideal conditions for enacting "hot" sorcery, village men gather at a central place to avoid being isolated. Similarly, they are hesitant to travel after dark when they fear being waylaid by hidden "afa-men." On several occasions during my stay in Sonofi, a nighttime shout would bring men rushing down from all nearby hamlets to catch sorcerers seen near the road. Any context in which people from many villages gather is perceived as dangerous. Since few of these situations can be altogether avoided, the fear of sorcery remains quite pervasive. The normal appearance of sickness and death merely confirms to villagers the reality of the phenomenon.

In terms of migration, cities offer young male villagers a respite from the pervasiveness of rural sorcery. Their fear of sorcery is also quite important in their choice of urban destination. Rather than providing a sanctuary from sorcerous attacks, the nearby town of Kainantu represents the ultimately dangerous situation in which enemies or their hired assassins from other areas have easy access to their victims. In light of this, people rarely travel to Kainantu alone and hesitate to stay too long. In one dramatic example, a man refused to allow me to transport his seriously ill and paralyzed son to the Kainantu hospital

for fear that he would be killed by sorcerers. Although there is a chance that vengeance could be carried out in Moresby, this is seen as unlikely. The distance and difficulty of access between Port Moresby and Kamano villages is felt to ensure a degree of safety in this regard.

In the need to bypass Kainantu and surrounding areas in order to escape the threat of sorcery, we find a transformation of the original Kamano alliance system.¹ Traditionally, villages were surrounded by a "zone of interaction" in which relationships of both affinity and warfare were concentrated (R.M. Berndt 1971). Alliances were based on ties of descent and marriage forged with villages lying outside of this encircling zone. With contiguous villages, daily conflicts over land, pigs, and women were allowed to take precedence over the potential for alliance offered by numerous "roads" of marriage. The widening of social horizons created by pacification expanded this pattern to include neighboring language groups in the Kainantu area. The potential employment of the groups as hired sorcerers makes Kainantu and other nearby towns centers of peril. Migration to Port Moresby is a contemporary transformation of the traditional pattern in which wartime refugees fled to villages outside of the contiguous ring of enemies.

¹See pp. 74-81.

Migration as Rite of Passage

When young men discuss the topic of urban migration, they contrast the sorcery-impregnated village culture with the "fashion belong town," an exciting amalgam of new types of people, food, and experiences. The constraints on travel engendered by sorcery in the village gives way to informal strolling and sight-seeing (called *raun* or *raun raun* in *tok pisin*) through Port Moresby.¹ Of course, the "bright city lights" have ever been a motivating factor in urban migration throughout the world. But the desire to experience new sensations takes on a special meaning depending on the social and historical configurations in which it is an element. For the Kamano, it is the historical vicissitudes of the male life cycle that give the bright lights their special sheen.

Of special importance in the process of male maturation is the cultural meaning associated with the male-female opposition. Up until the age of six to eight, young boys (mofrave) slept in the houses of their mothers and were not expected to observe taboos surrounding their contact with women. After they were brought to the men's house to live, a series of initiations was begun to separate them from their early maternal influence. The first such

¹M. Strathern (1975:416) calls this wandering "the activity most frequently associated with stesin," or town.

initiation was called neheyabe and was carried out between the ages of eight and twelve. During the neheyabe, boys were taken down to a river where their noses were bled by thrusting bundles of *pitpit* grass into each nostril and twirling them around. This blood was collected on leaves and later cooked and eaten by men and other initiates to make them strong. Childhood clothing was removed from the initiate and replaced with a new bark skirt and various feather and leaf decorations. In addition, the initiates' hair was cut short.

The boys were then marched back to the men's house where they joined in a feast of pork, sweet potatoes, and greens. At nightfall, a ceremonial meeting (teve none or "house-fire") was held in the men's house where the rites continued. Songs were sung to encourage the boys to grow up quickly and lectures on various social injunctions were delivered by their gathered fathers and brothers. In order to toughen initiates for the coming rigors of manhood, their hands were thrust into the fire and they were beaten with *pitpit* and sticks. Some of the injunctions were accompanied by dramatic skits. To illustrate the importance of cultivating sugar cane, one of the initiate's father's brothers would hold a length of cane near the boy's penis and tell him to grab it. When the boy attempted this, he was beaten with the cane. This particular length

of cane was then given to the initiate who was expected to plant it and keep replanting its growing tip over the course of his life. Passed on from father to son, a particular sugar cane plant (and sugar cane in general) became a phallic symbol representing patrilineal continuity.

Initiation rituals were held every two or three years depending on how long it took to replenish the village's supply of pigs. During the interlude between neheyabe and the second set of male initiations--called yahube--boys were sent bearing a dead pig as payment to their mother's brother to have their nasal septums pierced. This process was seen less as a form of initiation than it was a necessary aspect of male decoration.

The yahube initiation was held between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. Prior to this time, boys might have participated informally in battles, gathering arrows and carrying supplies. At a meeting held to begin the yahube, a battle was planned during which the initiates would be expected to kill their first enemy. Once again, the initiates were burnt in the fire in order to make them strong for the coming battle. They were told not to fear the enemy and, if possible, to chase them off the battlefield. On the day prior to the battle, the boys were taken to the river where ash was rubbed on their faces and chests. Their old clothing was replaced and they were decorated with leaves.

If a boy actually succeeded in killing an enemy, he might be exempted from the remaining initiation rites. Ostensibly, these rites were designed to improve the aim and stamina of warriors. Following a feast of pig meat, the initiates were led down to an isolated part of the river where a fence had been built. On the shore, they might find a man lying on the ground with his penis caught in a trap constructed with *pitpit* and rope. They were ordered to free the man, but when this was attempted, he would jump up and beat them. Herded along the river by armed men, the initiates were then confronted by a man whose nostrils were caught on *pitpit* that had been bent over. Again, when they tried to free him, they would be thrashed.

At this point, the boys were held down by their father's brothers and forcibly bled from the forefinger, nose, tongue, and penis. Each of these actions was said to increase the initiates' skill as warriors. A sharpened bone thrust into the top of the fingertip was supposed to increase the accuracy of a warrior's aim. By cutting the tongue and bleeding the nose, it was felt the initiate would not become shortwinded during the battle. In order to draw blood from the buttocks and enable the initiates to run swiftly, a piece of *pitpit* was thrust into the urethra and twirled around, and the glans of the penis was sliced with a bamboo knife.

Placed in its most general cultural context, the drawing of blood during initiation represents an instance of a hematocentric theory of disease. Different kinds of illness ranging from headaches and malaise to more serious intestinal disorders are attributed to having too much blood or a sluggish blood flow. Headaches, for example, are often treated by having a tiny glass-tipped arrow shot into the skin near the temple. Even in the case of serious diseases, where sorcery is inevitably considered a central cause, it is often seen as operating physically through the circulatory system. The most common explanation offered by contemporary Kamano for bloodletting in traditional initiations was that it increased the physical fitness of initiates.¹ In this light, after boys were bled, they were sometimes asked to shoot an arrow at a path on a distant hill. If they missed, they were bled again. Similarly, married men whose aim was faulty or who proved too sluggish in battle might be subjected to additional bleeding.

More specifically, however, bloodletting during initiations was seen as a way of removing maternal blood that had circulated through the baby's body during gestation and surrounded it during the actual birthing. This process was seen as essential to the separation and maturation

¹One informant associated this with my jogging; i.e., an effort to strengthen the legs and prevent shortwindedness.

of individuals. The female version of this initiation involved having the hands of girls burnt in the fire to toughen them for gardening and childbirth, as well as bleeding their nostrils. The additional bloodletting required of males reflects the need to transform their sexual identification as well as excising parental influence during the process of separation from their mothers.

Other features of the male initiations confirmed this need to minimize the maternal influence during maturation. After the initiates were bled, they were instructed never again to accept food cooked by women or by men who had recently engaged in sexual intercourse. Eating food that had been tainted by menstruation or sexual contact was said to make men weak and sick. In order to get rid of such food already consumed during the initiate's life, he was taught how to induce vomiting by inserting a thin looped vine down into the stomach and pulling the food up. This was a custom continually practiced by men during their adult life to keep themselves fit. Also at this time, boys were shown the sacred flutes and how to play them. In myth, the flutes had been a female secret until they were stolen by men.¹ Forever after, they were kept

¹From a group of similar myths in Baruya society, Godelier (1982:14) derives the principle that "the cosmic order cannot be founded without doing violence to women and appropriating their creativity."

secret from women whom men asserted thought they were the voice of spirits and feared them.

The conflict between male and female influence in the initiate's identity was enacted socially as competition between paternal and maternal kin. Men carrying out the various rites of initiation on a particular boy were related to him as father's brother (anante' nefa', "the next father"). While this term could refer to any village men of the father's generation, initiators were chosen from village clans other than that of the initiate. The performance of these services placed the initiate in debt and served as a basis for a new kinship relationship. Henceforth, the initiator could be referred to as "the father who looks after me" (kru' nefa'nemo), and could expect to be compensated by his son in future distributions of wealth. Posed against the initiators were the initiates' mothers' brothers (aku) who ritually protected them and told their fathers not to hurt them. Associated with the initiates' mothers, the mothers' brothers were said to have "carried" them. During this and other life-cycle rites these men and their children are compensated for the maternal labor and sustenance that enabled the survival of their sister's son while still a child.

A second form of maternal-paternal conflict was enacted when the initiates' fathers tried to march them from the initiation site back to the village. Here they were met by village women armed with bows, arrows, and

shields who attempted to contest their passage. A mock battle ensued with the village fathers attempting to break through and escort the initiates to the men's house. When the combatants grew tired, the women would follow the men in a triumphal procession back to the village. The boys were feasted and allowed to recuperate in the men's house.

There are significant similarities between the Kamano theories of male maturation and those proposed by psychoanalysts in discussions of the Oedipus complex. In his brief gloss of Freudian theory, Hall states:

Freud assumes that every person is constitutionally bisexual, which means that he inherits the tendencies of the opposite sex as well as those of his own sex. If the feminine tendencies of the boy are relatively strong he will tend to identify with his mother after the Oedipus complex disappears; if the masculine tendencies are stronger, identification with the father will be emphasized. (Hall 1954:110)

According to Freud, a key element in the formation of an identification between a boy and his father is the "dread of castration." In combination with other factors, this threat often forces the son to relinquish his mother as an object-choice (Freud 1961). The symbolic castration enacted in Kamano initiations serves the same function, but in even more concrete terms. Since the blood shed is seen as originating from the mother, the "castration" literally drains away maternal influence, leaving the initiate with an unopposed male identity.

These similarities are confirmed in Kamano myths of the origin of society on which traditional forms of initiation were partly predicted. In one such set of myths a woman named Jugumishanta travels with her younger brother through the Kratke mountains distributing and/or naming various elements of nature and culture. In addition to birds, animals, and crops, she designates place names, men, languages, decorations, and songs.¹ According to one version of this story, the younger brother repeatedly points to things and asks their name. Jugumishanta responds by singing the name in a short song, many of which were used during male initiations. The song in which she named the long-nosed bandicoot, for example, was traditionally sung when the septums of young boys were pierced.

Following their travels in the Highlands, Jugumishanta and her brother descend the Kassam Pass and enter the coastal Markham Valley:

They traveled down through the Kassam Pass and built a house from leaves taken from coconut palms and banana trees. Soon, the boy developed into a handsome man. His sister fell asleep. She slept awkwardly so that her vagina was exposed and he had intercourse with her.

The next day, they took a knife, cut a length of black palm and made a bow. They fit the bow with a bamboo rope and carved arrows. She said, "You did something wrong. When your enemies come, you can shoot them with this and kill them.

¹R.M. Berndt (1962:41-7) offers a Fore version of this myth.

You can hold this and they will be afraid of you. But since you did something wrong, I'm going to take this away from you."

She gathered large pieces of firewood and made a bonfire. Then she took her younger brother's hand and burnt it in the fire. They (i.e., our ancestors) told us, "In the Highlands we burn boys' hands so that they become strong." But on the coast or in America they are not strong like this.

Next, Jugumishanta plucked some strands of her pubic hair and burnt it along with the bow and arrows. When they were burnt to ash, she took it in her hands and rubbed it on her brother's chin. She said, "You did something wrong." Before this, hair grew only on men's heads. Afterwards men were dark-skinned and grew facial hair.

In the Jugumishanta myth, the transformation from boy to adult warrior comes in the form of retribution by an elder sister for the crime of incest. With regard to social dynamics, the myth almost literally illustrates the anthropological maxim of marrying out or dying out; i.e., that men must give their sisters to men in other clans or face them as enemies. But, while the relationship involved is genealogically one of siblingship, it carried a maternal character as well. Where the age discrepancy is large between siblings (as informants indicated it was in this case), the care given in raising the child serves to socially transform the relationship to one of parenthood. Such an elder sister might well be referred to as mother (anta'). The elements of the myth that are re-enacted in initiations--the rubbing in of ash and burning of the

boy's hand--provide an additional link between the ideology of initiation and psychoanalytic reasoning about the importance of the concept of incest in the individual's maturation.

Following their initiations, boys entered into a period of adolescence and were referred to as neheya. They were expected to participate actively as warriors and might also take part in mori--the formalized courting dances held with other villages.¹ Wives were often designated in childhood and brought to live with their in-laws until their first menstruation. They were then decorated with pig grease and finery and returned to their natal village until the neheya grew facial hair and had killed his first enemy. The actual exchange of affinal wealth might be further postponed if an adolescent's father or other close relatives remained unavenged. Even after a marriage had been contracted, however, the bride lived with her husband's mother rather than setting up an independent household. Men say that at this time they feared eating and sleeping with a woman, having been told that such actions would lead to weakness and ill health. When possible, they avoided all contact with their wives until they became less ashamed and would signify this by accepting food prepared by their brides. Alternatively, a big-man would sit down with bride and groom on either side. He would roast a sweet potato

¹See pp. 145-146.

in the fire, but not bury it in the ash, thus leaving it only partially cooked. Then, breaking the sweet potato in half he would cross his arms and offer the parts to bride and groom. While the ate, he told them it was time to forget their shame and get down to the work of procreation. The gap between the payment of bridewealth and the affirmation of the marriage could be several years.

According to Erikson (1950:262-63):

The adolescent mind is essentially a mind of the moratorium, a psychological stage between childhood and adulthood, and between the morality learned by the child and the ethics to be developed by the adult.

In the years between his initiation and the activation of his marriage, a Kamano man was indeed frozen in both a moral and a social sense. While ritually an adult, he was not yet subject to the social responsibilities of a married man (bene'ne). Thus, after this marriage was affirmed, a man would be expected to build his wife a separate house and, with her, begin new gardens, acquire pigs, and play a more prominent role in social obligations and food prestations. Before this, an adolescent was primarily a warrior, was dependent on his parents for sustenance, and traveled to other villages in order to visit relatives and court women.

Morally, Kamano adolescents found themselves in something of a quandary. Much in the initiations had emphasized the power and danger of women and the need to minimize

maternal/female influence to enable men to grow strong. Yet standing in contradiction to this was the necessity to marry in order to become a full adult. While the loose liaisons formed by adolescents were seen as relatively safe, the more prolonged sexual and social contact associated with marriage posed a distinct threat. The lack of strength implied by youthfulness rendered adolescents particularly vulnerable to the effects of women and they attempted to postpone this contact as long as possible. As a cultural value, male-female avoidance continued as a cultural value throughout married life. Within the men's house, old men slept next to the door to keep track of who visited their wives during the night. Excessive sexual contact was felt to sap a warrior's strength and was publicly censured by big-men.

As with many domains of Kamano culture, the cycle of male development was seriously disrupted by the incursions of colonial administrators and missionaries. Once again, it was the repercussions of pacification that had the most diffuse and enduring effect. With male identity integrally linked to the warrior ideal, the cessation of warfare removed the motivation and emphasis placed on instilling strength and courage. Manhood began to require different attributes. In a more direct manner, the initiation ceremonies and symbols of masculinity came under attack by the missions. Branded as "something belonging to Satan," the sacred flutes

and initiations were desecrated by exposing their secrets to women and children. Direct pressure was also exerted by missionaries and patrol officers to disband the men's houses which were seen as centers of village conflict and sorcery. Faced with mission claims of superior knowledge coupled with the overwhelming novelty and power of the European intrusion, Kamano villagers accepted these changes in cultural form. For a generation, a modified form of the initiations were enacted in which initiates were rubbed with ash, lightly beaten, and schooled in traditional knowledge. The flavor of the ceremonies of this time was more akin to an historical pageant than a living rite. In the face of cultural change, old men wished to show their sons how things had been done previously.

There have been few attempts to adapt initiation ceremonies to contemporary life. Sometimes, a father will hold a feast for his son in order to raise money for his education. These are inevitably held for individual boys rather than groups. In one example, a father (with minimal help from his paternal kin) gave pork and beer to his in-laws in exchange for money to pay his son's school fee for the next several years. It is perhaps significant that so little money was collected that the feast was judged a failure. Nonetheless, in his speech, the father highlighted the historical sources of the ceremony:

Our SDA [Seventh Day Adventist] leaders state strongly that we shouldn't raise pigs, but I think it's important. It's something from the past that we must hold onto. Now we no longer "shoot" our sons' noses so I want to give this feast for Kura. Kura is going to begin school next year and I'd like you to shake his hand and give him money.

While these feasts represent irregular and ad hoc attempts to redefine initiation in contemporary terms, the more socially significant transformation is found in urban migration. At this time, the only dramatic change that occurs in the male life cycle is marriage when, as before, a man is expected to take on the full set of adult responsibilities. The developing pattern in which young men of this age go to cities and earn money is used to fill the gap left between maturity and marriage. In offering an account of his return from Moresby, one informant described how his mothers and fathers were delighted with his physical growth and filling out, and gave a feast to celebrate his coming to manhood. At the feast, he distributed two-thirds of the money he had earned. By compensating people who had cared for him as a child, he took the initial step in establishing an adult role. Whereas before, success in warfare defined the male maturity that preceded marriage, this has merely been transposed to a new realm of social activity. At a subjective level, then, the excitement offered by the city's bright lights replaces the excitement experienced by young men in battle.

A very similar association between initiation and migration to plantations has been described by Lewis concerning the Gnao of the West Sepik. According to Lewis (1980:212), the temporary bouts of migration based on set contracts closely parallels the initiates' temporary isolation from village life. In a manner reminiscent of Van Gennep's (1960) discussion of rites of passage, Lewis describes the migrants being led to the plantation under the aegis of experienced laborers, their transitional period in a liminal environment, then their return to the village in new clothing and finery. On their arrival at the plantations, young Gnao villagers often bleed their penes. Their reintegration into village life is marked by a distribution of half their wages that is compared by Lewis to the initiates' compensation of people who hunted for them during their seclusion (Lewis 1980:188). In the wanwok ("one-work") relationship established between co-migrants, Lewis (1980:213) finds a parallel to traditional age-mates.

As with the Kamano, the Gnao do not explicitly state the historical relationships between initiations and migration. The parallels noted by observers are based on the role such experiences play in the process of male maturation:

If the general purpose of the rites of Tambin was once to prepare them for their future lives and to form in them, and attach them to, values that should guide them as men through maturity, then it may be that they sense now that the Tambin

rites no longer truly fulfil that purpose. The values and feelings evoked, created and instilled by experience of the Tambin rites belong to a past world. They do not fit a young man for the future as they used to. But plantation labor does so better: it provides them with a heightened sense of their present circumstances, revealing more about the course of change and the conditions to which they need adapt. If Tambin once served to some extent to mould men's values and give direction to their striving and prepare them for it, now plantation labor, which like those rites is a dramatic formative experience, substitutes for them. (Lewis 1980:214)

Further support for this contention with regard to Kamano urban migration is found in parallels to the patterns of male-female avoidance associated traditionally with the period between initiation and marriage. Not uncommonly, young men migrate to the city as a way of postponing marriage or of avoiding it altogether. This occurs either when a young man is betrothed in the village and flees, or when he refuses to return to the village to consummate a marriage arranged by their fathers. Two reasons are offered by men for not wanting to marry. The first involves sons who simply do not like the match that has been contracted for them. Far more common, however, is the feeling among young men that they have been betrothed too young and the fear that they will be shamed by their peers and elders. The timing of a marriage, after all, is only partially determined by the desire of young men and women. Also to be considered is the state of bank accounts and pigs owned by fathers and brothers who will pay bridewealth

or send a countergift with their daughters. Pressure mounts on these men in the form of other social obligations so that sometimes they in turn press younger people to marry while they can still amass enough wealth. In all marriages, an incoming wife lives first with her husband's parents until her husband is able to build a house and begin new gardens. When he flees or fails to return from the city, she is permitted to marry someone else after a suitable period of waiting. Whether or not she avails herself of this option depends on her own desires and patience, as well as the external pressures of kinsmen concerning the redistribution of bridewealth.

The shame felt by young men who claim to have been pushed into marriage prematurely directly parallels traditional adolescent gynophobia. Like the Melpa (M. Strathern 1975:89-90), they complain that their prospective wives are too mature and powerful for them. They say that they are "just boys" and that older men will tease them about their inability to "handle" women. The lack of power they feel in relation to both their castrating fathers who select their wives and the women chosen creates a particularly uncomfortable situation. In this regard, access to cities offers a new option for these young men to postpone their return to women and the subsequent responsibilities entailed by marriage. As Strathern points out, urban migration for young men involves a conflictual motivation. On the

one hand, withdrawal from the village is an expression of anger at both the loss of the secure dependency of childhood and the state of powerlessness experienced by adolescents. In addition, however, the commonly heard explanation that "it was my wish" to migrate to the city reflects an adult assertiveness (M. Strathern 1975:89-90). At any rate, men in such a position compare wives and the restrictions of village society with the freedom of the cities and the looser, less complicated engagements they form there with women.

In terms of urban destination, nearby Kainantu offers neither the escape nor the excitement of Port Moresby. With access from the village easy and inexpensive, it is definitely not the place to avoid the pressures of kinsmen or prospective wives and affines. Similarly, while there are streetlights in Kainantu, they are dim when compared with cosmopolitan Port Moresby. When men migrate to find new kinds of people, food, and situations, Kainantu offers only a slightly modified (and slightly more dangerous) variant of village life.

The grafting of urban migration onto the Kamano male life cycle transforms it into a temporary phenomenon. Most young men spend a few years in the city before returning to the village to begin their married life. Exceptions to this can be found in men who have begun urban businesses, received training in a skilled position, or have personal

reasons for avoiding the village. Even these men, however, envision returning at some point. It is in discussions of returning that ambivalent feelings about the "fashion belong town" emerge. If cities are exciting, they are also alienating and dangerous. Relatively high urban wages cannot offset the expense of even simple necessities.

Migration to Earn Money

The desire to earn money emerges as the primary motivation for urban migration in studies that either assume the universality of Homo Economicus or offer a superficial investigation of informants' motives (Salisbury and Salisbury 1970; Conroy 1972; Curtain 1975; Conroy and Skeldon 1977). Indeed, the initial explanations offered by migrants often center on seeking employment to earn money. But, as Marilyn Strathern points out, such statements "cannot be analyzed simply as an indication of economic motives." For the Kamano, the knowledge that low pay will barely cover the high price of food, transport, and a few luxuries makes these explanations suspect. In terms of accumulating savings, urban employment is rivaled by rural cash cropping, the proceeds of which do not have to be used on daily necessities. According to Strathern (1975:84), the appeal to economic motivation in fact represents an "ideological assertion" that places a "veneer of respectability" on

a venture otherwise suffused with themes of adolescent escape.

While perhaps not the primary motivation for urban migration, the need for money is a reality in contemporary Kamano society that deserves separate consideration. As with many things introduced from external sources, money becomes an element in more than one context of Kamano culture. It assumes different meanings and serves different functions, depending on which of the contexts is invoked. From the perspective of history, it is important to separate these contexts in order to assess exactly which traditional elements are replaced and, moreover, how the context is transformed by the substitution.

One important meaning assigned to money is its role as a form of wealth. Traditionally, the pigs raised by a man and his wife served as a basis for life-cycle payments made at birth, initiation, marriage, parenthood, and death. These payments take the form of delayed exchanges made between a patriline and both wife-givers and wife-takers. The act of contributing to payments made for a child or sibling is voluntary and establishes a special relationship between the two. Such men are said to have "looked after" the child and will expect to be compensated when counter-gifts are proffered. When a young man or woman is ready to marry, for example, a meeting is held at which one man will volunteer to be a principal sponsor and a few others offer to contribute

significant numbers of pigs for the bridewealth or counter-gift. While a genitor can take on this role, genealogical siblings are exempt, and neither can eat the pigs given in the counter-gift. This stricture is associated with the taboo on "eating your own blood." The marriage sponsors (tugufa bahe) are usually men from the boy's or girl's clan or other clans within the village. Adoptive fathers and siblings are primary candidates for this role and often designate their involvement when the boy or girl is still young. When the marriage is contracted within the village, only the sponsors and genealogical kin will use the affinal kin terms.

In many areas of Papua New Guinea, accumulated wealth was transformed into status in exchanges independent of the life-cycle payments. Often these two types of exchanges were specifically distinguished. Among the Siuai, for example, christenings, weddings, and wakes involved the presentation of raw food, while cooked food was used in the competitive muminai feasts (Oliver 1955:364-5). Similarly, the Melpa distinguished gifts made to affines (called "I straighten my mother's root and give") from the moka exchanges made between trade rivals (A. Strathern 1971:10, 93). Massim affines helped sponsors to accumulate the wealth used in abutu presentations (Young 1971:191).

Among the Kamano, status could be gained by distributing wealth within life-cycle payments. A rich man (amunte

me'ne) was a man with many gardens and pigs who was not only capable of maintaining his own affinal exchanges, but also "looked after" fellow villagers by contributing pigs to their presentations, as well. Such a man established a paternal relationship with co-villagers and, as a sponsor in numerous affinal exchanges, also created many ties to other villages. At the other end of the social continuum were poor men (amunte o'o mene'neri). These men were known as lackadaisical gardeners who let their pigs run wild. They were rarely able to met their social obligations and were often dependent on clan-brothers for food.

Money was fit easily into this framework as an alternative to pigs. In contemporary bridewealth exchanges, it has become the primary form of wealth, with pigs a distant second in importance. In other life-cycle payments, money is used to purchase cartons of beer, cows, packaged beef, rice, and tinned fish. Beer and pigs are equal in importance during these exchanges. As with traditional forms of wealth, the value of money used in this way is realized in its distribution. But, because money is multifunctional, the parallel to pigs is not exact. The taboo on consuming one's own pigs that particularly suited them to their role in delayed exchange is not applied to money, which can be extracted from the process and used for personal needs. Similarly, where incoming pigs could not be eaten by a bride's or groom's genealogical kin, there is no such stricture

placed on receiving money. In terms of status, money assumes a more direct parallel with pigs. A man who "doesn't have even one shilling on his skin" is shamed by his inability to participate in affinal exchange.

To some extent, these payments are seen as compensation for services related to social reproduction. Money given to a mother's brother, for example, is sometimes seen as continuing reciprocity for his role as wife-giver. More often, however, such compensation is said to repay the mother's brother for having "given birth" to his sister's son. Through their association with the maternal line, payments are also offered to the maternal grandmother and the matrilateral cross-cousin.

A second way in which money is used is in the purchase of goods and services that are part of daily consumption. Men need money in order to buy clothing, food, tools, and other introduced goods that have become necessities in the last thirty years. Money is also used for recreational activities such as beer drinking and movies, as well as for gambling, which is a daily activity for most men. In the vacuum created by the abolition of warfare and the introduction of labor-saving tools, card playing has become a primary mode of social interaction (cf. Salisbury 1962). It is an inevitable feature at any gathering of people. The consumption of beer is more seasonal--increasing during the season when coffee harvests reach their peak. As with

all material interactions, accepting beers establishes informal debts which must be reciprocated immediately or at a later date. In general, men denigrate the use of money for consumption, saying "I just ate the money uselessly."

The traditional counterpart to this contemporary context was trade relations with neighboring groups and areas. Some items (bows, arrows, decorative feathers, pigs, etc.) were common to many areas and merely used as part of bargaining for desired goods and services, many of which were specific to certain geographical regions. With villages in the lower valleys north of the Kratke Mountains, salt and bamboo were exchanged for axe stones, black palm used for bows, and products made from *kunai* grass. From the Markham Valley came pottery, betel nut, and various crops unfamiliar to the Highlands. men from the Fore area were often hired as sorcerers in exchange for salt, pigs, and other products. Immediate or delayed exchanges were arranged between kin and affines.

In addition to the simple barter involved in trade, there was also a class of goods that served as a primitive form of money. Small cowrie shells sewn onto a length of rope and large cowries--both traded up from the coast--were utilized primarily for their exchange-value in securing needed goods. Unlike contemporary forms of currency, however, shells also possessed a use-value through their use in

body decoration.¹ Another secondary usage was as a form of wealth in brideprice payments.

Most of the functions of trade have been transferred to the marketplace in contemporary life. Certain regionally produced goods, such as axe-stones and salt, have been replaced by cheaper and more effective imported counterparts. Crops and raw materials not available locally can generally be purchased in open-air markets held daily in Kainantu. Combined with the new needs stimulated by colonialism, the availability of store, markets, and money have expanded the role played by trade in Kamano culture.

A third meaning assigned to money is found in its potential use as capital. Many young informants fantasize about accumulating money so that they can develop a *bisnis*. Generally, they envision small-scale enterprises such as running a trade store, raising chickens, or driving PMV trucks that carry passengers for a set fee. For reasons to be discussed below, only a few men have been able to successfully maintain a *bisnis*. Still fewer have been able to move beyond this to establish larger-scale businesses where workers are paid set wages and profits are reinvested into expansion. For the Kamano, business is distinguished from other possible economic transactions by the expectation of profit. As with Marx's (1967:147) "general formula

¹See pp. 136-137.

for capital" (money-commodity-money), the goal of the transaction is to earn money rather than to secure goods and services or repay social debts. There was no traditional counterpart for capital in Kamano culture.

Because money is multifunctional, social conflicts emerge over its use that highlight the distinctions made by villagers.

Social Obligations Versus Business

During the period of this study, brideprice was said to range between U.S. \$750 and \$2,250, depending roughly on the distance to the groom's home village. As brideprice is expected to be greater than the bride's counter-gift, it is not uncommon for men to use their sponsorship as a way to increase an investment. One man was having trouble amassing money for a feast he was preparing, because two of his brothers had not received a "profit" on a contribution they had made when he acted as chief sponsor for a clan-sister. Nonetheless, there is some feeling that these categories should not be confused. At a village court hearing, a man sued an adopted daughter for failing to reciprocate the \$10 he had given for her bridal counter-gift. In defending his claim, he said, "I don't want money from her skin. I only want the \$10 I gave her." Similarly, while reproving a clan for demanding too much bridewealth, a judge warned, "We must not make our woman a business."

This conflict is also reflected in the incompatibility of entrepreneurship and village society. Neither the village trade store nor the gas pump is owned by local men. In each case, the owners are from nearby villages and currently reside in towns. Except for a single PMV truck and a second tiny trade-store--both of which operate only intermittantly due to lack of capital--there are no locally-owned village enterprises. The few successful entrepreneurs from Sonofi live and run businesses in Port Moresby. Informants offer two explanations for this phenomenon. Businessmen, like traditional "rich men," are ascribed high status which makes them particularly vulnerable as targets for sorcerers who are jealous of an enemy's success. Moreover, businessmen are expected by co-villagers to act like "rich men" and to distribute their wealth in helping them to meet social obligations. The constant pressure they are under to distribute their capital in life-cycle payments makes it imperative for entrepreneurs to distance themselves from the village.

Social Obligations Versus Consumption

The opposition between "eating" money and using it in traditional exchanges of wealth is most often enacted as conflict between old and young men. At village court hearings, funerals, and feasts, big-men often take the opportunity to assert their power over the younger "lines" by berating them for their lack of knowledge and laziness.

One theme commonly alluded to is their ignorance of sorcery and inability to protect the village. A second motif employed in these speeches is their sons' failure to save money to meet their social obligations to fathers, wives, and affines. Young men are ridiculed for caring only for cards and beer. Given a general ambience in which the power of older men and their traditional knowledge is waning somewhat, these lectures represent attempts to reassert control. During a wing-bean feast held by a big-man, the recent death of a village-brother clearly evoked fears that the young would squander money needed to provide proper funerary feasts for their fathers. Two big-men loudly berated their sons:

If you have two wives, you must build a big house. You must look after your wives and pigs. Forget cards! You must take your money and buy cows, pigs, and sheep. You must build new pig houses.

They [i.e., the young] don't save their money and give it to the big-men to hold for them so that when someone dies they can buy things and kill pigs. Instead they divide it up and play cards, and pretty soon they have nothing.

Consumption Versus Business

It is the Local Government Councilor of Sonofi who has the widest knowledge of business within the village. In an effort to increase its revenue base, the Local Government Council operates several businesses in the Kainantu area and Sonofi's counselor has participated in its Finance Committee for several years. He is also the secretary

of the Council's main store. Within the village, however, he has had little success in building community enterprises. Like the big-men, he sometimes berates villagers for consuming their money rather than using it as capital. Once he used tax money to establish a community-owned trade store in Kainantu. The store failed when its stock was depleted by villagers buying goods on credit.

With taxes and school fees representing only a nominal amount, it is these three contexts that give meaning to contemporary villagers' need for money. Strategies for obtaining money are limited. Of the possibilities, the least utilized is rural wage labor. In Sonofi there are only two full-time jobs available: running the trade store and maintaining the road that runs through the village. These positions are passed along from brother to brother as old employees tire of the work. There is more opportunity in seasonal employment, such as picking coffee on plantations, but here the extremely low pay, hard labor, and fears of sorcery deter men from more than an occasional attempt.

For most men, a choice is made between remaining in the village and growing coffee, or finding work in urban areas. Although periods of each of these activities can be interspersed, the initial decision to plant coffee requires a commitment of up to four years in which financial returns are minimal. Men who are considering going or returning to the city (at any time this includes a large number of

men) will rarely be willing to invest the labor necessary to expand their usually minimal coffee holdings.

The choice made between these strategies rests on a number of factors. Men who generally favor a rural adaptation point out that since they remain near their wives and gardens, most of the money they earn can be applied to recreation and social payments, whereas urban dwellers must sacrifice most of their wages to simple subsistence needs. A problem arises, however, in that the land most suitable for coffee-growing has long ago been planted by older men, leaving the young with limited opportunity to expand their holdings. Moreover, as a long-term strategy, coffee growing suffers from the poorly understood fluctuations of the international market. In bad years, it is felt to be scarcely worth the labor involved to pick and sell one's crop. An additional impetus to urban migration comes from wives who protest that they are tired of their husbands living off of their labor, and who wish to invert this relationship in towns.

The decision to seek urban employment is completely intertwined with village social dynamics. Village-brothers and fathers usually contribute the bulk of the airfare with the expectation that they will be compensated on the migrant's return to the village. Likewise, the choice of urban destination is largely determined by the presence of village-brothers who can offer a recent migrant food,

money, and shelter, and can sometimes find them employment. In some instances, a store is virtually appropriated by men from one village or area who quickly fill any job vacancy that occurs. A trade-store in Port Moresby, for example, has hired only men from Sonofi in the last several years, and in this way employment is circulated among village-brothers. When employment is unavailable, men live as *pasindia* ("passengers," or nonparticipants) with their brothers without the sense of shame sometimes experienced by unemployed migrants from other language groups (M. Strathern 1975; Salisbury and Salisbury 1977).

The security offered by sibling reciprocity has been instrumental in funneling Sonofi's migrants to Port Moresby. Following the decline of the Highland Labor Scheme and its indentured contracts, a pre-existing nucleus of village-brothers provided the only economic transition to cities available to free migrants. Shifts in urban destination are predicated upon traditional social principles. During the course of fieldwork, Kieta became a secondary focus for urban migration due to an intervillage nexus in the social structure. The pivotal figure here was a man who was born in an allied village, but when still quite young, accompanied his elder sister when she married into Sonofi. As is common in such cases, he was raised by his sister's husband in an informal adoption so that to the middle generation of Sonofi he is related as a brother.

This did not, however, abrogate his ties to his natal village, and at the age of seventeen, he joined his original set of brothers in Kieta where he soon found employment. Before my departure from the field, one man from Sonofi had already joined him there and three others had publicly stated their intentions to follow.

The very economic reciprocity that allows migration to function as a system selects against choosing nearby towns as destinations. For Sonofi's migrants, the same relationships that comfortably distribute wealth in Port Moresby become financially overwhelming when transposed to Kainantu. The ease of access to and from the village means that Kainantu workers are constantly besieged by kin to whom they are obliged to offer food and money. Although this causes resentment, economic reciprocity is inherent in kinship relationships and cannot be easily negated. Similarly, at the same time that villagers share employment with their brothers, they block access to this employment to other groups. The young men of Sonofi can recite precisely which village or area each shop in Kainantu prefers to hire. Villagers claim that breaking into this system has proven frustrating.

This lack of job opportunity for Sonofians in Kainantu does not appear to result simply from chance hiring practices. According to villagers, there is a deliberate policy on the part of Kainantu businessmen not to hire people from

nearby areas. Store owners, they claim, fear that their stocks will be given away freely to *wantoks* or discounted to meet social obligations, and so prefer to hire workers from more distant areas from which visitors are less likely to come. This pattern was confirmed by a patrol officer in the midst of describing the availability of wage-labor for rural Kamano:

In fact, the employers prefer unskilled labor from other areas, as they are of the opinion that the locals are lazier than the people of other areas. Whether this is true or not, the employers rarely employ people of the Kainantu Sub-District. (Kainantu Patrol Report #10 1969/70)

Further confirmation for this pattern comes from Young, who found that as early as 1939 a high rate of absenteeism among local workers led Kainantu businessmen to import their labor force. A similar rationale governed hiring on the Ramu Hydro-Electric Project:

Employers want a workforce which stays on the job as long as it lasts, has a good record of attendance, and sees wage earning as the most important activity in life. But the men from adjacent Agarabi villages do not have to depend on cash to survive; they often only want to work until they have earned enough for a specific purpose and they are frequently absent whenever they become involved in village activity. (Young 1977:199)

In Port Moresby, 61 percent of Sonofi's male migrants had found work in unskilled positions, with 42 percent working as store clerks. This disproportionately high figure is partially explained by the pattern of shared employment described above. In addition, however, two

men from Sonofi and at least one man from a neighboring village own small trade-stores in different parts of the city. These entrepreneurs hire brothers in the city and sometimes actively bring brothers from the village to work for them. Twelve percent of the migrants were unemployed at the time this study was conducted. This figure is comparable to the figures on Hagen migrants, but lower than figures on migrants from other parts of the country (M. Strathern 1975:115).

For unskilled laborers, the commitment to remain in Port Moresby is minimal. The low fortnightly wages they earn are enough to pay for food, housing, transportation, and a few luxuries like beer, gambling, and movies. Some men also manage to support a wife and children in the city. On the whole, however, these migrants remain in the city for short periods of time ranging from one to five years. Reasons offered for returning to the village include the inability to save money and the wish to return to wives, children, brothers, and fathers. Migrants are also concerned about their land and coffee plots. They fear that in their absence other men will establish claims to their gardens or to land they are due to inherit by the labor expended in cultivation. The uncomfortably hot climate and prevalence of malaria in Port Moresby also contribute to migrants' desire to return home.

The migrants most likely to remain in the city include those with personal reasons for wishing to avoid the village and men who have attained semi-skilled positions or who have begun their own businesses. Approximately 13 percent of the Sonofi sample have received some job training (e.g., police, shipbuilding, electrician) that is particularly suited to the urban economy. The amount of training involved and its lack of relevance for contemporary rural life creates a commitment to remain in Port Moresby. For entrepreneurs, returning to the village would endanger their ability to keep their capital separate from money available to meet social obligations; as one store owner asserted, "if you stay in the village and earn money, you have to give it to your fathers."

The following account by a Kamano entrepreneur concentrates much of the history of urban migration from the Kamano area. It is typical of shop owners from the Kamano area, if only in illustrating the combination of "buy low-sell high" petty capitalism and pooling of clan resources involved in the initial accumulation of capital. What is unique to this account are the circumstances by which this entrepreneur managed to establish close ties to Hula villagers who are native to Port Moresby. These ties have been quite valuable to him; he is certainly the most successful of the Kamano entrepreneurs. At the time of the interview, he owned a trade-store replete with freezers,

three trucks, a large stall for breeding ducks, and two mobile trailer-stores that he operated at Waigani and Boroko.

Back in 1962, Holloway (now a Kainantu-area MP) was a patrol officer and told us we couldn't go to the coast if we couldn't grow whiskers. I didn't have them, but I came to Moresby anyway. I signed a contract to work for the Sogeri Rubber Plantation. They signed twenty boys from Jagonofi, Sonofi, Tibunofi, and Musabe. I cut a lot of grass, sheathing forty stalks to a bundle. My arms ached and I cried. You know, my brother, plantation work is no good. Titio's brother came and was sorry for me, so he stole me away to Moresby. We stayed two months and then found work constructing buildings in Konedobu; K5 a fortnight--can you believe it? We slept in the warehouse. We tore open cement bags and slept on them.

One day, the boss sent me to work, but the carpenter had me go to the store to buy milk. I came back with a soft-drink. I just didn't know how to shop. I tried to cook rice, but I only added a little water. We put it in a paint can and all the water evaporated. We kept cooking it till it smoked and then ate it anyway.

The man who brought me to Moresby was named Mayuo. He was always playing cards. He would lose his money and mine. I only made two pounds and he would lose it. Brother, I sat down and I was hungry. I'd take my knife into the bush and look for wild yams. Man, my mouth would swell and I'd be in pain when I went to sleep.

We thought, "Where did we come from?" There weren't many planes. Now we have maps and it's all clear, but before we didn't know this. I cried and I was as thin as a skeleton.

Then Mayuo asked a Papuan if he would look after me and he agreed. His name was Ben Mamata--my father. He took me to Hula. I was delighted. I hadn't eaten for about two weeks and was about to die. Ben was a carpenter--a good carpenter. He willed his pocket with scones and called me and then emptied his pockets on the ground. I came slowly and saw them and pounced. I shoveled them into my mouth and my eyes were shut. He

asked Mayuo if I could go with him and Mayuo agreed. Mayuo asked me and I said yes. Mayuo stared at me and I cried.

Ben took me to Hanubada by canoe. We sat in his house and he told his wife, "I brought home a Chimbu boy." They didn't speak *tok pisin* so they would point to something and I'd go get it. Then, in the corner I saw sweet potatoes, taro, and bananas. My eyes got big and my mouth watered. She skinned them, but I said, "Never mind, I'll eat them with the skin." She cooked the food and I sat there, delighted. They served portions out onto plates and I was really happy. When food is in your stomach, you're happy. I didn't even chew--I just swallowed it.

Outside the house, they placed a cake, shovel, and bushknife. In the morning, I took these on my shoulder and we went to Hitubada Tech. They took me to their banana garden. One student there was a Kafe and he stared at me. He asked me where I was from and I said Kainantu. He asked my native language and I said Kafe. He said that he was too and we cried. He took me to the mess and they were afraid of how much I ate.

I went back to the garden. These people didn't know how to work. They yelled my name and showed me what to do with their hands. They were afraid of how hard I worked. The next day we went to Hula. It took us three days by canoe. When 1963 began Mayuo and Ben came to Hula. They saw how healthy I looked and that I had grown into a man. I looked around and said, "Where am I?" My elder brother, Mayuo, wanted to take me home, but I didn't want to go. He left me and went back. I stayed through 1963 and 1964. I didn't go to school.

In July of 1964 I got a job at Three-Mile installing sewage pipes at the hospital. Mayuo was working for the PDC building army barracks. He told me to quit and come to work with him. He was a manager and could hire people. He sent word to Tibunofi and Sonofi and many men came. I worked there through 1967. In 1967, I brought a Nissan car for K2500. [How did you get the money?] All my brothers from Tibunofi pooled their money for the down-payment, but I paid

the installments myself. Then we got a driver from Onumuga who taught me to drive. I got a license and we had a big party at six-mile. I was the driver until 1969. I taught my brothers how to drive, but just as I completed the payments it broke down. [How?] The new drivers ruined it by not putting in the clutch. Then I bought a Toyota Land Cruiser and sent it to the village. They all pooled their money to buy it. It finally gave out on the Kassam Pass. We brought it to the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Rane came to buy it. That car killed a man from Sonofi. I went back to the village for a little while, but returned to Moresby in 1971.

In 1971, I worked as a driver for a transport company. From 1971 till 1975 I loaded cargo at the wharf and delivered it. On January 6, 1975, I opened a little toilet-sized trade-store here. [Who paid for the land?] I began to rent it in 1974 for K5 a year. Now it's gone up to K16. It wasn't really a store then. It just had one piece of corrugated iron for a roof. [How did you buy goods to sell?] The transport company gave me a sack of rice for a Christmas present. I brought it back, divided it into small portions, and sold them individually. A Chimbu man saw it and spread the word. In those days, there was no store around here; you had to go all the way to Waigani. A thousand men came and bought all the food. We expanded the store to three roof sections and bought rice, biscuits, and canned fish. They also sold quickly, and we expanded again in 1976 to five sections. Yave [the informant's genealogical FZS] helped me by contributing money. In June 1978, I expanded the store to its present size.

Entrepreneurs explain their reluctance to return to the village by claiming they would be expected to give their money to their fathers. This is indeed the case for most returning urban migrants. Money that has been saved from wages, along with various purchased gifts, are distributed to men who helped pay the migrant's airfare, as well as to reciprocate care given to the migrant during

childhood. Payment for services during childhood is the responsibility of adults and reinforces the role of urban migration as a rite of passage. Failure to compensate is not infrequently brought up before the village court. During a speech alluded to elsewhere,¹ the big-man finished his oration by scolding a grandson over this issue:

When you were young, I cleaned up your shit which was as hard as a stick. I looked after you. You told me when you went to Moresby, you would bring me money. Where is it? You should buy me a cow.

Young men travel to towns to avoid the impending social responsibilities to which they are about to fall heir. For a brief period of time they escape the domination of old men and the completely encompassing patterns of military and economic reciprocity that will dominate the remainder of their lives. Capitalism in contemporary Kamano life is essentially an adolescent phenomenon. The pattern in which men work for wages and utilize them for personal consumption is incongruent with adult responsibilities in which the products of labor must be used to compensate and maintain processes of social reproduction. Such associations represent cultural ideals. Despite the fact that old men gamble as much as young men in the village, it is the young who are reproached for irresponsibility.

¹See pp. 278-279.

Urban Contexts, Rural Ties:
Lessons from Africa

Towns represent a social context that is completely unprecedented in traditional Kamano society. Indeed, the separation from village life and contact with people from different areas of Papua New Guinea and the world are some of the features that make towns particularly exciting for rural migrants. Despite this novel aspect of urban society, the ties established by Kamano migrants with new groups of people are based on extensions of traditional social categories and principles of social connectedness. To some extent, the importance of traditional culture in this regard reflects the recency of urban migration and its incorporation into a primarily rural life orientation. In addition, however, there is a growing awareness on the part of urban anthropologists of the parallels between traditional societies and urban patterns in developing countries.

The first accounts of urban "tribalism" in Africa were formulated to counter the then current notion of "detrribalization" which posited a "falling into desuetude of customs, beliefs and practices to which the migrant had firmly adhered before he had come to town" (Mitchell 1974:18). Both Gluckman (1960) and Mitchell (1956) observed a maintenance of tribal identity in African towns; but an identity that was distinct from its rural counterpart. They discussed this difference

in terms of individual behavioral adaptations made to novel social contexts:

[the] African is always tribalized, both in towns and in rural areas; but he is tribalized in two quite different ways. As we see it, in the rural areas he lives and is controlled in every activity in an organized system of tribal relations; in the urban areas tribal attachments work within a setting of urban association. Hence the African in rural areas and in town is two different men; for the social system of tribal home and urban employment determine his actions and associations within the major politico-economic system covering both areas. (Gluckman 1960:69; quoted in Cohen and Middleton 1970:3)

By formulating this distinction in terms of individual actions, systemic studies became dichotomized between rural and urban contexts. Thus, Mitchell (1966:48) asserts that urban relationships "must be viewed as a social system in their own right." The ethnic identities established by urban migrants, Mitchell (1974:19) describes as "a labelling process which related primarily to expectations of behaviour in that public place rather than to basic customs, beliefs and practices." While urban African society was not consigned to the functionalist vacuum implied by "detrribalization," it remained a realm isolated from rural social structure.

Challenges to this dichotomy came from several different vantage points. Many studies found valuable parallels between rural and urban social dynamics (Mayer 1961; Epstein 1967). Charsley (1974:353) suggests that it is an error to contrast the "outward-facing aspect" of urban tribalism with the internal coherence of rural

tribes. Referring to the work of Gulliver (1969) and other contributors to Tradition and Transition in East Africa, he points out that rural tribalism is also partially based on distinctions formulated with other tribal groups.¹ A similar position is taken by Schwartz in his description of "cultural totemism" in rural Manus in Papua New Guinea. Referring to the formulation of ethnic identity to distinguish neighboring cultures, he asserts:

There is evidence that identity is always problematic and consequently dynamic, not only in modern, rapidly changing societies but in primitive societies as well. It becomes problematic in new ways under culture contact, domination and acculturation, but it is not created anew. (Schwartz 1975:128)

Charsley (1974:353) suggests that the converse of this comparison is equally valid, i.e., that urban tribes possess an internal coherence based on traditional forms of social relationship. Describing Mossi migrants to urban centers in Ghana, Schildekraut (1974) defends the importance of kinship in creating social ties. Urban kinship, she observes, is usually seen as "real" only in the context of the nuclear family, with wider groupings regarded as nontraditional metaphorical extensions. In contrast to this position, she notes that at a general level, ethnicity "seems always to involve some notion of common origin and descent, even though recruitment and identity may be brought

¹This point is confirmed by Brewer and Campbell (1976) in a recent study of rural samples in East Africa.

about in other ways" (Schildekraut 1974:191). Moreover, Schildekraut discusses the notion that the creation of "metaphorical" kin is solely an innovation evoked by the urban context. Even when the lack of appropriate genealogical kin motivates migrants to "create" appropriate relationships, this still presupposes traditional categories and norms:

He will go to a member of his ethnic community, who may be regarded as a potential kinsman, and asked him to assume this role for the purposes of the marriage. When the man agrees, he has accepted some of the obligations of a kinsman. These obligations are still defined in traditional terms, for it would be absurd for us to expect all values and all role expectations to change at once simply because a man changes his place of residence. (Schildekraut 1974:205)

Wantok

Next to the "line" of village-brothers with whom the migrant resides and interacts most intensely, the most significant urban relationships formed are with people referred to as *wantok*. In its most literal sense, *wantok* ("one-talk") refers to "one who speaks the same language" (Milhalic 1971:202). As an urban category, however, it has come to assume a more general meaning that is somewhat vague in its application. Defined in this more inclusive sense, *wantok* has been described as "a category of relationships that effectively combines kinship, ethnicity and more individualistic friendship ties in a new, pervasive urban social idiom" (Levine and Levine 1979:70). Strathern (1975:292) characterizes the *wantok* classification as applying to

"those who identify themselves as having some interest in common."

While kinship, affinity, shared language, and place of origin can each serve as a basis for *wantok* relationships, they are not in themselves sufficient to account for them. Not infrequently, migrants have *wantok* from other parts of the country and conversely may not consider men from neighboring villages in this category. As with so many other types of social relationships in Melanesia, the *wantok* classification is not ascribed passively according to pre-existing social ties. Instead, informants speak of an active process in which they designate (*makim*) *wantok*. The determinants used during this process are interactional in nature. In describing the *wantok* relationship, men refer to an ease of interaction (*gutpela sindaun*) in which they can talk, eat, travel, and joke without the sense of wariness inherent in the Melanesian ethos.

Perhaps the key element in establishing these interactions is the extension of a form of reciprocity usually reserved for kin and close allies. Levine and Levine (1979:71) describe the expectations involved in this type of relationship using the concept of "generalized reciprocity. As first envisioned by Sahlins (1972:194), such exchanges are marked by a sense of altruism that give them the appearance of a "pure gift." Aid or sustenance is offered to someone in need, with the expectation of repayment allowed to remain

indefinite. Such a counter gift is "not stipulated by time, quantity, or quality." A new migrant from Sonofi explained that he had been helped by a *wantok* at the airport. In describing this interaction, he illustrates the sense of "generalized reciprocity" inherent in the creation of *wantok* ties:

The airlines had raised the fare so that I didn't have enough money for the bus. I walked up to a man and said, "Eh, *wantok*--I just came from the Highlands and I'm a new person in Moresby." He asked where I was from. He said he was from Okapa and I told him I was from Sonofi [which lies along the Okapa road]. He went into a store and bought me a meat pie, sausage and soda. He said, "Eat first and fill your stomach." He was a true *wantok*! He paid my bus fare to Sabama. He said that if I didn't find my brothers, I could come and stay with him at his hostel. I told him I saw my brother and he reached into his pocket and gave me K2 for me and my brother. [Will you go visit this man?] If I get a job, I'll go to where he works and help [i.e., repay] him.

Wantok reciprocity is not limited to people of one geographical area or who necessarily share any other common social attribute. In explaining how, as a Trobriand Islander, he could have Highland *wantok*, Kasaipwalova stated:

. . . [*wantok* systems] have grown up as a response to black people having to confront a situation where they are unsure of themselves and where they feel miseries. For instance, in the plantations, where black people have been recruited as *wokboi*, they have worked there on a minimum salary. Part of the intention of the *wantok* system is that when someone is in need their *wantok* just simply give. That is how it has come about--*wantok* has, in fact, been an organic responsive growth to an exploitative colonial system. (Kasaipwalova 1973:453).

The *wantok* term can refer to people along a continuum ranging from close kin to urban friends. Certain distinctions between referents on this continuum can be made with associated pidgin terms whose meaning can be either semantic or pragmatic in nature. Informants employ the term *wantokples*, for example, to refer specifically to people who speak the same indigenous language (*tok ples*). This category which reproduces the literal, and perhaps an historical, meaning of *wantok* can be posed against people from other areas of the country that comprise the residuum of the wider category. But while the meaning of *wantokples* does not vary in different contexts, the term "real *wantok*" (i.e., *wantok tru*) can be used to emphasize any one of several social attributes underlying a particular *wantok* tie. In the description quoted above about the interaction at the Moresby airport, the use of *wantok tru* referred to the successful evocation of generalized reciprocity. A different usage emerged during an encounter with a Kamano migrant who introduced a Chimbu co-worker as his *wantok*. Referring to the linguistic discrepancy involved, he hastened to add that he wasn't a real *wantok*, but rather a "true friend" (*fren tru*). A third informant described a real *wantok* in the following manner: "We're from the same village and have one mother and one father. Our whole family eats together and bore us all. We stay together."

Wantok is a pidgin term that is used in interactions between members of many different Melanesian cultures. An understanding of the cultural basis of such a term would require an investigation and comparison of indigenous terms and relationships in these cultures. Such a study is beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, we would expect to find certain similarities in principles of social relatedness among Melanesian cultures that might support the use of a common pidgin term. By examining the place occupied by the *wantok* term in Kamano social structure, we gain an understanding of its use specifically among Kamano migrants that could potentially be used in comparison with other studies.

In general, the term *wantok* is translated by informants to cover a number of Kamano terms that express various forms and degrees of social solidarity with male members of ego's generation. One term from this continuum that is associated with *wantok* is nenafu, a rather ubiquitous term of address that can be glossed as "my brother." With genealogical brothers, village men, or close acquaintances of the speaker, nenafu represents a generic form of sibling relationship that overlaps with more specific terms which indicate position relative to age. When birth order is known, these brothers might also be called "my elder brother" (nempu'nemo) or "my younger brother" (negana'nemo). A special classification within this category that is sometimes

singled out as an equivalent for *wantok* is the nefaru term which can be loosely interpreted as "age-mate." Traditionally, nefaru referred to village brothers who had undergone initiation together. Contemporary age-mates claim to have been born on the same day or during the same month, with the classification occasionally extended to cover men born during one year. The equality of age and status in this relationship creates a special kind of solidarity. The wife of an age-mate is called nenemeho, a term that indicates social avoidance and potential marriageability when the age-mate dies. Translated into pigdin age-mate is usually rendered as *poroman*, which in turn is seen as synonymous with *wantok*.

While, as a term of address, nenafu can be employed as an alternative to these more solidary terms, it can also be used in address and reference to refer to more distant acquaintances. Virtually any Kamano who is known to the speaker or with whom he wishes to enter into close interaction can be referred to as nenafu. The aspect of these various relationships emphasized by the usage of this term is a sense of generalized reciprocity that is especially solidified when reaffirmed over several generations. According to one informant, the term nenafu is used

. . . when your grandfathers got along well and then your fathers and then you. You were all raised and schooled together. When you're close with another village you're nenafu. Then you fight and you're not nenafu any more. You buy beer for them and they repay you.

In another context of Kamano social relations, *wantok* is associated with the terms arone and kanampa. If nenafu reflects a loose sense of co-descent, arone and kanampa belong more clearly in the realm of affinity. Arone refers to one's BWB and ZHB when the marriage involved was contracted outside of ego's village. When one marries within the village, the relationship of shared descent takes precedence and the corresponding affines would be called "brother." The term arone possesses an overlapping meaning as allies in time of warfare. It cannot be assumed, however, that all BWB or ZHB functioned as allies. A contradictory norm frequently stated as "we marry our enemies" meant that affines might be allies or enemies.¹ This secondary meaning of arone (i.e., as allies) was a relationship that had to be activated in practice and thus formed just one subset of affinal relations. Some informants considered kanampa as a synonym for arone. It was rarely, however, used as a "kin term." More commonly, it was defined as a man from a distant area with whom one shared the comforts of home, hearth, and security and from whom a corresponding reciprocity could be expected. While the nenafu translation of *wantok* is more closely associated with other Kamano-speakers,

¹See pp. 74-81 where the interaction between affinity and alliance is treated in more depth.

it is the arone/kanampa relationship that is used as a template for relations with more distant groups.

The context that is created in an interview where informants translate *wantok* into Kamano terms parallels the historical linguistic situation in which pidgin was first appropriated by Kamano villagers. The *wantok* term, after all, was not originally formulated with Kamano concepts in mind. Pidgin existed before contact was made with the Kamano, but became meaningful to them in the process of translation. By associating *wantok* with the nenafu and arone/kanampa classifications, they actively redefined the term according to traditional principles of social relationship in a way that we would expect to overlap with pidgin-speakers from other areas.

For the Kamano, the *wantok* is associated with terms that can refer to and/or create social relationships. In general, both the nenafu and the arone/kanampa terms emphasize those aspects of kinship relationships that involve generalized reciprocity and social security with people from other areas with whom no such security could be assumed a priori. Such classifications might be asserted with other people, but then had to be tested in practice and were expected to vary according to these interactions. The use of nenafu, for example, was expected to vary depending on the emergence of conflict between nearby villages. In the case of allies, this process was even more pronounced.

Military refugees frequently did not know whether they would be welcomed or attacked and occupied a tenuous position in the host village until their allegiance was cemented by a prolonged stay. The patrilineal enclave created by them provided a slightly more secure base for future migration.

By selecting the nenafu and arone/kanampa relationships to extend outward toward people not even envisioned prior to contact, the Kamano de-emphasize the obviously irrelevant notions of descent implicit in other kin terms. Instead, they utilize categories whose main reference is a sense of generalized reciprocity that is created and affirmed during interactions requiring minimal social precedence. As embodied in the *wantok* relationship, this emphasis become even more concrete, i.e., the need for a pre-existing kinship tie is sacrificed so that a social relationship can be established based solely on reciprocity. Within the urban milieu this reciprocity provides a basis for sharing poverty and compensating for fluctuating periods of unemployment. Where an urban entrepreneur supports his *wantok* by offering employment, housing, and financial aid, such reciprocity functions to distribute status in a manner similar to traditional big-men.¹

¹ See pp. 280-284.

Ethnic Groups

A migrant currently living in Moresby offered the following definition of *wantok*:

It's when you and another man come from one province or one area. I can call him *wantok*. We're in a distant place now, so even if he's from an area a bit farther away, I can still call him *wantok*.

While shared place of origin is but one of many possible precedents for the establishment of individual *wantok* relationships, it becomes the central variable in the perception of social/ethnic groupings in towns. The willingness of this informant to expand this geographical basis of solidarity given a wider context is also an integral factor for discussions of ethnicity.

Most attempts to define "ethnicity" rely on a notion of social categorization in pluralistic situations. For Barth (1969:10), ethnic groups are "categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves" that "have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people." Barth's (1969:15-16) behavioral slant is further emphasized by his assertion that "ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked differences in behaviour, i.e., persisting cultural differences." The attempt to use behavior as a primary variable in the discussion of ethnicity, however, quickly leads back to problems of significance and meaning. As Barth (1969:14) notes:

. . . we can assume no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences. The features that are taken into account are not the sum of "objective" differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant. Some cultural features are used by the actors as signals and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied.

This basic problem in a behaviorally-oriented definition of ethnicity has led other authors to select alternative approaches. Employing a "psycho-cultural approach," De Vos (1975:17) asserts:

As a subjective sense of belonging, ethnicity cannot be defined by behavioral criteria alone. Ethnicity is determined by what a person feels about himself, not by how he is observed to behave.

This position has led De Vos (1975:9) to define an ethnic group as "a self-perceived group of people who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by the others with whom they are in contact."

A more sociological perspective on ethnicity is offered by Schwartz (1975) in his characterization of ethnic identity as "cultural totemism." For Schwartz, both ethnicity and totemism represent forms of an ethnosociology in which culture becomes the reflexive object of its own tendency to differentiate and categorize. A general definition of this nature allows Schwartz to treat contemporary ethnicity and traditional intergroup relationships in the Admiralty Islands within the same realm of discourse. It is with such a theoretical basis that we can begin to elicit historical

continuity and transformation in the creation of ethnic groups.

On a superficial level, the ethnic social structure underlying urban relationships for Kamano migrants bears little relationship to pre-contact categories. As a rule, the terms used to describe ethnic groups refer to provinces and towns established as centers of colonial administration. Needless to say, pre-contact Kamano villagers had no knowledge of groups outside of the immediate Kainantu-Okapa area. As Schwartz (175:117) has noted, Melanesian society "combines political atomism with economic-ceremonial integration." The trading networks that proceeded group-to-group across the island made contact with neighbors essential, but did not require wider ties. A rugged geography combined with sparse populations in the Highlands fringe area limited knowledge of coastal groups. It is interesting to note that these same factors delayed colonial penetration of the Highlands until the 1920s. Prior to this time, Australians assumed that the inhabitants were "small, sparse groups of primitive and nomadic cannibals and head hunters" (Willis 1969:33). For their part, the southern Kamano considered the Kassam Pass that leads down to the coastal Markham Valley as the entrance to the Hankro'me, the "land of ghosts."

But while political and ethnic fragmentation inhibited wider contacts, it also made inter-ethnic relationships an important aspect of traditional cultures. Located in

the southeastern corner of Kamano settlement, Sonofi maintained relationships with villages from at least two other language groups. Yababi, a Keyegana-speaking village, came to live at Sonofi as refugees just prior to pacification. Based on a concentration of affinal ties, they later became Sonofi's closest southern ally. On its eastern boundary, Sonofi's hamlets border on hamlets affiliated with Ontenu, a village that speaks the Oyana dialect of Gadsup. Sonofi's Oronofi clan has kin in a second Gadsup-speaking village (Oiyana) that are related patrilineally through the grandparental generation. Their close ties with this village are reflected in the root of their clan-name (Oro) which is a Gadsup word meaning "opossum." Men from hamlets lying along these borders are generally bilingual.

As opposed to other areas of Melanesia where linguistic variation corresponded to cultural and/or ecological differences, it had few implications for Kamano social relations. In Berndt's combined description of Kamano, Usarufa, Jate, and Fore groups, he notes that:

Despite local variations, including language differences, these units share a common cultural background, which means that the behavior of all their members is roughly predictable even on the part of those who have no direct contact with one another. (R.M. Berndt 1965:78)

In traditional Kamano society, relationships with villages from other language groups form an undistinguished subset of general intervillage ties. The Gadsup and Keyegana

villages near Sonofi were treated much like neighboring Kamano villages. The character of these relationships was determined by a combination of factors, the most important of which were propinquity, sociogeographical boundaries, and co-descent from siblings. Of these variables, the last was the least specific in its implications. Kamano villages exchanged wives with virtually all villages in a "zone of interaction" extending about eleven miles in any direction (R.M. Berndt 1971). The sense of solidarity potentially generated by such unions occurred in the children's and grandchildren's generations, who were seen as co-descendants from a brother and sister. These cross-cousin ties, however, did not necessarily create alliances between villages. While a man would avoid killing his genealogical cross-cousin, his clan and village-brothers were not similarly obligated. The Kamano "zone of interaction" included both enemies and allies.

Relevant distinctions between these villages were based on propinquity in relation to sociogeographical boundaries. There were three variations possible in this regard:

1. For the clans residing within a single village, propinquity and intermarriage were equivalent to alliance. In describing the solidarity of Sonofi's clans, one informant explained:

Many fathers bore us, but all of their root-land was contingent. At first they wandered around, but they lost possession of their root-land and

so decided this wasn't a good fashion. Finally they all gathered together and decided they were all Sonofi.

While Sonofi became a set geographical entity with a myth of settlement offering a sense of solidarity, the social alliance within its boundaries was not permanent. When interclan fights escalated or members of a clan were bribed by an enemy, the resulting conflict sometimes caused clans to migrate and transfer their affiliation to other villages. Fights within the villager were called "they fight among themselves (agra agra ha'hie) or "they fight their brothers" (kogana bahe mo ha'hie), and were limited to using fists and sticks.

2. Between neighboring villages, conflict was allowed to assume primacy over propinquity and intermarriage. Despite ties of affinity and co-descent, informants believe that between groups sharing borders, conflict will inevitably arise over land, pigs, pandanus trees, and women. The absence of any sort of possible mediation meant that such fights often escalated into warfare that was called "they fight their enemies" (ha bahe ene ha'hie). While truces based on kinship ties could be arranged when villages wished to cease hostilities, these were seen as only temporarily effective. Relationships with the Gadsup village of Ontenu were of this nature.

3. With villages located outside of the encircling ring of enemies, relative propinquity and intermarriage

created the potential for alliance. When a brother and sister in two such villages bore large numbers of offspring, the relationship could take on a social character that indicated an alliance was possible. These villages referred to each other as hagayu rafa bahe ("vulva-root man") or hago'nifa rafa bahe ("squash-root man"). Such an alliance is activated when a clan or clan segment is accepted as refugees by their cross-cousins. When hostilities are ended, this group may or may not return to their original residence. In cases where they choose to remain with their hosts, they form an enclave with patrilineal ties to their village of origin. A second type of alliance is created in this process in which men are related as co-descendants from two brothers and call each other "semen-root men" (hanori rafa bahe). The solidarity implied by a patrilineally-based tie is seen as much stronger than those through cross-sexed siblings. When fights erupted between groups related in this way, the same terms were used that were employed between clans of Sonofi. Fighting between "vagina-root men" was called "they fight for mother's milk" (aminteku ha'hie). With regard to Sonofi's relations to other language groups, the Keyegana-speakers of Yababi are "vulva-root men," while the Gadsup village of Oiyana are "semen-root men."

From these descriptions of intervillage and interethnic relations in traditional Kamano society, conflict emerges

as an independent variable with respect to social structure. The village is little more than a temporary alliance of clans forged to protect lands either inherited or conquered. Outside of the village, conflict is allowed to take precedence over ties of descent or affinity with any group with which daily interactions ensure such conflict to arise. It is only with villages protected by distance from most conflict that a kinship-based alliance became possible. It is within the dialectical relationship between propinquity and conflict that we can locate the pragmatic basis for alliance. The prominence accorded conflict in Kamano social structure recalls Barnes' early assertion about the role of violence in distinguishing Melanesian from African society:

A characteristic of Highland cultures, and perhaps of Melanesia as a whole, is the high value placed on violence . . . In New Guinea a greater emphasis appears to be placed on killing for its own sake rather than as a continuation of group policy aimed at material ends. In these circumstances we might expect to find a less developed system of alliances and countervailing forces, and less developed arrangements for maintaining peace, than we would have in a polity directed to peace and prosperity . . . I think that it may still be hypothesized that the disorder and irregularity of social life in the Highlands, as compared with say, Tiv, is due in part to the high value placed on killing. (Barnes 1962:9)

From the perspective of Kamano urban dwellers, contemporary ethnic relationships are based on a dual opposition of New Guinea versus Papua and Highlands versus Coast (see Fig. 7). Not infrequently, these overlapping categories are reduced by informants to a single opposition that merges

Papua with Coastal and New Guinea with Highlands groups. The two resulting categories (i.e., New Guinea Highlands versus Papuan Coast) have come to represent an extreme ethnic contrast. For the Kamano, groups residing on the Papuan coast are seen as the most dissimilar to themselves. Aside from individual *wantok*, they do not enter into ethnic blocs with these groups. With the residual categories (New Guinea Coast and Papuan Highlands), relationships are less consistent. Certain groups within these categories are seen as close and others as distant. Thus, with the people of the Southern Highlands (Mendi-Tari), a cultural affinity is allowed to override their location in Papua. As an informant explained: "The Southern Highlands are in Papua, but they are 'one-kind' with us. We say they are the most distant of the Highlands groups. Papua is only on the coast."

	HIGHLANDS	COAST	
<u>PAPUA</u>	Goilala	Motu	
	-----	Kerema	
	Mendi-Tari	Popendetta	
		Samarai	
<u>NEW GUINEA</u>	Kainantu	Lae	Sepik
	Goroka	Madang	Islands (i.e.,
	Chimbu		Tolai, Manus,
	Hagen		Buka, etc.)
	Enga		

Fig. 7. Ethnic categories used in the urban context.

The rationale used here to associate the Southern Highlands with their New Guinea counterparts is based on cultural affinity. A different type of social propinquity is utilized to explain the sense of affinity felt with groups around Lae and Madang that lie on the New Guinea coast. The existence of roads linking these areas with the Highlands separates them from other coastal groups that are perceived as more foreign. In explaining his feeling of closeness for people from the Lae and Madang regions, an informant explained, "It's my area. I can come and go there by car. I can only come to Moresby by plane."

The diacritical features that form the context of ethnic distinctions from Kamano migrants can be grouped into the following categories:

Appearance. A few groups are recognized by physical features such as height, skin color, and quality of hair. Cultural embellishments on appearance--including dress, facial tattoos, and hairstyles--are also used to characterize certain groups. In general, appearance is a factor in descriptions of groups felt to be more foreign from the Kamano perspective.

Language. Kamano migrants are able to distinguish some ethnic groups by the sounds of their local language. In addition, they can often discern place of origin within

New Guinea by variations and inflections in different speakers' use of *tok pisin*.

Traditional cultural patterns. Stereotypic perceptions of traditional culture in other areas can also serve to distinguish ethnic groups. Often mentioned are food preferences and culinary practices. To the Kamano, for example, the Papuan custom of sharing food from a common platter contrasts with the importance they place on distributing even simple meals into individual portions. Also mentioned are traditional forms of dress and sexual proclivities. Of particular importance in the urban context are patterns of conflict. Some groups are seen as the possessors of especially powerful sorcery, while others are known as impulsive fighters in a classification that crosscuts geographical categories.

Urban stereotypes. Most of the ethnic stereotypes specifically associated with the city concern groups that are seen as especially prone to violence following the small conflicts that are bound to occur in urban life. Some groups are characterized as "big-heads" who pick fights and break into houses. It should be noted that some informants deny the validity of these stereotypes. Men from many areas steal, they claim when they can't find jobs and need money.

As was true in traditional Kamano society, urban ethnic groupings are formed primarily as alliances in the face of conflict. In all other situations, they prefer

the company of kin and acquaintances from their own and allied villages. Those workers who live in dispersed compounds gather every weekend at eat, drink, gamble, see movies, and socialize at the houses of their village-brothers. Aside from individual *wantok*, Kamano migrants have few social relationships with other ethnic groupings. It is during urban conflict that ethnic alliances are formed.

The following account by a Kamano informant of the riots that followed a rugby game in Port Moresby illustrates the importance of conflict in the creation of an ethnic alliance:

I think this fight occurred in 1968 or 1969. Papua was playing New Guinea at rugby. Goroka, Kainantu, Rabaul, Lae--we all went to the game together. They had A, B, and C grades. B played on Saturday. Moresby won. One Papuan man stood up holding a Fanta pop bottle and yelled, "You New Guineans eat big sweet potatoes and cabbage and have a lot of grease, but we beat you!" He held up his soda and drank it and yelled, "Water washes you. You shoot the ground."¹

We met and decided to wait for the A grade games, but that if they put us down again, we'd attack them. The A grade games happened on Sunday and New Guinea lost again. They lifted up the captain. A Papuan woman stood up and yelled, "Eh, New Guinea, water washes you": and then drank. A man from Kainantu and a Chimbu came and dropped her on her head. They broke her neck and she died. They called out, "Eh, New Guinea, the Papuans don't have a way to get out." We went after the Papuans and ripped off their hats. If they had Papuan hair, we'd beat them up. The police were New Guineans and when we were

¹This is a sexual allusion in which water refers to semen.

picked up, they'd take us to another area and say, "Fight here." We fought for two weeks. The people in Koki Market ran away and left their food. We all ate it. A Papuan woman was killed at the Administrative College.

The Papuans had a meeting and collected a lot of money. They went to the government and asked for guns. The government told them they couldn't buy guns. The Papuans said they wanted all New Guineans to go home. The government said that was okay but that maybe the capital city would go with them. They said that the Papuans didn't do manual labor like working on roads or carpentry. They are clerks and writers and just sit in chairs. The Government said there are plenty of New Guineans and they are strong workers. They said it was all right to fight with bows and spears. If the government had given us an airplane to get our weapons we would have won. We have bows. All they have are spears.

We grabbed policemen and ripped off their hats. If they had soft hair, we beat them up. They said they were *wantok*, but we said, "You're no *wantok*." All New Guineans--Tolai, Manus, Kamano, Chimbu--we all became *wantokples* on that day. We all yelled, "Su'o!" That means "kill them" in Chimbu. We told them they had held onto coconuts, but that coffee, potatoes, and cabbage had bypassed them and come over to our side.

The ethnic alliances created during this incident were the maximal units imaginable by virtually all Kamano informants. An identity as a New Guinean is conceived as geographical in nature--men say they are from the same "place." Underlying this concept, however, is the historical constitution of New Guinea as a "place" opposed to Papua. This distinction is completely colonial in nature--Papua having been a British Protectorate and Colony before becoming an Australian Territory, while New Guinea began as a German Possession and ended as a Mandated Territory of Australia

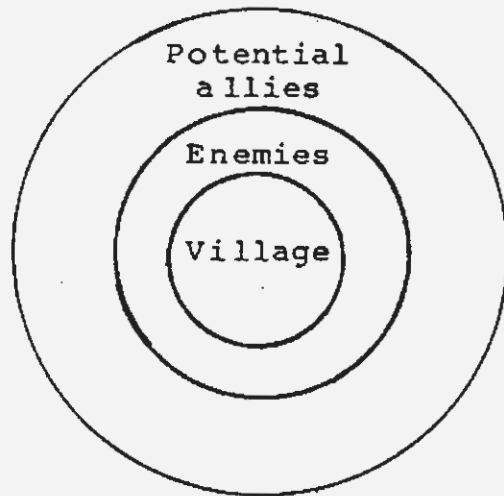
under UN supervision. The results of this historical divergence have been the growth of two different lingua franca (Motu versus *tok pisin*) and an unequal economic development with many more resources being developed in New Guinea after World War II. The overlapping identity as a Highlander that forms the backbone of the Kamano's New Guinean self-concept has a sense of shared culture as an underpinning. Men say they are "one-kind" with other Highland groups. In Port Moresby, all Highlanders are called "Chimbu" by Coastal groups. During the riot described above, Highlanders accepted this ascription in their use of Chimbu terms as rallying cries.

The long-standing hostility generated by the vicissitudes of colonial history were clearly precipitated in this context by the nature of the rugby game. For the Kamano, certainly rugby and soccer were historically associated with conflict. During the period following pacification, intervillage games of soccer served briefly as a replacement for warfare. Informants recalled the field covered with groaning players after a goal was scored.

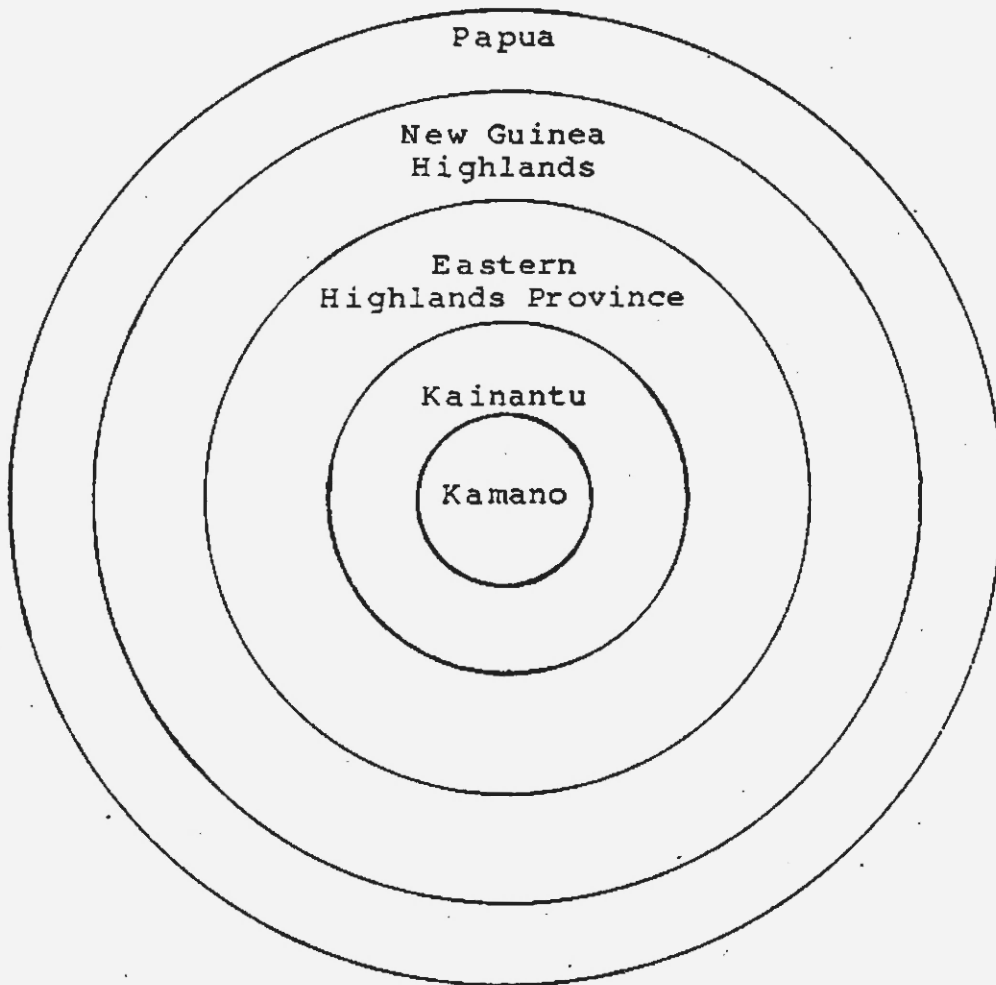
In their reliance on conflict as a catalyst, ethnic categories tend to recapitulate the principles on which traditional alliances were based. Propinquity with respect to sociogeographical boundaries emerges as the key variable cited by informants in explaining either situation. From here, however, the two models diverge in appearance. In

the traditional alliance network, the daily conflict between neighboring villages was allowed to take precedence over propinquity and kinship ties, and thus inserted a ring of enemies between village and allies. The resulting structure might resemble Figure 8. Ethnic alliances take on the character of a set of nesting categories--without intervening enemies--in which identity weakens as the classifications become more general. Urban Kamano state that they would certainly aid other Kainantu-area groups in a fight and most likely would help any group from the Eastern Highlands Province. When other Highlands groups are involved or (as in the example cited above) when New Guineans are attacked as a whole, the likelihood that Kamano will take part becomes progressively less with participation dependent on context and how directly they are involved. The Kamano cannot imagine a context in which they would ally with Papuans.

The difference between these two models reflects a disjuncture between geographical propinquity and pragmatic conflict in the urban context. In traditional society a close geographical proximity was assumed to produce conflict that could be surmounted only through the kinship ties and shared political affiliation assumed within the village. Allies were sought at a distance that precluded conflict-generating interaction. Within the cities, propinquity assumes an abstract character referring to rural geography rather than to the immediate context. Urban settlement, after



Traditional Alliance



Ethnic Alliance

Fig. 8. Traditional alliance versus ethnic alliance

all, depends on employment possibilities, waves of migration, and housing, rather than on reproducing a rural microcosm. The overall absence of pragmatic conflict and daily interaction between groups defined by rural proximity allows propinquity to become an organizing principle for larger abstract groupings. Such alignments reproduce the alliances between traditional Kamano villages where conflict was largely obviated by distance. Of course, the abstract quality of these ethnic alliances and the absence of pre-existing relationships of affinity and co-descent make them relatively weak.

Some of the newer meanings associated with ethnic distinctions are illustrated in the apocryphal account of the meeting between the Papuan faction and the government after the Papua versus New Guinea riots. These meanings are often the produce of an uneven historical development. The fifty-year gap between the late nineteenth century when Papua and the outlying Melanesian Islands came under Australian influence and the 1930s when administrators first entered the Highlands produced important repercussions for contemporary politics. With a longer experience of culture contact and Western education, people from Papuan and other coastal groups came quickly to dominate the Civil Service and other clerical positions. Highlanders entered the national economy primarily as manual laborers. For the Kamano, this class distinction converges with the elements of ethnic stereotype. Politically, this historical process

has produced disproportionate representation in government agencies. According to a 1974 survey, Papua was represented in the Public Service by a factor of 2.4 times its proportionate share in relation to population, while Highland representation was only .38 given their population. For their part, Papuans fear they will be dominated by the far greater population of New Guinea (Premdas 1977).

In a general sense, the large ethnic categories and groups that have emerged in urban Papua New Guinea owe much to traditional social structure. It is significant that the concept of "place" that proved so important a variable to ethnologists of traditional Melanesian society¹ should also prove to be the key element in the more amorphous urban ethnic alignments. Moreover, the fact that kinship was traditionally a low-level principle of social organization makes it difficult to expand to embrace speakers of the same language, much less the more amorphous geographical classifications. Described generally for Melanesia, the absence of large-scale organizing principles can be partially attributed to a regional emphasis on social differentiation. In comparing this situation with Polynesia, De Vos and Romanucci-Ross (1975:370) note:

Polynesians, for example, exhibit an easy sense of inclusiveness, while the Melanesians are acutely sensitive to differences. Melanesian cultures amplify all possible differences in continually

¹See Burridge (1959), Pouwer (1964), Langness (1964), and de Lepervanche (1968).

creating new ethnic distinctions. Throughout Polynesia, language is characterized by homogeneity, whereas Melanesians, over similar periods of time, have evolved great linguistic differentiation.

As a result of the small-scale pluralism generated by Melanesian social structure, large ethnic groupings in Papua New Guinea are forced to locate bases of solidarity in colonial history rather than in pre-contact traditions. The founders of Papua Besena--an ethno-nationalist movement--have attempted to ground their identity on shared cultural values and a common lingua franca. As Premdas (1977:270-71) observes, however, only 22 percent of the Papuan population actually speak Motu, while the cultural contrasts noted reduce to a vague set of groundless stereotypes. The absence of a sense of shared descent, language, religion, or custom leaves these groups without a "primordial" basis. They tend to be relatively weak and bound to specific contexts. The future of such groups will depend primarily on how much contemporary meaning is allowed to accrue to ethnic classifications.

PART II
POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS

CHAPTER VI

THE VICISSITUDES OF TRADITIONAL POLITICAL STRUCTURE

At the conclusion of one of the first articles written on New Guinea Highlands leaders, Read (1959:435-36) noted the persistence of traditional political qualities in men who emerged as colonial "innovators":

The qualities which distinguish the successful leader in the traditional sociocultural system are essentially the same as those possessed by men who occupy positions of influence in the changing system which includes both whites and blacks. It is, I think, a misrepresentation to conceive of the situation in New Guinea--and similar situations elsewhere--as one in which two entities we call cultures are said to meet, with the implication that one of these entities exerts a constant pressure which the other resists . . . It is more profitable to think of the situation as one where whites and blacks are participants in a developing social system . . . The qualities which made for successful leadership under the traditional system--insight, initiative, self-consciousness and self-control--seem to be no less important in the new social configuration. Under the traditional system, the men who achieved authority possessed a particular personal quality. Under the new system, the leader is drawn from the same category along the personality continuum.

While phrased in terms of personality variables, Read's description of continuity between traditional and colonial leaders can serve as an introduction to an exploration of the historical process in which the nature of political

power becomes meaningfully transformed. This process is particularly important for a discussion of social change in Papua New Guinea. The pivotal role played by local leaders in traditional social structure² is paralleled by the important role of colonial and contemporary leaders in mediating between their rural constituents and colonial or national frameworks. The cultural relationship posited between leaders and followers is also central to understanding whatever political allegiance Kamano villagers feel toward higher political units in the nation-state. In the following three chapters I will discuss the nature of power in traditional Kamano culture and how this has become transformed in the process of historical development.

At the heart of any description of Melanesian leadership is the concept of the "big-man" which historically superceded the use of "chief" in anthropological writings on this area (Lindstrom 1981). Sahlins' "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief" articles written in 1963 presented a general description of big-men that served as a basis for future discussions. In the ideal type he defines in opposition to Polynesian chiefs, big-men emerge as leaders whose power is based on achievement rather than ascription:

The indicative quality of big-man authority is everywhere the same; it is personal power. Big-men

²See de Lepervanche (1968:175-84) and A. Strathern (1972:227-32) in this regard.

do not come to office; they do not succeed to, nor are they installed in existing positions of leadership over political groups. The attainment of big-man status is rather the outcome of a series of acts which elevate a person over the common herd and attract about him a coterie of loyal, lesser men. (Sahlins 1963:289)

The skills usually associated with establishing status and attracting followers include military prowess, maintaining numerous wives, magical expertise, powerful oratory, an ability to communicate with ancestors and relay their knowledge, and the acquisition of wealth in the form of pigs, shells, or other valuable items. Of special importance in many areas is the big-man's ability to pool the resources of his community to present in potlatch-like exchanges to the leaders of other communities. In this process, a big-man--and, by association, his followers--assert superiority over rival groups. According to Sahlins (1963:293) these prestations set up a contradiction between the economic well-being of a big-man's followers and his need to achieve renown by extracting wealth for intergroup exchanges. The conflict generated between internal and external domains in this pattern is said to create "internal constraints" to more widespread polities in Melanesia.

A second shortcoming inherent in the Melanesian political system, according to Sahlins (1963:292), is the personal nature of ties between a leader and his followers and the absence of coercive controls. Where Polynesian

chiefs had warriors to enforce their sanctions, big-men were forced to rely on their power to persuade:

It is not that the center-man rules his faction by physical force, but his followers do feel obliged to obey him, and he can usually get what he wants by haranguing them--public verbal suasion is indeed so often employed by center-men that they have been styled "harangue-utans." (Sahlins 1963:290)

Subsequent debates on the nature of big-men arose over several of the propositions included in Sahlins' ideal type. On the issue of economic limits, Meggitt contested the association of economic extraction and political power. If a successful big-man extracts wealth from the community, he claimed, he also brings wealth back into the community as he prestations are reciprocated. Followers tended to desert a big-man, according to Meggitt (1973:191-93), when they felt he had grown overbearing and unresponsive to their "moral expectations." Contributing further to this line of criticism, Strathern (1971:2-3) pointed out that Melpa leaders relied on a large coterie of external trade partners as well as local supporters in conducting their transactions. In a second article, Strathern (1969) expanded this point by positing two strategies by which big-men acquired and manipulated wealth, the first based primarily on local production and the second on widespread trade relations. In a Maring exchange observed by Rappaport (1968:153), 87 percent of the pigs used were raised within the local community. Melpa and Enga prestations, in contrast,

depended on long chains of preliminary exchanges with individuals and groups throughout the area. Other Highland societies were said to fall along a continuum between these end points. According to Strathern, each of these strategies was associated with a specific form of leadership. Leaders of the first type maintained direct control over their supporters and resources, but, given the means and relations of Melanesian production, were limited in the size of prestations they could make to neighboring big-men. The second type of leaders were in direct competition with one another for resources because they relied on partners within each other's local groups. Prestations could be quite large, but big-men lacked controls to ensure that outstanding debts would be paid back by the date of their main presentation.

It is important to note that the observations of Meggitt and Strathern do not directly contradict the dynamic noted by Sahlins. When a big-man receives repayment during an exchange--and whether this involves internal followers or external trade partners--he is still faced with a decision in which "he may either distribute the meat to his settlement mates or re-invest it entirely with a further outside partner" (A. Strathern 1969:55). Still the Enga and Melpa patterns do provide a variation of Sahlins' model in which prestations act as an organizing principle for social groupings of larger size and denser populations. The contradiction between exchange and consumption seems to be of clearest

relevance for Highlands societies of "middle-intensity production," such as the Duna (Modjeska 1982). For societies in the Eastern Highlands and fringe areas, competitive exchanges are relatively unimportant in determining status which is based instead on military prowess, oratory, and/or ritual standing (e.g., Barth 1975; Godelier 1982).

A second line of criticism that has been focused on the classical big-man ideal type concerns the amount of coercive power wielded by local leaders in traditional society. Emphasizing the absence of fixed authority among the Chimbu, Brown (1963) claimed that a situation of relative "anarchy" was transformed into "satrapy" only by the appointment of "chiefs" under the indirect rule of colonial administrators. Like Sahlins, she stressed the dependence of big-men on group consensus, the inability to enforce decisions, and the ultimate power of a group to depose its leaders. Salisbury (1964) took a diametrically opposite position on this issue. Frequently, he noted, big-men were actually local "despots" who, in the absence of fixed laws, seized absolute power through brute force. Using Chimbu and Siane examples, Salisbury based his claim on the ability of big-men to disregard local norms when they conflicted with their personal interests. The Australian administration was said to have stemmed this arbitrary control by subordinating local leaders to a central bureaucracy with its universal set of laws and limitation of power. This position is supported by

Watson's description of Tairora "despotism" as well as the assertions of Chimbu informants that big-men had "henchmen" who would kill villagers that displeased them (Watson 1971; Standish 1978:11).

An attempt to bridge these seemingly opposed perspectives on big-men was made by Strathern (1966), who suggested the existence of two types of leaders in Highlands societies. Expanding on observations made by Read (1959:433-36), he described "strong men" or "despots" as those leaders who attained power through assertiveness and force. The weakness of such men lay in their inability to maintain the loyalty of followers who came to resent their overbearing manner. "Real" Gahuka-gama leaders, according to Read, are able to mediate the opposed cultural principles of strength and equivalence. Strathern associated these leaders with "directors" who tend to achieve their status by negotiating group exchanges, settling disputes, and creating consensus.

A third debate on the nature of the big-man system concerns the supposed primacy of achievement over ascription. Strathern (1971:210) notes that in Mount Hagen there is a 75 percent chance that major big-men, and a 50 percent chance that minor big-men, are the sons of former leaders. He does not assume that this trend reflects a passive inheritance of powers, looking instead to the economic and trade relationships, ritual knowledge, and role model offered

by big-men to their sons in order to explain this high rate of succession. The element of personal achievement that has often been used to characterize big-men is reintroduced as the deciding factor in determining which of a big-man's sons will succeed him. In the words of a Melpa informant:

The sons of a big-man may emulate him. We watch them as they grow up, and see if they are going to be big-men or not. Promising boys are those who speak well, learn quickly to make exchanges and to ask for things, and whose eyes are like a pig's, taking in everything around them. Boys spend their time playing and have no sense, and we don't judge between them till they are older. It may turn out to be any one or none of a big-man's sons who themselves become big-men. we decide by the skill they show in moka and in speaking.
(A. Strathern 1971:208-9)

Among the Chimbu, the more pragmatic concerns of the Melpa are replaced by a sense of succession phrased directly in terms of descent. Standish (1978:33) describes this factor as a "lineage advantage" that is, as portrayed above, subject to the skills of the sons involved. In the words of a Chimbu leader:

I was a "Big-man" because my father was a "Big-man" before me [and] I also came up and proved myself to be a leader in my own right . . . Each clan segment has its own leaders. Ours comes from the ancestors--it follows the bloodline directly, and we always choose the strongest of the sons.
(Standish 1978:16)

While the role played by patrification in the big-man model compels us to re-evaluate the ideal type, there are potential pitfalls in assuming its genealogical

validity. In a footnote Standish (1978:11n) offers the following significant caveat:

Care was taken to try to ensure that kinship terms used were precise, as with "son," "father," and "brother," because Chimbu speakers have a tendency to use these terms in their classificatory rather than their biological sense as in English. I may not always have succeeded in this aim.

The functions of informants' assertions of patrilineal succession are not necessarily purely descriptive. Sometimes such statements reflect a form of "ethno-presentism" which justifies current alignments of power rather than merely explaining them.¹

There are catches in the genealogical method here, since informants tend to ascribe important fathers to current big-men as a "charter," or to assert that the sons of a leader have succeeded him even though they are in fact rated as mediocre. (A. Strathern 1966:35a)

This has been found to be especially significant past the parental generation where all lineage founders tend to be described as big-men regardless of their actual status (A. Strathern 1971:210-11).

Even after giving consideration to these disclaimers, however, it is obvious that descent-based ascription remains an important aspect of Melanesian leadership. Exactly how this status is structured in relation to the achieved

¹I am borrowing the concept of "presentism" from Stocking's article on historiography (1965) where it is used to describe the historians's use of historical inquiry to "search for the origins of certain present phenomena."

skills associated with big-men varies in societies throughout the area. A more formal version of the Melpa and Chimbu system, in which competition for leadership was limited to brothers in a dominant lineage, is found in some coastal societies. Manam leaders were selected from certain patrilineages said to comprise a "noble birth" (Burridge 1960:139). Similarly, the Trobriand system of rank "restricted eligibility to compete for political leadership in any given locality to the highest ranking matrilineal descent groups or subclan associated with it" (Powell 1960:118).

In still other areas of Melanesia, these two themes were not merged in a single selective process, but rather produced two different types of leaders. Choiseul leadership provides an example in which genealogically-based leaders--called "true batu" or batu "who originate in the land"--assumed primacy over the "almost but not quite true batu who achieved their status through managerial skills" (Scheffler 1965:180). Perhaps the arrangement most relevant for a description of Kamano leadership occurred in societies where these two types of leaders held power at different levels of a segmental system. Among the Kamba, located near Madang, the senior member of a patrilineal clan was known as a "land leader" and held dominance in matters concerning the men's house, clan property, cult objects, and land use. At the clan level, he shared power with "magician leaders" whose ritual knowledge was inherited

patrifiially. The power of the "big-men" (danah nari) was based on their skill in warfare, oratory, conflict mediation, and/or competitive exchange. Unlike the other leaders, big-men were "optional operators" who could potentially coalesce and dominate a clan or village, but whose position was not a social given. In the absence of men who could mobilize this type of power, the village fell back on clan-leaders who attempted to reach consensus in making decisions (Morauta 1974:14, 21-23, 141). As in Choiseul society, the convergence of ascribed role and achieved skills produced big-men of especially great renown.

A Highland example of this pattern is found in Siane leadership. The "eldest brother" (yarafo) of the senior generation in a patrilineage owns and controls all the lineage property associated with his generation. He can direct work, give inherited ritual speeches, represent members of the lineage during ceremonial interactions with ancestors, and control marriage patterns through his ownership of wealth to be used for brideprices (Salisbury 1962:20-23). Kamba big-men, the we namfa occupies a position based on skill rather than on inherited position. Bravery in warfare, possession of wealth, powerful oratory, and a large number of children are some of the achievements associated with a big-man's power. While there can be several big-men in a single men's house, one leader usually emerges as a spokesman (a *bosboi* in pidgin) because of his ability

and knowledge. Such a leader is called the "father of the house" and has special authority to call on the manpower of the men's house to perform various tasks. At the next highest level of segmentation, three or four *bosboi* come to dominate an entire clan and share the role of spokesman depending on the context (Salisbury 1962:27-30).

A third example of this pattern illustrates the short-term historical cycle that can occur when leaders by ascription and achievement operate at different levels of the social structure. The Siuai distinguished between a mumi, who gained power by sponsoring competitive feasts and as a war-leader, and the senior male matrilineage member called an "old-one" or a "first-born." In Turungum Village, these positions were held by Songi and Siham, respectively. Siham, the Senior of the Tree-rat matrilineage, served as a deputy to Songi, seeing to it that "the villagers remain 'straight', leaving Songi free to concentrate upon his political career" (Oliver 1955:427-28). He played a similar role in relation to the colonial administration. Although clearly more powerful, Songi declined the position of Village Headman, and instead arranged for Siham to be appointed and act as an intermediary with the Australian patrol officer (Oliver 1955:425). In other Siuai villages, mumi tended to assert their power even more unilaterally than did Songi (Oliver 1971:244).

The death of a mumi could precipitate the dissolution of the village as a unified entity. Unless a successor emerged quickly, constituent hamlets separated under the leadership of matrilineal elders. These men were distinctly less powerful than their feast-giving counterparts.

During the contact period, the mumi, Konsei, induced the Australians to arrest his enemy, Tokura, for feuding. Tokura subsequently died in jail (Oliver 1955:423) and Jeku Village was dispersed. A generation later, Jeku was still reduced to two matrilineages and was ruled over by Kangku, the Senior of the Crane lineage. Viewed as an "old-one," Kangku neither gave orders, exhorted his followers, nor participated in prestations. He organized certain collective activities, such as house-building and fish drives, but had to rely on his own example to get his followers to participate. At a feast given by Songi, the men of Turungum explained that they did not give a pig to Jeku because "There is no true feast-giving mumi at Jeku; Kangku is merely their 'old-one'" (Oliver 271:288-91). From these examples, Oliver (1971:296) deduced a short-term diachronic pattern:

At one point in the cycle there are communities like Jeku, made up of two or three intermarrying lineages, where kinship ideology provides the cohesive factor. It is probable that there is relatively low numerical limit to the size of communities of this kind. Half-way around the cycle are the Turungums, relatively large communities composed of several kinship-based hamlets welded together partly through marriage but mainly through

the feast-giving activities of renown-hungry men.

Kamano Leaders

As in the descriptions offered above, Kamano society produced two types of leaders. The first type were called "big-men" (ara bahe) and tended to rely on age, lineal seniority, and certain kinds of knowledge and skill in maintaining their positions. "Center-post men" (anumuya bahe) emerged specifically in the context of warfare and exerted a much more assertive kind of power than did their elders. Underlying these two political types were alternative principles of status. An ongoing cycle of social breakdown and reconstruction created a situation in which each type of leader assumed a temporary social hegemony.

Big-Men

Traditionally, big-men belonged to the "line" of clan-siblings referred to as "old men" (oyafa). This generation ranged approximately from age 60 to 85. While recognized as a genealogically distinct entity, the senior generation covered a large enough span of time so that elder members were great-grandfathers, while their younger siblings might still have children too young to marry. Crosscutting their generational position, old men were also the senior members of the clan's component "small-lines" (osi'nofi). "Small-lines" are described by informants as lineages whose members are linked by patrilineal descent. When specific reference

is called for, they use the name of the eldest or most prominent member, as in, "He belongs to Gorumabe's line." The role of lineage senior gives old men considerable power over younger generations. Sons are expected to reciprocate the labor expended in raising them by "looking after" their aging parents. For their part, old men gradually distribute title to land and coffee gardens among their male offspring.

In the past, not all old men were considered big-men. Even within individual lineages, where specific genealogical connections were asserted, it was not uncommon for two or three brothers to survive until old age. In a men's house, where one or two clans might be represented, the number of old men could be much higher. Though there was no set number of big-men that could represent a line, clan, or men's house, certain old men emerged as more prominent than others. It was these men who became known as big-men.

The facet of prominence least based on individual skills was age. Informants usually listed a clan's big-men according to birth order. While, except in the most abstract sense, there were no genealogical connections assumed between big-men of different lineages, their relative age was manifested in different kinship terms used for elder and younger clan-siblings. It was generally assumed that the eldest sibling would be the most prominent. The position was reinforced when a father would transmit ownership of his best land to his eldest son to distribute among his brothers.

Describing his clan's most prominent big-man, an informant stated:

He's a big-man. He was old first. He built fences and cleared gardens, and then gave them to his younger brothers--our fathers. He raised pigs and gave them to them as well.

Because he reached adulthood first and had access to the best parcel of land, the eldest brother was in a position to help his younger brothers collect wealth for life-cycle payments. Emphasizing this pattern as a basis for status, an informant explained, "When we were little, he was our big brother. He looked after us. He helped us buy our wives. This is way we call him big-man."

By "looking after" their younger brothers, elder brothers assume a quasi-paternal role in relation to them that brings with it a higher status. If we envision generations as horizontal lines with ego as a balancing point, this line rotates to vertical when elder siblings take on this role. As with fathers, the wealth and labor given to younger siblings can be used as a weapon during arguments in which elder brothers assert their status by shaming their brother's dependent position. The following description from my field notes illustrates this relationship:

New Year's Day was observed as a holiday on which villagers did not feel obligated to carry out subsistence chores. During the morning, young men pelted each other with mud in mock fights. At one point, a mud-bearing expedition was launched against the neighboring village of Benega--a village traditionally considered enemies. When they did not find this humorous and threatened

violence, the young men of Sonofi returned to the village.

As the day progressed, soccer games were organized between the young men [neheya] and the married men [bene'ne]. Most of the young men are members of the Seventh Day Adventist Youth Club run by Gave, the local SDA minister and the eldest son of the Local Government Councilor, and are referred to as "Gave's line." Despite the fact that he is married and a father, Gave acted as the captain of the young men's team. During the first game, each team amassed K2 as a wager. The young men won this game as well as the second in which the stakes had been doubled. For the third game the wager was set at K9, and this time the married men [jokingly called "old men" during the game] were victorious. They became quite angry when the young men were unable to pay off the bet.

Ashamed and frustrated, Gave began to harangue Jon, his younger genealogical brother, who had played with the married men. He asserted that Jon had no money of his own and had been dependent on him for handouts. He finished by calling Jon a "rubbish-man," and walked off to his hamlet. Left standing in the field, Jon shouted that Sonofi was no longer his village and that he would leave.

The fight continued a half-hour later in the hamlet of the protagonists. About forty villagers gathered to watch as Jon and Gave stood yelling at each other over the heads of their father and adoptive mother, who were trying to keep them apart. Gave yelled, "I am the first-born. When I left for Moresby, you were still wearing a child's bark-skirt. I went first and worked for money." Weeping profusely, Jon cried, "You call me a rubbish-man? All right, I want to die. Father, I'll lie down and you hit me with your axe." After about fifteen minutes, Jon allowed himself to be pulled away by a younger clan-brother who was also crying.

This altercation between Gave and Jon was the culmination of social conflict that had been enacted throughout the day in various forms. The continuing reality of mortal

conflict between neighboring villages made the morning mud fight too dangerous to pursue. As happened in other contexts, this conflict was soon displaced from an intervillage to an intergenerational focus.¹ The soccer games posed young men against "old men," with the unpaid wager acting as a more serious precipitant. As the eldest son of the eldest son of his clan's oldest surviving lineage elder, Gave was in a particularly embarrassing position with regard to his younger, married clan-brothers. The unpaid bet placed him in status-yielding debt to some men who more normally were indebted to him as an elder brother. In selecting Jon as a target, Gave was re-enacting a scene that their father had often had with Jon. After a similar fight between Jon and his father, Jon had left the village for several months and lived with his wife's clan in the Markham Valley.

By thus associating himself with his father, Gave appropriated the intergenerational dynamics of dominance and subordination to assert his status over a younger sibling. Normally, children are expected to reciprocate the parental care given them in childhood as they mature. The debt

¹Periodically, cases were brought to the Village Court that were based on intervillage or interclan cycles of sorcery and vengeance. This exceeded the court's competence and power. Not infrequently, judges and elders redirected the conflict by censuring the younger generation's indulgent life style.

incurred in daily childcare provides an important basis for the obedience and material support children owe their aging parents. Gave's public acclamation of Jon's debts--his monetary "gifts" and the implication that he had paid Jon's fare to Moresby--coupled with the assertion that Jon had no money and thus could not offer repayment, left Jon with no way to save face. His only recourse was to express his rage in a gesture of passive self-denigration. This event illustrates the pragmatic basis for the association of status with age and generational relationships.

Succession to prominence was assumed to go by birth order, passing first to younger brothers and then to elder sons. Not infrequently, however, this natural succession was altered to compensate for differences in various skills. A younger son of a lineage elder explained:

If the first child doesn't act in a "good fashion," we go to the second or last child. We can say, "The last child now replaces his father" [Could you become a big-man?] If my talk is good and my crops and pigs grow well and I help everyone, I can become a big-man. [How do people choose a big-man?] They look to see whose talk has meaning.

In all public situations, speech is associated with status. Women, men of low standing, and those who have been recently shamed are said to "have no talk." Although some young women understand and speak pidgin, they are generally too "ashamed" to use it. "Strong women" are those who are unafraid to talk back to their husbands

and other village men. The ability to direct activity through vigorous oratory is one of the most important skills associated with big-men, who in this context are called "men of speech":

They say, "Do it in this way. You must plant gardens, make food, and distribute it to other men. You must live peacefully with men. You must look after pigs and repair your fences." We obey their speech and fix our fences and raise pigs. We do what they say.

In contemporary parlance, men describe these speeches as "giving the law." Following the funeral of an elder village-brother, the most prominent big-man of Oronofi clan hosted a wing-bean feast at which he spoke at length in this fashion. While his main concern was his followers' ability to give him a proper funerary feast when he died, Menao's rambling speech touched on various aspects of daily life:

Menao began by stating that those people who did not come to receive wing-beans did not have the right to be angry with him for not giving them food. He went on to assert his past generosity to the village, despite the fact that he no longer raised pigs: "In the old days, I looked after pigs and became a big-man in the village. When men died, I killed my pigs and distributed them. Then the Lutheran Mission came and I became a follower. After them came the SDA Mission, and I gave away my pigs and sent away my wives. I gave land when they wanted to build the school. Now I'm a true follower of SDA--I don't raise pigs."

Discussing the recent funeral, Menao said he was ashamed that only twelve pigs had been killed and worried about how many pigs would be killed for him. He described pigs as "the most important thing," and urged the young men to greater effort

in raising them. The frozen beef and mutton purchased at stores for funerals, he said, was clearly of less importance. Menao then asked the young men what they intended to do with a tract of clan land lying some distance from the road that had been allowed to lie fallow and unfenced. He warned that unless he showed them the boundaries before his death, another old man would claim it and they would be unable to contest his word.

Following some discussion of the need to claim their land,¹ a young man accused one of the village's clans of trying to ensorcell him. Menao responded by describing his relationship to a central figure of this clan. He said that when this man's father had died, his mother had married Menao, and that he had raised him and bought him a wife. He suggested that attempts be made to recruit this man back to Oronofi so he would "hear our stories."

Menao then launched into a more general speech: "If you have two wives, you must build a big house. You must look after women and pigs. Forget cards! You must take your money and buy cows, sheep, and pigs. You must build new houses for your pigs. When I die, I want to be buried after one night--don't wait three or four days. You should kill one cow and distribute it to my mother's brothers. When my brothers die, you must distribute many pigs." Menao finished his speech by singling out men who owed him favors and suggesting various ways they could get money to buy him a cow.²

In addition to illustrating the imperious nature of Kamano political oratory, Menao's speech underlined the material reciprocity expected to exist between leaders and followers. Reflecting concerns obviously evoked by the recent funeral, he began by recalling to his listeners!

¹See pp. 112.

²From my field notes.

minds his pre-SDA pig contributions to other men's life-cycle payments. He went on to emphasize his current gifts to the village (wing-beans, land for the school), as well as his usefulness to the younger men (in terms of protecting land claims and providing a basis for claiming the loyalty of a potential enemy). Finally, he urged the young men on to greater industriousness so that they could repay their obligations at his funeral feast. In specifying individual men, Menao called on particular obligations owed him. His final comment was directed at a grandson whose airfare to Moresby had yet to be reciprocated.¹

In many coastal societies, and throughout the Central and Western Highlands, potlatch-like pig exchanges provided a nonmilitary alternative for men who wished to achieve prominence. Pacification expanded the importance of both the activity and the "directors" or organized it (Bulmer 1960; Salisbury 1962; A. Strathern 1971). Within these societies, competitive, status-yielding prestations were usually distinguished from life-cycle payments. As described above, big-men had to balance and manipulate the need to repay followers and co-sponsors with the desire to "re-invest" pigs and wealth in further political transactions.

Among the Kamano, exchanges of wealth were completely subsumed within life-cycle payments. While big-men might

¹See p. 226.

act as the organizers and primary contributors to such exchanges, they did not enter in direct competition with political rivals in other villages. Nor was the goal of these payments to out-give affines and matrilineal kin. Beginning with bridewealth, the size of a gift depended on the status of the participants, the social/geographical distance between the villages, and the history of payments between the two groups. Assuming a certain degree of historical inflation, the goal was to compensate affines in subsequent exchanges for wealth and labor they had invested in the people involved. The events marked by these exchanges included birth, initiation, marriage, parenthood, and death. Primary recipients of gifts and counter-gifts included mothers' brothers and sisters' sons (aku), fathers' sisters (momo), and cross-cousins (nenafu). Depending on who attends the ceremony, it can either be left to these recipients to subdivide their gift among other kin who helped to "raise" the principal actor, or these divisions can be made by the hosts themselves. Thus, if a wife's adoptive parent attends the feast, it is up to the host to give him wealth, rather than depending upon her brother to do so.

Despite the seemingly unpolitical character of these exchanges, big-men were able to achieve status through them in two ways. Within the village, big-men were often known also as "rich men" (amunte me'ne), and contributed to the life-cycle payments of many of their siblings, children,

and grandchildren. With genealogical brothers forbidden to contribute to these payments and both they and genitors exempted from eating the return gift (lest they "eat their own blood"), the role of sponsor assumes a special importance in creating ties between individuals within the clan and village. In the context of affinal gifts, such sponsors are called tugufa bahe, and most men take on this role for certain brothers and sisters. Sponsors can be designated by their parents while still children or can volunteer as a marriage approaches. It is these sponsors who will expect to be compensated when return gifts are made.

Through contributing to a sibling or child's life-cycle payment, sponsors are said to "look after" them. Despite the kinship ties that might precede sponsorship, the act of "looking after" a relative transforms the relationship to one of parenthood. A brother's wife who contributes to her brother-in-law's brideprice payment will be called mother. With regard to big-men, their generational seniority is reinforced by their sponsorship of large numbers of followers to produce an association between leadership and a sense of social paternity:

We hear a big-man's talk. He's like our father. He looks after us. He buys us wives and gives food to us. He's like our father. He sees when the pigs grow large and then tells us to kill them and give them to other villages.

At a social level, the big-man duplicated the role played by an adoptive father. Just as a father is owed

obedience and gradual compensation for the care given a son, so the authority of the big-man is partially predicated on placing individuals from many "lines" in his debt. As illustrated by Menao's speech, big-men can assert their power over and shame followers by airing these debts publicly. By contributing many pigs to his funeral, followers compensate a big-man's care and reaffirm his high status.

In addition to creating a paternal relationship with co-villagers, the big-man-cum-sponsor also establishes numerous ties with people outside of the village. Together with genealogical relatives, the sponsors of a bride or groom enter into an affinal relationship that is more direct than the merely nominal tie created with other clan members. An example of this is seen in marriages contracted within the village. In general, the patrilineal terms associated with co-villagers would supercede the use of affinal terminology. Affinal terms are used, however, by genealogical kin and sponsors who are donors and recipients in the ongoing exchange of gifts and counter-gifts. Because he participates as a sponsor in marriages contracted with many other villages, the big-man establishes more intense affinal relationships than do normal men. Wealth received from these relationships is distributed to followers in a way that further solidifies intravillage support. In addition to affinal relationships created via sponsorship, traditional big-men were also described as marrying more wives than their followers.

Women, it was said, were attracted to the strength and status of big-men, and often took the initiative in this regard. As has been described elsewhere in Melanesia, this larger number of wives further increased the big-man's productive capacity. For both followers and kin from other villages, big-men were seen as distributors of food:

He has plenty of "cargo." Men came from other areas to his house to visit. He "pulls" men to his house to eat. Men call him ara bahe. When he wants to eat pig or wing-beans, he calls out and everyone comes to eat with him.

Unlike the large-scale pig exchanges of the Western Highlands, Kamano exchanges never separated from life-cycle payments to become an independent political entity. This observation can be correlated with limitations placed on pigs as a form of wealth.¹ Where live pigs are the main medium of exchange, these pigs can be used in a chain of political transactions in addition to being used to repay debts within the local group (A. Strathern 1969:45). Among the Kamano, gifts always take the form of cooked pork, and are never used in additional, independent transactions. Once received, pork is inevitably redistributed to sponsors and clan members by whom it is quickly consumed.

Since pigs are not transferable from one set of transactions to another, big-men are dependent on their

¹A comparative study of these factors has been done by Modjeska (1982).

own productive capacity--or of equal importance on the productive capacity of their wives--to sustain their reputation as "rich-men" and sponsors. Traditionally, the care of most of the village's pigs was entrusted to the elder generation who were not as directly involved in military matters as were their sons. They are seen as more skilled than younger men or women in gardening and pig-raising, partly because of their accumulated practical knowledge. In addition, however, old men are the repository for "garden stories" (hoya kinene) and "pig stories" (afu kinene) that are essential for these activities to be carried out successfully. Such stories invoke metaphorical images and journeys during which crops are instructed and cajoled to take root and grow large. "Pig stories" are recited silently or sung as pigs are rubbed with ash.

These magical stories are gradually transmitted to adults by both their father and mother, although the role of patrifilial inheritance is particularly emphasized in this regard. After a field is prepared, a lineage elder will normally recite the appropriate story silently before planting a token yam or sweet potato leaf. Other people then join in to plant the remaining crops. By telling the story silently, an elder preserves its secrecy and thereby monopolizes its productive power for his "line." Such secrecy is maintained even between husband and wife who are said not to know each other's stories. It is feared

that in the event of divorce, stories would be carried off by wives back to their natal villages. Big-men who are known for their pig-raising and gardening prowess are assumed to possess particularly potent stories. In hamlets where there are no big-men to tell their stories to the crops, the crops are said to grow poorly and remain small.

Together with their wealth in pigs and food, the control over land associated with big-men as lineage elders puts them in a position where they can actively recruit followers. Such a process generally begins before a big-man's generation comes to seniority. As an elder clan-sibling, a potential leader can offer land to men from other clans or villages. Traditionally, the primary motivation for shifting social affiliation came after military defeat when an emigrant's "line" might seek refuge with his cross-cousins or his matrilineal parallel cousins. Alternative reasons for migrating include dissatisfaction with one's inherited land or frequent illness that indicates one is the target of hostile sorcery. By offering good plots of land to affines or matrilineal kin, the leader attempts to transform what might be a temporary stay to permanent affiliation. Immigrants depended on their host for security in what could well be a hostile village. While the immigrant himself will never be referred to as "father" or "brother" within the host village, his children or grandchildren might well be incorporated as patrilineal

kin. Thus, in the case where a sister's husband or wife's brother is recruited, his children will be related as cross-cousins to the host's children, but some degree of affiliation will have been established in their having been raised together. The immigrant's grandchildren will be patrilineal siblings to the host's grandchildren because of their fathers' interactional quasi-brotherhood.

As an elder sibling ages, his options to recruit are increased through his ability to adopt children. It is no uncommon for an inmarrying wife to bring with her a younger brother to help her with small chores like carrying water and chopping firewood. By exchanging his productive labor for that expended in raising him, such a child establishes an adoptive relationship with his sister's husband that take precedence over the usual avoidance practiced by affines. A second pattern of this nature occurs when an outmarrying sister becomes widowed and is allowed to send their son back to live with her brother. Finally, a traditional variant of intervillage adoption occurred when, by stealth or military victory, children were kidnapped and raised as village members. While all men could adopt children in these ways, big-men have the capacity to do so on a wider scale. Possessing many wives, wider intervillage ties, and an increased productive capacity, they have both more chance to adopt and the resources to support a larger household.

As elder siblings, big-men are also in a position to offer immigrants land and protection, thereby transforming temporary refuge into permanent affiliation. Certainly through two or three generations, attempts can be made to "pull" immigrants back to their patrilineal "root-land." A competitive situation develops in which a host attempts to counter patrilineal ties with offers of land and wealth to be used for brideprice and life-cycle payments. Intervening matrilineal ties tend to be forgotten or dismissed after the fourth generation. The exchange of children within the village that is used to offset the inequities of chance reproduction and demographics further cements the reaffiliation of these lines.

One additional skill associated with big-men was the ability to mediate conflict. Within the village, conflict is said to emerge from disputes over women, land, pigs, and pandanus trees. Even today, theft, adultery, boundary disputes, conflicting rights to pandanus nuts, and damage done to crops by pigs form the basis of much of the village's internal conflict. Conflict can also develop when obligations to compensate a kinsman's labor go unmet. Life-cycle payments are a special focus in this regard. The failure to adequately compensate one's mother's brother, cross-cousins, or assorted matrilineal kin who might have been involved in a central actor's upbringing, creates a sense of shame in the nonrecipient. Vocal protests are not uncommon at food distributions,

and occasionally a recipient will refuse to accept a portion considered too small. Both slights of this nature or disputes over the redistribution of a received gift can easily escalate into major conflict.

Barring informal compensation between the parties involved, there was little judicial process or third-party mediation in traditional Kamano villages. When fights did erupt between co-villagers, there was an attempt to limit them to fists, rocks, and sticks. The next step was to shoot an opponent in the arm or leg to minimize serious injury. It was only when this failed to end a dispute and murder seemed a possibility that big-men intervened:

If you were angry, you would shoot an arrow into my leg. Then I would shoot an arrow into yours. The big-man would watch this and when it got to the point where you'd done this three or four times, all the big-men would talk and arrange a feast. You and the other man would clasp hands over the hot stones in the earth oven. Whoever had shot first would put his hand underneath, then yours, then his other hand, then yours. Then a big-man would pour water on the stones and say, "Just as I cool off this fire, so do I cool off your anger." The steam would rise up around your hands.

When these methods failed, the murder, vengeance, and countervengeance associated with intervillage conflict could intrude on intravillage relationships. In addition to killing a co-villager directly, an angry man could be bribed by an enemy village to assist them by setting up an ambush or by transporting materials to be used in sorcery. Once carried out, such an attack demands vengeance and

becomes difficult to mediate. A clan felt to be guilty of this kind of betrayal could be chased from their land if not powerful and forced to seek refuge with another village.

While villagers could not envision a truce between themselves and the encircling ring of "enemy" villages, conflict that arose between villages considered "allies" were more amenable to mediation. Once again, big-men played a central role:

The two villages would line up opposite each other. The big-men of the two groups would stand in the middle. Each man would designate one man in the opposite line and aim his bow at him. They would yell, "If you shoot me, I'll shoot you." The two groups would dance back and forth, but would never cross into the other's territory. If they did they'd be shot. There was always the chance there'd be a battle. After a while, the woman who had married into the other group would dance over to their brothers' line waving red targets, and telling them not to kill anyone in their line. Then men would cross over and grab a man and take him back to their side. The other side would do the same so that individuals would be surrounded by their enemies on each side. They were very afraid. Men would yell, "If you kill him, we'll kill him." Finally, red targets were sliced and placed over the shoulders of the captives, and everyone would sit down to eat.

From the perspective of younger village men, big-men are social nuclei whose strength is essential for holding society together. When all the big-men of a clan die or are killed, a kind of disintegration is envisioned in which the desires of individual younger men are allowed free reign. The disappearance of the big-man's "law" allows

the emergence of a state described in pidgin as "*laik bilong mi*"--i.e., "what I want":

If there are no big-men, what I want becomes important. I look after the gardens and I look after the pigs. If I want to kill a pig and cook, it, I do it.

While the assertion of individual choice is an important element in most explanations of behavior, the mediating role of big-men is seen as vital in tempering a situation that would otherwise be anarchistic. Without big-men, young men are said to "*paul nabaut*"--to wander aimlessly and become confused.

› Center-Post Man

The "center-post man" (*anumuya bahe*) represented a second focus of power in Kamano society. Unlike big-men, whose position was based on age, lineage rank, knowledge, oratorical skills, and wealth, the power of the center-post man was founded to a large extent on his military prowess. It is important to note that many informants' descriptions of these two political types overlapped considerably, and it would be an error to assume that the roles were incompatible. As a warrior-leader aged, he might well take on the less ascriptive aspects of a big-man's role. A big-man, similarly, might have possessed the military skills and wider social powers associated with center-post men. The distinctions offered by some informants are nonetheless enlightening, and perhaps indicate treatment of these two

leaders as end points on a continuum rather than as distinct types. With this in mind, we can proceed to explore the differences between the two roles.

While big-men assumed power as they ascended to the senior active generation of the clan, the center-post man was "given power" while still in his thirties or forties. Known as a brave and assertive warrior (harafa neri), a center-post man was designated by the big-men to organize a battle or coordinate the defense of the village. They told them to "be strong in the fight and not to be afraid." Any village man could initiate discussion on attacking another village. It was up to the center-post man, however, to act on or ignore such suggestions. Once a decision was reached by consensus or assertion, it was the responsibility of the center-post man to organize an ad hoc alliance.

Alliances were usually formed with villages from a potential set of allies that lay outside an encircling ring of enemies. Within this circle of neighboring villages, the affinal and matrilineal ties that existed were seen as a source of danger rather than as a basis for solidarity. Wives from these villages were under constant suspicion of transporting materials to be used in sorcery or delivering military information to their brothers. An antagonistic atmosphere was maintained by the continuous conflict over women, land, and pigs. During a contemporary court case, a man criticized his daughter for marrying a man from a

neighboring village because he had enough enemies nearby and didn't want any more.

Marriages contracted with villages outside of this hostile ring could provide the foundation for alliances in future generations. Such alliances were conceptualized as occurring between the descendants of a brother and sister. In itself, however, ties of co-descent did not guarantee alliance. While genealogical cross-cousins considered themselves "like siblings" and would avoid confronting each other in battle, their village-brothers were under no such constraint. As opposed to parallel-cousins, cross-cousins were described as people "we marry and fight." For obvious reasons, therefore, the potential for alliance was increased where both brother and sister gave birth to large numbers of offspring. When this tie was activated as a village-wide alliance, the participants referred to each other as "vulva-root men" (hagayu rafa bahe) or "squash-root men" (hago'nifa rafa bahe), this latter designation reflecting an analogy between the social ties created when sisters bear children in other villages and the runners with which squash plants propagate themselves. Military alliances in this situation represent a form of compensation offered to wife-givers for the gift of social reproduction.

A stronger variation of this alliance occurred as a result of military defeat or other factors that might cause a man and his "line" to seek refuge with matrilineal

cross-cousins. Even when the military threat had subsided, such a man might choose to remain with his hosts rather than return to his natal village. This could happen as a result of generous offers of land or wealth made to the migrant. Although the passage of generations would increase this line's affiliation to their new village, the patrilineal ties to the migrant's natal village would not be forgotten for some time. The descendants of the first village and the members of the second village's patrilineal enclave would refer to each other as "brothers" or "semen root men" (hanori rafa bahe). An alliance based on this tie is seen as occurring between the descendants of two brothers, and is seen as less subject to betrayal than are alliances based partially on matrilineal relationships.

From this set of potential allies, the center-post man designated which ties to activate for a particular campaign. An attempt was made to find other villages with grievances of their own to settle with the enemy. The center-post man would then choose men with direct relationships to these villages and send them to try to "buy" their cooperation in a series of battles. Forms of wealth used for this purpose included pigs, salt, bows, arrows, fiber-cloth, and a type of reed used for attaching the heads of arrows onto their shafts. Together with his counterparts in allied villages, the center-post man would then arrange the disposition of warriors. In the cases of both offense and defense,

all the clans in the village were expected to take part. When the village was itself attacked, the clan-hamlets gathered at a central defensible location--in Sonofi, at a series of limestone caves. Here, attempts were again made to forge an alliance.

As opposed to the position of the big-man where achievement and ascription function in an intertwined balance, the status of the center-post man is weighted much more heavily on the acquisition of military skills and demeanor. But perhaps the analytic distinctions made between "ascription" and "achievement" is misleading in this regard. In the case of the big-man proper, many of the skills alluded to in description are closely associated with age and sibling rank within the clan. Similarly, the qualities of being "strong" or "hot" that are used to describe the center-post man are seen partially as a natural proclivity and partially as the result of the social labor expended in transforming a boy into a man. Rather than being based on the crosscutting systems of lineage and age-grade, the center-post man's status is founded on the cultural opposition between men and women; he represents the ultimate male ideal.

While the process of male initiation and its relationship to the male-female opposition is described more fully elsewhere,¹ it will be helpful to touch on some aspects

¹ See pp. 187-200.

of them in characterizing the Kamano male ideal. Young boys resided in their mother's houses for the first few years of their lives. After they were brought to the men's house, they underwent a series of initiations that spanned late childhood and early adolescence. Initiations were designed to transform boys into adult warriors by expunging their early maternal influence. One aspect of this process was the extraction of maternal blood that had circulated through the infant's body during gestation. To this end, the initiate's forefinger, nostrils, tongue, and penis were punctured or abraded. Vomiting was induced by inserting a loop of pliable cane into the stomach in order to rid the initiate of food tainted by his mother's menstrual blood and his parents' sexual intercourse.

The attempt to nullify the maternal influence was further generalized during the initiation in the form of moral injunctions on contact with women in general. Boys were warned about accepting food indiscriminately from women who might be menstruating, or from adults who had recently had sexual intercourse. Eating such food, they were told, would make them sick and weak. Illness and malaise could also result from excessive sexual contact. A very concrete aspect of this fear was that expended semen could be collected and used in hostile sorcery. In a more general sense, however, too much contact with women was seen as antithetical to male strength. In response to

a question about why old men slept near the door of the traditional men's house, an informant responded:

They don't sleep well and they hear when men go out and come in. If you went to the women's houses every night, the old men would hear you. During the day they would turn their back on you and yell at another man: "Every night you go to see a woman; do you want to be strong? What kind of strength are you going to gain from women?" The second man would know what was happening and would say, "It's not me; it's him" This man would start to cry and leave.

Another aspect of initiation that reinforced female avoidance was teaching boys about the sacred flutes and jew's harps. In myth, these objects were said to be originally the property of women who kept them secret. During the course of these stories, men would coax these secrets from women and finally steal the flutes or jew's harps outright. These instruments were kept in the men's house and either played there, in the bush, or in the village itself during rituals where women were confined to their houses. Women were said to believe the sound of both instruments were the voices of spirits. A woman who saw them was murdered.¹

In addition to the meaning they possessed about the male-female opposition, many aspects of the initiations also referred to cultural concepts of health and strength. Ostensively, much of the ritual bloodletting was designed

¹With the sacred flutes associated symbolically with fertility (R.M. Berndt 1962:67-68, 72), these myths illustrate the process in which men come to power by appropriating female generativity.

to increase the initiates' battle skills. After their arrows missed a designated target, the initiates' forefingers were pierced to improve their aim. The nostrils and tongue were bled so that the warrior would not grow short of breath during a battle. To enable a boy to run faster, the urethra was abraded and the head of the penis sliced. Even after the initiations were completed, a warrior's poor military performance would be remedied by repeating the ritual bleeding. All of these practices were manifestations of a theory that associated illness and malaise with a blocked or sluggish blood flow. Villagers still treat headaches by bleeding the skin near the temple, and even where sorcery is the recognized cause of sickness, it is often felt to act through the circulatory system.

The infliction of pain is another aspect of initiation that is felt to toughen the initiate and make him strong. To this end, boys were beaten with cane and had their hands thrust into the fire. Salt and ginger were rubbed into the cuts made during the bloodletting. Today, despite the lapse of initiations, young boys are sometimes rubbed with stinging nettles to increase their circulation and endurance. This process was noted quite explicitly by Berndt (1962:108):

The novices' bodies are being constantly strengthened; they are becoming warriors, the purpose for which they are being trained. This is particularly noticeable in the final penis-bleeding rites, when not only the penis is said to be strengthened

by such an operation but also a man's arrows and his shooting ability. The man with a strong penis is a strong warrior.

Seen from this perspective, the initiations were an overdetermined cultural phenomenon that associated the attainment of adult male strength with the need to avoid contact with women. Clearly, this goal was not unambiguous. All men married, and an alternative strategy for status involved having many wives and numerous offspring. The center-post man, however, was the epitome of this particular cultural construct. As one informant asserted, "He didn't marry--he just killed many enemies."

As a representative of the male ideal, the center-post man manifested a status based on individual assertiveness and impulsiveness. Berndt (1962:253, 292) repeatedly states that this status was often asserted "at the expense of others" in the village. His descriptions of individually-based coercion and vengeance both within and between the villages as a major form of social control offers much evidence of the power such an individual could wield. The personal characteristics that mark a potential center-post leader are also well described by Berndt (1962:92):

The child most liked and admired by adults, particularly by his (or her) close male kin, is the one who commands attention by tantrums, by a dominating approach to his fellows, by bullying and swaggering, by carrying tales to his elders. These actions epitomize the characteristics so desirable in the "strong" man and women--one who by forceful persistence can hold his own

in all situations in which he or she may be involved. They are the mark, too, of the fighter or warrior.

Perhaps the most coherent description of a warrior-leader of this type is Watson's portrait of the legendary despot, Matoto, from the Tairora, the language group immediately bordering the Kamano area to the east. By his descendants, Matoto is remembered primarily for his military exploits. In addition to his love for ambushing isolated enemy villagers, he was responsible for arranging alliances for the more formal battles that occurred:

It is generally supposed that Matoto received payments on various occasions for coming to the aid of other groups against their enemies. He would then be approached, often by representatives of a distant group in the Kamano area, to induce him to come and to bring Abiera men to help them. The negotiations are supposed to have been carried on quietly so that only Matoto might know of the agreement. (Watson 1971:238)

Matoto's irascible character was not limited to intervillage relationships. He is remembered as having killed several village members including a wife whom he suspected of adultery and an affine whom he was bribed to murder. His willingness to use violence inspired fear in his co-villagers. Against such a "hot" man, husbands had little recourse if he wished to copulate with their wives or in other ways usurp their recognized prerogatives. While unbridled male power was certainly the basis of his leadership, Matoto was also famous as a peacemaker and was responsible for recruiting clans to augment the strength

of the village. The association between military and sexual prowess was also attested to in Matoto's having had sixteen wives.

Watson (1971:271) points out that the potential for despotism in Tairora society was partially mitigated by an "egalitarian" countertendency:

To stress only the aggressive ideals of masculine character is to paint too one-sided a picture of Tairora morality. The Tairora are also, of course, concerned with reciprocities, with compensation, repaying favor for favor, gift for gift, as well as with balancing slight against slight, hurt against hurt. Hospitality and exchange are prominent. They mitigate somewhat the differences in status that develop among individuals and provide a means for adjusting debts and wrongs that occur . . . It is possible to see in these usages a strong egalitarian thread in the life of the Tairora and one that might seem to contradict the arbitrary acts of a strong man. It could therefore be argued that the system would normally operate against the open or unmuted expression of power.

Within Kamano society, the excesses of strong men were kept in check somewhat by the presence of big-men. Up to a point, individuals were expected to resolve their disputes with other villagers by the forcefulness of their personalities and, when necessary, with their fists. Fights were allowed to escalate to sticks and rocks, and even to arrows shot with the intent to wound. But while personal assertiveness was allowed free reign at this level, the big-men would attempt to intercede before disputes resulted in murder. Murder, and the chain of vengeance it necessar-

ily unleashed, could easily split the village apart, and it was this dissolution that the big-men attempted to avoid.

When we transpose our discussion to intervillage relationships, many of these dynamics are reversed. The same bellicosity and forcefulness which threatened the village's internal solidarity was essential in protecting it from military encroachment:

Traditionally, the leader of a lineage or village is not so much its hereditary head man as the strongest of its strong men. His elders may be well equipped to train youths at initiation, or to perform magic and sorcery, their kinship status may be "higher" than his in terms of seniority, but the warrior leader is physically and temperamentally better able to cope with affairs calling for enterprise and initiative. (R.M. Berndt 1962:175)

In warfare, where defeat not infrequently meant the fragmentation and dispersal of the village, the military skills of the warrior-leader became more important than the lineage-based system of seniority instantiated in the big-man proper. It was in this context that the title "center-post man" took on its full meaning. Just as the center-post was the main structural support of the man's house, so the warrior-leader "held men together" when warfare threatened to drive them apart. Because warfare involved whole villages as units, the status of the center-post man operated at a higher social level than the hereditary power possess by the big-man at the level of lineage or

clan-hamlet. His death in battle frequently had the same repercussions as a military defeat:

When the enemy came, they shot us. We mourned. We had to leave the land and each line went to a different group. One man cried and went to Hogunamura. He cried and carried his things and went. Another man took his wife and children and went to Balola. Another took his possessions and went to Garufi. They didn't work their land--they just sat there and did nothing. Their hosts told them where to build a house and where to put their gardens. They didn't want to be there. They cried for their "root-land" and their home.

During this type of dispersal described above, each big-man took his "line" to a village where he had cross-cousins or brothers. In their absence, their gardens were despoiled and their houses destroyed. After a period of six months or longer, enemies were said to "feel sorry" for the exiles and invite them back to reclaim their land and "name." Still, this was a dangerous time in which the slowly assembling village could be subject to attack. It was the center-post man who organized the village's coalescence:

He's the big-man of the land. He alone stands up in the village in the time of war--a center-post man. He came back and "pulled" all the men who had run away to other villages. He sang out to them, "All right. I am living here. You can come back." To the men who had fled to Kompri, he said, "You come." And to Ontenu he sent word to come. Some went to Ataiya or other places and he said, "You come. I am a big-man and I live here. I am making my fire here."

The short-term cycle of social breakdown and reconstitution described in these accounts correlates with a

shifting emphasis in Kamano political leadership. When the village was at peace, one or two clans would form a hamlet on their land where they had easy access to gardens and resources and could prevent encroachment by other clans and villages. Leadership at this time was vested primarily in the big-men of the clan's component "lines." Under attack, the clans would gather at a defensible location in Sonofi at a set of caves and in most villages on a high ridge. In this situation, power shifted to the village's center-post men who attempted to activate alliances and coordinate the defense of the village. Military defeat or the death of a prominent center-post man led to a process called lenkegahu in which each big-man took his "line" to seek refuge with kin. The reconstitution of the village took place in a militarily vulnerable situation that once again propelled the center-post man to the political forefront.

Within Kamano society, it was warfare that activated higher levels of social organization. It was the warrior-leader, therefore, that came to represent the village and assumed the wide renown associated with the center-post man. To the extent that he could also take on other modes of leadership, his hegemony was assured. The big-man, whose position was based primarily on lineage and sibling-rank, held most of his power within the lower-level clan-hamlet. His socially limited prominence reflected the limitations of kinship in general as an organizing principle in Kamano society.

CHAPTER VII

TRADITIONAL POLITICS, COLONIAL POWER

As intermediaries between the village and the colonial officers, village leaders were pivotal figures in the process of social change. The manner in which they perceived and appropriated the new source of power offered them had a profound impact on the villagers' reaction to these changes. Their transformation of the colonial process, however, had dialectical repercussions. By associating themselves with novel forces and symbols, the basis of their power was likewise transformed. In these ways, the structure of the Kamano political domain became wedded to the process of change in a way that had a lasting effect on both.

For the purposes of analysis, the colonial period can be dated roughly from 1933 when the first Europeans entered the area until 1963 when the Kamano Local Government Council was established. The attempt to write a history of this period from the ethnohistorical accounts of villagers and Australian patrol officers is made problematic by a number of factors. The memories of villagers from this time tend to be overly specific and difficult to cross-reference with one another. In the absence of a traditional method

for reckoning years or ages, it becomes extremely difficult to place these events in a sequence. During the interviews, an attempt was made to overcome this problem by eliciting information on what stage of the life cycle the informant had reached at the time in question. This was narrowed down further by asking the informant to designate a contemporary villager whose age approximated his own when the event took place. To varying degrees of accuracy, the birth dates of today's younger generations are listed in the census and this enables us to estimate the year and sequence involved. Such estimations are obviously approximate.

With regard to Australian patrol reports, the main problems center around their incompleteness. During this period, patrols were carried out on an annual basis or more frequently as dictated by events. Many of these reports were lost during the displacements of the Japanese invasions, creating a number of gaps between 1936 and 1946. The reports that are available tend to minimize the conflict that occurred. A man who had functioned as a patrol officer (or *kiap*) in the area told me that many of their actions were only semi-legal and were not recorded. The absence of this material has been noted by other historians of this area (McRae 1974:22).

Additional problems occur when an attempt is made to coordinate the accounts of *kiaps* and villagers. The events that appeared quite dramatic to villagers rarely

found their way into patrol officers' accounts. Similarly, the more administrative concerns of the *kiaps* were of little moment to the villagers. The piecing together of a history of the Sonofi area therefore takes on a somewhat uncertain character. It is, nonetheless, possible to establish a rough history of those events deemed by the Kamano to be important in a discussion of political structure.

Missionaries and Miners (1932-36)

The first Europeans to enter the Kainantu area were German missionaries from the Lutheran Neuendettelsau Mission. Together with, and sometimes preceded by, evangelists from the Finschhafen area that they had previously trained, these missionaries made their first contacts in the Gadsup region in 1919, and then gradually explored westward during the 1920s. By 1929 they had penetrated as far west as the Bena Bena slopes and had worked their way some distance south into Tairora territory. In 1930 the missionaries were joined by independent miners who had recently exhausted the alluvial deposits in the Bulolo goldfield and who could not compete with the larger companies in mining the deeper deposits. Through the early 1930s these miners explored the "Upper Ramu" area around Kainantu in hopes of opening up a second large goldfield. Government administrations began their explorations at roughly the same time as the

gold prospectors. An administrative post and airstrip were constructed at Kainantu in 1932 (Radford 1972).

For the southwestern Kamano, these early explorations had an indirect impact. Pieces of cloth were traded southward from northern Kamano villages and were accompanied by rumors that emphasized the danger of the new arrivals. In response to rumors that the Europeans would send snakes to enter the vulvae of pregnant women and kill them, villages gathered into large communal houses, laid in reserve stocks of food, and posted guards--traditionally a posture of military defense. Other rumors suggested that Europeans were ancestors who were distributing new types of wealth. The goods preceding actual contact were rubbed with leaves, which in turn were consumed to prevent the recipients from dying (R.M. Berndt 1952-53:52-56). Warriors shot arrows at low-flying planes and were terrified when they could not bring them down. It is perhaps these vague initial impressions that explain the dreams many men claim to have had presaging the actual arrival of krogro bahe or "red men."

Missionaries again were the first groups to explore southward into the Kamano settlements of the Kratke Mountains. In 1933, a Lutheran mission station was erected at Onerunka, a Kamano village only seven kilometers northeast of Sonofi (Frerichs and Frerichs 1959:21). Direct contact with the missionaries at this early time was hindered somewhat by their location in an area dominated by Sonofi's enemies.

Finschhafen evangelists from the station settled in a village allied with Sonofi during 1934-35 and began to preach "the talk of the mission and government."¹

It was during this period that the first European arrived at the village of Sonofi. According to local tradition, the young men and women of Sonofi and Tribunofi were engaged in mori--a formal courting ceremony--as he was first sighted. They sang and danced as they approached this being in a way reminiscent of Berndt's description (1962:viii) of his arrival at nearby Yababi at a later date. The man told them he was named Salitompa,² that he had come from Pumpume,³ and that he was looking for gold. Aside from his skin color, the characteristics most recalled by participants were his rifle (which they mistook for the leg of a pig) and his limp. According to one informant, his father's younger brother associated Salitompa's limp with his dead father's, and suggested that this was his returning ghost

¹This is from a personal account written for me by Uri Gapeno, a Finschhafen evangelist presently residing at the Raipinka station.

²According to R.M. Berndt (1952-53:55), the term sa'gi'tomba referred to villagers from Raipinka and Kainantu who were receiving Western goods in return for food or labor.

³This term was used to describe either Europeans or their supposed place of origin (e.g., O'Neill 1979:59). Villagers were unable to explain its meaning and historians have fared little better (Munster n.d.:37).

(hankro). He returned with a pig that he gave to his "father."

The ensuing exchange revolutionized Kamano life:

Salitempa shot the pig with his rifle. We were afraid, but he said, "I'm not going to shoot you; just the pig." He then slaughtered and cooked the pork. When he was done, he gave this man a steel axe and large and small cowrie shells--he paid him. We turned the axe over in our hands and asked what it was. We thought it was something to play with. He said it was for cutting down trees and cutting firewood. He showed us how to do this and we understood.

Soon impressed by the superiority of steel over traditional stone axes, villagers began to look to the mission station at Onerunka as an opportunity for trade. Large new gardens were cleared and planted to provide a surplus of sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and other crops to be used for this purpose. Despite the presence of enemy villages in the area, men from Sonofi went to get axes on an individual basis:

Benega, Joginofi, Benega'namonka--we were enemies of these villages. We fought them with bow and arrows. We took our sweet potatoes and went to Onerunka. They said, "Where are you going?" We said, "They come from Pumpume. They came here and we want to buy steel axes and other small things. We'll buy them and return to our village. Then we can fight again." One by one we went there, got these things, and returned to the village.

Still, as the following account attests, there was danger in traveling to and from the mission station, and only warriors dared to make the trip:

My father, mother, and uncles said the enemies would kill me if I kept walking there. I went another time and the missionaries took me inside

their house and gave me food to eat. I was a "cowboy."¹ I would bring my bow, arrows, shield, and my net-bag full of food . . . One night I came when our enemies were asleep. The missionaries saw me and said, "He's a 'hot' man. We can make him a 'boss-boy.'" In the dead of night they gave me betel nut and cooked food for me. They appointed me *papatulla* and told me I couldn't fight anymore. When morning came, my father found me at the mission house and brought me back to the village . . . They pulled my hand and made me *papatulla*. The big-men said, "You can't appoint him *papatulla*. He's just a little boy." But the missionaries responded, "This doesn't have to do with death. It has to do with life and looking after men."

As described in this account, the initial impact of colonialism upon the political structure of Sonofi came in the form of the appointment of mission representatives. According to the informant, Menao, he was selected for this position because of his military bearing. From the perspective of the missionaries, it was perhaps the forcefulness warrior-leaders could exert upon the village that made them likely candidates. The interaction between missionaries and big-men illustrates the limitations of a warrior's power in this regard. Like most warrior-leaders, Menao was considered too young for this kind of influence within the village. At this early date, any influence this position held was solely in terms of a close association with being considered to be the ghosts of dead ancestors. A bit later, *papatulla* were expected to maintain the church, conduct

¹In contemporary parlance, the term "cowboy" is borrowed from American movies to describe warrior-leaders.

weekly services, and train children in Bible stories. Their association with Europeans, however, inevitably led to ascribing them with a more temporal authority not strictly a part of their official status. As with traditional leaders, the power of *papatulla* was personal rather than bureaucratic. When Menao's successor to the position spent a brief time in Port Moresby, the village church fell into ruin and has not been revived.

In 1936 the movement of evangelists throughout the Highlands was severely curtailed following the murder of two Catholic missionaries in Chimbu. European missionaries continued to circulate through the Eastern Highlands explaining the need to end warfare if the evangelists were to return. Ironically, hostilities at this time were intensified following an epidemic of influenza (probably introduced by Europeans) that was attributed to sorcery and led to new eruptions of violence. Villagers in the Kainantu area nonetheless embraced the concept of pacification offered by the mission. In areas to the north, huge piles of weapons and materials used in sorcery were burnt in an attempt to convince the government to allow the missionaries to remain (Radford 1977).

In the Sonofi area at this time, the impact of the missions was a bit less dramatic:

Flierl continued his intensive patrolling through the Bitebe, Sonofi and Tintagarufi groups to the southwest of Kainantu. The Sonofi had recently

been attacked by a neighboring group and were planning to retaliate. After discussion they decided that they would bring disputes to the mission or government for settlement rather than deal with the matter in their customary way. (Radford 1977:51)

Exactly why Eastern Highlanders so readily accepted (at least philosophically) the mission's message is an interesting question. Warfare, after all, was a constant aspect of life and integrally associated with the concept of manhood. Still, descriptions of battles are not infrequently tinged with a feeling of relief that things have changed. According to one informant, villagers destroyed their weapons because they were weary of sleeping uneasily at night, seeing their families killed, and not being able to concentrate on growing food. That the program of pacification came from the "ghosts of dead ancestors" lent it credence and force.

In the last analysis, however, the events of 1936-37 proved to be more dramatic than effective. Following the mission-inspired "burning of the spears," tribal fighting erupted immediately in the well-patrolled Dunatina Valley where warriors asserted they had destroyed only their oldest bows and arrows and weakest sorcery, and were, at any rate, actively producing new weapons (Morobe Patrol Reports dates 3/14/37, 4/9/37, 7/11/37, 7/12/37, and 7/20/37). Villagers who cooperated with mission or government were threatened with death, patrols were attacked, and in one instance

a warrior-leader threatened to kill and eat the government *kiap* (Morobe Patrol Report dates 7/12/37). In 1939, a patrol officer observed that a decline in warfare was followed by an upsurge of sorcery (Madang Patrol Report M 1938/39 dated 2/2/39), and this must also introduce doubts about an early pacification. In the area around Sonofi, where patrols were uncommon, the reports of small-scale conflicts at this time must have been but the tip of the iceberg. While the men of Sonofi may have pledged to forego vengeance, they soon were involved in a major intervillage war--the last before they were forcibly pacified.

Kiaps and Warriors (1936-46)

The first official contact between Australian patrol officers and villagers from the Sonofi area occurred on 5 October 1936:¹

To Witibi where number of natives from the Kratke natives presented themselves. They requested that a patrol be made to their villages shortly. They informed me that they would come to the station and report when they had cleared their roads and had everything ready for a visit. To Sonofi--the natives from this village have been disturbing the other natives but have now settled down. Returned to Witibi and was able to adjust various disputes. (Madang Patrol Reports dated 10/14/36)

¹There is some confusion in this regard even among colonial administrators of the time. According to Skinner (Kainantu Patrol Report #K5 1947/48), this area was first visited in August 1946. Some of this confusion can perhaps be attributed to the displacement of records and personnel during the Japanese invasion.

Between 1936 and 1939, the goal of patrols in this area was to replace intervillage warfare with colonial authority. Reports submitted by Aitchison and Elliot emphasize the cordial greeting accorded them by villages and attest to progress made in getting villagers to submit disputes for mediation (Madang Patrol Report dated 10/14/36; Morobe Patrol Report dated 3/4/37; Madang Patrol Report dated 8/18/37). A rest house for patrols was erected in Sonofi in late July 1937. In general, these first patrol officers tended to overestimate their impact on village society:

The objects of the patrol were realized beyond my expectations. The natives showed their appreciation of being visited in their general demeanor. I am sure there will be no cause for anxiety in the possibility of attack by these natives on those inhabiting the area between the Ramu-Purari Divide and the Markham Valley in event of the Uncontrolled area boundary being moved as far as the Ramu-Purari Divide. (Madang Patrol Report dated 10/14/36)

Descriptions of villagers celebrating the arrival of patrols and supplying accommodations, food, and carriers leave little doubt that they found these events somewhat awesome. Indeed, prior to the de-idealization of Europeans that marked later periods of colonialism, these initial encounters were conceived as occurring between villagers and mythological figures, "wild-men," or ancestral ghosts, according to one's interpretation. As with the mission attempt at pacification described above, however, the *kiapa* mistook the acquiescence inspired by their presence for

an informed agreement to pax Australiana. This proved to be premature. A series of battles and wars were the dominant feature of this area during the early 1940s. According to a later report, the "first effective control" of the Sonofi area was not realized until 1946.¹

The absence (or unavailability) of patrol reports from the Sonofi area between 1937 and 1943 is unfortunate, for this was a period of significance in village history. Toward the end of this period an interruption of patrols might have resulted from the disruption in administration following the Japanese invasion. Civil administration was officially replaced by the military Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit in April 1942. In the area around Kainantu, this transition was accompanied by the withdrawal of missionaries and former patrol officers. Intervillage warfare was resumed in the villages. According to one ANGAU officer:

Fighting has been and still is . . . rife everywhere. It only goes to prove that the natives of this area have absorbed little--if any--Government influence over the past years . . . as with the slightest relaxation of control, they become unruly and revert back to their standards of the past. (Ramu Patrol Report dated June 1943, quoted in C. Berndt 1953:113)

Although such actions were officially censured, individual ANGAU officers sometimes reacted to villagers'

¹ This was an unsigned statement on file at the Kainantu District Office, rather than an official report.

failure to acknowledge their authority by "burning houses, killing pigs, destroying gardens, and taking hostages" (Kainantu Patrol Report K, 1942/43, quoted in C. Berndt 1953:113). In the southwestern Kamano villages, this more primitive approach to pacification took place in the context of ongoing intervillage wars.

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, Sonofi and its allies were engaged in a concentrated cycle of battle, ambush, and sorcery against four villages to the immediate northeast: Benega, Joginofi, Bobonabe, and Benega'namonka (whose land Sonofi had overrun shortly before). Following the murder of his genitor by sorcery, the village *papatulla* used a form of sorcery called imusa to kill a Benega'namonka man in vengeance. When his death was confirmed, Sonofi held a singsing to celebrate their victory and then promptly moved into a cave to await the counterattack. On the sixth day after the singsing, according to village informants, the men of Benego'namonka reported them to the police. The police (from other areas of Papua New Guinea) accompanied a force of warriors to attack Sonofi. Two men were killed outside of the cave—one by arrows and one by bullets. A battle ensued, but Sonofi could not be dislodged from their cave. They later avenged the deaths by ambushing a warrior-leader from Benega'namonka.

According to the accounts of villagers, the next significant event in colonial history occurred in 1943 when a *kiap* returned to designate village leaders:¹

They raised a flag which waved in the wind . . . They said it was a symbol of fighting. The police surrounded everyone and told them to sit down. The *kiap* said that if we made any noise, they'd shoot us. The *kiap* walked around, grabbed Ranuo, and appointed him *luluai* . . . He made Tutuo his assistant . . . The *kiap* said, "These police are your *wanskin*. If I send them, you must obey them. You must build a rest house and a road."

That night, according to informants, raiders from Tingkafio (then a hamlet in Musabe) shot a Sonofi man. The *kiap* sent a detachment of police with Sonofi and allied warriors who surrounded the raiders and together massacred twenty-five of them:

They came down to the *kiap* and said they killed ten men. They lied . . . Yababi gave the *kiap* ten pigs and one cassowary. Sonofi gave him ten pigs. Garufi gave him five pigs. Onomuga gave him six pigs and one cassowary. They said, "You're a good avenger against our enemies." The *kiap* said we had to stop fighting or he'd kill us like Tingkafio.

Although I found no official report of these incidents, the use of enemy warriors during punitive patrols was apparently not uncommon. In 1948, while trying to recover a rifle stolen by a village southeast of Sonofi, R.I. Skinner was

¹There is some confusion about this date. Some informants assert that this occurred after the main battles were fought against the Japanese and specify 1943. Other men associate it with the erection of the first rest house in 1932. The event is not mentioned in any of the patrol reports I located, but the existence of village officials is first noted in Kainantu Patrol Report #K6 1943/44.

met by a contingent of warriors composed of their traditional enemies who wished to "help the patrol." Skinner took them along to prevent their launching an independent attack or looting gardens (Kainantu Patrol Report #K5 1947/48). But whether indigenous warriors were allowed to accompany patrols to prevent trouble or to augment the patrol's strength, the result was the same in the eyes of the villagers:

It seems that in most cases the other villages have gone to a District Service official and complained that they have been attacked by Keminavi. On coming up to investigate the patrol officer would be greeted with showers of arrows from the Keminavi people who thought that the "kiap" had joined forces with their enemies. Keminavi has a bad reputation but I don't think they are in the wrong all the time. As I explained to the luluais, if the patrol officer only hears one side he can't tell who is at fault and when the other side rushes off into the bush and attacks him when he arrives he naturally concludes that the attackers are the troublemakers.¹

Until 1946, Sonofi was the southernmost Kamano village in direct contact with European patrol officers. The use of colonial police as allies in intervillage wars during this period followed a pattern that relied on this distinction. Village alliances to the northeast inveigled *kiaps* to help them in battles with villagers to the less-controlled south and west. The last example of this pattern in the Sonofi area occurred in January 1946, when warriors accompanied a detachment of police on an attack on Musabe. From their

¹This is a report from a patrol to the Kamano villages of the Dunatina Valley (Goroka Patrol Report #27 4/15/45).

cave refuge, warriors from Musabe managed to kill a police lieutenant on this occasion. The entire hamlet of Tingkafio fled southwest to their present location to avoid police vengeance.¹ Also at this time, a Kamano policeman on leave from his unit in Bena Bena led raids against traditional enemies in the Sonofi area.²

Ironically, through their active participation in village wars, *kiaps* and police lent support to warrior-leaders during this transitional period of pacification. Even where they did not promote raids for their own status, as in the above example, they were used as powerful allies to settle traditional conflict. The ability to convince police officers to accompany a raid inevitably guaranteed success and was not dissimilar from the creation of traditional alliances. Here again, the goal was to convince outsiders that co-participation in a raid was of mutual interest. They were, moreover, compensated for their role in a victory.

Not infrequently, the warrior-leaders who had ties to the *kiaps* or police were also the *luluai*, *tultul*, or *papatulla* who had been selected to be colonial village leaders. According to colonial policy, *luluai* were supposed to be the main government representatives who carried out

¹ Referred to in Kainantu Patrol Report #K3 1947/48.

² This was recorded in an unsigned statement. See footnote #1 on pg. 316.

orders and saw to it that villagers obeyed the law (Jinks 1971:60). Since an attempt was made to select older men who already had status for this position, communication with *kiaps* was a problem. *Tultul* were generally younger men who could translate from the indigenous language into pidgin. In practice, the selection of village leaders proved to be a bit haphazard:

Choice was often indiscriminate and rested primarily on the personal judgment of the European officials, with minimum reference to the people generally. In some cases traditional war-leaders were chosen; in others, the new leaders did not even belong to the district to which they were allocated and did not correspond with the traditional warrior-leaders; and then initial clashes between the "new" and the traditional authorities were almost inevitable. (R.M. Berndt 1962:319)

Additional confusion on the part of villagers resulted from the division of labor between *luluai* ("boss-boy") and *tultul* ("mouth-boy"). In some instances, villagers referred to only to a vague amalgam of the two terms, producing a single "*tuluai*" (C. Berndt 1953:120). Certainly, the ability to communicate with Europeans or police in a new language and the increased knowledge this gave the *tultul* raised his status in a way that challenged the supposedly superior position of the *luluai*.

In the description of the *kiap's* selection of Sonofi *luluai* offered above, it is clear that this appeared to villagers as somewhat arbitrary. While Ranuo was an active warrior at this time, he was not a center-post man within

the village. His elder brother, who had previously been appointed *papatulla* by the missions, was absent from the village, but would probably have been a more appropriate choice within the clan in question. It is unclear whether even he was strong enough to guarantee the allegiance of warrior-leaders from other village clans. In addition, neither of these men was old enough to have status in anything but a military context. The village's big-men played little part in the colonial situation, although they still had a dominant role in village affairs. At any rate, the *luluai*, *tultul*, and *papatulla* at this time were still active warriors during this stage of historical development.

The effective pacification of the Sonofi area that was completed in 1946 brought about two important historical transformations. Where warfare and sorcery were alternate forms of intervillage conflict in traditional society, *pax Australiana* reinforced the expansion of sorcery to replace other forms of warfare. In the realm of political structure, the young war-leaders completed their transition from an overtly military role to a power based on their association with a new and dominating force. During this early period, this force remained primarily military with regard to intervillage relationships. Pacification caused these leaders to turn inward to exert control in their own villages with outside ties relegated to the hidden dynamics of sorcery.

The "Ghost Thing" (1945-48)

If military manipulation represented one way in which colonial power was culturally appropriated by Kamano villagers, a parallel attempt occurred during the cargo cults that diffused through the area in the mid-1940s. These cults were experienced by the participants as the spirits of their dead fathers and grandfathers briefly taking possession of the bodies of their descendants. Physically, such possession was marked by shivering and an involuntary whistling said to be the voice of the spirits. The names given to this phenomenon--"ghost thing" (hankro yane), "cold thing" (jasi yane), and "shivering thing" (toromani yane)--reflected the central importance of possession in the cults. The attempts to acquire Western goods were clearly secondary.

The cultural basis of spiritual possession is found primarily in events surrounding funerals. Unlike many areas of Melanesia where spirits played an active role in daily life, Kamano spirits were generally seen as present only immediately after a death. It is not uncommon for certain people to experience possession during wakes where they exhibit the same symptoms associated historically with the cults. In a trance-like state, these people will sometimes run from the clearing, followed closely by warriors in the hope that the ghost of the deceased will lead them

to the sorcerers responsible for his or her death.¹ Shortly after the funeral, spirits used to be ritually sent away from the village to the "land of ghosts." Occasionally, however, possession could persist. The father of one elderly informant, who was known as a particularly fierce warrior, entered his son's body whenever he carried his father's arrows into battle. His son attributed his own military prowess to his father's presence.

Unlike these more idiosyncratic examples of possession, the possession experienced during the cults was readily communicable:

They [i.e., the cultists] prepared a bamboo pipe for me. I didn't draw in the smoke, but the smoke was gone. Something was in my throat and my voice called out, "Yebo! Yebo!" [a nickname for the informant's dead father's brother]. . . This thing went in me and my legs swelled up. My stomach and face swelled also. I couldn't walk around or breathe. I felt this and wondered how I was going to get rid of it. My wife was standing behind me and she grabbed me . . . I relaxed and she began to shake . . . It went out of me and into my wife.

The transfer of spiritual possession from person to person that characterized the cults was only partially experienced as a voluntary process. It was certainly true that some people took part while others did not. Still, for participants, the cult was a state under whose influence one fell and was perceived as somewhat akin to sickness

¹See pp. 161-162.

or drunkenness. Men who witnessed and then contracted possession in one village would spread it when they returned home. In a more voluntaristic mode, cult leaders actively disseminated possession, ritual, and ideology in neighboring villages. Early observers often saw cargo cults as a form of "madness" or "mass hysteria" and as a symptom of cultural disintegration in the face of colonial contact (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1923; Williams 1934). While such descriptions captured an important subjective aspect of the cults, they tended to overlook the meaningful cultural response constituted by social "madness." Rather than anomie, spiritual possession reflected an active ideology about Europeans and an attempt to tap the power they represented.

During their first interaction with villagers, Europeans were classified in one of two cultural categories. Some men wondered if they might be a new kind of *masalai*--the "wild-men" of the bush known for their caprice and superhuman powers. Prolonged contact, however, supported a second theory which saw in Europeans the ghosts of dead ancestors. The numerous exchanges of Highland produce for steel axes, shells, and cloth were seen in this semi-mystical light. The cargo cults instantiated a third theory that developed parallel to the view of Europeans as ancestors. According to this line of thought, Europeans were humans whose appearance and culture were given them by Jugumishanta after she descended

from the Highlands, erected the societies of the coasts, and crossed the sea. While the initiation rites given to Highlanders by Jugumishanta made them stronger than other groups, she favored the coast with game and fish, and the Europeans with an obviously superior material culture.

Alternating variants of this paradigm interpreted the motives of Europeans as either beneficent or malevolent. Some informants claimed the latter ideology was introduced by mission evangelists from the north coast who suggested that Western goods and weapons were actually being produced by ancestors, but the Europeans were intercepting them and substituting their own names for those of village descendants.¹ This belief has endured among older villages and can still evoke a great deal of anger:

When we work for money and then go buy something, we think, "Ai, these are our things, but now the whites take them and sell them back to us." It's a bad situation and we think about it a lot.

During the postwar period, villagers sometimes approached Europeans with the hope they would help them attain the secrets of cargo, and grew angry when they refused to comply:

We carved guns out of wood and then asked a European to put a rope [i.e., a trigger] on our guns. He said he couldn't do this and we were angry

¹This is quite consistent with postwar cargo beliefs from the north coast area (Lawrence 1964).

and tried to hit him. He shot at us and we ran away.

The cults themselves represented attempts by villagers to bypass the Europeans entirely and attain cargo directly from their ancestors. One cultist claimed to receive wealth when he walked through the cemetery:

I would put some change in my tobacco tin; but when I walked through the cemetery, it became full of money. When I walked in the cemetery, I'd find red and white laplaps [i.e., sarongs]. I don't know how this happened, but I dreamt my father came and gave me this money. My grandfather and ancestors gave me these things in the cemetery.

The epidemic of possession that swept the area comprised a mode of communication:

When our skin began to shake, we thought our mothers, fathers, and ancestors who had died wanted to come see us. We thought their voices were in our mouths. Our voices said, "I am this ancestor and I am here. I want tobacco and food." We thought they were coming.

While colonial contact clearly precipitated the emergence of the cults, cult ideology transformed the relationships so that Europeans appeared only indirectly as objects of reference. The cults manifested the ties between the villagers and their ancestors--between the living and the dead. Cult leaders attempted to usurp the intermediary role and status previously accorded Europeans. In taking on this new role, they frequently adopted the behavior affected by patrol officers in ways that approached unintentional parodies. Some leaders were said to have worn tin plates on their heads while giving peremptory commands.

to their followers in a pidgin that was incomprehensible to speakers and hearers alike. "Soldiers" marched in formation bearing branches carved to look like rifles. Cult leaders ate daintily from wooden "plates" of food prepared by underlings and afterward wiped the corners of their mouths with leaf "napkins."

In their attempts to bring cargo to their followers, leaders moved from mimicry to traditional structures of reciprocity. The specific elements of a cult were received in trance as instructions from an ancestor as to what sacrifices and rites had to be performed to enlist their aid in creating shells, money, axes, clothing, and rifles. While some of these goods had more obviously practical uses, the value of others was largely symbolic. In several Kamano locations, tall posts--decorated with feathers, flowers, and rope, and anointed with the blood and livers of pigs--were erected in hopes that a flag would appear. One by one, men climbed these poles and touched the top rope in a ceremony called "raising the flag." Flags were seen as symbolic of the military strength and power of the Europeans.

Most often, cult practices involved elements of consecration, decoration, and sacrifice. Ancestors were expected to stock with fish a small pond that had been surrounded with a decorated fence. Following a pig sacrifice, carved branches thrown into a decorated riverine pool were supposed to be transformed into rifles. Rocks and bamboo

placed in a house decorated and anointed with pig's blood were to create the stock of a trade store. In these examples, informants explained the goal of the rites as making the ancestors happy so they would accede to their descendants' requests. Slaughtered pigs were generally consumed by cult leaders and/or their followers with only a small portion reserved for the spirits. Taking part in this sacramental meal was felt to provide the communicants with some protection from the powerful forces in play.

In general, the leaders who attempted to take on the role of spiritual mediator were men who had functioned as strong warriors--if not as center-post men--for their respective clans or villages. Indeed, the same qualities of strength, impulsivity, aggressiveness, and organizational abilities that marked the center-post man were called for equally in the case of cult leaders. As younger men, they were in touch with the realities of the culture of colonial contact that was emerging around them. As "hot men," they were accustomed to coalescing a following based on their strength. The passive hostility toward Europeans manifested in the cults was quickly noted by administrators who used force to repress them before they could escalate into anti-colonial movements (R.M. Berndt 1954:268).

Together, administrative repression and the denunciations of the missions effectively quelled cult activity. Cultists were publicly shamed, beaten, and jailed. In

the churches, spiritual possession was attributed to a satanic influence that participants were encouraged to renounce. Added to these more external attempts to stop the cults was a feeling that cultists had been deceived by unscrupulous leaders or the spirits whose instructions they relayed. Particularly in the case of leaders who actively proselytized in less sophisticated villages, there is evidence that they may have been motivated by a desire for vengeance (R.M. Berndt 1952-53:142). During the interviews that I conducted, cultists and cult leaders alike were quite anxious. Feelings of embarrassment over their gullibility was evidenced by gales of laughter or frequent disclaimers about how they had exorcized the spirits in church.

For many informants, however, shame felt about participating in the cults coexisted with beliefs that cult ideology possessed some validity. The rigorous repression practiced by the missions and the administration lent credence to the idea that the cults posed a threat to the European monopoly on cargo and power. Cult ideology endures as a suspicion that maintains an association between Europeans and Kamano ancestors. Perhaps not surprisingly, a contemporary transformation of cult-like activity occurs in relation to the missions. In the process of redefining the cults at the satanic pole of their world view, the missionaries substituted their own apocalyptic vision. Initiates were assured that by accepting baptism and obeying mission law,

they would be repaid in the afterlife with a European house, as much food as they wanted, and all manner of cargo. The most significant dreams reported by villagers vividly describe this paradise. Christian resurrection, moreover, is perceived as a variant of the original cult beliefs. In contemporary life, the SDA faction in the villages is especially prone to apocalyptic rumor in which they will be persecuted by Catholics for worshipping on Saturday and denied access to stores and cargo.

A second offshoot of cultism survived in regard to a man designated by people from several villages as a successful cultist who had truly discovered the secrets of cargo. People's perception of Emenoyame of Tirokave village is based partially on his success as a rural entrepreneur. Emenoyame lives in a Western-style home constructed of corrugated iron; grows coffee and vegetables for sale; raises cows, sheep, and fish; owns a trade store and two trucks; and sells timber. While he denies his participation in the cults, Emenoyame was jailed when *kiaps* found his house full of rifles and other Western goods when the cults were at their height. He claims to have found the rifles in a downed airplane and to have traded for the other goods in a "legal" manner.

Despite his denials, villagers' association of Emenoyame's commercial success and cult ideology is not entirely unfounded. While he may not have acquired his

goods through cult ritual, he attributes his openness to European influence to directions received from his dead father in trance:

My father's voice said, "Put your hand into the water." I put my hand in the water and it turned into blood. A stone and a stick floated up and I grabbed them. I held them and lightning flashed in the sky. Then a big wind came up. It told me to go into my house . . . It told me to wait for dawn and that when I saw the sun come up, men with a different kind of skin would arrive. The road wasn't here then, but I believed the voice . . . "When the men come." the voice said, "they will give you food. Don't drop it! Hold it in your hand!"

Mr. Skinner came and I thought this was the man the voice described . . . I thought it was a *masalai*. I wanted to run away, but the voice said, "You can't run away! You must watch!" . . . I killed a pig and gave it to them. They took me back to Kainantu. My clan said, "Don't let him take you to Kainantu. He'll kill and eat you there." I said, "Forget it" . . . I wasn't afraid. He invited me into a house and gave me food . . . I would eat half and put half in my net-bag to bring home. The master asked me why I was doing this and I told him . . . He gave me food to bring back and eat with my line.

Emenoyame's story provides a variant of the more standard cargo cult format in which ancestral intervention was instrumental in establishing his role as mediator with the Europeans. For his followers and other people in the region, a *de facto* association grew between his knowledge of "*bisnis*" and the mysteries of cargo. In terms of a discussion of leadership, it is significant that Emenoyame is widely recognized as the center-post man of Tirokave. This genitor, whose spiritual intercession is described

above, was likewise a center-post man prior to pacification. Emenoyame thus presents an example where a primarily military-based leadership was overlaid with the cult-like ideology successfully enough so that this leadership survived the colonial transition. The combination of commercial success and ancestral mediation, moreover, created a second transition to contemporary political meaning that provided a basis for his continuing power within the village.

Contexts of Power (1948-63)

In the mid-1940s the *luluai-tultul* system of Indirect Rule established by Australian administrators began to encounter significant problems throughout the Kamano region. Most often, these problems are reflected in complaints about the weak influence exerted by *luluai* in their villages.¹ One explanation offered by the *kiaps* for the leaders' lack of power was their fear of their followers' sorcery. Linked with this was the observation that leaders were respected only by their immediate line or clan and had little influence

¹ Goroka Patrol Report #30 1944/45 (Northern Kamano), Goroka Patrol Report #4 1945/46 (Dunatina Valley), Goroka Patrol Report #7 1945/46 (Kamanuntina Valley), Goroka Patrol Report #8 1945/46 (Dunatina Valley), Goroka Patrol Report #9 1945/46 (Garfatina Valley), Kainantu Patrol Report #K3 1947/48 (Southwestern Kamano), Goroka Patrol Report #2 1941/42 (Dunatina Valley), Goroka Patrol Report #7 1951/52 (Dunatina Valley), Goroka Patrol Report #1 1952/53 (Dunatina Valley), Goroka Patrol Report #15 1952/53 (Southwestern Kamano), Goroka Patrol Report #3 1953/54 (Dunatina Valley), Goroka Patrol Report #11 1954/55 (Henganofi area).

over the rest of the village. While patrol officers attempted to centralize villages in order to give *luluai* a stable political base, there was little traditional precedent for prolonged cohesion at this level.¹ Without the goad of warfare, hamletization soon resulted. A centralized form of leadership was likewise limited traditionally to periods of military mobilization. The bureaucratic role envisioned by colonial officers for *luluai* did not easily fit the flux of Kamano social life.

To some extent, the weakness of colonial leaders can be attributed to the obvious incongruities between traditional politics and the expectations of colonial administrators. The debate between Brown and Salisbury concerning this transition is of relevance here. According to Brown (1963), the imposition of bureaucratic leadership eradicated the consensual basis of a Chimbu big-man's power, creating "satraps" in its wake. Noting the existence of small-scale "despotism" in traditional Siane and Chimbu society, Salisbury (1964) emphasized instead the limitations placed by this new system on the exercise of arbitrary power. In fact, the legalistic bureaucracy entered into the middle of this continuum, opposing at once both of the extreme tendencies of Highland politics. Both consensus and the prerogative of the "hot man" were weakened.

¹See pp. 60-74.

While the contrast between colonial and Highlands politics characterizes the conflict experienced at a general level during the colonial transition, it was opposed by a process of mutual redefinition that must be analyzed in order to understand the political continuities experienced within the village. From this perspective, the weakening of the *luluai's* position reflects the Kamano response to the new system. After a brief period, the Kamano concept of leadership reasserted itself in regard to *luluai* and *tultul*. The colonial selection of a single leader per village, for example, soon gave way to the Kamano tendency toward a larger number of leaders representing smaller social units. A 1952 patrol report complains that few of these "officials" had been officially appointed, but were instead "influential men who had naturally drifted into the positions" (Goroka Patrol Report #1 1952/53). The resulting glut of *luluai* and *tultul* was much more consistent with traditional patterns than colonial law:

There are numerous men who are more or less leaders of their particular house lines or hamlets, consisting of perhaps fifty or a hundred people, and these men are often spoken of as "luluais," though they may never have been officially appointed. It was not uncommon for an area with three hundred people recorded in the census books to have a line up of a dozen or so "Village Officials." Of these are probably two or three men who have been appointed by Government Officers, tentatively or otherwise, and perhaps one or two previously appointed who have proved unsuitable and have since been removed from office. To add to the confusion some appointees have been issued with badges and some, either because the appointments

have not been confirmed or badges were not available, have not.¹

A second way in which Kamano villagers modified this system occurred in relation to the distinction between *luluai* and *tultul*. Originally, the Administration had distinguished these two offices according to explicit roles and responsibilities:

The duties of a *luluai* may be thus summarized: He acts as the representative of the Administration in his village, and sees that all orders and regulations are observed. He is responsible for maintaining good order, and he reports promptly to the Administration any breach of the peace or irregularity that may occur. He adjudicates in quarrels and minor matters of difference among the people . . .

The *tultul*'s duties are to convey to the people any orders or information received by the *luluai* from the Administration. He is simply a means of communication between those in authority and the people.²

As was mentioned above, this distinction was often misunderstood by villagers who sometimes merged the two terms in a single office. Eventually, however, a discrimination was made that reflected a convergence between traditional politics and the colonial situation. The *luluai* had been selected from the generation of warrior-leaders--the last generation that had matured prior to pacification. It

¹This described a patrol to the neighboring Bena Bena region (Goroka Patrol Report #6 1951/52).

²From the report to the League of Nations on the administration of the Territory of New Guinea from 1 July 1921 to 30 June 1922, quoted in Brown (1963:2).

was younger men of the following generation, who had been schooled in pidgin and could communicate with Australian *kiaps*, who were appointed as *tultul*. Affairs within the village were still largely controlled by the big-men of the oldest generation.

These distinctions were matched by a developing schism between inward- and outward-facing spheres of influence that paralleled traditional political dynamics. Big-men continued to dominate the internal affairs of clan and village while *luluai* and *tultul* concentrated on the external relationships that had once been the domain of the center-post man. Because of their relative youth, colonial leaders did not have influence within the village. The inability to communicate directly with colonial officers similarly limited the ability of older leaders to fill colonial offices. This arrangement, moreover, converged with the restrictions on power imposed on *luluai* and *tultul* by *kiaps*. While there was status in associating with Europeans and their power by acting as translator and mediator, the colonial leaders had no official mandate to direct village affairs.

Patrol officers in the Kamano region recognized the distinction between old and young leaders and many supported younger leaders whom they hoped would further social progress:

In most groups the headmen are no longer young, and I am of the opinion that more youthful men . . . would be more effective as village officials.

The older men seem reluctant to attempt to make people obey instructions against their desires, and since they themselves neither understand nor agree with these instructions that is not surprising. They make frenzied and ostentatious efforts to assert themselves when an officer is present, but from fear of the officer rather than an understanding of his motives . . . in their knowledge of pidgin the older men are again found lacking. I do not suggest that we should ignore any man who has influence among his people, but, since the older men have little interest in ideas for advancement as put forward by us, it would be better to have them confine their leadership to the traditional things of native life. (Goroka Patrol Report #1 1952/53)

Within this system of political dynamics, *luluai* occupied a particularly tenuous position. Not yet of the older generation, their influence within the village was limited so that sometimes they were merely "stooges for the big man" (Goroka Patrol Report #10 1944/45). From the other end, the position of the *luluai* was gradually being usurped by the younger *tultul*. Patrol officers recognized this tendency and differed in their opinions about which group to support:

[Luluais] are not very intelligent, willing or keen and natives take more notice of smart-alec self-appointed young interpreters, e.g., one is an ex-personal servant, another had been a native constable but was recently dismissed. Frequent patrolling will probably cause these luluais to wake up to their responsibilities and exert their authority a bit more. (Goroka Patrol Report #30 1944/45)

Three luluais stated that they did not want to carry on their duties as they maintained that the people refused to take any notice of them and did not obey their instructions. Three younger men will be recommended as Luluais in the place of these men. Even apart from these three, the

remaining Luluais without exception stated the same things. (Goroka Patrol Report #2 1951/52)

The transmission of leadership from *luluai* to *tultul*, was accelerated during the mid-1950s in the southern Kamano area when *tultul* were made responsible for organizing labor to build roads. *Tultul* were given the power to order people to work and, officially or unofficially, took it upon themselves to punish people who would not comply. In addition, payment for this labor was funneled through the *tultul* who gained status by distributing money to their followers. Symbolically, the building of roads to towns paralleled the role of the *tultul* as a conduit to colonial power and wealth.

The following account of a *tultul's* rise to power illustrates many of the political trends operating during this period. Both continuity and transformation of traditional leadership are clearly exemplified. The protagonist, Rane, is currently the Local Government Councilor of Sonofi:

I was six or seven when the SDA mission came and built a house where the store is now. They tried to teach us pidgin and numbers. I was good at pidgin and helped translate for them. Speaking was easy for me. In 1946, they took me to Kainantu.

In 1951 I came back from Kainantu. The village-men didn't know pidgin . . . Even though my things were still in Kainantu, I didn't want to go back. I stayed in the village . . . When the police came, I was the translator. When another house line came and yelled at us, I spoke strongly and told them they couldn't take our land. I told them about the way of the government and peace, and that if we obeyed this, a good time would come. I said that white men had come and that now we sit down under the law and cannot

fight or they would jail us . . . They heard my talk. Then the SDA church sent me down to Fore to build a mission. I gave this speech at Fore and told them it was a good time now. I told them that in two or twenty years, schools and other good things would come. A lot of men thought the *kiaps* would soon leave, but I told them this wasn't true.

I was in Fore in 1952 and 1953. Tutuo [the old *tultul*] died in 1953 and I came back to the village . . . My mission called me to come back, but I stayed . . . After ten months the *kiap* came to take names. They mapped out the road to Benega . . . I wasn't the *tultul*, but I gathered all the men. I translated for the *kiap*. Ranuo was the *luluai*, but he didn't speak pidgin so I translated . . . The *kiap* wrote down my name and said that since our *tultul* had died that I would replace him. He said the *tultul's* work was to gather the men for work. He said the *luluai* was our head *kiap* . . .

Men said that only I could be *tultul*. Menao [Rane's genitor and a center-post man at this time] said I would replace him. Ranuo seconded him. [Why?] Because I'm the first son of the first brother. Everyone said it was all right. [Why not Menao or other elders?] He was already getting old and couldn't speak pidgin . . . What if there was trouble and they couldn't speak pidgin? How would they solve their problems? . . .

I laid out the road . . . We dug the road bed and carried sand to fill it. I gave each section to a man and wife and the road was finished quickly. We brought flowers and plants and planted them beside the big road . . . When the patrol came, I placed food on the bed and tethered pigs under the bed for them . . . I cleaned the rest house, cleared the lawn, and dug toilets . . . This was my work. I gave him food and got everything ready. When I did this, everyone was happy, because no one went to jail. The people said there was no trouble and that I should keep looking after them . . .

I took the *kiap* along the road and he was pleased and gave us payment. He put K1900 in my hand and told me to divide it up. I gave a huge feast and invited everyone. I gave K2 to each man

and woman . . . I gave K6 to the *luluai* and I took K4. I asked if they were happy and they said yes. I saved half to distribute later when we got more money. After a few months, the *kiap* came back with K900 for maintaining the road. I distributed it again and gave each couple a spade as well . . . I did this four times--the fifth and last was in 1959. Then they started collecting tax.

Described within this account are several shifts among the meaningful elements that defined Kamano political dynamics. At the structural level, the most conservative opposition mentioned in Rane's account was that between elder and younger brothers. Status automatically adhered to Rane's position as the eldest clan-brother of his generation contingent upon his abilities. One could postulate that this was influential in his parents' sending him to attend SDA schools, and it was certainly a factor in gaining the support of the elders when he assertively took on the responsibilities of the *tultul*.

The structural opposition between older and younger generations was augmented by meaning created within the colonial situation. The oldest generation came to be defined as men who had undergone initiation and fought as warriors, while younger men were marked by their knowledge of pidgin. As described above, older men retained their influence within the village. It was Rane's fathers who designated him *tultul*, much in the same way warrior-leaders were chosen by elder big-men. Younger men came to dominate relations with the colonial bureaucracy.

At a lower level, the distinctive features that defined the power of younger leaders shifted more radically. Traditionally, these leaders were "hot" men who assumed power at moments of military stress. They tended to be impulsive and domineering--qualities that were formally inculcated during initiations. For colonial leaders other traditional political qualities rose in significance to eclipse the warrior ethos. Primary among these was the ability to "speak strongly." The need to speak pidgin added new meaning to this attribute, transforming it into a way of tapping colonial power. In Rane's account, he was able to use his knowledge of law and his ability to speak to defend the village from a potential attack.

A second attribute that remained important during this period--albeit in an expanded form--was the leaders' possession and distribution of wealth. Western goods were soon valued along with pigs as articles of wealth, while shells were reduced to their use-value as decorations. The goal of leaders became acquiring this wealth and then gaining status by giving it to followers. Cult leaders attempted this through rituals appealing directly to the ancestors. *Tultul* were more successful when they organized road-work and distributed the payment they received.

As agents of indirect rule, one of the primary responsibilities of *luluai* and *tultul* was to maintain order within their villages. This colonial need placed an emphasis

on processes of conflict resolution that was unfounded in traditional Highlands society and was counterbalanced by what Barnes (1962:9) referred to as "the high value placed on violence." Even where combatants resided in the same Kamano clan or village, conflicts were allowed to proceed as trials by strength. The status of young men was partially predicated upon their ability to dominate their peers physically--to do what they liked despite opposition. While the "hot-man" ideal did not negate the existence of traditional forms of mediation and truce, these processes were limited to incidents that had escalated to where the viability of the village was threatened or where men grew tired of fighting groups considered allies.

It is somewhat surprising then that local officials throughout the Highlands responded to the minimal colonial demand for order by setting up local courts modeled on the hearings held by *kiaps* in town and bush. In societies where political status and notions of justice depended more on vengeance than on mediation, why would leaders voluntarily adopt Western legal forms? The answer to this question is to be found in the form taken by these courts and how they were integrated into traditional culture.

For the southern Kamano case, a good description of village courts at this time is offered by Berndt's Excess and Restraint. In his accounts, the leaders hearing informal courts were most often "strong men" who had been appointed

as *luluai*, *tultul*, and mission catechists (R.M. Berndt 1962:316). The most dramatic pattern noted by Berndt (1962:330) was that 65 percent of the cases he reviewed concerned sexual matters. Accusations included in this category ranged from dissension between co-wives to rape, but charges of adultery made against wives accounted for the largest number (some 27 percent of total charges). Berndt (1962:337) notes that adultery is seen as a form of theft and that women so accused are "almost always condemned and punished." Punishments meted out in these cases had a particularly traditional cast, including physical chastisement, public humiliation, gang-rape, and mutilation. In one case, a *luluai* allowed an aggrieved husband to shoot his wife's seducer in the arm. Although compensation often followed punishment, the flavor of Berndt's informal courts was one of imperious judgment rather than compromise and flexibility.

Berndt (1962:376-77) viewed the emphasis on sexuality and violence in the informal courts as a "re-direction of traditional modes of action." The excitement once experienced in warfare, personal vengeance, and cannibalism, he claimed, was being channeled into a new form that possessed legitimacy in the colonial context. This argument can be made less reductionistic by exploring the manner in which informal courts were utilized to preserve the structural oppositions between male and female, and strength and weakness,

that were then under attack by administrators and missionaries. Traditionally, masculine strength was predicated on minimizing maternal influence via initiations and providing limits on sexual contact with women throughout adulthood. The importance of this opposition was reflected in many domains of Kamano culture, ranging from myth to residential structure. During the early 1950s, local courts developed in a period where pacification had undercut the basis of male identity. This process was exacerbated by the disbanding of the men's houses, curtailment of initiations, and the missionaries' attack on all forms of public sexuality, including singsings, mori courting ceremonies, and sexual farces.¹

Seen in this context, local courts were utilized by strong young leaders to reaffirm the cultural basis of their status. The sexuality and violence of daily life that had once provided the basis of male strength were focused within court hearings. Indeed, the seemingly bizarre sexualized punishments meted out by judges resemble nothing as much as the krina farces once enacted for entertainment. If the "legal" form given these actions often allowed leaders to evade colonial censorship, they also sometimes came into direct conflict. Defending himself before an administration court, a Tairora *luluai* explained:

¹See pp. 187-200.

When I was appointed luluai the government officer told me that I was to look after my people and to see that everything was in order at my place. These two women would not listen to what I said and kept walking about to various places for immoral purposes. I then cut off the right ear of each to teach them to hear what I say in future. (R.M. Berndt 1962:388)

Kiaps were brought in to the process of conflict resolution when the offense was especially severe. Berndt (1962:325) notes that villagers attempted to keep homicide hidden from the administration, but where this was not possible, it fell clearly within the jurisdiction of colonial courts. Land disputes and, more generally, any conflict between villages, also exceeded the ability of local courts. Where the villages involved were friendly, according to Berndt (1962:361-62), divorces might result in compensation, but rarely mediation. Between hostile villages, even claims to compensation could be advanced "only at the point of an arrow." Cases brought to the *kiap*, however, did not escape the imprint of Kamano political dynamics. Much like the manipulation of punitive expeditions, colonial courts became weapons in the hands of young leaders. As N.F. Fowler observes in the 1953 patrol report:

Throughout the area, petty disputes were numerous, and concerned mainly pigs and women; it was evident that many of the disputes should have been settled by luluais, but once a dispute reaches the extra-hamlet or village level, officials appear to lose whatever sense of justice or fair play that they might of had, and become only interested in gaining a victory for their own people. To the native, the victories and defeats of yesterday are not to be forgotten today; enemies of the past are

enemies of the present, and the fight is still being carried on, in a somewhat less brutal, if not less civilized, manner. The law has replaced the spear and can be wielded no less skillfully in the hands of astute officials. When a decision is given against natives of one village, they will not be satisfied until they have gained a similar victory, not with the thought of obtaining justice, but as another spear thrust. (Goroka Patrol Report #3 1953/54)

Conclusion

Within Kamano society, it was the young warrior-leaders who most decisively tapped the power represented by the colonial bureaucracy. Initially using punitive expeditions against their enemies, and later as cult leaders, *tultul*, *papatulla*, judges, and strong-men sought to use external power to reaffirm their status within the village. While older big-men were sometimes appointed as *luluai*, they soon became cut off from colonial power by their younger siblings and sons who had been their translators. As symbolic of ties established with the source of this new power, linguistic communication became a crucial aspect of status.

Whether or not this process involved a usurpation of power by young leaders from big-men presents a difficult question. In that they retained some control over marriage, life-cycle payments, migration, and wealth, the older leaders still controlled most aspects of daily life. During the early phases of colonization, moreover, the powers accorded local officials was largely ritualistic in nature. According to a *kiap* patrolling the Sonofi area:

Luluais and tultuls whose blithe conception of their role in the Government's scheme of things does not extend beyond their lining, in numbers, at a Patrol's approach or departure, the throwing of innumerable left-handed salutes, and then awaiting of a similar opportunity which the next Patrol will afford. (Goroka Patrol Report #15 1952/53)

One would postulate that this sort of role was not initially very attractive to older big-men. A bit later, however, when young leaders were placed in charge of building roads, distributing wages, and holding courts, a new type of power was created to rival the big-men's control of village affairs. It is somewhat ironic that the leaders whose status was most adversely affected by pacification should be the ones who most capitalized on colonial control. Perhaps, however, it was the undermining of their role that motivated warrior-leaders to seek a new basis for their status.

The effect of warrior-leaders taking over roles as village officials was largely conservative in character. At the same time, however, the nature of these new positions created feedback that transformed the type of power they wielded. The absence of warfare spelled the demise of the "hot" personality that had been the basis of the young leaders' status. The nature of power shifted to emphasize other traditional meaningful components, such as "strong speech," as well as new talents involved in the manipulation of the colonial bureaucracy.

Much manipulation, and not a little confusion, developed with regard to the division between government and mission bureaucracies. As early as 1947, patrol officers reported that local representatives of the two powers were in competition, with mission workers actively disrupting government development schemes because they had not been consulted (Kainantu Patrol Report #K1 1947/48). In local courts, the mission taboo on singsings was sometimes enforced by government representatives (C. Berndt 1953:123). Mission workers threatened with imprisonment villagers who were polygamous, wore traditional clothing and hairstyles, or failed to attend church (Madang Patrol Report #M 1937/38; Goroka Patrol Report #3 1948/49). In his instructions to patrol officers, Skinner directed them to:

Make it clear to all people and to the man concerned that the various mission-appointed "boss-boys" and "papatullas" have no civic status or power and must not interfere in the matter of native complaints and the duties of the luluais. Indicate that the term "boss-boy" must not be applied to these individuals--they are mission representatives only. (Instructions from R.I. Skinner to Patrol Officer D.S. Grove, dated 6/16/47, for Patrol #K1 1947/48)

Leaders did not hesitate to manipulate these differences. Upset with the prohibition on singing and dancing, local officials approached Skinner, who indicated that the government would not support this ban. This response put him in direct conflict with Rev. A.C. Frerichs, who ran the Lutheran Mission at Raipinka (Kainantu Patrol Report

#K5 1947/48). On another occasion, village leaders refused to work on an aid post because they would be preparing for baptism. Despite the mission workers' denial, the patrol officer concluded that the missions were exerting "a bad influence" (Kainantu Patrol Report #4 1959/60).

Bureaucratic divisions were further complicated by the existence of two mission factions in the Kainantu area. Initially, affiliation with Lutheran and SDA churches tended to be based on traditional social structure according to hamlet, clan, and village (C. Berndt 1953:122; Kainantu Patrol Report #K1 1947/48). Beginning in the 1950s, new types of meaning became associated with this alignment. While the SDA mission continued to pursue its program of moralistic Westernization, local representatives of the Lutheran church gradually dropped their objections to polygamy, singsings, and other customs, thereby forming a syncretic amalgam that reflected--rather than posing itself against--current village practices. At the same time, overall interest in active church observance began to wane (Goroka Patrol Report #6 1954/55).

The factions that developed around local mission leaders soon took on political import. SDA representatives emphasized cooperation with the governing administration--a fact that was not lost on grateful patrol officers. An entry in the Sonofi Census Book for 1951 notes that it is the SDA "element" that is responsible for the upkeep

of the rest-house, while a 1959 entry describes a "poor reception" given by Lutheran hamlets. A 1955 patrol report complains of a lack of supervision by European missionaries that contributes to political factions, and further notes:

I was particularly struck by the difference in both the attitudes and appearance of the native representatives of the missions. The Adventists were all alert, very clean, most cooperative and stood out among the people. In contrast, the Lutheran "teachers" were generally difficult to distinguish from their villagers in dress or cleanliness and some of them could not even speak pidgin. (Goroka Patrol Report #11 1954/55).

Despite the presence of SDA factions in Kamano villages, the last five years of the colonial period saw an increasingly intractable attitude displayed toward colonial representatives. Patrol officers complain of the villagers' refusal to "line" for census, keep the roads and rest houses in repair, and provide the patrols with food (Kainantu Patrol Report #3 1957/58; Kainantu Patrol Report #4 1959/60; Kainantu Patrol Report #15 1962/63). To some extent, the villagers' response indicated a growing political sophistication. When asked why they would not work on the road, Kamano villagers replied that the road was being used for the benefit of European businessmen who should pay the workers more money to maintain it (Kainantu Patrol Report #17 1963/64). This type of realization dovetailed with the cargo cult--like expectations that had been stimulated by colonial promises of development and then left unfulfilled.

The villagers' withdrawal from colonial endeavors also reflects a crisis-oriented sense of timing that pervaded traditional social life. Munare Uyassi (1978:21-22), a Kamano social scientist, notes that villagers' responses to contemporary political programs are not unlike the manner in which they structured warfare, feasting, and singsings. Periods of rapid mobilization and great amounts of social labor were followed by calmer periods when normal gardening and house building were resumed.¹ We could posit that the late 1950s saw a period of social relaxation after the drama of the colonial intrusion.

During the early 1960s, the villagers' mildly anti-colonial attitude converged with attempts by national leaders to create a Local Government Council in the Kamano area. Under the guidance of Barry Holloway, the more prominent Kamano *tultul* were encouraged to run for seats on the Council. Men and women from all villages were mobilized to construct the council center. With the initiation of discussions about self-government and indigenous business possibilities, the supernaturally-tinged authority ascribed to colonial representatives was even further undermined. A 1963 patrol report notes that recently appointed Councilors were "already exerting a certain amount of influence in their respective

¹I will discuss this in more depth in the section on contemporary politics.

villages," and describes the attitude toward patrols as "passive resistance" (Kainantu Patrol Report #15 1962/63). A year later, most of the local village leaders were actively campaigning with Holloway for the upcoming national elections and failed to meet regularly scheduled colonial patrols (Kainantu Patrol Report #16 1963/64).

CHAPTER VIII
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN
CONTEMPORARY POLITICS

Kamano ethnohistorians tend to dissect their postcontact history into periods named for local political formations. According to their chronology, the "time of the *luluai* and *tultul*" was followed by the "time of the council." Perhaps for different reasons, the formation of the Kamano Council in November 1963 was a significant event for both villagers and colonial authorities.

Local Government Councils were officially begun in 1950 as an attempt to initiate a gradual process of broadly-based political development. Unlike the earlier Village Council program which concentrated solely on local objectives (Murray 1973), the later councils were seen as a base on which indigenous participation would gradually be focused upward to regional and finally national government (Hasluck 1973). The Administration posed this program against one emphasizing the development of a small educated elite that would push the country to "premature" independence (Hastings 1969:120). The main objectives of the councils were (1) to overcome traditional social fragmentation and

emitties, (2) to encourage local initiative in planning and implementing development, (3) to teach local peoples the principles of Western politics by reinforcing the democratic elements in traditional social forms, and (4) to collect taxes that would be used for constructing roads, bridges, schools, and clinics (Legge 1956:219-22; Jinks 1969:116-18). During the 1950s, councils were established in the more developed areas of the islands and coast. It wasn't until 1960 that the first Local Government Councils were developed in the Highlands.

Despite the administration's assertion that councils were established "only when the villagers said they wished to have them" (Jinks 1969:118), there was considerable resistance to the idea. In the coastal areas, this resistance came from either groups who preferred traditional bodies composed of elders, or leaders who have developed their own organizations and movements to oppose colonial control. The Hahalis Welfare Society, Mataungan Association, Kabiswalan People's Government, Paliau movement, and other "micronationalist" groups actively campaigned against the councils in their areas and often refused to pay council taxes (May 1975).

Kamano accounts of the introduction of the Local Government Council also emphasize resistance, albeit from more conservative motivations than their coastal counterparts. Fearful of losing their dependent and supernaturally-tinged

relationship with European patrol officers (or perhaps of asserting themselves to these patrol officers), informants perceive themselves as having been forced to accept the change:

In 1960 they called us to meet in Kainantu. Barry Holloway was a young man then--a patrol officer. He said we had new work to do--a council. I raised my hand and asked what kind of work a council was. Was it different from the *luluai* and *tultul* or the same? Barry said it was the same; that *tultul* would now be *komiti* and *luluai* would be *kaunsil*. I asked if the work was good. I said we weren't clear about it, that Kainantu should start it and we would see if it was good. He was angry and said, "All right, you go back and build a road. If you don't finish it we'll jail you." In 1961 he called us back and asked what we thought. We said we thought it was a good idea. We went back for a year and worked on the road. They weren't paying us now. We forgot about it. In 1963, Holloway came back in a car and said we were going to begin a council. We said, "Yes, let's do it now."

Barry Holloway came then and said, "You can begin a council." K. said we couldn't do it. Holloway told him to stand next to a casuarina tree. He said, "are you the same size as the tree? No, you're smaller than it is. You're going to have a council!" He was forceful.

The colonial insistence on establishing Local Government Councils at this time must have in part been a reaction to growing international pressure.¹ To the villagers, this was quite consistent with their acceptance of both the councils and cash cropping as "part of the package of new things coming from the white man, without much distinct-

¹The visiting U.N. mission and subsequent Foot Report in 1962 will be discussed on p. 361.

ion" (Uyassi 1978:5-6). When, later, the council failed to fulfill inflated economic expectations, villagers threatened to "leave the council work." As a poorly understood ritual associated with gaining wealth and status from Europeans, the councils took on a cargo cult-like appearance. This pattern was not limited to the Kainantu area. Similar reports of cargo-type hopes and dissatisfactions were associated with the advent of Local Government Councils among the Kuma and in the Madang region (Reay 1973:540; Morauta 1974:98).

The combination of colonial "forcefulness" and indigenous expectations produced an unprecedented mobilization of the population in building a council center and inaugurating the Kamano Council:

On November 7, he said we should gather at Benega on November 30--on a Sunday. If a house-line said they didn't want a council, they handcuffed and jailed them. On Sunday, everyone from Kamano #1 and #2 gathered at Benega. Holloway lit a cigarette and said in the time it took him to finish it, he wanted us to clear the bush and build a house. We gathered all the men at 5:00 in the morning. They worked hard. The women cleared the land. I sent 200 men to cut posts and the older men to carve the rafters . . . On Thursday all the work was done . . . Six houses were built for Kamano #2 and five for Kamano #1 so people could sleep there when they attended . . . Sixteen days later, we made a feast. Each house-line had to bring three or five pigs . . . We sent for all the *luluai* and *tultul* from Okapa, Obura, Tairora, and Goroka. ADCs and newspapermen came too. All the visitors ate in the office. The rest of the food was divided among the men who came. Everyone danced with huge decorations. They said, "The council has begun."

If colonial and village interests coincided for the more ritualistic aspects of initiating the council, the actual selection of councilors proved to be much more complex. One of the Administration's goals had been to encourage cooperation between fragmented local groups through the formation of electoral wards that would choose a single representative. Kamano wards were demarcated according to population figures and local preferences, and ranged between two and five villages. These wards were realigned in 1966 when the Kamano Council was incorporated into the larger Kainantu Local Government Council, and again in 1968 as that council was expanded (Kainantu Patrol Report #6 1968/69). While patrol officers attempted to convince villagers that the expanded Kainantu Council would have more power, the amalgamation of wards led to predictable problems:

The result of this amalgamation has caused a little concern for some of the smaller areas that have now been forced to join together and vote for one councilor, when before there was two or three from the same area. They have become accustomed to having a representative of their own go to the meetings and speak for them. Now the other village group who may have the numerical advantage of voters has its member as the representative for the whole area when the smaller group distrusts the larger one and feel that they have no say in council matters. (Kainantu Patrol Report #14 1969/70)¹

¹A similar observation is made with relation to Kuma villages (Reay 1971:177).

Given the ongoing state of covert warfare existing between Kamano villages, it is hardly surprising that villages not directly represented considered themselves disenfranchised. Lacking a councilor (*kaunsil*), such villagers tended to rely on their committeeman (*komiti*) as an administrative power within the village (Reay 1971:4). While committeemen received little official recognition or power, their status was enhanced in disenfranchised villages. As Morauta (1974:84, 105) has observed in Kamba villages, this arrangement reduced councilors from a multi-village representative to a more traditional village leadership role. The principles of representational democracy that the Administration had hoped to impress upon villagers were in fact being short-circuited to form a system much more consistent with rural social realities.

The opportunity offered to young men to attain administrative status during the colonial period was continued during the election of councilors. While there were some exceptions, it was generally agreed among Kamano villagers that older big-men or *luluai* were simply not eligible for the office. Like Reay's Kuma informants, they saw the Local Government Council as replacing the *luluai*. As a "new" institution, they felt it would best be administered by "new" men who understood it (Reay 1964:251). It is unclear whether patrol officers reinforced local perceptions about selecting younger men as councilors. At the least,

the decision to conduct council sessions in pidgin assured that this would occur: "The patrol officer said he didn't want old men in the council speaking Kamano. He said the council should be conducted in *tok pisin*."

The selection of young leaders to act as councilors continued a colonial trend that effectively split bureaucratic authority from local power. Young councilors sometimes became figureheads--men with "no name"--who not infrequently had to defer to their seniors in local affairs (Langness 1963:160; Kainantu Patrol Report #10 1969/70). In the extreme case, elder leaders sometimes felt slighted and refused to cooperate with council policies (Kainantu Patrol Report #6 1964/65). To the extent that they still exercised control in daily village interactions, big-men saw little gain to be made in taking on administrative tasks with their onerous responsibilities. A 1972 report to the Ministry of Decentralization saw this dynamic as the major impediment to the effectiveness of the Kainantu Local Government Council:

In recent elections, more younger men have been elected into the Council. They have little influence over their constituents and likewise respect for them from the villagers is very small . . . Traditional big-men see little profit of any type in being a councilor. This has resulted in the big men refusing to stand for council elections. Allowances must be raised to attract some good traditional big men into the council . . . leadership is missing in the village. Attempts must be made to restore it. This can be done by encouraging the villagers to choose good men for councilors, and not for the simple reasons as knowing pidgin, etc. (Kavani 1972/73)

For the Kamano, the second chapter of political development followed a scant five months after the initiation of the Kamano Council. In March and April 1964, villagers were asked to vote for representatives to the House of Assembly--the first time indigenous candidates were to hold voting positions in a national government. To some extent, the decision to hold elections at this time came under pressure from the United Nations Visiting Mission to New Guinea in 1962 and subsequent Foot report that was critical of Australian gradualism. The report suggested accelerating secondary and tertiary education and establishing immediate representative government in order to bring New Guinea in line with other developing nations (Report of the 1962 Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of New Guinea; excerpted in Jinks, Biskup, and Nelson 1973:380-84).

The villagers' cultural appropriation of the 1964 elections roughly paralleled their perceptions of the Local Government Councils. As a new and mysterious ritual introduced by European candidates and political education patrols, the electoral process took on the supernatural attributes once associated with cargo cult ideology. Referring to the cults that spread through the Kainantu area during the 1940s, a *luluai* suggested, "Now that we have seen the election work, we are wondering if it is not the work we were talking about before" (Watson 1965:105). During the preparation for the 1964 elections, this ideology was focused

specifically by the Kamano onto Barry Holloway, who had resigned as a patrol officer in order to himself stand for election. The political education patrol sent to Kamano villages complained of ridiculously low attendance, while a week later Holloway held rallies of more than eight hundred in the same areas. Local Government Councilors who should have received the patrol and mobilized their constituents were away campaigning with Holloway. The patrol officer suggested that the Kamano were "under the influence of a personality cult" (Kainantu Patrol Report #16 1963/64). While villagers were certainly under the influence of a cult, it was not simply a matter of personality. As late as 1972, during the third set of national elections, rumors around Kainantu reported that "cargo would arrive after Mr. Holloway won the elections" (Kainantu Patrol Report #29 1971/72).

Just as in the 1940s cults, a crucial aspect of election ideology was an association between Europeans and ancestors. Watson describes Tairora dreams from this time in which the House of Assembly is perceived as a great rock without a visible door, and clearly associated with the land of the dead. Informants suggested that the task of a candidate would be to find and open the door and then to shake hands with the giant who received them. They wondered whether this handclasp would prevent the candidate from returning to life with his kinsmen or, alternatively,

if he would "be given the large sum of money for which they were working" (Watson 1965:104). In these accounts, elections join cult ritual, dreams, and possession as bridges between the living and the dead. During the 1968 national elections, a patrol officer describes Kamano villagers as retaining a "mythical" image of the House of Assembly (Kainantu Patrol Report #11 1968/69). Similar perceptions of the House of Assembly are reported by Morauta (1974:102-3) in her description of Kamba elections in which the famous cargo cultist, Yali, was an unsuccessful candidate.¹

Imbued with this sense of connection to the world of death and miracle, the election also acquired the aura of danger that threatens mortals in these circumstances. Just east of the Kamano, Tairora villagers had dreams or bouts of possession in which they encountered ancestors who chided their descendants for their backwardness and gave them magical substances to protect themselves from the election danger. Voters perceived themselves as having to overcome dangerous trials to complete the election ritual successfully. During a political education session in Kainantu, participants were shown a picture of a polling clerk with his hand resting on a ballot box as a minor illustration of electoral procedures. Villagers later

¹Yali is the protagonist in Lawrence's classic Road belong Cargo (1964).

explained this picture as an allegory in which they would have to be strong enough to push away the hand of this expatriate and find the opening of the box (Watson 1965:104-5).

On the day of the election, special precautions were taken to protect the more vulnerable members of the community. Pregnant women were kept away from Kamano polling stations entirely, while women, children, and men who had recently engaged in sexual intercourse wore protective leaves. These leaves were also laid in the path of the electoral patrol and used to decorate the polls. When the polling had been completed, the leaves were collected for use in magic to counter the "breath of the election" that might contaminate the village. In neighboring Gadsup areas, the polls were anointed with pigs' blood to protect voters (Watson 1965:109-10).

Unfortunately, many of these precautions failed. About ten days after the elections, the Eastern Highlands was swept by a serious influenza epidemic. In the Kainantu area, this was labeled "election sickness" and attributed to the malevolence of ghosts. Gadsup villagers asserted that only those men and women who had voted became ill, and associated their headaches with "evil spirits" who had entered their heads in the polling booths (Watson 1965:11; Leininger 1964:208-9).

The actual electoral mechanisms imparted to villagers were fairly complex by any standards. In order to ensure

the presence of educated expatriates who could offer guidance in the House, ten special Electorates were set up in which only Europeans could stand for election. These large geographical regions were further subdivided into forty-four Open Electorates in which there were no special restrictions placed on candidates. In addition to selecting candidates from two separate lists, voters were further expected to number each of the candidates according to preference. At each successive stage of vote tabulation, the second preference votes of the losing candidate were distributed until one candidate amassed more votes than the combined tallies of all of his opponents. Imported from Australia, such a system allows for the election of a compromise candidate. During the 1964 elections in the predominantly Kamano Henganofi Electorate, preferential voting proved somewhat successful in this regard (Wolfers 1968).

Within the Kainantu Electorate, one force illustrated by voting results was the formation of ethnic blocs. The Kamano, Tairora, and Gadsup groupings were each represented by single candidates, while two Agarabi candidates stood for election. The main unspoken assumption during the election was that linguistic boundaries would remain inviolate. Aside from Holloway, few candidates campaigned away from their district. Those few who made token appearances in other areas spoke apologetically and asked only for second preference votes. They clearly avoided challenging the

indigenous candidate. There was, in fact, little in the way of substantive platforms or debates. Campaigning rested solely on name, reputation, and ethnic identity (Watson 1965:101). To a large extent, voters also respected ethnic boundaries:

It appears that none of the four ethnic areas as a whole gave more than five percent--if that--of its first preferences to an alien ethnic candidate. Accordingly, the order in which the ethnic candidates finished the race reflected almost exactly the number of voters who were polled in each ethnic area. (Watson 1964:202)

It would seem clear that the 1964 elections provided one of the first contexts in which linguistic differences served as a basis for social affiliation. Traditionally, it will be recalled, geographical proximity superceded language as a basis for marriage, trade, and alliance. The election brought rural populations into a somewhat abstract interaction with more distant peoples. The relatively absolute adherence to this new affiliation indicates perhaps a transfer of village territoriality to a larger grouping. One candidate explained that he did not visit other areas because he did not wish to be killed (Watson 1965:102). It is less clear whether linguistic affiliations actually diffused through the rural areas or reflected the more sophisticated political alignments of leaders. In some Kamano areas, Local Government Councilors played a dominant role in limited the number of candidates who ran (Wolfers 1968:87), and almost certainly they were highly influential

in directing their constituents in voting. These same officials, in late 1964, discussed the possibility of combining the Kamano Council with the Henganofi Council to form a single, linguistically-based district (Kainantu Patrol Report #6 1964/65).

In the end, however, the candidacy of Barry Holloway proved to be the decisive factor in the Kainantu elections. While Holloway pidginized his name and claimed to be running as a "Kainantu man," he was able to escape the restrictions of ethnic politics while capitalizing on its divisive character. It had been assumed that Holloway might win if he could garner enough secondary preferences in each of the ethnic areas. Being unbound by ethnic identity, he was the only candidate who campaigned widely. In fact, the villagers' lack of understanding of the preferential system of voting produced far too few secondary votes to have much effect (Watson 1964:202). Holloway's victory depended instead on first-preference votes. In the Kamano and the Tairora electorates, he received a full third of the first-preference votes. Facing two local Agarabi candidates, he managed to get a fifth of the votes. Finally, when the Gadsup candidate tried at the last moment to withdraw in favor of Holloway, he received 62 percent of the votes cast. After the second allocation of secondary preferences, he was declared the winner (Watson 1965:113-14).

It would seem fair to surmise that Holloway owed his victory to a variety of cultural factors. From an indigenous point of view, he stood at the nexus of two sets of social alignments. As a potential purveyor of cargo, he enjoyed an association with ancestors and their mystical powers. In the competition between hostile ethnic groupings, he represented an impartial agent who evoked the paternalistic sentiments accorded patrol officers. The elections, after all, were being appropriated by societies steeped in warfare and sorcery. For weeks following the election, Kainantu-area villagers fled approaching trucks, fearing reprisals by unsuccessful candidates from other areas (Watson 1965:111-12). The perception of electoral competition in terms of more mortal kinds of conflict greatly enhanced the position of an expatriate candidate.

The establishment of Local Government Councils and first set of national elections represented a convergence between colonial and indigenous interests. The set of beliefs and expectations precipitated in the villages generated a popular mobilization. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, local interest in government began to wane. This was especially true with regard to the House of Assembly. Patrol reports from this period consistently emphasize the disillusionment of Kamano villagers who understood little about the functions of the House and whose represen-

tatives did not visit them.¹ One could surmise that a combination of inflated (and mystical) expectations, and the vast conceptual distance between national politics and local concerns caused villagers to lose interest. By 1972, only one-third of the eligible Kamano voters participated in national elections (Kainantu Patrol Report #22 1971/72).

Despite the more concrete presence of the Local Government Council, it, too, gradually lost the support of the villagers. An index to this trend can be found in the increasing failure by local people to pay the annual council tax. Two years after the advent of the Council, a patrol report noted the "enthusiasm" that greeted the tax patrol. In addition to there being only a few cases of absenteeism, women (who had been exempted from tax) brought copious quantities of food to supply the patrol in lieu of their payments. The patrol officer suggested that the Kamano's pro-Council attitude could be attributed to the creation of Aid-Posts, the machinery brought in to maintain the roads, and other concrete development projects (Kainantu Patrol Report #6 1964/65). This pattern contrasts

¹ Kainantu Patrol Report #6 1968/69; Kainantu Patrol Report #11 1968/69; Kainantu Patrol Report #14 1969/70; Kainantu Patrol Report #24 1969/70; Kainantu Patrol Report #35 1969/70; Kainantu Patrol Report #12 1970/71; Kainantu Patrol Report #12a 1970/71; Kainantu Patrol Report #24 1972/73.

sharply with the period between 1969 and 1973 when tax-defaulting became a major problem (Kainantu Patrol Report #6 1968/69; Kainantu Patrol Report #12 1970/71; Kainantu Patrol Report #12a 1970/71). The climax of this trend is described in a 1973 patrol report:

The present Kainantu Council . . . has never managed to win the allegiance of villagers. In fact over the period 1969 to 1973 the council has gradually become more and more divorced from village life. Today even in the traditionally pro-council No. 2 Kamano more and more villages are refusing to pay taxes. As can be expected tax collection in the No. 1 Kamano has become an increasingly onerous affair with the majority (70 percent) of tax payers just disappearing into the bush at the sight of the Tax Team.¹ Today there is little to distinguish the two areas of the Kamano except in the tactics each used to avoid paying tax. (Kainantu Patrol Report #24 1972/73)

The Kamano's resistance to paying taxes reflected a growing frustration over unmet expectations. With pragmatic and mystical fantasies the two sides of a single coin, the villagers had hoped that Local Government Councils would become a cornucopia of wealth--introducing new goods, cash, and wage labor that would enhance their status. The Council's inability to deliver these things combined with the passive stance of the villagers to cause a widening chasm between their interest. When the villagers failed

¹There are two Kamano electorates in the Kainantu District. Kamano #1 lies closer to Kainantu, was contacted earlier, and has a reputation for less cooperation in government affairs. Sonofi lies in Kamano #2.

to pay taxes, the Council began to turn to investments to ensure an income. During the early 1970s the council purchased three coffee plantations, a coffee processing plant, and a large bulk store that brought in a revenue of K80-90, 000 annually. This new focus for Council activity in turn produced additional alienation. A villager interviewed by Uyassi (1978:7-9, 20) complained, "They say tax; tax and we gave more and more. Now they've created a big business and have become like a company."

This divergence between the political interests of Council and villagers was reflected in the weakening influence of councilors vis-a-vis elder leaders. Where once young councilors were accorded enthusiastic support, they were soon having difficulty getting villagers to keep their villages clean (Kainantu Patrol Report #11 1968/69). Popular support shifted back toward village concerns when the promise of cargo faded.

An attempt to address some of these issues was made in 1973 during the creation of Area Communities in the Kainantu District. The Area Communities were envisioned by planners as traditionally-based village groupings that would be used to encourage local participation in socioeconomic development. Two goals of the program were "to give decision making power to the people" and "to abolish the colonial ward system and enable the people to choose their own boundaries

and leaders" (Mogu and Bwaleto 1978:87). To this end, villagers were induced to group themselves according to traditional alliances. Given the unstable and checkerboard pattern of Kamano alliance, it is not surprising that this idea had to be modified in many cases. When possible, villages might group with enemies with whom there were no remaining mortal debts. Lacking even this condition, villages decided to unite with enemies with the understanding that they would reconcile their differences by holding singsings and exchanging gifts (Kainantu Patrol Report #9 1973/74). The hope for this process was that, in time, social identity would shift a step higher than traditionally hostile clans and villages (Warren 1978:120-21).

Responding to the election of more sophisticated, but less influential, young leaders to other levels of national politics, an attempt was made to include traditional big-men in the Area Communities. The number of Community Council members, as well as how they were to be selected, was left up to the villagers. Most often, this involved an informal consensus reached at open meetings. While District representatives encouraged the selection of clan elders and big-men to instill the Area Communities with legitimacy, a mixture of leaders were selected that included elder leaders, Local Government Councilors, Committeemen, and younger, educated men. It was hoped that this mixture would allow the Area Communities to form a bridge between

local concerns and the higher levels of the political framework.¹

A third goal of the Area Community program was "to enable the people to decide the sort of development they want which is responsive to their needs" (Mogu and Bwaleto 1978:87). In this regard, the Area Communities were encouraged to plan small-scale capital works projects. Funding for these projects was to come from the annual tax (50 percent of which was to go directly to the community) as well as special taxes the community might decide to institute. It was suggested that these funds be used to match grants from the Rural Improvement Programme operated by the central government.²

From its inception, the Area Community program was linked to the establishment of Village Courts. It was hoped that the courts would provide the Area Communities with the power to apply sanctions. Seen from an external perspective, the introduction of Village Courts was intended to replace alien concepts of law with more traditional modes of dispute settlement that would prevent disputes from escalating into violence (Mogu and Bwaleto 1978:87).

¹Descriptions of this can be found in T.J. Busing, a letter to the District Commissioner, dated 11/16/73, concerning Area Communities in the Kainantu District; Kainantu Patrol Report #9 1973/74; Warren 1978:112-13.

²From a letter by T.J. Busing, to the District Commissioner dated 11/16/73.

In fact, local courts had operated in Kamano villages--as they had in many areas of the Highlands (Reay 1964; Fenbury 1966; M. Strathern 1972)--since the early colonial period. These early, unofficial courts adjudicated disputes and punished offenders according to traditional notions of justice. The role of Western law was comparatively slight (R.M. Berndt 1962; Zuckerman n.d.). The introduction of Village Courts was important in selectively legitimizing certain aspects of traditional law and in providing guidelines for its use.

It is important to note that the Kainantu District was the first in the nation to see the establishment of Area Communities and Village Courts, and that the programs were somewhat experimental in nature. The concept of Area Communities had been proposed in 1973 by three expatriate leaders in Kainantu: a Member of the House of Assembly, the District Officer, and the Executive Officer of the Kainantu Local Government Council. The Area Communities were inaugurated in 1974-75 and the Village Courts in 1975-76. At this point there were thirty-five Area Communities and nineteen Village Courts. While it had been hoped that each Area Community would be gazetted for a Village Court, there were many communities deemed too small for this purpose. The Village Courts were to enforce some customary laws, Local Government rules, as well as decisions adopted by the Area Community Councils. This latter process was facil-

itated by a large overlap between elected Area Community members (called *eria*) and Village Court Magistrates (called *jas*) (Mogu and Bwaleto 1978:89-9).

The inaugurations of the Area Communities once again elicited a mass mobilization at the village level. At each area center, villagers cleared an assembly ground, raised a flagpole, cultivated flower gardens, and erected a meetinghouse, courthouse, and police house. In one southwestern Kamano village, up to six hundred villagers attended mass meetings at which elections and discussions were held and reports received on various topics (Warren 1978:112). Adding to the excitement of those inaugural gatherings was the presence of government observers from Kainantu, Goroka, and Port Moresby, and numerous reporters. According to one survey, 99 percent of the villagers supported the Area Communities (Mogu and Bwaleto 1978:94).

Soon after this initial upsurge, however, local interest in the Area Communities entered a sharp decline. In the village described above, monthly meetings in 1975 were attended almost solely by elected representatives. It is by exploring the reasons for this declining interest that we can begin to understand how contemporary political formations are appropriated by villagers via traditional culture.

Underlying many of the villagers' complaints about the Area Communities was a wider conflict between attitudes

of dependence and autonomy. The Area Community program was developed at a time when self-government and independence were the foci of a national dialogue. Like most other Highlands groups, the Kamano tended to be conservative in their outlook. Discussions about political independence held by patrol officers evoked fears of an "ill-defined catastrophe" (Kainantu Patrol Report #29 1971/72), in which the expatriates would depart, Australia would cut off financial aid, the Highlanders would be dominated by better-educated Papuans and coastal leaders, and the country would be invaded. With the departure of expatriates, moreover, it was feared that the villages would return to warfare to settle unresolved conflicts (Kainantu Patrol Report #12 1970/71). The concept of "self-government" was understood in a concrete way to mean a return to traditional forms of conflict resolution and vengeance.

With regard to the area Communities, the villagers' dependent posture was most clearly reflected in continuing complaints that the central and local governments had not delivered their promised support. Long delays in receiving supplies, a lack of supervision, and the unavailability of funds were some of the concrete factors that influenced the decline of the Area Communities (Uyassi 1975). To the villagers, this lack of support was experienced as a kind of paternal abandonment:

Holloway was chosen for the national government. He was voted in. He turned his back on us and doesn't come to see us. We don't have a father. Then Mr. Henry came, but he went into business and turned his back on us. We don't have a father.

At a meaningful level, the loss of paternal support from expatriate leaders was perceived in terms of a nature-culture distinction. When interest in the Area Communities declined, the community centers were allowed to become overgrown with grass and vines (Uyassi 1978:18). In response to questions about the lack of government support, the Chairman of the Iyevenonta Area Community exclaimed, "When we began the Area Community, two District Officers stood at our backs. Now the bush is at our back." The encroachment of the bush was used here as a metaphor for a return to the atomized and unsophisticated realities of rural life. European leaders in this equation functioned as a bulwark against the resurgence of warfare and sorcery as dominant forms of government.

In the absence of external supervision, the Area Communities were left in the hands of local leaders who had little idea how to proceed in developing their communities (Uyassi 1975; Warren 1978). Almost immediately, the Area community Councils shifted away from democratic organizations to frameworks more consistent with big-man models. Meetings were attended almost solely by leaders whose central concerns were ways in which they could enhance their status. In the extreme case, leaders appropriated community funds

to travel, give parties, or to use as capital in their own businesses. The initiatory feasts held for Area Communities became a new type of basis for intercommunal competition. Utilizing these feasts much like singsings, leaders spurred on their followers in building up community centers lest they lose face (Uyassi 1978:15-17).

Within the communities, tax monies tended to be invested in businesses rather than for community projects. A proposal to begin a sports and social club, initiated by young men in one southwestern Kamano community, was treated with scorn by the leaders who tore up the proposal (Warren 1978:118-19). But social improvements were not uppermost in the minds of local leaders, neither were profits. Instead, a competition ensued between communities over the ownership of trucks and trade stores that had become integral aspects of a community's status. These projects were sometimes initiated by individuals who sought loans from the community, and sometimes by the community itself. With few exceptions, however, the goal of businesses was the production of wealth that would bring status to its owners. There was little understanding that wealth must be reinvested as capital, or of the normal expenses incurred by small businesses. Trucks frequently fell victim to accidents, large overhead costs, and reduced fares for community members. Of four Area Community-owned trade stores established in Kainantu, only one was still functioning

in 1979. This store had been taken over personally by the Area Community's Chairman, who complained, "I put K2500 into our store and in the end neither the money or goods were there. The storekeepers really messed things up."

The failure of the Area Communities can be partially traced to the ambiguity inherent in their inception. While attempting to reinforce traditional patterns of leadership, these patterns were idealized to emphasize democracy and grass-roots participation in community projects. Ignored in this equation were the assertive, if not imperious, manner in which traditional big-men could make decisions, and which was carried over somewhat into the functioning of the Area Communities. Parallel with this was a conception of "development" that emphasized the use of wealth to increase status. Goods or money extracted from a business to contribute to life-cycle payments, or credit extended to kin, might increase the status of the giver, but it also caused the demise of businesses subject to the capitalist marketplace. The Area Communities may have been successfully appropriated by a new generation of young leaders to enhance their status (Uyassi 1978:31-32), but this process often precluded ongoing commercial success.

Another factor contributing to the decline of the Area Communities was their instability as social units. Given the temporary and scattered nature of Kamano alliances, the planners' hope that the communities could encompass

traditional units was unrealistic. Yet, even if they did not reflect previous alliances, the Area Communities created units that functioned like them. An older warrior-leader described the Area Communities in the following terms:

It's something that maintains peace . . . If the Area Community wasn't there, all of us in Sonofi would die. We're surrounded by enemies and we would have lost our land . . . The Area Community has become like a center-post man.

Ironically, the equation made between Area Communities and alliances was all too successful. For like their traditional counterparts, the communities' ability to foster cooperation was short-lived and eventually fell victim to internal dissensions. According to the Chairman of the Iyevenonta Area Community, one of the central problems they faced was the ongoing sorcery attacks between member clans and villages. Men engaged in mortal, albeit secret, combat were afraid to gather for meetings, much less cooperate in economic projects. When the Local Government Council attempted to rekindle popular support for the Area Communities by distributing uniforms to local officials, this intervillage tension emerged toward the end of the ceremony. Just as the food was being removed from the earth ovens for distribution, an old warrior-leader stood and said, "I have to go look for ginger for my daughters and then we'll spit it onto the food." This statement was interpreted as "hidden talk" that alluded metaphorically to other villages' failure to support the Area Community and to cut back the bush

from the Area center. His statement was intended to shame other villages for their failure to cooperate.

A final factor that accelerated the decline of the Area Communities was the withdrawal of support on the part of leaders. Village officials and police continually complained that they were not paid adequately for their work, and this problem became exacerbated as community funds were depleted. With decreasing support from clan-elders, some of whom had been elected *eria*, local power again became split between older and younger leaders. Judges and police complained that men would not heed their orders, while big-men returned to rural concerns. The following interchange occurred when the Local Government Council sent an Assistant District Officer to revive interest in the Area Communities, and illustrates many of these social frictions:

Policeman: You people just sit and play cards. You don't come to work. Now, this issue comes up!

Young Man: The police aren't here. They go to their own villages and work in their gardens. it's your fault. If you were here, you'd call us and we'd work. Instead you work on your own gardens.

Big-Man: Neither of you can make all kinds of speeches. You're not big-men.

Big-man/Judge: The police wander all over the place. I take care of my village. My wife died and I just buried her. Now I've come to sit here. I'm not thinking of my wife. I'm thinking of government work. You must act like this.

The withdrawal of village big-men from the Area Community scheme recreated the traditional pattern of village fragmentation that took place during periods of military truce. As the need for alliance decreased, big-men led patrilineal or clans away from village settlements to build hamlets on their land. Concern shifted from military matters to gardening and raising pigs as ways to attain status. A modern transformation of this pattern was noted by an informant:

Before when the Area Community said to work and men disobeyed them, they charged them K1.50 or K2. Now, no one comes to work . . . Men are stubborn now. Everyone thinks about their own business-their coffee and pigs. They just don't come for community work.

In contrast to the rest of the Area Community programs, the Village Courts continued to occupy an important place in daily village life. Like their earlier counterparts, these official courts were incorporated into Kamano culture to fill a particular niche in a changing society. It was this active incorporation that enabled the Village courts to survive while the Area Communities withered. Within this process, however, law was encapsulated in a way that limited its effect and endowed it with a particularly Kamano cast.

In the Iyevenonta Area Community, Village Court sessions were held weekly except when especially serious cases required immediate attention. Cases were heard in

a grassy field at the Area Center near a house where court records were stored. During a session, three magistrates sat on a low bench facing plaintiffs and defendants, behind whom sat a mass of onlookers. The mood of the court was extremely informal, with people arriving and departing throughout the proceedings.

Bringing a case before a contemporary Village Court is considered a serious step and is usually not undertaken without prior attempts at resolution. Many of these earlier attempts are informal, with two parties compromising and paying compensation, or agreeing to compensate at a later date. At a more formal level, there are attempts at third-party mediation. The more prominent village big-men still give speeches in which they refer to specific unresolved conflicts and try to shame younger men into compliance. When this is not successful, informal mediation is attempted by magistrates or policemen. This stage is used as a screening process for the Village Court in which officials organize testimony so that cases can be processed quickly. One other form of extra-legal mediation occurs in public meetings that are called to handle sorcery accusations leveled within the village or between groups considered allies.

Table 4 lists the content of cases and reports witnessed by the writer at the Iyevenonta Area Community Court between September 1979 and September 1980. Some 45 percent of these cases concern rights to property--including

TABLE 4

CASES HEARD BEFORE THE IYEVENONTA AREA COMMUNITY
COURT SEPTEMBER 1978 TO SEPTEMBER 1979

Cases	Within Village	Between Villages	Out-siders	Total
Pig damages garden	10		1	11
Theft of pig	2	1		3
Theft of coffee	2			2
Theft of other crops	1			1
Compensation of labor or loan	3			3
Rights to land or pandanus trees	3			3
Adultery, seduction, divorce	4	1		5
Incest	1			1
Bridewealth payment	4	2		6
Funerary payment	1	2		3
Secondary distribution	1	1		2
Fighting between co-wives	2			2
Fighting between spouses	2			2
Fighting: miscellaneous	1	1		2
Shooting	1			1
Car accident	1		1	2
Sorcery	2		1	3
TOTAL	40	9	2	51

theft and damage to crops and livestock, compensation for labor and loans, and conflicting claims to land and pandanus trees. Of the remaining cases, 22 percent concern disputes

over life-cycle payments, 22 percent cases of assault, and 1 percent sexual offenses including adultery, seduction, divorce, and incest. Figures describing the social distance between litigants are also significant. In 78 percent of the cases, plaintiffs and defendants resided in the same village. Eighteen percent of the cases concerned members of different villages, and 4 percent of the cases involved school teachers from other areas of the nation.

When a case is called before the court, the plaintiff offers his case, after which both parties are questioned by the judges. The effectiveness of judges in dealing with cases varies inversely with the severity of the offense and the social distance between the litigants. Warren (1976:7) observes that the Kumara judge "prefers to adjudicate rather clear-cut cases, fixing penalties or compensation." The figures from Iyevenonta support this description, with the largest number of cases brought to the court dealing with simple theft or damage to property belonging to co-villagers. In the most common of these cases where pigs despoil gardens, the court attempts to determine the number of plants ruined and whether the encircling fence has been adequately kept up by the plaintiff. A figure for compensation is based on these factors.

Defendants almost always respond to demands for compensation by stating they have no money, and it is here that flexibility and mediation are employed by judges.

A more forceful approach is adopted toward young men who are ordered to sell coffee to pay their debts. With older defendants, judges will sometimes shame younger plaintiffs for insisting on taking the matter to court, and encourage the defendant's children to contribute money. Monetary awards are raised or lowered according to the needs of the litigants. In a case where a coastal school teacher's wife complained that the money offered was not sufficient to compensate her for her efforts in learning Highlands agricultural techniques and for her ruined sweet potatoes, the judges themselves contributed money to help appease her.

Because of the flexible guidelines provided in the government's court manual (Viles Kot Sekreteriat 1974), Iyevenonta's judges have been successfully able to mediate conflicts arising over life-cycle payments. The distribution of cooked pork, money, and beer at these feasts creates a tense situation in which contributions of labor by genealogical and cultural kin are publicly compensated. It is not uncommon for men who feel slighted to refuse a portion considered too small or to deliver a sarcastic speech of thanks. Claims emerging from dissatisfaction can be taken to the Village Court. Given the wholesale pattern of adoption and migration that provides the social basis for widespread claims, these cases can involve the tracing of complex family histories spanning four generations (Zuckerman 1981).

Amounts of compensation are determined by the judges, who assess the feast-givers' remaining wealth and the demands of the plaintiffs.

On the whole, the Village Court is successful in preventing these cases from escalating into violence as they might well have done prior to pacification. The cases of assault that are brought to the Village Court usually involve fights between spouses or co-wives. A goal of magistrates in these cases is to "divulge the root of the fight." Their interest is less in mediating these underlying conflicts than in determining the relative roles of combatants and ordering the amount of fines in accord. In the rare case where a victim has not struck back, the assailant is ordered to pay compensation. As a rule, however, blows are exchanged during fights. The role of the court becomes not to mediate, but rather to punish. All participants, including witnesses, are assessed fines to be paid to the community.

In cases where the litigants come from different villages, conflicts arising over theft, property rights, and life-cycle payments are treated in much the same manner as they are within the village. Beyond this point, however, the Village Courts become virtually irrelevant to intervillage conflict. Fights, for example, are drawn out of the purvue

of the courts by confining them to singsings.¹ At these singsings, men say that it is the beer within them that fights and, because drunkenness is considered an acceptable legal excuse, it is seen as inappropriate to pursue these conflicts in the courts. This rationale is belied by villagers' admissions that they store up grievances until beer and context provide an opportunity to express them.

Even this form of controlled violence is relatively innocuous when compared to the atmosphere of covert warfare that pervades life in the Kamano area. Despite the fact that sorcery is listed as a punishable offense in the Village Court manual, judges feel powerless to prosecute cases in which it is a factor. The same secrecy that made sorcery a successful adaptation to pacification makes the gathering of evidence virtually impossible. One judge confided that he wished the results of divinations were admissible in the Village Courts, but saw this as unlikely. The inability of Western-oriented law to deal with sorcery is reflected in judges' reactions to cases in which it arises. Where accusations are leveled within the village or between allies, magistrates rely on assertions of social solidarity to deny the reality of existing conflicts. Alternatively,

¹For a fuller description of singsings and intervillage fights, see Chapter IV.

judges attempt to shift the blame for sorcery accusations onto younger men.

At a more general level, the courts' inability to intercede in secret warfare reflects the ambivalent relationship between law and vengeance in Kamano culture. Despite the possibility of legal punishment, villagers feel they must actively avenge themselves if they are to survive as a social unit. Law is not seen as an alternative to vengeance. As one big-man/judge asserted, "*Wantok*, an arrow hurts more than bringing someone to court." Once they have been attacked, reliance on the courts would be taken as a sign that the village was unable to protect its members and would invite overt and covert aggression. Where the law is not entirely ignored in this process, it enters after vengeance has been exacted and a temporary state of parity exists. When two men from the Iyevenonta Community were attacked and beaten by enemy villagers, a judge accompanied the avenging party and half-heartedly attempted to stop their beating before they were able to kill their victim. He then accompanied these men to Kainantu and turned them in at the police station to be held and fined. If he was a judge, this man was also a villager leader. Respecting the necessity of self-defense in a hostile environment, he allowed vengeance to proceed before invoking legal norms.

Like their colonial forerunners, contemporary Village Courts represent a particular appropriation of law within Kamano society. Where previously courts had provided a forum for the peremptory judgment of "strong" leaders on cases in which women were often victimized, modern courts emphasize mediation in more varied cases. In less serious cases, the court is deemed capable of correcting culturally-defined states of moral or economic imbalance and establishing a relationship of parity between the litigants. The use of compensation as a primary tool in this process taps the very basis of traditional society. Social relationships were created by initiating gifts of wealth, women, and labor, and maintained by the expectation of delayed repayment. Seen in this light, the Village Courts' use of compensation re-establishes social relationships between litigants whose ties have been threatened by conflict. Such processes illustrate historical continuity, with the attempts to resolve conflict that were found in the speeches of big-men and in discussions held in the men's houses.

With regard to more serious cases, the role of the Village court shifts dramatically. Thus, in cases of assault--whether overt or covert--it is seen as essential to establish a state of parity outside of the legal system. To decline vengeance is perceived as a potentially fatal sign of weakness. Within the village, the court is ascribed a minimal role of punishing the offenders through the imposition

of fines. In cases of assault or sorcery between members of different villages, the concept of law and mediation is virtually irrelevant.¹ The adoption of this posture represents a contemporary transformation of ideals of strength, power, and vengeance that marked both interpersonal and intervillage relationships in traditional society. Rather than acting as an overarching norm of Kamano culture, law has been appropriated during meaningful historical processes to deal with only the less important conflicts of daily life.

Contemporary Leadership

Embedded within the preceding description of Kamano political history are at least two processes of historical change. In the first, an ongoing cycle of sociopolitical breakdown and reconstitution continues to operate with contemporary content inserted into a traditional pattern. The second process is progressive rather than cyclical in nature. Imposed political institutions are actively incorporated into the society according to a cultural framework of categories and relationships. In this process of incorporation, however, both categories and structure are transformed to serve as the basis for future adaptations.

¹Among the Melpa, similar limitations are found on the court's efficacy in intergroup conflict (M. Strathern 1972:4-5).

Borrowing a term from Braudel, it is at the "conjuncture" of these and other more long-term processes that we find the contemporary alignment of village leaders.¹

In terms of the shorter of these two processes, the period of 1978-79 in which fieldwork was conducted found many Kamano villages at maximal social dispersion. Without the consolidating effect of warfare, small hamlets consisting of clan segments had been scattered over the various villages' territories for some twenty years.² Popular interest in contemporary social alignments designed to supercede village and alliance (e.g., Area Communities) was likewise at a nadir. In this situation, political variation was a co-varient of social fragmentation. Different types of leaders were distinguished by informants according to their generation, the extent and limits of their influence, and ultimately by their place in the series of transformations that marked Kamano political history.

¹Braudel (1972:892-903) uses the term "conjuncture" to describe the interrelationship between various levels of historical change. Some of Braudel's longer-term process--including fluctuations in geography, demography, and economics--will become increasingly important for the Kamano. In areas of the Highlands where population increase, the transformation of fertile garden lands into grasslands through overuse, and the resulting land shortage has become more acute, these become the dominant factors in historical change.

²See pp. 108-129.

Big-Men

Traditionally, big-men (ara bahe) represented a subset of the category "old-men (oyafa). Big-men were those clan elders who exerted influence by their skill in warfare, through their knowledge and "strong" speech, or by producing enough surplus wealth to act as prominent economic sponsors. The meaning of the term "big-men" has shifted in contemporary parlance to encompass all clan-elders. Informants attribute this shift to the fact that all men of this generation are old enough to have fought as warriors. Created in the act of pacification, this distinguishing feature has come to assume great importance in Kamano culture. The complex of men's house, initiation, and participation in battle is assumed to have created a masculinity in men that is today unattainable. Young men who live with their wives and do not adequately protect themselves from feminine or sexual influences are seen a weaker than their grandfathers were.

In a broader sense, today's big-men are the bearers of a body of traditional knowledge that stands in an ambiguous relationship to contemporary life. While such knowledge no longer permeates the culture as it once did, aspects of it are still essential to the village's survival. Gardens are said to produce poorly without the big-men's magical stories. Similarly, the elders' ability to trace family histories, and alliances, as well as their knowledge of

sorcery, continues to serve a vital social and military function. The identity of elders with "tradition" enhances their status. This same attribute places big-men at a loss in situations where contemporary knowledge is required. At times like this, the statements of big-men are sometimes privately denigrated by younger men as the foolishness of old men.

The contexts in which big-men retain influence are largely unchanged. At feasts and gatherings, big-men still "give the law" in speeches. Topics covered in these speeches include gardening, pig-raising, territorial boundaries, bridewealth and funerary debts, conflicts within and between villages, sorcery accusations, family ties, social recruitment, and the shortcomings of young men. Not infrequently, young men are publicly shamed during these speeches. By appealing to the status inherent in their position in the elder "line" of siblings, big-men leave little recourse to their victims. But while the social domain of the big-man has changed little, it no longer comprises the totality of nonmilitary life. School, sports, urban migration, wage labor, and capitalist enterprises are but a few of the modern contexts that are seen as beyond the big-man's competence. It is important, however, not to underestimate the power of local big-men. While modern institutions wax and wane in importance, the social and rural concerns over which big-men exert control form the basis of daily life.

In addition to the power ascribed to big-men in realms of production and social discourse, they also remain prominent as economic sponsors. Many of these elders responded to the early mission prohibitions on polygamy and divorced their wives, thus losing the edge they once possessed in pig-raising. They were, however, the first generation to have taken up cash-cropping in the 1950s and have monopolized the best coffee-growing land. With money now the central item in bridewealth payments and dowries, big-men often act as primary sponsors for the villages' young men and women. The quasi-paternal role established by sponsorship further cements their status. Money earned by elders has also become an important part of the MB/ZS relationship (these men are reciprocally called aku). At the height of the coffee harvest in June, it is not uncommon for a ZS to bring pigs, beer, and food to his MB with the expectation of being repayed in cash. Such money can then be used by the younger men in activating his own affinal ties by contributing the marriage payments of brothers and sisters from his village.

Following the decline of the *luluai's* power during the transition from colonial rule, big-men have usually held relatively weak positions in the national political framework. The positions reserved for them as *komiti* under the Local Government Councilors and *eria* within the Area communities have been little more than advisory roles.

With payment for these positions irregular and minimal, big-men have tended to withdraw from external politics to concentrate on the power they wield within the village. There are exceptions to this rule, and in these situations a big-man combines local influence with official power. One traditional leader who now serves as a Village Court magistrate explained, "Before I 'looked after' the fight against our enemies. Now I 'look after' the court that straightens people's problems."

Center-Post Man

There is disagreement among informants over whether "center-post men" continue to exist in contemporary Kamano villages. Observing the absence of the violent and imperious warriors of days past, some informants feel this type of leader disappeared after pacification. Most men, however, find contemporary analogues for center-post men in the most prominent leaders of the middle generation. Such leaders generally possess both traditional underpinnings to their status as well as more modern versions of selected traditional characteristics. Within Sonofi, only Igao is seen as a center-post man. His modern titles include Local Government Councilor, Chairman of the Iyevenonta Area Community, and Head Magistrate of the Village court.

Men attribute Igao's status to a variety of factors. When asked about his role as a leader, one informant said:

Now only Igao is like a center-post man . . . Igao is Nesao's first son. He replaced him and took his mouth. He was the *tultul* when he was young. Then he became a councilor. His work was good and so he became a big-man.

The first part of this response emphasizes Igao's locus in the social structure as a determinant of his position. Nesao is the eldest big-man in his "line" of clan-siblings and was a prominent center-post man and warrior. As his eldest son, Igao was felt to occupy a propitious position to inherit his father's talent. In addition, Igao is the oldest male within his own generation of clan-brothers. This position brings with it a passive respect owed elder siblings by younger siblings that is further solidified when he "looks after" them. In this context, the elder brother's aid creates a quasi-filial tie with younger brothers that ensures allegiance:

When we were little, he [Igao] was our big brother and looked after us. He helped us buy our wives. So we call him big-man. He's our big brother, so we obey his talk.

While Igao's social position certainly contributes to his status within his own clan, it is his skills that bring him the allegiance of other clans within the village. Like a traditional center-post man, Igao exerts a centripetal pull that holds the "lines" of the village together. Men of these clans attribute Igao's ability to "gather" men to his role as mediator with the Local Government Council:

He gathers all the men . . . He goes to Kainantu

and brings the talk back to the people . . . His talk is good.

When he's at the Council, he hears the talk and tells us what is said. We all gather and he talks to all of us.

Igao's role as mediator is integrally tied to his reputation as a "man of speech." For the Kamano, speech is perhaps the symbolic behavior that is most closely linked with status. Most women are said to "have no speech," while a "strong woman" is marked by her biting repartee. The "strong speech" of leaders varies according to context. Older big-men tend to limit their imperious speeches to parochial concerns--gardens, pigs, boundaries, and debts. The strength of Igao's speech is seen instead in his ability to bring the external symbols of development into the village. By doing this, he raises the status of the village in relation to other villages. During a speech at the Village Court, Igao appealed to this power:

Aid posts, schools, roads--they didn't just arrive at the village. It was my mouth alone. I brought them. When the aid post came, you didn't want to give up your land. They passed us by and went to Tibunofi instead. It was your fault. My mouth alone is power! I pulled everything into the village.

Igao's ability to mediate between internal and external domains is not limited to these contemporary contexts. Although he belongs to the SDA mission and is opposed to singsings and fights, he not infrequently leads the village contingents at these affairs. During a singsing rehearsal,

Igao explained that if fights occur, the people of Sonofi should not scatter and flee where they could be picked off by their enemies. He advised and later organized men to gather in the dance enclosure where they could effectively defend themselves from attack.

In general, however, Igao reverses the military orientation of traditional center-post men by presenting himself as a proponent of law, peace, and development. In adopting this role, he poses himself against both the traditional world of warfare and the contemporary regime of sorcery, cards, and beer. These two cultural complexes are often equated in Igao's speeches. While the relationship to sorcery is more obvious, cards and beer are also important targets. Beer is commonly used as an excuse by men who wish to express hostility to clan-members where such expressions are normally felt to be inappropriate. With people outside the village, drunkenness allows men to settle grievances in fights. Young men spend a good deal of their days playing cards. This gambling is both competitive and provides a way for men to win money. One Kamano politician noted, "Before men fought. Now they play cards." Igao actively opposes energies spent on conflict that could better be put into constructive enterprises. The demeanor he prescribes for contemporary men is thus the opposite of the hot personality of traditional warriors. Faced with a charge of intravillage

murder and sorcerous revenge, Igao castigated the young men:

The root of this problem is that all the young men just sit there and play cards. You sit slumped over and your blood settles in your stomach . . . You get sick and then accuse other groups of sorcery. You drink beer and it takes away your power. You don't live under the law. You live under cards . . . I talk to you young men, but you don't hear me. You follow the way of the ancestors. You don't become modern men. You don't start businesses, build metal houses, and make good beds. You just play cards. You follow the way of the ancestors.

Like traditional center-post men, Igao's leadership skills are not just conservative in nature. In addition to maintaining the allegiance of the village's clans, he also actively recruits groups to reaffiliate themselves with his community. These realignments augment both the military strength of the village and the size of Igao's constituency.¹

In 1971 I called Henganofi to come live here. [Why?] This is their "root-land." I was the Local Government Councilor and I called to them, "It's not good for you to stay far away. When you want to start gardens, they'll say it's not your land. You must come here and bear many children."

In addition to his recruitment of whole lines, Igao has also attracted an egocentric coterie of followers linked to him by various social ties. Many wives were said to be attracted to traditional big-men because of

¹The recruitment of clans to augment electoral strength is described in Kuma society by Reay (1971:176-77).

their strength, beauty, and wealth. As he is a follower of the SDA mission, polygamy is forbidden for Igao. He has, however, managed to develop a contemporary transformation of that pattern by practicing serial monogamy over the course of his adulthood. His ability to maintain the allegiance of his own clan as well as creating an independent constituency is illustrated by the large number of children he has "looked after" for various periods of time. In addition to the four children he has sired, Igao has adopted sixteen other offspring. Of these children, three were younger brothers and three were younger sisters sired by Igao's own genitor. Two more of his adopted children were the offspring of fathers who died or were unable to adequately support them and were from other lines in Igao's own clan. Igao has also adopted two of his wife's younger brothers and four of his sisters' children, all from other villages. All of these children owe Igao allegiance as an adoptive father.

Igao's ability to adopt large numbers of children, as well as other people's willingness to have him do so, is based on his having "money on his skin." In a society where coffee is the main source of cash and incomes vary from K50-K600 depending on the extent of holdings, Igao's annual income of K3306 makes him by far the richest man in the village. Igao broke down his income for 1978 as follows:

Coffee	K 900
Kainantu trade store	K 900
Salary as Local Government Councilor	K 216
Salary as community officer and judge	K1170
Salary as officer of Kainantu council business	<u>K 120</u>
Total	K3306

While the possession of wealth is enough in itself to bring status, it is Igao's distribution of his money that contributes to his position as center-post man. Other than his maintenance of a room in Kainantu and the better clothing necessitated by his political activities, his standard of living is not significantly better than other villagers. That part of his money not employed as capital is used instead to establish ties of economic sponsorship with co-villagers. Men often approach Igao for contributions to their life-cycle payments, and because he seeks to maintain a position of status, he usually contributes. It is this quality that distinguishes him from modern entrepreneurs.

This aspect of Igao's status is best illustrated by his contributions to affinal payments. In general, Igao contributes K10 to every bridewealth and dowry payment gathered within the village. He has acted as a primary sponsor in fourteen bridewealth payments, of which four were for genealogical sons, three for younger brothers, one for his ZS, and five for men from other lines and clans. Of seven dowry payments, three were for younger sisters and four accompanied women from other lines and clans within

the village. In making these payments, Igao both enters into a relationship of sponsorship with families within the village and establishes affinal relationships with lines of other villages.

Other ways in which Igao redistributes his income are of a more contemporary nature. In the past, he has used personal funds to prevent community enterprises from going bankrupt. He also contributes a great deal to the school. In addition to paying the nominal school fee for his own adopted children, he distributes another K35 to families who cannot afford to send their children. As perhaps the ultimate form of redistribution, a few men list themselves as Igao's sons so that when he dies they will receive a portion of the government payments.

During the process of establishing himself as a center-post man, Igao has successfully bridged traditional and modern cultural values. The superficial contrast between these values is well illustrated by his life. While his SDA training was largely responsible for his political expertise and business know-how, it also obviated many traditional modes of attaining status. Igao is unable to marry more than one wife, raise pigs, drink, or act as a host at singsings because of mission prohibitions. Villagers look to clan elders for leadership in these contexts. But, through his adroit usage of modern political position and redistributing his income, Igao has managed to replicate

the structural position of the center-post man by replacing traditional roles with modern analogues.

Young Leaders

Describing the political situation in the Kamano area, a 1972 government study reported:

These old traditional leaders still hold their positions of leadership in most villages. In fact more than in other Census divisions what is curious about the Kamano is the lack of prospective leaders amongst younger men who were not fight leaders but who could be expected to be better educated to exploit the new values in village society created by European dominance. Certainly in the No. 2 Kamano this is probably due to the relatively short period of contact. (Kainantu Patrol Report #24 1972/73)

A combination of factors contribute to the lack of young leadership as well as their relative powerlessness within the villages. With the Community Schools producing their first group of high school graduates from the southern Kamano area, added to a scant handful of college graduates, there are few young men who could present a "new fashion" for rural life. Those who have been adequately trained in contemporary skills feel the pull of national government, academia, and business, together with a more urban life style. Moreover, the state of transformed tradition that pervades daily life in the villages exerts a negative influence on these men. With status equated with age to some degree, and modern forces consigned to more superficial contexts, they stand little chance of becoming rural leaders. According

to one high school student, his peers are hesitant to even visit their houses. As men of potential prominence, he claimed that many students had been killed by rural clans utilizing sorcery. He went on to complain of being bored in the village where his new interests contrast so strongly with those of this family.

Of those young leaders who do function within the villages, most have received a limited education in mission schools. Many of these leaders occupy very specified positions that are quite unlike the diffuse respect accorded big-men, corresponding instead with the limited importance ascribed to their skill. In a village near Sonofi one such leader was the chief magistrate of the Village Court. In contrasting him to elder big-men, an informant asserted:

He's not a big-man. He just straightens out problems. If a pig damages a garden or two men fight or a man gets drunk and damages a garden, he straightens it out.

To the extent that young leaders put their knowledge of business at the service of the community, however, they can exert considerable influence. At the age of thirty, Jonathan Pai operates one of the better functioning Area Communities at Onamuga. Business enterprises he has begun for the community include:

Chicken-Raising Project. Two men were paid by the community to raise five hundred chickens that were

then sold for considerable profit. When this was completed the community purchased several egg-laying hens.

Cash Crops. Some of the profits from the chicken project were used to purchase and grow vegetables for sale. On land donated for use by the community the same two workers mentioned above grow crops that are sold to the Aiyura High School, the hydroelectric project at Yonki, and at the coastal markets at Lae. A land rover purchased by the community was used to transport these vegetables until it was damaged.

Village Trade Store. K1600 were used to construct a store in the community clearing which stocks approximately K600 worth of goods. This stock is replenished weekly by two workers who live at the store. An attempt has been made to keep prices slightly below Kainantu prices by minimizing profits.

Seedling Nursery. Seedlings are raised in a plastic-covered nursery. When they approach maturity, villagers prepare gardens and then receive the seedlings free of charge. They then sell their crops as individuals at Kainantu, Lae, Aiyura, and Yonki.

Village Market. This is held weekly in the village so villagers can sell produce, etc.

Jonathan's success as an Area Community President is based largely on the entrepreneurial skills he learned at an SDA school. He finances his projects from annual

taxes paid to the Area Community. When funds run low, he either uses the profits from a community singing or calls on his constituents for small contributions. The projects Jonathan has developed avoid the pitfalls made by less sophisticated community officers. He has neither invested community money in the projects envisioned by individual villagers nor attempted to run a truck as a Public Motor Vehicle.¹ By maintaining control over entrepreneurial activity, he can keep it separate from traditional obligations and create a sense of community pride. When asked if he ever distributed profits, he responded:

No, they would just consume it to no purpose. We keep it in banks or use it in businesses. They don't know about development or how to develop businesses. We hold the money and use it and everyone is proud.

Other ways in which Jonathan has proved to be a successful administrator include public works and the Village Court. Community funds are used to maintain classrooms, aid posts, and bridges, as well as to pipe fresh water into some of the hamlets. When villagers are unable to pay court fines, they are ordered to perform community work such as clearing land and constructing buildings. They are ordered to sleep in a village "jail," and the community provides them with food and soap. Fines are

¹ PMVs transport passengers for fees set by the government. They are notoriously unprofitable and are the bane of most Area Community development plans.

worked off at a set rate. This system has proved so successful that the Village Court rarely remands defendants to Kainantu. While Village Courts in other Area Communities have attempted to institute systems like this, they have rarely been maintained over time.

The same factors that have made Jonathan a successful community businessman have limited his ability to amass personal status. He complains that he has not been able to develop his own business enterprise because villagers would assume he was using community funds. When he envisions becoming an entrepreneur he assumes he will have to leave his position as a community officer.

Businessmen

In their changing society, the Kamano see clearly the heightened importance of wealth in relation to power and status. While not without its traditional analogues, money has been ascribed an independent prominence in both practical and symbolic senses. Reflecting these sentiments, a Local Government Councilor explained, "Money is like power and money power is at the top. All kings and queens and all leaders are underneath this money power."

While there were many data linking wealth and traditional leadership in many parts of the Highlands, its modern parallels were often overlooked. Finney (1973:118), who

did much to update this analysis, explained this oversight in the following terms:

The prominence of businessmen-politicians in the first House of Assembly caught many political observers unawares. Probably because of patterns observed in other emerging nations, where leading politicians were often members of an educated and Westernized elite, divorced from or opposed to private commerce, observers were looking for the emergence of a similar type of elite politician when elections for the House of Assembly were first held in 1964.

Of the ten most prominent indigenous businessmen in the Eastern Highlands, Finney found that five had been Local government Councilors and seven had at least stood for election to the House of Assembly. Only three had not been candidates for public office. He attributes this convergence of interests to the observation that "cash cropping and business enterprises remain to a great extent embedded in traditional Gorokan society" (Finney 1973:117, 170). The transformation of Highlands big-men into capitalist entrepreneurs is at the heart of this process. Throughout the Eastern Highlands, social scientists have observed the use of traditional political prerogatives to gain control of the means of production and amass capital (Finney 1973: Standish 1978:26; Uyassi 1978:43). In a process reminiscent of Marx's "primitive accumulation,"¹ big-men gain individual

¹Marx (1967:713-16) explains the "primitive accumulation" of capital as the "historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production." He describes this process as a kind of economic bricolage in which the elements

title to clan lands, thus transforming it into private property. Funds contributed by clansmen are used as capital in enterprises that are gradually appropriated by big-men. Initial inputs of unpaid labor are provided by wives and clansmen. In an example offered by Finney (1973:99), an entrepreneur used his ten wives as the backbone of his labor force.

The success of big-men in translating and rearranging aspects of traditional social relationships for use in a capitalist marketplace, and the villagers' acquiescence in this process, reflect a convergence between the two social formations. In a general sense, clansmen experience a proud identity with a successful businessman. His prosperity is correctly interpreted by others as the product of his clan's economic support, and so his status is also theirs by diffusion. More concretely, clansmen will expect to be compensated for their land, money, and labor in the traditional form of various delayed repayments. Expectations in this regard vary considerably. One southwestern Kamano entrepreneur paid the clanswomen who grew sweet potatoes for him to sell by allowing them to keep the smaller specimens they harvested. Some men who work for entrepreneurs feel their pay will be augmented by whatever business principles and skills they can absorb. Finally, there is the general

of one economic structure are set free to be incorporated in new relationships in a new economic formation.

feeling that businessmen are obligated to contribute money for bridewealth and life-cycle payments as they are called on to do so. Some of these factors are alluded to in an interesting debate witnessed by Standish (1978:27) in which the Chimbu politician, Iambakey Okuk, defended himself from criticism leveled at "black capitalists":

The government wants us all to be equal. I don't believe in this. If I "represent" Chimbu or Matthias [a successful businessman who had bought a large trade store in the neighboring province], then the name of the whole Chimbu is uplifted. We are all happy with this . . . I am a businessman, not a priest, and I don't throw away money freely. But in Papua New Guinea we have the *wantok* system, whereas whites keep their resources within their immediate family. We give to our in-laws, and our matrikin and our classificatory brothers; and there are always compensation payments to be made. Every day I am approached, "Just K2 for a brideprice?" This happens to me--not to you--and others are all like priests who are poor and have no funds.

While most writers emphasize the complementarity of big-man and entrepreneurial roles, the Kamano evidence suggests that there is significant conflict, as well. In the rural areas, it is the general rule that businessmen do not live or establish their enterprises in their own villages. One reason offered for this tendency is that businessmen fear their success will make them a prime target for sorcerers from other clans.¹ Other explanations, however, suggest a more basic inconsistency between the two roles.

¹Businessmen's fear of sorcery is reported also for the Gahuku (Finney 1973:113-14).

An urban entrepreneur from the area suggested that if he returned to his village he would have to give his earnings to his fathers. Another informant expanded on this point:

I think it's because they don't want to give money to their lines and *wantok*. If they were in the village, they would be asked to give money every time someone died. When they live in town, they can amass their money and profit.

In these explanations, informants note the contradiction between an entrepreneur's need to transform surplus value into capital and the expectations placed on men of wealth in Kamano society. While there is status in owning a successful business, this conflicts with the obligation to trade wealth for status via economic sponsorship. As young men of status, moreover, businessmen feel they would have little recourse in a political system still dominated by elders.

From a slightly different perspective, informants note a discrepancy between traditional exchange and compensation, and the exploitation inherent in capitalism. A glib analogy is often made by men when they state, "Pigs are our business." In the context of exchange, however, excessive demands are criticized as immoral profiteering. Suing his adopted daughter for failing to compensate him from her bridewealth, a man explained, "I don't want to take money from her skin. I only want the K7 I gave her and what I spent on food and dresses when she was little." Similarly, following intense legal wrangling over the failure to compensate a bride's mother's brother, the judge warned

"We must not make our women into a business." A third court case developed between a Kamano store-owner from a different village and the clansmen who owned the land on which the store stood. While they had originally granted him use-rights to the land, they felt the profits he took were excessive and demanded compensation. For all of these reasons, young businessmen play small roles in village politics. There is no doubt that they are seen as men of status, but their position necessitates social distance from clan and village. Uyassi (1978:41, 43) notes a tendency among Kainantu businessmen to marry women from Goroka, in this way avoiding the economic demands of in-laws. His description of their houses reflects the conflicts described above:

Their successes have alienated them from the normal village life. The problem is physically demonstrated by the geographical location of the "big peasants." Their modern styled houses are located at a distance from the house-lines of the clans. The houses with their immediate environment are fenced in with barbed wire, and fierce dogs keep guard within the fence.

Elected Officials

In November 1979, shortly after my arrival in the Kamano area, the first elections were held to select representatives to the Eastern Highlands Provincial Government. Provincial government was developed by the Somare administration as part of a plan to decentralize power and development. Designed partly to avert the threat of micronationalist

and separatist movements in Papua New Guinea, the program sought to encourage popular participation in economic planning and to facilitate the implementation of development schemes.¹ Much of this ideology was offered in a speech made on May 31, 1977, at the inauguration of the interim Eastern Highlands Provincial Government, by Oscar Tammur, then the Minister for Provincial Affairs:

Ladies and Gentlemen, today we witness the birth of the Eastern Highlands Provincial Government. Its purpose is to enable people to participate in decision making on matters which are of vital concern to them. People can now organize within an institutional framework that gives them better access to the larger arenas of the national economic and political system. As you and I know, in our villages individual status and relationship with other people is determined by birth and achievement. But in our presently changing society this is not longer the case as we are continually influenced by a number of systems and institutions such as money and banking, the market, local government systems, the cooperatives, trade unions, and schools which are a part of our lives. A state without means of change cannot survive. Believe me, ladies and gentlemen, our nation can only survive if the people believe they belong to it, that because of their own personal interests they have a stake in its survival. Although in language and culture we are diverse it is now possible through provincial government to make decisions not just in politics, but in all kinds of human endeavors. Provincial Government is a way of creating a sense of belonging, of extending the limit of people's confidence outward

¹ Administratively, provincial government was designed to shift some degree of control over departments and public services from central offices to local leaders. See Conyers (1975:5-8, 15, 34).

and upward from the village to the much larger world of province and the national community.¹

To borrow a common pidgin image, if provincial government offers the villager a road to wider social vistas, it is often a tortuous route. In explaining the political framework to their constituents, government leaders most often employ a simple vertical model running from House of Assembly to Provincial Government to Local Government Council to Area Community and so-called "village government." The functional relationships between these institutions are usually subsumed under vague terms like "beneath" and "above." Despite the best efforts of the more sophisticated local leaders to elaborate on these relationships, they remain a bit bewildering to the average villager.

It is across this conceptual gap between bureaucracy and villager that both parties attempt to extend metaphors to associate political institutions of past and present. From a sociocentric perspective, most of the images used are meant to evoke the cohesive forces in traditional society. Statements portraying various political bodies as modern equivalents of the men's house are fairly common. During a Local Government Council meeting, a councilor explained:

In the past, when you gathered sticks to make arrows, you didn't just take them out and shoot

¹This speech is on file at the Department of Decentralization. I thank them for their help in facilitating this research.

your enemies. They weren't sharp. You brought it back to your men's house and a man who had knowledge of this would split the wood, carve it, and make it sharp. He didn't cut his hand. He was experienced. He fit it into its stem. Then he gave it to you and told you to go out and shoot your enemy. You didn't shoot him in the hand. You shot him straight in the liver and killed him. It's the same thing here. You can't stay in your house-line and speak out against the Provincial Government. You must come here to the men's house in Kainantu where we can sharpen the complaints and fire them.

The use of the men's house and the cooperation demanded in warfare were used in many contexts to exhort men to work together for contemporary political purposes. During a village meeting in which the problem of tax defaulting was addressed, a councilor explained:

It's like with our ancestors and arrows. When there was a fight, they'd drive the enemy away. If there were only a few arrows, they couldn't defend themselves. If everyone pays their taxes, we'll have more arrows. Then they can divide it up and give some to each man.

This centripetal imagery is further elaborated when contemporary political phenomena are compared to the center-post that "held together" the men's house, or to the center-post men who enacted the parallel social cohesion in traditional villages. Political bodies and their associated leaders running from the Area Community to the House of Assembly are described in these terms. Explaining the role of the Prime Minister, an informant drove a stick into the dirt and pronounced, "Michael Somare is the king of Papua New Guinea. We call him center-post man. He

is our center-post."¹ The characteristics of fixedness and centripetal cohesion associated with the anachronistic image of the center-post is still contrasted with the potential flux of warfare and invasion. An important aspect of the Prime Minister's job, according to informants, is to defend the nation from external attack. At the local level, the presence of the Area Community is said to forestall the village's surrounding enemies in their desire to seize village land.² Taken to its logical extreme, the indigenous term for center-post man is the most common translation of God used by Christian missions.

When villagers characterize modern political bodies in traditional political terms, they express expectations that a hierarchical reciprocity will be respected. At the level of Area Community and Local Government Council, this relationship is perceived in economic terms as pooling. Taxes gathered from villagers are collected and then redistributed in the form of business loans, funerary payments, schools, aid posts, and road maintenance. When these developmental improvements are forthcoming, the relationship is

¹This comparison is also found among the Chimbu. Standish (1978:13) records the following statement: "In the old days there was a leader like a centre-post in a house. Leadership passed from father to son, until the Administration came in. The Administration is now the centre-post."

²See the quote on p. 380.

envisioned as paternal: "The Council is our parents. Later, if we are short of money to begin a business, the Council can help us. But if we don't pay our taxes, it will not be able to help us." Some men feel this relationship has been abrogated in recent years by the Local Government Council. They feel their tax money has been used by the Council to form a large company and to buy plantations, rather than being returned in various forms to the villages. Informants describe this situation as "helping the government"--a phrase that creates a debt and an obligation to repay at a later time. It is probably this feeling of sundered reciprocity that has led to increasing refusal to pay tax or vote.

At their most beneficent, government leaders are seen as bounteous parents who "look after" their constituents. This is particularly true of national leaders who generally make few demands on villagers. Describing Members of Parliament and the Prime Minister, informants stated:

Our big-men look after us . . . They divide up money and distribute it to the districts . . . They live in town and know everything. They put their hand on top and we all remain underneath them. They have power. They are our big-men.

Michael Somare is the center-post man of Papua New Guinea. He opens his mouth and sends things to Kainantu and Goroka. He's our big-man. He's the father of us all . . . He spreads his hands and gives things to us.

If, in the abstract, these leaders are idealized, the conceptual distance between national politics and village

concerns often transforms adoration into apathy. There is generally little interest in political parties or national controversies that do not directly impinge on rural life. Of decisive importance in this regard is the presence or absence of a local representative. Typically, where the representative to national or provincial governing bodies are not from the immediate area, villagers assert that they are not represented. The presence of a local leader who can act as an intermediary to these bodies brings them into the scope of the village. Such leaders facilitate an exchange, conveying the ideas of villagers and bringing back laws and sometimes more to the village: "Igao is our mouth. His talk is good. We designated him. He sends his talk to Moresby and they send things back to us."

It was against this meaningful framework that the 1978 Provincial Government elections took place. During interviews conducted just prior to the elections, informants usually presented some variant of the ideology of democracy. Voting was predicted to go according to "the desires of each man." As I was new to the area, the results of these interviews probably reflected more about informants' uncertainty about my role than they did about voting behavior. Nonetheless, the qualities voters claimed to look for in their candidates centered around speech:

I'll vote for a man with good thought and good speech. I don't like a man who is quiet or who just eats the government's money. I listen to the men's speeches and I like men of strong speech. He is not afraid or ashamed to speak.

The Kamano concept of "strong speech" is a symbol that bridges traditional and contemporary politics. Men who are not afraid to speak strongly before powerful leaders are the brave warriors of their generation. Standish (1978:23, 30) characterizes contemporary Chimbu leaders as "masters of rhetoric and manipulation." He sees in Iambakey Okuk's "fearless campaign style" a "new way of winning renown as a warrior." This connection between speech and fighting prowess was made quite explicitly in a speech by a Melpa Councilor:

There was a timid man. When he went out to a battle he let his clansmen go in front, then ran away himself. When he came back he would tell the women and children that he had killed several men; but when he was in the front lines, he would say to his clansmen, "You do the killing." Now if we send a fool to the House of Assembly he will see those doors which open by themselves and the big men watching him and he will close his mouth. When he comes back he will tell us he had said such and such. We won't go with him; if we did we would see. We must send a man who doesn't care what he says in front of big white men or black men, and afterwards will tell us what he has said. (A. Strathern 1976:279)

During the Provincial elections "strong speech" was a quality often referred to by campaigning candidates. Election slogans painted on singsing decorations portrayed the candidate as "a man of good speech." The candidates

who had held office lauded their ability to "pull" modern conveniences to the village with their speech:

Before the Australians were here. We went to school. Now we opened our mouths and the schools came here. I am not an educated man, but I brought the schools. We sat and thought and then we opened our mouths and got power.

They'll vote for me because I have a big mouth at the Council meeting. I brought water projects, roads, and schools to Kamano No. 2.

Another type of credential offered by candidates was their relationship to the village's traditional or modern leaders. While such information did not need to be stated explicitly to a candidate's immediate constituents, it played a part in campaigning at other villages. Those candidates who were the offspring of big-men referred to this in their speeches:¹ "My brother looks after the Provincial Government.² I am his elder brother. He is 'one-blood' with me. I am the eldest brother in my village. My father worked in Okapa." One candidate's father who was a traditional leader stood next to the polls while voting proceeded. Such ties were often listed by voters in explaining their votes. Other personal qualifications listed by candidates

¹ Describing a Chimbu election, Standish (1978:29) notes a candidate who actively referred to his father's position as a big-man and denigrated his opponent's lack of such qualifications.

² This candidate's younger brother was the current Provincial Secretary.

included their experience in local government, mission work, and business.

There was surprisingly little variation in the candidates' platforms. Virtually all called for more schools, aid posts, roads, churches, and airports, and bemoaned the lack of regular pay for Village Court officials. The exception to this pattern occurred in the campaign of Anna Ibeo, who concentrated on issues relating to women. Because she was divorced and possessed a knowledge of pidgin, the women of Anna's village asked her to "carry their problems to the government." She based her campaign on the creation of rural women's clubs where women could talk, sew, and play sports.

Being fairly certain of votes within their own villages, the candidates concentrated their campaigns on other villages and Area Communities. Their expectation was that victory would go to the candidate who could muster support outside of their immediate area. There was only one Area Community from which no candidate was standing for election, and all the candidates attempted to garner support there. In fact, there was little interest shown by villagers in the campaign. Men listened to the speakers and responded politely that their talk was good and that they could expect to receive their votes. There were few discussions among villagers of the candidates' relative merits.

From November 14 through November 29, 1978, a patrol traveled to various community centers and schools scattered throughout the Kamano No. 2 constituency to conduct the election. In describing his experience, the patrol's presiding officer concentrated solely on the villagers' apathy:

To people of Kamano No. 1 and No. 2 constituencies only the minority took election seriously and thoughtfully. As for the majority, it's their worry and wok mani blong ol¹ as they say, getting on PMVs into Kainantu even though the team is on the spot to poll, others with their bilums² on their heads for women and bushknives in their hands for men taking off to their respective daily duties.³

The election returns substantiated this perception. Within the Kamano No. 2 constituency only 28 percent of the registered voters cast ballots.⁴ Villagers explained this pattern with reference to inclement weather. The rainy season began in earnest on November 20, about midway through the election patrol. When it rains, men explained, one sits by the fire rather than venturing out. The winner of the election explained his victory by the fact that on the day his Area Community was polled, it had not begun

¹I.e., "their wage labor" or "their cash cropping."

²I.e., net-bags.

³From the 1978 Eastern Highlands Provincial Government Election Patrol Report: Kamano No. 1 and No. 2 constituencies.

⁴I would like to thank Mr. Herman Lipokia, the election patrol's presiding officer, and Mr. C.D. MacConaghy, the Kainantu District Commissioner, for providing me with electoral returns.

raining until noon, by which time most of his constituents had already cast their votes.

While it certainly had some effect, the rain functioned more as rationale than explanation. Voting attendance varied little before and after the rains began. Moreover, life does not stop in Kamano villages during the rainy season. Important activities are still carried out. When pushed on this point, informants responded that politicians were, in general, unresponsive to their needs and used government money for their own business concerns. Their seeming apathy masked an active nonparticipation in the election. Voting became less important than daily activities.

Against this general background of nonparticipation, the election results yield much information about Kamano voting behavior. Following the first elections in 1964, observers suggested that "localization" was the "outstanding characteristic of electoral support" (Hughes and van der Veur 1965:427). This concept was refined and applied to the Kamano area by Wolfers in his analysis of the Henganofi vote in 1964 and 1967. Wolfers (1968:85) claimed that the two variables most relevant in voting were language and "residential or home village proximity," although he was unsure about how the latter ties were constituted.

Table 5 lists some of the important features of the 1979 provincial elections. On the left side of this table (column a) are listed the percentage of registered

voters from candidates' villages who actually cast ballots. It should be noted that these figures are generally much higher than the 28 percent average attendance figure for the entire area. Indeed, of the ten villages casting the highest percentage of votes, seven were the candidates' home villages.¹ Included among the remaining three high-voting villages was one hamlet of a candidate's village that had been designated a separate village by colonial authorities. This distinction was purely administrative--the hamlet functioned as a component settlement of its parent village in virtually all contexts, and was, in fact, the birthplace of a second candidate presently living with his affines. The final two high-voting villages proved to be especially significant for the election's outcome and will be more fully discussed below.

As the most important variable in predicting voter turnout, the residence of a candidate seems an obvious use of traditional relationships for contemporary purposes. Ties based on descent, reciprocated labor, cooperation in conflict, and political allegiance are easily translated into electoral support. It is his village's votes that a candidate can most consistently mobilize. Sevenifa Morendi was the candidate whose home village had by far the lowest

¹Of the eight candidates running for provincial office, Anna Ibeo and Tie Kaono came from the same village.

TABLE 5

LOCALIZATION AS A FACTOR IN THE 1979 PROVINCIAL
ELECTIONS: KAMANO NO. 2 CONSTITUENCY

Candidates	Voting Attendance from the Candidate's:		Percentage of the Candidate's Vote from His:	
	(a) Home Village	(b) Home Area Community	(c) Home Village	(d) Home Area Community
Anna Ibeo	53%	25%	46%	99%
Tie Kaono	53%	25%	36%	99%
Frex Arumpa	59%	27%	43%	98%
Aiyaki Uyassi	46%	26%	67%	93%
Sevenifa Morendi	33%	27%	75%	78%
Igao Nesao	60%	26%	43%	72%
Jessie Maresa	65%	17%	49%	72%
N. Jonathan Pai	53%	49%	28%	85%

voting attendance figures. He was the one candidate residing in his affinal rather than his natal village, thus making his local support much more tenuous.

The other geographically-bounded unit that proved to be of some importance in the election was the Area Community. The right half of Table 5 lists the percentage of the candidate's vote that was localized at the levels of village and Area Community. In the case of the first three candidates--Anna Ibeo, Tie Kaono, and Frex Arumpa--there

was close to total dependence on the home Area (98-99 percent as listed in column d). While these candidates received a majority of their votes from their own villages (see column c), they were also able to garner support from other villages in the Area Community. What these three candidates were unable to do was to mobilize these other villages to cast ballots. The voting attendance figures from their Area Communities (listed in column b) are less than half the figures from the candidates' home villages.

This combination of allegiance and nonparticipation reflects the somewhat tenuous solidarity of the Area Community. The Area Communities are, after all, but a recent attempt to form a political alliance designed to serve as a basis for development planning and Village Courts. While a local leader's "name is known" in his Area Community, this alliance, like its traditional counterparts, is prone to internal dissension. In this case, the Area Communities include both villages considered allies and villages between which sorcery perpetuates traditional enmities. While the members of a community know a local candidate and thus have some basis for giving him their vote, the relationships are not strong enough to guarantee their participation in the election.

Some of the other candidates for provincial office did not rely solely upon localized support. In many cases, traditional extra-village ties were activated to expand

the electoral base. The use of affinal alliance in the electoral process has been documented in several Highlands studies (Hatanaka 1970; Kuabaal 1976; Strathern 1966). Among the Kamano, as a rule, affinal ties are an individual affair and accounted for only a few scattered votes. Sevenifa Morendi was the exception to this pattern. Because he resided with his wife's village, he attempted to utilize his dual affiliation in the election. Seventy-six percent of his vote total came from affines in his village of residence. Perhaps emphasizing the importance of residential affiliation, however, he was less successful with the members of his natal hamlet who gave him only 20 percent of the votes they cast. Sixty-seven percent of their vote went to Igao Nesao who resided in a nearby hamlet of the same village.

Other candidates relied on alliances for some of their support. Twenty-two percent of Aiyaki Uyassi's vote came from a newly-allied village within his Area Community, and an additional 4 percent from a traditional ally in the neighboring community. Votes based on ties of alliance were most significant in the case of Igao Nesao. He was one of the candidates who was least dependent on localized votes, collecting 27 percent of his vote total from the one Area Community that had no candidate of its own. The men of one large line in this area were related patrilineally to Igao and were referred to as "semen-root men"--a particularly

solidary form of alliance. Historically, it was said that one of Igao's father's brothers had fled to this area following an unsuccessful battle and remained to form their own enclave. Patrilineal kinship terms are used between Igao's clan and these men, despite the fact that they speak the Gadsup dialect of their host-village. This fact is reflected in Igao's clan name--Oronofi--where the root is the Gadsup term for "opposum."

In contrast to this example, shared language played some role in the candidacy of Jessie Maresa. As an Usurufa-speaker, he garnered votes from the two Area Communities in which this language is spoken. It is unclear whether this feature overlaid other social ties that might have been influential in the election. In other Kamano areas, as well as in the towns, shared language has proven to be a potential category for social mobilization.

Any of these social ties might have been the key to electoral victory. But in the atmosphere of social dispersion that pervaded Kamano villages at this time, the main problem faced by candidates was apathy. The only candidate to overcome this pattern was Jonathan Pai. While he depended on his local Area Community for 85 percent of his vote, he was able to mobilize a full 49 percent of his community to cast ballots. This proved to be the decisive figure. Above, it was noted that eight of the ten villages casting the highest percentage of votes were

the home villages of the candidates. The remaining two high-voting villages were in Jonathan's Area Community.

Had the overall voter turnout been high, the relative size of villages and Area Communities and the number of candidates competing for local votes would have been important. In fact, the key variable was the candidate's ability to mobilize participation. Jonathan's victory reflected his ability to establish political relationships outside of his home village. As described above, Jonathan's Area Community is one of the most successful in the southern Kamano area.¹ He has established several community businesses and, moreover, created the opportunity for villagers to earn money for themselves.

One of Jonathan's rivals attributed his community's large turnout to their belief that "Jonathan can pull the government's money into Onamuga." This ability represents the most recent transformation in a long history of like political relationships. From the traditional big-man's distribution of wealth to the cargo cult leader's attempt to conjure Western goods to the colonial official's payment of road-work wages, each successive type of leader partly based their status on similar intermediary functions. The older candidates--those who had been Local Government

¹See pp. 405-408.

Councilors in the 1960s and early 1970s--based their appeal on their past ability to bring "wealth" in the form of roads, schools, and aid posts. With the Local Government Council's shift toward large-scale business, this role is somewhat obsolete. In order to "pull the government's money," contemporary leaders must possess a knowledge of capitalist enterprise that they are willing to apply to community endeavors rather than to their personal gain. It is community capitalists that can mobilize electoral support.

In summing up the provincial elections, it is obvious that the ties between candidate and constituent are personal in nature. Villagers will vote for a candidate to whom they are connected by a traditional social relationship, by language, or by a traditionally-structured political allegiance. It is this fact that explains the relative unimportance of campaigning. While candidates and villagers alike pay lip service to the electoral ideology of representative government, the ties on which support is based predate the election itself. Some of the competition ideally associated with campaigning is thus removed. During the provincial elections, candidates often campaigned in groups and there was little emphasis placed on gaining votes by belittling opponents. The candidate's ability to mobilize participation in the election was likewise based on the quality of his personal ties to his constituents. In a period of social

dispersion, a leader must be particularly effective in order to ensure this support.

The discrepancy between this pattern and ideal representative government is especially well illustrated by the reactions of villagers in Sonofi after their candidate had lost. The majority of informants did not know who had won, or denied the results. Many asserted that their candidate had been victorious. Others claimed that they "had no representative" in provincial government. The validity of this statement reflects the lack of a personal tie to the victor and is generally applied to any elected position in which a local leader has not been selected. Rather than being passively created in the electoral process, representation must be based on traditionally-based social relationships.

Conclusion

One of the central underlying features in our discussion of postcolonial politics is a sense of timing that recreates the tempo of traditional village life. Uyassi describes this pattern to explain the episodic acceptance of political innovations:

The introduction of any new idea is responded to in the same way as, in the past, villagers used to respond to warfare, or feasting and singsings: a great deal of energy and concentration was given to the tasks which these events called for. When the events were over the villagers used to sit around doing only their normal duties such as gardening and fixing up their houses.

This sort of period of relative calm used to take anywhere between two and five years, during which time people would be thinking about and discussing village politics. Eventually this intense discussion would lead to the creation of a tense and suspicious situation in relation to the enemy clans, and when this tension had reached its peak the situation would explode and clan fightings would begin another dramatic period. A similar story applies to feasting and exchanges, when lots of food would be gathered together and pigs would be slaughtered--so that this would lead to another dramatic event. Such used to be the traditional life of most Highlands peoples. (Uyassi 1978:21)

This pattern was correlated with contrasting forms of social allegiance, residential units, and leadership. During the "calm periods," it was the patriline, clan, and hamlet that became dominant, with power in the hands of elder big-men who were the patriarchs of their lines. Opposed to the vertical models used to describe this state was the horizontal solidarity used during periods of mobilization. Rather than tracing descent back to higher segmental relationships, a metaphorical sibblingship was activated along generations that crosscut the clan organization. Allegiance was mobilized by the warrior-leader--the "hot man"--whose relationship to his followers is that of center to periphery.

The intrusion of colonial powers was assimilated into this framework as a new type of dramatic interlude. Reacting as they would to other kinds of extraordinary events, center-post men mobilized villagers to participate. In the act of reproducing this structural relationship

of leadership, however, the nature of leadership was itself transformed. It was the tie to the colonial authorities that assumed prominence, and this tie was viewed in a mystical light. Thus, military prowess was replaced by apocalyptic vision, and the "hot" demeanor of young leaders became tinged with a supernatural charisma. Cargo cult prophets were but the most blatant example of this pattern.

Eventually, the superimposition of colonial and then national governments upon the villages overlaid the role of center-post man with that of intermediary. The skills associated with leadership became oriented toward strong speech, the ability to manipulate the bureaucracy and avoid retribution, and the ability to bring wealth and new things. The road from cult prophet to contemporary local officials has involved the acquisition of new types of knowledge and techniques that can be seen as either natural or supernatural, depending on perspective. Young leaders during the 1960s and early 1970s were judged on their ability to attract government money to be used for roads, bridges, schools, and aid posts. More recently, the ability to establish community businesses or bring jobs to the village has become an important determinant of status.

An important aspect of this transformed political alignment was the notion of progress. Beginning in colonial times, young leaders mobilized villagers around an ideology

that posed past against future. New mission rituals and prohibitions, as well as the concept of apocalypse, exemplified this pattern. Seen politically, the acceptance of Europeans and their ideology was treated as a bulwark against the resurgence of traditional warfare and social fragmentation. It was this opposition that accounts for Kamano resistance to the push for national independence. Although government officials have tried to alter the equation, self-government was envisioned as a return to pre-colonial society.

Because the twin forces of progress and Westernization were appropriated by leaders anxious to recreate a basis of power, it is not surprising that they have taken on a cyclical character. Young charismatic leaders presented Western innovation and organized a popular response. When inflated expectations could not be satisfied or successes not sustained over time, villagers returned to the more parochial concerns of clan and hamlet. In this way, progress, charisma, and social coalescence have become posed against tradition, routinization, and social fragmentation.¹ The

¹There is an interesting parallel to this series of oppositions in Morauta's analysis of political development in the Madang area (1974). She distinguishes "pragmatic conflict" as the conflict occurring between villages and other segmental units of the administrative structure. "Ideological conflict" is said to be based on factions within villages and, in the Madang region, is enacted between missions and Yali's cargo cult. Among the Kamano, the latter forms do not readily transcend local units.

cycle between these moments provides the tempo of contemporary life.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

This paper has traced the development of Kamano society from the point of colonial contact to the present. Unlike accounts of history that emphasize the subjugation of colonized societies, it concentrates on the tendency of these societies to reconstitute themselves in colonial and national contexts. Through their meaningful appropriation of external forces, the Kamano have reproduced aspects of their cultural logic while at the same time expanding its reference to new phenomena. This has resulted in transformations of traditional patterns. By presenting this material in descriptive accounts, I have tried to preserve a sense of continuity and holism. In this last chapter, I will focus on the historical and cultural processes that give these accounts their theoretical coherence.

The most extensive cultural changes in Kamano society occurred in response to pacification. It is obvious that pacification is the mechanism for political domination in the colonial situation. This fact alone, however, is not sufficient to explain its far-reaching impact on Kamano culture. Instead, we must recognize that warfare was a

meaningful element in most aspects of indigenous life; it permeated the culture. Pacification produced a cultural void.

In situations like this, where the colonial power creates a gap through their direct impingement on local societies, cultural reconstruction takes the form of a realignment of meaningful elements in various cultural domains. Such realignments cover over cultural gaps by reweaving the remaining meaningful elements into a pattern that reproduces the cultural oppositions that are threatened. While the reference of those alternative elements remains roughly the same, their relative values shift. Elements that were traditionally of secondary importance became dominant in the absence of warfare.

The most straightforward example of this process is the expansion of sorcery in post-contact Kamano society. Traditionally, both warfare and sorcery were explanations of death that reflected the ubiquitous conflict between enemy villages. Still other deaths were attributed to "natural causes." Today, except in the case of infants and the oldest adults, virtually all mortality is explained in terms of enemy sorcery. By taking on the functional load of warfare, sorcery maintains the traditional relationship between enemies in a slightly modified form. A greater change involves the cultural value accorded to sorcery in general. According to the early accounts of Berndt

(1962:209-10), sorcery was not a major preoccupation. Today, it so permeates the culture that a sense of paranoia pervades the most mundane activities of daily life. The introduction of new types of sorcery with a much vaguer symptomatology has enhanced this shift.

Another fashion in which threatened social oppositions are re-established involves recreating them in less conspicuous contexts. During the process of repressing warfare, colonial and mission authorities undermined the basis of male identity in Kamano culture. Their recognition of this relationship led them to also challenge rites of male initiation and to disband the men's houses. These actions reinforced their opposition to the overt and often violent domination of women by men that pervaded traditional life and myth. The resulting establishment of nuclear family dwellings placed serious stress on the male-female opposition in Kamano culture that equated male strength with taboos on eating and sexual contact.

The Kamano have maintained some aspects of the male-female opposition by transposing them to contemporary house structure. Male and female members of the household sleep on designated beds that are built on opposite sides of the house and separated by the hearth. When a couple wishes to have sexual intercourse, the man always comes to the woman's bed. Food is never placed on the woman's bed for fear that it will be tainted by sexuality. By

structuring their houses in this way, Kamano villagers recreate some of the distinctive features once incorporated in separate men's and women's houses. Men traditionally prepared and ate food in the men's house, and sexual contact occurred in secret nocturnal visits to the houses of their wives. Meaning once associated with the distance between the men's house and the scattered houses of their wives is in this way applied to the distance between separate beds in nuclear family dwellings. By reproducing this relationship in a context favored by colonial authorities, villagers were able to evade the repression attendant on its more overt expression in the earlier form.

Because this type of adaptation functions by recreating oppositions in a lesser context, it also reflects their reduction in scope. The male-female opposition is not as pervasive as it once was. A similar example occurs with regard to contemporary singsings. While singsings were a traditional phenomenon, they expanded to encompass intervillage courting and fighting when these activities were repressed. By relegating these relationships to a contained situation, they are maintained, but come to exist in a form that is much less diffuse and important than they were traditionally.

As opposed to changes that are essentially reparative in nature, a second type of historical transformation emphasizes the incorporation of new elements. The diffusion of cultural

elements and complexes has long been recognized in anthropological inquiry. It was originally formulated as an historical hypothesis to explain cultural affinities among neighboring groups. Diffusion itself became the object of study when anthropologists focused on processes of acculturation in the colonial situation. An important aspect of this shift was a growing awareness that diffusion was actively organized by cultural systems. In his discussion of syncretism, Herskovits (1948:553) defines "cultural reinterpretation" as "the process by which old meanings are ascribed to new elements or by which new values change the cultural significance of old forms."

In the colonial situation, this process can be seen as the attempts made to cannibalize one cultural system in the interests of another. A kind of antagonistic bricolage results from this process in which elements or complexes of elements are extracted from one culture and fit into a new framework. The new structural alignment of these elements associates them with new meanings and contexts and thereby alters their nature. Sunglasses worn as a nighttime decoration by Kamano dancers quickly shed their Western, utilitarian character.

It goes without saying that villagers in a situation of colonial acculturation can sometimes opt to use the invading culture as a frame of reference. This can be seen clearly in the case of indigenous men who choose to

become capitalists. As they begin their careers, such men are faced with extracting elements of their traditional culture while avoiding expectations associated with these elements. The pooled labor and wealth of fellow clansmen can be transformed into capital only when the reciprocity traditionally associated with this process is denied. The nature of pooled labor is altered by inserting it into the Western complex of exploitation and making it subject to the capitalist marketplace. This attempt to cannibalize traditional culture does not occur without conflict. Faced with the continuing demands of their clans, Kamano businessmen are usually forced to leave their villages if their capital is not to be squandered in life-cycle payments and other obligations. Because successful businessmen are also considered men of status, they also tend to leave their homes to avoid the sorcery of rival villages. In these ways, the need to sever their use of pooled clan resources from its cultural concomitants leads to an actual separation of the businessmen from their home villages.

A second type of Kamano businessman reverses the orientation of the incipient capitalist. These men attempt to extract elements from the capitalist framework to use in a bid for traditional economic and political status. The processes of capital investment and wage-labor exploitation are employed by these leaders in small-scale business concerns like trade stores, public motor vehicles, cash-cropping,

or raising livestock. Only in the most efficient of these concerns is sufficient capital maintained to reinvest. In any case, the resulting profit is usually transformed into status through the sponsorship of life-cycle payments or maintaining a community fund. For contemporary political leaders, the ability to attract outside wealth by securing government funds or by introducing community businesses has become the touchstone of achieving status. This ability represents the most recent transformation in a long history of similar political relationships. From the big-man's distribution of wealth to the cargo cult leader's attempt to conjure Western goods to the colonial official's distribution of road-work wages, each successive type of leader partly based his status on similar intermediary functions.

These two types of Kamano businessmen represent the two poles of antagonistic bricolage. In the first situation, elements of Kamano society are extracted and placed in a capitalist framework. Drawn to its extreme, this process would result in a primitive accumulation in which Kamano society would be dissolved into elements that would then be reorganized according to capitalist principles. The second process occurs when elements of capitalism are extracted and inserted into Kamano systems of meaning. It is this process that predominates in the villages and describes the historical development of Kamano culture. The tendency in world systems theory to view all Highlands

businessmen and politicians as incipient capitalists ignores this basic distinction.

The incorporation of Western elements into Kamano culture is a process that both conserves and transforms meaning. While retaining aspects of their Western definition, these elements acquire alternative meanings as they are fit into traditional systems of logic. A reciprocal ambiguity exists with relation to the incorporating structure. If the classification of these elements into traditional categories implies that structural relationships are maintained, the existence of alternative meanings associated with these elements can transform the structure itself.

This process can be exemplified by their use of money earned by Kamano men through wage-labor and cash-cropping. Much of this money is utilized as an item of wealth in life-cycle payments. As a form of wealth, money has completely superceded traditional forms such as shells, bows, net-bags, and salt. While pork and other types of food are still given, they are clearly of secondary importance. Used in this way, money sheds its significance as a universal medium of exchange that simply changes hands. Kina notes are inserted into long pieces of bamboo that are ceremonially presented at a feast. In this limited sense, money is being utilized in a way that continues relationships established by affinal exchange. But money maintains different meanings associated with colonial economic forms. Men can extract

money from life-cycle payments to be used for consumption or as capital. Nor are exchange relationships unchanged by the introduction of this new element. Traditionally, close genealogical kin of a bride could not eat pork given in bridewealth--this privilege being reserved for sponsors from their clan and village. Freed from the onus of eating one's own blood, money can today be received by the families of the bride and groom--a fact that makes them a bit less dependent on fellow villagers.

The process of cultural incorporation is no less important in situations where new elements are forcibly introduced. Examples of this occurred during the political subjugation of the Kamano to the world system--first through pacification and indirect rule, and then as they were brought into the framework of the nation-state. While these changes were certainly experienced by the Kamano as imposed, they were understood and absorbed into the culture according to traditional logic and meaning. Political events during the post-contact period were thus often subject to radically different interpretations. To colonial officials, elections were mechanisms for political development. For the Kamano, they were powerful rituals that evoked semi-mystical expectations and required protective countermeasures.

Sometimes these situations resulted in a superficial convergence of interests. During the early stages of pacification, colonial officials led pacified villages in punitive

expeditions on villages that had attacked them. In this way they strove to stem independent acts of vengeance and to assure their monopoly on armed force. Kamano warrior-leaders exploited this alignment as a new type of alliance that guaranteed success in their battles with enemies.

Frequently, however, the Kamano interpretation of imposed political structure diverged enough from its intent to significantly alter its form. Colonial officials strongly encouraged people to reside in large villages in order to give the *luluai* and *tultul* they appointed a base for support and control. The appointment of these leaders was often haphazard and bore little relation to the actual village hierarchy. Within a few years the colonial bureaucracy had given way to the Kamano tendency toward a larger number of leaders representing smaller social groupings. In addition to leaders who had been officially appointed, there were ex-officials as well as "influential men who had naturally drifted into the positions." Often, these leaders represented only small hamlets or clans so that a village of three hundred might be represented by as many as twelve village "officials." A similar pattern occurred later when villages were grouped into electoral wards to select a single Local Government Councilor. Because of demographics, clans and villages were often represented by leaders from groups they considered enemies. Such villages

were in effect disenfranchised and tended to treat lesser officials (like Committeemen) as their "councilors."

The ability of the Kamano to superimpose their own cultural logic onto political bureaucracy was also apparent in the quality of leadership. During the early 1970s government officials set up Area Communities in order to reinforce what they saw as democratic tendencies that had been inherent in traditional politics. In this way, they hoped to actively involve villagers in political and economic decision making. Again, within a short period of time, the Area Communities shifted away from their democratic ideals to frameworks more consistent with big-man models. Meetings were attended almost solely by leaders whose main concerns were ways in which they could enhance their status. The initiatory feasts held for Area Communities became, like singsings, a basis for intercommunal competition. Eventually, the Area Communities lost much of their remaining credence as they fell victim to the covert warfare between member clans and villages.

The reciprocal impact of political incorporation upon traditional leadership was also significant. To the extent that appointed officials were actually accorded power, the structural relationship between leaders and followers was reproduced in many of its characteristics. Based on a common set of distinguishing features, traditional categories like "big-man" or "center-post man" continue

to be applied to these officials. Continuities in a leader's status are noted by informants in terms of primogeniture, their "strong speech," and their ability to act as a force for centripetal cohesion. A further characteristic that has undergone various evolutionary transformations is the leader's obligation to distribute wealth to his followers. Originally, pigs, land, and wealth were distributed to sponsor followers' life-cycle payments. Cargo cult leaders promised to conjure Western goods, while colonial officials distributed money paid by the government to build and maintain roads. The status of contemporary leaders is partially based on their ability to attract government funds for development projects or on their providing jobs by introducing small-scale business enterprises into the village.

Other characteristics of traditional status were negated as political relationships were reproduced in different social contexts. Foremost among these was military prowess. Traditionally, young men known for their "hot" personality were appointed by elders to lead the clan or village in battle. Possessing an imperious demeanor, supposedly immune to pain, and having purged their maternal heritage, such leaders embodied the male ideal. After pacification, of course, bellicosity ceased to be a relevant political characteristic except perhaps as a basis for "strong speech." Contemporary leaders tend to reverse the military orientation of the warrior-leader. In adopting this role, they pose

themselves against the traditional world of warfare as well as contemporary sources of conflict that they locate in sorcery, gambling, and drunkenness. Since their power is partly bureaucratic in nature, they align themselves instead with an ideology of economic development and rely on their ability to translate and manipulate the larger political framework.

On the whole, the imposition of political bureaucracies on the Kamano has been of only episodic importance. Elder big-men continued as they always have to "give the law" with regard to daily village activities. Gardening, pig-raising, territorial boundaries, bridewealth and funerary debts, conflicts within and between villages, sorcery accusations, family ties, social recruitment, and traditional knowledge are some of the important contexts in which their influence remains paramount. Because these leaders never learned pidgin, their importance in the colonial and national bureaucracies has remained minimal. When the younger leaders who have been appointed to these positions have been able to mobilize popular support, they have shared power with the elders. As a general rule, however, the Kamano have incorporated appointed officials by splitting off their zone of influence from the real concerns of rural life. Young leaders may be seen as skillful mediators, but with a few exceptions, are rarely considered big-men.

When Kamano ethnohistorians contrast their present lives with the "time of the ancestors," they recognize the radical social disjuncture that occurred at the moment of colonial contact. Indeed, the suppression of warfare, men's houses, and male initiation struck at core elements in cultural logic and meaning. The opposition between "old" and "new" created in this process becomes itself an object of cultural reflection. Ethnohistory, in this regard, represents an attempt to translate the colonial experience into the terms of contemporary culture. The meanings thus associated with historical change add further illumination to the manner in which the Kamano understand and react to the world system. The importance of the cultural incorporation of history has been noted by Sahlins (1976:22):

Meaning of course does not create the real and material forces, but so far as these are engaged by men meaning encompasses them and governs their specific, cultural influence. Nor is it, then, that the forces are without real effect; only that they have no particular effect, as no effective cultural existence, apart from their integration in a given historical and symbolic scheme. Change begins with culture, not culture with change.

Observations made by the Kamano about historical change are generally expressed as moral judgments. "Good" times are contrasted with "bad" times, although there is little consistence in characterizing historical periods as wholes. If men sometimes tell war stories with obvious delight and excitement, they also remember it as a "bad" time in which gardens went untended, friends and kin were

killed, and they were often driven into exile. The feeling that pacification has created a "good" time is paralleled by a sense of increasing social fragmentation. In the absence of military threat, village solidarity is felt to have given way to more parochial interests. Men, whose forebears obeyed the strong "laws" of their elders and leaders, are today said to "wander aimlessly," each according to his own desires.

The contrasts expressed by the Kamano in these statements are in fact more relative than absolute. Lying just beneath the veneer of peace created by pacification, traditional warfare is assumed to have continued unabated. A pervasive sense of insecurity and fear has merely shifted from an overt to more covert forms. These feelings emerge in interactions between the old and the young at public gatherings. At funerals, young men are scolded for their shiftlessness and for their lack of interest in traditional forms of sorcery that would enable them to protect the village. The importance of village identity, social obligations, and territorial integrity is likewise emphasized by big-men in their speeches to the young. When conflict threatens to escalate into violence, the continuing relevance of these factors becomes evident. At a Village Court hearing in Sonofi involving charges of murder and sorcery, the defendants arrived armed and there were rumors that their allies were hidden in the surrounding bush. "Lines" of

clan siblings, armed with bows and arrows, quickly filed out of the clearing to take up defensive positions on the hilltops in a maneuver that certainly pre-dated pacification.

The role of tradition in contemporary life is also evident at singsings performed regularly between June and January. At singsings, elements of pre-contact tradition are transmitted from old warriors to young men. It is the only context in contemporary life where young men don the bark skirts and decorations from the "time of the ancestors." Although these decorations are owned by big-men, they do not wear them themselves. Decorations, along with accompanying motifs of song and dance, are distributed to the young for use during the performance. Village solidarity is an important aspect of the singsing at all stages. Rehearsals are one of the few times when members of a village's clans gather together. The singsing itself takes the form of a competition between villages related by marriage--a pattern that reaches its culmination during the intervillage fights that occur as dawn approaches. Villagers claim that they dance at night because they are ashamed of their traditional dress. This attempt to hide tradition from sight underlines its relationship to the public norms of contemporary life. In a context demarcated by dusk and dawn--and by mass inebriation--the Kamano allow themselves to enact traditional patterns of dance, courting, and fighting. Just as warfare was recreated underground in sorcery, so

are these other aspects of tradition maintained a hidden counterbalance to the "new fashion."

The maintenance of tradition as background to the transformed culture that has developed since pacification reflects a cyclical structuring of history. When political development focused on "self-government," the Kamano wondered whether this meant they would return to traditional patterns of warfare and social structure. The possibility that colonial or national domination may be but a brief interregnum is a continuing concern for the Kamano. Given this insecurity, it is incumbent upon them to maintain traditional organization and military preparedness if they are to survive. In this way they hedge their bets should the promises of progressive modernization prove to be false.

The pattern of cyclical history that is implicit in these concerns has a strong basis in traditional Kamano society. Prior to pacification, the tempo of village life was governed by short-term cycles that oscillated between small-scale social units whose main concern was horticulture and the mobilization of larger units for military functions. During periods of relative peace, hamlets were dispersed according to patterns of land ownership so that villagers could prevent encroachment by hostile groups and more easily carry on their gardening. Social relationships emphasized ties of descent within the patriline and clan, with power in the hands of elder big-men who were the patriarchs of

their lines. During periods of military mobilization, larger social groupings coalesced by activating horizontal relationships rather than vertical ties. Instead of tracing descent back to more encompassing segmental relationships, a metaphorical sibblingship was activated along generations that crosscut the clans of a village. Allegiance was mobilized by the warrior-leader--the "center-post man"--who acted as a fixed point for village solidarity. When confronting attack, the clans gathered at a defensible position along a ridge or in caves. Military victory resulted in a gradual dispersion of clans across the land as the threat of attack abated and old clan rivalries were allowed to re-emerge. After a defeat the village broke apart into "small-lines" who went into exile with parallel or cross-cousins. The village gathered together again when a center-post man came back to the land, by invitation or assertion, and called to the various lines to return. In this way, a village was said to reclaim its name.

A second type of historical cycle was established by the Kamano through naming. Names of children were sometimes selected from forebears of the grandparents' or great-grandparents' generation within the clan. When the elder was still alive, possessing a common name implied a relationship of continuing support and reciprocity. Fathers named children after dead ancestors so that "their names would not be forgotten." In a sense, this pattern of naming took over

where the kinship system left off. Since kinship terminology encompassed only three or four generations, naming in this manner can be said to have created an ongoing cycle of generational groupings. An important repercussion of colonial subjugation was its tendency to negate the dynamic quality of traditional society. Cycles of social fragmentation and reconstitution--and of territorial expansion and exile--were correlated with episodic bouts of warfare. Pacification froze this process at an arbitrary historical moment. Clans that had been chased from their "root-land" could no longer reconquer their territory and often found themselves transformed into permanent enclaves in their hosts' village. This static alignment was reinforced by the colonizers' wish to establish fixed settlements that they could administer. Pacification also undercut the social cohesion of larger social units. Since military concerns provided the primary impetus for village consolidation, post-colonial history has involved a gradual process of social fragmentation in which clans, subclans, and hamlets have become the dominant social focus.

From a larger perspective, however, the Kamano's cyclical patterning of social forms has been transposed rather than eradicated. For a brief period the centralized village reappeared with rest houses and churches replacing men's houses as foci for social cohesion. The villagers' attraction to these symbols of colonial power represented

a transformation of traditional political mobilizations. When the granting of independence reduced the credibility of those colonial symbols, the village again broke down and dispersed into hamlets inhabited by smaller social units; a process likened by villagers to the fragmentation that traditionally followed military defeat. A new centripetal force has since emerged in the form of "development" and its pull toward cash cropping, wage labor, and towns. While this force is still too weak to prevent continued hamletization, it has been instrumental in the placement of hamlets along the road. The road itself has become the primary rural symbol for modernization and provides a centripetal axis for village consolidation.

The Kamano have imposed their cyclical cultural logic onto the events that comprise post-contact history. As each new developmental program was introduced, it was greeted with a collective mobilization of effort led by charismatic young leaders. The military drama associated with past mobilizations was replaced by apocalyptic expectations stimulated by an ideology that linked Europeans with village ancestors. Time and again, as inflated expectations went unmet and interclan conflict was allowed to reassert its precedence, villagers withdrew from cosmopolitan programs to return to parochial clan interests. In this way, new external phenomena became moments in Kamano history.

Cargo cults that occurred during the 1940s provide the most blatant example of this process. Having added Europeans on to the end of their creation-myth, the Kamano became convinced that European goods were in fact produced by Kamano ancestral spirits. Young leaders organized attempts to establish direct communication with these spirits in order to attain the secrets of cargo. During the cults, villagers experienced a collective trance in which spirits possessed the bodies of their descendants, prescribed rituals, and established taboos to protect mortals from the powerful forces in play. Hamlets were temporarily abandoned in favor of centralized village settlements. After trying out the rituals suggested by several successive cult prophets, it became clear that cargo was not forthcoming. Disillusionment, together with colonial repression, resulted in a return to the daily concerns of clan and hamlet.

In less dramatic form, this cyclical pattern of mobilization and fragmentation was re-enacted in response to later political programs. As Local Government Councils, national elections, and Area Communities were introduced, leaders mobilized their followers to gather together with both allies and enemies in order to construct buildings and participate in modern "rituals." Frequently, cargo cult-like expectations were stimulated as villagers were offered new roads, schools, bridges, and opportunities to earn money. The decline of these political programs

was experienced by the Kamano as a kind of paternal abandonment. Government leaders are described as fathers who have "turned their backs" on their children in order to pursue their own ambitions. Left without the cohesive force exerted by these leaders, common allegiance quickly succumbed to ongoing conflicts between members of component clans and villages who withdrew their support of these programs to concentrate on their own land and interests.

By incorporating new symbols into their traditional social cycle, the Kamano have recreated the tempo of their pre-contact history. Programs designed to promote political consolidation and economic progress replace the military mobilizations of their ancestors. When these programs fall victim to local conflict or failures in leadership, larger social units fragment much as they would have in days gone by. The potential of the future thus finds its structures and limitations in the patterns of the past. In this, the Kamano are not so different than any society faced with something entirely new. Like the French of the nineteenth century, the Kamano "make their own history;" and in a literal sense never intended by Marx (1963:15) do they "conjure up the spirits of the past to their service."

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