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AN INTERNAL ANALYSIS OF THE KINSHIP SYSTEM OF THE
MBOWAMB OF THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS OF NEW GUINEA

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INTRODUCTION

In social anthropology there need be no excuse for a study of kinship. The contributions made in this specific area of social life have been outstanding; indeed, one of the major contributions of Social Anthropology as a science in its own right has been precisely in the field of kinship. This has become its formal object, in a sense. Kinship studies have been used for a variety of purposes, e.g., for purposes of reconstructing history, as an exercise in formal logic, as a method of arriving at cognitive processes, in the study of evolution, as an index of social structure and of social change, and so on. Still others want to reduce the role of kinship to the point where it has little or no meaning or place in a study of a social system. It will become clear in the course of this dissertation that I do feel that kinship, as kinship, does have something to tell an investigator.

Another reason for "doing kinship" relates to the point that no one of the workers in New Guinea, i.e., in the Central Highlands, which is also the locale of this study, has as yet published anything like a full study of the kinship system of the people with whom he worked. We need only consider some of the major studies which have come out of the Central Highlands to realize this. We note also the variety which they exhibit. R. Salisbury deals with primitive economics and the changes which the steel axe

wrought on the economy of the Siane; R. Berndt discusses the problems of conflict and social control using the Kamano, Fore and other groups as his spring-board; M. Reay discusses the very interesting problem of individuals and ethnocentrism among the Wahgi people; H. Strauss considers primarily the religious life of the Mbowamb, who are also the subject of this dissertation; G. Vicedom who worked with the same people published three large volumes dealing with almost every aspect of their life, the least emphasis being given, perhaps, to their kinship. M. Meggitt, in a recent book dealing with the Mae Enga focusses on their lineage system, not so much as an internal system but as it is associated with land-use and land-shortage. Land-problems are also the main topic of the work done by P. Brown and H. Brookfield for the Chimbu area. R. Bulmer, in his study of the Kyaka Enga, concentrated on leadership. (For references, see the bibliography.)

In each case, there is much incidental material given relative to other aspects of the life of the people under investigation, also to their kinship. All of the authors mentioned include a section on kinship, but since their emphasis is generally different, it receives only cursory treatment. Sometimes it is limited only to a table of terms with the barest indications of how the different kin treat each other or how the kinship system structures itself. In addition to the above books, to be sure, there have been published many shorter articles on different groups in the Central Highlands (and I restrict myself to the Australian half only), each of them concentrating on some special topic, also sometimes but rarely on kinship. Berndt, for instance, contributed a lengthy article in Oceania dealing with the kinship system of the Kamano, etc.,

but it is very preliminary, in spite of its length. It was done, for example, after he had been in the field only for four months, and covers four different language groups. Moreover, it is mainly descriptive, with very little attempt made at an analysis. In the special issue on the New Guinea Highlands which the American Anthropologist published recently there was nothing on kinship (Watson 1964). The article by J. Pouver came the closest, although he was more concerned with the larger levels of social structure. Studies in politics, i.e., analyses of the political levels of lineage and descent groups, have proven interesting to New Guinea scholars. Ecological studies also are very strong when one goes through the literature on the Central Highlands, as are studies of acculturation, change, and such topics. Kinship, in spite of its central place in Social Anthropology as a science, has been a neglected step-child as far as New Guinea Highlands material is concerned. In this dissertation I hope to show that a better understanding of the kinship system of the Mbowamb may help explain some other facets of their social organization. It is also intended as a description of a kinship system, which, although not perhaps unique, has some interesting aspects to it nevertheless. In this connection I can only agree with Dumont and Levi-Strauss. Dumont, for example, says:

Surely the questions we can most profitably tackle are those that have matured before us, which are not chosen by our arbitrary will but spring from the very development of our studies. Regarding kinship, one can point out two things: first, the "problems" to be tackled are largely collectively given, they need not be invented by one individual; second, in contradistinction to many others, here is a real, self-defining system, I mean a system whose boundary is objectively given, and this is not a negligible advantage. The average researcher, the beginning student must know that he is more likely

to be successful and useful, if he treads such relatively familiar ground, than if he engages in more perilous undertakings [1961:76].

Levi-Strauss, in the conclusion to his important article on Social Structure makes somewhat the same complaint; he does not make his complaint so specific to kinship, although it is implied:

Surprisingly enough, it is at the very moment when anthropology finds itself closer than ever to the long-awaited goal of becoming a true science that the ground seems to fail where it was expected to be the firmest; the facts themselves are lacking, either not numerous enough or not collected under conditions insuring their comparability [Levi-Strauss 1953:549].

In view of these remarks, this presentation contains much descriptive material.

This dissertation concentrates on the topic of kinship and descent groups, and the connection of the two. This is viewed from a very specific angle, however, and for a very specific purpose. This dissertation is intended as a structural analysis of the social morphology of Mbowamb society. Social groups in the Mt. Hagen area are built up in terms of descent groups, patrilineally conceived (with modifications). They are constituted as kin groups terminologically. I intend to study these groups from within, i.e., precisely as kin/descent groups, not as groups which own land or groups which live together, or groups which are constituted and bound by any other external criteria or "functions," if you will. Dumont (1961) in his article on marriage in India made a distinction between the structuralist approach and the substantialist approach, saying that the descent theorists, e.g., Fortes, Goody, Gough were not really structuralists, but substantialists in that they sought to reduce all relations to some "substance." Goody, for example,

tried to reduce everything in descent to property and the transmission of property through inheritance. Dumont, on the other hand, insisted that stress should be put on the relationships themselves, on the complementarity which existed between various factors. The unity of categories is rooted in the opposition of one to another, rather than in some substantial unity. Here we can most clearly see the connection of this approach with that of structural linguistics.

In this analysis therefore, I want to stay strictly within the framework of kinship itself, and within the framework of the descent groups to which kinship gives rise. The concern is not to relate these groups to their activities or their functions, but to understand them as much as possible in themselves, as social groups whose members interact in certain ways, just because they are members of this group, and not because they all hold land together or because they all perform a certain ceremony together periodically. Sometimes this may be the only thing which holds a group together or gives it any kind of existence. In Mbowamb society, however, groups are always phrased in terms of kinship, and it is in terms of kinship that we wish to analyze them.

Groups are also integrated into larger units. This is accomplished primarily through marriage and through the ties which are established through marriage. This also, as an important part of kinship, forms a large part of this dissertation. Kinship, in my use of the term, can be divided into consanguinity and affinity. Much of the controversy in the literature related to the analysis of social morphology has been concerned with giving either marriage or descent

(consanguinity) priority; but this is partially related to the type of analysis one makes of a social system, whether one makes a strictly formal or structural analysis or a substantial one, as Dumont has put it. Those who prefer a strictly internal or formal analysis, an analysis in terms of the kinship structure itself have come to stress affinal relations in opposition to those who conceive of descent as the primary factor in the establishment and integration of social groups. In this latter case, descent had to be supplemented by some other mechanism, which came to be called "filiation." "Descent" finally became "serial filiation" and relations with the group which did not determine one's concrete membership in the descent group became known as "complementary filiation." The emphasis, however, is clearly on consanguinity, on the fact that a person is related to each of his parents, but not necessarily in the same way.

The question of assigning priorities to affinity or consanguinity in any a priori way seems to be a difficult undertaking, although people like Levi-Strauss insist that affinity is the most neglected structural principle to consider in the analysis of social groups. This certainly relates to his conviction that it was marriage or affinity which initially set man apart from nature and caused the level of culture to emerge (Levi-Strauss 1960a). In some cases one can perhaps say, after sufficient analysis of various aspects of the social system, that marriage is structurally more important than consanguinity or descent. The question, however, smacks of the "chicken and the egg" controversy, and as such is impossible of solution. The two are correlative and one implies the other. In any case

it would not do to presuppose that either affinity or consanguinity are the more important before making the analysis of the kinship and social system.

Many authors, of course, deny the usefulness of making an internal analysis only of a social system. For them only a substantialist interpretation is an adequate interpretation. Thus Goody would develop his entire analysis around the different kinds of property which the groups under investigation dispose of, and in terms of this external criterion he defines his social systems. Others maintain that only residence adequately defines the groups they are discussing, or some other criteria are required to define the social groups of their people. Fortes would claim that only when one considers the larger political organization of a social system as well as their corporate quality in respect to land-holding can one adequately define and analyze the social groups.

Defining groups, however, in terms of some external criterion does not always seem entirely satisfactory. For one thing, it would make comparisons between groups very difficult. We have an object example of this perhaps in the difficulties which I. Lewis faced and the final frustrations of his conclusions in The Relevance of Models in Social Anthropology (1965). Groups thus defined might not be comparable. This is because the criteria according to which groups are defined are external to the system itself, and therefore unique to that time and place. For this reason a formal analysis, an analysis according to the structure of the group itself would be preferable, provided it does tell us something about the social system. The substantialist would no doubt say that it does not tell us anything useful. In any case, the problem which Freeman posed as a result of

his study of cognatic social groups remains and must be faced if only in such a simplistic manner as this dissertation attempts. Freeman says:

The difficulty posed by cognatic or non-unilineal descent is that collateral cognates (from first cousins onwards) belong to more than one cognatic stock. This means that cognatic stocks at this level, overlap; and consequently, unless some criterion other than, and in addition to, descent be brought into operation, it is impossible to achieve the division of society into discrete groupings. . . . No account of a bilateral or non-unilineal system can be considered complete until the way in which this difficulty is solved has been demonstrated in detail. . . . [1961:200].

What he says here concerning the cognatic group holds also for the unilineal descent group. Because unilineal descent groups are so multi-functional and therefore so obvious, so discrete, it easily happens that one does not bother to investigate precisely how the criterion of descent, or kinship, operates, other than as a principle of recruitment. Quite rightly therefore can Rivers, and Leach (1962a) after him, restrict descent to unilineal descent, and then apply it only to mean recruitment to a group through birth. This is to fly in the teeth of evidence that descent is operative in groups other than unilineal ones, and also in the teeth of evidence that recruitment to a group may be effected in ways other than through descent, or birth, and still be phrased in terms of descent for the people. It means restricting the meaning of the term "descent" very drastically. It relates again, I suggest, to the different ways one can approach the analysis of social groups. Freeman states that with non-unilineal descent groups one is almost forced to admit external criteria, but he recognized this as a difficulty and one which must be solved before an adequate descent group theory can be presented. A similar difficulty can be applied to unilineal descent groups as well.

Closely related to this problem, and flowing from it partly, is the problem of affinity and the place of affinal relations in a society. Ever since the work of Levi-Strauss this has been much in the fore in anthropological literature. Levi-Strauss himself was primarily concerned with what he called "elementary forms of relationship" and by that he seems to have meant those systems of affinity where there was no choice whom one was to marry; he was precisely interested in such systems as prescribed sister-exchange and cross-cousin marriage and the relationships these types of marriage established between groups. Complex structures, on the other hand, were those where choice was free. His analysis, and the analyses of those who follow him, are primarily formal, and are analyses of structure qua structure, not as defined by some external criteria. In our conclusions we shall come back to this point of "alliance theory" and how it can be applied to the Mbowamb situation. Marriage, in Mbowamb society, is certainly a mechanism whereby groups are allied one with the other, whereby the social system is integrated most effectively. Marriages are deliberately dispersed and are omni-directional. It has been suggested that systems of prescribed or preferred marriage exist in New Guinea, especially in certain coastal areas. Certain parts of the Highlands seem to indicate something of this as well. For example, Berndt in his study of the Kamano kinship system indicates a preference for cross-cousin marriage, and the kinship terminology recorded by Marie Reay for the Middle Wahgi people indicate that sister-exchange is the ideal type of marriage. Salisbury, moreover, in an early article, speaks of a marriage cycle. This has become so long and so all-embracing, however, as to be almost meaningless. As we shall see later, this is not exactly

the situation for the Mt. Hagen or Mbowamb area, although alliance theory properly understood can be applied.

II

Very closely connected with the above, insofar as it has much influence on the outcome of one's analysis, is the level of abstraction which one assumes. To put it in other words: what sort of model is one working with? What is the level of the analysis? Very often this is confused in the writings of theorists which in turn causes a confusion to creep into their conclusions as well.

We can, first of all, talk about the level of the phenomena. These are the things which people do, the marriages they perform, the incantations they make, the gardens they cultivate. Whatever people do, whether as a group or as individuals, are data. This level as such cannot be utilized. It must be worked upon, otherwise it remains just what it is, some activity. In a sense this is similar to the stream of sound which comes from a speaker's vocal apparatus when he speaks. A linguist cannot hope to write it all down as it is pronounced, in spite of attempts in early days on the part of linguists to attempt just this. It is too varied, and as such it cannot be really utilized for any worthwhile purpose.

The level of observation is more meaningful. This is the raw phenomena as we, the anthropologists, see them. One must remember, however, that some phenomena are not directly observed, but inferred, e.g., processes of various kinds. By the very fact of our observing, however, we run the risk of changing the situation and therefore also the

phenomena. This is especially true of the New Guinea Highlands situation. To be a non-participant observer is almost impossible; to observe activities without changing the situation seems to me to be next to impossible, unless the people absolutely do not know you are there observing them, or they have come to take you completely for granted, which can happen, but rarely. Prescinding from this effect we might have on the phenomena themselves as they transpire, there is also an effect we have on the phenomena by the sheer fact of observing them. We modify the phenomena by our very observation, because this implies a translation already. We see something happening, and we have already interpreted it somewhat by that fact and by all the store of our experience and prior knowledge which we bring to the observation itself. Also, of course, we modify our observations by the theoretical assumptions we bring to the situation. Our observations will differ if we begin with the assumption that everything in a culture or in a social activity must somehow fit together--in which case we shall diligently observe everything which we can possibly describe--or if we begin with the assumption that this is a religious ceremony, and I am going to be interested only in religious happenings. Then our observations will obviously be colored by what we think religion, under the circumstance, should be, in what it should consist. Also such personal considerations, whether we like the people with whom we work, whether we enjoy our field work, or find it all distasteful, will no doubt color our observations.

First of all, we cannot help any change in the situation which our own presence brings to it, because we do not control the actions of our subjects to that extent. If we go to observe a wedding, and they persistently bring us

and our presence into the speeches which they make, obviously we have changed the situation, but we cannot do anything about it. One must use judgement in such a situation and abstract from the account which you form of the activity that which is introduced as a result of your own presence. In the second place, one cannot help but bring certain assumptions to the observation of an activity or ceremony. The only way we can legitimately observe in anything approaching a scientific way is by starting out with certain assumptions. We have to know, in a sense, what to look for. The solution to this problem is to make one's assumptions as clear and as explicit as possible.

There is another distinction to keep in mind when it comes to the level of observation. Much depends on whether we observe ourselves or whether we observe something through the eyes of an informant, as it were. Then there is an added possibility of bias entering into the information which one acquires, the bias which enters as a result of the translation process from the informant's observation to your own understanding of the situation. In working with informants, however--and this is a favorite technique of anthropologists--one can be getting various things or types of information from him. One might, first of all, be getting nothing more or less than an account of the phenomena themselves as he understands them, as modified by his own observations and the assumptions which he brings to an activity. These latter would almost certainly be different from our own assumptions of what this ceremony means or what are the important aspects of it. Or, and this is an important level, the informant may be giving us his own model of the phenomena. This is the third level, i.e., the level of the participants understanding, the model which they build in their own mind to

represent their social structure to themselves. Now this model can be built directly out of the phenomena, or it can pre-exist in the minds of the participants, as it were, and influence and even direct their activities.

This level of understanding, i.e., the level of the models which the participants in the social system build up for themselves relates very closely to the problem of norms or the normal, the "ought" and the "is" of social activity. On this level of understanding we can prescind from the problem whether the model as the people conceive it represents an ideal sort of model, according to which the people should order their activity, or whether it represents a de facto model according to which the people actually regulate their conduct; whether they should do so or not need not enter into question. People do certain things; in their own minds they have certain models of their system which they have built for themselves. These models in turn reflect on other activity, modifying it in one way or another. This model of the people can be implicit or explicit, or it can be conscious or unconscious (again with a variety of meanings and levels). Barbara Ward approaches this problem and discusses this last distinction in her contribution to The Relevance of Models, etc.

This discussion of a people's model, of course, comes very close to defining their values or value orientations (Kluckhohn 1959:411); therefore it also comes very close to defining one of the notions of culture, at least in this limited area of a people's kinship system and social morphology. It is the people's way of thinking about their social system, their ideology, their cultural construct. It is this level precisely that we are primarily concerned with

in this dissertation. To arrive at the culture of their social system, i.e., at their model, we go to their statements first of all, and to their activity secondly.

"Culture," as Leach says, "makes statements about the social order" (1957:133). It is our program to investigate these "statements." We are not concerned here, however, with all of culture and how it "states" the social order. We are concerned with the cultural understanding of kinship and other social groups, not, for example, with the way in which religion "states" the social order.

There are other levels of discussion possible. There is the level of the anthropologist's model, which he creates to explain the phenomena. Goody makes several possible distinctions relative to this model. He distinguishes between "folk concepts" and the concepts which the anthropologist uses to explain phenomena. These latter then can be viewed as (a) part of the total system of social relationship, and/or (b) in a setting wider than the experience of one culture provides (Goody 1962:37-40).

Logically one can distinguish still other levels of analysis. All the various ways of analyzing can be further subdivided by one's metaphysical or epistemological stand, which would then discuss the locus of the reality under discussion or the validity of the insight each approach offers. One might pose, for example, the ontological question of the nature and reality of "structure," i.e., where does it exist, if it does at all outside the investigator's mind; does it exist in the phenomena themselves or only in the mind of the observer. Nadel, for example, discusses these precise points (1957:150-52). He puts the social structure in the social reality, whereas he claims Levi-Strauss and

Leach find it in the logic behind social reality, i.e., in the models which are built up after empirical reality, which, for Leach, exist only as logical constructions of his mind.

These are all interesting and useful questions to pursue, but for purposes of this dissertation we abstain from them. Insofar as we are able, we shall limit our discussion to the cultural understanding of the Mbowamb as regards their social system to see what light and insight this can give us relative to the constitution and integration, on this level, of their society.

II

A rough, preliminary definition of some of the terms used in the dissertation is in order. Their more specific meaning will become clear as the dissertation progresses.

The term "group" or "social group" is used to signify a unit of some kind which is recognizable as a social unit first by the people themselves and also by the fact that it performs certain activities in common and in a patterned way, i.e., it acts as a unit sometimes. We are more concerned with the first aspect, i.e., how the people themselves understand the group. We shall also discuss some of the activities performed by groups, primarily to isolate them, not to define them. By "group" therefore, we do not mean a "category," i.e., a plurality of people put together because of some common characteristic(s), but a plurality which has no (essential) unity beyond this. Our initial and sufficient understanding of "group" is that of a plurality of persons who are held together by some sort of social ties,

and the social ties we are concerned with here are those of descent and kinship. By our use of the term "group" we do not want to prejudice the definition initially by considerations of size, leadership, types of activity undertaken, kind or degree of integration, etc. We are not concerned therefore with such distinctions either as "primary" or "secondary" group. Some of these aspects of group structure should become clear as the groups are described and internally defined.

Our use of the term "structure" is very loose. By "levels of social structure" I mean simply "group" but considered from the specific aspect of its forming one of a series of groups nesting one in the other. Thus the lineage, a "group," is a "level of social structure" when considered in terms of the fact that it is imbedded in a clan, also a group with its own internal composition and functions. The clan, as the next higher, i.e., more inclusive, level of social structure subsumes several lineages, and itself forms part of a still higher level, e.g., the phratry or tribe, and so on.

At other times the use of "structure" is used to emphasize the patterned and perduring character of some aspect of the social system, for example the kinship "structure." This concept of structure, of course, can be considered on various levels of abstraction, as we have hinted above, except perhaps on the level of the phenomena themselves. Structure, in other words, does not exist in itself, but only structured things (activities, processes, etc.) exist. One's stand on this question depends on one's definition of structure. Levi-Strauss and many others have discussed this problem at some length (Levi-Strauss 1953). The level in this dissertation again is generally the

people's understanding of the structure of their system.

By the terms "structural" or "structuralist" we also signify an approach. This meaning relates to Dumont's use of the term described above, and refers to the main concern of this dissertation, which attempts to analyze the social morphology, i.e., the groups-system of the Mbowamb in terms of itself, i.e., in terms of descent, genealogy, and kinship, both consanguineal and affinal. And we want to do this in terms of the culture, i.e., the symbol-system of the people themselves. How do they conceive of their social groups, in other words; how do they symbolize their groups-system to themselves and how is this system internally constituted, i.e., as a descent-kinship system. What particular meaning of "structure" is used will be clear from the context.

The term "descent" is taken to indicate a "kinship tie between two individuals such that either one individual is the ancestor of the other or both share a common ancestor" (Gould and Kolb 1964:192). A "descent group" therefore is a group formed somehow out of kinship, real, fictitious, simply terminological, etc.; our "initial definition" does not specify. Descent groups, by the fact that they are groups in our sense of the term, imply membership in a certain kind of defined group, achieved in a certain way, again however within the context of kinship. Later we shall indicate some of the ways in which one gets at the larger descent groups from the kinship system, which is ordinarily, at least initially, ego-centric and ego-oriented, therefore individualistic rather than group-oriented. Again we consider descent in this dissertation primarily as a cultural construct, not so much as a bio-physical process, or as an objective process by means of which certain social ends are achieved, e.g., membership in a kin group, unless the various

meanings of descent happen also to overlap in the construct the people have built for themselves.

We also use the terms "agnation" and "agnates" and also "siblings." Agnation normally implies patrilineal descent, or at least kinship traced through a male. In my use of the term I would like to stress, first of all, the point of "brotherhood or sisterhood." Normally in Mbowamb society this is effected by patrilineal descent, but the kinship system makes it possible for siblings or agnates to develop in ways other than through viri-descent. Agnation, when used in this dissertation, implies moreover that the sibling-bond is structurally important in the discussion underway. The term "siblings," as used throughout the dissertation, would denote only the relationship, whether it is structurally important at the given point in the discussion or not. How the state of being agnates comes about will be made clear as we go through our description.

Another expression we use is "kinship system." System refers to anything which is somehow interconnected to form a unit entity, however fragile. Kinship system is comprehensive and refers to various aspects of kinship all of which are interconnected. In this dissertation it refers (a) to the terminological system and also (b) to the patterned social behavior characteristic of a kinship system. Here, of course, all the various distinctions relative to the level of analysis employed can again be made, i.e., are we concerned with the phenomena, the behavior itself, or the behavior as we observe it, or the behavior as the participants conceptualize it? Are we concerned with norms or with the normal, what ought to be done or what is done? Again, we are mainly concerned with kinship behavior as the people construct it for themselves: "this is what a father

does! This is what a MB does for his ZS!!," and so on. This sort of understanding of the people is our level of analysis. This model or construct readily and very often reflects the normative, but analytically, at least, it need not so refer to the normative. This approach relieves us here from the need to explain discrepancies between the norms and the actualities of a people. At many points in our dissertation we shall, of course, be describing actual behavior; we shall dip into the observed phenomena; we shall try to do so, however, only insofar as it would reflect some such statement of a Mbowua as indicated and therefore only insofar as the behavior seems to be a reflection of his model or construct.

For this reason our description of kinship behavior is so tightly connected with the kinship terminology. The kin terms, as we maintain, reflect the Mbowua's model of his society, at least as far as kinship is concerned. This is especially true of the Mbowamb kinship system in as much as the terms used all refer primarily to relationships rather than to individual kinsmen as we shall see below.

With these very general, preliminary definitions we shall be content, allowing clarification to come as we proceed through the dissertation and through the factual material. At certain times also, especially in our conclusions, we shall also leave the cultural construct of the people themselves and begin to build models of our own, or apply models which other people have devised to help explain certain phenomena in Mbowamb society; it will be obvious when this is done, or it will be obviously stated.

III

The conclusion of this introduction will be taken up with a brief discussion of my field work and the mechanics thereof.

An anthropologist goes into a field situation with a problem focussed in his mind. Normally he does not set out anymore to "do a culture," but rather is interested in only a particular piece of the socio-cultural continuum. This is determined already partly by the anthropologist's studies and personal interests, as well as by the exigencies of the field situation, prior work done there, and so on. The problem is generally one of isolating and limiting oneself in the collection of data (Nurje 1965:4).

In accord with my own interests I went to New Guinea to study funeral rituals, especially the social gift-exchanges which people engage in at this time. That exchanges formed part of the funeral ritual was indicated in the literature dealing with the general area. I was concerned therefore not so much with funerals as such or with their religious aspects, but with the cross-generational insight such exchanges might afford into the social dynamics of the social system, insight into the group structure, and into any system of continued social alliance which might exist in the Mt. Hagen area. It very soon became evident that it would be difficult to adhere strictly to this program. In the immediate area I had chosen for my field work there were only a few deaths for the first months of my stay in the field, and these few were either of women or "rubbish" men, for whom there was little elaborate ceremony. Moreover, the people of the whole surrounding area had conducted a

ceremony three months before I arrived; consequently the supply of sizeable, available pigs was at a minimum. As a result, a study of funeral exchanges was not very feasible when I first arrived. Moreover when someone dies, the corpse is quickly buried, with a minimum of ritual or ceremony. A small funerary feast, with pigs, will be held within a week or so; the exchange aspects of the feast, however, are held to a minimum. The more impressive killing of pigs and the more formal distribution of pork can then wait for months until some other exchange or ceremony is underway or until an impressive number of pigs can be mustered for the second funerary feast. There are many modifications possible on this theme; much depends on the social status of the one who is deceased, or on the social conditions prevailing at the time of the death and the projected exchange.

In addition to the point, therefore, that few of consequence were dying in my area, and by the time one heard of the death of someone from a neighboring group, that person was already buried and the initial mourning was finished, there was the added difficulty that the outstanding funeral exchanges had already been made in connection with the ceremony the people had just finished, or were impossible due to the scarcity of pigs. To reconstruct, on the other hand, the funeral exchanges which had taken place previous to my coming, like any other reconstruction among the people with whom I worked, was definitely unsatisfactory for a variety of reasons which need not be spelled out here. It very quickly became clear therefore that the program I had brought to the field was impractical. Towards the last half of my stay, the people began to make exchanges of

different kinds, but in the meantime it became obvious that a substitute approach was in order.

My main substitute, for the insights it gave me into their social structure and their mode of marriage, came from a questionnaire I administered to anyone who came to my house. And to get the people to come to my house, rather than search them out, which was a very time-consuming, and from the point of view of completeness, a risky task, I took a picture of each person who came to answer my questionnaire. Then sometime later they would come in to pick up the print of themselves. Since the Mbowamb like to have their picture taken, this technique worked out quite well. This questionnaire, with the interviewing which could go on at the same time, plus genealogies, usually gathered from one or two people who seemed to know, and then checked by others, plus my list of houses according to locality and sleeping/living arrangements, furnished me with a fairly adequate demographic and even structural base on which to build an analysis of the kinship system and the system of exchanges resulting especially from marriage.

The choice of a specific area to study was practically settled before I went to the field. On the advice mainly of Fr. Wm. Ross and Fr. Steffen, two missionaries very familiar with the Hagen situation, it was strongly suggested that Kwinka and the people known as Kumdis would be a good choice. Some of my requirements were as follows: sufficient population concentration so that one would not have to waste too much time looking for people; a group or an area which would be fairly representative of the whole surrounding area; a group which was not too changed because of prolonged and continuous contact with Europeans. On these counts the choice of the Kumdi Engamois was most felicitous. It was a happy

choice also for more extraneous reasons. The area and people were located on a newly built road, which made necessary transportation quicker and easier. The people I studied lived fairly close to the people who are described in both G. Vicedom's three volumes and H. Struss's fourth volume addition to the series. This made possible many controls which would otherwise have been difficult to achieve. The groups I studied also lived fairly close to the Kyaka Enga described by R. Bulmer, which introduced further controls, as well as opened up the possibility of doing studies of aboriginal acculturation.

The choice of area was a good one therefore for many reasons. The time of field work, in many respects, was less fortunate. Shortly before, as we have already indicated, the Kumdis had killed most of their pigs in a special concerted ceremony, with the consequence that social activity was at its nadir when first I arrived in the field. In another way, of course, this is not bad. Sometimes anthropologists describe only the social spectacular, drawing conclusions regarding the nature of society from these periods of heightened social activity. It is just as useful to understand the hum-drum activities related to living in society as well. As far as the Kumdi Engamois were concerned, the group whose activities fill the pages of this dissertation, this latter is the aspect of their life which I observed most fully. Only towards the end of my stay there were they beginning to engage in the more obvious and striking social activities again.

This relates to another point pertinent especially to the New Guinea Highlands situation, viz., the optimum time and length of field work. A year is often stated as

an adequate period of time, insofar as the field worker, in this time, will be able to observe any cyclic ceremonies, which are often based on a year time period, and also, normally, an entire agricultural/gardening cycle. This is not so in the Mt. Hagen area. To witness an entire ceremony cycle, one would have to be present for five years or more; a full cycle of planting and harvesting might take longer than a year also. Bulmer hints at this same problem, for instance, in his study of the Moka exchange in his area (Bulmer 1960). Not only may one have to modify an original thesis design because of the area he chooses; the field worker will likely have to modify his design even more because of the time he happens to come to the field. In the Hagen area, for instance, one might come at a time when exchanges are being made in great number; just the opposite may be equally true.

In my own personal approach to my area, I intended to do an intensive study of a group manageable in size rather than an extensive census-type study of a larger area and many groups. What the chosen group did, what affected the chosen group, this was my concern also. This, of course, implies the presumption, for example, that the different groups are fairly homogeneous, and similar activities, motivations, etc., move them as they did my own chosen group of 800 people.

This sort of approach has many advantages and disadvantages, much depending on the kinds of data or hypotheses one is concerned to investigate. Some of the advantages and disadvantages relate both to the field worker's own task which he poses to himself as well as to the people who surround the group he chooses to study intensively. At times

it helps, for instance, to be identified almost exclusively with a certain group; at other times it can be a distinct problem. This dilemma of identification is especially acute, I think, in the Central Highlands.

There is another kind of identification which can also affect the outcome of a field worker's efforts, viz., whether he is associated with the missions, the government, or the planters. Essentially there are only these three for the people. In the last category, for instance, they would include store-keepers, merchants, skilled laborers, etc. I was identified with the Catholic Mission. On the whole, it was not a bad identification. It was most useful, perhaps, in the insight this position helped me to achieve of their notion of sickness, its etiology, cure, etc. It was most of a hindrance insofar as it took some time to convince the people that I was not there to build a school or a trade store, both desirable items from their point of view. Also those of the Kumdis who were Lutherans were not as willing to give information to me as were the Catholics, or those who had not accepted either religion. To their way of thinking, I could not possibly be interested in Lutherans. In the matters related to this dissertation I do not think my identification with the Catholic Mission was either much of a hindrance or of any particular advantage.

My best informants proved to be the young men between twenty-five and thirty-five years of age. Most of these spoke pidgin-English, a very useful attribute from the field worker's point of view. They knew what was generally going on in their culture or could usually direct me to an older man who did know the aspect under discussion. They could even help interpret their culture. As a group they therefore

more readily grasped what I wanted by my questions. The younger people did not really know their own culture sufficiently to be particularly useful as informants. The girls were most competent for certain items of information, but on the whole were too shy or giddy to be very useful. For them interviews had to be conducted either in the vernacular or with a pidgin-English/vernacular interpreter who would be one of the young men usually. For this reason also the interview often proved unsatisfactory. Older women, if they could be convinced that they really did know something, generally made good informants, but they were usually less ready to divulge information they had than were older men. The older men were valuable informants, provided their interest in a subject could be aroused and sustained. As a rule, my experience was that the older the male informant was, the poorer he proved as a useful informant. The opposite generally was true of the women.

Normally I did not explicitly pay my informants, certainly not for each item of information they proffered. Given the values of the culture, this procedure would, I think, have proven disastrous for effective field work. I did have a quasi-permanent assistant, who helped me with the language, interpreted for me, helped me find informants, etc. I paid him a regular salary. He was not himself a local man, but had relatives with the Kumdi Engamois. In addition, there was on the station a full-time catechist who was paid by the mission. He was very useful to me. Although not a Kumdi Engamoi, he had lived at Kwinka for several years, was well-liked and respected by the people. He knew the Kumdi Engamoi customs, or whom to ask. The other informants were usually paid in a more informal way, with smoking paper, salt, other food items, with monetary

assistance in time of their need and with other favors like bringing small items back from town as they were ordered, supplying body paint for decorations, and so on. For example, if a girl would inform me in sufficient time that she was going to be greased and sent to a husband, I would give her a special, highly-desired piece of cloth ("laplap") for a wedding gift. Sometimes for special information, for a special incantation or a series of stories, I would give some money. In my opinion it is much better to get information from the Hagen people informally, as part of a generalized exchange situation and because of friendship existing between the ethnographer and the informant.

It is quite difficult to find what might be called key informants, i.e., people who not only know their culture--at least the aspect one is interested in--but also who can verbalize their knowledge with at least a slight degree of reflection or grasp of what is desired. This type of informant seems to be a rarity. Moreover, for other reasons as well, the Hagen native does not make a very good informant generally. He tends to leave out details in any presentation, concentrating only on what seems striking to him. This is especially true, of course, if he happens, in addition, to be uninterested in what is under discussion. With the Mbowamb it is especially necessary to check and re-check on information which one has not witnessed.

To go into a full account here of ethnographer-informant relations would be useful, but not entirely relevant. One must be sure, for example, to get information from all the various status-holders, i.e., from "big men" as well as from "rubbish men," from old women as well as young people, etc. Each group or type will have access to

material which the other status-holder will not know--or knowing, will not divulge because at this time, i.e., having this different status, they are not supposed to know what pertains to someone else. To obtain, for example, an incantation geared to keeping one's husband for oneself must be gotten from an older woman. Younger women do not know these, in the sense especially that they are not supposed to or expected to know these incantations yet, and therefore cannot (will not) give you any of them.

An important part of field work relates to the worker's language competency. In my work this also entered into my choice of informants. It is always necessary to learn as much of the vernacular as possible. In the Hagen area this is so because not everybody speaks or understands pidgin-English. This lingua franca is fairly restricted to the young men who have worked on plantations or been to school. Pidgin, moreover, is an inadequate medium of communication in many respects, e.g., in dream translation, song or chant translation, and so on. Yet for me pidgin was also indispensable. I learned the vernacular as best I could, and achieved a level of competency which enabled me to conduct a simple interview on my own. I could carry on a slow conversation, and I was able to catch the drift of the people's conversations, at least to the extent that I knew when and what to explore further. Most important, I was able to control my interpreters; I could tell when they were leaving something out of my questions and whether they were translating the whole reply. Also, in translating stories, with the grasp I had of the language, plus an inadequate pidgin translation plus time and circumlocution, I was usually able to achieve at least an intelligible and even a fairly adequate translation of the stories,

incantations, etc., which I would first record, in natural speech utterance, on tape. I could not understand speeches. Often also there was misunderstanding because I did not properly catch some remark or nuance of tense, and so on. In my mind it is still debatable what would be the best approach, to concentrate the bulk of one's field work exclusively on language study, saving the ethnographic work for later or, what is more usual I suspect, approach the field work on a broader front. As soon as one arrives, things are happening. Perhaps this event will not recur during your projected stay. Pidgin-English is fairly easy to learn, and is adequate for many kinds of information, at least in the initial stages of one's field work. Still a point might be made for the approach whereby the initial two-thirds of the field work time would be spent on language learning.

Field work was, for me, literally a fantastic experience, useful in many ways. Trying oneself to enter into and share another people's way of life, makes the accounts of others who have attempted the same thing more intelligible and clear. Having experienced some of the difficulties which must face all anthropologists who do a piece of field work makes it more possible to read critically, but at the same time to read with sympathy for all the anthropologist's labors and work of analysis which must have gone into the report which he presents. Living so intimately with a people whose way of life is so different from one's own can also be a broadening experience for oneself personally, as I think it was for me. Often such experience means strength for the conviction that human beings are essentially so similar, wherever they are found; yet such an intimate

experience with another way of life is also convincing evidence for the plasticity of human nature. It highlights and brings home to the investigator some of the varieties of response utilized by people. It validates, at one and the same time in a sense, both the universality and the existential character of the human condition in all its variety and relativity, in all its substantial sameness and universality.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Until the early years of the 1930's, the Central Highlands of New Guinea were a closed book to the world at large. Time had passed by the thousands of natives who lived in the cool, green pleasant valleys which nestled between massive rugged mountain peaks and mountain ranges which ran in every direction, giving rise to rivers which joined each other at odd angles, creating water-sheds in the most unlikely places. Until the early years of the 30's, Europeans took it for granted that the mountain ranges which loomed skywards a short distance from the island's sea coast just continued on and on, uninterrupted and uninhabited, until they fell down to meet the coast again on the other side of the island. Although several people had crossed the island at its Southeastern end, and had thoroughly traversed the Stanley Owens Mountains, no one had ventured into the main, central portion of the highlands.

Rumors had filtered down to the coastal areas of populations living in the mountains, but only when rumors of gold accompanied the other stories did they fire the fancies of the white prospectors. Also, and this was perhaps even more important, the airplane was coming into prominent

use as a practical and comparatively safe means of transport. Indeed, it was the airplane which made the discovery and exploration of the Highlands possible, and even today it is still the airplane which makes the development and exploitation of the Highlands feasible.

Several different people figure prominently in the early opening of the Highlands, most conspicuously the Leahy brothers, Danny, Mike, and Jim. They were prospecting for gold. The procedure was to reconnoitre a trip into the Highlands by airplane, then go in on foot a short distance, build a small air-strip in a suitable area and have an airplane fly in freight, food, and other goods for a further, deeper penetration.

From their own diary, we read that Danny and Mike Leahy, together with a Mr. Marshall, had their first view of the Wahgi Valley on February 11, 1933. This was from a knoll on the far Eastern end of the valley. An awesome, welcome sight it must have been to any of the early travellers who struggled over the mountains, twelve to fourteen hard days walking from the Madang side, when first they sighted this expanse of open, obviously fertile country. Very soon also the travellers were made aware of the dense populations which inhabited the smaller valleys and gardened up the gentler slopes of the mountains which surrounded and almost enclosed these various valleys. The many well-laid out sweet-potato gardens and, on a clear day, the constant haze of wood smoke over the land, bore witness to a large population.

On March 8, 1933, Major Harrison, Danny, Jim, and Michael Leahy flew over the main Wahgi valley, and a few weeks later, on March 31, they set foot into the new country

going West and Northwest into the Wahgi Valley. Danny Leahy and his brother Mike, and Mr. Ken Spinks, a surveyor, plus sixty carriers went in to check the valleys and rivers for gold. With them also was Mr. J. L. Taylor with his carriers and police boys. He was an Assistant District Officer and was the Australian Government's representative. Simultaneous with general European penetration came government control. Thus began the government's policy of gradual control and the careful, slow, opening up of new areas to white settlement which is still in force. On the whole, it has been a very enlightened policy given the fragmented, isolated, primitive and war-like condition of the people they generally found in the Central Highlands.

On April 6, 1933, the party sighted the grassy top of Mt. Hagen, a range, rather than a solitary mountain, which forms the Western boundary of the Wahgi Valley. On the Southern end of the range, the mountains soar to 13,000 feet from a valley floor of 5,500 feet. From a base camp, which later became the town of Mount Hagen, so named from the massive mountain range which dominates the surrounding landscape, the gold prospectors made several side trips, one of them into the Baiyer River Valley on July 17, 1933. This trip is meaningful because it took them through the territory of the people with whom I lived for a year and four months while doing field work. In making this trip, the party, about ten miles north of the town of Mount Hagen, crossed the Wahgi-Sepik divide. Two rivers, the Gumants and the Baiyer, begin on opposite sides of a large ridge on the Southern end of Mount Hagen. The Gumants, diverted by a low range of mountains which face the Mount Hagen massif, joins the Wahgi River and eventually flows

into the Gulf of Papua, while the Baiyer River joins the Yuat River and empties ultimately into the great Sepik. By October, 1933, the party had left the area.

But now the Highlands were open and soon others came into the Mount Hagen area. In February, 1934, Fr. Wm. Ross, of the Roman Catholic Mission of Madang, came to establish a mission. He has been there ever since and is still active (1965) as a pastor of souls in the town of Mount Hagen. Shortly after the the Lutheran missionaries also came to establish a mission four miles north of Mount Hagen at Ogelbeng. From this group, the Neudettelsauer Mission group, have come the only major publications we have, to date, of the large population of people known as "the Hagen natives" or "Mbowamb" which is the term the people use for themselves. G. Vicedom, who came specifically to study the customs and character of the Mbowamb, published three large volumes by that title, the material of which dates back to pre-war times essentially, although the publication date of the book is 1948, or post-war. Quite recently H. Strauss, another missionary, has added a fourth large volume to the series dealing primarily with the religious life of the Mbowamb. Strauss has been in the Ogelbeng area almost as long as Fr. Ross and Danny Leahy who is still there. He came in to study the language and work on translation, in accord with the Lutheran Neudettelsauer Mission policy of religious education in the vernacular. He understands the language perfectly and speaks it fluently, one of a very limited number of non-natives who do, and has published, in mimeographed form, a brief but good grammar of the language.

The missions, both Lutheran and Catholic, have had

phenomenal success in their work of conversion, whether one judges that success by numbers baptized or by the influence they have had in changing certain aboriginal practices. The two missions are far and away the strongest in the Hagen area with a minimum of competition from the Seventh Day Adventists and one or the other small denomination working mostly at the fringes of the Mbowamb territory. There are, for example, the Baptists in the Baiyer River Valley area, working especially with the Kyaka Engas and the Foursquare Gospel group with its main influence in the Minj-Banz area. The Lutherans and the Catholics have carved out their own territory and sphere of influence, as it were, and there is little ill-feeling or hostility between the two groups, least of all as far as the natives themselves are concerned. Most of the natives are either baptized Lutherans or Catholic, or Lutheran or Catholic followers. There are, for example, some 10,000 Catholics in the area surrounding the town of Mount Hagen itself. The Catholic or Lutheran doctrine, or rather, the natives' understanding of Catholic or Lutheran doctrine, is always being brought up in speeches. References, in speech, to the missions and to the Law, by which they mean the Government law, form the prologue of almost every oration, although often it is merely a stereotyped formula.

My own work was done in an area which was generally Lutheran, although the specific group I studied was about equally divided between Catholics and Lutherans. It is difficult to find a full-blown, convinced pagan today, and this change-over has taken place essentially since the war, i.e., since 1945. Changes there have been also in other spheres of their life, although perhaps not as deep or

lasting as some would like to believe. In the area chosen for this study, viz., kinship and marriage, less change has occurred. On this level, the first change we can predict will be a decrease in the number of polygynous marriages, and this will eventually have repercussions in other aspects of social life also, for example, in their exchanges. The introduction of cash-crops, however, may have an even more lasting effect on this. At the time of my study, these predicted changes were not yet activated. People in polygamous unions are content now to be followers. A fuller study of the innovations and changes introduced by the missions, a study as well of some of the possible reasons for the rapid, almost wholesale conversion of these people to a new religion would also be most interesting, but out of place here. This must wait for another time.

By 1938 the area immediately surrounding the town of Mount Hagen was declared controlled, but shortly after came the war, which put a halt to further penetration and pacification. In 1942 the government left and in 1943 Fr. Ross and the few other remaining whites were removed. Early in 1944, however, both government and mission came back and penetration with subsequent control was again underway.

The war did not have much effect on the people of the area. One or two incidents only remained in the memories of my own people. One was of some bombing and especially of some bombs which were jettisoned over the uninhabited grass valley floor of the Baiyer River. Bulmer relates how his people, the Kyaka Engas, who lived closer to the scene of the bombing, immediately went down and collected the metal fragments to make axes out of them. Another memory relates to a man who had his eye struck. This man since has developed

a cataract of sorts because of it. He refused to transport some goods to Wabag for the government. This move was apparently connected with the war and with evacuation. Beyond small incidents of this kind there was relatively little effect felt of the war, certainly nothing to compare with the effects of the war years on the coast or even in the far Eastern half of the Central Highlands.

In 1947 the area where I worked, some twenty miles North of the town of Mount Hagen, was officially declared controlled and open to free movement. The whole history of contact in the Mbowamb area is a history of gradual and peaceful contact, and this is almost certainly reflected today in the good relations existing on the whole between the people and the government. Very few punitive expeditions had to be mounted. Several fights had to be put down, and there is the memory of at least one Moge (the name of a group) man from Mount Hagen who was shot with a gun--my group still remembered and sang the man's funeral dirge for me--but the work of control on the whole was quiet and untraumatic. The people themselves are grateful for the government control in spite of occasional disagreements and complaints against road work, etc. They are quite aware of the changes for the better that have occurred in their own lives. When they are faced with the not so hypothetical possibility that the white government may soon yield to government by their own people, perhaps even by coastals, they are generally filled with consternation and state a preference for continued white control.

The year 1947 as the declared year of control for my area is important in another effect this has on the people. It relates to land-ownership. Land is presumed to belong to

those groups who have been living and working on it since the time of control, and land disputes are arbitrated in accord with this. There has been much movement of peoples in the Kagen area. Very few people claim to live on their ancestral ground anymore, yet all would tend to claim residual rights there. Disputes flare, for instance, when the government sets out to alienate a piece of property for possible use as a coffee or tea plantation, for a school or mission station, or even for possible re-allocation to other natives. Any groups which have lived on the disputed land, or people who have any claim whatsoever, come to claim some share of the money paid for the land. Peoples have been on the move for many reasons, e.g., defeat in war, search for better land, or for more land in the case of population pressures. Some of the movements may have been occasioned by one or the other disgruntled person moving away from a feeling of anger and dissatisfaction. In the area in which I worked, for example, the stand of the government on 1947 as the date marking ownership has very great meaning. Sometime around the early or mid-1930's there was a fight at my place, between two closely related groups. The defeated party left and took refuge with relatives among the Witikas and others, and now have expanded into sizeable groups again among their hosts. The memory of connections with their ancestral ground is still very sharp and clear, and there is still much talk about going back, although only one group of the defeated has done anything, and successfully, about moving back. In the meantime, the victor groups have taken over the gardens and lands of the defeated and have worked them, passed them on in inheritance, built houses on them, and will not willingly give them up, although they too

recognize still exactly which localities belonged to which group. Legally the defeated no longer have claim, nor, by the same token, do the hosts of the defeated have any legal claim any more for ousting their relatives from the land which they effectively have occupied since 1947. This is generally recognized by natives, one feels. They do have the notion, for example, that with the passage of time, if no claim is effectively exercised, the rights to any such claim may lapse, even though some memory of former occupation may persist.

Such, briefly, is the history of the area where I conducted my research. Very definitely one can speak of pre-contact times and still achieve a fairly adequate reconstruction of those times. Moreover, since European contact was relatively recent, many of the aboriginal practices are still in effect, or strong traces, at least, of former practices, can still be uncovered. Like other peoples of New Guinea, however, so too the Mbowamb are very open to change, and in some areas this has been very noticeable, e.g., in matters of religion, in the rapidity with which the people began to grow coffee as a cash crop and set up stores in imitation of the European. Given the limited time-span since contact, however, it is still possible to go back to pre-contact times and customs. In my own presentation in this dissertation, the problem does not really arise. My interests here are contemporary and synchronic. The following maps will help the reader locate the specific area where my field work was done. These maps should also help to understand the following chapter.

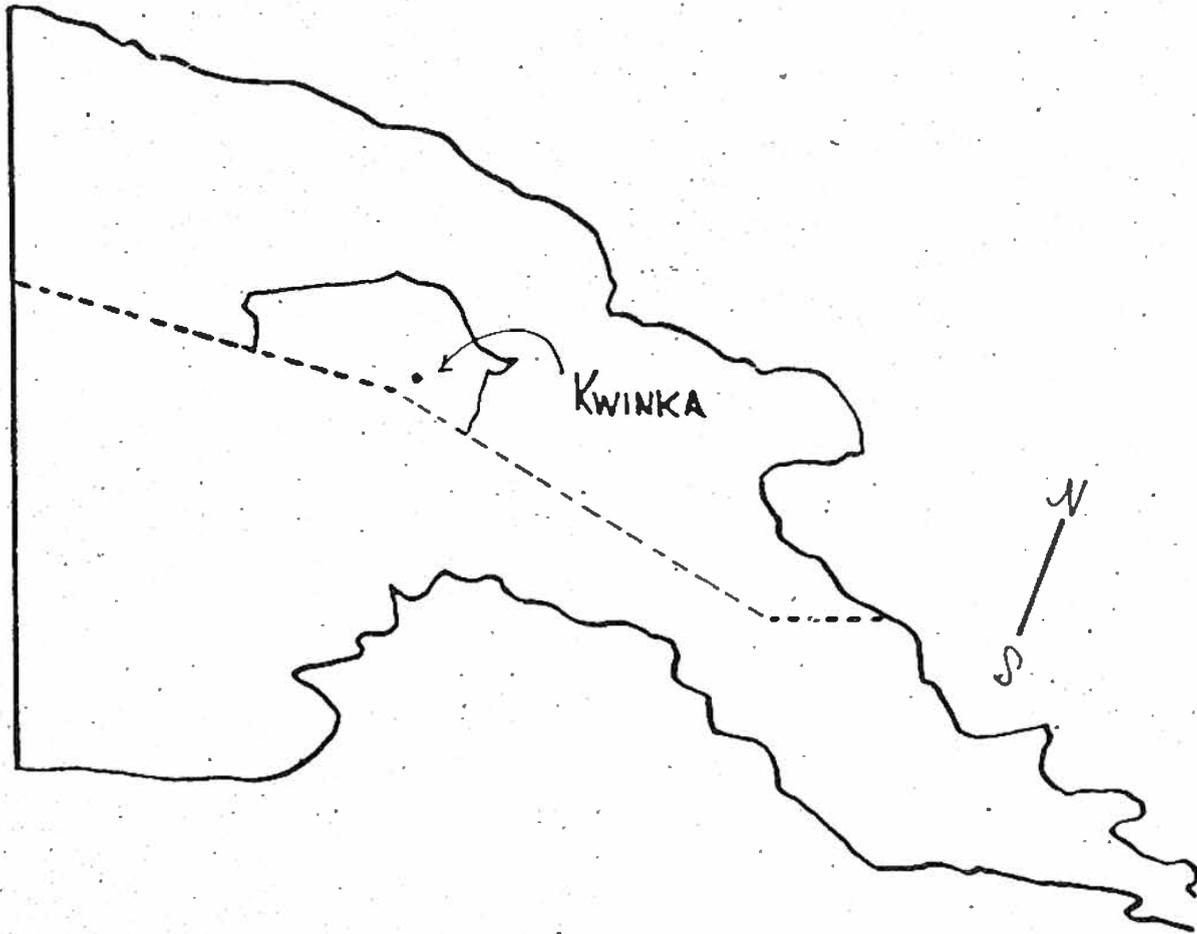


Fig. 1.--The Territory of Papua and New Guinea

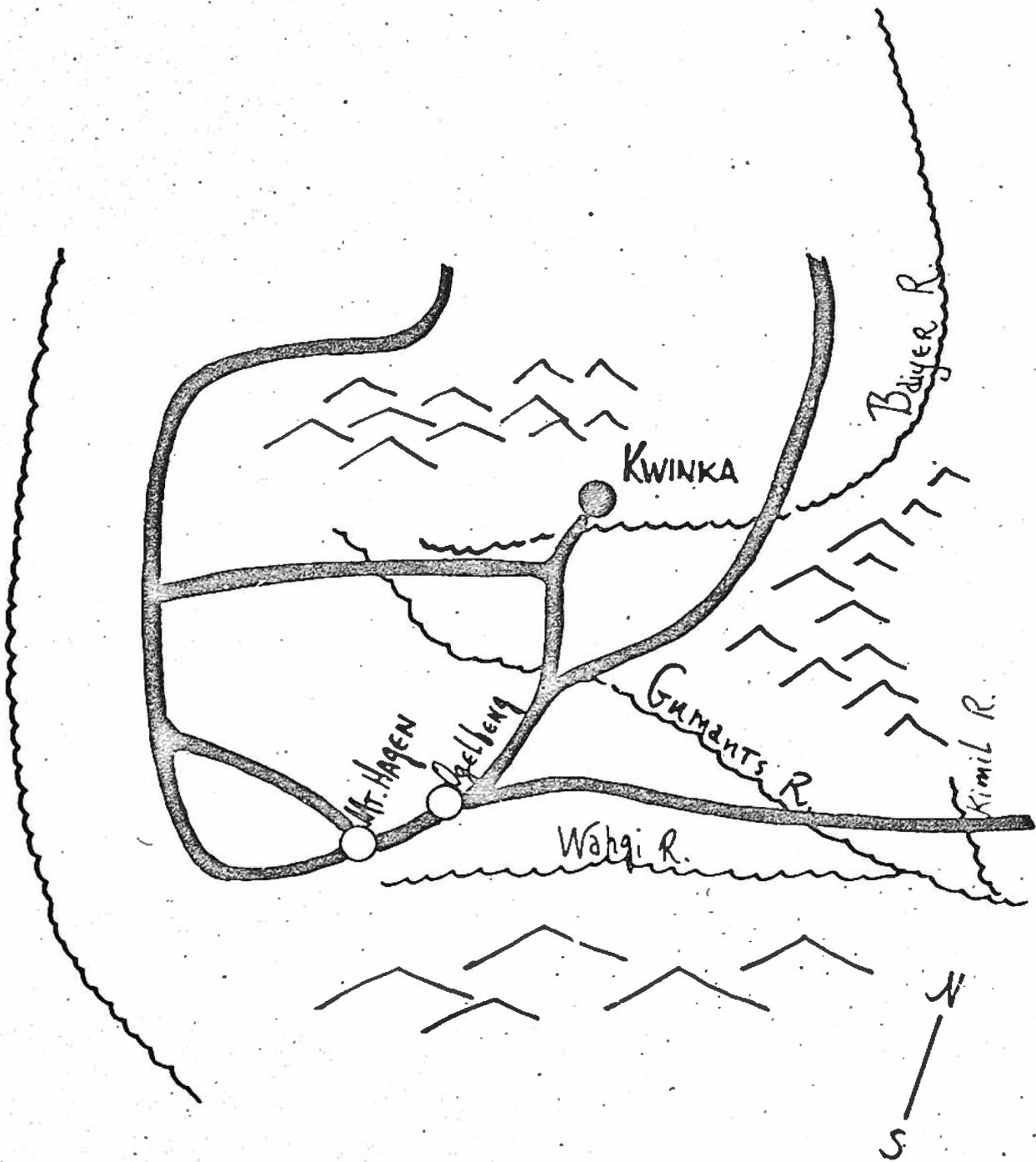


Fig. 2.--Schematic Diagram of the Region Surrounding Mount Hagen.

CHAPTER II

THE PHYSICAL, CLIMATIC, AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

There is very little to say concretely about the pre-history of the Mount Hagen area. Nothing has been done in the area itself. At least one archeologist has gone through the Nebilyer Valley, which adjoins the Mount Hagen area, in the hopes of finding a possible site for digging. What is known of the pre-history of the Highlands as a complete unit is fairly summarized in various places in the New Guinea Special Issue published by the American Anthropologist. There are, moreover, several very interesting hypotheses, based more on ethnology than on archeology itself, which are throwing some light on the pre-history of the Highlands, and consequently also on the area with which we shall be more specifically concerned in this dissertation. These hypotheses, passing, indeed, out of the sphere of hypotheses and into the light of acceptable theses, relate to the recent introduction of the sweet potato into Highlands New Guinea and what the consequences of this introduction must, or could have been, for the demographic and social structure of the peoples living there. This information also is nicely summarized in an interesting article by James Watson in the July, 1965, issue of Ethnology. In connection with this one should also look at the lengthy article on Highlands

Linguistics by Wurm in the special symposium issue of the American Anthropologist. His conclusions tend to confirm the hypothesis of small, scattered, nomadic bands, which then rapidly increase in size with the introduction of sweet potato, with the resultant linguistic relationships and configurations which are now found.

I

Without going into these interesting facets of Highlands anthropology in general, we can look somewhat more closely at the linguistic situation of the Mount Hagen area itself and place our area more accurately in a social, geographical, and climatic context.

The people call themselves the Mbowamb. This word is a combination of the two words mbo and wamb. Wamb again is a combination of the two words wua or "man" and amp or "woman." Mbo is somewhat more difficult to derive and has various meanings. Placed, as a regular adjective behind the word which it modifies, it generally means "right" or "true." For instance, ki mbo means "right hand" in opposition to ki rar which means "left hand." Mbo also has the meaning of "seedling" or "runner" in the sense of a sweet-potato runner from which the new plants are grown, or in the sense of the seedling of a tree. So oka mbo would be a sweet-potato plant or runner. This can also be referred to men and animals, with the notion of giving descent to the progeny. They speak of a kung mbo, which is a "pig plant/seedling" or that pig which is used or will be used for breeding purposes. Also, in this connection, more the connection of showing some relationship, the people speak of their mbo living in another place. This is a connection or a relative

with whom they can find food or at whose house they can sleep if necessary.

They have two other terms for this. They speak of having pukl in another place or having a kan. Pukl signifies the "base of anything," for example, the base of a tree or nde pukl. Sometimes, in the expression pukl wamp, the natives refer to ancestors. Kan is translated as "rope." If they have a "rope" in another area, some connection there, then they will also have a place to sleep and are assured of food. The three expressions do not seem to be completely synonymous. Mbo refers to descendants in the first place; pukl refers to ancestors and kan perhaps to some affinal connection. The terms are used rather indiscriminately, however.

Placed before the word therefore, as in Mbowamb, the term mbo is a noun, modifying or going together with another noun in specification, and in this position it refers to the people as a whole group, whatever the level of discourse. In this connection it is also used of their language, which is called mbo ik or "our speech," the speech of those planted here, if you will, or keeping also in mind the meaning of the word mbo when used as an adjective, it has connotations of "true speech," the "only speech," etc. Used in connection with wamb, therefore, it refers to themselves, as opposed to others, for example to the European, who is a kund or "red" or to some other New Guinea natives who are wamb elpa or "other people" simply. Their widest possible reference in using the word Mbowamb to identify themselves would be within the widest limits of the language which they can all understand. These, to anticipate what we shall have to say below about the language situation,

would be the people occupying the main area of Hagen, often called Medlpa in the literature, those occupying the Nebilyer River Valley, who speak a dialect often known as Timbuka, those in the Kaugel River Valley, referred to as the Gawul, as well as a small group of people south of the Nebilyer known as the Aua.

To speak of oneself as a mbo wua or collectively as mbo wamb is meant in pride, implying that their customs are better than the customs of others, including many of the customs of the whites with which they are familiar. Strauss maintains that the concept has many religious overtones to it, and when it is used, it is used with many of these religious connotations in mind (1962). This may be true, although it is also often used in the same sense which many other people have adopted, e.g., the Navaho, when they speak of themselves as Dine or "we, the people."

II

The Mount Hagen area is a far cry from the "steaming, tropical jungles" vision which we may have associated with the notion of New Guinea, a notion based perhaps on reports of soldiers who were stationed there during the war, or something we are familiar with from reading the romances of people who had travelled along its shores or moved up the Sepik River in the North or the Fly River in the South. Certainly these areas are hot and humid, insect-infested, true tropics, with both the good and the bad aspects of tropical climate. The Highlands in general are a most pleasant contrast to this. Because of the altitude, the climate is very temperate; the skies are clear for the most part, except for cloud banks or mist which tend to cover the

mountains in the mornings or after a rain, often allowing one or the other higher mountain peak to appear above the line of clouds like something out of a Japanese landscape painting. Depending on the height at which one lives, the temperatures can range between a chilly 40 degrees, or even lower at times, low enough to cause freezing and consequent destruction of food crops, to a pleasant mid-80 degree temperature during the height of the day. The area to the South, in the Kaugel River Valley, was perhaps the coldest of the area with which we are now generally concerned, and the temperatures fairly often dropped below freezing. However, it is good to keep in mind that not only altitude as such can cause freezing, but mountain configuration, direction of prevailing winds, etc., also influence temperature as well as rainfall (Brookfield 1964:29).

In general, the people prefer to live somewhere between the altitudes of roughly 5,000 feet a.s.l. or a little higher, and 8,000 feet a.s.l. If a plot of the Highlands is made, it is quickly noticeable that the bulk of the people actually do live in these ranges. Below this level malaria becomes too much of a killer, and above this level crops are too readily destroyed by frost. In my own immediate area, the people lived between 6,000 and 7,500 feet a.s.l., and the temperature range here, during the year of my stay, was between 48 and 85. Not too many mornings would the temperature drop as low as 48; 50-52 was more the average, while only during the hottest part of a clear, sunny day would the temperature go as high as 85. For a European, with clothes and perhaps a stove as protection, the weather was most ideal; for the natives, who wear very little clothes, it can become unpleasantly chilly when the

temperature drops to 60 or less, especially when there is a sharp, wet wind blowing on the heels of a rain storm or a cloud bank. For this reason their houses are built close to the ground, wind-tight as they can make them with bark and grass. Also they are built very low to the ground to better conserve heat at night, since they have no chimney for fear that the cold and rain would come in if they made such an aperture. In such a house, with a blazing wood-fire going, they feel warm, though uncomfortable with the smoke, ashes, and other dirt. Warmth, however, is the main consideration, and although they may have been shivering with the cold and damp, a short while around such a fire suffices to warm them thoroughly. During my stay there was nothing even approaching a frost, nor do the people themselves have any recollection of any killing frost. I must add that they are familiar with these concepts from their experiences higher on the Hagen mountain range where they sometimes go to hunt, over which they would formerly cross in their trading journeys to the Enga people. Such drastic changes of temperature to which their bodies are subjected certainly account for many of the chest disorders, the pneumonia, colds, and other related diseases with which they are often afflicted.

There is no clear-cut distinction of seasons in this area, nothing like a distinct break between the rainy season, for example, and the dry season. There is plentiful rainfall year round, although during the so-called rainy season one can expect a little more rain, more frequently than usual. This does not significantly determine their agricultural cycle. It does have some little bearing, however. The natives themselves divide the year up into sections, but these sections may actually be longer than our

own year. The way they divide up the year, with the tasks assigned to each part, were given to me as follows:

- pil komin: during this time we plant corn, cucumbers, and lettuce (native greens).
- pil akil: plant gardens during this time, also sweet-potato gardens.
- ting komin: certain birds come during this time, especially the cassowary. The food grows; we plant pat (a bean-like vegetable).
- ting akil: we plant pat; the bird kilikil comes.
- owal komin: we make new gardens, especially banana gardens.
- owal akil: continue doing the same sort of work. We also make sweet-potato gardens now.
- pan komin: we build houses to hunt birds and build fish traps. (They do very little fishing, and what they catch are rather eels and small prawn-like "fish." During my stay there, I saw only a few of the prawns, none of the eels, although I let it be known that I was very interested in seeing them. Fishing forms a very slight part of their activities, and aside from the fish which they now buy in the trade-stores, it is a negligible part of their diet.)
- pan akil: we do not work. The sun is hot, and we eat from our gardens. We like to do the courtship dance at this time and the moka exchange.
- pun komin: we do not work. We eat from our gardens, especially from our banana gardens.
- pun akil: we do not work. The sun is hot. We eat corn especially and cucumbers. This is the time for ceremonies also.
- tipan komin: this is the time of rain. Bananas and sugar cane are brought in and eaten.
- tipan akil: this is the time of rain. Little work is done. We stay inside our houses.

On the basis of my own observations, this schedule is not rigidly adhered to.

The expressions komin-akil are best translated here as "the first half-the second half." They also refer to

age, and mean "the older-younger." Normally they add after such an expression the term rakl which means "two" and in this case can best be translated with the connective "and." We shall have more to say about this favorite way of expressing themselves later. Everything comes in twos and are paired for the Mbowamb. Needless to say, they also have a dual form in all persons and tenses and forms in their language.

These "months" are not restricted to any specific time, nor are they necessarily equivalent to our year of twelve months. The time of rain can come later or earlier, and can last a longer or a shorter time. This method of reckoning time does not play too great a part in their daily lives or their schedule of gardening and ceremonies. For more specific purposes, the Mbowamb reckon first by the number of full moons which will elapse. Then, even more specifically, they reckon nine days, backwards or forwards, from today. Now, of course, they also have adopted the European's seven-day week, because they have to work on the roads on Monday, and on Sunday they are supposed to come to church. The two systems are still intermingled, the older people using the old system and terminology, the younger ones tending to use the newer, seven-day approach, with pidgin-English terms or terms derived from mission usage.

A field worker, oriented to time and to a schedule, has great difficulty with these aspects when working with the Mbowamb. They have no idea of age; sometimes they will refer to a period of time as "so many gardens ago," but this is fairly inaccurate. They can specify further by saying whether they mean a sweet-potato garden or a lettuce garden, etc., but it still denotes a period of time too vague for our liking. This difficulty crops up again and

again in different contexts. For instance, to ask a mother how old a baby is when weaning takes place is a meaningless question to them. One must be right there, from the time the baby is born until the time it is weaned if one is to get anything like an accurate estimate of the age factor involved. The same holds true, of course, for such things as toilet-training. Theoretically the age at which these activities occur is important. Unfortunately for the field worker, the Highland's mother does not realize this, so when a child is weaned depends on many other factors, least of all on the age of the child. We shall have more to say about this later when we deal with kinship and especially the content of kinship and the relations between different types of kinsmen.

Time has little meaning for these people in another sense. A ceremony can be held more or less at any time, or postponed for any length of time. There is nothing requiring that it be done in such and such a time period, except now the Australian government and the mission people, who want them to get on with it and finish it so that things can again go back to normal. A funeral exchange, of which there are two, can also therefore be postponed, or hastened, depending on circumstances, such as the availability of pigs or the possibility of getting more pigs for the funeral feast from another group which is preparing an exchange, etc. They are geared to time, of course, in the sense that they must always have gardens of various kinds in production, or in the sense that they are setting aside and feeding pigs for a certain future contingency which they have set up for themselves. Time for them, however, is much less specific, or, in a sense, less urgent to them. This relates to another problem of field work; namely, just what

constitutes an ideal period of time to spend with these people when contemplating field work? This, and other questions of field work, however, we have discussed elsewhere in this dissertation.

III

When one looks more closely at the people who make up the Mbowamb, excluding those who speak the related dialects, i.e., the Timboka, Gawul, and the Auá, one can isolate three distinct groups, on the basis of several customs which are distinctive, on the basis of putative origins, and on the basis of relative influence exerted by neighboring groups.

There are first of all those who live on the South side of the Wahgi River. Many of these people live close to the Minj, or Middle Wahgi people, as they are sometimes called in the literature. These latter are a different language group, to use Wurm's typology. On the borders, the people are bilingual, and many of the customs of the Minj people have been taken over by the Mbowamb. Many of their ceremonies, their way of distributing pork, as described, for instance, by Luzbetak, have been adopted by the Kuli and other Mbowamb people in this general area. These Mbowamb tend to hold their marriages more in groups, with the stylized fighting which is a feature of marriages in the Minj-Banz area (Reay 1959b). They have adopted the courtship customs of the Minj area, i.e., the "karim leg" (crossing legs and rubbing noses). Among my own group, which was far away from the Minj-Banz area, this custom was not acceptable. Rather they "kukim-nus" (rub noses and foreheads together) in time to a chant which is made by the

group of spectators in the house. This Minj-Banz influence is felt quite widely on the Southern side of the Wahgi River. This group of Mbowamb, moreover, according to my own informants, reputedly came from the area around Chimbu, to the East of the Mount Hagen area.

A second isolable group would be the group of people which live in the mountains which form part of the Wahgi-Sepik divide on one side and the wall of the Jimi River valley on the other side. These people again border on the Banz people, the Kimil River marking the boundary of the one from the other, but they also extend quite far West. These people, in performing the Moka exchange (a special exchange of certain shells), always do so as a group, not as individuals, as they do for example in my own place. Many of the ceremonies which are common in my own area, such as the Amp Kur (woman-spirit), which is actually spreading throughout the area right now, the kur eimp (eimp-spirit), which has spread and been given up, have not gotten to this area. This people would be able to speak and understand Gawul dialect with great difficulty, and only perhaps after a day or so of listening to it, whereas the people forming the third group would be bilingual, for the most part, in both dialects, the Medlpa and the Gawul (especially the Timboka).

The third and final group comprises also the group with which I worked. All these people have the South and Western end of the Hagen range as their place of origin. Their identification goes back to the Timboka/Gawul area, the Nebilyer Valley area, and from there they spread out into the area they now occupy. This would include the large groups known as Moge, Ndika, Kumdi, of which my own group

formed a part, the Uguni in the far North, plus many others as well. Throughout this area the same ceremonies are practiced, and all of them have their origin in the same general area, the area of the Nebilyer and Gawul Valley. When these ceremonies are being performed, the ones doing the ceremony import people from these areas to show them how to go about it and to teach them the proper formulae. This third group also performs the Moka exchange in one of two ways, either as a group ceremony, and then only periodically, or as individuals, and this can be done any time one has enough shells and can find an interested partner.

Whether these differences relate to different original groups of people, which I doubt, or whether they represent the influences which have come to bear on the groups in differential ways, which I suspect, it is still another instance of some of the fairly fine comparative work one could do in this area, where so many of the variables could be controlled.

The natives themselves divide their area into three parts, which only very roughly correspond to the three-fold division which we have indicated. Their terms, moreover, are quite relative, dependent on where a man is when he uses them. So the area to the North is called Kopen. This term can mean "peace" or it can refer also to a certain plant which they use for medicinal purposes. Whether the direction term implies something like this, I don't know. It always, however, refers to the area towards the Jimi River, occupied by the Ugunis and a few other groups. It is the hottest and the lowest of the areas inhabited by the Mbowamb.

Another area they distinguish is Koma, which also refers to a cool place. Koma tenim means "it is cool; it is

shady." This reference does relate to the general coolness of the area indicated by the term, namely that part of the area around the town of Mount Hagen and around Ogelbeng, and the part which follows along the slope of the Hagen range, which is definitely physically a cool place, especially when compared with the Baiyer River valley area and Kopen.

The third area, Medlpa, refers to people who live towards the open valley of the Wahgi River. It also refers to any strangers who live in that direction. For example, the Minj-Banz people are called medlpa also. The people occupying the Nebilyer Valley could look at all of the Hagen people and call them medlpa. The term is quite directional.

This is the origin of the term found consistently in the literature for the language spoken by the Hagen people in general, viz., Medlpa. Given the difficulties of pinpointing the referent of the term, at least from the viewpoint of the natives themselves, we will not use the term for this language, although it has found general acceptance in the literature. Mbo ik will be the term preferred in this dissertation whenever we have occasion to refer to the language of these people. Possibly the term Medlpa developed to distinguish the language spoken by the Hagen natives from that spoken by the people of the Nebilyer and the Kaugel valleys, which is referred to variously as Gawul or Timboka. For the people of my area, Timboka referred to the language and the people who live in the Nebilyer Valley, whereas Gawul referred to people who lived more distantly in the same direction. We shall use the terms in the same way. The people who lived at Kwinka had fairly close connections with Timboka-speaking people. Some of the Kumdi-Witikas, a group closely related to the Engamois, still spoke this language,

and there was the memory on the part of some of the old men that they had come from the Nebilyer Valley area with their parents to settle down with the rest of the Witikas who had come before them. These other sub-groups of the Witikas, however, spoke the Hagen dialect, the mbo ik.

Those who speak mbo ik number about 59,000; those who speak Timboka and Gawul (or Gawigl, as it is sometimes spelled in the literature), about 31,000. This gives a total of roughly 90,000 people who can generally mutually understand each other, and who, for the most part, are very similar in their cultural and social customs. This is not the largest language group in the Central Highlands; the Enga, for example, number about 104,000 speakers. Still it is one of the larger groups which speaks essentially the same language.

My own field work was carried out with a much smaller group. My people formed a group of 800, and lived in the Koma region, towards the northern end of the Mount Hagen range. They are representative, therefore, of the groups which trace their origins to the Southern end of the range, which perform their moka exchange both as a group as well as individuals, and which perform the ceremonies which can be traced from the Timboka-Gawul area. I do not necessarily consider my people to be perfectly representative of anything like all of the people of the Hagen area. I would say, however, that they are representative of those people, roughly, who make up the Western Census Division, an administrative division of the Australian government. The population of this division, as of 1964, was 12,958, and comprised most of the groups who lived on the Hagen side of the Mount Hagen range. This range extends for about twenty

miles South-Southwest to North. Although my main work was done with 800 Kumdi-Engamois at a place called Kwinka, it can be taken to refer to all those included in this Census Division.

The area where I worked has only recently (1964) been raised to the status of a Council Area. This is a system whereby the Australian government introduces the people to an Australian style of self-government. In spite of the fact that the area was controlled already in 1947, there has been little European contact in this specific council area, which accounts for the lateness of its elevation to that status. The area is densely populated and quite near to the town of Mount Hagen itself, which is the administrative headquarters of the Western District. Little, however, was done to improve the area and nothing was done to encourage Europeans to come in and develop the economy with coffee or lumber mills, etc. The Lutherans had long been active in this area, since it formed part of Ogelbeng's back-yard, as it were. Across the Baiyer River, facing directly opposite the Kumdi-Engamois (the group I studied), the Radio Mission Wireless had established a station from where they broadcast educational programs to their other stations throughout the Highlands, but these have had little influence on the natives. For the rest, there had been relatively little white contact in the area, and I was the only European (to the natives there are only two categories, natives and Europeans--they do not distinguish Americans from Australians and other nationalities) who lived on the Mount Hagen range. There was another Catholic missionary who lived on the extreme Southwestern end.

This condition of isolation from white contact, however, is rapidly changing, and will change even more in

the very near future. While I was there the people were building a new road, and it extended as far as my own place. It meant more contact from the town; people could, and were beginning, to come out to buy sweet potato; the natives' coffee, recently planted, could be more rapidly, efficiently, and easily marketed. A lumber mill was being put in to the South of my place. The new road, indeed, formed one arc of what would be a complete circle once it was finished, and there was serious talk of using this circle for a tourist swing around the area, since the route would combine scenic beauty and grandeur, contrasts of altitude, and eventually perhaps a close look at the "natives." The people of the Hagen area are often called the future bankers of the Highlands, or are compared with entrepreneurs, and they are quick to realize a situation like tourism and are as quick to capitalize on it. With the new Council and with the completion of the new road, I would predict rather rapid changes in some areas of their native life. Modern civilization will not leave these people alone much longer.

IV

The really effective limits of the social horizon for any one mbowua were quite narrow, relative to the large population of which he was a part. Most of his daily interaction took place within the small circle of his small agnatic lineage group which we shall presently describe more fully. Then also he was concerned with those people from whom he could not seek a wife; on some levels of social structure they coincided with people with whom he might perform certain religious ceremonies together, or with whom he would exchange more often than he would with other people.

However, in this as in other aspects of his life there was much individual choice and freedom. "Laik bilong em," or "it's up to him" is a pidgin-English expression, translated from the mbo ik, which one hears constantly on the lips of the people. It is usually the first response given when a reason for any action or activity is sought: "laik bilong em." To anticipate here a little of what we shall say later at greater length, this dialogue between the individual and the individual as a member of a social group, bound by the norms and customs of the social group, is a very interesting one, and its resolution, not always in the same direction, helps explain, I feel, many aspects of their social life. In a sense this individuality and independence of every Mbowamb is a structural device as much, say, as a rule of residence or a rule of marriage, and without taking it into account, one can get much too nice a picture of the social situation as it is lived in the New Guinea Highlands. To acknowledge such a "principle of individualism" does not make for a clear-cut, well-ordered picture of what is involved in social structure, but to admit it makes for a more adequate understanding. There is, indeed, a pattern and an organization to their living in society, but the limits are broad, and within these limits there are many variations according to the "laik" of the individual, whose autonomy no one can actually violate. And yet, for reasons which will become clear throughout this dissertation, the situation does not result in chaos. There is order and the individuals, for the most part, do submit to the social norms which are established in the culture. They do have leaders who can and do exert influence; still one must be aware of this dialectic in which the individual and his social group are

engaged if one is to grasp even the nature of the marriage rule in this society.

Although the effective social horizons of the individual mbowua are rather limited and the majority of his interactions are confined to a small portion of the population, nevertheless he was aware of other people and other ways of life, even before the European came upon the scene. The Kumdi-Engamois, to take this as our frame of reference, were very aware, for example, of the Enga-speaking people, especially that group which has become known in the literature as the Kyaka Enga. These people and their way of life have been described by Ralph Bulmer in several articles and an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. There is much intermarriage with these Enga-speakers, so much so that most of the people in my own area were bilingual in their own language and in Enga. However, they had adopted very few of the customs of the Enga, for example, their method of making the te or ceremonial exchange, which is described by Bus and Elkin for the Wabag Enga (Bus 1961; Elkin 1953). Those of the Mbowamb who had close affines among the Enga might be drawn into their cycle of exchange, but they were not too interested or appreciative of the te, and preferred their own methods of group and individual exchange. According to Bulmer, the Enga have taken over several very important customs from the Mbowamb, for example, the amp kur, a spirit ceremony centering around sacred stones and a division of the men who are participating into a group representative of the "woman's house" and a group representative of the "men's house." One of the purposes of the ceremony among others is "to strengthen the bellies" of the participating men against the influences of menstruating women, i.e., against any menstruating woman who might have or who

would in the future give them food during the days of her seclusion during menstruation. The Kyaka Enga have also taken over the Mbowamb way of displaying shells, i.e., in an open-ended house, called a glapa manga. Manga is the word for "house" and glapa means "preparation" or "laying-out in orderly fashion." The direction of influence has been towards the Kyaka Enga as far as my own information and the statements of the people themselves indicate.

The people were aware also of the Wabag Enga, because it was from this direction that they acquired their salt in times before European contact. They would trade for it in those times, and still, as a matter of fact, trade for this salt. It is made, according to my informants, by soaking porous logs in brine pits, located somewhere in the mountains on the other side of Mount Hagen. When narrating this, they point towards Wapenamunda and towards the country of the Wabag Enga. After the logs have been soaking for some six or seven months, they are taken out of the brine-water and put in small huts to dry. After they are dry, the huts and the logs are burned and the ashes collected. These ashes are the salt which they use. They now use and appreciate European salt, but at certain times still prefer their ip kota or "native salt." For example, they prefer native salt to season pork which may have lain exposed a little too long and is beginning to spoil. Whenever pig is killed, they still season the small bits of fat which they cut from around the intestines, the kidneys, and the blood-soaked edible leaves which they cook all together with the native salt. It is the task of the young men to season these portions. They take a bite of the salt-ash, then a bite of some edible herb, plus a bite of ginger. This they briefly

chew and then expectorate it over the mess to be seasoned. This salt is also still given as part of a larger exchange with another group which might have easier access to it. When the Ugunis had their amp kur, which was preceded by extensive exchanges, part of the goods exchanged were several bundles of this native salt. The Ugunis, who live quite close to the Kyaka Engas, and closer, therefore, also to the Engas who control the supply of salt, have more ready and convenient access to this commodity. It may also come, however, via the Nengkas and the Muntigas from around the other side of the Mount Hagen range. I have seen it exchanged also from this direction. Also, formerly I was told, they would trade for it right over the top of Mount Hagen itself. This has not been done in recent years, however. Only the older people could remember that this was ever done. Further indication of this will come out when we discuss the traditional story of the origins of the Kumdi-Engamoi.

The people were also aware of a very interesting people whom they called kewa. This has come to mean any stranger in present terminology, and therefore pidgin-English is often called kewa ik, or the language of strangers; Europeans are often referred to as Kewa. Originally it referred to a group of people living in the Southern Highlands beyond the Kaugel valley people. Strauss says they seem to be related to the Mendi people. It was from this direction that my people got their very highly valued kina shells, i.e., the gold-lipped shells which form so important a part of their exchange system. They are also used as bride-wealth to acquire wives. From this area also they get the oil with which they decorate themselves, which forms part of the ritual finery of a bride going to her husband for the first

time. At any time of celebration, one puts on a few layers of pig grease first, then tops this off with several rich layers of this oil which they trade in from the Southern Highlands. It is highly valued by them still and comes into the area via the Nengka and the Gawul in tubes of bamboo. It forms part of the regular cycle of exchanges, and for it are given pigs or shells or now money, if this forms part of the particular exchange. In their stories they often refer to these kewa as people who eat other people, although cannibalism is definitely not practiced by the Mbowamb and never was practiced by them, as far as all indications go. They find the practice most disgusting. Although they have heard of people who do these sorts of things, they themselves find the custom most barbaric.

Obviously, before the European came, the supply of kina shells was very limited, and most of them were quite battered by the time they reached the Central Highlands over the trade routes from the sea. They were, moreover, very valuable and one or two were often enough to form the payment for a bride. Pigs made up the rest of the payment, as they do also today. Pigs, apparently, were always more important actually than shells in the business of getting a wife. Of the expressions, for example, which refer to the payment for a wife, most of them have to do with pigs. When the Europeans came into the Highlands, they brought shells with them when they realized the value they had for the natives, and today still they fly in gold-lipped shells by the plane-load. Many of the early shells brought in by the government, some of which were exceptionally large and fine, were given names which often refer to the occasion for which the shell was given, or referred to the person who gave the

shell. Something of an early history of contact could be written by tracing these various shells and the names which they were given.

Finally, as already indicated, the people were also aware of the Jimi River Valley people. From that direction came various poisons and rumors of poisons and other strong medicines. From that direction also came the cowrie shells which were also quite highly prized, although not so much nowadays as the kina shells. These small shells were usually sewn onto a bark cloth into a head-piece which would be worn by the men as a decoration. This might also form part of the goods which were exchanged or which were given in marriage. This is still done, and this head-piece is still worn by some of the men. A slightly larger version of the cowrie shell was strung onto strands of bark, and these ropes also were of value. There were even fewer of these, judging from my own observations, than there were of the cowrie-shell head-piece. It was from the direction of the lower Jimi River that these items filtered into the Hagen area, again through means of trade and exchange.

Until the European came and opened entirely new worlds to the Highlands natives, also to my own people, these were the farthest limits of their interaction, and much of this was second and third hand. With the advent of the Europeans this has all changed. Now many of the young men have been on the coast, or in other parts of the Highlands, some of them working on rubber plantations, others in the gold-fields of Wau and Bulolo, others still on coconut plantations. The range of intermarriage is also increasing. Two girls were married to young men from Kuli, which is close to the Minj-Banz area shortly before I left the field,

and Chimbu store-keepers and catechists are a familiar sight. Oftentimes these Chimbus marry local girls in which case they usually settle down in their wives' area, although they may make frequent visits to their own land, taking their wives along. There is frequent and constant contact with police-boys, many of them from areas as far away as the Sepik or Port Moresby. Many of the young children, especially those in school, will have contact with teachers from other areas, some of them as far away as Manus Island. The situation of isolation is rapidly breaking down; extensive contacts are being realized. What the ultimate effects of this will be is difficult to say; it is surprising that the contacts have had as little effect actually as they really have. Certainly next to nothing of their social structure has been modified, nor have their marriage rules been affected. Economically they stand to change more rapidly and radically with the introduction of coffee planting and other cash-cropping, and this, in turn, will no doubt change some of their traditional land usage patterns. It may lead to more and bitter disputes over land, or it may only lead to a more complete and intensive use of the land that they already occupy. It is still a little early to be able to tell what the new directions will be. What we describe and discuss in this dissertation are more the traditional patterns of life, most of which are relatively unaltered. Perhaps if one had to estimate in what area of traditional life the greatest change has taken place as a result of European contact and all the new influences which have been brought to bear on the Mbowamb in the last generation up to the present, one would say: in the external practice of religion there has been the most obvious change. Many of the

traditional ways of thinking about sickness and other aspects of religion remain largely unchanged, although even here there seems to be somewhat of a breakdown. In this dissertation, however, we will not be concerned with a description of the religious life of the Mbowamb; we will mention it in passing, only insofar as it highlights some aspect of the social interaction, especially insofar as it functions, even now, as a mechanism, the main mechanism, indeed, of social control. This is especially true of religion inasmuch as it is associated with sickness.

With this as a general background to help us understand the external situation of the Mbowamb, we can now turn to a more specific discussion of their ways of life, especially as they relate to the expression of kinship behavior and clarify for us what is the main consideration in this dissertation, viz., the nature of social groups, and the role of kinship in so defining these groups.

CHAPTER III

THE MORPHOLOGY OF MBOWAMB SOCIETY

In a short paper discussing the nature of the concept of kindred, Mitchell makes the following distinction:

Traditionally and logically there are two main approaches to the study of kinship behavior: (1) the study of organized or corporate kin groups; and (2) the study of kinship ties from the social perspective of Ego. Where the first approach examines the organization and interrelationships of corporate kin groups, e.g., the extended family, lineage, and clan, the second examines the nature and extent of Ego's relationship with kin. These two types of system-references, viz., the corporate kin group and the kin ties of Ego, are complementary--not competing--approaches to the analysis of kinship phenomena [Mitchell 1963:346].

In a sense Mitchell summarizes here the aim of this dissertation, namely to identify the social groups which constitute Mbowamb society and to analyze them in terms of the kinship system itself; to interrelate, in other words, the larger structures of the society with the kinship structure, and to do this principally in a structuralist way, not in a substantialist way, to use the expressions employed by Dumont. In this section, therefore, we seek to identify and isolate the social groups which can be found among the Kumdi-Engamois. To be sure, they are isolated operationally at first, i.e., according to the functions various groups

perform. The analysis, however, will later be done in terms of kinship itself, or structurally.

Moreover we are concerned, as indicated in our introduction, with an identification of these groups and kinship patterns as they exist in the minds of the people themselves. It is their model which we are specifically concerned with, not so much with the phenomena themselves, although these will be brought in so as to better understand the Mbowamb model. These phenomena, indeed, must always be somehow included. Nor are we concerned here with a model such as the anthropologist might develop. This we will try to develop in the final conclusions when we try to interrelate the two frames of reference mentioned by Mitchell.

I

The story an Engamoi gives of his group's origins is a curious mixture of history and legend. Some of the movements described have taken place within the memory of man and is evidenced by the fact that some of the people described still speak the Timboka dialect. Some events took place long ago and different versions of what are supposedly the same event differ on several significant points. The exact link, for example, which brought a certain segment of the group to Kwinka in the first place may be disputed. Moreover, there is no real interest in ultimate origins, the origin of the first man, for example. This is taken as a given and the Mbowamb do not concern themselves with this point at all. In the same way they are not interested in such questions as the origins of the nature surrounding them, the origin of the trees or the rivers and rocks, the origins of the spirits. The mbowua is, however, intensely interested in the origin-place of his own group, in this case the group

which has the name of Kumdi, as well as the origin-place of the lower segments of the same group, viz., the Kumdi-Engamois. He is also interested in the religious experiences which his representative ancestors had, which still exert an influence over his own thinking. He is intensely interested in the various localities where his ancestors settled for a time, and in the spirits and ghosts which still inhabit these localities. Perhaps some locality itself is connected with the mystical experience of his ancestors. For this reason also it takes on a special importance to the mbowua.

The origin-stories which one can get are not normally logical wholes. Certain occurrences are of importance; the details can differ. These differ perhaps because in one case there is more history mixed with the account insofar as it might be remembered, while in the other case the emphasis is more on the traditional account which is handed down from mouth to mouth during their story-telling.

The more traditional account, somewhat composite, goes as follows:

The original founder of all the Kumdis was a man named Witipi. Where this man himself came from, no one knows. He had children, some of whom eventually came to Kwinka and settled down there. He and his children lived at Kugulmung, which is at the base of the South-western end of Mount Hagen, close to the area where the Nebilyer River originates in the Tomba pass, over which one crosses to get to Wabag. One day, one of the men wanted to make a sugar cane garden. He lived near Kwip and Waimapukri, now the localities of the group called Nengka. However, this man did not have an axe, so he had to cut the brush and the vines as best he could with his teeth. He made a fire and burned off the trees and the underbrush. Now another man, living at Teka saw the fire and smoke on Kugulmung. He decided to investigate. He himself had a stone axe which he carried

along as he went to investigate the fire and the smoke. When he arrived at Kugulmung, he saw various kinds of food there, cucumbers and sweet potato, and he also saw a man who was making a new garden. The latter wondered what the newcomer was carrying, and had the axe explained to him. Witipi, who had to cut the vines and trees with his teeth, told his visitor: "Before I did this fine work all by myself, cutting the brush as best I could with my teeth, waiting for dry weather so that I could burn off the rest. Now you come, and you bring this axe. For this I thank you very much." And he called the man "brother." Tek Oglaka gave the axe to Komonika, for that is who it was who was making the new garden (others say this man was Kumdi). In return Oglaka was given native salt, cassowary feathers, and "tree grease" (the oil which came from the Southern Highlands, mentioned in the preceding chapter). Tek Oglaka took these fine things and brought them home. He gave them to his brothers and relatives. After a short while he collected more stone axes and brought them to Komonika. The two of them worked gardens of all kinds.

They went out one day to hunt opossums. They made traps to catch them also. One day they had luck and caught an animal. They then dug a hole to steam the meat, so they could eat it. After the opossum was cooked, they took the meat out of the hole which they had dug, and put their salt on it. Just as they were about to eat, a dry tanget leaf (a leaf from the Cordyline bush, now the mi or "totem" of the Kumdis) fell down and drifted onto the opossum meat. This, for them, was an important omen. They both exclaimed: "I wanted to eat this meat, but now you (speaking to the tanget leaf) also want to eat it, so you fell down. Okay with us! You eat it." And with that the two of them, Tek Oglaka and Kwip Komonika abandoned their gardens and their pigs and moved away to take up residence elsewhere. Kwip is where the omen took place, and therefore the Komonikas have since been called Kwip Komonika.

One major reason for wanting to move away from Kwip and from Kugulmung in the first place was the lack of food there. Rumor had it that there was all kinds of food around Maibuka, a place to the North of Kwinka. It was so plentiful, in fact, that it just piled up,

rotted and stank. So Tek Oglaka came down to investigate. He settled down at Oipa, a place, designated by a large clump of trees, just across the Baiyer River from Kwinka. Some of them kept going further North, but when they got there many got sick, so they moved back, and eventually settled around Kwinka.

There was a third son of the original Kumdi also, and his name was Witika. First of all Oglaka moved away; then there followed Komonika, and finally Witika decided to move north also. His descendants came last of all.

This is the more traditional account of the origins of the Kumdis and their movements. It tells us several things. The reasons always given for the original movement away from Kugulmung was the lack of good and plentiful food there, combined with the rumors that there was plenty of food to the North, or towards Kwinka and Maibuka. Even today the area around Kugulmung is considered to be a poor place as far as food is concerned. This is given as the reason why Nengka and Muntiga girls, who now live in the area surrounding Kwip and Kugulmung, will come to Kwinka to marry Engamoi boys, whereas the Engamoi girls will not go to the Nengkas or the Muntigas. It is too difficult a place to make a living for them. The stories do not state that the original Kumdis had to move out because of some war, which is the reason given by Vicedom for the movements of people in the Mount Hagen area. Also the traditional account has reference to the origin and use of the stone axe, which, of course, was a very valuable tool for them. The work axe which they used to make their fences and houses came from a quarry site in the Kuli area (see above, p. 51), whereas their ceremonial axes, the large, highly polished, wide-bladed axe carried around in a ceremony or given

sometimes formerly as part of a marriage or exchange payment, came from the Jimi River area where they were manufactured. At this point I was also told that all the people "hereabouts," i.e., in the Koma region and the region known as Kopen, came from Kugulmung, whereas the Kuli people and the Medlpa came from the Chimbu. By Medlpa here they also meant the Middle Wahgi people.

This story, then, indicates some of the relationships which are supposed to exist between the Kumdis. It gives an excuse for having only one name, which is shared by about 5,500 people. It also gives a reason for combining the Oglakas and the Komonikas more closely than either of them are joined to the Witikas. Therefore, they are always enumerated as Oglaka-Komonika rakl.

There are certainly inconsistencies in the story. The Oglakas do not seem to be the children of Kumdi at all, but come from elsewhere. The names themselves, Oglaka and Komonika, might be derived from Ogla, meaning "above, on top" and ka, meaning some sort of relationship and komin, meaning "the first" and ka meaning some sort of relationship. The expression ka only signifies that there is a relationship to something or someone else. Oglaka, therefore, would mean "being related to another as being above or on top." Witika could be a combination of witi, which is the name of a group of people, and ka, "related to." Kumdi is somewhat more difficult to derive. It may be a combination of kum, which is a type of spirit or ghost, and di which is a correlative particle. The meaning of this correlative particle, according to Strauss is the following:

(3) /di/. The attention of the person spoken to is drawn to the fact that he/she (i.e., the person speaking) is not in a position to present, account for, amend,

restore, lay hold on, or make undone that which he is referring to [Unpublished, mimeographed grammar, p. 21].

My informants were not able to derive these names from anything.

A further interesting point comes out of this story, namely the incident relating to the opossum and the tanget leaf which fell down on the cooked meat. Strauss, in his book Die Mi-Kultur, discusses this sort of phenomenon at great length, and makes it one of the leit-motifs of his lengthy book dealing with the religion of the Mbowamb. It marked a kind of primeval mystical experience, which was very important to the descendants of those who had the experience. It indicated the kona wingindi, i.e., that "place" (kona) where an "original" (wingindi) experience of a creative nature had been felt. At this time the "totem" (mi) of the group was shown to the group. From henceforth the different groups were then related to different totems, which in turn helped give them an identity, helped regulate marriage, etc.

Strauss stresses this regulatory aspect of the mi or totem. On the basis of my own investigations, I would have to qualify some of his remarks. In my area the mi did not regulate marriage anymore. People with the same totem could and did intermarry. Perhaps originally or when the groups were much smaller one could not marry someone with the same mi. At present it is different. The Oglakas and the Komonikas, and supposedly also the Witikas, have the same mi, i.e., the tanget which fell on their opossum. Some versions state that it was the original Kumdi himself who had this experience, although the more common version has it that it was Komonika and Oglaka who had the experience with

the target leaf. Yet these three groups definitely intermarry today. Perhaps this emphasis on the mi is one of those quasi-religious complexes which has fallen into disuse in the more explicit thinking and action of the Mbowamb, so that Strauss is giving more of an "idealized" version of the mi. In other words, he is describing a complex which formerly was much more meaningful to the Mbowamb. Moreover, below we will observe that one segment of the Oglakas has very recently been absorbed into the Engamois group. Until very recently they could still intermarry. Now it is forbidden. There seems to have been no corresponding mystical experience which now gives both groups the same, or different, totem or mi.

There is another version related to the occupation of the Oglakas and Komonikas of their present land areas. This purports to be more historical and begins with the coming of the Oglakas to their own ancestral place, viz., Oipa. The story came out in this connection. The government was going to buy some land around the area of Oipa and all the Oglakas and the Komonikas wanted to get some share of the payment. At present the area is sparsely inhabited by the Witikas, especially the Witika Kundimps. But since this land was clearly the ancestral ground of the Oglakas, represented especially by the Roglimps, and of the Komonikas, represented especially by the Engamois, it would be a slur against the names of the Oglakas and the Komonikas if the government paid only the Witikas and it was not written on the books that this land had once belonged to the Oglakas and the Komonikas. I was to write a letter to the government, explaining exactly the basis of the claim which the Roglimps and the Engamois were putting forth, so that their own names

might be added to the list of those who were to receive some of the pay for the ground which the government was buying up for future development as a tea plantation. This version was as follows:

Tek Oglaka Remegli came to Oipa and settled down there, making gardens, etc. He had seven sons, which formed the seven groups of the Oglakas. They were, in order of birth, Roglimp, Kilimpimp; Kombugle, Kimi, Yatni, Kuntiki, and finally Agilika. He also had daughters, one of which was married to Kwip Kil, who moved in with his wife's father, i.e., at Oipa. This was Komonika Kil, and he was the founder of the Komonikas, i.e., of the Engamois, Engapins, Oinamps, Melpangels, Kompamps, and Elpugumps. The story of the Witikas coming to Oipa was different again. The Witikas, especially the Kundimps, had a fight at their own place, which was Tikil. They were in danger of losing. There were already some Witikas who had moved into the area around Wurup, a locality south of Kwinka. This was not in the area being alienated. Indeed, no one at all lived in the area which was being bought up; it just happened to be in the general area claimed by the Witika Kundimps. The Kundimps moved in on this connection with the other Witikas already there, being permitted to do so by the Roglimps who were the Oglaka group still living closest to Oipa. The Roglimps, meantime, had been on the decline population-wise, and had moved closer to the Engamois on the west side of the Baiyer River. So they were willing to spare the land for the Kundimps. All of them were Kumdis, after all. This movement is fairly recent, within the memory of the people. One of the Witikas, a "luluai," the government's representative in the area, was actually born at Tikil. This is located in the Timboka-speaking area. He had moved to his present place with his father, and his group still spoke Timboka.

II

This is the very general framework in which the Kumdi-Engamois mbowua places his own social structure, which is much more elaborated on the lower levels. His story gives a generalized justification of his present formal structure,

especially on the higher levels where accurate genealogy is not important anyway. And this is the ~~only~~ thing he is interested in. Whether it actually happened the way he says is not of major concern. He thinks, of course, that this is the way it all happened originally, but he is not bothered by any of the inconsistencies. He will perhaps admit the inconsistencies, but will shrug his shoulders and say that this is what he has heard from his ancestors, but that he really doesn't know. If you really want to find out what happened, go see so-and-so. He really knows. And the same process is repeated. The main connections and relationships are clear enough, and this is what the story is supposed to do, elucidate these. On this most general level the relationships are quite vague and indeterminate anyway. They are supposedly based on genealogical connection, which is the principle of their whole, formal social structure, but there are undoubted gaps in the genealogical understanding. As one descends lower on the various levels of the social map, however, the genealogical connections become fuller and clearer, more adequate, and more accurate. Our understanding, so far, of the social picture of any mbowua might be diagrammed as shown in Figs. 3 and 4.

A person, Kumdi, had three sons; and they had descendants. The sons of Oglaka are divided into the sons of andao and andakelika, i.e., the "former" and the "latter." These are further divided into the present groups of Oglakas, viz., Kombuka, Kimi, Kilimpamp and Roglimp as the sons of andao and Yatni, Kuntika, and Agilika as the sons of andakelika. These two groups formerly could intermarry. Rarely they still do, although ideally the Oglakas as a group are now completely exogamous.

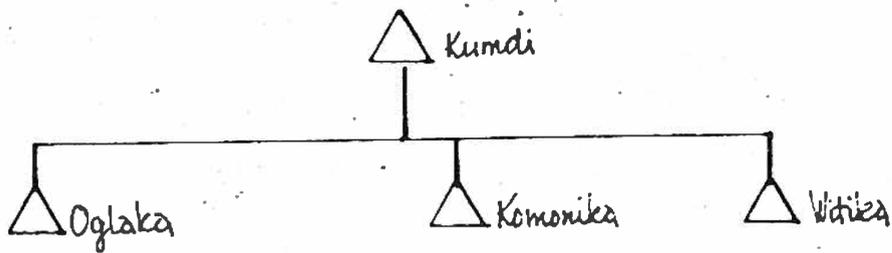


Fig. 3.--General Genealogical Descent Lines of the Kumdis

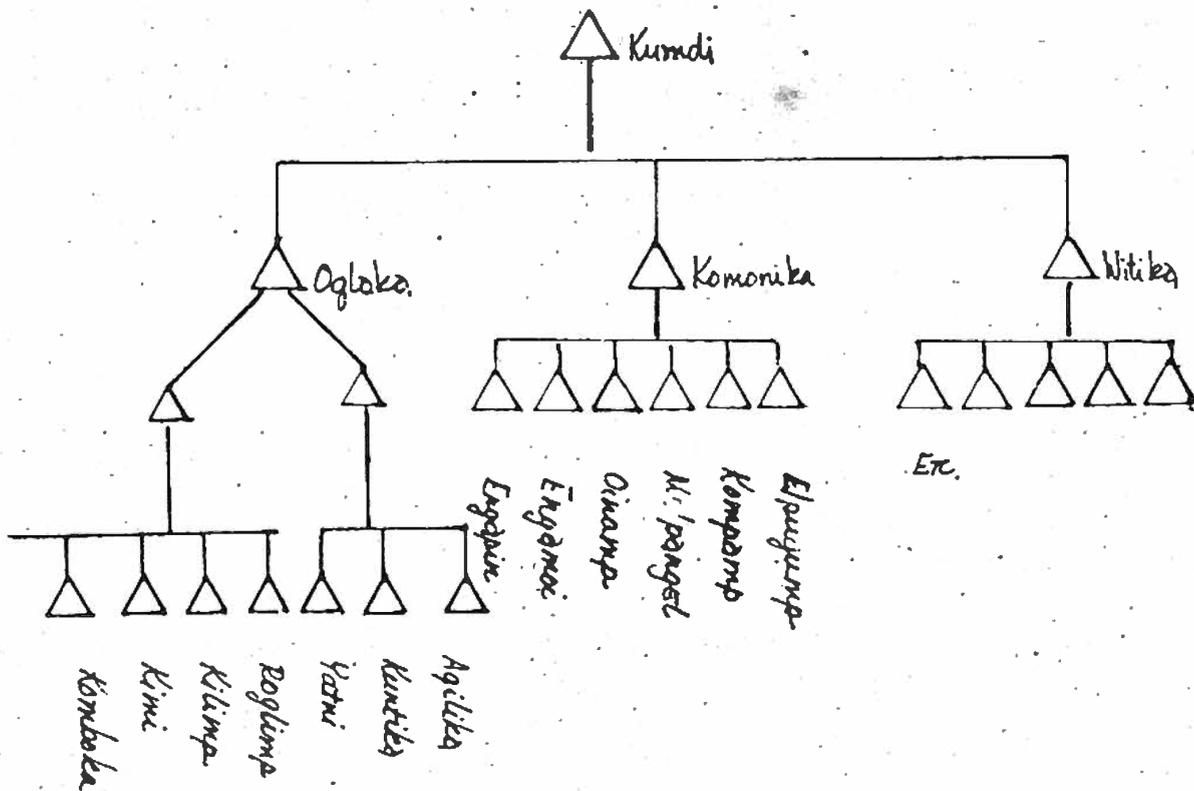


Fig. 4.--Clan Relationships of the Kumdis

The Komonikas are divided into six groups, the Oinamps, Kompamps, Melpangels, Engapins, Engamois, and Elupugumps. We are concerned with the Engamois who are always enumerated together with the Engapins. The origins of the Engapins and Engamois therefore are as follows:

The original father, Komonika, had two wives from among the Enga, namely an Engapin woman and an Engamoi woman. They had sons, Pilta, the originator of the Engapins, and Wagama, the originator of the Engamois. The names of the two segments are therefore taken from the group names of their respective mothers. By this time the founders of the other Komonika lines were also born, and they were dispersed into their present localities from the home locality which was Kwinka. Therefore all of the Komonikas think of Kwinka as their central locality. Under certain circumstances they all gather there for definite, but rare ceremonies. Komonika settled at Kwinka; therefore Kwinka is still referred to by them as their home-place.

Kwinka is, indeed, characterized by a rather large open plaza and an old cemetery. The trees which have obviously been planted there, are large and consequently date back many years. The various groups of Komonikas, however, no longer have any claim to the land which is Kwinka. This land belongs to the Engamois who now live there. The cemetery and plaza are more or less common ground, while the gardens associated or located in Kwinka belong to individuals insofar as they are members of what might be called, for want of a better term for the present, patrilineages.

The Witikas are left and are themselves divided and sub-divided, at first into five major segments. We need not go into these details here. The general pattern is the same for all groups, not only of the Komonikas, but of all the different groups which make up Mbowamb society.

The level of social structure, or the groups which

comprise the Oglakas, Komonikas, and Witikas, are exogamous groups. The Komonikas cannot marry Komonikas, because they are all related as "brother" and "sister." This relationship is ideally traced through the patri-line, since group membership is determined through the father. We say "ideally" with reason, because very often, as we shall see more clearly on the lower levels of social structure, the connecting link is not a father, but a sister or some other female "agnate" (e.g., a mother's sister may be the link). Within three generations, however, the assimilation of such a person or even group is completed, actually as far as one's rights in the group are concerned and terminologically, insofar as one is called "brother." In three generations' time the group presents a seemingly undisturbed picture of patrilineal descent and agnatic relationship again.

This situation relates to their "shortness of genealogical memory." Rarely does one's genealogy go back, for an adult, more than three generations. This means that one can get a span of some seven or eight generations, if one takes an old man's genealogy, as he still remembers it, and then adds his own children, their children, and very rarely even their children's children, but the effective limit of genealogy, for purposes of assimilation, as well, generally, for purposes of exogamy, is three generations. This span of three generations is reflected in the kinship terminology, as we shall see later. When memory gives out, therefore, there is telescoping of genealogy, intervening generations are left out, and the jump is made directly to the founding fathers, which then gives all the justification necessary to validate the stated relationship or the rule which governs marriage. Although one would not necessarily

be punished by any supernatural sanction, nor would one be automatically punished if a Komonika boy did have intercourse with a Komonika girl (marriage would be out of the question), still it would be frowned upon if discovered (this is always stated as an important observation); the two of them would be compared with dogs and pigs who behave that way. There would be scorn and ridicule, loss of standing and prestige if this were in question. Also in any court case involving such a situation where "brother" and "sister" did such a thing, the fine which would be levied would be greater than in another case where it was a mating between possible spouses. In the latter case, it would probably be a prelude to marriage.

Obviously, given the population figures and some idea of the complexity of the genealogical connections of the Engamois themselves, there is little possibility of tracing actual genealogical connection between all the Komonikas. There are clearly other reasons for this rule of exogamy forbidding marriage on this fairly high level of social structure. All the Komonikas together number about 3,000 people, which is a rather large exogamous group, both in absolute terms, I feel, as well as relative to the New Guinea situation.

That the genealogical relation between all Komonikas is a fiction is expressed in another way as well. All the Kumdis are related, according to the traditional story which describes the origins of the Kumdis. Especially the Oglakas and the Komonikas are closely related. Yet these groups can and frequently do intermarry. Faced with this inconsistency, an answer is quickly enough forthcoming. "Surely we marry the Witikas and the Oglakas. Where would we be able to get our women from otherwise?"

Our first diagram was very simple. It expresses the relationships which exist on the most inclusive level. One of the main functions of these groups is to regulate marriage. Each group, moreover, associates itself with a special locality or origin or *kona winginti*, and with some sort of creative experience. Such a general, schematic picture is not adequate to represent the model which the Mbowamb have as the background to their activity. For this we needed a further diagram.

The second diagram was more complex. This is more of the picture which the individual mbowua has in his own mind when he acts. On these levels actual genealogical connections assume more importance, even though some of it is still fictitious. We can now make a third diagram dealing explicitly with the *Komonikas*.

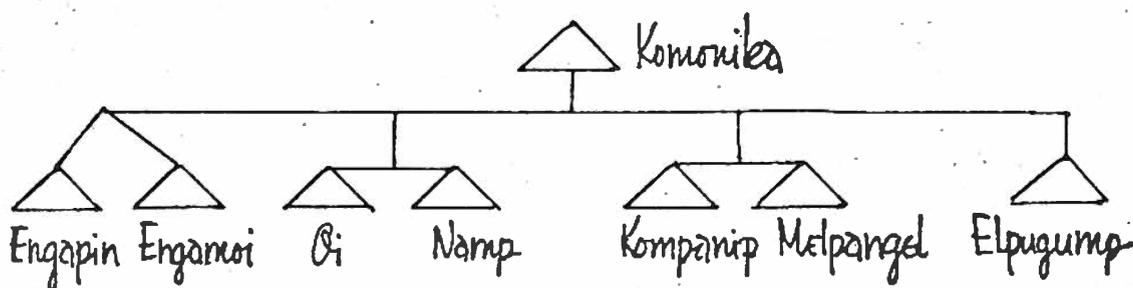


Fig. 5.--Sub-Clan Relationships of the *Komonikas*

To understand the diagram better, one must remark again that the Mbowamb have the habit of enumerating things in two's, also their social groups. As we said before, Oglaka-Komonika go together, and Witika is left by itself. It is rare that a group stands by itself in this fashion, and indicates often, it seems to me, that it stands there as incomplete, either because it came later in time, or is not really an original part of the group with which it is now joined. (Strauss 1952:41). Also the sub-groups go in pairs. Thus, considering only the Komonikas, Oinamp rakl (there are said to be two lines or groups hidden in this one name, and always they enumerated it as "Oinamp, these two"), Kombamp-Melpangel rakl, Engapin-Engamoi rakl, or preferably pin-moi rakl, and finally, again standing alone, Elpugump. All the versions of the story which relates the coming of the Komonikas to Kwinka state that the Elpugumps were already at Kwinka when the Komonikas arrived. When the others first came, the Elpugumps gave them land and food, especially sugar cane, and welcomed them to Kwinka. To explain this my informants told me that the Elpugumps left Kugulmung ahead of the rest because they stood alone and were ashamed, and therefore left early. Others, on the other hand, hinted that the Elpugumps were not really Komonikas at all, although by now they abided by all the exogamy rules of the Komonikas; in other words, by now they had been completely absorbed into the Komonikas.

III

Let us now make another diagram which delineates the groups which comprise the Engamois.

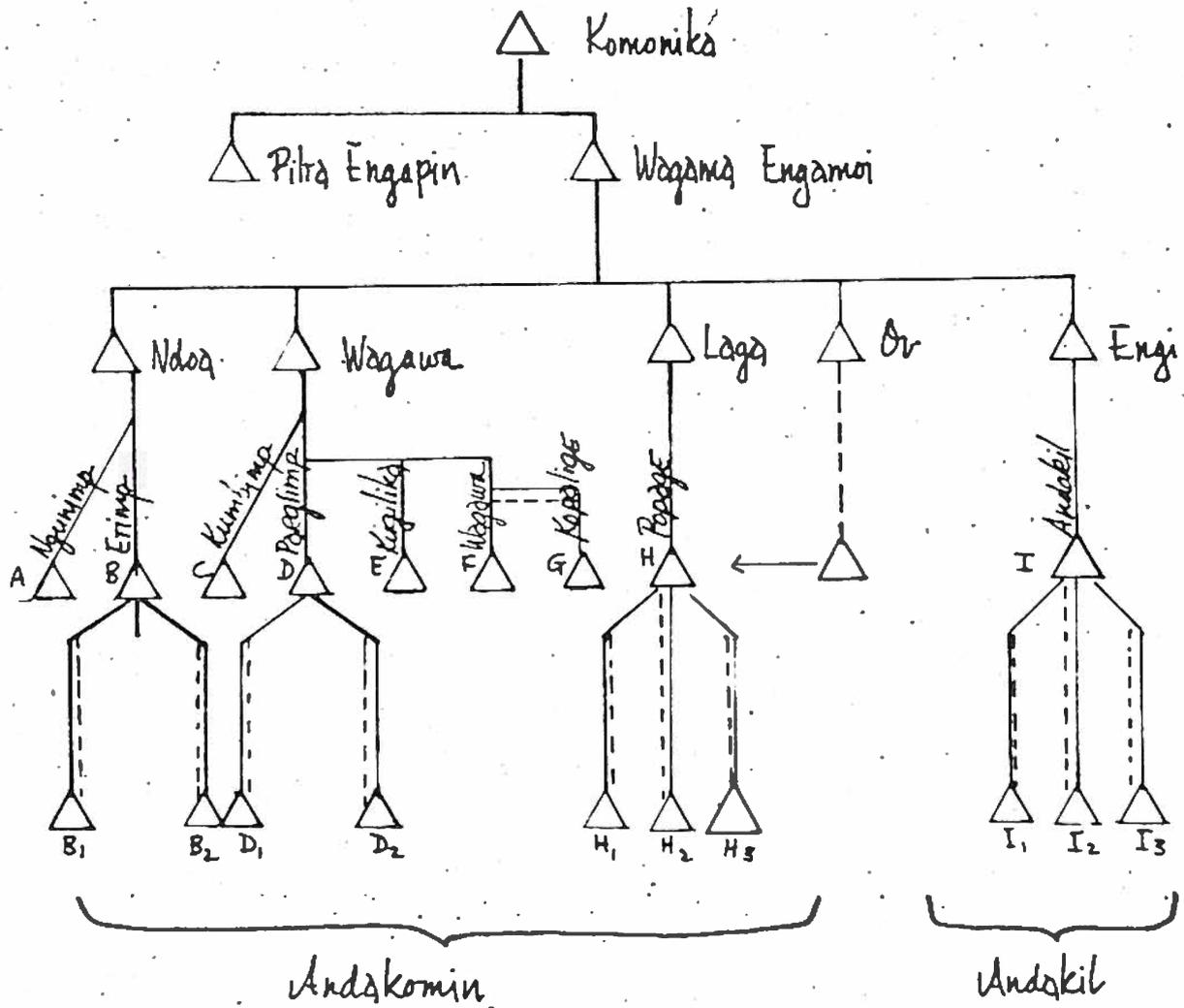


Fig. 6.--Lineage Relationships of the Engamois

The forefathers of the Engapins and the Engamois were Pilta and Wagama; again they are put together. Wagama had five children, viz., Ndoa-Wagawa rakl, Ou-Laga rakl, and Engi, who is andakil, or the last-born. The other four, therefore, are andakomin; i.e., those who were born first, or the older ones. There doesn't seem to be any descendants left of Ou; it is likely that they were absorbed by the Popages, who are the descendants of Laga. These, indeed, have two names, either Popage, which, as a name, belongs to a group on the level of Kumdi who live to the North, or Wenting, which means, literally, "the former."

From Ndoa-Wagawa rakl have come groups A,B,C,D,E,F,G. These groups somehow feel themselves more closely related than do any of them with the Popage, i.e., Laga's descendants, or with Engi, the father of the Andakils, which is the name his descendants usually go by. This came out in various ways. A man of Group G asked me one day to buy some tree resin from the Ugunis so he could mount his shells for proper display. I was attending a ceremony in the Uguni area. I was told to give the resin to someone from Group B to carry home. I was not to tell anyone about this. Since someone from Group H was going along anyway, I suggested that he carry the resin home and save the person from Group B the trouble and a trip. But this would not do. The person assigned to bring back the resin was from Group B, whereas the other person was from Group H. One was more of a brother than the other. The distinction was due to the reputed genealogical connection. Groups G and B had descended from Ndoa-Wagawa rakl; therefore, the one from Group B should bring back the resin.

Group A, we notice, is indicated by a slanted line beginning below Ndoa. This indicates that the connecting link of this group is a female agnate, and that those who descended from that link are actually assimilated to the patri-group. The same holds true of Group C, and on a slightly lower level of social structure, of the Kopaligas, Group G.

This is not a rare situation. Three groups, Kopaligas (G), Kumbimps (C), and Ngunimps (A), are members of the Engamoi group through a female link. The links in the cases of the three groups which developed into named, viable groups were (a) FFFWB, who moved in with his sister and her husband and gave rise to the Ngunimps (EGO, in each case, is taken as an adult, living male, the big man of his group); (b) FFZ, who moved back with her brother because of a threat of war at her husband's place. She was the link for the Kopaligas; (c) FZ, who moved back to her brother's place. With her and her husband came two of her husband's brothers. They came because of a war in their area and are the founders of the Kumbimps.

There are others present with the Engamois who are also assimilated through a female link, but who have not formed a social group of their own. They have rather been absorbed into another lineage and are identified completely with that lineage.

Men who have been assimilated suffer no liability for that reason. Romakl, for example, is the big man of the Kopaliges. He is also the big man representing all the Engamois, the Komonikas, and one of the outstanding men of all the Kumdis. He has engaged in very many exchanges, had

nine wives, and was known far and wide as Kumdi Romaki. Yet he was a known assimilate through his FM.

Some of the links which bind an assimilate to the Engamois may be multiple, as in the following schematic case:

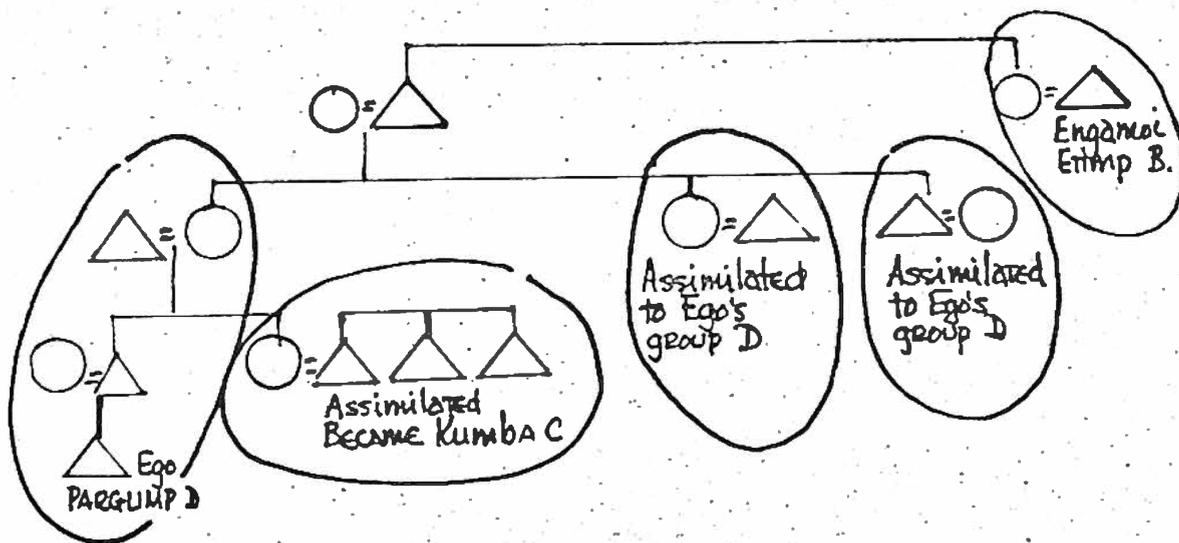


Fig. 7.--Genealogical Links of Assimilation

This case is very interesting because it illustrates how genealogies are shifted, seemingly at will, to maintain the agnatic relationship, especially that of "brothers" on the part of men who are both Engamois and of similar age. It also illustrates again that genealogies are symbolic or epiphenomenal rather than phenomenal. Genealogical reckoning, among the Mbowamb, is culture manipulated for a purpose, i.e., to preserve the agnation of the descent group.

One man, Nogli, the big man of the Parglimps, gave me this genealogy. This put Kuperi, an Engamois man of the Erimp group (B) and the father of Parke, two generations above his father.

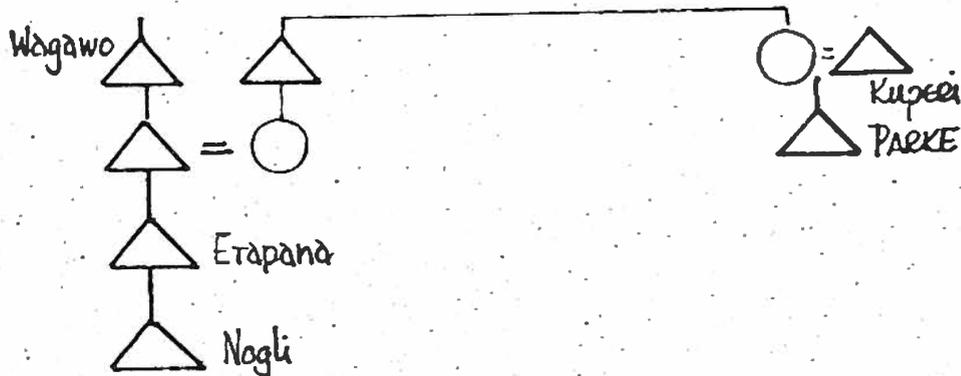


Fig. 8.--An Unadjusted Genealogy

Kuperi's genealogy, however, as recorded by an Etimp man, is as follows:

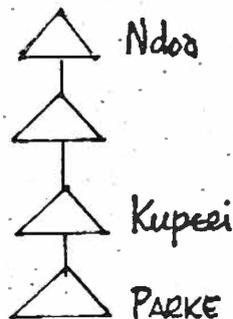


Fig. 9.--An Adjusted Genealogy

This genealogy made Ndoa, Kuperi's FF. Both Etapana and Kuperi are deceased, and in each case the founding father, Wagawa and Ndoa, are put two generations above them. This is normally where they are placed in every case. If we combine the two genealogies, there is apparent an immediate discrepancy. Ndoa-Wagawa rakl are separated by two generations; but they are traditionally brothers. By

bringing them into line, the rest of the genealogy is also brought into line, making Etapana and Kuperi "brothers" and Nogli and Parke "brothers." These are the presumptions, that Ndoa-Wagawa, Etapana-Kuperi, Nogli-Parke are "brothers." The genealogy has to follow this presumption.

This brief discussion does not exhaust the subject of assimilation in Mbowamb society. We will have occasion to come back to this later.

The dotted lines in our diagram indicate that a process of separation is in effect. Where these lines are paralleled by a solid line, we want to indicate that the process is quite far along and irreversible in the sense that now already some activities pertinent to the lowest segment group are being taken care of by the group which is emerging, whereas other activities might still be shared. The dotted lines only indicate that the separation will take place, indications are present, but activity-wise there is no really meaningful separation as of yet, i.e., at the time I myself was present there.

Let us consider this aspect of our diagram a little more carefully, because this diagram indicates a very important level of social structure, the level which Leach speaks of as the local descent group, which in his theoretical understanding is the important one to consider when discussing marriage rules. We shall see later that his remarks are very pertinent and important to understand the marriage rules and system of marriage among the Mbowamb. These levels, A,B, eventually B1 and B2, C,D, eventually D1 and D2, E,F,G,H, eventually H1, H2, H3, and I, eventually I1 and I2, generally live together in a locality, which has a name. Many of the really important activities are carried out at this level,

e.g., marriages and funerals, exchanges, and distributions of pork. They are patrilineally defined and are therefore composed, for the most part, of fairly close agnates. In such a group there may be one or the other person still in the process of being assimilated, i.e., he is only a second generation assimilate. The process is generally only completed by the third generation. From this time also he is bound by the marriage rules of his new group. The majority of adult male members of this lowest group will therefore be agnates, either true or assimilated. We shall no longer distinguish between the two except when necessary to explicate some special point.

Below this very important, named group, there are further levels, namely the level of the family, or considered in perhaps a different way, the level of the domestic group. This latter is the land-holding group, and land is passed on within the context of the family, not on the level of the named lineages, i.e., on the level of A,B, etc. Below the family level are the individual man and woman. We shall discuss these groups in the next section.

On what basis do we say that a social group is in the process of splitting into two, whereas another group has already finished the process? First of all, the people themselves distinguish the groups conceptually. The Etimep big man, for example, divides the group into two halves, naming himself as the representative of the one half, giving it his mother's group name, i.e., Remdimp. This is so, even though his father's brother and father's brother's children are also included in this group. Again accurate genealogical relationships do not enter into the question. Let us take a few examples of group-separation. These

examples will also serve to describe some of the processes of change in the social structure. First of all, let us take the case of Groups F and G.

In the questionnaires I took, I kept getting identity of name for members of these two groups and for many months I did not realize that there was a distinction, even a name-distinction. Romakl, the important man of Group G, as we saw above, is related to Group F in the following way. His father's mother was the sister of the big man of F's father's father. She had married a Kopaliga man and had gone to live with him to the North of Kwinka towards the country of the Kyaka Enga. Shortly after the marriage, a fight broke out between certain groups of Enga. The woman and her husband decided to move back to her own place, to live with her brother for the time being. However, they stayed on, were given land to garden, and eventually she bore Romakl's father. Kongkup, Romakl's father, had several wives, thirteen children, eight of whom were boys who also stayed at Kwinka when they grew up and were married. This group now numbers fifty-six in all.

When one of F group's sons was getting married, during my stay there, it was a question of who was to provide the pay for the marriage. The shells, pigs, and money, the three main items in a bride-price, came from the following sources (EGO is the bridegroom):

SHELLS:

Roltinga (F) (8 shells):

- 1 from FZH.
- 1 from FZDS.
- 1 from FZH.
- 1 from FDH (EGO's ZH).
- 4 from FMZS.

Konga (FB) (8 shells):

- 3 his own.
- 3 from FDH (Konga's BDH).
- 1 from (FMB).
- 1 from his (Konga's) WMBS.

Other People (8 shells):¹

- 1 from Koi, a member of Group G.
- 1 from Raima, a member of Group G.
- 1 from MB.
- 1 from FFZS.
- 1 from FBS.
- 2 from FB.
- 1 from FMBS.

Other People (8 shells):

- 4 from H or EGO. He received them from a closely related Engamoi to whom he had given four shells when his own sister had married.
- 2 from FMBS.
- 1 from the "tultul" (government representative) who represents this group.

PIGS:

- 6 from EGO (cared for by his mother).
 - 2 from F (one given now, one to be given later).
 - 1 from FMBS
 - 1 from FFZS
 - 1 from FB.
- Both of these lived with the Engamoi, i.e., were assimilated.

MONEY:

- 5 pounds (Australian money is used in New Guinea) from F.
- 5 pounds from FB.
- 5 pounds from EGO.
- 4 pounds from FMBS.
- 1 pound from FFZS.
- 2 pounds from "father." For further explanation why this man gave some money towards the bride-price, see below p. 339.

¹A distinction of "Other People" into two groups is made above because the people themselves make it this way. Their unit in such activities as marriage and other exchanges is eight or one hand, i.e., the four fingers of each hand bent down and brought together. Therefore do they separate the payment of shells into units of eight.

2 pounds from FZH/other/WS. He was an assimilate and lived close by.

1 pound from Mel, a member of Group G.

Two different people from Group G contributed a shell each. A third gave one pound in money. One of the contributors was Koi, a young man who had himself been married shortly before, but whose wife had left him. The pay had only recently been straightened out and returned, and he had many shells on hand, although his father Romakl was still saving the majority of them for the next woman who would make herself available as a wife. Koi and the bridegroom were also close friends. Raima, who also gave a shell, is the "number two man" of the Kopaligas, and will most likely succeed his older brother Romakl when the latter becomes too old to effectively command cooperation from the group as a whole. Raima is about the same age as Pup's father's brother, Konge. Romakl made the statement that formerly when Roltinga, the number one man of Group F, had gotten his last wife, he, Romakl, had contributed the large shell which was a return for the very special and fine shell which the bride wears to the house of her groom when she comes for the first time (see the description of a marriage given below). But Roltinga had not reciprocated when one of his own sons had gotten married, so he himself was not going to give any shells now. It was all right for Koi and Raima to give shells if they wanted. After all, they were still related to them as Kopaligas. That was up to them. It certainly was not necessary any more.

In this type of response one notes various points. First of all, there is always a certain amount of individuality involved in giving shells at such a time as a marriage, and a variety of motives are operative. Some

people have to give shells, i.e., the immediate agnates, the fathers and the mother's brothers of the groom. At least they will contribute something. These agnates, or at least a representative number of this group, will also be the people involved in killing and cooking the pig which will be taken a few days later to the bride's parents and eaten outside. They, too, together with the MB's group, will be given part of the return pay, which is generally considerably less than the bride-price itself. Others give because of some more vague connection--there will always be some connection of kinship involved--or because they are friends as well as relatives. Perhaps they have ulterior motives. They are hoping that the "gift" will be returned when they themselves get married, as in the case of Koi. Rarely, as we shall see later, does anyone make an outright "gift" in this culture: rather by giving gifts in this way, they are entering into an exchange, which is far more important and most meaningful to them.

I was told that when any distribution is made, especially the distribution of shells or pigs, or both, as a compensation for death, the two groups, F and G, were definitely separated, and shells were distributed to each separately. The one, F, was called "wagawa rapa" (house of Wagawa) or kwimp romints, while the other was referred to as Kopaliga or rupmbo. Also when the Kopaligas gave the Remdis some pigs some months before, and at the same time initiated an exchange with them, as well as with the Roglakas, they had no help from F, or from any other group. They were alone as a group.

Finally, and this is even more decisively a criterion of separation, Romakl had married a woman who came from the

Puntiga group, and Manga, a half-brother of Roltinga had a wife also from the Puntiga group. The two women were real sisters, and this type of marriage would not be allowed if Manga and Romakl were of the same manga rapa, that is, if F and G were not separated.

The next group we can consider is H, which is breaking into three separate units. These are three separate segments of the Popage, although all of them still relate themselves verbally or symbolically to the Popages. They are, however, quite separated locally, and this gave me my first clue that they might constitute the beginnings of different groups. At a funeral I attended shortly after I first arrived, members of all three segments came or were represented. This is the level which is responsible for preparing the coffin, either of plank, usually only for men, or bark, in the case of women especially. Members of this group, level H, were also responsible for digging the grave and transporting the body to the cemetery, which was no small feat considering the terrain and the speed with which they bring the body to the cemetery. Towards the very end of my stay, however, several things happened which indicated a very definite split, and along the lines of the three locality groups. First of all, the Elpugumps made a wua peng (man-head), giving shells to the Popages for a death which they had caused in the fight which took place between these groups. They were distributed, not to the Popages as a group, but to the three individual segments which were represented by important men from each segment, who, in turn, divided the shells allotted to each segment among their immediate group. Also, shortly before I left the area there were two marriages. A girl each had gone from H2 and H3. In neither case did H1 have anything to do with the

contribution of shells, nor did they receive any of the return payment. There was not much mixing of payments between H2 and H3 either, although there was still a little here. H2 and H3 are nearest each other spatially, while H1 is separated from them by two other localities. Also the kinship connections between H2 and H3 are traceably closer than between H1 and either of the other two. However, the three segments had not yet taken on a special name for themselves, but were referred to by the locality they inhabited or by the representative important man, or by both. H2 retained the name of "Tai's line," Tai being the government representative or "tultul." Ndik wamp (people of the locality Ndik) comprised the other group, while Koraka Raima (combination of locality and personal name) represented the last group to receive shells.

Group B, on the other hand, has divided into two groups, but mainly only symbolically to the present time. B1 and B2 have somewhat the same status now as I1 and I2. In the case of B, the one group is named Remdimp, which is the group of the mother of the tultul for this group, whose name is Guri. The other segment is called Popaglump, which is the mother's line-name of the other important man of B. In a funeral display and exchange which they had shortly before I left, the two groups still acted more or less as one unit.

As regards the split of D, I have no real evidence to back up this separation, other than the fact that each of the two groups is headed by an important man, each of which, in turn, has quite a large following in the sense of a large kinship relationship. The two groups are also tending to segregate on the basis of religious affiliation, the one

important man and his group being Catholic followers, while the other important man is a Lutheran follower. In speeches or church services this distinction comes out. If there is a separation into viable segments, it will be along the cleavage of these two important men.

The level I1 and I2 and I3 are merely named after certain ancestors who founded each segment, viz., Kaipimp and Agilmimp, who are only one generation above the oldest living Andakil man. With this segment, viz., andakil, which means the "last," usually with the phrase ink added, meaning "the very last one" or "the last one indeed," there is a level of social segmentation left out, as it were. The andakomins comprise I, II, III, and IV. These then are further divided into A, B, etc., whereas the andakils are not further sub-divided in any real sense.

IV

There are indeed many other ways of cutting this social cake. The people, for example, also refer to the kia mul and the rua mul, meaning "the pitpit people" and the "banana people." Those who live a certain distance up the mountain are called kia mul or "people of pitpit" (grass), because they claim they do not have good bananas where they live, it being too high and cold, whereas the people down below the mountain further are called "the banana-people" because they grow good bananas. To me this distinction was not too obvious, because they definitely did grow bananas also on the mountain, as high, in fact, as the people actually lived. Beyond identification purposes, it did not seem to have any other significance. It does indeed confuse the structural picture to the anthropologist at first.

The lowest level of segmentation coincides with the local descent group, as was stated. For the most part they live together. Once they are spatially separated, this is good indication that a functional split followed by a new and recognized level of structure will not be long in coming. We discuss this at more length below when we discuss locality. This level is also normally more closely related in actual fact, more closely, at least, than they will be to any other equal and opposed structural segment. One must not forget, however, that all of the Komonikas call each other brother and sister, father and mother, and ancestor, although as far as extension to numbers is concerned, the term "brother" is by far the most common.

We notice that there are various ways of naming a social level. The most common procedure, perhaps, is to give the segment the name of the representative big man's mother's group. This way of naming people after their mother's group is found more generally. For example, a child is often called the "son of a Nengka woman," identifying him in this fashion. This is something of teknonymy, and is fairly widespread in Mbowamb custom, although it is not universal and is not obligatory. This is usually done this way for the following reason. There is a slight taboo on speaking another person's name without good reason, so to enable oneself to observe this taboo more effectively, one can identify a person by his mother's group. Another way of doing the same thing would be to address him by his locality, e.g., Kwinka kang, the "boy from Kwinka." This presupposes that such terminology is adequate to identify the particular individual under the circumstances. We will discuss name-taboos in another context, when we discuss avoidance.

The name of a group can be derived from the affinal group which a female agnate brought into her group for one reason or the other. Thus the Ngunimps are so called because a sister of Etapana married a Nguni man, and then came back with her husband to live at her brother's place. Here she raised her children, and they expanded into a named lineage. The same, essentially, is the explanation for the Kumpimp. These refer to a sub-group of the Kyaka Enga. An Engamoi woman had gone to marry an Enga Kumba man, and because of the threat of war she and her husband and husband's brothers came to Kwinka to live. They stayed on, and again her descendants gave rise to the Kumpimp group.

Other names derive from the name of the father, or grandfather, who gave origin to the group. Thus we have I1 and I2 as well as F.

Another way is to name the group after a locality, or geographically. This would seem to be the origin of the names of Oglaka and Komonika, Oglaka referring to "the ones on top." Komonika would mean "related as the first." The small particle ka, so often found on the end of a group name, indicates some sort of "relation to." The imp on the end of so many of the structural names is a shortened version of mbo, which, as we have said, means "seedling" or "offshoot." Kumpimp, then, is the same as Kumpimpo, which is a combination of Kumba and mbo. This would be translated as "offshoot of Kumba." Oftentimes the people will also add muklmukl after the name of a group when designating affiliation to that group. So they will identify the Kopaligas as Kopaliga muklmukl. Muklmukl as such refers to the point of anything, for instance, the point of a spear or of an arrow. One can perhaps interpret this in connection with the name

of the group under discussion as indicating that this group, or the individual(s) referred to by the name of the group, are the "point" of all the people who came after. Strauss claims the "imp" comes from "amp" or woman (1962:20).

The notion of locality among the Mbowamb is interesting and important, and we shall have more to say about it later. We did mention that the lines designated by the numbers A, B, B1, B2, etc., were what Leach defines as the Local Descent Group. This is accurate if one remembers that this locality need not always be a named locality. For example, B1 and B2 are beginning to separate one from the other. However, they still occupy the same locality, namely Malt. However, the two segments will usually occupy areas for themselves, i.e., they will live together or at least tend to. This must be understood, however, in relation to the occupation and settlement patterns of new localities and how this is generally effected, and we shall discuss this further later on. The spatial picture of group distribution, since the dispersion of the Elpugumps, Kompamps, and Melpangels as the result of a fight some time in the mid-1930's, is quite confused because of the subsequent movement into and occupation of the areas they vacated. This has not proceeded systematically, nor has it coincided with the separation of one group from the other. Therefore, it is not locality as such which defines a viable social group; it is generally agnatic relationship of some kind, plus locality or co-residence, especially in the case of an assimilated group.

V

At this point we might examine the different processes involved in the separation of one group from the other, and

the means by which groups recruit new members, using the terminology which Meggitt employs in his recent study of the lineage system of the Mae Enga. The Mae Enga are generally the groups which I have been calling the Wabag Engas above. He defines the following processes (Meggitt 1965:54-84):

1. Segmentation: the process whereby subordinate or coordinate groups are generated by an agnatic group from its own members without losing its identity, although its position in a group hierarchy may change.
2. Fission: a process whereby new coordinate units are generated by an original group which thereupon loses its identity.
3. Splitting: a process whereby a sub-group hives off from a rump group and achieves coordinate status with it, although both continue to share identity of the original group.
4. Accretion: a process whereby new coordinate units are generated by an original group which thereupon loses its identity.
5. Absorption: a process whereby an agnatic group which is descending in a lineage hierarchy becomes a sub-group of a unit with which it was previously coordinate.
6. Fusion: a process whereby an autonomous agnate group merges with another of coordinate status to form a new group of the same, or of a higher order.

These various processes can be discovered also among the Engamoi, especially those which imply the formation of new groups of the same or higher order. Segmentation of Wagewa into C, D, E, F, would be a process of segmentation, if I understand Meggitt correctly. There is a generation of new groups, without the old group's losing its identity, either on the lower level or on the higher level. D and E still consider themselves the "descendants" of Wagawa, or members of this larger group. The name itself has been kept

by F, although the group is meaningful only on a lower level in the hierarchy of the group. Segmentation in a similar way is the situation which describes the case of H also, in that the original group identification is retained. Moreover, one of the new segments emerging still retains the name of Popage, although it has the status only of the other two groups with which it is separating. Groups C and G represent, first of all, an accretion, or better perhaps an assimilation since it took place on the individual level rather than on the group level. They then expanded and split off from their parent group to achieve co-ordinate status with it. G continues to share something of the identity of the original group from which it split, viz., Wagewa rapa, whereas C, although it still remembers the relationship through which it was assimilated in the first place, no longer shares as such in the identity of the original group from which it hived off. The group came in originally through the sister of a man of D.

The Engamoi group is an obviously expanding one, and expanding on all levels, so we would not expect to find much of the other two processes, viz., fusion and absorption. There is the suspected case of the descendants of Ou being absorbed by the Popage group, first of all because the name of the ancestor is still recalled, and is recalled in conjunction with Laga, yet there is no actual group corresponding with it. Then, too, the Popages go by two names. The Popages themselves seem to have been on the decline for some time, if one might judge from the large number of assimilates which they accepted into their group. On the basis of these factors, we might suspect that absorption has taken place, with subsequent loss of identity entirely.

On a much higher level of the social structural hierarchy a case of absorption has only recently taken place which involves the Engamoi very closely. We might repeat the case here. The Roglimps are a group of Oglakas who happen to live very close to the Engamois, with no striking boundaries marking the territory of the one from the other. Formerly the Roglimps all lived on the east side of the Baiyer River, and some of them still do, but the majority of them moved west of the river, and now live with the Engamois. However, the land they occupy is traditionally still the land of the Roglimps, and not land which the Engamois gave them for their use when they first moved across the river, presumably to escape the possible consequences of a fight which was immanent with the Witikas who live on the other side of the Baiyer River. This fact also would perhaps confirm what the traditional story says about the Oglakas coming to the area first, and the Komonikas coming after, getting their land actually from the Oglakas, who then for one reason or another, declined in population, while the Komonikas, especially the Engamois and the Engapins, rapidly increased in numbers. The Engamois, therefore, in expanding were able to take in many of their sisters and their sister's sons, and (a) protect them in time of war--a group like the Engas or any other group would not like to take on an expanding group which presumably would have many allies, like the Engapins who were also huge--and (b) give them much food and especially pork--this is always mentioned as one of the reasons why sisters would come back to live with their brothers. The people and groups related to the Engamois also acknowledged that it was an expanding group. The reasons they gave were fearlessness. The Engamoi men continued to marry many wives. They

were not afraid of poison, so they married many women and increased as a result. The Roglimps, on the other hand, admit that they have been in decline. They blame it principally on the wars which they fought, all of which they won, but which also decimated them. Whatever the causes, the Roglimps just recently have started the process of being absorbed into the Engamois. They live next to them; they carry on many activities together; any big ceremony will involve not only the Engamoi, but also the Roglimps. During my stay the Engamois had a celebration at which they killed a bull and a pig. At first all of the Komonikas were to be invited to participate in the ceremony, which was the dance called the Murlt, but then it was decided that there was not enough meat to share among so many. The Roglimps, however, were invited to take part; they were also given a share of the meat. Finally, and again most decisively, they are no longer permitted to inter-marry with the Engamoi, and the taboo is being extended to cover all of the other Komonikas. When asked why an Engamoi can no longer marry a Roglimp, the answer given will be that the Roglimp are all mother's people to us, or "kandere" according to the pidgin-English. This is the category of apa. When you point out to them that in a certain case, there is no real traceable "mother's people" relationship, they will merely shrug their shoulders and say they cannot marry them anymore. They will enumerate the number of Roglimp women who have been wives to the Engamoi. The actual prohibition came about, they say, because the important men and the tultuls all got together and said that from now on there would be no more inter-marrying. The last Engamoi to marry a Roglimp was a man named Opa who is a Kopaliga about forty years old. Presumably

he married his Roglimp wife some ten-fifteen years ago.

The Roglimps formerly were divided into two segments, one centered across the Baiyer River, the other on the Engamoi side of the river. These segments, structurally, would correspond to the level of A, B, C, etc. This distinction is still recognizable in some of the marriages, i.e., it explains some of the marriages which took place between the Engamoi and the Roglimp when they were still inter-marrying, and the Roglimps still tend to pair off according to their two divisions, but this division too is being lost, and the Roglimps are becoming, for all practical purposes a group of Engamois at the level of A, B, C, etc. Meggitt claims that fusion is relatively rare among the Enga, and I would say the same holds true for the Mbowamb also. It is rare, he claims, because of the stiff-necked parochialism of the clansmen and the high value the group of agnates place on their own clan and their own abilities to continue carrying out the economic and other obligations which devolve on their group, whatever level they might occupy. He does describe a similar case on pages 72, 73 of his book of two clans fusing together. "The groups," he says, "nevertheless retain their separate clan names and identities and their co-ordinate statuses in the phratry hierarchy" (Meggitt, p. 73). This same situation essentially holds for the Roglimp-Engamoi fusion. They are certainly retaining their identity; they know they are Roglimps, are proud of the fact, and insist on it at every turn. They recognize their Oglaka status still and the connections and obligations which this implies. Practically, however, they are now Engamois through a process of absorption and fusion.

The formal structure of the Mbowamb is a fluid sort of thing, with changes going on within the various groups

at all times (Strauss 1962:81). Some levels are left out completely, others become absorbed. Still others are splitting off while many are segmenting. Very prominent as an explanation of all this dynamism is, to be sure, the question of population. As a group becomes larger, it tends to split or separate into smaller groups. The growth of population may come about in a variety of ways. Perhaps a certain man and wife happen to be more fertile than others, or a man has the foresight, ability, and consequently the wealth to be able to buy several wives who bear him many children. Or perhaps a group, perhaps only one couple, are admitted as refugees; they then increase or perhaps bring others in with them, which is not too rare a circumstance. We have discussed cases of this above. Meggitt indicates that population pressures, and these alone, account for the various processes of separation of groups in his area, if only indirectly, through warfare. Warfare is a consequence of land-pressures, which in turn are a direct result of population pressures. With warfare there is much mobility and moving around, much fission and fusion, with constant segmentation and so on. Among the Mbowamb, as we have seen, this also happens, although the causes of warfare may not always be population pressures among the Mbowamb. In any case, it is not the only reason leading to new groups. There is, first of all, not the same land pressures exerting influence on them as there is on the Mae Enga (see below under locality). There are other pressures operative as well. For instance, there are the dynamics involved in inter-personal relationships. There is, of course, a certain minimum of population below which the group cannot fall, otherwise it cannot do the tasks which a group of that level

has to take care of, so somewhere it must get the people necessary to form a viable group. But how many must that be in any particular case, or how big can a group become and still remain manageable? Much depends on the ability of the big man to handle his group. If it becomes so large that pork cannot be properly distributed to all, then it will very likely split. It also depends on how well the members get along with one another. Dissatisfaction can initiate a possible split into new groups. We will see examples of this when we discuss aspects of locality and the buildup of a new locality. Very often, in such cases, there is also an incipient split in social groups occurring.

There are always lines of cleavage available along which separation can occur. Whenever two sons are born to a man, there is possibility of splitting along these genealogical lines. But it is not only or automatically along definite genealogical divisions that this occurs. This cleavage can occur along the lines of an entire assimilated group. Even locality can serve as an adequate line of cleavage. As a new line develops, so also there develops with it an important man, who becomes the representative of that new group. It either becomes viable then, or declines again to be absorbed by the group from which it began to separate. There may be a time when a group then will have two, even more, important men, men who have a right to get up and give a speech. The one important man may just succeed to the position of the "number one," which seems to be especially the situation in the case of uterine brothers; the number two brother may never even have attempted to start a group of his own. The split, if it comes, will more likely come between half-brothers, i.e., sons of

different mothers, or else between even more classificatory brothers, i.e., sons of brothers. In the case of B1 and B2 the father's fathers of the two big men heading up the separating groups were brothers, although this exact connection is not too important anymore. The fact stands: Guri and Konguri, the two important men here, are "brothers." The separation need not be the result of ill-feeling on the part of the important men, who then draw around themselves their own circle of closer relatives. In the case of B1 and B2, and in the case of other separations, there is no ill-feeling about the separation. The groups are getting too large anyway, so they are peacefully separating. One of the causes may be a sort of rivalry between "brothers." Normally this relationship should be a close one, as we shall see when we discuss the content of kinship, but there are also overtones of competition, but this need not be there as a precipitating factor in segmentation. Segmentation, in Barnes words, tends to be catastrophic rather than chronic (Barnes 1962). One cannot predict the genealogical lines along which segmentation will occur.

That personal choice is sometimes the precipitating factor in segmentation is brought out repeatedly. Often disagreements between a father and his son or sons, especially if it is augmented by other disagreements with the "brothers" as well will cause a man to take up residence with his mother's people. This happened fairly recently with three sons of an andakil man. All three of the sons, adult, two of them married, a third marrying for the first time while I was in the field, moved in with their mother's people, who were close neighbors to the Engamois. The quarrel was not so much with the father, who is quite old and has not

much say anymore in matters pertaining to the group, but with the rest of the group of which the three sons were members. Moreover, the mother's people have plenty of land available and the Engamois were eagerly accepted by them. When the third son got married, the mother's people gave the bulk of the marriage payment, although the father and others of their original group also came to the marriage and brought their contributions. The payment was actually larger than it would have been if they were still living with their own people, because their mother's people went out of their way to furnish a good payment "because they are now living with us, and not with their own agnates." The ties seem to have been broken for good, because the oldest son just recently gave up gardening at Kwinka, his own agnatic territory. It is not at all unlikely that this group of three brothers will eventually form a viable social group within their host group. Population pressures on the part of the andakils, the Engamoi group from which they broke, had nothing to do with the breakaway as such; they have more than enough land for their needs and purposes.

VI

Each group is headed by an important man. It will not be out of place to say a few words here about this position in Mbowamb society. His position, as we saw already, relates to segmentation, as well as to the problem we have hinted at of the relation between the individual and his free choice and motives, and the group with its structure and norms. Moreover, the levels of social structure are often spoken of and symbolized in terms of the big-man who

represents the group. Langness, in opposing Barnes' notion of catastrophic segmentation, makes a pertinent observation with respect to the big man's position in the social structure and his role in segmentation.

Segmentation seems to follow leadership. . . . The antecedent conditions of segmentation probably have to do with the optimum size of groups exploiting land with horticultural techniques, the number of people who can effectively work communally at certain tasks, or the optimum number of persons who can organize themselves following relatively informal patterns of leadership. When a group gets so large that it cannot organize itself effectively for the necessary tasks of living, it must split, with some members following one "big man" and some another [Langness 1965:181].

A brief description of the big man's status therefore will clarify for us the way in which the people often think about their social groups. In describing what is often called the "big-man complex" we also get the beginnings of politics. In and through him more inclusive levels of social structure are interrelated. He is the one who mobilizes his group for concerted action. He is the one who must often render decisions within the group whose allegiance he commands. He is responsible that these decisions are carried out. This is accomplished by making sure that his decision reflects the common consensus as much as possible.

Since our primary concern here is social morphology and kinship, we can only indicate how the big-man fits into the larger structure. The larger structure, as we have seen, is conceptualized in terms of genealogy and kinship, although the position of the big man is not conceptualized in terms of kinship. De facto he is a kinsman in the group he represents. There he has a kinship status, but the people do not refer to him, in his position as big man, in terms of

kinship. For a description of the big man in terms more of personality-structure, I refer to an article by Read (1959). What he says there about the Gahuka-Gama value-system and leaders can, with only slight modifications necessary, be said also of the Mbowamb values and leaders. In mbo ik the term for an important or big man is wua nuim.

There are at least as many big men as there are recognizable, viable social groups. Each such group will be in charge of a wua nuim for the purposes of the activity for which it is mobilized. However, in the discussion which follows, one should bear in mind that the basic approach of the Mbowamb to an organizational problem of whatever kind is the approach of a democracy, not of an aristocracy or an oligarchy, a gentocracy or any other sort of system which requires the rule of a few over the many. Each mbowua is essentially an individual, with his own desires and abilities and tendencies, and no one can violate this individuality if the man himself does not give up his rights in this or that case. In any discussion everyone with any interest in the case under discussion has a right to get up and talk, although it will usually be the wua nuim who will do so since they are the recognized orators, i.e., the ones who have proven their ability to organize and make decisions, which are more a statement of the general consensus of the group which they represent than a decision of their own which has no reference to what the group thinks or wants.

There are several expressions which describe a big man or a leader (Strauss 1962:191-94), but the most common is the expression wua nuim. This refers to a person who is wealthy, first of all, but not in the sense that he has many possessions here and now. On the basis of wealth which

can be displayed at any one moment, the wua nuim does not differ much from the most "rubbish" man. His housing, his way of life, clothing, the food he eats, etc., do not set him apart from the rest of his group. On these levels he is no more or less than the most inconsequential of his fellow citizens. It means he is wealthy in the sense that he has been in many exchanges; he has many credits outstanding, and if he wanted to inaugurate some sort of exchange, he would have access, through relatives or other contacts, to the shells and pigs which would be required. This might be for a wedding of one of his sons, or for the purposes of a moka exchange or a death compensation; etc. A visible sign of his "wealth" in this sense would be the size of the omak on his breast. The omak on a man's chest is a badge of distinction. It consists of rods of bamboo strung together and hung from the neck. For each individual rod which is added to the collection, the wearer proclaims publicly that he has given someone at least eight shells in a moka. The simplest version of this exchange would be the following. Someone, a relative in the vast majority of the cases, and probably either a "brother" or a "brother-in-law," would give another person three shells and one pig to initiate the moka. One shell would be called por and the other two pol pek, and the pig kia kung, kia being another word, in this context, for the omak, and kung meaning pig. For giving this, the initiator would not be allowed to add a bar to his omak. In return for this, the other person would give back two shells as equivalent as possible for the pol pek, and one shell in return for the por, and four shells for the pig; then he would add one more shell. This would be for the purpose of buying the omak or the "rod."

Having given these shells, he would then add a bar to his string of bars. Naturally he could not return any of the shells which were given to him in the first place, but would have to return other shells. If he is really a big man and wants his reputation to spread far and wide, he will add two extra shells, making it ten altogether. In counting they enumerate by two's, each time bending down two fingers. Eight, then, would be all of the fingers bent down except the thumbs. So to make his name really well-known, the one who gives the shells would "put the lids on" or bend down the thumbs also in counting, and give ten shells. He can then put on another rod.

To engage in many of these exchanges, and they are always underway, implies several things. It means that the person must have a large relationship which he can control or at least influence to the extent that they help him accumulate shells for purposes of exchange. This probably also means that he has more than one wife, which would give him several sets of brothers-in-law. Brothers-in-law are always useful both as exchange partners and as sources of shells when he needs them to make a display. He can also influence his own agnatic group and has others dependent on him, because one must always depend on one's brothers if one wants to make any sort of an exchange. A big man, moreover, is quick to return an exchange. If A gives to B in the morning, B will return in the afternoon, so goes the saying. But this is not actually done; indeed, it is not the ideal to return an exchange too quickly. One wants to stay in the exchange relationship and keep it going. One way of doing this is to delay making the return.

A very important characteristic of a big man is an

ability to speak well and forcefully. A person can have most of the other characteristics of a big man, but if he cannot speak well, he will not become too well-known; he will not become a really big or important man. The Mbowamb are always looking for excuses to speak. Any occasion calls for speeches, which are answered by another and another for hours on end, the people all sitting around and listening, often only with half an ear. One must, of course, have something to say, and therefore with an ability to speak well and clearly and loudly, since the meetings and speeches are usually given in the open air, goes an ability to make decisions and judgements which will be acceptable to the audience. This requires an insight into the temper of the group which is concerned in the activity under discussion. The decision an important man renders in any case usually reflects the general temper of the audience. He sums up what the consensus is, rather than makes a decision all on his own. Very often, therefore, the really important men wait till the very end to make their own speeches and add their own opinions.

To some limited extent the position of a big man is an ascribed position, to this extent anyway that it is normally only a man, and a man somewhere in his 30's or 40's who will be an important man. Someone younger than this will be able to give his opinion on a matter which directly concerns him, but beyond that he would not get up to speak. An important man will also have proven his ability to make exchanges, and this requires a certain age-limit. By this time, also, a man would have been able to acquire more than one wife which is always a help in making an important man. These criteria of age and sex, however, are

not absolute. Even a woman, under circumstances, might achieve a position equivalent to that of a wua nuim. The term nuim is, indeed, applied also to women, in which case it refers normally to a woman who looks after many pigs, has had many children who are all living, or someone who has important brothers, etc.

The position of a big man, therefore, is primarily an achieved position. And anybody can become an important man in his group. A son does not necessarily follow in his father's footsteps, although it must be conceded that the son of an important man has some headstart and advantage over the son of a "rubbish" man, who might also be aspiring to a position of authority and prestige. The son of a big man has often been with his father, observed his techniques of speaking, gotten acquainted with his father's circle of exchange partners and been absorbed into the wide relationship which his important father has established in his climb to the top. Even then, the son must himself give evidence of the qualities befitting a big man, otherwise he cannot hope to become the representative of his group.

A very important characteristic of a big man is an ability to distribute justly to his group. This, perhaps more than anything else, really gives him his influence and his power to exert his authority among his own circle of relatives and dependents. Sharing and distributing are concomitants of any large ceremony. Any time pigs are killed, the pork is distributed and shared, and it is the responsibility of the big man to make sure that everyone of his dependents get theirs. It may only be a small piece. Beginning with the women and children, this pork is distributed very ritualistically. The distributor holds out a small

piece of meat, and then chants the line affiliation and/or name of the recipient, who then stands up and gets this piece of pork. Everybody is called for in this manner and is given a small piece of pork. Only the very small infants, still at the breast, are not given their piece. It is taken for granted that the mother will give them some. If anybody is left out in this distribution, he is very hurt, very put out, very angry. To eat pork goes much beyond the mere fact of eating a delectable bit of food. It has many other connotations and overtones, such as harmony, reconciliation, good-will, unity of the group together, etc. If someone is slighted in such a distribution, and if that person would get sick, it would, in all probability, be blamed on the fact that he did not get his share of pork at such and such a distribution. The sharing of pork, then, is carried even further by the recipients. They themselves then sit around and share their own small piece with their neighbor sitting next to them. Each will cut off a small portion of their own small portion and share it with each other.

The burden of distributing equitably falls on the shoulders of the big man in other, even more important areas. When a new sweet-potato field is laid, for example, the different rows or mounds are distributed among the women of the household. This distribution is again the job of the big man who represents the group which is involved in making the new garden. This group will usually only be a family, or perhaps an entire lineage group (level A, B, etc.) may join in making an extra large garden. But in this latter case, it would still be the fathers of families who would distribute their own sections to their wives and daughters, possibly also to a son's wife. He would not be able to

divide his brother's gardens to his brother's wives or daughters. The big man's position would be important if the whole group decided to convert a large area into gardens. All involved would decide together what sections would be given to whom, but his opinion would carry more weight. This distribution is very important because it may affect inheritance later on. Again, if a woman (wife or daughter or other relative) is slighted in this respect, there is much ill-feeling, anger, and resentment. A big man could not be the cause of such resentment very often without losing his position of big man and representative for the group.

Taking into account the desires and complaints of his group, such a man would also be responsible for giving out the shells, pigs, and money which might accrue to the group as a result of some exchange, e.g., a marriage or a death compensation, etc. Given the limited resources at his command, he must try to satisfy all legitimate claimants, even at his own expense. If he cannot or does not, this can mean one of two things. Either he himself is not doing what he should, in which case he will lose his effective position, or perhaps the group is getting too large and is not viable for certain purposes any more. In this case it will likely split soon. This was very clearly the case with H1, H2, and H3. When a marriage was arranged, they could not all be given a share in the bride-wealth; when a marriage was arranged, there was no need for all of them to contribute shells and pigs--it would have been more than was necessary. Therefore, they tended to break into smaller groups, groups which were recognized "officially" when the wua peng was given them by the Elpugumps, as we mentioned above. Each of the smaller groups has its own big man

representing it and taking care of the distributions for it.

Since the big man is in charge of distributing and equalizing resources for his group--and we cannot stress this characteristic of the important man enough--he is often also conceived of as the one who looks after and takes care of his group. If anyone is sick, he calls in the diviner, or does the divination himself; he calls in the incantation man to perform his incantation once the cause is diagnosed; or he will kill the pigs which are required to placate the ancestors who may be angry, and are causing the sickness. As we indicated in the introduction, there is very little of this going on anymore, at least during the time of my stay in the field. Every big man, however, may not be an expert on incantations; here one can find specialists among the Mbowamb. Certain people, men or women, more often men, have a reputation for being able to counter a certain sickness. One man, Ketigla (Romakl's brother) had the reputation for being able to cure the sickness which develops when a woman gives a man food during her menstrual period. More important still, he could make the proper incantation for a man who might have had intercourse, deliberately or unknowingly, with a woman who was menstruating. This would certainly cause death, normally, but Ketigla had the skill and incantation to render the effects of this activity harmless. This made Ketigla a big man, on this level, and gave him importance and prestige. He himself was not the big man of his group in the sense that he represented his group to any great degree. As regards specializations, one finds them in matters regarding sickness and religion, but scarcely elsewhere. There are no specialists otherwise;

there are only people who might be better at a certain activity than others because of certain natural skills or other endowments. In no case do these people form anything like an association or guild or anything like a specialized group. Neither, might I add here, do the big men themselves form a coterie or a special group among themselves. They do come together for certain purposes, to coordinate a larger ceremony, for example, or to discuss some business which concerns a group larger than their own small group, but they do not form anything like an organized body of rulers or councillors or anything of this nature. In a discussion among the big men themselves there is even less chance for any one man to exert his authority than there is for an individual big man to exert his authority in his own group. To arrive at consensus there is much discussion, and if, finally, one or the other big man does not want to go along with the majority opinion, this also is his privilege and he takes his own group along with himself. This happens quite frequently and often marks a fission in the larger group. For example, if a larger segment of the social group decides to perform a certain ceremony, according to a certain rite, but one smaller group does not agree with this, for whatever reason, the smaller group will just go on its own and have its own ceremony, at its own time and in its own place. This happens not infrequently. There are usually sharp words and bitter feelings about this for a while, but soon the value "laik bilong em" reasserts itself and things settle back to normal, with probably a new, identifiable group now in existence, named probably after the group of the mother of the big man who happened to be representative of the group at the time of the separation.

What legitimizes the position and authority of a big man therefore? Certainly not his birth, or any other ascribed characteristic. Therefore, his own abilities, first of all, legitimizes his position. Secondly, his successes more than anything else make him an acceptable leader. To be consistently successful in exchanges; to know when to call in shells so as to make sure there will be enough for a significant display; to regularly satisfy people in distribution; to be able to sum up well the consensus of the many and to be able to speak well and forcefully; to be able to represent one's group effectively and look out for their interests; all these abilities presuppose a POWER on the part of the big man, and is from this contact with "power," obvious from his success, flows his legitimization as a big man. Consequently, if a man cannot achieve the position of an important man, he need not feel anxious about it; very few become bitter about it; they do not use every means and technique to achieve a position which is not meant for them; they submit, in other words, to the inequalities of the social system, because simply they do not have the "power." They are not properly in tune. It is no blame of theirs; they need not feel inferior or guilty. The "little people," the "rubbish men"--this term does not carry the connotations which it sounds like it should in English--realize full well that their own big man (or men, since there may be several in even a smaller group) are dependent to a large degree on them and on their cooperation. They themselves are in a sense the source of this "power." Some do not have the talent to become an important man; others do not want to make the effort required; still others have tried and failed, but they can always fall

back on the ideology of "power" to salve their wounded pride. A big man, moreover, does not maintain his position for good once he has achieved it. He must continue to produce results, to prove that he is still in touch with "power," in a sense. As he becomes old, the number of his exchanges decreases. He speaks less frequently and others stand up in his place to represent the group in any free-for-all discussion. In cases which arise, another will hear it and decide where the fault lies and what the penalty should consist of. This peaceful relaxation of one's position is most evident when the successor is either a real brother or a real son of the big man who is stepping down. In this case, the step-down would normally be graceful and gradual. If another, classificatory brother or son, is coming on as an important man, this may possibly be the beginning of a separation into two groups, especially if the other requirements of separation are also simultaneously being fulfilled; e.g., sufficient population and resources to constitute a viable group for the purposes and activities pertinent to the group of the size and level which is developing.

Such, briefly, is the characterization of the big man. He stands at the nodes of separation in the formal social structure. Every group which separates from another has a big man who becomes the representative of that group, both symbolically and actually. Activities are often phrased in terms of the big man. Walking through the land of the group, the people will often phrase the ownership of the land in terms of the ownership of the big man. Whose land is this? The answer likely will be: "Romakl's" giving the name of the big man of the group who work this land. Closer scrutiny, however, shows that this particular land is

not Romakl's at all, but one of his dependents. Romakl could not alienate that land, or take any of the produce off of it, or touch it in any way whatsoever without getting the consent and permission of the one who really owns the land. When the big man gives a speech, he phrases his speech in the first person: "I did this--I made so and so many ceremonies, etc." This can best be interpreted as a "group-singular" and is often understood precisely in this sense. Such a man will be the moving spirit behind a ceremony; he will organize it, but everybody in his group, or in the group which he represents for this ceremony, must cooperate if it is to be anything like a successful ceremony. And everybody present, listening to the big man boast about his achievements, knows that he is talking about his group's achievements, not his own as an individual.

As we look again at the diagram of the social structure, we must remember that one does not have different big men at each node of every level. There is no hierarchy as such. The big men are particularly important on the lowest level. Then if an activity involves more people, on the level, for example, of the Engamoi, the big men of the smaller groups would come together and discuss and finally arrive at consensus and agreement regarding the activity contemplated. Shortly before I came to the field, all the Kumdis (5,500) performed a ceremony called kung por ronimin, meaning "to kill all the pigs." They all decided to have their pig-killing together, and to line up all the adult men of the Kumdis along the old road and perform their dance, the Murlt. In this dance all the men decorate themselves and then line up in single file next to each other. The dance consists primarily in bobbing up and down on their feet, so that their birds-of-paradise feathers, with which

they are decorated, might wave gracefully in the wind. With this dancing they also chant words composed especially for the occasion. This is the highest level of social structure which will be involved in any one ceremony as a group, and actually it means very little over and above the fact that they all decide to coordinate their activity at this time. Each small group kills its own pigs, makes its own exchanges, acts, in a sense, as if it alone were performing the ceremony and killing pigs. They just decide that they will do it all together to make a bigger impression with their numbers. An activity of this kind does symbolically remind all the Kumdis of their mutual relationship over and above the common possession of the same name. There is, however, little which is done in common on this highest level over and above this type of a ceremony. Warfare, for instance, does not ally the Kumdis together as a group.

If a group decides to mobilize on a larger scale than on the lowest scale, for whatever reason, the big men will be responsible for their own small group. If the larger group mobilizes in opposition to another group, then some one of the big men of the smaller groups will stand forth as the representative of the larger group, not that someone special will be appointed or will set himself up as representative of the larger group here and now and only for this larger group and not for some smaller segment of it at the same time.

In discussing the position of the big man in relation to the social structure, I do not want to imply that he never does act as an individual, for his own ends and aggrandizement, but can only act for the group, insofar as the group allows him to act, etc. This is by no means the case,

And here again we run into the dialectic which is so prominent when investigating the social groups and the place of individuals in these groups in the Mount Hagen area. Judging from the literature I would suggest that the same intimate relationship between the individual and his group, the same influence, one on the other, exists elsewhere as well. I would suggest, then, that in attempting to understand the New Guinea social structural data completely, we must find a way of including the individual, qua individual, in our analysis, otherwise our analysis will always remain incomplete. Certainly in the minds of the New Guinea native, the individual is important in relation to his group, and never do the norms or the structure compel him. Always he is free to do what he wants, in opposition to the group, provided he also accepts the consequences of his action. As it is so often phrased in pidgin-English: "Em laik bilong em, tasol"--it's up to him; it's his business. Individuals not only form the material of the social structure; they also influence it directly. An individual can initiate a process of segmentation or a process of fusion, and if he is forceful enough as an individual, he will also be able to take his group of dependents with him. Normally a person will rely on his group to carry out the activities which belong to that group, but anybody can go outside that group, if he has friends or other relatives there (matrilateral kin, or affinal kin). This, of course, damages the corporate image of the group concerned. No man, moreover, can stand absolutely alone, neither in New Guinea. As a matter of fact, the mbowua is very "group-oriented," yet his choice of groups is quite flexible. If he has difficulty with his own patrilineage, he can readily take up residence elsewhere, provided, of course, he has some sort of relative there.

There is no total freedom of choice allowed to him. The reasons for moving away may be varied. Perhaps he feels he has been slighted in his own group, or he has had some disagreement over land, or some disagreement regarding the disposal of some pigs or shells, or perhaps there is just a persistent clash of personalities. Whatever the reason, he is free to approach his mother's people, and he will be sure to receive land and gardens there. This is one of the rights he has on his mother's brother's group, and they will not refuse him. After all, he is "of our milk." He may take up living with his wife's people, if he is already married. In this case, however, he has fewer rights and remains more of an individual among strangers. He will be given refuge and land, not because of his own rights, but because his wife is a member of the group to which he applies for residence. This situation, as it is described, would not so readily develop, to be sure. Only if the wife herself would be interested in going back to her place would there be a likelihood of their moving. This would be, for example, if war threatened them in the husband's area. The husband, wife, and family would then go to live with her people. On the basis of my genealogies and the reasons adduced for assimilation, this was a very common cause of immigration into the wife's group. Their children, who live with their mother's people now, are very rapidly assimilated. Terminologically they will still be "cross-cousins" to their co-residents, but children's children will already be called "brother/sister" or "son/daughter."

Sometimes the link is not that obvious nor genealogically so close and traceable. In this case the immigrant group may also preserve its identity somewhat longer and not be bound by all the precise rules of exogamy which would

bind the other assimilates who came in on a very precisely remembered connection of someone's sister. Here, however, we only want to indicate something of the importance of the individual, as an individual, in the social organization. The point will be made in different ways again and again as we go through the material dealing with domestic organization and kinship.

VII

In recruiting membership for groups, the emphasis is on the patriline; the ideology is patrilineal in any case. However, one can change one's group membership with a degree of ease. In this case, one might ask whether one loses one's membership in the group which one repudiates by moving away? This is not an easy question to answer, because again the answer depends on factors which might be considered extraneous to the social situation. It depends, for example, on the age at which an individual moves away from his group. If he moves away as a small infant, there would probably be small chance that he would move back to his own father's group, although they might try to get him back. Always, in matters of this nature we must distinguish at least three parties to the move, viz., the person's original patriline, the group to which he moved, and his own desire and wishes in the matter. At my place there was a case which brought out these different groups involved.

A certain young man, about eighteen years of age, had moved to the Engamoi area with his mother, who was a Nengka. She had been married to a Kimi and had this one son by a Kimi man, so the boy, whose name was Ten, was actually a Kimi by virtue of his patriline. His father had died, and

his mother came as second wife to an Engamoi man, bringing her small son with her. No one of the Engamois now considered him a Kimi anymore, but only as an Engamoi. He was bound by most of the rules of exogamy which would bind the Engamois, with one exception. He could, if he so desired, marry someone from the other groups of the Komonika, e.g., an Oinamp or an Elpugump. Opinion was divided on the "correctness" of such a marriage. He could not marry an Engamoi girl, because "he lived here as an Engamoi after all," although there were some doubts even about this. It was also doubtful whether he could marry an Engapin girl or not, since the Engapins and Engamois were more closely related than they were with any of the other Komonikas. Once he was accused of fooling around sexually with the daughter of another assimilated Engamoi. It meant that his step-father, for which they have no special term in the kinship vocabulary, had to pay a pig to the girl's father as a fine, to settle it all. The step-father and the father of the girl, an assimilate, belonged to the same smallest named level, the level of H2, so there was no question of a big fight breaking out. By the same token the action was not considered in the same light as the same action between a brother and sister would have been. It was not incestuous, although the boy and girl could in no wise get married to each other, even though there was no relationship between them whatsoever, and everybody could still trace this lack of relationship clearly. However, if they were to get married, this would mean that the girl's and boy's parents would be giving pigs and shells to themselves, since they were both of the same manga rapa, and this is not considered good. They already share pig and shells by virtue of the

fact that they belong to the same level of social structure. There is no reason to multiply the bond which already exists between the two families. This is the same reason, incidentally, why sister-exchange between two people is forbidden. "We already exchange pig and eat their pork by virtue of the one marriage. By marrying into that group again, we would only be giving pork to ourselves." Group A would give to Group B by virtue of the new marriage, and Group B would give some of the pork back to Group A because of the previous marriage which still has its effects in prolonged exchange. We do not talk only about real sister-exchange here; nothing that close genealogically. The level which regulates this type of exogamy is the level we have called the lineage, to which we have assigned alphabetical letters, viz., A, B, C, etc. Two girls from A, for example, cannot go to two men from Witika B group. However, two girls from A can go to two men of the Witikas, one of whom is from lineage A and the other from lineage B.

When Ten arrived at the age roughly of eighteen, his father's people came to bring him back to their place. The Kimis came to ask him to come home with them and take his place again in his own patriline. They did not ask for the woman, i.e., his mother; nor did they insist strongly that the boy come back. They did not threaten to take the matter to the government court, etc. They merely made the offer to Ten to come back. It was left up to him. His step-father did not force him in anyway to stay. The decision was all Ten's, although everybody knew what it would be. He was an Engamoi, and as such would stay with the Engamois and not go back to his own, i.e., his real father's group and take up residence there.

Ten's step-father could not have forced him to go away. After all, he had land now with the Engamoi and was considered a full member of this group. Still, Ten himself could have gone back to his own patri-group and claimed refuge there, if circumstances were such that this would have been necessary. He could also have gone to his mother's group, the Nengka, and claimed refuge, although this would have been difficult for still another extraneous reason. His mother had repudiated her own group and had resolved never to go back to her own Nengka group because of an incident over a pork-distribution which had occurred years before. This would scarcely have eliminated the son's claim however, if he had had reason to press it. If, however, a child moves to his host-group when he is very small, especially if he is born there, and lives his whole life with his host-group, he would scarcely have any rights in his own patri-group. His children would certainly not have rights anymore.

An adult man may leave his own agnatic group to live with his mother's people or perhaps with his wife's group. A man, in this case, would never lose his membership in his own agnatic group completely, although under circumstances, it might be difficult for him to press his claim again. This would depend primarily on the extent to which he had repudiated his own agnatic group in the first place. If he moved away, lock, stock, and barrel as it were, gave up his house and his gardens of his own accord, he would scarcely be able or perhaps willing to move back again, unless the situation changed drastically; for example, if war threatened him in his host-group's area, he would most likely be able to move back with his agnates. These changes would depend

largely on the exchange relationships and other kinds of connections which one kept with any group. One, of course, could not just move into any group and begin to reside and garden there. So also one would not likely move back unless some sort of connections had been maintained.

These changes of group-affiliation not only take place on higher levels of social structure, but also within the same group on the level of the manga rapa, i.e., on the level of A, B, C, etc. One man was born an andakil. His father died and his mother went to a Kugilikimp (E). Now this man is one of the leading men of the Kugilikimp group, although as such he is not even a member. He has no land with the andakils; but gardens in the general territory of the Kugilikas. Another group of brothers formerly lived in Ndik (a locality) with the Popage manga rapa. Originally they themselves were assimilates. Then as the result of a quarrel, so I was told, although the details escaped everybody, they moved away from Ndik to Koglpila, another locality which had been taken over from the Elpugumps after the fight with them. Here they were assimilated to the Parglimp manga rapa. This group, consisting now of three brothers, one of whom lives with his wife's people, still have gardens in their former locality, viz., Ndik and still see to it that they work these gardens periodically so as to keep claim to them. As far as other activities are concerned, marriages, funerals, ceremonies, their interests are all centered on the Parglimps and not on the Popage. Also they are full-fledged Engamois, bound by all the rules of exogamy of the Engamois.

There are many possible roads leading to assimilation, which all indicate that the individual, as an individual,

has much to say about the process, and to understand the process, one must take into account this fact. One cannot ignore it. I might just give some few examples of the possibilities to show that there is nothing strictly and only structural about assimilation among the Mbowamb. Rather one feels that the individual has a vast number of possibilities from which to choose, several "roads" or paths along which he can travel to a host-group and be accepted there. The net or web of kinship is indeed wide and embraces many people; which strands one chooses to follow out and emphasize are a matter of convenience, preference, availability, reputation of host-group, distance, both geographical and social, plus many other factors. In this connection I would tend to agree with Pospisil's contention that in New Guinea at least the individual and his motivations, etc., are important and have repercussions on the structure (Pospisil 1958). However, mechanisms may exist for readily structuring the results of his choice, nor do we say that his choice is totally unlimited. Within broad limits set by the structure he must remain, but within these limits he is free, and the choice he makes will reverberate in turn on the social system, i.e., on the composition of the group. The symbols the people use to conceptualize their structure may cover up the anomalies brought into it by the individual's choice and in this way quickly tend to bring the symbol system, or the cultural system, and the social structure system back into close agreement. We saw hints of this already in some of our discussion of genealogy and its operation in the system, and it will become even more obvious in the kinship system.

However, I would like to re-emphasize again here that the ideology of recruitment, and the de facto recruitment in the majority of instances, is through patrilineal descent. One is born into one's group, and this group is the group to which one's father belonged. This is also true of assimilated groups, after the one generation when their mothers moved back to their own agnatic group. To be more exact one would have to say one is recruited to the group to which one's pater or social genitor belonged, but with the Mbowamb, the one is usually also the other, and the two of them normally, on the basis of my own questioning and observation, would also coincide with the genetic father. This will become more clear when we discuss the relationship between male and female, and husband and wife.

All the groups of the Mbowamb build up essentially the way the Engamoi do, and they all have levels of social structure more or less equivalent to those described for the Engamoi, with the higher, more inclusive levels of structure regulating exogamy as such, and the lower levels regulating it more accurately and more in accord with the actual genealogical connections perceivable. Both must be taken into account. Of the two, the smaller level, the level equivalent to A, B1, B2, etc., is the most important to any mbowua. This does not mean that an individual will give you all the different levels of social structure to which he may belong, if you ask him. He gives what is necessary here and now to be recognized and placed, given the situation and the circumstances. Thus, if a Moge asked a Kumdi what his name was, he would get as the answer: "na Kumdi Maip"-- "I am Kumdi Maip." This would supposedly be sufficient to identify him in this context. If another Kumdi asked,

however, the response would probably be: "na Engamoi Maip"-- "I am Engamoi Maip" (rarely did I hear anybody refer to himself as a Komonika). The most common form of identification was: "na Kumdi Maip" or "na Engamoi Maip." If an Engamoi or someone now living within the area of the Engamois asked who Maip was, he would then get a variety of answers, depending on the context of the question. The most direct answer would be in terms of the locality which Maip inhabited. Therefore, the answer might be: "mamung Maip"--"Maip from Mamunga." If the context of the question were some exchange, including marriage, the answer would possibly be: "Popage Maip"--"Maip of the small line Popage." What they answer therefore depends on a variety of circumstances and contexts, most of which, I might add, the ethnographer is oblivious to. This has consequence for one's field work, to be sure. If one asks a woman what her line-affiliation is, one can be sure she will not go into enough detail for her answer to be useful for purposes of checking out marriage rules. She will give only the main line-names, or perhaps only her locality name, plus her own, or even the name of her father, or especially now, the name of the tultul or luluai or bosboi (all native government representatives) behind whom she has to stand when it comes time for the census which the government conducts each year. Moreover, the lines, as in the Engamoi situation, are always in the process of separating, just as the Engamoi lines are, so even if one has sufficient depth to one's identification, one can not be sure yet that this particular case is an example of the exogamy rule being broken. Perhaps another group is forming, which is now the pertinent level regulating marriage on the smallest level of concern, so that two

"sisters" who come to the same small manga rapa of the Engamoi are no longer "sisters" in a sufficient sense to warrant exogamy on this level anymore. Their respective patri-groups have separated one from the other for purposes of marriage payments and marriage exchanges, and therefore the one will no longer "eat the pork" which they themselves give, or "exchange with themselves."

VIII

We can summarize the preceding by offering an outline of the isolable social units of the Mbowamb system as they exist in my own area of field work. Then we will compare this with the divisions of Strauss and Vicedom. The latter's work especially has been utilized for comparative purposes (Reay, Berndt, Bulmer); it will be useful therefore to make this comparison with comments.

INDIVIDUAL

Cf. below for more details. Independent, aggressive, self-willed. His own wishes are important and observed. Can exercise choice within limits of cultural and social situation and thus, in turn, modify social situation.

FAMILY

Cf. below for more details.

nuclear:

Unnamed but recognizable in several ways, e.g., in housing situation, land-use and ownership, food preparation, and consumption. Influences rules of exogamy. Kinship terms used within it.

expanded:

unnamed; recognized by genealogical closeness, e.g., all children and wives of one man, or wives and children of real brothers, or wives and children of all half-brothers from a certain generation level. Tends to become a manga rapa. Closer the relationship,

the more frequent the interaction and mutual aid and sharing, e.g., of unused land. These units not clearly defined or recognized by Mbowamb. Kinship terms used within it.

MANGA RAPA

Named. Similar to lineage (below, this level is sometimes called lineage and sometimes also called "lowest named level of social structure"). Primarily concerned in weddings, funerals, exchanges. Influences rules of exogamy. Usually a moka pena attached. At least one recognizable big man, perhaps more. Important unit for mutual aid--house-building, gardening, etc. Genealogical connections traceable. May be a ceremonial unit (for the Moka, for example). Kinship terms used within it.

Linked Manga Rapa:

Genealogical connection considered close. Mutual help in exchange. Share pork at funeral distribution. Named by putting individual names together in pairs. Possible ceremonial unit. Kinship terms used within it.

ENGAMOI
(Group)

Named. Symbolically most important, i.e., first way of identifying and naming person. No internal fighting, i.e., these oppose all others in fight. Influence rules of exogamy. Larger ceremonies tend to be held together--at least all Engamois will be involved somehow, especially helping with the exchanges. Some genealogical connections traceable, others fictitious. Large ceremonial plaza in common. Kinship terms used within it.

Linked Groups:

Named by combining (e.g., Engapin-Engamoi rakl). Mutual aid in warfare. Fighting between the two discouraged, with no records of it having occurred. Genealogy considered closer than with others. Kinship terms used within it.

KOMONIKA
(Clan)

Limit of kinship extension. Influences rules of exogamy. Considered genealogically related, but mostly untraceable. Named. Have home locality (e.g., Kwinka) from whence all spread. Same mystical experience and background as far as their ancestor(s) are concerned. Closest to classical definition of clan, i.e., exogamous, fictitious genealogy, something similar to a totem in the mi (cf. Strauss). Rarely a ceremonial unit. May fight, but make death-compensation also.

Linked Clan:

Named by pairing (Oglaka-Komonika rakl). Ancestors considered somehow more related; shared experience, etc. No kinship extension; not exogamous.

KUMDI

Named. Rarely a ceremonial unit. No kinship extension; not exogamous. Vague sense of being related somehow.

Linked at this
level:

Named by pairing (Kumdi-Remdi rakl). No other seeming consequences at present.

Language Group:

Those who speak the same language. These can be divided into three sections, as outlined in Chapter II, as follows:

- (a) Kuli-Minj group.
- (b) Kotna-Kimil R. Group.
- (c) Hagen Range group.

Mutually intelligible dialects group: As defined in Chapter II;
 (a) Metlpa group.
 (b) Temboka group.
 (c) Kaugel group.
 (d) Aua group.

One might go further still with Wurm's linguistic classifications to combine still other groups. This can be found in his article in the special issue of the American Anthropologist.

Finally we can compare Strauss' breakdown and Vicedom's with the one we have just presented, beginning with the larger units.

	STRAUSS (his criteria)	VICEDOM
KUMDI	mbo'tenda Loosely organized group; fighting within it; same name.	
KOMONIKA (clan)	mbo kats Exogamous. Mystical experience of ancestors and mythological materials the same. Genealogical descent; all are "brothers."	STAMM
ENGAMOI (Group)	pana ru (anda noimp) Connections are no longer merely mythological. Concern with land and marriages; related to division of land of occupation. Term andanoimp (cf. below) stresses patrilinearity and patrilocality.	GROSS-SIPPEN or KLANS.
MANGA RAPA (Lineage)	manga rapa (andakangom) Important in exogamy. Men's house important (also in mythology); important in pork distribution. Also called ōnginōdl (the brothers of so-and-so) emphasizing "brotherhood" rather than descent.	SIPPE (andakang) collective GROSS-FAMILIE

FAMILY

Tepam-kangemadl

FAMILY

Patrilineal, patrilocal emphasis shown in term (father-son group). "Die kleinste soziologische Einheit ist der Vater und seine Söhne-schaft."

INDIVIDUAL Individual.

The term pana ru means "banana ditch," and was not so generally used in my own area, although my people were familiar with the term. Anda noimp means "grand-father penis," and was also found in my area, but again not too commonly used. Much more common in my own area was the expression manga rapa, and this could be used for various levels of structure. One always had to know or ask for the proper reference. In my own area I had the same problem with the terms mbo tenta (one stock) and mbo kats (another stock). These were not used as technical terms for a very definite level of social structure. They could be used for any level whatsoever, in which case the context would be different. For example, the ENGAMOI level might be called a mbo tenta with respect to the MANGA RAPA level, which would then be a mbo kats. The term andakangom means "old man-grandson" or "grand-father-grand-son." The first three divisions of Strauss, mbo tenta, mbo kats, and pana ru are called a mi-Gemeinschaft by him, emphasizing by this certain common mythological experiences and certain taboos, etc., which are held in common.

My own divisions and those of Strauss accord exactly. Possibilities of combining exist which Strauss does not mention, but the main divisions are essentially the same. Vicedom, however, divides the groups up in somewhat different fashion. The criteria defining each group

essentially are very similar for my own division and that of Strauss, with the exception of names which did not seem to be so consistently used in my own area. It is difficult to see just what the criteria of some of Vicedom's divisions are.

CHAPTER IV

LOCALITY AND DOMESTIC ORGANIZATION

Fortes, in his well-known article on the structure of unilineal descent groups, gives as one of the major contributions of modern studies in Social Anthropology the recognition of the importance of three levels of interaction, which he calls respectively the level of corporate group structure and government, the level of local organization, and the level of kinship. He says:

We see these levels are related to different collective interests which are perhaps connected in some sort of hierarchy. And one of the problems of analysis and exposition is to perceive and state the fact that all levels of structure are simultaneously involved in every social relationship and activity [Fortes 1953:29].

In this section then we propose to describe the local organization of the Mbowamb. This will include primarily a summary description of their domestic organization and their family structure. This will help us to better understand the workings of the kinship system in everyday life. It is in terms of both the larger structures of their society, which have been briefly described above, and their kinship system that this domestic activity takes place, and it is very often in the domestic group itself, on the lowest level of structure, that the connection between kinship and the more inclusive levels of structure is effected. Without

some understanding, moreover, of the activities which take place in the domestic group, we cannot adequately understand marriage as an institution, nor would we have anything approaching an adequate concept of what the husband-wife relationship is or the effects of this union of marriage. Once we get a notion of the local arrangements of the domestic groups which make up an effectively cooperating unit, in this case the smallest named level of social structure which we have talked about above, and once we have an idea of the connection between the domestic family and the lineage level, we are then in a much better position to evaluate the content of kinship interaction in the following sections.

I

One very important concept to understand when discussing the local and domestic organization of the Mbowamb is the concept of the mangkona. This is a combination of two words, manga, which means "house" and kona, which means, among other things, "place." It can also mean "rain" or "weather in general." This seems to be an extension, however, of the meaning "place." One can, for instance, interpret the expression "kona ronum"--"it is raining"--quite nicely as "with reference to the place it strikes," which is one literal translation of this expression. There is the difficulty, however, as Strauss points out, that the cognate in Timboka is quite different, and that there are two quite different expressions for "place" and "rain" in the Timboka dialect. The mangkona is where the Mbowamb spend most of their time, dividing their day between their mangkona and

their gardens, many of which will be in the same mangkona. When people are outside of their locality (which is how we shall translate the expression mangkona), they will speak of going to their mangkona, rather than to their manga or "house." If, however, they are inside their locality, then they would speak of going to their manga.

These localities have names, most of which are derived from the names of small streams which divide one locality from the other. The use of streams as boundary markers is very common among the Mbowamb, and major streams are what normally mark any one level of social structure off from another group territorially. Not only inhabited localities have names, however; to sort out the names of localities is a very confusing task. Some localities have only gardens on them; eventually they may also have houses on them, but at the time of my stay there were only gardens. Other named localities seem to consist only of a clump of trees or consist mostly of a cemetery. In these cases, the localities are often specially connected with a certain spirit or group of spirits which give the area its name. An over-look on a mountain ridge will often have its own name; a particular stretch of swamp may have its peculiar name; an odd-shaped rock formation will probably be given a special name, perhaps also associated with a special spirit. The association, it might be added, does not usually imply anything beyond the mere fact of the association. There is no sacrifice offered on the spot, nor any special reverence taken of it, unless one were passing by this spot at night, especially if one had had some omens within the recent weeks. However, the most important localities are the ones which have houses, where people live.

II

First of all, let us consider more carefully a typical locality and its spatial arrangements. This locality, called Knia (which is actually a small stream which flows along the side of the locality) is inhabited by a group of real and classificatory brothers and their children with their wives, young daughters, and sons. The pertinent genealogical connections can be readily seen from the complete genealogy which is included here for this locality. This locality is inhabited by the Kopaligas, of whom we have already spoken in different contexts. There are no assimilates living in this locality, only Kopaligas.

For ease of reference, we have numbered the various houses of this locality. The round houses, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 9 are men's houses. Number 9 is used by a brother who had been married, but whose wife left, and his sister who is about fifteen years old.

Houses 7 and 8 are "haus-marits," i.e., houses where the husband and wife both live. In each case, they have one small child. In each case also, the two men have men's houses in another locality inhabited by this social group, about two and one-half miles distant.

Oblong houses, number 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, and 20 are women's houses, where the wife, respectively wives of the adult men live, together with the younger children. Sometimes the children are not so young. For example, a young man about eighteen still lives in his mother's house, number 15. Here also are kept the pigs which are not housed in their other locality.

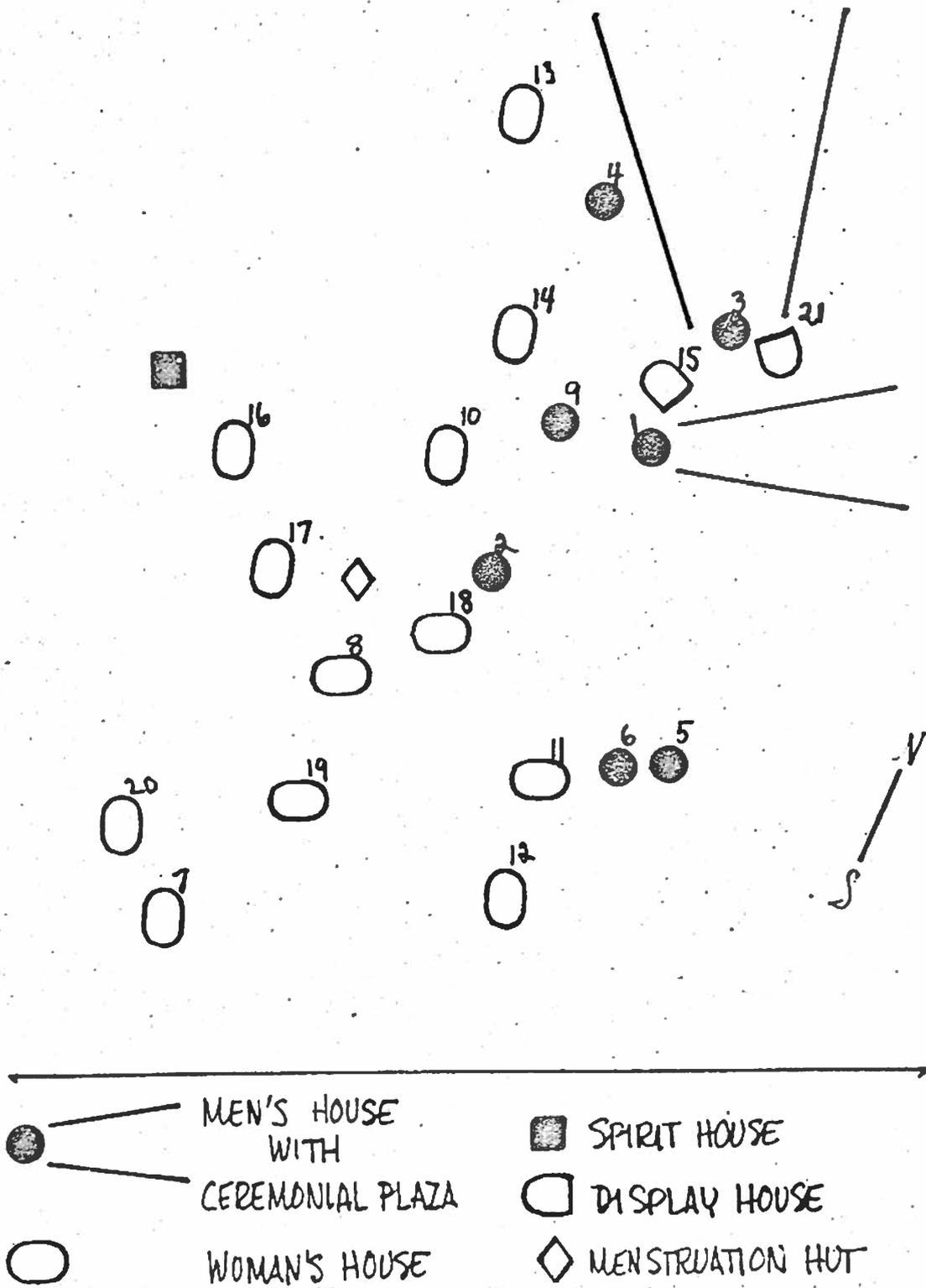


Fig. 10.--A Mangkona or Locality

House 10 is for a married man and his wife, but they are baptized Lutherans, and the wife especially spends much of her time in the Lutheran village established not far from here.

House 17 is a woman's house, but is no longer used, except as a place for drying coffee.

The diamond-shaped house is a "bush" house, i.e., is used by the women who are menstruating. For five nights they sleep in this small hut, which is shaped and built like a man's house, but much smaller. In this hut they also have their babies. During these two times, dangerous to the men, the women live for some days in this special house. There was a temporary menstrual hut built near house 13 for purposes of housing a daughter who was having a baby, but it was very poorly built, and was not used except for this one time, and then only briefly.

The square-shaped houses are kur manga or "spirit-house." Around them is a small, level space, with cooking stones and one or more small pits dug out. Here pigs are killed from time to time.

The areas which are lined off in front of houses 1 and 3 are two ceremonial plazas, which are kept free of trees, except for one special tree planted in the center of the plaza, which is important in their ceremonial connected periodically with this plaza, which is called a moka pena. Moka, we have seen, means "shell-exchange" and pena means "outside" or "lawn-area." The open area is therefore directly connected with this particular ceremony of exchange. The main ceremonial ground is the one in front of house 3. The sides of these plazas are bounded either with target bushes (*cordyline fruticosa*) or casuarina trees, some of which grow very high. The age and size of these trees is

used sometimes as an indication that another large exchange should be held, in connection with which the moka pena is cleaned up and redecorated and another special tree (poglam mbo) planted in the center of it.

Around the houses the people plant gardens, in this case banana, taro, native greens, and sugar cane. The sweet-potato gardens extend further off the map and are not shown. They are still in this locality, however, and the two of them together equal about fourteen acres according to my estimate.

Where there are no gardens between the houses, there is "bush" areas, which comprise either stands of trees, some of them fairly good-sized, about six inches in diameter, or short open grass area. This latter is the part bounded by houses 9, 2, 19, 8, 17, 16, 14, and 9. The stands of trees, with very little underbrush and low grass cover, is banana land in fallow. One can still detect the ditching patterns in this area, and here and there one can recognize where a house had formerly stood. In this area now pigs will be tethered, and here they will root for the worms and roots which form a large part of their diet. The short, open grass area is another kind of fallow-land. There are only a few trees here, and the rest of it is grass-land. This is sweet-potato land in fallow. According to the natives, bush fallow becomes banana, sugar-cane, and taro gardens and grass fallow becomes sweet-potato gardens.

Around some of the houses, especially the women's houses, one can find "kitchen" gardens of taro and different kinds of native greens. This is true of houses 13, 15, and 12.

To the right of the map, i.e., running alongside houses 12, 17, and 16 is the beginning of a steep river

gorge, which river marks the boundary of the land belonging to the Engamois as a group. At the top of this gorge, before it becomes too steep, there are a few gardens of banana and taro.

House number 21 is a glapa manga, which is a house, open on one end, where shells are displayed prominently on the occasion of a large shell exchange, for example a moka or a wua peng. Sometimes half of this glapa manga will be enclosed and will serve as a regular house for a woman, as is the case with house number 15. Half of this is open and is a glapa manga and half is a woman's house. Glapa manga often serve as places to meet and discuss affairs. They serve as convenient resting places in time of rain, or places to play cards, etc. Sometimes on warmer evenings, or when many people are staying overnight, a glapa manga also serves as a sleeping house.

The scale of the inhabited area of this map is roughly 150 yards by 350 yards. This is not a large locality, therefore, and one can easily walk across it in a few minutes. The area is criss-crossed with paths, most of them of a meandering variety. For this reason it would be difficult to estimate frequency or intensity of communication on the basis of the system of paths, the frequency with which they are travelled, etc. The same path will serve to link one house with several others, and there are generally alternate ways of getting to the same house. The main path to the localities beyond this one, and to one of the main crossing places of the Baiyer River runs alongside this locality. This path is also used by the members of this locality, so it would be difficult to estimate anything really concrete on interaction patterns on the basis of the physical roads of communication.

The moka pena serves as a playground for the younger children of the locality, and they can be seen playing there almost any time during the day. Here also larger meetings will be held, for example, wedding exchanges. Other than this, however, they do not serve as places to hold regular gatherings or courts. This is often done in house number 21. Each locality will have at least one of these houses, perhaps two or more, in different stages of disrepair, depending how long ago it has been since their last large shell-exchange. Where people gather is largely a function of the number of people present, of the weather, and partly as well of the purpose for which they gather.

This locality mapped here might be called a "classical" instance of locality among the Mbowamb. It is comprised of only one level of social structure, what we have called the "lowest named level" or the manga rapa level. The name given to the social structural level inhabiting this locality is Kopaliga, as we have said above. And there are only Kopaligas living here, with no assimilated people, other than the wives of the men, who necessarily come from other groups and have moved in. Moreover, it is complete except for one son and his wife who live in another locality recently taken over by the group as a result of the fight mentioned above, and two wives of the big man of this group, who himself lives at Knia. Some of the people living here have a second house in this new area, but for the most part still live at Knia.

In this locality there live fifty-five people, men, women, and children. Four of the grown, adult men are real brothers, with the same father and mother, and they, their wives and children, account for thirty-eight of the people

who live here. The rest are sons of half-brothers of these four uterine, full brothers. Therefore, they call these four their father also. They, their wives and children account for the rest, except for one man, Koa, who lives in house 10 with his wife and daughter. To speak of this man as an example of assimilation, however, is somewhat misleading. Originally the entire group was assimilated, although now, by the third generation, they are all considered Engamois. Indeed, Romakl, as we said above, who is the big man of this group, is also one of the biggest men of the whole Kumdi group. Romakl's father's mother was an Engamoi woman who married a Kopaliga man. Koa's ancestors were Kopaligas who came in on this connection.

In spite of the density of population and the closeness of the relationship, there is no village ideology, no feeling or sense of the houses being grouped together in anything like an orderly fashion, no sense of their forming a unit of any kind, other than the unit of the relationship and the locality. The notion of mangkona includes, moreover, not only housing area, but also extensive garden area, and fallow area as well. Some localities are not too densely built up; still other localities are named, but do not even have houses on them, just gardens perhaps, or a cemetery with surrounding bush area.

The houses of the Mbowamb are divided into men's and women's houses and are scattered throughout a locality, not completely at random, but in a fairly haphazard fashion nevertheless. The men's houses are not the communal houses that they are in other parts of New Guinea. Each married man has his own men's house, where he sleeps with his unmarried, male sons, an unmarried brother perhaps, or an old father,

etc. One of the men's houses will usually be slightly larger and will be referred to by a special name. This is often the house which stands at the head of the main moka pena or ceremonial plaza. There is nothing like a bachelor's special house, or a communal house for all the males of a certain lineage. Each adult male should have his own men's house, and normally does unless he has not gotten around to making one yet, or finds it as convenient, for the time being, to live with a brother, or some other arrangement has been made.

The men's house is a round house, varies slightly in size, but is normally about seventy-five feet in circumference. It is divided into a large living section, which has an open fireplace, and several rooms in the back semi-half of the house. These serve as the sleeping quarters, places where valuables are kept, etc. The houses are built low to the ground, primarily for purposes of warmth, not for reasons of camouflage or other kind of protection. The houses are not built on ridges or promontories or inaccessible places, with an eye to defense. They are scattered about, normally close to, but not necessarily surrounded by gardens. At night, when the temperatures drop to 50 degrees fahrenheit, the Mbowamb crawl inside their houses, close the doors, then build open fires inside the house for warmth, and after a bit of small talk, drift quickly to sleep. The house, needless to say, becomes very uncomfortable very quickly, but the Mbowamb prefer the smoke to the cold. There is no chimney or other opening to take away the smoke, because this would also allow the cold and the rain to come in, according to their statements, and this would be most uncomfortable for them.

The woman's house, on the other hand, is oblong in shape. Here will sleep the wife-mother, with her children and her pigs. Each wife has a house of her own, or at least a separate section of a larger house which might accommodate two, even three wives, who would be co-wives. Sometimes also older sons will continue to sleep in their mother's house rather than with their father. This is especially the case, according to my observation, in polygynous families. In this case the sons stay with their own mother rather than mingle and sleep together with the father in his men's house. Much depends again on the relations which exist at any time between the father and his sons.

Again, the woman's house is built close to the ground for warmth, and at night the doors are closed, a fire built, and around 8 or 9 o'clock of an ordinary evening all are asleep or at least retired for the night.

Houses are not grouped in villages in the Mount Hagen area, but are scattered about. Nor do the appropriate men's and women's houses necessarily go together in the sense that the husband's house will be closest to his wife's house, or that all the wives of a polygynist will be grouped about his men's house. (This is not the case, as we see from the map of our locality.) This is not to say that the houses are so far scattered one from the other. Still, one has to look hard to see the neighboring houses, because they are usually surrounded with shrubbery, are perhaps built into a hole which has been dug first in the ground. Moreover, after a few years grass begins to grow on the roof of the house, which camouflages it all the more from vision. There is no sense of village unity, therefore, although the locality

itself is a very important and frequent means of identification, especially within the Engamois themselves. Often it happens that there are people with the same names, e.g., Buri. They can be distinguished in various ways, one of which is by giving them their locality when using their name, e.g., "knia Buri" as opposed to "Mamung Buri." Or they might be identified by their mother's line affiliation, or if they are both from the same locality they might be identified by distinguishing their relative age, as was the case with "O Buri" and "kel Bur," i.e., "big Buri," and "small Buri," which was a reference to age, not to size. This type of housing is often referred to as homestead type. In New Guinea it extends from slightly west of Goroka all the way to the Strickland Gorge in the far west. One difference with the Mbowamb housing, if one reads the literature carefully on the other parts of the Highlands, lies in the point that the Mbowamb make no attempt to build their houses in easily defended positions, e.g., on high ground or on a prominent ridge overlooking the whole countryside. The other striking aspect, also common to many parts of the Central Highlands, is the separation of men's and women's houses. This very obviously reflects on the relationship between males and females, and must be kept in mind when we later discuss some of the consequences of marriage insofar as it establishes a new domestic group, which divides itself so sharply on the basis of sex. However, the antagonism between males and females as this relationship is often broadly characterized (Meggitt, Reay, et al.) is not really so sharp among the Mbowamb, as I intend to show later, and again this also seems reflected in the housing, because the division is not really so absolute at all. One often sees

women in the men's houses, and vice versa. Often young men will still be sleeping in their mother's houses, rather than in a men's house of their own or their father's. Sometimes, indeed, the men will not have a men's house of their own, but will live rather in a woman's house. This might be especially the case at the beginning of marriage, when the newlyweds would begin living together in one of the groom's mother's extra pig houses.

III

In the locality mapped there are a total of nineteen inhabited houses; nine of them are women's houses, ten are men's houses. The maximum number of people normally living in any woman's house is four, the minimum one; the maximum in any man's house is also four, the minimum is two.

To get a better notion of the housing situation among the Mbowamb we give the following table which summarizes the numerical data for all the Engamois with respect to housing.

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND KINDS OF HOUSES AND OCCUPANTS

Number of People Normally Sleeping Here	Number of Men's Houses	Number of Women's Houses
1	14	12
2	20	28
3	28	29
4	24	28
5	7	17
6	6	6
7	2	6
8	. . .	2
9	1	. . .
	Houses: 102	Houses: 118
	People: 336	People: 452
		Total Houses: 220
		Total People: 788

This table is not complete in some important respects. It does not tell us, for instance, how many adult men sleep in women's houses, or how many adult women sleep in men's houses. The totals 336 and 452 do not mean there are 336 males and 452 females in the society. Many boys sleep in women's houses. The government census figures for the Engamoi, 1963, report the following: Males, 387; Females, 376. These figures are very close to my own. The difference of 15 people is easily explained by the census techniques employed. I include, for instance, some assimilated people in my own list, people who normally have to go to their own place to be entered into their own group's census book.

These, moreover, are houses which are inhabited. There are other houses which stand empty, but are used to house pigs when necessary. There are glapa manga usually at the side of each moka pena.

The list given tells us only who normally sleep in these houses. There is much freedom of choice for an individual as far as sleeping place is concerned. I might say also that it is very difficult to make anything like a spot check on who slept where on any one night. The information in the table relates to what the people think of sleeping arrangements. These are the ones, they said, who slept together in this or that house as a normal rule. Visiting and visitors further complicate the picture.

A study of housing and sleeping arrangements leads us directly to an investigation of the family structure among the Mbowamb. Ideally each woman's house should contain a wife and her children, i.e., all her daughters and her younger sons, whereas each men's house should contain

the husband and his adult sons. Adult male and female dependents, or visitors, sleep with their closest relatives in the men's or women's house respectively. Sometimes a woman's house will be a composite one, as many as three wives sharing one house together. In this situation, however, the large house will be divided into sections, and each wife will have her own complete section, i.e., with cooking place, pig stalls, and sleeping quarters, with her own separate entrance.

The Mbowamb, as we have seen, are polygynist, multiple wives being considered an ideal. Actually, of course, the majority of adult males are monogamous, if only because the sex-ratio is so equivalent. Marriages among the Engamoi are broken down in the following way. The figures relate to the situation as it was at the time I made my investigation in the form of a house and inhabitants census. The males are the point of reference.

TABLE 2

MARITAL STATUS OF THE KUMDI ENGAMOIS

Number of Wives		Number of Husbands	
	1		115
	2		18
	3		5
	4		4
Total Wives:	182	Total:	142
		Total Polyg.:	27
		Per cent Polyg.:	19

The number of men who were never married and are well beyond marriageable age (bachelors), 6; men who are widowed and not remarried, all of whom are old, 5; and men who were married and are now alone because their wives left them, 5. Three of these are young and two are somewhat older.

Polygyny is not as prevalent as one might expect from the high value which the Mbowamb place on this type of marriage. There are several reasons for this, one of which is the sex-ratio. We noted (p. 151) that the difference is in favor of the males, and the same holds true generally also for the groups which neighbor on the Engamois. The people themselves realize this and the missionaries often use this as an argument against polygamy, viz., that some men will therefore have to remain unmarried. And the argument is recognized as valid. The disproportion is somewhat balanced out in several different ways. The girls tend to be younger at the age of marriage, around 17-20, than are the boys who are between 20-24 when they get married. This, however, would not be a permanent solution. Moreover, every woman eventually gets married. There were no unmarried women among the Engamois, unless they were still young or widowed and for some reason had not remarried. Perhaps they are too old, in which case they often decide to stay with their son, if they have one, and take care of his pigs. In some cases the widow may still be nursing a baby. When the baby is weaned, chances are she will then remarry. There are, however, bachelors in the culture, men who for some reason or other never married. Such a man is usually considered "rubbish," i.e., the opposite of a big man. One of these six men had deformed legs. The normal situation,

to be sure, is for each man and woman to marry and set up a household of their own.

It is in the family circle, dominated in the early years by the mother, that the child grows up and is first socialized in the values of his culture. It is difficult to say, with respect to any one individual, what constitutes the family into which he is born, under the auspices of which he grows up. This varies from child to child as the cycle of development of the domestic group proceeds apace. The position of a first child differs from that of a last born, and the number and kind of siblings will also reflect on the domestic group and affect the socialization of any one of the children. In New Guinea, however, the effects of such different kinds of domestic groups will not be so meaningful as elsewhere, since any child is always surrounded by many brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, even though he may be the only child in his own immediate family of orientation, or the last, or the first, etc.

To get some better idea of the actual situation into which a Mbowamb child can expect to be born, we can consider here the child-bearing histories of sixty-five women, each of whom was beyond the menopause, whose child-bearing period, therefore, was finished. For our present purposes it is fairly indifferent whether these women were in a polygamous or monogamous union. In neither case, the husband, with few exceptions and ideally never, lives with the wife anyway. Whether the woman is an only wife or one of several makes little difference as far as the husband's treatment of the woman is basically concerned. The child, boy or girl, will spend the early years of his life in the woman's house, sleeping close to his mother, under her direction and control for the most part, but both of them

always subject to the final control and authority of the father. This is rarely, however, exercised in the early years, except indirectly through the authority he exercises over the mother.

The child-bearing history of these sixty-five women will give a cross-section view of the composition, living and dead, of a Mbowamb household, and thereby indicate roughly what is the typical composition of a Mbowamb family.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF CHILDREN, LIVING AND DECEASED,
OF SIXTY-FIVE WOMEN

Category ^a	Children Dead		Children Living	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	7 ^b	5	115	120
2	13	8		
3	20	16		
4	12	5		
5	2	.		
6	10	6		
7	2	5		
8	1	3		
Total:	67	48		

^aCategories are as follows:

- 1 = still-born
- 2 = just born and died
- 3 = suckling and small
- 4 = suckling and walking
- 5 = just weaned
- 6 = young child, between 5 and 14 or so
- 7 = died as a young man/woman of marriageable age
- 8 = already married.

^bIncludes one set of twins, sex unknown.

Another way of defining these data, even more useful to give us an idea of family composition, is according to the number of children per woman as follows:

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF DECEASED CHILDREN PER WOMAN

Number of Children Dead	Number of Women
0	12
1	22
2	7
3	19
4	3
5	2
No. children dead: 115	<u>65</u>

We can do the same for living children:

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN PER WOMAN

Number of Children Living	Number of Women
0	3
1	3
2	7
3	16
4	18
5	12
6	4
7	2
No. children living: 235	<u>65</u>

Finally, we can make the same kind of table for both living and deceased children per woman:

TABLE 6
NUMBER OF CHILDREN, LIVING AND DEAD, PER WOMAN

	Number of Children Living and Dead	Number of Woman
	0	1
	1	1
	2	2
	3	7
	4	4
	5	17
	6	13
	7	15
	8	5
No. of children and dead:	350	<u>65</u>

These figures average out as follows:

TABLE 7
AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER WOMAN

Number Per Woman	Children
Births	5.4
Live	3.6
Dead	1.8

IV

We begin our discussion of domestic activity among the Mbowamb with some of the causes of scattered housing. This will also introduce us to some of the very characteristic interpersonal relations of the Mbowamb and some of

their most important activities as well.

One characteristic of the New Guinea Highlands situation which must be considered, a characteristic which reflects on both aspects of residence, namely the separation of men and women and the scattered nature of residence is the quality of independence which the Mbowamb evince. Vicedom indicated this in his work already. One lives separate from others, he said, from a feeling of self-sufficiency and independence. One lives close enough to others that there is quick help in time of danger, yet separate because each is the lord of his own little area where he finds everything he needs, essentially independent of anyone else. That the people of the Central Highlands are self-satisfied, aggressive, and independent is attested by almost every worker who has been there, and the same is very true of the Mbowamb. This they share with other people who have been described in the literature. Indeed, the first general ethnography from the Highlands published in English, took just this very trait as its theme. I refer to Marie Reay's book The Kuma: Freedom and Conformity in the New Guinea Highlands. That the Mbowamb are self-satisfied could be substantiated in a variety of ways, e.g., by studying their approach to magic, in which they confidently attempt to bend the will of spirits and the deceased to match their own will rather than the other way around. They are generally proud and satisfied with their native ways, customs, and dress. Nothing is too difficult for them; they are generally overconfident of their abilities and skills. Also scattered housing arrangements and loose rules regulating where a person must sleep seem to reinforce this feeling of independence. If there is any difficulty at home, a quarrel or

fight, the one party will just leave the house to live with someone else until the anger subsides. No one ever worries if a young boy or girl does not come home at night. It is generally understood that they can take care of themselves. Their system of housing helps foster that spirit and feeling of independence.

It is difficult to document the influence which a spirit of independence has on the scattered nature of housing, but it would seem to be a factor. It leads us rather directly to another tendency which more obviously influences housing, namely the nature of interpersonal relations between people. The quality of this relationship also often pulls groups apart. For instance, if two men, both closely related, are trying to achieve the status of wua nuim or big man, it may happen that they will quarrel. It is not at all unlikely given the general aggressiveness of their behavior. One will probably move his house to a new, till then uninhabited "bush" area. At first there will be much coming back, but gradually more time will be spent in the new place. The end result is a scattered residence situation. Anybody could actually form the nucleus of such a new group, because we also have a new structural level emerging in such a situation. From indications derived from various situations and groups, it would seem likely that the group will eventually form either around a big man--it will then take its name from the mother of the big man's line--or a group will develop around the children of one of the wives of the big man, and the group will then probably take its name from the pertinent wife's line. In this there are hints of sibling-rivalry, although brothers are supposed to get along together, help each other, not be envious of each other, and so on, as we

shall see later. And for the most part this is the case. Brothers keep their rivalry under control. Nevertheless, the situation between brothers is one of potential conflict at least, especially if two "brothers" are not uterine or if a struggle of sorts develops between a "father" and "son" who happen to be of roughly the same age, ambition, and ability.

Another interpersonal relationship which more commonly causes scattered residence is the relationship which exists between co-wives. We shall see later that they call each other "brother"; in spite of this, co-wives are rarely really close. One example in my notes stands out. A man had two wives, the second of whom had never been accepted by the head-wife. This man had his men's house and nearby, had built a house for each of his wives. But even this was not distant enough, so for his second wife he built another woman's house and gardens in a new locality altogether, about one and one-half miles away. The husband alternated between the two residences. The children of the one wife then, tend to remain in their mother's general area; when the boys marry, they will then build their houses nearby where their mother lives. In this case, a younger brother of the husband and his mother (a different mother) and wife moved to the new locality. Another brother of the husband built a pig house nearby in the new locality. In this fashion, a new locality is developed, the pertinent social structural level, in this case the smallest named group or lineage, becomes dispersed and a scattered residence pattern is developed.

Coupled with the above very often are population pressures in any one locality. There is sufficient land

available for all, even given present techniques. This is also a feeling which is prevalent with the Mbowamb. Any one place, however, can get crowded and necessitate movement. The locality described by the map is one such place. Groups, however, do not move out to a new area. It is an individual matter. Here again is an example of the individualism of the Mbowamb commented on at length already by Vicedom. Each individual, i.e., husband and wife or wives establishes a new house wherever he sees fit on the ground available. Later when another moves away, he does essentially the same thing, although very likely it will be a close relative, someone who has, in the meantime, been sharing the first man's house on and off, who now decides to build his own. Chances are, therefore, that he will build his house fairly close to the earlier one. We have the beginning of a new locality with scattered housing.

Another very important force, the most important perhaps, which tends to cause scattered residence is pig-herding. This is worth a few words here also because of the great influence which the pig has on domestic relations, and on relations between people in general. Pigs and gardens form two of the major interests of Mbowamb life (another would be their interest in exchanges). Gardens are necessary for life at its most basic; pigs are necessary to make life worth living in any social way. Shells, feathers, money nowadays, these items are also valued, but are not half so important as the pig in meaning. No social activity of any consequence can take place without a pig-killing or an exchange of pigs/pork. The pig-complex is very central to their social organization. Surprisingly, no one to my knowledge has yet published a full account of the pig-complex

for any part of this area. I am not able to do so here, yet certain aspects of pig-herding, as it relates to domestic organization, and scattered housing, might profitably be mentioned here.

Pigs, in the Mount Hagen area are tame. They are carefully tended by the women, although a man does not consider it below his dignity to look after pigs. Normally at night the pigs sleep in the special stalls in the women's house, although it is not rare for one or more pigs to be housed at night in the men's house as well. Pigs get familiar with their surroundings and their herders, so when a new, strange pig is received in an exchange, special care must be taken to look after it, or else it will run away. There are no unowned pigs in my area. In the morning the women will take their pigs to some grazing spot, fasten the pigs' rope to a clump of grass or a tree, then leave it to go work in the garden, attend a court, or do whatever activity is scheduled for the day. The pigs root for worms during the day. Towards evening the women bring them back to the house and give them their one meal of sweet potato. Sometimes a pig will break loose and roam about. Then the woman will have to look for the pig, calling out with her peculiar nasal "aaahhhnnnnnnzzzz." Shoats may be allowed to roam more freely, but a pig which is thus unattended runs the risk of being stolen, for example by a group of young men, who would kill it and eat it in the bush. Sweet-potato gardens are not fenced in as a general rule, so a loose pig might get into a garden and cause damage. Such a pig, if it belongs to someone other than the owner of the garden, might be killed. There would be a court case over this, and the decision would probably be against the one who

killed the pig. He should have merely driven the pig out, then had the owner of the pig compensate for the damaged garden. The general feeling and tenor of the courts held about this were that the owner of the garden had no real right to kill the pig.

Pigs, today as well as formerly, are one of the main causes of court cases and disputes, even fights. And a fight which begins with pushing can readily degenerate into a full-scale battle with sticks and, formerly, with arrows.

Pigs do not break into gardens as often as one might expect, given the unfenced nature of sweet-potato gardens. This would indicate that pigs are quite carefully herded. It is a mark of prestige for a woman to look after her pigs well, give them plenty of food so that they grow large quickly, so large that their tusk-teeth curl outside of their mouths and backwards. In so being entrusted with the pigs, a woman is given great honor; she is also given quite a say in how the pigs she looked after will be distributed, although the husband can override her desires. He would do so at his own risk, however, or at least at the risk of making his own life more unpleasant by inviting all sorts of arguments, disagreements, and fights with his offended wife. That pigs do not break into gardens more often also indicates that pigs must not be very closely herded together, at least not too close to sweet-potato gardens. The people deliberately move their pigs afield, grazing them in a way similar to cattle. Much of the pigs' sustenance comes from what they can forage for themselves. As a consequence, different groups are constantly moving their pigs around, bringing them to different, uncultivated places or "bush"

areas. Very often the people will build a pig-house close by in a new bush area. This is actually a woman's house--the two terms are synonymous--where the pigs will be kept at night and where they will be fed. A wife or daughter, or very often a son and his new wife, may move out there also. Again we have as the concrete result a pattern of scattered housing. These pig-houses may not be continuously used. They may stand empty, but the way these people do herd their pigs certainly tends to lead to scattered housing.

Gardening also contributes to the scatter-effect of housing; to a lesser degree, however, than the items mentioned above. A man's gardens are rarely held in one block, but are scattered about in different localities. Almost always garden-ownership is phrased in terms of the father owning this or that piece of ground, reference usually being made to a tree he planted there, or a line of bush; perhaps the garden he made is still in production or the remains of it are still visible. Normally all of a man's gardens, although scattered in different localities, will be fairly close to his house. A thirty-minute walk for the people is not considered far. If gardens are further away than this, the husband will usually have a house, man or woman's house, closer to this garden. Some pigs will be kept out there. The pigs are first moved out, and then gardens are gradually made. This would be the normal sequence. Gardens may come before pigs, under conditions of over-population, or in anticipation of a large pig-herd to come, as at the time of a big ceremony. A garden, however, would have to be quite distant before it would necessitate building a house there for the sole purpose of working it adequately.

Gardens, therefore, do not tend to be the force for

dispersion we might expect. Consider our map again. The only gardens surrounding the houses are small taro patches and two larger banana gardens. The staple, sweet-potato gardens are located off by themselves, the same situation exactly which we might expect if people actually lived in villages and went out to work their gardens. In no case are any houses strategically located with particular reference to gardens, especially sweet-potato gardens. And much the same holds true for the other localities. One group of the Popages has its main sweet-potato garden close by the Kopaliga locality, in a place called Kwinka, although none of the Popagas actually live at Kwinka. They all live in a place called Mamunga. Consequently, they do not build their houses just to be close to their gardens, although this does become a limiting factor to be sure.

To summarize here the reasons tending to scatter the houses, reasons which also describe some of the relationships between people, we can talk (a) about their spirit of independence; (b) about people not getting along together; (c) of over-crowding; (d) of their custom and way of herding pigs; and (e) of the need of a newly married son for a house of his own. These are some of the forces which tend to foster scattered housing, forces which are fairly common, I would say, to all the Highlands. That these forces can actually result in a pattern of scattered housing in some areas, and not in others, is due to other causes, for example patterns of warfare, which we cannot go into here at this point.

Around five-thirty or six o'clock in the morning, the people begin to stir and come out of their houses. If it is a foggy morning, with a wet, chilly atmosphere, they will stay inside longer, not coming out, not becoming active until as late as eight or nine o'clock. If it is a bright day, or if something special is scheduled for the day, they will be up fairly early. Their routine is very flexible on such matters. The mother of the house stirs up the fire, then brings the pigs outside and perhaps gives them some scraps of sweet potato which are left over from the night before. The rest of the family, meanwhile, are getting up and getting accustomed to the new day. Breakfast consists of sweet potato, either of some tubers freshly baked in the ashes or left over from the night before. Baked sweet potatoes are hung from the ceiling of the house during the night, to keep them out of the reach of rats during the night. This is breakfast for the Mbowamb. After breakfast, the women leave to go to their gardens, to take up their work of weeding, planting, mounding, and so on. They work in a leisurely fashion, with many breaks for a smoke or for a session of gossip with another lady who is also working in her garden. Often several women, wives of brothers or a mother and her daughters, or especially a woman and her daughter-in-law will be working in the same garden together. They appreciate this kind of cooperation very much because it makes the work go by more quickly and pleasantly. First of all, they build a small fire of the bits of grass and sticks which they can readily scrape together. Usually around noon or thereabouts they will roast a few sweet potatoes or some ears of corn

for their lunch. Perhaps they will be satisfied with a few stalks of sugar-cane. The Mbowamb normally maintain that they eat only twice a day, viz., in the morning and again in the evening, because these are the only times they eat sweet potato. During the day, however, they munch on sugar-cane, native greens, and other odds and ends.

Towards mid-afternoon the women begin to dig out the sweet potatoes which will serve for the evening meal for their husband, children, and pigs. To provide this food is perhaps the woman's main responsibility, and she must do this on a day-by-day basis. This is where her life of drudgery is most evident. None of the foods consumed by the Mbowamb store very well, so they must supply themselves rather much on a day-by-day basis. Sweet-potato tuber storage is possible, to a limited extent, as is the storage of sugar-cane and bananas, but the Mbowamb prefer to store ripe tubers right in the ground where they are growing. If the soil is fairly dry, or there is good drainage, sweet potatoes can remain in the ground for months without spoilage, waiting there to be dug out by the owner of that particular garden. In certain circumstances, if a woman is going to attend a court, or hear some speeches, or go to some celebration, she will dig out her sweet potato for the day early in the morning, and have the rest of the day free for her own activity. If a woman provides well for her family and pigs in matters of food, she is considered an *amp nuim* or a big woman, and her husband will be proud of her. Such a woman will not likely be divorced or leave her husband, because he will treat her well. He will more readily accede to her wishes and desires when it comes time to distribute pork. The woman herself will be accorded honor in the

society; in many instances her opinion might even be asked by the group at large, not just by her own husband and family. In any case, with the women of her own, i.e., her husband's group, she will have much influence and authority. An ability to work well, to look after her children and her husband's pigs, are the main criteria involved when choosing a wife from among all the girls possible, and before a man decides to marry a certain girl, he will most likely make inquiries from relatives of his who have already married into that particular group (always within the proper rules of exogamy) regarding the behavior of his intended wife, whether she "sits down well," i.e., does not run around with all sorts of different boys, whether she works her garden well, and knows how to look after pigs. The boys do not despise pleasing features, a good nose or fine, up-standing breasts; they appreciate good legs and a clear skin as well, but the more important factors determining one's final choice is the woman's ability to work well. This, of course, is speaking on the personal level; the quality of the group into which one marries, the number and position, wealth, and name of one's prospective brothers-in-law are also very important to a prospective bridegroom and his own agnatic group, as we shall see later.

Working a garden for a woman consists mainly in keeping it weeded--not a difficult task once the sweet-potato vines have taken good hold, since they cover the ground completely--and in constantly making new gardens. The process of making and working a garden is briefly the following. Here we are concerned only with a sweet-potato garden. It brings out something of the sexual division of labor in this important area of their life, i.e., their gardening.

First of all, the brush and grass have to be cleaned off of the prospective garden site. This work is done by men and women together. The size of the group mobilized for this will depend on how large the garden is to be, to whom it is to be divided, whose garden it was in the first place, and many other factors, more intangible perhaps, such as the present state of relationship between those who might conceivably be invited to help make the garden, and so on. After the brush and grass has been heaped up and allowed to dry, a day is set for burning the rubbish. Sometimes it must be burned two or three times. Grass and wood, and other rubbish is not brought from elsewhere and added to the heaps already raked together and burned therefore for the ash content. The ashes of the grass, etc., from the garden proper are, however, scattered over the ground. All of this work is generally shared by the men and women, the men doing the heavier work, the women helping where they can. After this is finished, the ditches are dug according to the checkerboard pattern which was so striking to the first observers of the Middle Wahgi and Mount Hagen people. These ditches are made about one foot deep and roughly six feet apart, so that six foot squares result. Formerly this work had to be done with wooden spades, shaped something like canoe paddles, but now it is done with spades which are bought in the trade stores. This ditching is men's work. Again, the number of people who work in this fashion at any one garden varies enormously. There is no strict rule or pattern that I could discover. It all depends: perhaps an entire group, the equivalent of the Kopaliga or the Popage will combine to work an extra large garden--this I observed with a coffee garden which Tai's group of Popages

made during my stay in the field. I have also observed individuals working a new sweet-potato garden for their wife. Again, it is "laik bilong ol." Ditching is recognized as hard work. The ground is dug out of the ditches and thrown on the plots or high spaces between the ditches. This is about all of the plowing which is done, especially if the soil is fairly rich. If the soil is quite poor, it may be loosened somewhat with a spade to make it easier to plant, and to make it easier for the sweet-potato runners to take hold, thus giving better hope of success.

When it comes time to plant such a garden, it is done by both men and women. The men take a long stick, sometimes six or eight feet in length, and with it they dig a hole in the soil, working their stick around in the opening to enlarge it and loosen some of the dirt around the hole. The women then put three or four sweet-potato runners into these holes and tamp dirt around the runners. These holes are spaced haphazardly about twelve-eighteen inches apart in all directions. This is essentially the technique of planting taro also, although taro gardens seem to mobilize more people. A taro garden, in which banana trees and other vegetables are also planted, is also ditched normally, and the different squares are then divided among the women belonging to the owner or planter of the garden. The process of planting taro is the same as planting this type of a sweet-potato garden. I must mention here, however, that there is some ritual connected with the planting of taro and bananas, certain incantations which can be said while planting these, to further their growth. There is seemingly none connected with sweet potato, or none that I could uncover.

After the sweet-potato runners are planted, they are left for a while. The women to whom the different patches have been allotted are required from then on to keep their squares weeded properly. They are also responsible, eventually, for harvesting their own patches and squares when the tubers are full-grown. Taro and other kinds of gardens are not so carefully tended once they are planted. There is not much need to weed them. The weeds have all been leveled by the burning, and the taro and other vegetables will normally have enough of a head-start on the weeds that they never quite catch up, although the weeds growing small underneath the vegetables can give a garden quite a messy appearance. Also fences are built around the taro and banana and sugar-cane gardens. These are also useful to keep the larger weeds out. Sweet-potato gardens, we stated above, are normally not fenced in. The men are also responsible for any fences which have to be built. This was a particularly long and arduous task in times past when the only tool was a stone axe. It is still a difficult task now, with the steel axe as their tool. We must remember, however, that the men are not erecting new fences every day, or making new gardens, or building houses every day. They have much leisure to themselves, as we shall have occasion to mention again, although both men and women feel that their respective work is about even.

Harvesting the sweet potato is the next step, with the bigger tubers being harvested first, the smaller ones left in the ground to grow some more. Moreover, as they take out the more mature tubers, they replant the vines, especially the nodes, so that another sweet potato can grow in its place. When this planting is finally harvested, the

next stage takes place, especially if the soil is good, rich, loose, and generally free of troublesome weeds. This last factor, i.e., weeds, seems to be as much a reason for moving gardens as anything else. The women, and this is perhaps their most time-consuming task, the task which takes up most of their time after the task of daily harvesting enough sweet potato for their family, heap up the dirt into piles, called oka mont (sweet-potato mounds), which are then again planted with sweet-potato runners. The dirt mounds are composed of very loose dirt, so loose that the women merely take three or four runners in their hands and shove them right into the side of the mound, without bothering to make a hole with a stick or implement of some kind. When this sweet potato is mature and harvested, the mound is broken open, the old runners and other grasses are spread out in the opening which has been made in the center of the mound, and allowed to dry out there. Then the mound is closed again, heaped up as it was before, and again planted with new sweet-potato runners. This can be repeated and repeated, for years and years, if the soil is good. Several of the gardens around Kwinka have been in continuous production for at least twenty or more years. When the ground is finally allowed to go fallow, the mounds are broken down, flattened out again, and bush is allowed to grow back to rejuvenate the garden, which will then again be planted some years later. This building up of the sweet-potato mounds, which follows the pattern described for the Enga, is the woman's main task and the one which takes up most of her time. She can always occupy herself with the work of making new mounds, breaking open ones whose tubers have been harvested, planting others which are prepared for planting;

this task essentially never comes to an end for the women.

When a woman goes off to work in the morning, she takes her young children with her. While she is occupied, an older daughter, real if she has one, or classificatory if not, will be looking after any younger children. Periodically the mother will stop her work, sit down and nurse her infant. The infant may even sit on her lap while she is digging out the sweet potato for the evening meal, or she may wear the child slung from her back in her net carrying-bag. Never is the child, especially if it is a young infant, far from the mother or out of her sight, and at the slightest whimper, is picked up, fondled, given the breast, and swayed to sleep again.

The older men, the married men, have many hours of leisure for themselves. Bulmer estimated that the Kyaka Enga man worked an average of an hour a day, and I would not say he was exaggerating in the least. It may take him a week or two, working five to six hours a day, to prepare a new garden, but then his job is finished for the next three months or so, and his time is his own. He is responsible for one more task, which is a more regular one, namely, he is responsible for providing the firewood for himself and for his wives. If he has many wives, of course, the sons of the various women will provide the firewood for their mothers, but this is the man's job. This does not mean that the woman does not herself at times carry in firewood. Often she does, just as a man must often dig out his own sweet potato, for example, when his wife is menstruating or if she is gone on a visit. Nevertheless, just as providing the food for the evening meal is primarily a woman's job, so providing the firewood is a man's work. Except for the few

days when a man and woman work together preparing and planting a new garden, there is rarely an occasion for them to work together.

In addition to these main tasks of preparing new gardens with its attendant ditching and fence-building, the man also has certain vegetables for which he is responsible, just as there are some for which the woman is responsible. The man's vegetables/foods are the following: bananas, sugar-cane, two kind of pandanus, the karoka, and the marita-- the former grows high on the mountain-side and the fruit is like a nut, the latter grows lower down and the edible material is the juice which adheres to small seeds which are bright red in color when they are steamed. The man also is responsible for a native vegetable called ropin, which is similar to asparagus. These are the main foods for which the male is responsible. Others might be mentioned, such as pineapple and pawpaw, but these fruits do not grow extensively at Kwinka, since it was too high. Taro is sometimes spoken of as a man's food, but it is also planted and harvested by the women; its status is doubtful. Coffee has been taken over as a man's plant, although again both men and women look after the plants and pluck the coffee beans when they are ripe, and both men and women work at the husking and fermenting which is required before it is ready for selling.

Taking care of the banana plants and the sugar-cane stalks demands some periodic work, although not as much regular care as do the sweet-potato gardens of the women. Work dealing with sugar-cane, bananas, and the other male plants is somewhat heavier than the work connected with women's vegetables. This is the reason given by the people

themselves for the distinction between men's and women's foods. The banana plant, for example, is fairly heavy when it is to be planted. Moreover, when the rope of bananas is beginning to ripen, it has to be bound in leaves to protect the young bananas from the direct sun and also from the ravages of insects and birds. This work demands climbing up the banana stalk and binding these ropes, a work women are not able to do according to the Mbowamb. Also sugarcane and ropin have to be bound together at a certain stage of their development. The long leaves of the sugarcane are progressively wrapped around the various stalks, one leaf being tied to another to make the whole long enough. This keeps the stalks growing upright and clears the sugarcane of excessive leafage at the same time. Again, it is fairly hard work, although it is quickly done, and once done is finished. Marita, called Neka in mbo ik, is a type of pandanus which is common on the lower slopes of the Mount Hagen range; as we saw, it is a man's food, especially in its preparation for eating. The fruit is cooked in a pit to loosen the small seeds which adhere to the core. These are broken off and placed on a banana leaf. Then water is poured over the hot seed and the mass is kneaded to loosen the bright red oil which adheres to the small seeds themselves. This oil is the part of the fruit which is eaten. This kneading, again, demands a fair amount of strength. Women, say the men, are not able to do this kind of work.

The women's plants are the rest, especially sweet potato, different kinds of native lettuce, beans of various kinds, tomatoes, corn, and so on. These are usually the every day subsistence crops with which she is occupied, crops which do not require much by way of an output of

strength to prepare. The male crops, on the other hand, are the special foods, the foods, in a sense, of prestige. The male foods take longer to come to maturity than do the woman's foods; most male crops, to harvest or prepare them, demand the use of an ax or a large knife. This also may be one of the bases for the distinction, mentioned especially by Bulmer in his work on the Kyaka Enga. Women, rarely if ever, use an ax in any of their work. This is a man's tool, par excellence. Small knives the women will use, but rarely will they be found handling or using the large bush knife or "sarap" which the men buy in the stores. Women's crops demand more consistent care and attention, whereas the men's crops are planted and left to themselves, except for the tying which was mentioned above.

Much of a woman's time is taken up with preparing meals and looking after pigs. Preparing meals, however, is not the burden that it is in other cultures. There are essentially only three ways of preparing food. Either the sweet potato is put in the hot ashes, by far and away the most common method of preparation, or they are thrown right onto the fire, or they are put into a hole in the ground, packed with hot rocks, and allowed to steam there for as long as it takes to cook them properly. This latter procedure is the common procedure on more festive occasions, or especially when pork is to be eaten or distributed at the same time. However, every woman's house, and oftentimes the men's house as well, will have a permanent hole dug inside the house, and oftentimes by way of introducing some variety into their meals, sweet potatoes will be cooked in these pits. This is especially the case when some greens or lettuce go with the meal. Greens can more quickly be

prepared by wrapping them in several leaves, with a few hot stones wrapped along with the greens. This is essentially the same system as cooking in a pit, but is much quicker, less bothersome (one doesn't have to first clean out the pit), and more suitable to smaller amounts of greens. Ropin, like corn and sometimes bananas, is thrown right on the open fire, and eaten as soon as it is sufficiently cooked. There is nothing to clean up afterwards, no waste or slops to take care of. Husks, etc., are just thrown into the fire.

A woman is also responsible for taking care of the pigs. This means bringing them to pasture in the morning, and walking them home again at night. One would not leave pigs outside at night, unless it were very close to the house, because they would run the grave risk of being stolen. Pigs, we mentioned above, are tame, and will readily allow themselves to be led away by the rope which is attached to one of their front legs. The woman is responsible for feeding the pigs, whose diet is sweet potato plus what they can forage for themselves during the day. They are also fed sweet-potato vines. This can be a laborious task, especially when the woman is looking after a lot of pigs, shortly before a large ceremony, for example, or when pigs are being gathered together in preparation for a wedding, etc. A woman is proud of her pigs, especially if they are big, and although she is sad to see them killed, still she is also glad to be rid of the great burden of keeping them fed and fat before a large celebration is held and the pigs are all killed. Preparations for such a large ceremony, it must be remembered, can go on for months before the final date is settled for killing the pigs.

Finally, to make the summary of division of labor more or less complete in its broad outlines, the woman is

responsible for keeping herself and her family clothed properly. This does not entail much by way of volume of clothing, but it nevertheless takes a lot of time for the woman to prepare and weave the various items which her family and herself wear and use in their work. The main items she must provide are the following: (1) her husband's and son's bark apron, an everyday one and a larger, better-woven ceremonial one; (2) her own "bilum" or bag in which she carries her sweet potato, her baby, and anything else that requires transport. Every woman has several of these "bilums," some of them very finely woven, others rougher and more strong. Often a very special one will be woven to function as a head-dress for the young girls; it cannot be used to transport things, but is a head-dress only. Also (3) the woman must make her own apron, which is sometimes made from an old "bilum" which is breaking apart. Finally, (4) she weaves her husband's hat also. This weaving is a constant task, and a woman can be seen weaving, or preparing the string for weaving almost any time of the day, while she is attending a court session, or listening to speeches, or just sitting around gossiping. There is always a special ceremonial apron to be woven, or an extra fine bilum to be made for a daughter who is close to being married. This is a woman's task, and she is proud to see her husband at a ceremonial dance all decked out in a new, large ceremonial apron, which the guests admire and comment on. Young girls also often busy themselves with this task of preparing string and weaving it into a men's apron or a woman's bilum. She may be preparing the apron for a boy friend, or perhaps for her brother, or perhaps she is preparing a Kupin wal (an extra fine bilum) for a girl friend of hers who is getting married. One always needs extras anyway.

A man and a woman have little occasion during the day to interact. Towards afternoon or evening they may eat their main meal of the evening together. The women go to their own houses and prepare their food for their families. But even here there is no real eating together, in the sense that this is the one time of the day when everybody gathers together. Different members of the family come and go, taking their food as they please. The meals are simple; usually some sweet potatoes which have been baked in the ashes, and these are kept around the fireplace to keep them warm for those who have not yet eaten. At times, special foods are prepared. These are eaten more in common; but even at such times, the people involved take their share of the food and carry it off to the side where they eat, in a sense, by themselves, even though they are all eating together. They do not like to watch other people eating and avert their head discreetly at such times. Moreover, the Mbowamb eat rapidly.

There is no real connection between the fact that a man will eat with such-and-such a wife and his sleeping with her that night. A man eats with whomever he wishes, and when he is old, it will usually be with just one of his wives as a general rule, unless special food is prepared at another of his wives' houses, for example, a mess of bananas or some marita. A man must, of course, share his sexual favors equally among his wives, a point more important when the wives are young than when the wives are old and past the age of child-bearing. Older women are considered to be not too interested in sex anymore anyway. Sexual relations, however, are engaged in normally during the day, and normally outside, so this does not interfere necessarily with the

fact that the husband can eat more or less continuously with one wife, to the exclusion of the others. We shall have more to say on this point in our chapter dealing with the relations between the sexes.

While the women are busy in the gardens during the day, the small boys are busy enjoying themselves on one or the other moka pena or roaming through the gardens and the bush hunting small birds or rats, climbing trees, hunting and roasting mushrooms, and so on. This is a very important time for them, and a period of time which would repay special investigation. This period of peer-group activity may prove to be a substitute for the absent initiation rites in this culture. The peer-group is certainly a force for socialization. From the age of four or five, the young boy spends most of his time with his own age-group, although this group is never symbolized in any sort of age-grade system, nor is it institutionalized in any other obvious way. What Vicedom and Strauss discuss under the heading of initiation rites, the Kitamp manga ceremony, might have been something of an age-grade initiation program, or a ceremony which emphasized, not so much the fact of an initiation, but the point of setting aside a certain group of young boys now as something of a "set." The ceremony has not been practiced for many years, however, and I was able to get very little on it; much of the information I received was contradictory, too. It certainly does not seem to have been an initiation rite in the sense of the other initiation rites described for the Central Highlands of New Guinea (Strauss 1962:398). The group of boys, which forms at this time, i.e., around the ages of five or six, tends to break apart when it comes time for the boys to consider their own marriage. At this

time they drift back to their own group of close agnates, helping them again with their work, taking a more active interest in their own gardens, becoming more concerned with the ceremonies and distributions and exchanges. After marriage they will be able to take their own part in these exchanges; they will be more immediately and directly dependent on their own immediate group of agnates for help. Once they are married, they begin to participate more actively in the marriages of their sisters, sometimes being the directors of the whole affair, distributing the shells and pigs, serving as the main spokesman for their sister, over and above the father or the father's brothers.

The young girls will spend more of their time with their mothers and grandmothers in the gardens, although they too will have their group of age-mates, with whom they will tend to associate regularly. In their choice of companions, the girls tend to remain closer to home, in a sense, choosing other girls from their own lowest level of social structure. Boys, on the other hand, tend to interact across the boundaries of the smallest named level of social structure more. From an early age already the girls will have gardens divided out to them, which they will be responsible for, which they will tend carefully. They will be given a pig or two to look after, perhaps for their brother, or a pig which is set aside for their own marriage payment. They are not directly responsible, however, for providing food for their group--this is a responsibility of the mother--so they have enough leisure time of their own, which they spend in gossip or in playing games. Talking is far and away the favorite pastime of the Mbowamb and one they indulge in by the hour, with loud whoops of laughter bursting from the group at regular

intervals. They have an interesting way of laughing at these times. There is first of all a spontaneous burst of laughter; then there is a pause of perhaps a second or more; then everybody in unison lets out a great shout. It does not take much to call forth such laughter. Both boys and girls spend much time in this pastime of conversation, telling stories, making fun of each other, embarrassing each other perhaps by referring to something which happened to someone present during the day, or while a group of them were on a visit to Mount Hagen.

When the young men are not engaged in such conversation, they may be stalking through the gardens and bush areas with a bow and arrows in hand, trying to shoot some birds. To kill a bird like this redounds much to the young man's credit. Or perhaps he spends a few hours playing cards, a very common pastime with the young men, and some of the not so young men. Often he is limited in this pastime by the small amount of money which he can command, although there is also a game which is played for the score of it, and not for money. The names of these games, respectively, are LUCKY and SWEEP.

Young boys and girls tend to separate quite young, each group going its own way. The separation is not completely rigid, however. They are together mainly for the long group conversations in which they spend so much of their time; they share in the courting dances together, i.e., in the chanting which forms the background for the courting dance, which we shall describe below. They may work together when a new garden is made, the boys digging the holes, the girls planting the taro or the sweet potato. Otherwise, however, they are fairly segregated in their activities.

The bonds between boys and girls of the same group are quite close, to be sure, because they are "brother" and "sister" to each other. Because of this, also, there is no sexual horse-play between them, and no sexual intercourse. On the basis of my own observations, I would say this is both the ideal and the actuality; for the most part.

The life of the young in the Mount Hagen area is a pleasant life, with plenty of leisure and little responsibility. The family is very child-centered, especially when the child is young. The mothers' primary duty is to look after her child, see to it that he has enough to eat, does not cry excessively. The child is pampered in every which way, given the means at the disposal of the parents. When the child becomes independent, the situation changes somewhat, and the child goes off on its own, it being understood that he can take care of himself now. He sleeps, more or less, where he wants, eats when he wants, where he wants, comes and goes when he pleases. Finally, he begins to drift back to his own group where he then begins to take his own rightful place, sharing in the work and in the benefits of his own group, the group which we have called the smallest named level of social structure, or the patrilineage.

Just as the domestic group is child-centered, so the society as a whole is male-centered and dominated. The father of the family has the last word and final decision on matters which come up for discussion and action. He decides when to cut the marita or the bananas and have a special feast. At such a time he takes over the task of salting the food; he is responsible for this very costly item, and responsible for its application to the food being prepared. Salt is much more available now, but it is still

generally the father of the family who assumes the task of salting down the pork or the marita, or putting grease on the bananas before steaming them in the pit, and so on. The father of the family decides ultimately where his pigs are to go, and how the pork is to be distributed. He is a wise man to take his wife into consultation, especially if she is the one who raised the pigs and looked after them, but there is no radical need to do so. The father divides the sweet-potato gardens up among the women of his household. It is up to him to decide, again in consultation with his wife, when and how many new gardens are to be made. The father, if he is still capable, makes the arrangements for his son's or daughter's marriage. This is not to say that the woman has no say in things, that she is unimportant, an appendage as it were. As a matter of fact, she has a high position in the culture, as we shall see when we discuss marriage at greater length. But it is nevertheless essentially a man's world. At least he considers himself the most important member of the group. De facto, the woman is very important also, and perhaps much of the man's emphasis on himself, his tasks, his position, are an attempt to bring himself up to the woman's level or even surpass her, as he thinks he should. The woman is strong by the very fact of her femininity; every month when she menstruates she proves this again. She has a "power" which the men do not have. Once a month and at times of child-bearing as well, the difference between males and females is once again emphasized. The periodic ceremonies also repeat this emphatic difference between the sexes, this time in the male's direction since he alone takes part in the ceremonies, all women being excluded. In his exchanges

of shells and pigs his masculinity is again stressed, because this is work for men, and it is called "work" by the Mbowamb. A woman, they say, would be incapable of carrying on exchanges. She does not have the strength. She cannot tolerate all the walking and visiting and discussion and persuading which exchanges involve. Moreover, she does not have the "power" which makes for an effective, impressive exchange. Only a man can do this. When all is said and done, it is the father, the male, who is important, and it is through the male, through the father, that one becomes a member of the patriline, which is the most meaningful group into which EGO is recruited.

If the man of the group is not occupied with making a new garden, or with a meeting of some kind, he may spend the time as he sees fit. He may sit around the homestead, especially if it is a hot, sunny day. If there is a ceremony of some kind taking place, he will possibly go there for a visit, especially if he has relatives among the people who are holding the ceremony. In this case, most likely he is involved in the exchanges and all which go to make up a successful ceremony. When the moon is full, and if he is still a young man, he may go up into the high mountains and hunt opossums for a few days, taking his bundle of sweet potato with him. Or perhaps he will spend a few days playing cards. If anybody happens to be sick, he may visit the sick person, adding his own opinion to what might be the cause of the sickness. During the time of my field work the men were busy four days a week working on the government road, which was just being put through the area. From Mondays till Thursdays the men all had to cut out the road bed, or haul trees down from the mountainside for

bridges, or else they had to "broom" the road, i.e., scrape the stone back onto the road in case they had been pushed aside by traffic. The women also, I might add here, were responsible for road work. One day a week was set aside for them to straighten out the already completed parts of the road. As the men complete new stretches of roads, the women would then have to haul stones from the river beds onto the new road, a very slow and heavy task. This work, however, was done together, and this made it lighter and more pleasant. This new road took up much of the time of the people with whom I was living during the year and four months of my stay there. Fridays and Saturdays were set aside for garden work, although very little was done even on these days, which indicates even further that garden work for the men was not so time-consuming, and that Bulmer's estimate of an average of an hour a day may even be an overestimate of time spent working on gardens, at least on the part of the men folk.

Work on the road lasted from around seven or eight o'clock in the morning until two-thirty or three o'clock in the afternoon. Not everybody showed up, of course. Some claimed sickness; others stayed home to do their own private work; others, at times of ceremonies, would be off visiting. After a death the mourners were permitted to stay away from road work for one week, which was never enough for the mourners. They always tried to stretch their one week into two or more, usually with success. When not enough people showed up for work, the police-boy or the road-boy in charge would have a big court case and the delinquents would be "calabused," that is, they would be made to stay in a separate house, would live for several days or longer more.

directly under the supervision of the one in charge of the road work, which meant that they would definitely be on time for their work and put in their full time, perhaps even overtime, depending on the gravity of their offense. The wives and sisters of the ones "calabused" were responsible for supplying them with food.

There is one other task which should be mentioned, which is a task for the men, namely the task of building new houses. This does not seem to be the big affair in the Mount Hagen area that it is elsewhere. House building does not mobilize any special segment of the social structure, unless perhaps it be the special, gathering house which is built in conjunction with the big exchange of shells which periodically takes place. As many men, close relatives, gather together to build a house as seems fit. A man will gather his materials gradually, not in one day with a large crew of relatives. He may also do this, but it is not necessary, nor is it the common way. His wife helps by carrying in "kunai" grass, which is used for the roof. After the materials are all gathered, a house can be built, so I was told, in two days by two men. Usually the work is spread out over several days and weeks, with as many people helping as want to help. If the job has to be done in a hurry, more relatives will be pressed into service. There were very few houses built during my sixteen months in the field. I can only recall five houses being built, and these were all finished before I was able to attend the actual building. In each case it was a matter of two or three men putting up the house. If the materials are there, it does not take long. When I left, there was talk of three other houses which were to be built. The owners of the new houses-to-be

were gathering materials slowly, i.e., the wooden stakes which form the walls, the poles which support the roof of grass, the bark siding which is woven between the stakes of the walls to make it more airtight and warm. It would be very difficult for me to estimate how many actual man-hours go into making an ordinary house. All in all, it is not a formidable task. Every man should provide each of his wives with her own woman's house. This seems to be minimal. Sometimes when this is not done quickly enough, or is not done at all for whatever excuse, the woman will use this as a matter of complaint, and if she has something against her husband will bring him to the native court over the point that he has not provided her with her own house.

VI

In this way life goes on for the Mbowamb. On the whole, it is an easy life, and to them a satisfying one. Meggitt says the following of his Mae Enga:

For the Mae Enga, who are by no means a loveable people, life is real and earnest. Men believe they are committed to a never-ending struggle with rapacious neighbors, defaulting debtors, hostile supernatural beings and a recalcitrant physical environment, a contest from which each man tries to emerge a wealthy and publicly esteemed "big man" [Meggitt 1962:217].

I do not feel that this is the situation with the Mbowamb. I found the Mbowamb a very sociable and lovable people, but this may have been due to my own experience as a field worker. The environment of the Mbowamb is not so recalcitrant, cannot be if they can make an adequate living with such a minimum of effort. The difficulties which do arise emerge out of social interaction situations, a point

which is brought out, it seems to me, by their interpretation of sickness.

One of the first causes suspected in cases of sickness is anger in the group, or anger on the part of the person who is sick, or anger on the part of the ancestors, which is a way of saying, for them, that things are not the way they should be in the social group, that there is social disorder. A concern to maintain good relations with others is a striking value of the Mbowamb, even though, running counter to this is a great drive towards individualism and independence. A father can always exert his authority over his son, but the son can leave his father's place to go live with his MB, where he will be given garden ground. A big man can lay down the law to his group, but they can always flout his authority, with impunity, especially if they are already married and set up in life. They can always attach themselves to another big man, or go their own way. All men are considered equal and autonomous. Salisbury summed up the situation for his own Siane, and what he says can also be applied directly to the Mbowamb:

Underlying all the relationships is the Siane ideology of the autonomy and assumed equality of all people. Of their own volition individuals carry out the tasks they wish to perform, settle disputes when they wish to, argue about (and agree) upon every decision that a group makes. No one has authority over anyone else (except, perhaps, inside the lineage), unless those powers are delegated on an ad hoc basis through individual choice. . . . No group admits the superiority of any other, unless it be a group of a larger order. When groups come together they have temporary representatives. The system works through many intricate mechanisms, but chiefly because, coupled with their fierce individualism people seek to remain on good terms with as many others as possible" [Salisbury 1962:38].

The relationship that exists between the individual and his group, between his own desires and the needs and pressures for conformity which his group allegiance imposes upon him is a very interesting one, and one we have already encountered in our discussion of the relationship between the formal levels of social structure and the position of the big man in this culture, the influence he can exert for change, how he, in his position as representative of his group, binds various groups together in his own person, and so on. This complete independence of the individual, equality between people, will be brought out again in the kinship structure very strongly. Yet in our description of marriage, we shall show how important the group of which a person is a member, proves to be, that it is primarily the group focus which is foremost in marriage, although again the groups are headed up in the two individuals who happen to be getting married.

The value among the Mbowamb which seems to mediate between these two foci, the individual on the one hand and the group on the other, individualism and group conformity, aggressiveness and submission to the dictates and norms of the group, is the value which Salisbury hints at in the passage which we've just quoted. The value, on which is built a vast superstructure of institutions, is the value of social harmony, social order, friendly interaction. This, about which we shall have more to say later, is already expressed strongly in the interaction which takes place on the domestic level. People should get along together; if they cannot they move away, taking with them their grievances and dissensions, so that once again harmony can prevail.

To understand fully the mbowua's independence demands

a full, clear conception of many other facets of life in the Highlands. Not the least important, it seems to me, is the way in which a child is brought up. To go into the question at this point would not be totally relevant. I would like to quote a remark made by Hsu and apply it in its entirety to the Mbowamb situation. He writes:

However, two infants who come into contact with an equal number of individuals [which, he claims, is a matter of the structure of kinship] may be affected differently [which is a matter of content, according to his usage]. In one case the relatives may act as though they possess the infant and can jointly control him; in the other, they may act as though they were mere spectators while the infant's own mother is in complete control. [This latter is the Mbowamb situation.] These are differences in kinship content. The former pattern is an expression of a kinship content which is characterised by mutual dependence, while the latter is an expression of a kinship content which is characterized by individualism or self-reliance [Hsu 1959:974].

As we shall see below, it is precisely the mother who has complete charge of her child for the first years of the infant's life, and if she doesn't do her job properly, she is roundly scolded by her husband, and perhaps even beaten. Others may help the mother in the task of looking after the child, but ultimately she alone is responsible, both jurally and actually. Our study here, however, is primarily a structural one, and we cannot go into this interesting problem area of the relationship between child-rearing habits and adult personality structure, although there would seem to be many relationships, also in other areas, such as sickness, reaction to sickness, search for the causes of sickness, and some of the child-rearing practices of the Mbowamb.

The group-emphasis is repeatedly instilled into the Mbowamb in the various institutions which have developed in

this society. Their exchanges, their marriages, at funerals, during sickness, various dances, taboos also, always there is a reemphasis on the importance of people living in harmony, getting along together, even though, with this, goes the value or the ideal of besting others and thereby putting oneself in the best possible light, heaping prestige on one's own group. Their emphasis on sharing with one another, which is repeatedly demonstrated, seems to have the same effect. This dialectic between the individual and his group, and between groups themselves goes a long way towards explaining and clarifying many of the activities and institutions of the Mbowamb. After we have described something of the kinship relationships, both consanguineal and affinal, we shall have occasion to come back to this point.

VII

Inasmuch as the family is such an important unit in every known society, we can conclude and summarize the preceding with a brief discussion of the nature and functions of the family. Family structure is also intimately connected with the kinship system. It is pertinent to remark, however, that we are moving away somewhat from the people's own model in this instance.

The family can be isolated as an entity of its own among the Mbowamb. It is not so imbedded in a higher level unit as to be unrecognizable. The Mbowamb have no special term for the unit we would call the family, but it is nevertheless a recognizable unit. In some instances families will overlap in membership, i.e., they will share the husband-father in a polygynous situation. On the domestic level the family is nevertheless an important unit. In the literature

the nuclear family, and such we are talking about, i.e., father, who may be shared, mother, and the recognized children of this union, is defined by the various tasks it usually performs, namely it takes care of the sexual needs of husband and wife in an approved and regulated way, it functions as an economic unit providing within itself for a division of labor, it is the acknowledged reproductive unit, i.e., the unit out of which new members for the society are most effectively and continuously recruited, and finally, it is the group which is responsible for the education of the new members into the values and activities of the system of which they are now members. In other words, it is the socializing unit.

The four functions of the family, therefore, are sexual, economic, reproductive, and educational (Murdock 1949:2-3). The family, as a small, kinship-structured unit, is found everywhere, is a universal of human life because of the important functions it fulfills. This carries the implication that only it, only some unit recognizable as the family can carry out these reproductive, economic, sex-regulative, and socialization functions properly.

Levy and Fallers have applied themselves briefly to this problem and to the problem of the identity and distribution of the family (1959). We can use their discussion as a spring-board for a deeper study of the Mbowamb family and its functions.

The Mbowamb family, as it has developed, is an economic unit. The mother and father cooperate in gardening; a woman is responsible for her children, her "family," to give them their food. Normally these are the people who eat together. But a family unit, father, mother, and

children, does not seem to be necessary for this. This unit does not form any elaborate unit of distribution of goods and services. There is nothing which any member of the family does which cannot be done by another member. A man is not so dependent on his wife for food. Sometimes he has to look out for himself, e.g., during the time of menstruation. There is no work which the woman does, which the man cannot do, and at sometime or other actually does, planting, weeding, harvesting, even knitting. And a woman, on the level of sheer subsistence, can easily do without a man. Without a wife to look after pigs, a man can hardly hope to become an important man; he cannot enter very fully or wholeheartedly into the exchanges or ceremonial life of his group, but this work could be done by a sister or some other woman of his group as well as by his wife. Economically, the family among the Mbowamb does not stand out so prominently as a necessary unit of production and consumption. Since it already exists, however, for other purposes, it can also take on and does take on economic aspects and functions.

The sexual and reproductive functions can be taken together since they are closely related both actually and in the minds of the Mbowamb as we have hinted already. These aspects very clearly define the family unit among the Mbowamb. These aspects of family life also relate to marriage and the importance of this institution for the Mbowamb. Pre-marital sex is rare; post-marital sex with someone other than a wife is just as rare. Illegitimate children are also very rare therefore. If a boy and girl begin living together regularly, a child might be conceived. In this situation one has a de facto marriage, and if the man doesn't want to remain forever "rubbish," he will make some payment for his wife

and publicly legitimize the situation. This situation is not common, but is the closest I have come to the notion of an illegitimate child in Mbowamb society in my area. There were only a few cases of adultery tried by the tultuls and bosbois while I was in the field, and few accusations of it. This may not mean that it does not exist; I would venture to say, however, that it is infrequent. The family situation, therefore, is necessary for sexual-reproductive purposes. This, of course, need not be. Recruitment to a group may be accomplished in a non-sexual way entirely, for example, by free association with that group. This would be unsatisfactory, however, on a society-wide basis. Or man's sexual and society's reproductive requirements could be taken care of by promiscuity and free mating. This would be possible but does not normally prove to be the case anywhere. Among the Mbowamb this type of behavior is even more drastically curtailed. The reason why free mating and promiscuity are not common as opposed to some sort of family living relates to the final function of the family, viz., socialization. But aside from that, other factors also militate against free and promiscuous mating. In some instances the reasons relate to the values and interests of the culture itself, as here with the Mbowamb. Nobody stands to gain by promiscuity, least of all the groups of which the promiscuous parties are members. And the group ideal is sufficient to control and channelize sex and restrict its free expression to the family, i.e., between husband and wife. If a young man, or a group of young men, steal a pig, the group of them benefit to the extent that they share the pork. If the theft comes to light, return can be made in kind and further difficulties averted. Each side will doubtlessly leave the field satisfied

that they had "put it over" on the other group. There was scope for each side to boast of their respective part in the theft or the return made by way of a fine. No one of the two groups immediately involved in an affair "sub rosa" stood to gain, however, except the two individuals involved. If such an affair came to light, it would first have to be ascertained who was to blame for the affair, and punishment, by way of some fine usually, would be imposed. Whatever fine was levied, the group would eventually be the loser, with no benefit.

A woman is valuable to her group, and, if only for the sake of her brothers, she would be careful in the dispensations of her favors. A girl who does not "sit down well," who has a reputation for looseness, who does not work well, will not command as good a price as her opposite. There is, moreover, the added fear that she will not stay with her husband. This always creates unpleasant consequences, and means that no one will be too anxious to have her in the first place.

We will have more to say on this subject, with examples, under the topic of marriage. Suffice it to say here that in Mbowamb society, sexual and reproductive activities are activities very characteristic of the family. These are the two activities indeed more than any other perhaps which set off the nuclear family.

Socialization, the last and generally most important task of the family, is not so prominent in Mbowamb society as a specific function of the family qua family. By "socialization" here, I do not understand what Parsons understands by it in his article on incest and family structure, which was the starting point for the article by Levy and Fallers. He speaks of the very deep process of becoming an

adult, i.e., any adult in any culture. I am concerned with the process whereby an infant becomes a mbowua, i.e., an adequately functioning unit of his society, not only an adequately functioning adult. This, in a sense, is presupposed in my understanding of socialization, which consists in the process of learning the techniques, skills, and values of one's own culture. Because he is concerned with socialization in very general, basic terms, i.e., how an infant becomes an adult, Parsons speaks of the importance of eroticism which is one of the most basic and dynamic forces which "socializes" an individual in his sense. Other considerations in his article also lead him to interpret socialization in terms of eroticism and personality development. He seeks to account for the universality of the incest taboo, and he connects this with the nuclear family which is also considered to be universal. And the nuclear family is universal because it is only in this kind of a structure, together with an incest taboo, that eroticism can be properly exploited to socialize the individual. By taking this approach, Parsons is also trying to interrelate the different levels of his system of action, viz., the social and the psychological, and by taking the incest taboo into consideration also, the cultural level as well.

In Mbowamb society the mother is close to her children and is much involved in such matters as toilet-training, education in some of the basic values of the culture, for example, belief in spirits and fear of them. To quiet or subdue a child, the only recourse available is either to angrily shout the child into submission and obedience or frighten the child with the spirits and ghosts. The latter is a very common and consistent technique, which,

I might add, is recurrently reinforced in the emphasis of the older people, men and women, on omens and signs, and on the preternatural, especially ghostly causes of sickness. The mother also teaches her children the rudiments of gardening and the fairly simple techniques involved in making and harvesting a garden. This is done as much by example as any formal training. By an early age children can distinguish many kinds of sweet potatoes and many varieties of bananas and other vegetables. By the age of five or six they are capable of taking care of themselves as far as supplying themselves with a meal, from digging out the tuber to cleaning and cooking it. Sometimes, indeed, they must look out for themselves, e.g., when their mother is in the menstrual hut during her periods, and if no sister or "second mother" happens to be around to substitute for the mother.

Much of the socialization is done informally, and very little of this is taken care of by the father. As a socializing agent, the father would seem to be superfluous. As for learning the essential tasks, those involved in making new gardens, this can and is often learned from a brother or a classificatory father as well as one's own father. The technique of house-building also is learned as much from an older brother, or from one's peer group, or from anybody else who happens to be building a house as much as from one's own father.

Other male tasks involve the killing and butchering of pigs, and conducting exchanges. The two activities are often interrelated. Again the training is very informal. By observation a young child learns for himself the technique of killing and butchering. As he grows older he takes progressively more and more of a part in the process of

preparing the pig. At first he will be given a small pig to butcher, some older man finishing it for him. At first he will only haul hot stones to the earth oven. Later he will take a hand in packing in the meat and vegetables with the older men. Gradually, informally, not from any one man, least of all his father, he will learn how to do all the work of the men.

At this point one might just mention the point that some of the children's games, though by no means all, are also techniques of learning the values and skills required by the culture. The popularity of games, as elsewhere, seems to wax and wane in cycles. During my stay, two were especially popular. One was a game similar to jacks, played with stones, and the other was a game called "marking pig." The latter had socializing possibilities and was especially popular for the first months of my field work, perhaps because the Engamois had just shortly before killed and distributed their pigs, and "marking pig" imitated this distribution. A simple, schematic outline of a half-side of pig was scratched onto the ground, then "cut into pieces," and distributed to different relatives and the friends who were standing by. I would not want to emphasize, however, the point that the children's game are generally mechanisms of socialization. Most of them do not seem to be. In many of the activities which prepare them for later life they do not play but perform the activities themselves. A little girl does not play with doll-babies; she has a younger brother or sister to actually care for. She does not "play" at making a garden; she actually makes one and weeds and harvests it. In the games the boys play, there is no competitive activity generally, even though they are quite

competitive as adults, especially in their exchanges. Their games are mostly "for fun," and not useful for training the boys in the skills they will need later on as adults. Leahy, however, mentions two games which the small boys played when he first visited the Highlands, which conditioned the boys somewhat for warfare. One of these consisted in dodging rotten vegetables which were thrown at one of the boys and the other consisted in throwing sharpened sticks at a ball of bark string (Leahy 1937:174).

Learning the work of exchange is somewhat different. In acquiring this skill it is useful, no doubt, though by no means necessary, to have a father who is involved in many exchanges. Without going into the matter in great detail here, it might also be mentioned that the son's age, relative to his father's age and his father's brother's age, will also determine, to a large extent, to what degree his father's position of "big man" will benefit the son. If the father or father's brother are in the full flush of maturity, busily engaged in exchanges, while the son is reaching his late twenties, chances seem to be that this son will not follow in his father's footsteps as a big man. By the time his father or father's brother give up active exchanging, he himself will be getting too old to really be able to build up a large college of exchange partners. A son still growing up would seem to have a better chance, since his father or father's brother will just be getting ready perhaps to pull out of the exchange activity and will be interested in helping the son develop his own group of exchange partners.

The high value placed on exchange is inculcated and impressed on the Mbowamb on all sides, from a young age, and in many various ways. Perhaps it would be better to describe

this exchange as a form of gift-giving, which demands a counter-gift of some kind eventually. Sometimes the notion of exchange itself is in the foreground and quite obvious, on the basis of a "this for that." At other times, the notion of gift-giving is more prominent, and the giving is phrased as "gift-giving." It is only later that one discovers a return must be made, again by way of a gift, especially if one is to be a big, important man.

To document the ways in which the value of gift-giving, which is actually exchange, is impressed upon the Mbowamb would require a paper of its own. Neither in this nor in other matters, however, is the father of the family an overpowering or dominating socializing figure.

There is one very important area, however, where the father of the family assumes great importance, namely in land-holding and the transmission of land-rights. A person generally depends on his father for his gardens. The nuclear family, then, is the ultimate land-holding unit, not the larger descent groups in which the family is imbedded. This does not mean that an individual man can alienate his land as he pleases. His rights do not extend this far. The group which seems to be mostly involved in alienation of land is the lowest named level of social structure. This was brought home to me one day when the Engamois wanted to alienate a small piece of land to the mission. They were interested in having a trade store built up on the land in return. The land in question belonged to the Andakils, especially the Agilmambo group. This group were involved in stepping off the boundaries of the land. But the Popages were also involved because one of their number had a small patch which was included in the proffered piece of ground. No other

groups were involved. However, in questions of land alienation, something of a nesting effect takes place. All Engamois, to a greater or lesser degree, have rights in all the land owned by any Engamoi, so that strictly each Engamoi would have to be asked, in a case of possible alienation, if he were willing to give up these rights. Nevertheless, it would be the immediate owners and the members of their smallest manga rapa who would have the most say in the matter. One might extend the circle of ownership so wide as to include all the Komonikas, who all claim Kwinka as their common origin place, and consequently their fathers must, at one time or another, have cultivated this land and therefore they too have some, very minimal rights. Whenever the government buys land, every group whose ancestors have at any time in the past lived and gardened there feels entitled to some of the payment, and the closer the connection the more vigorously one's claims are pressed. A distantly-removed group's opposition to the sale, however, would scarcely have effect.

However, within the group itself, whatever level we consider, no one can molest the land of another in any way unless he first gets the individual owner's permission. The one thing excepted would be the commonly used paths. A person could not justly close these off, even though they ran through his land, and if he tried to do so, for instance by building a toilet close by, the people could legitimately ignore the closure and continue to use the path. Otherwise, if someone wants to cut a tree or get some grass thatch, or whatever, from an area, he must first seek the permission of the individual owner of the item desired. And this individual owner passes on these lands to his sons, who in turn

look after their sisters and sister's sons' rights when they are adult and have control of the estate.

Yet a father does not have absolute control of the land given him by his father, even within his own domestic group. He cannot, for example, disinherit a son and leave him without garden-land. It may be that an individual man was not provident enough, or that he had many wives and sons to provide for. In this case, either the sons will each be left with only a small amount of land each. Then they will have to make gardens in areas where the land is not claimed by anyone or not vigorously claimed. Often this may be poorer type of ground. Or they must be given land by some of their father's brothers, which is not unlikely to happen. Sharing, in any case, is a value inculcated early in life and in many ways. It extends also to sharing of land for gardens. This would be especially likely if one of the father's brothers, and this may extend to classificatory FB, did not have many children, especially sons. In any case, each son will be given some land and no one will be disinherited. Very often a son's land actually comes to him through his mother, who will also be looking out for her son and his rights. A husband divides his gardens up among his wives, which particular ground is given then to their sons and their sons' wives. This accounts partly for the exactitude with which a young boy can point out just which portions of a garden belong to him. From young baby on he has spent hours in the gardens with his mother and sisters, and precisely those portions which they always worked are his.

The father and mother, therefore, loom large in the family when it is a matter of land-rights transmission, and

the unit which ultimately disposes of land is the family unit. This kind of statement refers especially to any EGO who receives land. It does not invalidate an elaboration of rights, residual, provisional, and full, over land and other goods such as Meggitt proposes (1965b:221). His scheme, with the proper structural modifications, would generally hold also for the Mbowamb. Garden-use, nevertheless, and especially transmission of garden land is vested in the father from whom, through his mother as explained above, a son looks to get his subsistence land. In this sense, therefore, the family unit is very important also economically, although not so obviously so as a production and consumption unit. On the parental generation level, therefore, it is primarily the distribution of sexual and reproductive rights which distinguish husband and wife; taking the whole unit into account, i.e., parents and children, it is the land-disposal unit, with all that this implies in terms of land-distribution, land-use and, to an extent, consumption of the fruits of the land, which most clearly sets off the family, husband, wife, and children, as a unit of its own.

I do not want to belittle the family's position as a socializing unit. It is primarily, however, in the company of his mother and siblings and in an informal way that a mbowau or mboamp learns the values and skills of his culture, and learns to live and interact in his society as an adequate member of it. He does not learn this so much as a member of a nuclear family.

VIII

This is the background against which the drama of kinship unfolds. It is kinship, moreover, that binds the

whole together. On the one hand, there are the significant social groups we have isolated in Chapter III. We got an idea how these groups recruited new members, how they waxed and waned. The emphasis was primarily on how the people themselves conceived of their social groups. Origin stories and genealogies, real and fictitious, were useful for this purpose. What the groups do, as groups, also indicates how the people conceptualize these groups. Because of this we also considered some of the obvious functions of the different groups as they were isolated.

On the other hand, there is the level of locality and domestic organization. It is here that kinship is most operative. Locality, moreover, i.e., co-residence, is also a very important structural principle determining real group membership. Insofar as it is an external criterion, however, we are not so interested in locality as such but as a background, the understanding of which helps us understand the workings of the kinship system better. Also, the peoples' understanding of the sexual division of labor, brought out by their own activity and by the way they themselves divide foods and activities into those pertaining to males and those pertaining to females, must be kept in mind as we look at the kinship system. All people divide their social universe in at least two groups, viz., men and women. In Chapter IV we have seen in a preliminary way how the Mbowamb make this basic division.

CHAPTER V

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM: THE TERMINOLOGY OF KINSHIP

In this section we begin our discussion of the kinship system proper. First of all we deal with the terminological aspects. In view of the level of investigation we have primarily proposed to investigate, viz., the model of their society as the people themselves understand it, the thorough study of kinship terminology is absolutely essential, for it is especially in the terminology of kinship that the people have crystallized their own model of their kinship system. To understand their model of kinship then, we must understand their system of terminology, applying every tool of analysis which is available to us for this purpose.

The term "kinship" has often been equated with consanguinity. This restriction is misleading and inadequate. Rather, kinship is a generic term which comprises (1) a system of consanguinity and (2) a system of affinity. Initially each must be given equal weight and validity, each should be of equal interest to a social anthropologist. The equation therefore should read: Kinship = Consanguinity + Affinity. In some social systems one may be included wholly or in part in the other, as for example in many of the Australian systems of kinship. In other societies, as for

example the Mbowamb, the two sub-systems are kept distinct, with only occasional overlapping. There may be societies where the two sub-systems are kept entirely separate. It is logically conceivable also that there may be some societies which do not stress kinship at all.

Much discussion in the theoretical literature has recently centered on the relative importance of consanguinity and affinity. In this discussion systems of consanguinity have often been identified with descent and filiation as structural principles in contrast to affinity or marriage as a mechanism defining and integrating social groups. Too often the distinction has tended to crystallize into an "either-or" distinction, i.e., either descent/filiation is the principle whereby societies must be analyzed or affinity/alliance is the principle. The two approaches, however, are complementary, not in opposition. One, indeed, is the correlative of the other. They are two sides of the same coin of kinship. After a thorough study of the social system in question it may be possible to assign different weight to the contribution which consanguinity and affinity make to the definition and the integration of the society, and our analysis will differ as we decide.

My purpose in this dissertation is to understand the social morphology of the Mbowamb from within, in a structural way, if possible, without appealing to external or "functional" criteria to help isolate descent groups. In this way we understand how the social groups are integrated to form a single, continuous social system. To accomplish this we must consider all the aspects of kinship which might be pertinent for this, i.e., the terminology as well as the behavior associated with the terms the people use, for in their kinship behavior also they reflect and symbolize the

model or construct they have of their system. We are also interested in how the social groups are integrated. For this purpose marriage assumes importance, because affinity is normally an integrative device par excellence. The way in which affinity and consanguinity are related is also a pertinent investigation in Mbowamb society.

I

The kinship terminology of the Mbowamb is not easy to get from them. Many interviews, filled with frustration and exasperation, go into anything like a complete account of the kinship system of terminology. They do not use kinship terms very regularly or frequently. They taboo personal names, but get around the taboo by the use of food-names (cf. p. 417) rather than by the use of kinship terms. There is no rule forbidding the use of kinship terms; they just have other ways of identifying people as well, and often prefer these other ways some of which we have already described. The Mbowamb do not seem too interested in kinship terminologies, just as they are not concerned with accurate or complete genealogies. With the Mbowamb this makes accuracy in the collection of kinship terms very difficult. If the mbowua is not himself interested in a topic, he readily becomes confused, and worse still from the ethnographer's point of view, he says the first thing he thinks of in order to get off of a topic in which he has no interest. This is not to say, of course, that kinship is not meaningful to the Mbowamb. It means they are not used to theorizing about their kinship or abstracting one aspect from the other, i.e., the terms from the social usages of kinship.

To begin with, the Mbowamb have several sets of kinship terms, some of which overlap. These are:

- (1) terms which are used only in direct address;
- (2) terms which are only used in public reference;
- (3) terms which are used either in private reference or in direct address.

The terms thus broken into sets are the following:

TABLE 8

MBOWAMB KINSHIP TERMS ACCORDING TO KIND

Address Only	Address and Reference	Reference Only
		Rot/Kokoma (Ancest.)
	Andakawua (GF) ^a	
	Api (GM)	
Nonda (WF)	Ta (F)	Tipam (F)
Kopa (WF)	Ma (M)	Kangom (S)
Rara (FB)	Apa (MB)	Poglam (D)
Wawa (FB)	Ata (FZ)	At (FB)
	Kudlpam (WF)	Papa (MZ)
		Pam (MB)
		Ötin (FZ)
Pöi (WB/ZH)	Wua (H)	Öngin (B)
	Amp (W)	Kimin (Z)
	Ana (B)	Pidl pam (cc)
	Aia (Z)	
	Kuglum (WB/ZH)	
	Kömin (WZ)	
	Mönin (HZ)	
	Kurpel/Pepa (cc)	

^aThis is only the most common meaning, or a common meaning of the term which is given in parenthesis. Z = sister; S = son; the other abbreviations are standard in the literature.

In this dissertation we are interested primarily in the terms of column two, i.e., terms of address and (private) reference. The distinction between terms used as "reference in private" and "reference in public" can best be brought out by an example. If one were giving a speech, for example, on the occasion of a funeral and wanted to make reference to the point that the deceased was a relative of the speaker's group through his (the deceased's) mother, the expression would be "pam," and not "apa." More likely the speaker would use an expression "he who drank our milk" and not a special kinship term at all. If, however, the same speaker were in my house and telling me about the deceased, he would tell me about his "apa." These terms also might be used if he saw someone of his mother's people and greeted them. He would greet the person as "apa" if he were a generation above or below the speaker, as "pepa" (or "kurpel" or just "pel") if the two people were of the same generation. To make a reference in public to other relatives or categories of relatives, one would use the terms found in the middle column, with the appropriate possession indicator; therefore, one would refer to mother "in public" as ma(m), but one would not find tam since there is a special term for "father" when used in public, viz., tipam.

Kinship terms are the few nouns in the language which can take plural endings and endings which indicate possession. The terms "for address only" do not take these endings, while some of the terms used for public reference always take these endings (i.e., tipam, kangom, poglam). Most of the terms for address and private reference can take these endings. We will deal only with the non-possessed terms of the second column.

We can now present our terminological data in a series of charts. This will give us a quick and brief reference base.

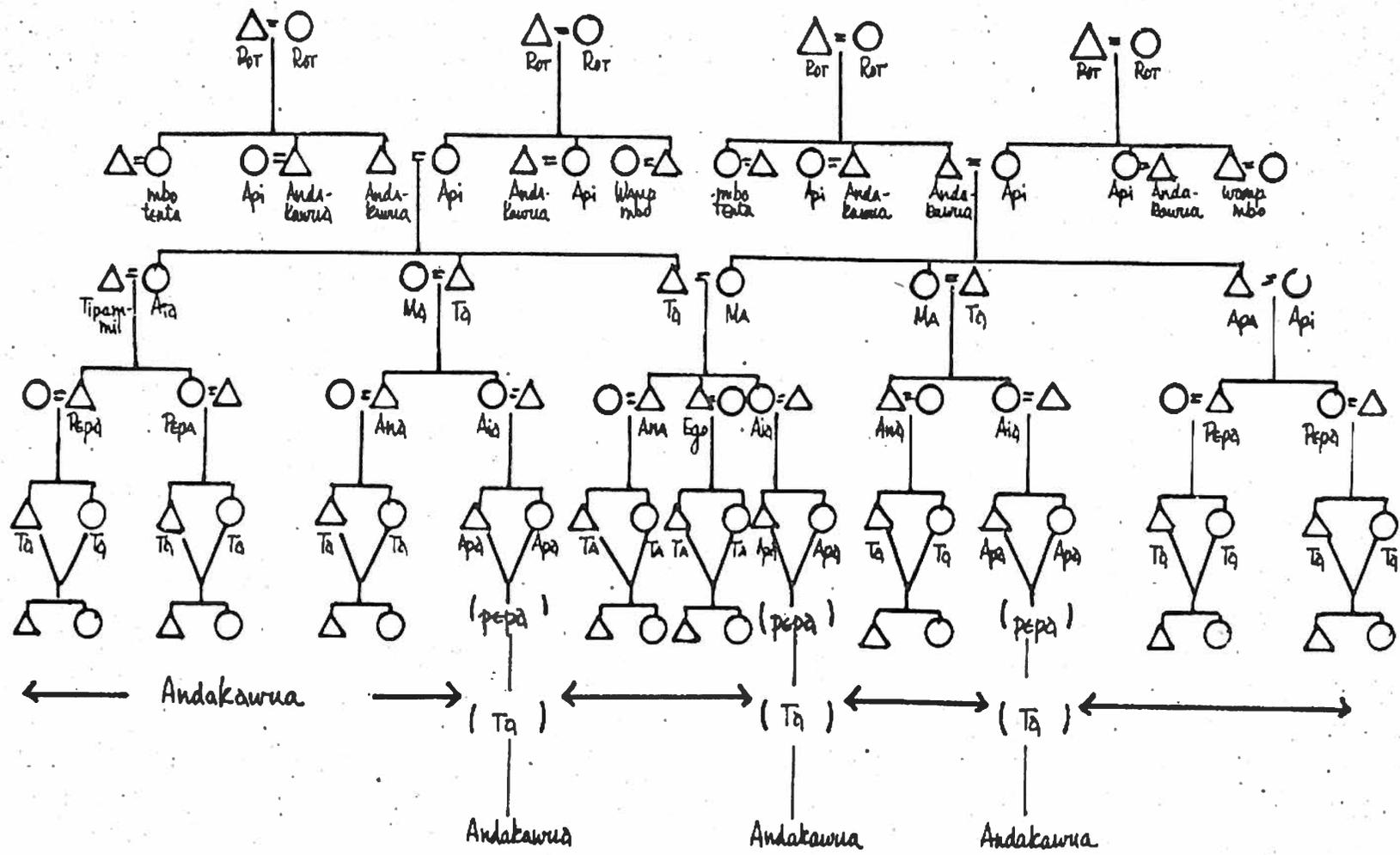


Fig. 11.--Consanguineal Kinship Terms, Male Ego

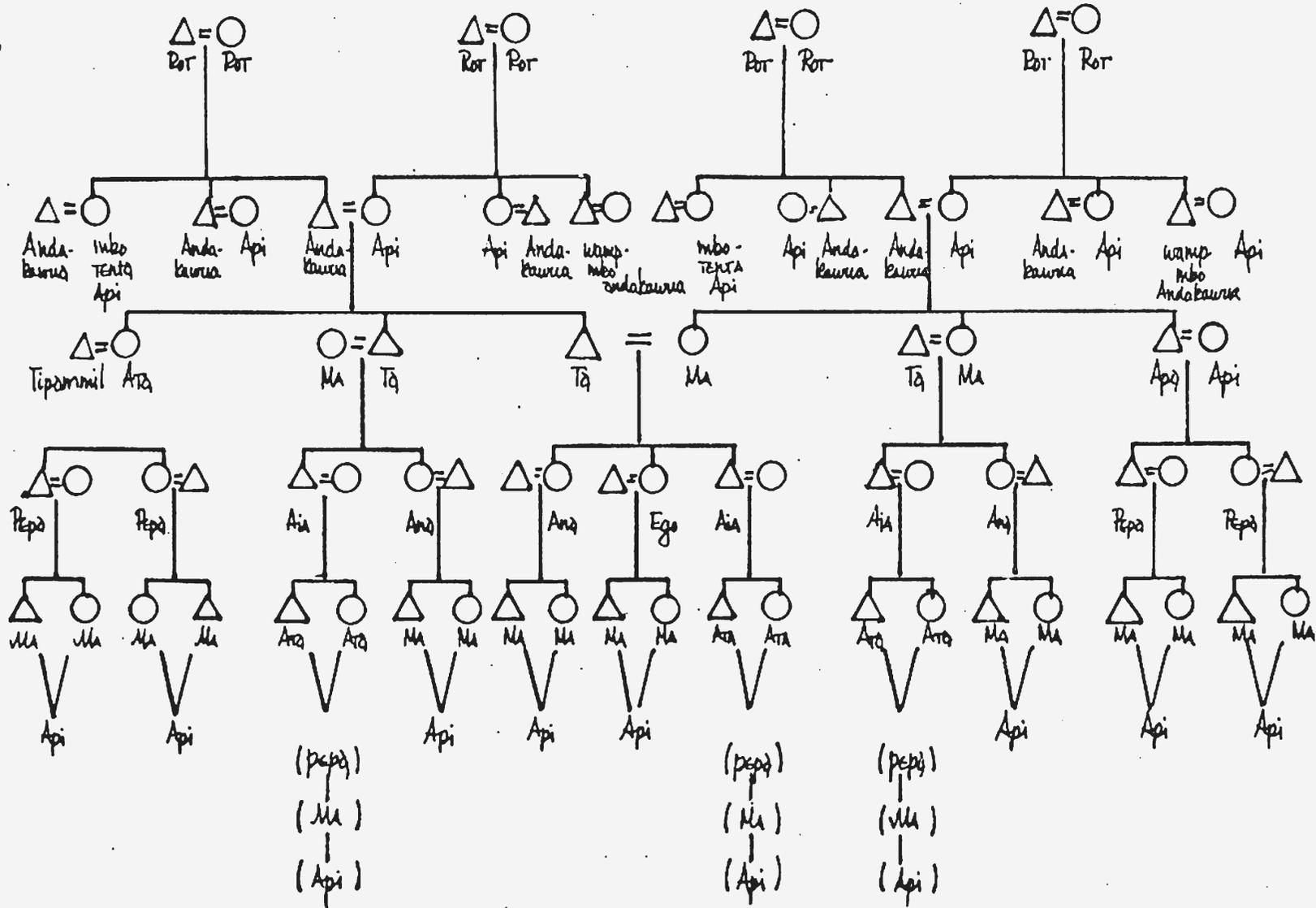


Fig. 12.--Consanguineal Kinship Terms, Female EGO

II

Ta

The term for "father" is ta; it should not be translated as such generally, however. First of all, it is a reciprocally used term, as are all of the terms of the Mbowamb kinship system, i.e., those of the second column of our chart of terms. Ta can be applied to a son or a daughter by the father, as well as to the father by them. Therefore, it is not surprising to hear a father call his daughter ta, because he has the particular relationship in mind, not a particular person, in which case the term would obviously be different. Ta is the term used for address, and when it must be further specified, this can be done so by the addition of the word wua which means "man" or by the word kang which means "boy" or ambogla which means "girl." Therefore, ambogla ta would mean "a young girl who stands in the relationship of ta with me who speak." This sort of a translation relates to the very difficult problem of translation of kinship terms which Hocart discussed in Anthropos, a problem which has also furnished much of the impetus for componential analysis of kinship terms. When we translate a term with an English equivalent, this is primarily for shorthand purposes, and the reader should keep in mind what the referents in the system under consideration really are. This term is also applied to the FB and to the MZH, as we can see from the chart.

It is important that one is consistent in what set of terms is being analyzed. There are other expressions in use for such categories as FB and MZ which, if used, would

give a different interpretation to the system as a whole. For the FB, for example, there is the expression at. Strauss, in a personal communication, said that he never had gotten this term for the FB, and therefore was doubtful about its existence. I did get it, and the difference might be accounted for in various ways. Perhaps the people used it in my area, whereas in his own area they did not. This would pose interesting questions of the stability of a kinship system, since the two areas under discussion are not very far apart, either geographically or culturally. I got the term both spontaneously, i.e., without asking for it specifically, and also, once I had heard it, each time upon inquiry. Everybody stated that this was the term which they used. Although it is very similar to the word for FZ, which is ata, there does not seem to be any connection as such between the two expressions, nor have I ever heard the FZ called at, which might then make it a term referring to anybody one generation above EGO and belonging to the real father's group. Finally, I was told that at referred to what in pidgin-English is called "number two papa"; this, in itself, is an interesting category, i.e., "number two papa" or "sumul (small) papa." This normally means the father's real brother, but it also can refer to that individual of the proper category who takes over the tasks of the real father, which would be especially arranging for marriage, looking after the group relative to land-distribution, representing the group, etc. Therefore, the term would seem to refer primarily to the real brother of the father, but also to anyone who would take over those tasks which normally the father would take care of for his son. In any case, arranging the marriage for a

son always involves the father and his brothers, with help from the brothers of the bridegroom as well. In the marriage of a daughter, the brother of the bride will take a much more prominent place and a more active part, but never to the complete exclusion of the father or the father's brother(s).

The term *at*, together with *papa*, which is another term for *MZ*, are very interesting. They are unique and can be interpreted as having a unique place in the kinship structure, at least as far as the terminology is concerned. Put onto the chart, they change the overall structure of the first ascending generation from that known as bifurcate-merging to that called bifurcate-collateral, because both the collateral distinction is observed in that the *F* and *M* are distinguished from the *FB* and *MB* and from *FZ* and *MZ* and the bifurcating principle is observed because the terms for *MZ* and *FZ* and for *FB* and *MB* are also distinct. The terms *ta* for *FB* and *ma* for *MZ* are very definitely in use by the *Mbowamb*, whereas the terms *at* and *papa* are not so commonly found.

The expression *rara* is an expression of courtesy or a form of polite address, and perhaps should not be considered as a kinship term at all. It might be translated best as "sir" or something equivalent. It is reciprocal, but it is not used for the real father by the son or for the real son by a father. This term *rara* is readily extended, and one can call anybody *rara* as one walks along the road and wants to greet someone in a more polite fashion, without knowing the person or his name or position. Strauss uses the term *wawa* for *FB* as well as *ta*. I was told by several informants that this was really an incorrect extension, that the term

wawa should strictly be used only for "fathers" other than one's own father or one's own father's brothers. Again, therefore, it seems to be an expression of respect rather than a kinship term, although it should be used with members of one's own group, and a generation removed from the speaker.

In this, and in later discussion, we face the problem of "extensions" of kinship terms. In a sense, when speaking in this way we pre-judge the interpretation of kinship systems in a very definite way. In thus speaking of "extensions" of kinship terms, for example, there are implications of ontogenetic development.

This approach dates back mainly to Malinowski, and is perhaps his major contribution to the theory of kinship studies, made, as it were, in spite of himself, if we believe his own statements on the utility of kinship studies in general. He stated and stressed the (nuclear) family situation as the place or social situation in which kinship is first discovered and learned by a child. He distinguishes his mother and father, and then extends the terms he learns for these people and corresponding behavior patterns associated with the terms to other relatives, e.g., MB or FZ. The later extensions are of necessity colored by the initial situation. This approach is reflected even in the descriptive terms we use for certain relatives, e.g., MB or FZ. Authors before Malinowski had spoken of the Mother's Brother and the Father's Sister; Malinowski gave a theoretical basis for this kind of usage. After all, kinship began in the bosom of the family and extended outwards from there, so why not call the maternal uncle the Mother's Brother, the mother being, in this approach, the primary link and consideration.

This approach to a study of kinship is still largely

followed today, primarily perhaps because one has to start somewhere and somehow with one's description, and a person does normally begin his life's career in a family where certain patterned relationships are established between EGO and the other people of this initial situation. In our own case we shall use this approach especially in our description of the content of kinship, i.e., of the behavior which is associated with different kinship terms. Rather, however, than show precisely to what relatives a term itself is extended, we shall endeavor to identify the principles in the term-structure which account for these "extensions," which can then be applied to generate all the extensions of the particular term required.

Another expression referring to "father" is tipam, which is only a term of public reference. It already has the first person possessive ending attached to it. This is referred only to one's own father, not to one's FB or MZH, etc. Nor is it reciprocal in the same way that ta is. The reciprocal of tipam is kangom and poglam.

Ma

The expression for mother is similar in composition and extension to that of ta; its patterning is similar as well. It refers to the M, MZ, and FBW especially. It is reciprocal, and a woman addresses her son as ma just as the son addresses her as ma. Both of them have in mind the relationship between the two of them, however that relationship is to be translated.

The MZ is also called papa, which is a term reserved for this category of relative. It corresponds to at as we saw above. Again it is used reciprocally. Anyone who is

called papa calls that same person papa as well. It is primarily a term of reference, but might also be used in address as might also the term at.

Kangom

This is the reciprocal of tipam and mam and can be translated as "son." However, it actually means "boy" or "young man," or also in certain circumstances merely "young." To this word, kang, has been added the possession marker, which indicates that this term is only used in reference as "my son" or "my boy." Kang can sometimes be found with amp or "woman," in which case therefore it means "young" and has no reference to sex. Shall we call this term a kinship term or not? There are several examples of this kind of term as we shall see in the course of our discussion of kinship terminology. In the form kangom, however, it can only be used in a kinship sense referring to son.

Poglam

This corresponds to kangom. It is only used for reference and already contains the possession marker. It is a unique term in that it is not used for anything else, as is the word for kang. It is also strictly related to sex; it cannot be used in anyway for a male. It seems to be a contraction or shortened version of ambogla which means "girl" in general.

Ana

If one made a frequency count of times a kinship expression is used, this would be on top as the expression most often used by the Mbowamb. Its referent is the sibling

of the same sex and refers primarily to one's own brother as well as to the children of the FB and the MZ. By extension it is used much more widely, including all of the Komonikas. This term and the term for "sister" (sibling of the opposite sex) are very intimately connected with the rules of marriage insofar as anyone who is my "sister" is forbidden to me as a possible spouse, no matter how distant the relationship--provided, of course, that the connection is remembered.

Use of the term ana is determined by the sex of the speaker vis-à-vis the referent. It refers to the sibling who is of the same sex as the speaker. Therefore, a girl will use it to refer to her sisters, and a boy will use it to refer to his brothers. Ana is a term of address and private reference. The term of public reference is ōngin. One often hears this term used reduplicatively in this fashion: "til ōngin-ōnginal," "we two together are brothers." The same expression is used to refer to two closely related groups, like the Engamoi and the Engapins, who would be ōngin-ōngin. This expression, therefore, implies groups who are bound together by the same exogamous rules, groups which cannot intermarry because they are "brothers and sisters." (For further use of the term ana, see below, p. 234.)

Aia

This term refers to siblings of the opposite sex, and again is used according to the sex of the speaker. The version for reference is kimin and is used in a way similar to ōngin. Since all the Komonikas are said to be descended from the same andakawua, all the Komonikas of the opposite sex and of the same generation level are kimin and therefore

ineligible as marriage partners and sex mates. To play with them sexually would be worse than playing sexually with, say, a girl from the Witikas, because a marriage could eventually be arranged with the Witikas, whereas not with a girl from the Komonikas. The term again is reciprocal. If someone calls me aia, I call that person by the same term. The relationship again is the important consideration here.

Ata

This term refers, reciprocally, to FZ and BCh (female speaking). As a term of reference we find δ tin. This term ata, in my experience, is more limited in use than the terms for F, FB, B, Z, and M. The term would not so readily be extended to all of the Komonikas of the generation above EGO and related to one's father as sibling of the opposite sex. It seems to be more restricted, mainly to one's real FZ and then to all the FZ of the men of your own smallest level of social structure, i.e., the A,B,C, etc., level as we outlined it in the preceding sections. This lack of extension makes some sense perhaps in light of the fact that the ata usually move out of the group upon marriage, and the only adult women who normally stay in the group are wives of fathers and wives of brothers. As in everything else, ata's who are not known to me have no influence or effect on me. An EGO will rarely know any of the adult women who have been married out of any group other than his own immediate group. He will certainly not be aware, for example, of all the women who married out of the Komonikas. This is a focal or a critical relationship in the sense that it gives rise to a different category of cousin terminology. In this respect it is very similar to the MB relationship. We shall have

more to say about this category below.

Apa

This term applies first of all to the real MB, secondarily to anybody who might stand to M in the relationship of AIA. Through this relative one again gets another category of cousin, terminologically the same as the category arising through the FZ. The term of reference for this category of MB is pam. Often the term Apa (pam) is extended to anyone which is covered by the term in pidgin-English "kandere," which is the general term for anybody from the mother's side of the relationship, but especially her brothers, real or classificatory. Reciprocally, apa refers to anybody related to a male EGO as a sister's son, real or classificatory. This may also, therefore, be the children of the daughter of the MZ or the FB. In other words, where it is useful for any purpose, one can find many different relatives who would answer to the name apa, any of which might be utilized then. The most common apa with whom one has definite contact is the real MB, or someone standing in his place. This is the person who is especially involved in the marriage of EGO. A MB contributes to the pay, and in turn gets a part of the return pay. It is this relative, or the one actually taking his place with reference to M, whom EGO can approach for land in case he decides to go to his mother's people to live. One would scarcely utilize a more distant MB for this last purpose, however.

This relates to a point to be made here about the extension of these terms in general. In the patriline, or the group to which one belongs as the son of a certain man, i.e., in one's own agnatic group, the extensions of agnatic

terms are very wide indeed, extending, as we saw, to all of the Komonikas, who are about 3,000 people. Membership in this group is defined as agnatic and through patrilineal descent. Relations with other groups not so defined are conceived somewhat differently as far as extension of terms is concerned. Terms very soon become limited to the actual group which is genealogically recognized as related. For example, the term apa, as an effective term, rapidly becomes restricted first of all to the MB and all the males of his manga rapa. The apa's wife's group would not be considered anymore as related in anyway to EGO, nor would any of the apa's classificatory sisters and the group into which they marry, i.e., those sisters who are not members actually of the apa's manga rapa. The level of exogamy for an EGO with respect to his mother's group is the equivalent level of Engamoi. In other words, not the smallest manga rapa, but the level above that tells which girls from the mother's group an EGO might marry. If a Witika man had a Kumdi Engamoi for a mother, then he would be forbidden to marry any of the Engamoi girls, but he could marry an Oinamp or a Melpangel, if he so desired. Even the Engapins would be open to him as a source of women, even though they are considered more closely related to the Engamois than are the other groups of the Komonikas. Some few informants disputed this point, but my data shows that they did actually marry in this way. However, on the next level of generation, the exogamy would only be restricted to the immediate small level of structure, and thereafter, if memory still is able to recall the connections, to the immediate family of the MMM and MMF, etc. The extensions rapidly narrow down, beginning already with the first generation, until they refer only to the immediate family descendants of the ancestor in question.

So far we have suggested that this narrowing-down does not take place on the father's side because of a rule of patrilineal descent. This may not prove to be totally accurate as a statement of what the people themselves think about it or an accurate description of what is actually involved; it is a point we shall return to again.

Kurpel/pepa

This is the cross-cousin, male or female, patrilineal or matrilineal. It is a meaning category, especially in that it in turn gives rise to ta and ma to EGO, ana and aia to EGO's children.

Andakawua and api

These terms relate to interesting categories of kinsmen. Api refers, in the case of a male speaker to his MM and FM and to his apa's wife, i.e., to both lineal relatives and to affinal relatives. Moreover, for a male-speaker it is not perfectly reciprocal. Male EGO's descendants will not call him api, since they will call him andakawua. It is reciprocal in the sense that the apa's wife will call EGO api in the same way that he calls her api. All the females on the second ascending generation, as well as the real MM and FM, tend to be called api, just as all the males on the same level tend to be called andakawua. This is, however, only by extension, since the people are not at all clear on the terms used for someone like the MMB or MFZ and the FMB and the FFZ. The terms listed in the chart, mbo tenta and wamp mbo are merely indications that there is a relationship traceable. Mbo tenta means "one off-shoot/seedling" and wamp mbo means "people off-shoot/seedling." It merely states that

there is a relationship without specifying it further. We shall return to this later.

People can be called *andakawua* and *api* also while they are still alive, because this is only the grand-parental generation that we are talking about after all. It is again a reciprocal term as we can see from the terms for EGO's children's children. We have indicated the importance of this generation and the people indicated by these terms above where we stated that everybody who descends from the same *andakawau* and *api* eventually are called by agnatic terms, no matter what the descent line and group affiliation. The *andakawua* also refer one to the religion of the Mbowamb, because it is this category especially which is meaningful for an EGO whenever there is occasion to have to offer them some pork, e.g., when he is sick or when one makes a special ceremony.

A discursus on the religion of the Mbowamb would be useful, but it would make this dissertation many times longer than it is already. Strauss made the religious thought of the Mbowamb the central theme of his book. The religion, in many respects, mirrors aspects of the social structure and gives a rationale for many activities and customs. However, the religion of the Mbowamb does not reflect their lineage structure; it reemphasizes and reaffirms the need to be on good terms with others; their religious activity stresses the need to maintain harmony in the social order rather than reflects the patrilineal character of the social structure. This is there, but not noticeably so. Also the larger ceremonies are not necessarily geared to an expression of corporate solidarity in any obvious way. Since only members of a certain group will be involved normally in any one ceremony,

the ceremony will de facto represent or symbolize that group. But the ceremony may equally be an occasion for a group split due to some arguments and disagreement. There is an inter-relation between religion and social structure, but it is not so obvious what it is necessarily. Or again, a careful study of Mbowamb religion may tell us much about the social structure of Mbowamb society. It might tell us, for example, that the principle of lineality is not really very important in Mbowamb social morphology.

We can give a few brief examples indicating how the *andakawua* are important in the religion of the Mbowamb. For instance, a man would hardly offer pork to his wife's *andakawua*, but would rather have one from her own group do. So, if it were divined that her father, for example, were the cause of the sickness. But this sort of a cause would scarcely be divined if she were staying with her husband at the time of sickness. In this case it would be either the husband's ancestors causing the sickness of his wife, or his deceased, angry brother, or perhaps a deceased son, etc. If her own ancestors were angry, this would possibly be because her husband or someone from his group contradicted her *andakawua*, in which case she would have gone to her own place and there recover her health by means of sacrifice. EGO, of course, can be made sick by his deceased angered mother, in which case he can make a sacrifice of pork to her, or have the big man representative of his group make the same. If the living mother is angry because her ancestors have been insulted (which means she feels slighted), and therefore her son is sick, then another solution is to have the father (the husband of the angry woman) appease the anger of the wife by giving her some pork or some other appropriate gift.

This then would restore harmony in the social group and would alleviate the sickness of the afflicted person. In matters of religion and sickness, even when mediated through another and living person, it is the andakawua who are most pertinent, once anger has been diagnosed as the cause of the sickness. There are other causes of sickness, to be sure. Picking up the smell of a spirit while walking through the bush causes sickness, as does just plain anger or dissatisfaction on the part of an individual, without reference to the ancestors. Some sickness also is part of the normal facts of life and are therefore uncaused in the sense that one must look outside of the sickness itself for its cause. The group of andakawua, however, is very important ritually. Their presence is an ever-present reminder of the necessity of social harmony.

An andakawua need not have died yet before being so called. Yet, significantly, if one does not look after an old person carefully, i.e., the andakawua, then he is liable to be angry, and when he does die, will avenge himself on his descendants who did not look after him properly. It is usually the son himself who is responsible for the care of his aged father and/or mother. But being old, the person already partakes of the nature of an andakawua, and upon death will become an andakawua fully. Moreover, the term itself is composed of anda or "old man" and kawua which can be interpreted as a combination of ka and wua (i.e., related to man). This is often heard as a term, viz., kawua, but the people themselves do not break it up further.

The use of the term api for the MBW is somewhat striking. Having discussed the content of the api relationship below, we will then try to indicate some reasons for equating these two categories of kin together.

Api (female speaker)

The female speaker uses api in the same way as the male-speaker, but uses it with full reciprocity. Moreover, she subsumes one other category under the term, namely her husband's mother. A woman calls her HM by the term api, although her husband does not call his wife's mother by the same term, but by the term which he also uses for his WF, viz., kudlpam. Again, I would suggest that this is a reflection of the kind of behavior which one encounters in the api relationship, and is pertinent for the female because of the residence rule. After all, she comes to live with her husband, and consequently with her husband's mother, and has close contact with this woman.

Rot/kokoma

These categories can be quickly disposed of. They refer to anybody more than three generations away from EGO. Since it is the rare person who lives to see his great-grandchildren, they do not speak of these or have terms for this category. However, the remote ancestors might still have influence. At least the people are aware that they existed at one time, and therefore can refer to them if necessary, although their effective influence is limited. There is, after all, no memory of them anymore, and this is the first condition necessary for effective influence. In divining, for example, for the cause of sickness, the names of deceased relatives are recited, and when the arrow which they are pushing into the ground is held fast, this is the ancestor who is causing the illness and who must be propitiated. Only ancestors which they remember are mentioned; only those could have influence on the living descendants.

Under some circumstances, indeed, it could be a contemporary, recently deceased, whose name is called out and divined as the cause. It is not necessarily a matter of ancestor and descendant. The ROT and KOKOMA, although not mentioned as such, seem to become somewhat more important at times of larger ceremonies, as for example the amp kur, a spirit ceremony designed for two things, to increase fertility in general, and to strengthen the men against their women, especially any of their number who may have taken food from a menstruating woman, or who might in the future eat such "poisoned" food. In such a ceremony, all of the ancestors seem to be implied in some of the rituals of the ceremony. The ROT and KOKOMA, however, are not mentioned explicitly. By the time one becomes a rot or a kokoma one begins to get confused with the spirits in general. The Mbowamb have no real clear-cut, consistent theology or belief behind their religious practices to begin with, and such subtle speculations as to the mode of existence of the rot and kokoma, and their possible influence on their living descendants, hold no interest for them. We shall have no more to say about these two categories of kin.

II

In like manner we can go through the categories of affinal kin. Marriage sets up a relationship between groups as well as between two individuals who set up their own household and their own family of procreation. The main emphasis, indeed, is on the two groups, at least as far as the consequences of marriage are concerned. Marriage alliance between two groups makes exchange possible between those groups, especially between the brothers-in-law so created.

They now eat each other's pork, because whenever one or the other group kills pig, they will share and distribute some of it to the other group, through the medium of the girl who has left her own group to marry into the other group. The group I refer to is the lineage or the manga rapa level. There is no attempt made to set up multiple links between these groups, because they are already in an exchange relationship; they already eat each other's pork, and if the two groups interrelated themselves by means of another marriage, then the one group would merely be giving itself pork and other valuables. Group A, already related by one marriage to Group B, will already, on the occasion of any pork distribution, give to Group B and vice versa. If Group A sent another girl to Group B, or Group B sent a girl to Group A while the former link was still utilizable as a link of exchange, then Group A would give pork for the second girl, and Group B would return some of the same pork to Group A on the basis of the first marriage link, and this is not acceptable to the Mbowamb at all. Their aim is to maximize social contacts, and one of the most effective ways of doing this is by marriage exchange and alliance. As long as this marriage exchange is on-going or utilizable, then no other marriage with that group is permissible. This is always on the level of social structure indicated, however. If another level develops, then that part of the two new levels only will be forbidden to inter-marry again in which are found the actual relatives of the party forming the link between the two groups, whereas the other part can now intermarry again with the other emerging group because they would no longer be sharing each other's pork. Group B would now share its pork with Group A1, and Group A2 could therefore marry into

Group B. This then would make further marriage between Group B and Group A2 impossible. When the connections are forgotten (3d/4th generation), Group A1 would also be able to intermarry with Group B again, which by this time probably has already either divided into another series of groups, or has amalgamated with another group to modify the possibilities even further.

Marriage is an important social institution among the Mbowamb, but it remains for us to discuss just what is its role later after we have discussed the institution of marriage more completely. At this point we are only concerned with the kinship system as a system of terminology and behavior. As a basis we again present a kinship chart (see Figs. 13 and 14).

We must define the affinal terms for the Mbowamb also, because they do not generally overlap with the consanguineal terms. In a way, of course, we are prejudging our analysis by calling these terms affinal terms. However, they do arise because of a marriage and the link which puts EGO in touch with these relatives is a spouse. Moreover, these terms are generally different from those which develop either in the nuclear family or out of patrilineal or matrilineal extensions, i.e., MB, FZ, CC. Let us then consider the "affinal" kinship of the Mbowamb.

Wua

This term is used for husband. It is also used for the husband's brother. Actually, it is parallel to the term for "son" in that it is not strictly a kinship term at all, but means first of all simply "man," and can be referred to any man whatsoever by anybody. If one prefaces the expression

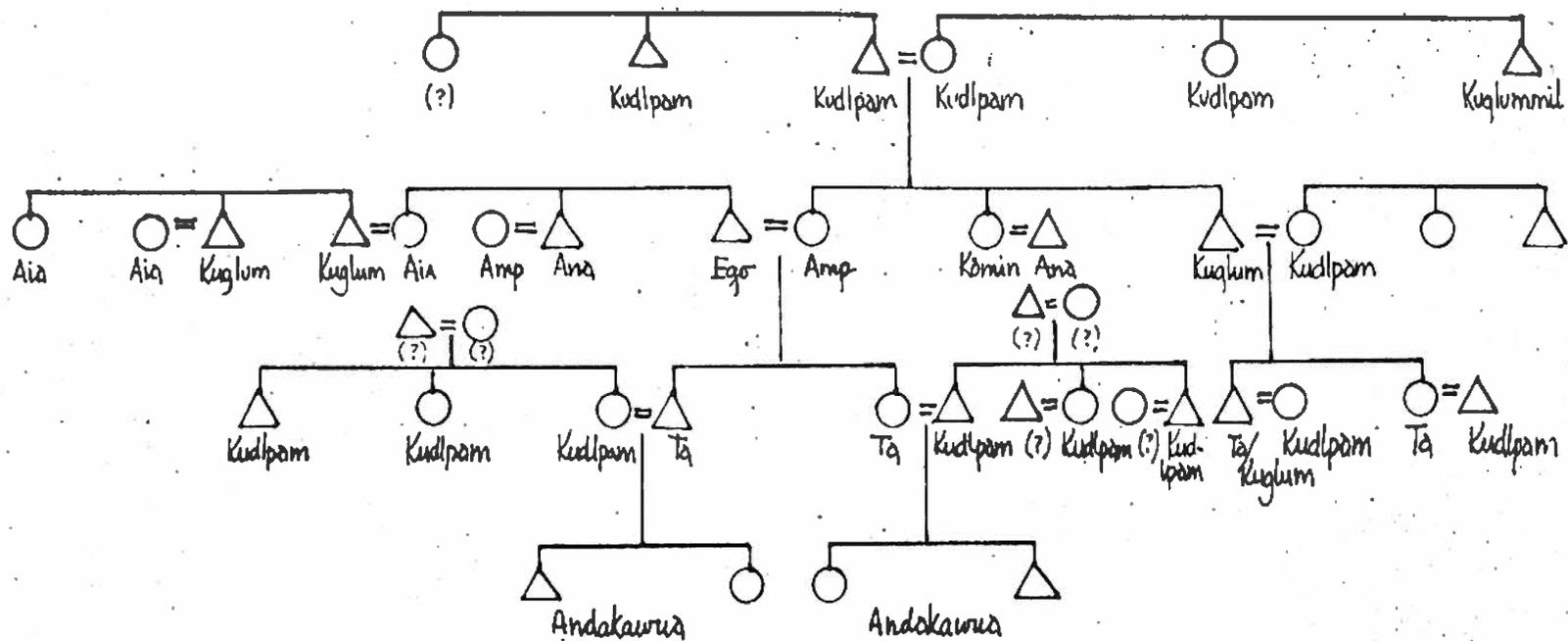


Fig. 13.--Affinal Kinship Terms, Male EGO

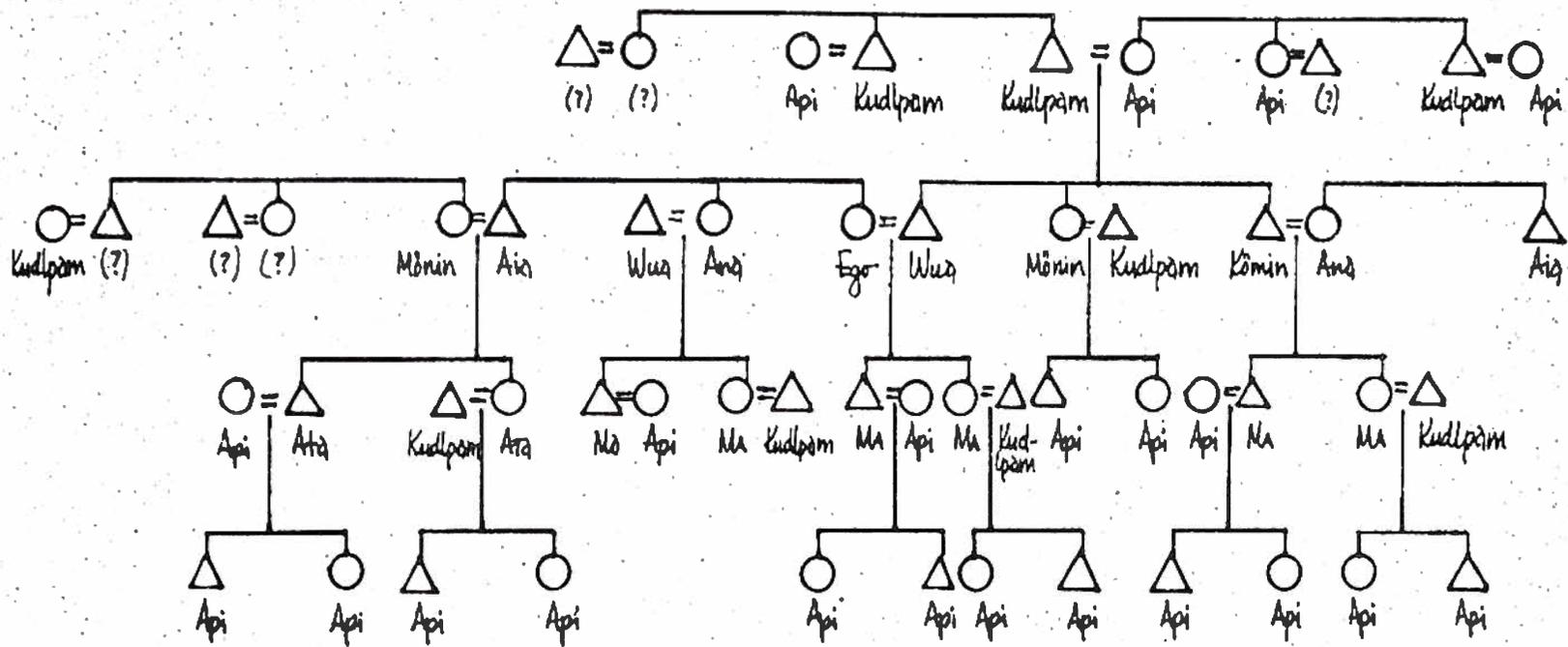


Fig. 14.--Affinal Kinship Terms, Female EGO

with the possessive "my" (nanga), then, of course, one can only refer to one's husband, in which case the term takes its own possession marker and becomes wam. This is the only expression found for "husband."

Amp

The term for "wife" is parallel to that of "husband." It means first and foremost "woman" and has also the meaning of "wife." Again it may take the possession marker to become ampom in which case it can only refer to one's wife. There is no other term.

Husbands and wives generally call each other by their first names. There is no name-taboo between them except the general taboo against saying anyone's name too frequently or without sufficient reason. Very often, in reference, the wife is referred to by her group affiliation, e.g., nanga Puntiga amp, "my Puntiga woman/wife" as opposed to "my Nengka wife."

Ana

This term, originally meaning "sibling of the same sex" is also used by a woman for her co-wives. They are her ana, although the reference again will usually be to the group affiliation of the other woman or to her home locality when she is mentioned in conversation. To anticipate some of the behavior content discussion, co-wives are very often jealous of each other and do not get along well together. They are a tension spot in the social organization. That they apply the term ana to one another is more of a wishful thinking than an evidence of behavior which should become ana. However, the relation between male siblings is also ambivalent, as we shall see.

Also one calls the WZH and HBW by the term ana, so that not only do all the adult males who live together in one locality as members of the same small social group call each other ana, but their wives also, though they come from many different social groups, call each other ana.

Kömim

This term is applied to the spouse's sibling of the same sex, i.e., WZ and HB. The appropriate spouse, as we see from above, is called ana. The children of a kömim are "sons" and "daughters" to EGO.

Mönin

This is a term which is peculiar to female speakers, and refers to HZ and BW. This expression, it seems to me, demands an explanation similar to the explanation for the special term used by a female in certain conditions, viz., api. For a female speaker, the second descending generation of her affinal kin links as well as consanguineal kin links are all api to her, whereas for male EGO, the second descending generation are all andakawua, with the single exception of his WBSS, and presumably WBSSS, etc. The son of a kuglum is a kuglum to male EGO, although the category is not very clear-cut.

Kuglum

This is the parallel term, male speaking, for mönin and refers to the WB and ZH. This is a very important person for EGO. To get a brother-in-law is one of the aims of marriage. This person becomes important as a source of shells and pigs with which EGO will make exchanges and so gain prestige for himself as well as for his group.

Kudlpam

For a male speaker this refers to his WF and WM and reciprocally to his SW and DH. For a female EGO there is a change in that she does not have a female kudlpam. This person becomes api. For her, api are essentially HM, HZCh, HBChCh.

In addition to the preceding terms for affinal kin, there are two other terms which are more collectively applied to affinal kin. The first is KOPA. This is a term of address and is used especially by a man in speaking to the agnatic relatives of his father-in-law, those, namely, which in pidgin-English are called his father-in-law's "one-Toks." Kudlpam is a term of reference and address.

The other general expression is PÖY. This is used especially between brothers-in-law and extended to their respective "one-toks." It is used only in speaking with males and is not supposed to be applied to the kudlpam. This term, pöy, very often in conjunction with wua, is then used more between equals, whereas kopa seems to be found between people, affinally related, but of a different generation, or to an in-law who happens also to be a big man. A woman would not call her father-in-law by the term for kopa. She would use his name. As we have said above however, there is a rigid name taboo in force between a man and his parents-in-law.

III

The first general distinction made by the Mbowamb is the distinction between kinsmen and non-kinsmen. The non-kinsmen are the pool from which spouses are taken. Therefore, one does not extend kinship terms beyond the Komonikas and

one's matrilateral kin within certain degrees, because the people outside of this range can give spouses. The kinsmen again are divided into two categories, i.e., cross-relatives, and for want of a better term, parallel or agnatic relatives.

The affinal terms are so divided inasmuch as their connection with the spouse-link is either cross-sex or of the same sex. In this case we get the following kind of table:

TABLE 9

MBOWAMB KINSHIP TERMS ACCORDING TO CROSS
AND PARALLEL CHARACTERISTICS

Cross		Parallel
Ata		Ta
Apa		Ma
	Aia	Ana
	Kurpel	
Kuglum		Kömin
Mönin		

The terms aia and kurpel are put between the two relationships because they seem to somewhat differ. The kurpel, for instance, generate parallel relatives, as do also the parallel relatives. The aia generates cross-relatives strictly speaking, i.e., ata and apa. The cross-relatives generate either cross-relatives or relatives whose kinship status is ambiguous, such as the kuglum. Mönin in one case generate ata, in the other api. The parallel relatives all generate parallel relatives, i.e., terms which in the initial situation are more readily identified as "agnatic." The kudlpam, amp, wua terms do not figure in

this chart. The amp/wua relationship is certainly a cross-sex relationship; however, the two of them together generate parallel relatives. The one or the other also makes the link for EGO with the affinal kin. It is therefore difficult to place them on such a "cross-parallel" chart. Kudlpam (and api) is such a distinctive relationship, that it seems to stand alone. It is a relationship of avoidance. After a marriage is completed, one can consider the kudlpam as generating affinal kinsmen, i.e., neither cross or parallel kinsmen, and therefore also unique. Also for this reason it is difficult to place on our charts. The distinction in terms of cross-parallel relationships seems to give a more logical and economical explanation of Mbowamb kinship terms.

Only three generations seem to be effective structurally; i.e., in this time all the kinship terms are reduced to parallel terms. There is one exception, viz., male ego's sister's descendants. For them to be reduced to agnatic (parallel) status terminologically, four generations are required. But the most general rule of the system would seem to read: Affinity (a relationship through marriage) becomes a cross relationship in the next generation becomes a parallel relationship in the next generation. Affinity \longrightarrow Cross \longrightarrow Parallel. We might diagram this in somewhat the following manner, taking the Group A as our sociocentric EGO. (See Fig. 15.)

What are some reasons, judging from the terminology itself, for making these distinctions rather than others? Firstly, there is no emphasis, terminologically, on lineage, i.e., on unilineal descent as a principle of social grouping. On the second ascending generation and above there is no distinction made by the people themselves between the

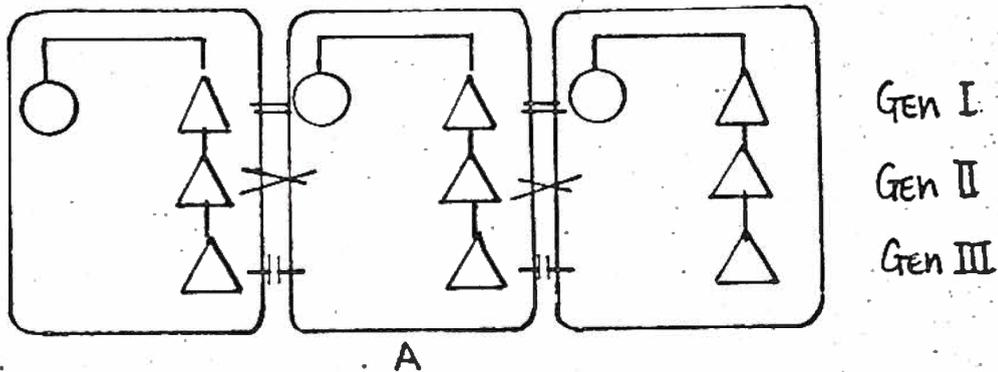


Fig. 15.--Kinship Dynamics and the Integration of Groups.

ancestors of the patriline, the matripatriline, patrimatriline, or finally the matrimatriline. The groups descended from MMB and MFZ and FMB and FFZ are called simply mbo tenta or wamp mbo, which indicates some connection without further specification. However, because all terms are reciprocal in a predictable way, the terminological system can be logically extended. Although the people themselves did not explicitly make these terminological extensions, we ourselves shall do so in order to indicate even more clearly what the emphasis of the terminological system is. We can chart these extensions as shown in Fig. 16.

From this chart we note a slight distinction between the matrilateral kin and the patrilateral kin insofar as two categories, MMZ and MFB produce apa. The apa relationship, in other words, is strictly and only matrilateral. In view of this, the people's own equation of apa with "kandere," as we have stated above, is perhaps even more significant. We also note that the generational levels are not confused.

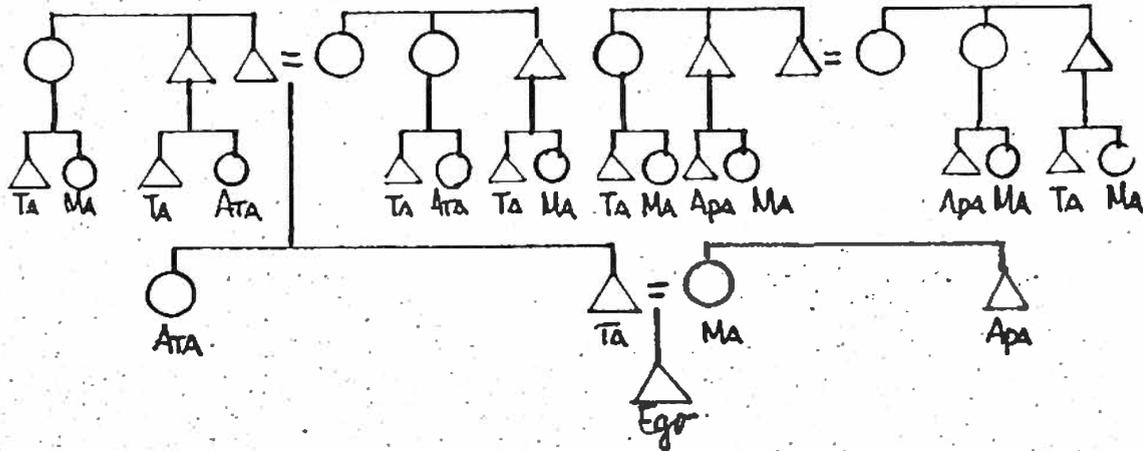


Fig. 16.--Extensions of Kinship

The respective apa and ta are on the proper generation level, i.e., the first ascending.

On the patrilineal side, on the other hand, the FMZ and FFB generate ata for EGO. This discrepancy is only apparent, however, because these two categories, apa (Mb) and ata (FZ), are actually equivalent, being distinguished only by sex. They are both cross-relatives, in one case cross on the father's side, in the other case cross on the mother's side. Hence there are two terms also. That they are equivalent seems to me to be brought out especially in the children they produce, i.e., EGO's cross-cousins, who are equated terminologically. The father, moreover, relates in an equal way to the FZH's group and his WB's group; both men are his kuglum, although he does not relate equally to their respective children, just as EGO himself does not relate to these two relatives equally. The connecting relative in each case is so different, viz., sister in one case and mother in the other. Strauss in his terminological chart

gives the same terms for ZCh and for WBCh. I did not get this information. Moreover, Strauss himself (1962) contradicts himself in this case. On the one chart (facing page 106) he has the following:



Fig. 17.--H. Strauss's Chart Number 1

Tepam-medl means "a sort of father." According to this chart, given reciprocal use of terms, a principle Strauss also insists upon, EGO should be called kangom-medl (a sort of son) or ta. However, in his second chart (facing page 107), Strauss has the following:

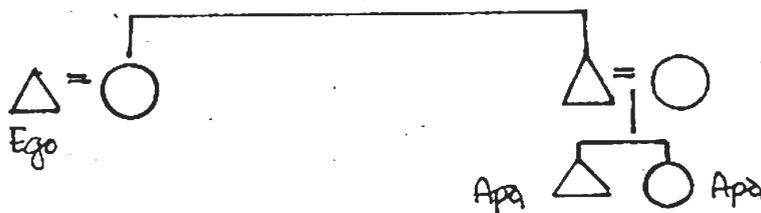


Fig. 18.--H. Strauss's Chart Number 2

I was unable to get a clear term for FZH. I did get tepam-medl, among others. But at no time did I get apa for FZH (which is what Strauss' second chart would demand), either spontaneously or upon specific questioning. Consequently, I conclude that Strauss' second chart is in slight

error. I might repeat here that he discusses the kinship structure of the Mbowamb only in passing. His main concern is with the religion of the Mbowamb especially with the religious thinking and symbols which form the back-drop of much of their activity.

On the second ascending and higher levels, there is no indication of linearity in the terminology. We note no distinctions which result from lineage emphasis as such. All the terms can be logically and economically explained in terms of generation and cross-relationships and a drive to generate parallel terms, i.e., those terms which are developed in the nuclear patrilineal family situation. Thus consider the set of terms we have encircled in the following chart:

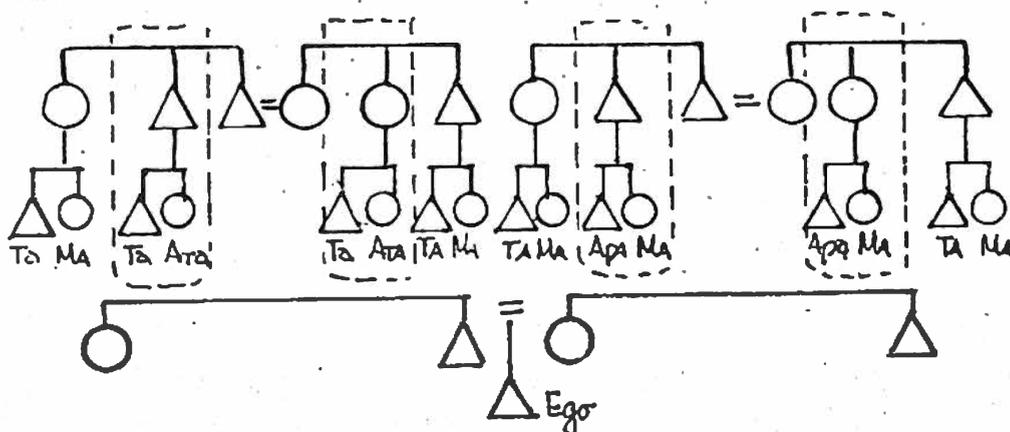


Fig. 19.--Cross-Relationship, Male Ego

These terms, considered from EGO's parents' point of view, are their respective parallel relatives, resulting in B and Z for EGO's parents. Now the cross-sex sibling of EGO's M and F are EGO's cross-relatives, and so FFBD is ata

and FMZD is ata, etc. On the other hand, FFZ, FMB, and MFZ and MMB are cross-relatives of EGO's parents. Therefore, they generate, according to the third generation rule, parallel relatives, viz., ta and ma (or papa).

This type of a breakdown explains FB and MZ terms also, without appealing to some common lineage membership on the one hand, or some kind of extension of sentiment from EGO's mother to his MZ because of her surrogate quality as mother or because of her position as a female who is similar to the mother, etc. This latter type of an explanation would apply much more aptly to the FZ as we shall see later when we discuss the behavior of kinsmen, i.e., the content of these relationships. One common and very neat way of explaining the identification of M and MZ, F and FB, and the lack of identity of FZ and M or F and MB has been in terms of some sort of dual organization into which the society is divided. This type of assumption also seems to underlie Kay's attempt to devise a system whereby all of an EGO's consanguineal relatives are divided into either parallel or cross-relatives (Kay 1965). I could not work his system in a satisfactory way for the Mbowamb kinship system. That some sort of dual organization would generate this kind of terminology is obvious by means of a simple diagram (see Fig. 20).

This would also explain the cross-cousin/parallel cousin terminology. However, Mbowamb society is not divided into moities or anything resembling dual organization. We mentioned above that segments of the society are often mentioned in pairs. Many things, indeed, are linked in two's. This sort of procedure need not be linked with a moiety system; among the Mbowamb, indeed, it is not. The equations

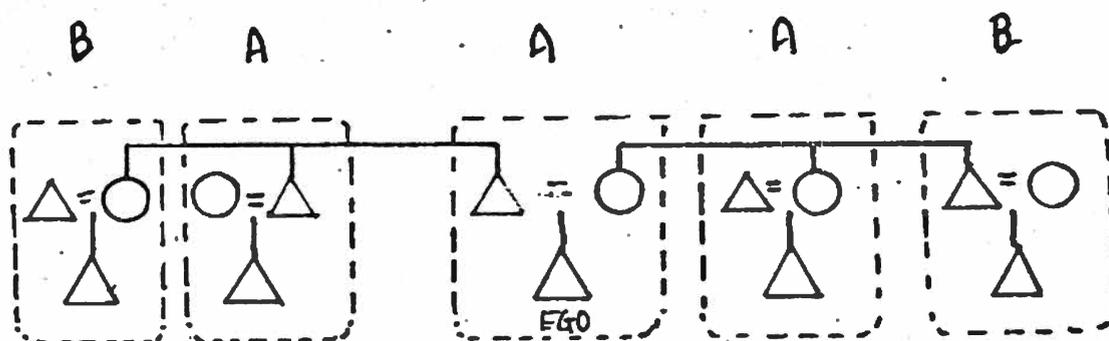


Fig. 20.--Dual Organization and Kinship Terminology

$M = MZ$ and $F = FB$, but $FZ \neq M$ or MZ and $MB \neq F$ or FB are true because FZ and MB are cross-relatives to the connecting link, whatever generation level we consider. For an EGO, the connecting link with MB is M , whether he is considered an affine or a consanguine, and therefore he is a cross-relative. The FZ is linked to EGO through the F , and again the relationship is a cross-sex relationship.

One might perhaps object that FZ belongs to the same patriline as EGO; therefore she is not to be considered a cross-relative. The same objection holds for EGO's Z . However, the children of FZ and MB , as well as the children of Z , are all terminologically similar; thus it would follow that FZ , MB , and Z are also similar, with due allowance for sex and generation, especially the latter. They are cross-relatives. Thus M and MZ are equated not because of some dual organization, nor, necessarily, because of the basic lineal character of the overall social structure, but because they are parallel relatives, i.e., ana to each other.

This approach also explains why sex is pertinent in one generation, but not in the other. Only MB is apa; only FZ is ata, whereas both ZS and ZD are apa and both BS and BD are ata. On this level they are no longer distinctive or crucial, whereas on the first ascending generation they are. We will come back to this below.

The same emphasis on cross-relatives appears in the affinal system of terminology, as we have indicated, especially with reference to the affinal relatives with whom one is permitted to interact freely. After our discussion of marriage this will be clearer.

IV

From our analysis so far we run into several very important implications as far as our understanding of Mbowamb social structure is concerned. Their model of their relationship is not so much one of unilineal descent binding them together, but rather one of "agnation," stressing the closeness between brother and brother and between brother and sister. Their kinship structure stresses agnation and all possible relations have this as their goal, to render everybody "brothers," or "fathers and children" as the circumstances of generation level may indicate. In our chapter on the larger aspects of social structure we stressed the people's ideas of genealogical descent as the model validating their social groups. Yet we saw how flexible those models were and that cross-relatives were also very important as a way of defining one's membership in a social group. Very quickly everybody became "brothers" and "sisters." Since the latter normally move away upon marriage, the final result is a patrilineal descent group

which satisfactorily explains the social system "on the ground." But the important question to ask is: "Whose model is this model of patrilineal groups?" At this point in our discussion it would seem to be the model of the ethnographer as much or more than the model which the people themselves have of their society. Their concern would then be "brotherness" rather than unilineal descent. Considered from without, insofar as the groups are defined by certain external criteria, e.g., residence especially or ceremony-participation, the system may seem to be a system of unilineal descent groups; viewed from within, the groups are defined according to some agnatic character which all the members possess, prescindng from the modality of descent. Thus descent would be secondary, important insofar as it makes people to be "brothers" and "sisters," or gives them common residence with all the frequent interaction this implies. Given the characteristics of the Mbowamb kinship system, a descent group can be formed along a variety of possible descent lines.

This sort of approach to the Mbowamb situation, extended to other Highlands societies, may help explain some of the anomalies of New Guinea social structure, for instance, the emphasis on B-B and B-Z bonds as opposed to the F-S bonds. It might help explain the minimal role the father has relative to his son, untypical perhaps of a strictly patrilineal descent system. Also the free and varied kinds of assimilation may seem irregular only if we have preconceived the system as a system of patrilineal descent groups without realizing that our conception has to do with or is a result of criteria other than those which are operative within the descent system itself. The brevity of genealogical memory fits in here as a consideration affected by our

interpretation. Moreover, the emphasis of the religious system on social harmony rather than on lineage structure may be partially explained by backing away from the patrilineal descent group model, unless we remember that this model is the investigator's, not that of the people themselves.

I do not want to say at this time that patrilineal descent is meaningless for the Mbowamb. From our study of the social groups which comprise the Mbowamb social system we must conclude that genealogical descent through the father is important. It certainly accounts for the extension of "agnation." But as far as the internal understanding of the kinship system is concerned, descent may be secondary. Both parents' groups and their parents' groups in turn, through several generations, generate the same kinds of relationships with no distinctions. These relationships have their origin in affinity, which in turn develops out of a non-kinship relationship. Our discussion later of exogamy will indicate how the various kinship relationships differ and how descent enters into the structural picture.

V

If we consider the criteria which can be found in the literature dealing with kinship, which accounts for the various ways in which individuals are grouped together into categories, some interesting features of the Mbowamb kinship system can be observed. First of all, every term indicates generation, with the proviso that we do not necessarily know whether it is one generation above or one or more generations below. Thus ta indicates a generation difference as well as a relationship which we have translated as "father-child."

Unless there is some clarification by use of another indicator, we do not know, however, whether the user of the term is looking up to the first ascending generation or down to the first descending generation. The same can be said of all of the other terms. They indicate either same generation (ana, aia, kurpel, mōnin, kōmin) or one generation difference (ta, ma, apa, ata, papa, at), or two generations difference (andakawua). Several terms clearly confuse generations, viz., api and kudlpam, and possibly also kuglum.

A distinction which is consistently ignored is the distinction of polarity. All the terms we are dealing with, except wua and amp, are reciprocal, as we have repeatedly stressed. Each relationship, in other words, is treated as a unit. Within the relationship, each participant is considered equal in every respect, with the exception of some generation difference which some relationship terms imply but do not specify. Our discussion of kinship behavior below, as well as our description of domestic organization indicate that the mbowua considers himself essentially the equal of anyone in every respect. This is emphatically brought out in the kinship terminology where no essential terminological distinction is made between two people who are engaged in patterned kinship interaction.

These are the two most clear-cut distinctions and most consistent ones which the kinship terminology, as a terminological system, makes. Another distinction made, but not so consistently, is a distinction based on sex. Any relationship, looking to the generations above, is distinguished also by sex. We have already discussed this. The term which ignores sex consistently is the term for cross-cousin, kurpel, which can be referred to either the male or

female cross-cousin. Only with respect to sibling terminology does the sex of speaker come into play, thus determining what term one will use; this holds also for the sibling of spouse terminology. Men and women's terminology differs somewhat in other respects also, in that the woman speaker uses some terms which the male speaker does not, notably the term mōnin for HZ and BW. She also calls her HM by the term api, whereas the husband calls his WM by the term kudlpam.

The criteria of collaterality and bifurcation are somewhat ambiguous in the Mbowamb terminological system, as we have already seen. Applying one set of terms for the uncles and aunts gives us a lineal system; applying the second set renders the uncle-aunt generation of the type called merging. No matter what term we apply, however, the generation below this yields a merging type of terminology, and the generation below this gives not only a merging type of terminology, but also ignores bifurcation which EGO's own generation list of cousins does not do. All this indicates, I venture to suggest, that we should very carefully apply many of the criteria found in the literature, and rather than confine ourselves to only one generation in assigning our system to a type, e.g., the terms for the aunts or uncles or for the cousins, we should look at the whole structure before attempting a classification. If we restricted ourselves to the parental generation, we would have to say that the system could be either collateral or merging, or in Morgan's terms, classificatory (where the collateral relatives are merged with the lineal), in which case it would represent one type for him, or descriptive (where the collateral relatives are kept separate from the lineal relatives)

in which case it would create another type for him. However, the structure as a whole is definitely merging, so we call it classificatory, even though we could use the terms at and papa and mistakenly perhaps conclude that it was basically a descriptive system.

Given the sharp distinction made in the sibling generation, we might a priori expect a bifurcate type terminology. Indeed, as we have seen above, cross-relatives are very important. This makes for clear-cut bifurcation. The cousins related to EGO through the FZ and the MB are terminologically distinct from those related through the FB and MZ; these latter are related to him as siblings. This gives cousin terminology of the Iroquois type. To be more exact, following Murdock here, one would define the type as Dakota. Murdock defines the Dakota type as follows:

The Dakota type of social structure includes, by definition, all patrilineal societies with Iroquois cousin terminology. In addition, it is widely characterized by non-sororal polygyny, by a family organization of either the independent polygynous or the patrilocal extended type, by patri-clans, by the patrilineal extensions of incest taboos, and by bifurcate collateral or bifurcate merging terms for aunts and nieces, all of which traits are predicted by our theory [1949:236].

In so defining Dakota type, Murdock seems also to be summarizing the characteristics of the Mbowamb social situation as we recall from our previous description of the domestic level of organization. However, as we said above, on the level below the cousin level, this bifurcation no longer has any meaning or significance since all of the offspring of cousins, insofar as the people remember and make the extensions, are again sons and daughters to EGO and therefore brothers and sisters to each other. Also, as we have indicated, lineality is not really so prominent in the Mbowamb terminological system.

The criterion of affinity is partially observed and partially ignored. The spouse of a kōmim (sibling of the same sex as spouse) is called ana, and the FBW and MZH are called ma and ta respectively. The term api also indicates rejection of the principle of affinity in certain instances. Api is not only a female andakawua but also HM and MBW as well.

Finally, the Mbowamb also reflect somewhat the criterion of decedence in their terminology. Anybody who dies, no matter what that person's status was in the on-going kinship structure, very soon is referred to as an andakawua, even if that person happened to be a father or a brother, or even a child. Having died, that person becomes an andakawua, and will be mentioned as such by the living. However, when there is occasion to speak of the individual in his relationship to them as an individual, the survivors will continue to use the proper kinship term for the deceased. In a situation of sickness, the diviner will refer to the ancestors who may be causing the illness, not as andakawua in general, but rather as ma, ta, ana, etc. To a limited extent then do the Mbowamb also observe the criterion of decedence in their kinship terminology.

Relative age does not show up in the terminology as such, although the Mbowamb can and often do indicate this by the use of the words komin and akil, which mean the "elder" and the "last" or "the one who comes behind." This distinction comes up also on the more formal levels of Engamoi social structure, as we saw in a previous chapter, where several groups were collectively called Ändakomin or "the first-born ones" as opposed to Andakil or the "one who came last in birth-order." A polygynous man will refer to his wives in somewhat the same manner, calling his first wife peng-amp

(head-wife), those in between "ruk-amp" (between-woman) and the last one amp akil. The distinctions do not really have much meaning, as we shall see when discussing the content of these various kin relationships.

We have stated, with reservations, that the system as a whole was classificatory, in the sense in which Morgan used it, and which has been both criticized and defended. There is another sense in which classificatory is used by Murdock and others, in which case it is referred to the individual terms of kinship. The opposite of this use of classificatory is denotative. In the former, different categories of relatives are grouped together as a consequence of ignoring one or more criteria which we have discussed above. These criteria are the following: generation, sex, affinity, collaterality, bifurcation, polarity, relative age, speaker's sex, decedence. The list seems to be complete, both empirically in the sense that these are the only criteria so far discovered in the literature, and logically, in the sense that these criteria cover adequately and completely all the possibilities. This is just another way of saying what has been already said above. It does not add anything new to our analysis so far, but merely summarizes the data. We can do this best perhaps by means of a chart. The chart in itself, however, is not enough to explain the terms for us. For this, we must keep in mind the changes that take place in the terminology over the course of three generations, changes which are in the direction of non-relative

affinity \longrightarrow cross-relatives \longleftrightarrow cross-relatives \longrightarrow
 \longrightarrow parallel relatives \longleftrightarrow parallel relatives \longrightarrow

On the basis of the chart, one can readily read off the classes of relatives which result.

TABLE 10

MBOWAMB KINSHIP TERMS ACCORDING TO CRITERIA

	Gen.	Sex	Aff.	Col.	Bif.	Pol.	RelAge	SpSex	Dec.
ta		X ^a		X		X	X	X	X
ma		X		X		X	X	X	X
ana			X	X		X	X		X
aia			X	X		X	X		X
ata		/ ^b				X	X	X	X
apa		/				X	X	X	X
kurpel		X				X	X	X	X
andakawua		/	/	/	/	X	X	/	
api	X	/	X	/	/	/	X	/	
wua				X			X		X
amp				X			/		X
kömim						X	X		X
mönin						X	X		X
kuglum	/					X	X		X
kudlpam	X	X				/	X	/	X

^aA box which is checked means that the criterion in question is ignored.

^bPartially.

On the basis of this table and what was said before, the affinal terms seem to be more generally denotative than are the consanguineal terms. And of the latter, the terms for cross-relatives are more denotative than the others.

VI

We can conclude this section with a brief discussion of some of the terms which often go with a kinship term, which may, in some instances even look like and be used like kinship terms. Some of them are age indicators, others indicate a status in life. Some similar terms we have already discussed, and others shall be mentioned when we speak of name-taboos. This list includes the more important and commonly used terms. It does not pretend to be complete.

Brugina.--This is used to modify a kin term and indicates that the person is not the real kinsmen indicated. Thus MZ is mam brugina.

Ink.--This means "true" or "real" and indicates the actual kinsman referred to. For example, Tipam ink would mean the real father in the meaning of the one who begot me.

Kont/mendapukl.--These terms are used somewhat in the same way the ink is used.

Nana.--This is "infant," especially if the infant is still nursing and not walking too well yet.

Kangambogla.--A combination of "boy" and "girl." It means "child" in general.

Amp wentep.--"Young girl," not yet married.

Amp kokola.--"Young girl," someone who may be married but without children as well as someone who is old enough to be married.

Kang kundip.--"Young man," i.e., someone who is not yet married but of courting age.

Wua anda.--An old man.

Amp wenta.--An old woman.

Wua/amp rondukl.--A "strong man/woman"; used of someone who is in the prime of life with a fine, full beard in case of the men, and children.

Wua/amp wangin.--A "poor man." Often used also of married people who have no children. Used of bachelors and people who are more or less alone in life.

Wua korupsi köp.--"A man who is always bent over, looking around," i.e., a "rubbish man."

Wua/amp nuim.--An important or "big" man/woman.

Wua elpa.--"Different man," i.e., someone not of our group, however defined.

Tininga wamp.--"Our people," as opposed to wamp elpa.

CHAPTER VI

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM: THE CONTENT

OF KINSHIP

It is not really enough, even to understand the Mbowamb model of their kinship system, to merely analyze the kinship terminology. The attitudinal aspects of kinship are also important for this purpose. In other words, what sort of behavior do the various terms describe? The behavior of people, of course, gives us an insight also into the model which they have of their own system; albeit their implicit or even unconscious model. The terminology of kinship, on the other hand, crystallizes their explicit, conscious model. Considerations of the normative and the normal are pertinent to both models; in many cases the two overlap. In some cases, however, the normative content of a relationship is one thing; the actual content is another, and this distinction is also often evident from behavior. These various models which the people support are ambivalent at times, and this is also expressed in certain activities. For this reason a brief description of kinship behavior is useful for our thesis. Marriage and affinal relationship will occupy a section all its own in view of their importance in the Mbowamb social system.

We must make clear at the outset what we are

describing. In the first place, we are describing the content of relationships. For completeness' sake, and to give us a more adequate idea of the relationship itself, we shall also describe the interactions which take place between individuals (tipam-kangom/"father and son"), as well as the people's understanding of these relationships. The reciprocal nature of all the kinship terms which the Mbowamb use testify strongly to the relational character of these terms rather than to the positional or status character of these same terms. This would also seem to be a more abstract and "structural" approach, which we are led to adopt by the Mbowamb model itself.

When we speak of the "content" of kinship relationships, we do not use this term in the same sense that Hsu does in his various writings. By content he means "those characteristics which govern the tenacity, intensity, or quality of interaction among individuals related through kinship (Hsu 1961:404). By content we mean more a description of the social usages which characterize a certain relationship as well as the quality of interaction. This is done, to repeat once more, in order to attain insight into the people's own understanding of their kinship model, i.e., their cultural understanding of their social system. (In view of what we have already implied, that the sibling bond is structurally very important in opposition to the descent bond, it is very interesting to read what Hsu says about this type of society, his Type D, and the characteristics he describes for this type of society. In many instances his descriptions would fit the New Guinea Highlands material better than the African societies he takes as his type-cases.)

Tipam-kangom--Father-son

The immediate relationship between a father and his son, and we are speaking here of the real father and real son, begins before birth with the sexual intercourse between husband and wife which has as its result the pregnancy of the woman. The term used to "bear a child" is used equally of the man and of the woman. Each and both of them "bear the child." The term is a general one, *menim*, and means, first of all, to "carry," in the literal sense. So one carries an ax, or one carries a bag of sweet potato, and one also carries a child in giving birth to it. One intercourse per pregnancy is generally considered insufficient by the *Mbowamb*, and repeated connection is required over a length of time. At this stage the husband and wife *kongon enimbil*, i.e., "the two of them are working" at producing a child. The specific number of intercourses are not carefully specified, although many times are required. This is not an unpleasant "work" for either the men or the women. Thus, in my area the attitude towards sexual intercourse seems to be quite different from that of the men in the *Wabag* area or especially further east among the people described by *Berndt* and others. There is no sense of avoiding the women at those times when intercourse is permitted (there are other times of taboo, which we shall have occasion to mention later when speaking of the relations between husband and wife), no feeling that repeated contact and connection will weaken the man by sapping him of his vital fluid, that his physical share in child-birth must be as strictly limited as possible and only so much as necessary. Nor did I uncover any sort of spells or magical training or strengthening which the male undergoes in order to fortify himself against possible

weakness resulting from the activity of "bearing a child." There are such rites and ceremonies strengthening him against the ill consequences of associating with menstruating women, but nothing which indicates that intercourse in itself, or the loss of seminal fluid, etc., is harmful when done at the proper times and in the proper circumstances.

This ideology serves various functions perhaps. One, it gives the men an excuse to set themselves aside for this work wholeheartedly--it is considered enjoyable by the women also, especially on the testimony of the men, but also on the testimony of several of the women, although there are qualifications here. Also it helps obviate possible difficulties arising from adulterous intercourse, which may only be sporadic. This sporadic intercourse would not be enough to cause pregnancy, so even in case of it, the child would still be imputed to the husband. However, this point is not to be stressed here, because the Mbowamb also recognize that repeated intercourse is not absolutely necessary or essential for pregnancy, and they will admit that once might even be enough. Their own experiences in this matter and their experiences as pig-breeders are sufficient to teach them this physiological fact. If a woman is pregnant, however, and the husband for obvious reasons is not the father (for instance, he is still bound by the post-natal sex taboo, or has been away at work), the ideology requiring repeated intercourse for pregnancy is enough to "prove" that the two people involved must have been intimate for a length of time, that the love affair is not of recent or brief duration. On the whole, adultery is of rare occurrence. On this level, therefore, on the level of intercourse, there is nothing "unwanted" about a child.

Normally when a woman's pregnancy becomes visible or apparent, especially by the infant's quickening, then the man and woman stop their sex relations, and from now until the child is weaned (or dies, in the event this should happen), there is a strict sex taboo imposed upon the man and woman. They are not permitted to have relations anymore, for fear that the child will be harmed. The sickness and harm would not descend upon the man or woman, but upon the child. The thinking is the following. If a child is nursing at the breast and the husband has intercourse with his wife during this time, the semen would travel up the sides of the woman's body, go into her breasts and there mingle with the milk which the baby drinks. This mixture would cause the baby to sicken and eventually die. On the basis of my own observations, this taboo is quite rigidly observed. The men sometimes say they would like to approach their wives, even though the baby is still nursing, and if the baby is generally big enough to be weaned already, they might begin to cohabit again, but then probably the wife would "be strong" and for the sake of the infant restrain the husband. Very few women (none to my knowledge) conceive again during the time their infant is nursing at the breast. However, if the baby dies, the woman is quickly pregnant again, which is an indication to me that the taboo is quite rigidly observed. During this time a man may leave to work on a plantation also. For the sake of his child, and this is the first meaningful initiation of the father-child relationship, the father observes this taboo quite rigidly, not for his own benefit or advantage or well-being. There are no other outstanding restrictions put on the prospective father during the time of his wife's pregnancy that I could uncover. There

is an added inconvenience when the wife bears the child in that for a period of a month or so she should not give her husband food from the gardens. This is a taboo similar to the one existing when the woman menstruates, during which time she cannot give food to her husband or the male members of her family. In these two cases, the husband himself would sicken and die as a consequence. So for this period of a month or so he must fend for himself, or have an unmarried sister supply him with his vegetable food, or perhaps his mother. Even if he has to dig out his own sweet potato, which forms the bulk of the diet, and cook it, this is not the inconvenience it might seem. The technique is simple, not very time-consuming, and cooking is merely a matter of throwing the sweet potato in the ashes or on the fire.

There is very limited contact between a father and his newly born child, and this condition continues for the early months of the infant's life. During this time the contact is almost exclusively between mother and child, and she is responsible entirely for the child's well-being, comfort, satisfaction, etc. A father, especially if the child is a first-born, may hold the infant on his lap while sitting around in the house, especially when the child gets a little older, but as soon as it cries, it is given back to the mother, who never is far away. The father may even baby-sit for a time, but then the infant would already be some six to nine months old, while the mother goes to pick some corn or do some other chore which normally would not take too long. He would do this only in the absence of some other sibling who would normally take over the chores of the mother during such times. It also presupposes that the child can do without the mother's breast already for a time. If

the family goes somewhere for a visit, the father may carry the child for a time, thus relieving his wife, who probably is already carrying a large bag of food. He will help carry the child over a steep place in the path or across a river. In general, however, the contact between a father and his child, at this early stage of the child's development and growth, is very restricted.

When one considers the later relationship between the father and his children, one is faced with a real dilemma in attempting to describe in any patterned way the content of the relationship. It varies so much that one despairs of assigning any one characteristic to it. For every example of authoritarian behavior, one can cite a contrary example of warm closeness and helpfulness. For every case of distant aloofness between father and son, one can give another example of a father-son relationship which is extremely close. It has been my own observation and experience that many fathers play favorites with their children, sons and daughters. One son will be a favorite in the sense that the father and this son will generally be seen together. The son will sleep with his father in the men's house, whereas other sons might sleep with their mothers. In the case of a spirit ceremony, this one son especially will be taken into the enclosure, perhaps even trained to take over this same spirit ceremony in the place of the father, if the father is the mun wua or the one in charge of the proceedings; or perhaps one of the sons only will be given a pig to kill on this occasion, for which reason he can then enter the spirit enclosure. One of the local tultul's sons would always be with his father, and when his father stood up to give a speech or make a statement, this son would generally

be standing right with his father, in the middle of the crowd of people listening. Sometimes a father will be especially close and indulgent with one of his very small sons. One case I remember was the case of Ketigla. His one son was about four years old when his wife had another baby, another son. The four year old boy was scarcely ever out of his father's sight or arms, except when the father went to work on the road or in the gardens. Otherwise they were almost inseparable, with the result that the boy got almost anything he wanted from his father. The son even stuttered like his father, picking up this trait very early in his life.

This does not mean that a father will necessarily neglect his other children. They will get their just share of the father's patrimony, viz., land for gardens and parts of his feather wealth, etc. The mothers of the other sons would see to this. There is not that much really to distribute anyway, so there is very little possibility of ill-feeling arising over patrimony.

Likewise, often one of the daughters will be a favorite one. She will be the one generally to provide her father with sweet potato, if she is old enough for this; she will be the one to look after her father if he is sick, and so on. There is not the same possibility, of course, of the bond between father and daughter developing to any really great extent, because the work of the daughter takes her away from the homestead quite a bit and places her more constantly in contact with her mother and the other women rather than with the father and her brothers.

Nevertheless, the position of the father in the family is a position of authority, albeit very generalized. He decides how to distribute the gardens, and his word here is

final; nor does he change his mind often and redistribute the gardens again and again. He makes the final decisions what work will be done on any particular day, when to make a new garden, where, how big, etc. He consults his wife or wives, and they also help him come to a decision, but it is finally the father of the group's decision and responsibility. This is the case, even if the father does not happen to be the big man of the larger group also. The father decides when to eat bananas and/or neka, which are special foods, and male foods. However, if a son has some banana plants of his own, he can harvest these whenever he wants, and is not dependent on the father. The father is most important when it comes time for a son or daughter to marry. He is responsible for putting the entire procedure in motion, and will himself contribute much of the bride-wealth for his son. For his daughter, he will have much to say whether a certain boy is proper for his daughter. In this event of marriage, however, a father's brother, or a brother might also be important, even more important than the father in the sense of being more obvious in the conduct of the negotiations than the father himself. This would be the case, for instance, if the father himself were old; then one of the FB would take over the negotiations, conduct the speeches, arrange the amount of the return pay, and generally take care of the details of the marriage. In the similar case for a girl, this task very often is taken over by her brother, especially if he is of a proper age to take care of these sorts of things. In this case again the father himself will recede into the background. However, the father will very often be responsible for the extra fine shell which the girl carries to her husband, or for the main shell of the boy's

bride-wealth. Also the father must have some of the kungmangal ("pig inside the house") or else the marriage will have little chance of survival. In other words, the son and/or daughter are dependent on the father when it is a question of marriage, but in the same breath, I would say they are not exclusively dependent on him. Under certain circumstances there is the MB and his group upon whom EGO can rely for sufficient help in the matter to enable him to get a wife, but again, more of this later.

The father's authority does not stem so much from his position as educator of his sons, much less of his daughters. There is relatively little by way of specialized skills which have to be learned in this culture. One must know how to garden, but this is learned readily and early by the infant's constant association with the mother in the gardens. What skills are specific to a male with regards to gardening can be as readily and easily learned, and are more usually learned, from an older brother, or from any other adult male with whom one may have occasion to work. There are no incantations which necessarily pass on from father to son, although this might be the case. I mentioned the instance where one father was very obviously teaching his one son, a favorite son, the techniques of performing a certain spirit ceremony, called the amp kur. The son was still pre-pubescent. Ketigla, one of the four brothers of Knia, learned most of his incantations from his father--his other brothers were not so favored. A child who is much with his father, especially if his father is a big man, has an advantage and a head-start on the path to becoming a big man himself. He has observed his father's technique, has often listened to him speak, has gotten acquainted with the

father's exchange partners, if only because the two of them visited with these partners together. He has often observed the father's technique of talking his partners out of some shells, or the arrangements that have to be made for an exchange, etc., and therefore presumably would be better prepared for these sorts of prestige activities himself when he becomes older. But most of this knowledge and training he receives in this fashion is picked up "on the run," with no effort on the part of the father at directly training or educating the child to these activities. Such skills as butchering meat, cooking it properly, heating stones, etc., are again as much learned by observation as by direct training. Most of the activities and skills are fairly simple to master anyway.

The father has authority because of his position as father, because of his superiority in age, because he is the one who distributes--whatever the type of goods--because he is also in a sense the ritual head of his group, responsible ultimately for his family in case of illness. Indeed, he himself may only call in a particular incantation man, but the father is the one who will eventually have to furnish the pig for the sacrifice or for the payment of the incantation man. If the son gets in some trouble with another group, it is the father who actually takes care of the difficulty. The father finally, no matter who actually takes care of the main arrangements, is the person who is mainly responsible for his child's marriage.

There is a fair amount of ultimate dependence, economically, on the father. The day-to-day dependence is on the mother, not the father; also from the mother, or better, through the mother does the son look for his gardens and

land, but ultimately this must come from his father. The problem of land inheritance is an interesting one, but a fuller discussion of it at this point is not warranted. Essentially the father is responsible for sharing the garden land of which he has control from his own father among his sons, through the various wives.

A father can command his sons, to a limited extent, to work such-and-such a garden, or undertake a journey; for instance, to walk to Mount Hagen to buy some nails or a lock for the house. The son, however, will not always do what the father says, and if he refuses, there is really no way for the father to enforce his will upon the children.

This brings us to the son's obligations to the father, and the rights the son exercises over the father. There is very little by way of rights or duties which are clear-cut, which the son must fulfill for his father. Although the father has rights over his sons and daughters, based on the principles we have indicated, nevertheless these controls, this authority is nothing very absolute, and the son or daughter very often flout the father's wishes, in which case he can do precious little to command obedience. A son cannot be disinherited from his own land; he can at least get the land which he has available through his mother. Moreover, a son can always go to his mother's people and expect them to give him land and help. This is an obligation which the MB has towards his ZS. He will also take in the ZD if she has a falling-out with her father. There were several instances of this sort of mobility among the Engamoi, and very often the ultimate reason for going to the MB was an inability to get along with the father at home. Children are expected to look after their father in his old age, and

will normally cooperate with their father, their FB, and their own B. After all, it is with this group that a mbowua spends his life; from them he expects help in time of need; they are the ones to back him up in any kind of fight or other difficulty. He has his MB people to turn to in case of need also, but first and foremost in a man's thoughts and even affections comes his own group, with whom he lives, of which he is an effective member, where he finds his security, a more meaningful thing perhaps in former times when fighting was more common, or at least when the rumor and fear of fighting was more common and real to the Mbowamb. This means that EGO will normally also submit to the discipline of his group, and of his father as the one through whom the group is normally represented to him. But the ultimate submission is always up to the individual; there is no great force put upon EGO to submit in the sense of physical coercion or dire threats, and so on. The relationship between EGO and his father is fairly one of equality, given the conditions indicated above which do put the father in something of a position of authority over EGO to which he responds with a moderate degree of submission and respect.

Ta

The relationship of EGO with his father's brothers and others of the generation immediately preceding his own partakes of much of the own father's relationship, at least in the sense that they can readily substitute for the real father in the activities which come up, in which EGO might be involved, e.g., his marriage, exchanges, land distribution, especially in the case where a FB would grow old without sons to take over from him. Own sons would get preference, would

indeed inherit all of the father's land if he were an only son. It would be up to the son then to share with his "brothers" in case they were in need of land for their growing families. The press for land, however, is not so great--at least it is not felt as pressing--and the others could still go elsewhere and cultivate land in new places. This has been the situation especially since the fight which drove the Elpugumps etc., off their land, thus vacating it for the use of the Engamoi and Engapin, who have taken it over. If a young boy has difficulties with his own father, he can always find a place to sleep, and food to eat, with his FB, or any of the men who would classify as his ta, especially within the smallest named level of social structure. More than likely he would go to a married brother and spend the time with him, until the situation at home cooled down.

The situation, however, did not degenerate into chaos, with everybody doing what he pleased. One very effective means of controlling others was sickness. If the father got sick, and one of the sons was not behaving himself, or was quarreling with the father, the sickness would surely be blamed on the misconduct of the son. And rather than feel responsible for the sickness, and perhaps the eventual death of his father--death in these circumstances would be very dangerous, because the deceased would surely come back later to wreak some sort of vengeance on the living who caused the death with his anger--the son who is misbehaving would normally very quickly come back and submit again to the recognized rules of the group.

Relations with "fathers" outside of the group to which EGO belongs are labile and tenuous. But again, one would be closer and more willing to help a "father" or a

"brother" who was more closely related to your own group, actually or only traditionally. Their relationships with "fathers" and others outside of their own group, e.g., MZH, refer mostly to the generalized rule of exogamy, which states that an Engamoi must go outside of the groups which comprise his "fathers," "brothers," and "sisters" if he wishes to marry. Moreover, not all of the people to whom the term is extended are called ta as a rule, but rather by the respect term wawa as we noted in our discussion of the kinship terminology. Primarily those of your own smallest named group are called ta. This makes sense in terms of what tasks they perform relative to EGO.

Ma--Mother-child

This is the warmest relationship which the Mbowamb experience and the closeness and warmth of it endure throughout life. For the first months and years of his life, the infant is totally dependent upon his mother, and she is ever ready to satisfy his every want and whimper with food and caresses. From morning to night she is totally taken up with the infant; even while she works in her garden, she is never far from the child, often carrying it around with her on her back. Never is the breast far away, and she is ever ready to satisfy her infant's needs. If she does not, if the child cries for any length of time, and is not sick, then the husband will berate his wife soundly for allowing the baby to cry; he may even, under the circumstances, strike his wife for neglecting her duties, the first of which is to look after the child.

For the first months of its life, there is almost continuous skin contact between the mother and the child, except for the time the baby spends in the bark bag (bilum)

which the mother drapes from her head, allowing it to hang down her back. In this position the baby's movements are somewhat confined, but not in the sense that he is swaddled. First of all a bark mat, which doubles as a raincoat for the women, and sometimes as a pallet on which to sleep, is folded into the roughly woven bark bag. If the woman has some pieces of cloth, often nothing more than rags, she will put these around the bark mat. Then the infant will be put on top of this bark mat, the bag pulled shut and slung around the head. Rarely have I seen the baby slung around the front. This position would impede her free movement too much. She would hang her baby in this way if she were sitting down and were holding the baby, in the bag, on her lap, from which position she might better nurse the baby. This is especially the way of carrying the baby when the infant is very young. During this time, the first ten days or so, the infant is only rarely taken from the bark bag. It is conceivably warmer inside the bag between the sides of the bark mat; therefore, the child is left inside the bag during the first days, especially if it is cold and the mother has to be outside very much.

The larger the infant becomes, of course, the more restricted its movements become inside the bark bag. Even fairly large children, already weaned or very close to this point, are sometimes still carried around in the bilum, especially if they were sick, or if the parents are going some place and the child is sleeping. It is interesting that when the child is sick, it is put more readily into the bilum and carried in this fashion by the mother. However, I doubt that any sort of "back to the infant" stage

interpretation can be given this behavior. It is just more convenient to carry the child in this fashion.

A mother will sit with her infant by the hour, playing with it, nursing it, caressing it, or just sit there holding it while the infant sleeps. The infant is now her main job, and she obviously enjoys her work in taking care of the child. Others are always willing to help her, by taking the infant from her, playing with it, passing it from hand to hand. This would not be while the child was still a very young infant. In this case it would probably be only the mother-in-law (called *api* by the woman and by the child) who would look after it together with the mother, supposing the mother had to leave the infant behind for some reason. But when the infant is a little older, it is readily passed around among the women; but always, when it cries or shows dissatisfaction, it is quickly handed back to the mother, who normally gives it the breast immediately by way of pacifying the infant.

At this stage, I might add here, there is also much genital play, especially with the genitals of the little boys. The mother, the grandmother, small sisters, everybody, in the course of playing with the little boys, will also play with the little boy's genitals, tugging at them, pulling at the penis, putting the genitals in the mouth in the course of playfully nuzzling the infant, etc. One often notices a young sister absent-mindedly fondling the genitals of her younger brother. By the time the infant reaches the age of two or so, this practice begins to stop, primarily because the little boy no longer appreciates it. Moreover, rarely does one see boys or the men fondling the genitals of their little brothers or sons as the case may be, and

never did I observe anybody playing with a little girl's genitals, no matter how young she was. These practices do not seem to have long-reaching effects on the infants in terms of increased genital consciousness in later years or in tendencies to masturbate, which is a rare phenomenon in pubescent and adult males or females.

This close relationship between mother and child begins with birth. After the woman realizes that she is expecting, and the first sign would be the break in the menstrual cycle, she can continue to co-habit with her husband until the pregnancy becomes obvious. Then one day she will go down to the river to wash. This is a sign for her husband that now they must stop having their intercourse. This "going down to the river to wash" coincides fairly roughly with the first quickening of the infant in the woman's womb; when she can feel the infant moving in the womb, then the intercourse ceases.

The birth of an infant is tabooed to the men. They cannot watch, nor should they be around when the event does take place. As youngsters, to be sure, they have often been around on the occasion of a childbirth, and all of the men can tell just what goes on, and go into detail on posture, etc. But still they will claim they know nothing about it all: "this is something for the women." This is a time when the woman's femininity is most strongly obvious, and therefore, like the time of menstruation, this is a dangerous time for the males, and so they exclude themselves from the activity of childbirth. In case of a difficult birth, a man with a reputation for the right incantation at such a time, might be called in to make his incantation, in which case he would be present, but he would not go inside the small

house, the menstruation hut, where the woman would most likely be housed for her confinement, especially if it were a difficult one.

Normally a woman prefers to have her child by herself, and she prefers to have it outside. If the woman is a primipara, then she will possibly have her mother, or even more likely her mother-in-law (since she will be living and having the baby as a general rule at her husband's place) or even both present at the delivery to help in case of need, and to give instructions to the woman, just in case her own training or observation in these matters was deficient to this time. This would be the exception, because girls would have been present repeatedly at childbirths of sisters-in-law or mothers, and their mothers would have given them instruction before the confinement, even before marriage, on the matters relating to childbirth. The Mbowamb have no specialists in these matters, no midwives who are specially called in for a confinement. Indeed, by preference, just the opposite.

No great to-do is made of having a baby; it is considered painful, but not unbearably so, and people do not sympathize with the woman unduly for the pain she has to endure while having a child. Certain chants are sung by the woman when the pains come; many of these can be repeated by the men; most often in the chant the contrast is drawn between the pleasure of conceiving the baby and the pain one has in giving birth to the infant. If the birth is particularly difficult, I was told that one would grab the woman from behind and in time with the contractions would press down on the protruding abdomen as a technique of helping the process of expulsion. The point to keep in mind as far as

the mother-child relationship is concerned is this. The mother does not hold it against the child for causing her pain; she is not resentful about the difficulty she had in bearing the infant, so this sort of attitude cannot color her later relations with the infant. Much more could be said here about childbirth and related customs, but it would not be particularly pertinent to an understanding of the mother-child relationship.

After the birth, for at least one month, the mother is completely taken up with her child, and is constantly with the infant, looking after it, satisfying its every need as best she can. From our point of view, the satisfactions she can offer may be far from satisfactory--as far as the cold is concerned, for an example--but it is the best she can do under the circumstances and it is done with a great deal of affect and devotion and love. In some rare instances women are accused of not really looking after their newborn child, but this accusation would be made generally post factum, after the infant has gotten sick, perhaps even died, and then the accusation would be made only in the light of some other difficulties long-standing. For example, perhaps the wife has never really been interested in the particular husband with whom she has been living--or at least she is accused of having set her heart and affections elsewhere. Or something has come between the husband and his wife, or even between the wife and another co-wife, if such there be, which has greatly angered the new mother, in which case the accusation of lack of proper care might be leveled against the woman in case the baby sickened and died. If the infant were sick only, then the way to get rid of the sickness would be to make the resolution to live as a good

wife ought to live, get rid of all affection for anyone but her husband, or make efforts to get along with the co-wives, etc. These accusations, I say, may be made, but it would be the rare woman, on the basis of my own observations and questionings, who would deliberately not care for her child. This would be especially the case if the child lived for any length of time at all. An infant which died very shortly after birth would not be mourned too much. Therefore, one cannot exclude the possibility of infanticide in rare instances, although it never was common or acceptable as a practice, and from all indications only rarely practiced, if ever. It might be the case in a fit of anger on the part of the husband or wife. Might it be done by either the wife or husband to enable them to take up living together again the sooner? I would doubt very much that this could be the case, although it would be difficult to say categorically that it was never done. Given the conditions of birth, natural causes of death are more than sufficient to account for the high rate of infant mortality.

The toilet-training situation is the first traumatic experience for the child and the first indication to him that he also must submit to the social norms rather than assert his independence and his omnipotence and expect to be satisfied at every turn. The Mbowamb are very feces conscious, and anything or any activity connected with defecation is most disgusting to them, and they readily evince their disgust by hawking saliva into their mouth and vigorously spitting, "to get the smell out of their nostrils." (This is not connected with notions of sorcery which utilizes personal leavings.) The infant's feces, for the first seven or eight months of its life, are wrapped in leaves and

thrown into a special enclosure, a te-pagla (feces-fence), lest the animals and birds get at it, and cause the child to sicken and die. A small infant is never struck, especially when it is young. This comes only at a much later age, and then the striking is most arbitrary. After all, it is only a baby and does not know any better, as they say. However, when a baby is carried and then happens to defecate on its mother, he quickly gets the hint that this substance is most disgusting to his mother. When she feels the restlessness of her child, she quickly holds him off to the side that he may defecate and urinate, not on her skin, but on the ground, from whence she then cleans up the mess, either by burying the feces right there or carrying it in leaves off to the bush area. By the time a child should begin to know better, the mother will berate the child verbally for be-fouling her. Gradually this notion will be extended to the house as well, and the child will be taken to the outside toilet or to some bush area where it will be taught to take care of its needs. The entire process is not a sharp, sudden thing, but a gradual training process, but one which begins rather early. What do I mean by "rather early?" Again, it is difficult to say. So much depends on circumstances. The people themselves do not keep dates or birthdays or reckon, to any extended degree, by months. So much depends on the development of the child, also as regards the time of weaning and toilet-training. I would say that the mother is already jerking the infant away from herself whenever he threatens to defecate by the age of six or seven months. By the age of one, he will be defecating by himself, i.e., not on the mother, but neither in a special place, but wherever the urge might overtake him. How much or to what degree this initial

experience of toilet-training is reflected in the Mbowamb's later attitudes towards defecation and feces is difficult to say, but there certainly would seem to be some correlation. Concern with anal-intestinal affairs also come out later in life in sickness, but again this would take us too far afield in this presentation. The essentially warm character of the mother-child relationship does not seem to be changed or cooled by this trauma of toilet-training which the infant experiences at this time of life. It would seem if one may make this inference, that he associates the trauma rather with the feces themselves rather than with the person who is the primary training, or traumatizing instrument. Everybody shows this disgust, not just the mother, so it must be something related to the substance itself rather than to the person or persons who are training the infant to control himself in this matter.

The second possible traumatizing event in the infant's life, especially as far as modifying his relation with his mother is concerned, is the event of weaning. This occurs anywhere between the ages of two and three, and may even be later. Again, circumstances modify the exact time of weaning. If the child is strong and healthy, has strong teeth and is able to handle solid foods easily, he will be weaned earlier than a child who happens to be weaker, for whatever reason, or one who is puny. Likewise, a woman's previous childbearing history will be taken into account. If she has lost several children, most likely she will allow this present child to nurse longer than she would if her other children had survived their infancy easily. If the child is sickly, she will also tend to nurse it much longer than she would if the child were a healthy baby. Also if

the child is her last one, she will continue to nurse the baby, more or less as long as the infant itself wants or desires. Sometimes, indeed, it seems that the infant's own desires determine when the weaning is to take place. Several times I was told that this or that child ceased nursing, because they said they wanted to give up the breast.

Other indications which were pointed out to me that a child was ready for weaning were the number and condition of the infant's teeth, the length and seeming strength of the infant's hair, the "laik bilong papa wantaim mama," i.e., the desire of the mother and father, the infant's own desire or wish, the infant's ability to handle solid and other foods, which is related to the condition of the teeth, etc. There is no one sign or any complex of signs which signal the time for weaning among the Mbowamb. Very rarely, and in no case in my own observation, is another pregnancy the reason for cessation of weaning. I heard of one case where it would happen, because the mother was expecting from a paramour--there had been a big court case about this some distance from my place--but even in this case the infant was definitely big enough to do without the breast. Sometimes, I was told, the mothers would put some bitter substance on their nipples to discourage the weaning child. This, however, did not seem likely, given the gradualness of the whole process.

Much more common was the following practice. When the time came for the infant to be weaned, the mother of the child would go away for a visit, either deliberately for this purpose of weaning the child away from the breast, or for purposes of a funeral or whatever. She would stay away overnight, or for a period of a day or so. During this

time the child would stay home with a sister, or with the father and the api (grandmother), and would be observed to what extent it missed the mother or cried for the breast. Then the mother would return, and perhaps nurse the child some more, less, however, and less on demand than before. Perhaps she would offer the breast only if the child were sick. Then another occasion might take the mother away from home, this time for a longer period, and the child would again have to do without the mother's comforting breast. By the time the mother returned from this longer stay, perhaps a week even, the child would be fairly completely weaned from the breast. This is a fairly typical technique, and accords well also with all the visiting that is constantly going on in the society. A child has plenty of surrogate mothers, so he will not miss his mother for lack of someone to take her place. The only thing that will be missing during this time is the breast from which he is being weaned.

A child, from his very early years, has been passed back and forth between people, people he quickly gets to know quite well because they will also be generally the people with whom his mother works in the fields, who visit together, who carry on most of their waking activity together. For longer or shorter periods of time he has been left in their care, so he is not afraid or worried when he is again left in their care while his mother goes on a visit. Again, the general picture is one, not of severe trauma, at least not such that the cause of the deprivation is directed against the mother necessarily. Frustration at this time, is a more general situation of the infant's life; he is beginning to take his own responsible place in society, and can no longer be satisfied in every whim and desire. His

feelings of omnipotence must now yield somewhat to the realities of social life and he must begin to give in in more general areas also. This period of training of the infant is very interesting, but frustration is not so much caused by the mother or by the father, but by the very nature of things, in a sense. An infant during this period will frequently throw temper tantrums, stomp its feet on the ground, pick up rocks and sticks to throw them at others, more or less indiscriminately, also at the mother and father if they are around. The social world around him, his siblings, his parents, etc., will just let his frustration and rage burn itself out. They will take care that the infant, about three years old or more by this time, will not hurt himself, but beyond this will do little to curb the anger or pacify the child. The child may strike out at the parents, also the mother, but this is what a child does, and the parents do not strike the child back for this act of aggression against them and their position of authority over the child. They definitely will not strike the child to quiet it or punish it for its unruly behavior. If the screaming and stomping go on too long, so as to irritate the father or mother unduly--and it would take a lot of screaming and stomping to accomplish this--then they will yell at the child in a loud angry voice, and try to subdue it verbally, but never by striking it. The main point again: the frustration is not so directly referred to the parents; therefore, it does not really modify the basic relationship pattern between the parents and child.

There are then several events which might be considered potentially disruptive of the mother-child relationship, mainly weaning and toilet-training, and then other reality

training. It seems these events never lead to a basic modification of the relationship between mother and child, however, and the relationship can continue to be a warm and a favored one. Only in two areas is this relationship endangered, and fairly strongly endangered, and this happens fairly soon in the child's life, i.e., in the boy's life. His mother is a danger to him during the time of her menstruation, and in the event of another childbirth. This will be explained at greater length below when we discuss the relations between husband and wife, or some of the consequences of marriage. But we must mention it here and keep it in mind because it will also affect our reading of Strauss, as well, possibly, as our interpretation of the essence of the mother-child relationship, whether it smacks of an affinal tie rather than a blood tie.

As the child grows up, there comes a divergence in the relationship between a little girl and her mother and a boy and his mother. The boy very soon begins to run around with his own peer-group, roaming the gardens and bush areas, playing to his heart's content, whereas the little girl remains more closely attached to her mother, helping her in the field, looking after a younger sibling, learning the tasks which belong to a girl and a woman's life. She very early becomes a real economic asset to the group in that she takes care of the garden, looks after the pigs, etc. Soon, to be sure, she will leave the group to take up residence elsewhere, namely with her husband's people, but she will always be attached to her own place and people and will frequently come back for visits. Her mother will normally be the person to instruct her in matters feminine, how to take care of herself during menstruation, how to have a

baby, and so on. Very often the mother will be on hand for the first childbirth, as we have indicated. From the mother the girl will likely learn the incantations, which many women know, incantations to help the taro grow, to make the pigs fat and healthy, to keep one's husband all for oneself, and many, many others. However, this does not imply any sort of special added bond between the mother and daughter, because she is just as likely to get these incantations from other people, other relatives, and even friends. When the daughter does eventually get married, the mother will get one or more of the larger pigs for herself, to look after and help dispose of later when they are killed. This is, of course, a mark of great honor. Through the mother-bond, the daughter will also have contact with her apa, who will also be important on the occasion of a marriage both contributing to the return payment, as well as receiving from the bride-wealth. The relationship between the MB and ZD is quite equivalent, and will be discussed further below. It begins much earlier than the marriage-time.

Mothers and daughters rarely fight or quarrel for any length of time. They will pass hot verbal retorts to one another, but this is fairly typical behavior in any Mbowamb situation. In a sense there is very little over which they would argue and fall into disagreement about. Each is assigned her own mounds of sweet potato for which each is responsible. Periodically the daughter might have to supply the vegetable food for her father and/or brothers and the pigs, but this would not be the ordinary case--this would normally be done by the mother. Her contribution would be supplementary. The young girl always has time for play, and even the work in the gardens easily takes on a light,

playful touch, as we saw in the preceding section. Moreover, there is not the distinction set up between mother and daughter which is the consequence of menstruation. A menstruating woman is not dangerous to another woman during this time, nor is a child-bearing woman of particular harm to another woman. These are feminine things and cannot hurt the feminine. Therefore, the relationship between mother and daughter remains close and generally warm and cooperative, with the consideration that the girl leaves the home territory as a general rule to take up her residence with her husband's people, in which case, and this is important to understand the content of this relationship, the husband's mother tends to take over the position of the mother. She is called *api*, another relationship which is generally a warm one and a helpful relationship, not one which is fraught with hostility or aggression or a quarrelsome relationship.

Although the son generally tends to run around with his own group of playmates from around the age of four to six, nevertheless, the connection with the mother generally remains. She is the one from whom he normally expects his sweet potato and other food; she is the one who will be looking after the pigs which are fairly soon allotted to the boy, which will then be used, directly or indirectly, for purposes of getting a wife for the boy. The mother is also looking after the sweet-potato gardens which will later be his, which will be shared out to his wife. Later also when his wife is menstruating, or has had a baby, he will be fed again by his mother for the time of the taboo restricting his own wife from this occupation. Finally, if the woman's husband dies, very likely she will continue to live with her son, looking after his interests, taking care

of his gardens and pigs. In return, the son will be responsible for his mother, taking care of her, providing her with small presents.

This is not to say that the relationship is always so pleasant, that there are no quarrels or problems which arise. There are! A young adolescent son may argue violently with his mother, even strike her perhaps in his anger, and run off for a few days to live with a brother, or with a half-mother. But this is considered wrong, and is not praiseworthy behavior on the part of a son. Often he is not punished for his action. Sometimes he may be haled into native court by the husband-father, in which case he may have to give the mother a few shillings if he has this amount, or give her a chicken which belongs to him, to make compensation. In any case, the boy would soon come back and peace would reign again. He is too generally dependent on his mother for a variety of things--his bark apron, his food, his pigs, a permanent place to sleep (very often the boys and young men continue to sleep in their mother's house rather than in their father's or in a married brother's house). However, except for the consideration of the feminine, which we have mentioned above, the relationship between mother and son is one of warmth and continues to be so all during the life of one or the other. A mother, finally, is very heartily mourned upon her death. A mother's death will not be the largest kind of funeral--this would be reserved for the male, and for the important male--but it is certainly one of the most poignant from the point of view of the mourning that a son performs for his deceased mother, and this is recognized as being as it should. The people simply say: "that's her son!"

Ma

The extension of this term to the FBW, etc., is by a process similar to the extension of ta to FB. The FBW can substitute for M in many situations; can give food to EGO, look after him, and so on. Also, to utilize some of the older theorists' interpretations, the Mbowamb have widow inheritance, so a FBW can become FW in the event of FB's death. These people do not have the strict levirate in the sense or meaning that when a man dies, his wife thereupon raises children by the deceased's brother, but as the social children of the deceased. When a man dies, what happens to his widow is a resultant of many forces. If the woman is old, "does not have grease" as the literal translation of the native language expresses it, then most likely she will continue to live with a son, look after his pigs, take care of her son's gardens together with her daughter-in-law. However, if a brother of the deceased needs a woman around for some reason, he will then take her. Or another brother, more distant, might do the same. At Kwinka a man died in May. Another Engamoi man, actually an Enga assimilate, needed a woman to help look after his gardens. His wife had died years before; she had hung herself, and for years the man had been without a wife to help him with his gardening. His daughters helped where they could, until they got married. Even then they would come back periodically to help him with his gardens. He took the widow of the deceased man. The deceased was a member of one named social level, the manga rapa level, the new husband was a member of another, but both were considered Engamois and therefore closely related as brothers. He took the woman to his house as his wife in October, six months after the death of the husband. He gave

a pig to the deceased man's children and immediate agnates, which they ate. The woman's gardens, the ones she was looking after in her deceased husband's place would not go to her new husband, but would stay with her sons, who would stay with their deceased father's group. This may not always be the case. Much would depend on the age of the child which the mother is looking after when her husband dies. There was a case also of a man who was born an Andakil, but went with his mother when she went to a Kugilika man upon the death of her andakil husband. Now this son is one of the Kugilikas, having very little to do with his long deceased father's manga rapa.

In many instances the wife will prefer to go back to her own place again. In the genealogies of the Engamoi this has happened several times. In most instances the excuse given was something like the following: "My husband was a big man, and when he died, I did not find any of his 'brothers' that I liked. All of them were rubbish men, so I decided to go back home to my brother who was a big man, where I would eat pork very often and lots of it." Although most widows will stay with their husband's group, still the ultimate choice remains theirs: "Laik bilong em." Normally, however, they would have their friends now at their husband's place, they would have their gardens there, so the chances are very high that the widows will stay with their husband's group, or go to some close relative of his. This relative, strangely enough, might be a "son" even, provided the age discrepancy would not be too great. Also it would have to be someone other than the real mother. I have one instance of this, where a son took his father's wife for his own second wife. My informants assured me that it would be all right. It certainly was not common.

The reverse of the levirate is the sororate. This is not practiced among the Mbowamb. A man does not marry two sisters; nor is there sister-exchange; nor would a man marry two sisters serially, in case the first one died or ran away. This latter might be permitted, but would hardly happen. If the first sister left, the man would never try another woman from the same group, let alone her sister. This would never work out, according to their notions. If the first wife died, there would be little need of taking a second woman from the same group. One would have to make a payment for her anyway, and it would be as wise to get a wife from another group and increase one's range of contacts in this way. One presumably would keep the contact with the deceased's brother; to ensure this connection would be the only motive for taking another woman from that same line. We will have more to say about this when we speak more specifically of exogamy and the rules governing marriage among the Mbowamb.

The use of the term *ma* for the MZ is one which is difficult to explain. Indeed, Murdock makes the statement that no theorists have yet given a satisfactory explanation for this equivalence of M and MZ. One might have recourse to the principles which were enunciated by Radcliffe-Brown, e.g., the unity of the lineage or the unity of siblings. Perhaps Tax's paraphrase of Radcliffe-Brown is more satisfactory. He enunciates the rule of uniform descent, viz., if somebody whom EGO calls A has children whom EGO calls B, then the children of everybody whom EGO calls A are called B. Therefore, if I call my M by a certain name, and her children by a certain name, i.e., siblings, then the children of everybody whom I call A, i.e., MZ will also be called B,

i.e., siblings. This rule explains why I call my parallel matrilateral cousins by the terms meaning sibling, but it still tells me nothing about MZ. Why do I call her M? The rule of uniform siblings, as enunciated by Tax, would help explain this term. He says: "If the male of a pair of siblings is called A, and the female is B, then whenever a man is called A, his sister must be called B." This rule only would apply in our case if we considered the F, M, MZ, and MZH, EGO calls A by the term ta; he calls MZH also ta because his F calls this man (WZH) his brother. Therefore, FWZH will be called ta by EGO; his wife will be called ma. Granted that this is somewhat devious, it is nonetheless logical, looking at the system as a whole, including the affinal kin terms of EGO's father, but actually it leaves out all consideration of the relationship between M and MZ. This relates also to Tax's next rule: the Rule of Uniform Mates: If a husband is called A and his wife is called B, the wife of any A must be B. In this case, the husband is ta to EGO and the wife is ma. Or consider yet another rule: the Rule of Uniform Descent: If somebody whom EGO calls A has parents whom EGO calls B, then the parents of all who are called A are B. Consider that for some reason EGO calls as many people as he can by the terms for "brother," this reason being some cultural value which he puts on this relationship, especially among the Mbowamb the cultural value of exchange and especially the moka. One exchanges shells primarily with one's brothers and with one's brothers-in-law. One wants as many brothers as possible, in other words, with whom one can be in interaction, with whom one has a right to exchange. Now the cross-cousins are not immediately called brother, because there is another principle intervening,

namely the principle of cross-sex relationship or bifurcation, which is quite important in the whole terminology. EGO, however, calls his patrilateral parallel cousins "brother" for many reasons. They are of his same group; they normally live with him; he interacts frequently with them; he also can exchange with them, especially if they are brothers outside of his own small manga rapa, although he will also exchange with his real brothers, and be able to put a bar around his neck as a mark of the exchange. Very similar conditions describe his matrilateral parallel cousins. They are of his same generation; he cannot marry them; they do not live with him, but they could under proper circumstances. Therefore, he calls them by his favorite term, "brother and sister." Consequently by the rule of uniform ascent, he also calls their mother by the term ma, and her husband by the term ta.

These are not the kinds of rules which many theorists like to apply to a kinship situation to explain the various terms, but in many instances they are the best we have to date. This type of an explanation again ties in with what many theorists have offered as explanations of kinship terms, albeit in a different way, for example Kroeber, Levi-Strauss, and others. As Murdock says, these rules really rest on certain assumptions about the nature of the fundamental psychological processes underlying reasoning and association (1949:119). This is, of course, somewhat different from the underlying universal laws of the human mind which Levi-Strauss is looking for, but at least all are looking for the solutions in the same general place. Such a solution, however, always confronts us with the problem of explaining the social facts by means of the psychological rather than by means of the strictly social.

The more structural way of interpreting the equation of $M = MZ$, in terms of what was noted in the previous section, is in terms of the distinction between cross-relatives and parallel relatives which is so stressed in the terminology. M and MZ are parallel relatives to each other. They call each other *ana*, just as F and FB are *ana*. For this reason they are equated for EGO . In this way we need not have recourse to a non-existent dual organization, or to some principle of lineage emphasis, in which case it would make more sense to equate M and MB or F and FB and FZ . It would certainly make no sense to call MZH by the term *ta* if the emphasis were on lineage membership as defining the relationship. In no case would MZH be of EGO 's lineage. To say, on the one hand that FB and F primarily are equated because of common lineage membership and $MZH = F$ for some other reason is not economical; it is logically unsatisfying, unless some dual organization or moiety system were operative. Truly it is still another question, and in other circumstances a legitimate one, to ask why the Mbowamb make the emphatic and pervasive distinction between cross-relatives and parallel relatives which they do make? To answer this kind of question is not really the aim of this dissertation, however.

Ana

This is the next kin relationship which must be considered. It is the most widely extended of all kin relationships, both as far as one's own kinship chart is concerned as well as regards the numerical degree of the extension. It is the term, for example, together with *aia*, which refers to cross-sex siblings, which is used to indicate the exogamous

group, the Komonikas. Within EGO's own world of kinship the term is used for his own brother, i.e., all of FS and MS, the sons of the FB and his MZ and for his WZH. A woman will use the term for all her sisters, i.e., all FD and MD, her FBD, and MZD, for co-wives of her own husband, and her HBW. Being so widely extended, we can suspect, a priori, that the behavior will also vary considerably, although ideally the attitudes of brother to brother should remain the same, and the behavior therefore also follow from these attitudes.

First of all, ana is applied only to people of the same sex as EGO, and only to people of the same generation as EGO. It is a relationship, therefore, which emphasizes equality. It is also a relationship which emphasizes mutual helpfulness and aid in time of need or danger. However, in the relationship there are great possibilities of competition arising, and hence of tension within the relationship. This competition can come from a variety of sources. The tension it generates, the aggression it gives occasion to or the bickering and arguing that ensue are worse the less related the "brothers" are. Closely related brothers, of the same mother, for example, will normally be quite close. First of all, these brothers will normally be separated from each other age-wise; consequently they will not have that much contact with each other, especially since the young men tend to go with their own age-group until the time of their marriage approaches. Brothers of the same father, but different mothers, also are quite close although signs of tension are sometimes obvious here already. The competition which they may experience, for wives, for shells in order to make exchanges, for more land, for pigs, etc., is quite

regulated still by their father and his authority in this matter, or by the FB, who would still have the authority of dividing in case of some distribution of goods. Men whose fathers are deceased, who are classificatory brothers only (although members of the same manga rapa) i.e., of different mothers and different fathers, are normally the nodes at which a separation into two viable groups occurs, each taking his own more closely related brothers with him as his support. This is especially the case when two men are both trying to become big men and the original group is actually big enough to support two big men.

Within the smallest named group, there is mutual helpfulness between brothers. They help each other build their houses when necessary. When one of the unmarried gets a wife, they all contribute to the bride-wealth. They are supposed to share their gardens in such a way that one brother, who might have a larger family, will not be wanting the necessities of life. If they decide to make an exceptionally large garden, they may decide to do this together; the garden then will be divided up among these brothers, who will in turn divide their portion among their wives and daughters. A group like this might now plant a coffee garden together on land which belongs to the group, land which nobody has claimed so far, but which belongs to their group, since it belonged to their father, etc. Claims of this sort may be tenuous at times. Usually reference will be made to some tree which the father or father's father is supposed to have planted. When a ceremony is planned, these brothers are the ones to decide when, what kind, etc., and they mutually help each other in providing shells and pigs for the many exchanges which take place as a preliminary to any large ceremony whatever its precise nature.

This is how the picture of land use and acquisition of women for marriage was described to me by one informant:

The father divides out his land, but he divides it to all. If in his own life-time he did not give it to all, for example, one child was too young or for some other reason he neglected to give anything to this particular child, then this task falls on the "number one" brother who provides for his younger brother. No one is left without land or is disinherited. If the father divides four pieces of ground out to four sons, then they in turn work these, and re-divide them out among themselves, working them together to the advantage of all. The brothers would then divide their own pieces of ground to their children. If the father was not too provident, or did not foresee the large progeny he would have and so did not lay claim to much garden land, but only to enough as he foresaw he could use, then there might be a shortage eventually, as is now the case with Romakl [cf. preceding section]. In this case another group of men or line of brothers, who had plenty of land, might give a little to the group which grew so much and had so little. This would only be done after much talk and discussion and quite rarely. After all, these people had to be sure to provide for their own children, didn't they? This happened with a small piece of land which Tai's group (Popage) held. They gave it to Romakl. No one is disinherited. The land goes to all, and then is re-divided as need arises, by the "number one" brother. If the "number one" brother is fairly incompetent, and the "number two" brother is talented and has ability, then he gradually takes the task away from "number one," and this one does not, or is not supposed to mind. Number two has received his father's gift for speech and working out these things, for dealing with kinas, making exchanges, etc., and so will eventually be responsible for the marriage, and so on, of the rest of the brothers, if they are not already married. The procedure as far as this is concerned is as follows.

The father will help number one get a wife, gather kinas for him, make the arrangements and so on. Then number one will ask brother number two to move into his rapa [men's house] with him, help look after his wife (with no sexual privileges, of course), work his fields with him, help him in his own exchanges, and so on. By and

by the two of them will get enough shells together so that number two can get a wife and set up his own house and work his own ground. Then the two of them will work towards finding a wife for number three. They will call on their own "tambu" [affinal kin] and "kandere" [matri-kin], which are also the "kandere" of number three. They can go further afield and ask for shells, but it would be up to those who were asked whether they wanted to give anything or not. "Laik belong em."

This is how the situation ought to develop, but it is obvious that there are many points in the whole procedure where competition, dissatisfaction, and ill-feeling can readily develop. Perhaps one brother would like to take a second wife while another brother is still unmarried. However, usually it would be the case that the one brother would take his second wife, while his brother was still too young to be married. Before taking a third or fourth wife, however, he would see to it that his now matured brother would first get at least one wife. Moreover, we have indicated the high value which people put on sharing their goods one with the other, when they eat pork, for instance, or as they smoke. This same value carries over in more important matters, especially matters of land use. As a matter of fact, it seems that brothers will share their gardens with their brothers, and the more readily the closer they are related to them. It would rarely be the case that one would give land to a MZS, even though this is a "brother," unless this "brother" comes into the group on a closer kinship connection, e.g., through his own MZ, who would be M to the one giving land to his MZS. For this reason, therefore, because of EGO's own connection with his M, would he give land to his MZS.

EGO's WZH is also "brother." This means they can exchange shells with each other and thereby increase their prestige. They are brothers also because they can go to each other in case of a large ceremonial exchange and possibly expect help from each other. These will later be returned with interest in another exchange with WZH. Again between these "brothers" there is supposed to be an attitude of mutual helpfulness and a readiness to aid, this time on the level primarily of shell exchange. In this regard they are very similar to brothers-in-law or kuglum in EGO's kinship structure. The kuglum, however, although similar to a brother, has other tasks or holds other positions vis-à-vis EGO.

There is a high degree of continuity between brothers (i.e., males). They, with their fathers, tend to live in the same place, have their gardens together, interact on a regular day-to-day basis. They share things in common to a large degree; they do things together; they perform dances together, kill pigs together on the occasion of ceremonies; they are the most concerned and involved upon the death of any one of their brothers, and eventually can inherit the widow of a deceased brother. They all consider themselves as descended from the same ancestor, and on the level of the manga rapa can normally actually trace the genealogical connections between each other. The marriage of one of their number puts restrictions on the marriages of the others, and it is especially this group which acts, as a unit, in marriage. They often garden together, and at least hold their land somewhat in common to the extent that one brother could not alienate his property without the consent and approval of all of his other brothers, even

though within the group itself he is totally responsible for his own piece of land, and no one can take produce off of it or plant it without his own personal consent. Given these many inter-weaving bonds which tie this group of brothers together, we might expect a fairly solidary group, and it is such on the whole, with the proviso that competition also enters into the relationship fairly readily and regularly. The relationship, therefore, is one of ambivalence. Brothers should and do help each other. This was more necessary in former days when it was more necessary to show a solid front vis-à-vis other groups of similar constituency, because even though the group notion is still strong today, there are indications that it was even stronger in pre-contact times. This weakening of the strength of the group as opposed to the individual comes about because war has stopped, and because an individual now-a-days can go out and earn his own way, his own money, and buy his own shells, if he wishes, and thereby get a wife "on his own" as it were, without having to rely so much on his brothers. In certain cases he might even go away from home and not be dependent on his group for his gardenlands, e.g., the case of a police-boy. However, the ties of social contact are strong and the feeling of the need for belonging to a group are fairly undiminished. When a young man goes off to work, much of his pay comes home and is then distributed among his own relatives he always has claim to land at his own place, no matter how many years he may have been away; no matter where he now lives or works, he always thinks of his own land and area as the best and recalls his brothers and parents with nostalgia, going to visit them whenever possible.

The bond between brothers quickly disintegrates the more the two are removed from any common ancestor. We have already noticed the case of Romakl and the Etimps. The Etimps are closer brothers to the Kopaligas than to the Andakils or the Popages; therefore, let one of them bring back the resin from the north as a mount for Romakl's shells. Moreover, I found myself in the midst of competition quite frequently. One evening I would visit with a member of the Popages and the next day a Kopaliga would approach me and ask why I spent so much time with Popage Tai rather than with the Kopaligas? If a member of one group, say the Parglimps, talked me into entering an exchange relationship with him, then very soon somebody from the Etimps would be around to inaugurate the same kind of relationship in a sense of competition with the former group. However, when standing opposite other groups, it would be the Engamois against that other group. In this situation the Engamois would all consider themselves very solidary and very much related: all "brothers only." So they told me not to let Witikas or Oinamps into my house. They would steal me blind and would just cause trouble, in which case the Engamois would feel responsible for me. Just allow the Engamois to enter. Them you can trust!

As a consequence of the high value placed on agnation as a way of grouping people, one maintains a fairly constant relationship between brothers. But because of the possible friction which can develop between them, one also has the dynamic force necessary to cause separation of one group from the other in such a society, which otherwise is conceived of so statically and permanently the same. One seems to develop, in other words, a fine dialectic between the

group of which one is a member on the one hand, and the individual himself on the other hand. One is both a member of a group, or better perhaps, a series of groups, one buried in the other, as it were; one is also an individual, with his own will and desires, which are very respected by all. The tendency for individualism to set the individual off by himself is offset by his need for the group for the satisfaction of various needs. This dialogue between the group and the individual is best exemplified and mirrored in the relationships which exist between an individual and his brothers.

The relationship between two sisters, who also call themselves ana, is closer than that between two brothers; there is much less possibility of conflict or competition on their part, so the relationship can be and continues to be close and warm. They also grow up together, spend hours playing together, tattoo each other perhaps, go to courting parties together, spend long hours working together in the gardens, and so on. Real sisters rarely have to compete as to who will get married first. This proceeds according to age, the oldest first, then the next in line, etc. Half-sisters have little to worry about in this regard either. Very rarely will they be interested in the same boy, so that competition will not normally arise because of this. Since there is no question of mustering a large dowry on the part of her group, it follows that she does not necessarily have to wait her turn for marriage because a sister must first get married. There are, moreover, no unmarried women--although there may be unmarried men--so no insecurity develops because of this. There is, however, a disruption of continuity in the relationship between two sisters. Upon

marriage they separate, each going to her respective husband's place. In many cases, however, the two sisters will go to men who will be closely related, but still observing the rules of exogamy. In this situation they would continue to live close to each other, but in their husbands' place. However, the tight bond that developed between female ana tends to break down upon marriage, whereas the bond between aia (a woman and her brother) even in this case still tends to be reinforced, as we shall see.

The final bond between ana which we must consider is the bond between co-wives. This is the most fragile bond of all kinship bonds if one may judge by the amount of quarreling and dissatisfaction which exist between co-wives. They normally do not get along with each other very well, although one may find exceptions, to be sure. As the wives grow older, the relationship between them tends to be a little more pleasant, although this bond remains one of the primary sources of friction in Mbowamb domestic society. Wives of brothers get along together much better, we might add here, than do wives of the same husband.

Each wife, as we saw in a preceding section, is given her own house. In the rare case where this is not so, the fact can become a telling point in any argument or court case, and the decision will almost always be that the husband must build a house for his wife, and for each of his wives. He tries to divide his gardens and pigs among his wives equally and has them share the burden of feeding him equally also. If pork is to be distributed, he makes sure that all of his wives and their children get their share, even if he himself has to do without. While his wives are still young, and supposedly interested, he distributes his sexual favors

equally as well. When wives are young, this sexual competition enters into the picture of their competition one with the other. When they are all old, beyond the age of child-bearing, they are considered to be no longer so interested in sexual relations. Often the difficulty would not arise even with younger wives because one of them, perhaps even two, would probably be nursing babies, during which time they could not have relations anyway.

There is no direct connection between a wife's feeding her husband, and his sleeping with her that night. A man eats with whatever wife he pleases, and often with that wife with whom it is most convenient to eat. If he has grown daughters, one of these might be the one to usually give him his food. Such special feasts as a banana roast or a neka feast will be shared, turn and turn about, with the different wives and their children. Even married daughters will be invited to come on these special food occasions. A man does not normally have his sexual relations inside the house anyway, so to have the evening meal with one wife, with the idea of staying on at her house for that evening and co-habiting with her would not make all that much sense to a mbowua. Normally, as we said, they have their relations outside during the day.

The potential conflict and competition between co-wives is expressed in different ways. A woman prefers to keep her husband all to herself and usually does not want him to take another wife. There are certain spells which a wife can say, called wól ik. The purpose is two-fold; to keep the husband from taking a second wife, or to make him spend most of his time with the wife making the incantation, in case he already has a second wife. One old woman was

very proud that she was the only wife of her husband, who also was a big man. This means, of course, that she also was an important woman.

A man, of course, wants more than one wife if he can afford them. His reasons are manifold. First of all, more wives means more brothers-in-law, from which he can expect shells and with whom he can exchange. Then, with more wives, he can feed and look after more pigs, which again give him more prestige and a place of honor and influence in his own group. He can supply them with pork and broaden his circle of exchanges and relationships. Finally, and perhaps truly in the third place, he also wants another sex partner around in the event his other wife/wives cannot feed him, e.g., during their menstruation, or cannot satisfy him, e.g., in the event of childbirth and during the period of nursing.

A man certainly has reason for wanting a second or third wife. But why does a woman go to a man as a second wife? Very often, of course, it is not a first marriage for the second and/or third wife, so there is less concern with the fact that their new husband is polygynous. This is not always the case, however. The man involved will very likely be a big man already, or will have good connections and on the way to being an important man, in which case the parents of the second wife would be very happy to make a good connection, and for the sake of her parents and brothers the girl will go to the man. Also, such a man will more likely be able to provide the girl, even if she is a second wife, with many pigs and other valuables, cloth, decorations, and so on. The girl may be afraid of the other wives, but if she is strong, as the expression has it, she will go to her new husband, even though he has a wife already. Sometimes,

to be sure, the woman falls in love with the man and comes to him in spite of the fact that he already may have a wife. This was the situation with a young man in my area. He was the only one, during my year's stay, who took a multiple wife. I would say this confirms my superficial intuition that the custom of polygyny is dying out. He had been to the Nengka's place to play cards, and while there had been seen and observed by a Nengka girl. This girl had been sent to a Ndika man, but she did not like him and came back home. She fell in love with the Engamoi man and came to his house, even though he already had one wife, an Enga woman. The bride-wealth was straightened out, and it seems the two co-wives in this case got along quite well together. From all indication, the man himself was not particularly interested in having two wives, at least not at this time. His first wife had threatened to leave him before, and there was good chance that she would leave him still, but this was not a result of the second marriage. She was young, with no children as yet, not even expecting. The man was young, not yet a big man, although intending to be one. Perhaps he was planning for the future. Perhaps he was counting on his first wife leaving him. In any case he now had two wives, the second of which seems to have come to him on her own accord, because she wanted it so. This instance, however, does not invalidate the general theory that the relations between co-wives normally leaves much to be desired and that a woman prefers to have her husband all to herself, whereas the ideal of the husband is just the opposite, to have several wives to look after his pigs and gardens, and provide him with food and sex. In this situation the content of the term ana is perhaps the attitude which should prevail between co-wives. They should get along together,

cooperate together to further the husband's position, and so on. They should treat each other like true ana, living together in harmony and helpfulness. That they do not do so poses one of the problems of social living which must be solved in one way or another. Often the solution is separation of co-wives, as we saw in the preceding section when we discussed domestic organization.

Aia

This relationship shares many of the characteristics of the mother-child relationship, with the added reserve which one normally finds between brothers and sisters as a result of the incest taboo. It is a warm, close relationship, one of continued mutual helpfulness, all through the life of the brothers and sisters. Again, this pertains primarily to real brothers and sisters, although there is also generalized warmth and helpfulness between all brothers and sisters of the smallest named level of social structure. Beyond this level, the "brother-sister" relationship is primarily concerned with the regulation of marriage. When a child becomes somewhat independent of its mother, around one and a half years old or even less, it will often be found in the company of its older sister, real, half, or classificatory, in that order. This small girl plays with her smaller brother, looks after him while the mother works in the garden, carries him around on her back, and in many ways serves as a surrogate mother for large stretches of time during the day. She may play with her own age-mates, but her little brother is always near at hand, and only when he cries for sickness or food does she hand him over to her mother to be nursed. Thus from earliest years a very close bond

develops between the brother and sister, and especially between real brothers and sisters, a bond which never really breaks down completely.

Later the boy will begin to go with his own group, leaving the company of girls and women rather completely. However, he still gets food from his sister, as much almost as from his mother. If his mother happens to be menstruating, it is his sister who will probably provide him with his sweet potato. He can, as we said, fend for himself, but usually a sister will provide. When the sister marries, the one to take charge of affairs, if he is old enough (he would have to be married himself, and therefore older), is a brother. This task of speaking, and especially of receiving and distributing the shells can fall either to the father or a FB, or to a brother of the bride.

When a brother or a sister gets sick, the other takes great interest and is very concerned. They visit each other, bring gifts one to the other, and in general show great concern. They also take pains to discover the cause of the sickness, and apply the appropriate remedy. A brother remains all his days the defender of his sister. One instance typifies this. A woman and her husband were not getting along too well because the husband had taken a second wife, and wanted to get rid of the first, if necessary. He was a "dokta-boi" (i.e., he worked as a male nurse), which meant he could get rations, but only for his first wife. He began, however, giving these rations of rice, soap, fish, etc., to his new, second wife. The first wife came to my place to complain to her brother, to have him look after her rights. It meant taking the matter to the government, namely to the

person in charge of the dokta-boi's, to let him know what was going on, that the right person was not being properly looked after, and so on. Her brother was quite a shy man, but especially so when it came to anything having to do with the government. This is not an uncommon state of mind of the Mbowamb with relation to the government. This man, especially, was very diffident about approaching the government, no matter how just and legitimate his complaint might be. But in spite of everything, he screwed up his courage to the point where he did accompany his sister to Mount Hagen and did place the matter before the proper authority. The whole affair was eventually satisfactorily straightened out. His devotion to his sister surmounted all obstacles, and in this case, given this man's temperament, these obstacles were fairly great, almost insuperable.

There is a certain amount of respect shown between brothers and sisters, but nothing like avoidance or obvious shyness. They do not run around together. Each has his or her own work to do. They may sleep together in the same house, however, and eat together, talk with each other, and mutually give each other food. The sister may make an apron for her brother, help look after his pigs; the boy will give his sister sugar-cane from his garden and will always distribute pork to his sister if he kills pig. It is a relationship of mutual respect and helpfulness; to us, a very pleasant relationship. Some aspects of the brother-sister relationship are reflected in the relationship that exists between brothers-in-law, which we shall discuss below at greater length.

Given the general aggressiveness of Mbowamb character, one does nevertheless find brothers and sisters in disagreement,

which can sometimes run very deep. This is regretted, but it does happen. One instance stands out in my notes. One woman periodically took sick. This was diagnosed by a psychiatrist who happened to visit with me for a week-end, during which time the lady had a spell of sickness, as a form of conversion hysteria. This made sense in terms of what I knew of the relationship between this woman, her husband, and her co-wife, and the history of the illness. But diagnosing the illness as a resultant of the need of the woman for affection and attention from her husband, and of her aggressive feelings towards her co-wife was somewhat too subtle for the Mbowamb and somewhat out of line with their own aetiological system. Finally, after much discussion and thought, they came up with what must be the cause of these recurring bouts of illness which was characterized by ill-defined and non-localized pain in the chest and in the lower regions of the back, and fainting spells when the illness got really severe. Then, of course, the woman could get all sorts of attention and care, with many people constantly crowding around and visiting, all of which is typical Mbowamb treatment for sickness. These pains and this sickness had developed some six or seven years ago, shortly after her last child had been born--he was named KAR because of the many trips to the hospital she made at that time in the car. Shortly before this sickness developed, she had had a severe quarrel with her brother. She had been to visit with her brother who was a Nengka. The Nengkas were distributing pork on the occasion of a large ceremony. This woman's mother had been looking after a pig of hers, which was also killed during the course of the ceremony. However, the

woman did not think she got the right piece of pork and the right amount at the distribution; she felt slighted, and as a result became very angry. She told her own people, her brother and mother, that she was going to the north (where her husband lived) and there she would die without ever coming back, and to strengthen her remarks even further, she rubbed a tanager leaf over her tongue for the proper, ritualistic emphasis, a custom which corresponds most closely perhaps with our "cross my heart and hope to die" with somewhat more meaning for the Mbowamb. Six months or so after this, she began to be sick with these recurring bouts of pain. This surely must have been the cause--with the implication that now the cause was talked out and brought to light, the medicine, or the incantation, etc., could be applied, and now it would be successful and the woman would again be well.

This "cause" was diagnosed only after discussion and debate, not as an obvious reason for the sickness. It had, no doubt, been brought up often before as the reason. Of course, the woman continued to get sick, and with the other bouts she had, nothing further was offered as a possible reason for the illness. However, the diagnosis does indicate the viewpoint of the culture with respect to the kind of relationship which should exist between a brother and a sister. They should not fight or quarrel; this can only cause sickness, and even serious sickness. They should patch up differences as soon as possible, just as brothers should patch up their difficulties lest someone of the group get sick, and just as a father and a son should not be at odds ends, because this surely will cause a serious sickness to develop for someone, and the party in the wrong would then certainly be responsible, and this would be most dangerous; every which way.

Two other relationships are part and parcel of the aia relationship, namely that of ata and apa. We shall now consider these two relationships.

Apa

The term apa is referred primarily to the MB; it can also refer to the mother's people in general, or "kandere." It can be extended as widely as it may be useful to do so, or as long as the relationship is still recognized practically. Normally, however, it would be restricted to the mother's Engamoi level, i.e., to the pana ru.

The apa relationship (MB-ZS) is considered from the point of view of, and EGO who is the child of, a woman married into his (EGO's) group. This same individual (MB), to EGO's father, is kuglum, which is strictly an affinal term. The kuglum relationship is activated for the first time at the marriage of a woman, but this is not pertinent to EGO. The first time the apa relationship is activated is shortly after EGO's birth, and then it is as much an affinal relationship, in that it pertains and involves EGO's father as much, perhaps more than EGO himself. Shortly after the birth of a child, whether a girl or a boy, the father has to kill a pig called kung maibugla, and bring it to his kuglum, i.e., to his WB and wife's parents. The exact time of killing and offering this pig to the apa is determined by different factors, e.g., the availability of pigs, the need of the apa right now, the state of affairs existing between a man and kuglum, and so on. For the first child this pig is always offered, perhaps also for the second child, though this is no longer considered absolutely necessary. Normally, for the third and later children, nothing is offered to the

apa. If this first pig were not given, the apa would be angry, of course, and if the child got sick, he would not put in his appearance, he would not come to sympathize, and this would be bad for the child, who would probably die as a result, or would not recover as fully or quickly as he would if the apa came to offer his condolences, and in that way assure that his group was not responsible by their anger for the sickness. If the baby were sick, and the kung maibugla had been properly given, then the apa and his group would come and give their social support to the afflicted group; they would bring food, and they would make prayers and incantations, but mainly they would give assurance by their actions that they were not angry and were not therefore causing the sickness. If the proper gifts had not been made at the birth or thereafter, then they would just let the child die.

When a baby boy is born, the pay seems to be larger than when a girl is born. Again, this all depends on the circumstances and the existential situation at the time of the birth or when the time for making the gift comes up. Perhaps the father is at that time engaging in an exchange with his brother-in-law, in which case he will combine the kung maibugla with his exchange, and it becomes difficult to separate the one from the other. In any event, the Mbowamb like to combine different exchanges and obligations, as we said, so that their overall exchange or distribution might be all the more impressive and striking. Theoretically I was told that the father of a new-born baby boy would send two pigs and four shells to his wife's brother. Rarely would this much material transfer hands, unless the husband were still paying for the marriage, or were exchanging with

the kuglum. Normally one pig, and not necessarily a large one, would be given. However, suppose the husband's group, about this time, happened to get a leg of pork from some other relative of theirs. This might well also be given to the new-born's apa, and be called kung maibugla. Pork, indeed, which is given on the occasion of a distribution is very often further distributed in just this fashion. It might well be given in addition to the original pig. For a girl, the apa supposedly receives less, because he will receive some of the girl's bride-wealth when it comes time for her to marry, and this compensates for the smallness of the kung maibugla now upon birth. Throughout life the ZS and MB keep up their relationship, because when ZS gets married, he will also go to his apa and get shells and other help towards buying a wife. Thus the relationship, through a series of exchanges and gift-giving is kept up throughout life, and in this way approximates the form of all the exchanges the Mbowamb so enjoy indulging. They do not like to accomplish an exchange at one time, once and for all, but prefer to keep it going, as it were, holding back a few shells or repeatedly putting their exchange partner under obligation.

The theory behind the rule that a boy gives more kung maibugla to his apa than a girl was phrased in the following way: A baby boy requires that more pay be given to his MB because he "stays with the ground," whereas the girl will leave and go to her husband's place. This reasoning can readily be extended and explained. A boy will stay with his own group, and will contribute eventually to his group himself. Therefore, more pay can be given for his birth. Also it is more likely, eventually, that a boy might go to his apa's place to ask for refuge and garden-land than that a girl would do so. She, if necessary, would probably come

back to her own area to stay, with her children. For this right of the ZS, one is more willing and indeed ought to give a good exchange right from the beginning. Also, of course, the apa will tend to lose out when the boy gets married, whereas he will tend to gain when his female apa goes to a husband. In each case he will be involved in the series of exchanges that take place. However, his exchange relationship will be with his apa and with his kuglum in his own generation, not with the new affinal group into which his apa marries at this point and there is no real clear term applicable to this relative, i.e., to WMB. The term was given to me, upon request, as kuglummil, "some sort of brother-in-law" and by others as kudlpam, which obviously is only an extension to the real kudlpam's sibling group.

What the father gives to his kuglum for kung maibugla is theoretically entirely up to him, and the kuglum (apa) will be satisfied with anything. But if a man decides to give nothing, then he will be chided by his own agnates, for he runs the risk of causing the child's illness as we have said above. This does not imply, however, that the apa has some sort of special, mystical, ritual control over his ZS, e.g., a specific power to curse. Any kind of social disequilibrium can cause sickness. Therefore, from his own group, as well as from his wife's group, a man is pressured to render the kung maibugla, which is the first time a young man or girl is put in contact with his/her apa. And it remains somewhat the model for further interaction with the apa as well.

In the early years of a young man's life, it is his father who interacts most consistently and frequently with his MB, i.e., with his FWB. This is his father's brother-in-law, and this is a very useful relative for a man to have,

from whom he gets shells for exchange purposes, and with whom he himself frequently exchanges. This is also the man from whom the father got his wife, i.e., EGO's mother. Of course, EGO's father interacts somewhat in the same fashion with his ZH, who is also his kuglum, but this relationship is only the WB-ZH relationship, viewed from the ZH's coign of vantage. And my intuition of my FZCh is just the reverse of theirs of me as MBCh. In each case we are dealing with the same essential relationship. To arrive at two relationships, we must slightly shift our EGO-orientation, even though, paradoxically the EGO remains the same. Considered as my MB, then maintaining the same EGO perspective in the same relationship, my MB looks on me as ZS.

The frequency of interaction with the MB will depend on different factors, many of which are peculiar to the individuals who take part in the relationship. Thus if there is strained feeling between the sister and her brother, as we described above, the frequency of interaction between the brothers-in-law and consequently between the MB and ZCh will be minimal also. If the MB lives at a great distance, and this can also readily happen, interaction will be fairly infrequent, and the relationship consequently much weaker than if the apa live next door, as it were, and interaction in various activities, road work, gardening, house building perhaps, small food exchanges, etc., were frequent.

Even if an apa, however, lived far away, he would be notified of his ZS's marriage, and would take a part in this activity. He himself would supply some of the bride-wealth, and would also receive some of the return pay which the bride's people give the bridegroom's people. How much he would contribute and how much he would receive in return again depend on the type and warmth of the relationship

between him and his (a) brother-in-law; (b) his sister; and (c) his ZS.

Finally, if EGO is not too old when he dies, so that an apa of his is still alive and possibly active, or some MBS is still around to take the place of the apa, then they will also be on hand when EGO dies, to take part in the funeral feasts which characterize death among the Mbowamb. They would have been on hand, naturally, when his mother died, perhaps also his father, although this latter would not be so clearly necessary, especially if their sister, the deceased's wife, were already dead. Certain circumstances might prevent their coming to their sister's husband's funeral. If they owed pigs to his group, they might not be invited to come and partake of the funeral feast and the pork which is distributed at this time. Or if they themselves have no live pig to contribute to the funeral feast, in return for which they will have pork distributed to them, they might not come. If the deceased was a poor man, a rubbish man rather than a big man, they might not come either; in this case, the distribution would not be very big anyway. The size of a funeral feast and pork exchange is determined by the social position of the deceased. Old people, women, and rubbish men are given very summary funeral feasts, and the range of kin which is mobilized is not very extensive at all. Generally, however, if at all possible, the close relatives of the deceased will come to mourn the dead one, and as partial consequence will take part also in the pork distribution which will come later.

A man will always feel free to visit his apa and can expect to find refuge there. As we have said above, he can always find garden land with his apa also, with the understanding that he would not normally ask someone who was

not a real apa. If there is any pork distribution, for example, on the occasion of a large ceremony being held under the auspices of his apa's group, he can always count on being given some. At such times he will also help his apa by providing him with shells to make the elaborate shell exchanges that accompany such a ceremony. We might, however, expect that this is done as much for the sake of his own father, as for the sake of his own pam-relationship, but that brings us to the further problem, of the basic nature of the apa relationship, whether it is an affinal one basically, or a consanguineal one, whether EGO conceives himself as connected with his apa through his mother as a consanguineal relative, one from whom he has descended body and blood, or whether EGO, in conjunction with his father as a member of the patrilineal descent group of which both are a member, from whom EGO receives his membership, looks on his MB as an affine as does his own father who gives him the kin appellation of kuglum which obviously flows from his marriage to his wife who related him with his WB.

The apa-relationship is generally a warm relationship; it is characterized by helpfulness. It is not marked by anything like special respect, apart from the normal respect which the MB will receive if he is much older than his ZS. Nor is there anything like a joking relationship established between them. They do not avoid each other in any degree nor is their relationship marked by any special customs or practices which they exercise one towards the other, like the food-snatching which characterizes the relationship in some African groups. The apa is not required to sacrifice for his ZS in case the latter takes ill; this is done by the sick person's agnatic representative, usually

his father or the big man of the group, or the next in line if it is the big man himself who is sick. If the deceased mother of the sick person is divined as cause of the illness, it is still the agnatic representative who sacrifices to the deceased, rather than the woman's own agnates. This can be related partially to the degree with which the woman is incorporated into her husband's group. Normally other ancestors, other than agnatic ones, are not divined as causing sickness so a man of Group A would never really have occasion to offer sacrifice to an ancestor of Group B, other than the possibility mentioned of offering sacrifice to a deceased woman of Group B who had married into Group A and who was now causing sickness to someone in Group A. This woman, incidentally, could also cause sickness in Group B, in which case the divined cause of illness would be a FZ, an indication, somewhat counter-balancing the above, that the woman has never really completely quitted her own group upon her marriage. An apa might be called in, however, to make an incantation or pull out poison if he were a man who had a reputation for being successful at this sort of thing. But this would be because of his skill at this specialty, not necessarily because of his being an apa. If such a man is a specialist in a certain incantation, there is also the possibility, perhaps even the likelihood that he will teach his apa these incantations, but there is no jural rule saying that he has to, nor will he necessarily do so. It is "laik bilong em."

Jurally there are three times, then, when the MB and ZS interact; shortly after the ZS is born, but this is seemingly as much an interaction with the ZH as with Sch. If it had to do with the content of ZCh-MB relationship, then we

would expect it to be validated for all of the ZCh, but it is only important to offer the kung maibugla for the first child. This means the relationship between the ZH and WB is now firmly established; the marriage is now firm, or at least firmer and there is no need to reinforce it at the birth of other children. In a sense they cannot add anything to the relationship between brothers-in-law which is now complete and presumably viable in every which way. The ZH and WB continue to interact in exchanges and other ways, especially by periodically sharing pork. One of the first recipients of pork upon distribution is the sister, who of course shares it with her husband. Indeed, the distribution is as much to the ZH as it is to the Z herself. This is brought out by the fact that distribution in the other direction is also primary, in a sense. When a man kills pigs, he gives to his WB, the link between the men again being a sister/wife.

The first time the ZS is involved with his MB, in his capacity of MB, is at his (ZS) marriage, unless he has already entered in a shell exchange with his apa, which would probably not be the case, however, until after EGO's marriage. This exchange, again, would involve EGO's father to such an extent that we could consider it as much EGO's father's exchange. At EGO's marriage, the apa are definitely given a role to play. However, it is the father of the prospective bride or groom who is primarily responsible for arranging the wedding, as we have seen above already, so again it is the father (kuglum) who is interacting with the MB as much as the ZS of ZD. (See also the conclusions.)

The third time the apa is involved in an interaction sequence is on the death of one member of the relationship.

If the deceased is a big man, all of his kinship connections will be mobilized and the apa will also most certainly be on hand to take his part in the mourning. And the bigger the man who dies, the more extensive the apa category which will be mobilized, the wider will it extend, until all the exchanges of pig and shells which take place on the occasion of the funeral feasting and exchanging become wrapped up in personal exchanges as well as exchanges in commemoration of the deceased personally. Very soon, indeed, on such an occasion the deceased himself tends to be forgotten, or used, in a sense, as an excuse to carry out exchanges which are beholden for reasons other than the connection with the present deceased and the funeral feasting. A man dies and pork is exchanged. This happened in my own area. The man was not a particularly important man, but much was made of the funeral exchange. However, only the deceased's real brothers were concerned to give some pork to the deceased's, and their, apa, who brought a live pig himself which was also killed. The other "brothers," all of the same manga rapa, also killed pigs. Another manga rapa also killed pigs on the same day, for all of the following reasons: (a) because they were also related to the group of the deceased genealogically, at least to one of the groups of "brothers"; (b) because there was close interaction between these two manga rapa, due to a close connection through women of this Kumba level and the brothers of the deceased; (c) because a young girl of the Kumba group had recently returned from the hospital; (d) one of the men of the Kumba had taken a widow as his wife. In addition to the funeral exchange, the groups involved were also exchanging for other reasons. They were celebrating their return from prison

where they had been for one month for not coming to road work--because they insisted on mourning their deceased "brother" for more than the week allotted them; one "brother" was killing and exchanging also with a partner from whom he received a bamboo full of grease, which eventually is bartered in from the Southern Highlands; most of them gave their pork, not to the deceased's apa or to the deceased's wife's people, although they also received some pork, but to their own wives' people, i.e., to their own kuglum or kudlpam, as the case might be.

As a matter of fact, the particular pork exchange referred to deserves a fuller description for its own sake, but it would be irrelevant here. The point to be made is this, that even the interaction that takes place between apa under the death of one of them becomes rapidly nothing more than a generalized exchange, in which the apa of the deceased also takes part. The more important the man who died, the bigger will be the exchange, the more extended will also be the range of apa who come to kill pig and exchange pork. In many cases they are not even extensions of the apa category who take part, but take part on other grounds, and even the apa who take part, especially those who are merely extended or classificatory apa, do so for their own purposes primarily, to make exchanges with their own exchange partners and not with their "apa."

The right which an apa has to share in a funeral feast and exchange is an important one. I do not want to belittle it. But it does not seem to have much more consequence than a reaffirmation of this one particular exchange-bond.

The one right which an apa has from his MB, which does

not seem to flow so directly from the bond between the ZH and WB, but rather from the MB-ZS bond is the right which the ZS has of seeking refuge with his MB, and the right he has of receiving garden land from his mother's people. Normally under such circumstances he would have to take up residence with his M people. He would then quite rapidly be assimilated and become a full-fledged member of his mother's agnatic group, as we have hinted at already in our first section. A man might move in with his kuglum, i.e., with his wife's people, if his wife were still living and came along. Otherwise it would be very difficult for him to claim land from his WB. It might be done if relations were particularly cordial between WB and ZH, even though the sister/wife were deceased, or if the WB's group were small, with plenty of land available, and especially if there were children alive (ZCh) who also moved in. The connection in this case, however, would seem to be rather the ZS than the ZH. On this level, in other words, a man looks upon his ZS in a slightly different light than he does his ZH, i.e., he does not consider them both to be affines.

In even rarer circumstances, a man might receive garden land from his MB's people, without moving to their place himself, while retaining his own affiliation and lands with his agnatic group. There was one case at my place. A man, something of a big man, with all of the qualities except an ability to speak well and forceably, was to receive land from his mother's people, who were Kumdi Oglaka Roglimps. This group has recently stopped intermarrying with the Engamois and were beginning to consider themselves as Engamois for all practical purposes. Moreover they lived very close to the Engamois. Formerly the Roglimps comprised two

sub-groups, or two smallest named levels of structure, one of which lived on this side of the river (and therefore called iarung or "hither"), the other one living on the other side of the river (called norung or "thither"). The division is still remembered but not really meaningful anymore. The man I refer to has gardens, which his mother works, on Roglimp territory which is on the same side of the river as the Engamoi lands. His mother's gardens, indeed, are closer to where he lives than some of his other gardens, and he helps his mother work these lands still. He claims that he will be allowed to keep them even after his mother dies, which would thereby do away with the original link, namely the sister-link. We mentioned above that sisters often garden in both places, their own and their husband's, provided they live close enough and there is sufficient garden land available in their own place. This is what has happened here, with the result that a ZS will most likely keep his MB land, even though he does not leave his own agnatic land or place. The same has happened with a piece of land among the Roglimp norung, this time through an old man who used to be a big man of the Engamois. In this case he lives on his father's mother's ground. His FM was a Roglimp. This sort of interdigitation, of course, tends to tie the two groups together even closer and more permanently as one group. The two groups have been fusing, in a sense, for some time; only recently has it become "official" by a prohibition of further intermarriage.

Such, then, with examples are some of the rights and obligations which apa have towards one another. If they interact, they interact with warmth and friendliness, with a sense of mutual helpfulness and aid towards one another, not so much with distance and respect.

Ata

The primary relative given this designation is the FZ, and reciprocally the BCh (female speaking). It is extended, as are the other terms we have been discussing so far, to any "sister" of any "father" and is, in many respects, only the inverse of the MB and MBCh relationship. What is MBCh for one is FZCh for the other, the ata (ma) and apa (ta) mediating the relationship. This relationship of ata is more of a changing relationship than is the apa relationship, because the ata, upon marriage, normally lives elsewhere than at her own place. When EGO is young, he is often taken care of by one of his ata. Above we mentioned that often a sibling will care for her younger brother. In the event there is no real sibling, very often an ata will take over the task of looking after her ata. Very early the children learn who their ata are, as opposed to their aia and again their ma. An ata at this stage of EGO's development, need not be much older necessarily than his aia. She will be unmarried, otherwise she would not be around to look after him. She will live close by normally, and there will be close, daily contact between the two of them.

This sort of relationship does not go far to prove the extension theory, it might be added here. The classical extension theory would state that one calls those by the same name who act in a similar way towards each other in the same manner (Tax 1937:20). This is the basis also for Tax's rule of terminological correlation. Yet a closer distinction is made, in view of the relationship diagrammed above, in which the ata forms the link, as the mother forms the link looking in the other direction, between the two relatives. But for this same reason, however, the ata might readily be

equated with the ma. We may have a hint of this identification in the term which was given for the ata's husband, viz., tipam-mil.

After marriage the ata often comes back for visits, at times, for instance, when special foods are eaten (the neka mentioned above and bananas). Her children and ego's father are closely related in the apa relationship; therefore, EGO's group has all the connections with FZ's group which is described above under the apa category. When EGO marries, the father will likely get some of the shells to pay for the bride from his ZH, who as kuglum is precisely such a source of shells. Just as any exchange, also a marriage exchange, can be the occasion of a more generalized exchanging of shells, i.e., one uses this as an occasion to pay back shells to a creditor, or to begin a new series of exchanges, so also EGO's father may utilize his son's marriage to reinforce his exchange relationship with his ZH whom EGO sees as his ata's husband.

This relationship again is conceived of as a warm relationship and one of mutual helpfulness. There is no stylized joking or respect attitudes connected with the category. However, after the ata has married and moved away there is fairly minimal contact between an EGO and his ata, so the relationship tends to become less and less important for EGO. Any time, however, he can go to his ata's place and sleep there, if he is walking about, for example. Thus, if an ata lived in Mount Hagen, an EGO might find himself staying there quite often. Another common situation now is the one where an EGO stays with his ata while he goes to school. Again, we might take the case of Mount Hagen. A young boy from Kwinka might want to continue his schooling,

either with the Mission or with the Government. He would come to the town of Mount Hagen, in which case he would probably board with his ata, if he has one living near the town. In this case he might also utilize his MZ's connection, if she happened to live nearby. If necessary, he might have to look further afield through his own agnatic relationship to find someone who has a real ata or MZ living in the appropriate place, and when he does he might utilize this, by now very classificatory, bond for his purposes.

Kurpel/pepa

These terms can all be used for the cross-cousin, MBch or FZCh. The relationship is very similar to that existing between the MB and ZS, although less intense, i.e., not as frequent. The relationship is warm, with little by way of competition or stress and tension to mar it. There is little by way of specific jural rights or duties attached to this relationship of itself. It receives its meaning from the MB and FZ relationships, which in turn are meaningful primarily insofar as they are cross-sibling bonds.

Andakawua and Api

These are all the males, two generations above EGO, and all the males and females two generations below EGO (andakawua for male speaker); for a female speaker, the andakawua are all the males two generations above female EGO. The two generations below, and all the females, are api to a female speaker. This refers to all those who are descended from the same ROT. On this level, the second ascending generation level, the system is quite bilateral in character (we must keep the charts we diagrammed above in mind here). Andakawua can also refer to anyone who is deceased, no matter

what the precise genealogical connection with the speaker might be.

The andakawua are very often in a position to interact with EGO in life. It is the grandfather-grandchild relationship, and as elsewhere, is a warm sort of relation, with no overtones of competition or excessive respect, sub- or super-ordination, and so on. At mealtimes, the grandfather will often give special attention to the grandchildren when he distributes the available food, giving them the finer tid-bits. A young boy or girl will often stay close to her old andakawua when they are sick, brushing the flies off of them, trying to make them comfortable as possible. In the relationship there is little of the overtones of fear which the relationship with the deceased, also called andakawua, contains. As a matter of fact, the andakawua who cause sickness are normally not the people who occupied the third ascending generation to the sick EGO. They are more often, to judge by the names called out at divination, the EGO's wife, or father, or mother, ata, brother, etc., not his real andakawua in the genealogical sense. They might cause sickness if there were gross neglect on the part of the real andakawua during the lifetime of one of them. Since there is no real responsibility upon anyone to care for his andakawua (this is the son/daughter's task), and what is done is done because of affection or out of supererogation, there is consequently little question of neglect. The api rarely seem to be divined as the cause of sickness. In view of the fact that the andakawua can nevertheless cause sickness, and are therefore to be somewhat feared, especially after their death, we must put this relationship in the ambivalent class, while the api relationship is put into the class of warm, gratifying relationships.

II

Before going on to describe the remaining categories of kin, we must first describe marriage in some detail. It is out of a marriage that the remaining categories of kinsmen are derived, and a study or understanding of marriage is essential to understand the content of these kinship relationships.

CHAPTER VII

THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE

Marriage, as an institution, is important to all peoples, because it sets up the family as an agent for the tasks which we have already described. It is important because it is primarily and most commonly the way in which society insures its continuance. Marriage provides the social system with new recruits in an efficient way, new recruits who will have the opportunity at the same time of learning the values and techniques necessary for survival in this particular social system. Marriage often creates new bonds of kinship as well, bonds which may vie with the bonds of consanguinity in importance. Marriage, in certain instances, need not create new kinship bonds. In the Australian systems of kinship, for instance, one marries one's consanguines in certain degrees, so that the two kinds of kinsmen overlap completely. This is not the case with the Mbowamb. An entire new system of kinship is established as a result of marriage, a system which is very important to the Mbowamb in regulating many other aspects of their life and influencing many of their activities other than those directly concerned with the establishment of a family.

This chapter will deal with a description of marriage among the Mbowamb. Again, in marriage as in other relationships of the Mbowamb, the discussion must center on

the role of the individual as well as on the group consequences of marriage. The dynamic interplay of these two elements involved in the social game or business of interaction among the Mbowamb must be taken into account also in any discussion of marriage, if anything approaching a satisfactory understanding of this institution and its consequences is to be achieved.

I

The normal situation for any mbowua or mboamp is the married state of life. There are no women who remain unmarried although there may be many who were once married, whose husbands died, and who did not remarry. There are men, however, who have never married. Very often, though not always, these men would seem to be defective in some way. Perhaps they are simple-minded, or crippled in some way (as with the case with two men living at Kwinka). Or perhaps sickness, like leprosy, prevented the man from ever marrying. This seems to have been the situation for two other men living with the Engamoi. Leprosy, however, is not an absolute bar to marriage, for there are several men and women living at Kwinka who had leprosy and still married. In some cases, it would seem that the man was just too "rubbish" or poor and uninterested to be bothered to marry. This would seem to be the case with at least three of the men living with the Engamois. They were not "big men" and could never hope to achieve this status without wives. Some of them (two) were non-Engamois, but this fact was not the reason for their bachelor-status. Many non-Engamois were married, even became "big men." There is no noticeable discrimination against assimilates. Moreover, some of the brothers of these unmarried men did have wives and families. There were

also Engamois (three of them) who were bachelors, who had never married, and were very unlikely to marry. There were a few men (three) who had been briefly married, but whose wife had gone home again, who were now living alone; it was unlikely that they would remarry. Also there were some few old men who had outlived their wives and were now living with a son, being cared for by a daughter-in-law or perhaps a granddaughter (five).

The ideal, of course, is to marry, and not just once but as often as possible. Many wives mean that one can have many pigs, which can be thrown into the exchange-cycles; it also means one has many brothers-in-law with whom one can exchange, and from whom one can expect aid in time of trouble, shells at times of ceremony, and general, overall support in time of need. Marriage creates new alliances with other groups, makes new social contacts possible, brings new exchange-partners into the ambit of one's exchange activities, thus making for greater possibilities of gaining prestige and reputation, thus fostering one's chances of becoming a big and important man. Also, finally, polygyny makes it possible for a man to have available a sex partner when his other wife has a baby or is menstruating. Although polygyny is the ideal, it cannot be the normal practice for the majority of men, the sex ratio being what it is. Normally the ratio of males to females is roughly equal.

Marriage is as much an individual matter, especially for the girl, as it is a matter for the groups to which the bride and the groom belong. Marriages are normally arranged between the parents of the two young people involved in the marriage, but if the girl does not like her chosen groom, she has the free choice not to stay with him. If the prospective match seems to be an especially good one from the point of

view of the father(s) or brother(s) of the girl, they will try to put pressure on her to stay with the boy and to work well for him, to sit down good and help him in his gardening, look after his pigs, etc. This pressure may even be very strong in some instances. Perhaps the pay is exceptionally large, or perhaps the groom lives in a place which furnishes some scarce goods which are valuable to the bride's people. Or again the groom's father may be an especially important man, with whose group it would be advantageous to have some sort of alliance. For these reasons the girl's people may try to force the girl to stay with her husband. If, however, she is adamant, she will usually win out and be allowed to come back home. If she is entirely forced against her will to remain with her husband, she will run away; on the least excuse of sickness she will come back home to recuperate, or she will run away to a lover; she may even eventually go so far as to take her own life, usually by hanging, a way out which is not so uncommon. There were two cases of suicide in my immediate area during the time of my field work, and each case had to do with an unhappy marriage. In the one case, it was a marriage of longer duration; in the other, the marriage was quite recent, but the girl did not like her husband, and hung herself to get out of the marriage. In the first cases, the bride-wealth would have to be returned, and this is always a difficult procedure; in the case of suicide, everybody would lose out. So, in general, the girl's wishes will be observed if she insists that she will not stay with this particular boy as his wife. One part of the wedding ceremony consists in asking the girl her will, whether she intends to stay with the boy or not, and this will of the girl is respected. I was told this was also the case in pre-contact times, although the pressure used against the

girl to go to a particular husband might have been more forceful in former times.

A marriage, therefore, can vary on a continuum from a love-marriage pure and simple, to a formally arranged marriage where the bride and groom do not know each other, have never seen each other and have never seen each other's area or gardens. The normal situation would lie somewhere between these two extremes.

II

Strauss mentions child-betrothal as a possibility between two groups who want to enter into an alliance, but he also says that this is decidedly the exceptional type of betrothal (1962:322). I did not get any information on this type of marriage. Even in this case, however, the girl would be asked if she would be willing to live with this particular boy as his wife, and her wishes, again, would be respected. Marriage normally becomes a possibility only after the girl has reached the menarche. It is not a case, either, of being married immediately after menstruation sets in. The daughter of an important man will probably be slightly older when she marries than will the daughter of a poor man. The poor man is so much more interested in getting his bride-wealth; he is not so concerned to pick out a good match for his daughter as would be the big man who will seek to use his daughter's marriage to further his own purposes. For this reason the big man can afford to wait for his bride-wealth and look around for a good match for himself as well as for his daughter. The father sincerely has the good of his daughter in mind when scouting around for a possible husband for her, just as the father of the boy will have his

son's best interests at heart and will try to find a good girl for him, one who will be strong, is a good gardener, and will be a good mother to his children. Few fathers would be so selfish and self-interested as to force their children into an unwanted marriage.

It is difficult to estimate just at what age the menarche sets in for the average New Guinea Highlands girl, especially in the Mount Hagen area where records are poor and the first menstruation is unmarked by any ceremonies. The girl, of course, should think enough of her brothers and father that she would begin to sleep in the menstrual hut of her own accord once she begins menstruating. For her to give food to any males during the time of her periods would be very harmful to them. For reasons of their own, however, the girl may not want to sleep in the menstrual hut of her own accord, and may just be careful during the time of her periods not to give food to the wrong people. One morning, then, the father or one of the children might spy some blood on her sleeping mat, in which case she would be roundly rebuked and from then on would have to sleep in the menstrual hut during her periods. In other parts of New Guinea, still the Highlands, where records are available, and where the first menstruation is clearly established by special ceremonies, the average age of the onset of menstruation seems to be around the age of nineteen-twenty. (This is true of the Bundi area in the Eastern Highlands, written up by Aufenanger under the title of Die Gende, and seems to be true also of the Chimbu area, especially the area around Denglagu, the upper part of the valley. This information was supplied to me by Rev. M. Morrison, S.V.D., the pastor of Bundi.) I would not be able to say when menstruation

normally sets in but it would seem to be later in the Mount Hagen area also than one might be at first inclined to believe. The age of first marriage would seem to be around eighteen for the daughter of a poor man (provided she was menstruating already), and about two or three years older for the daughter of a big or an important man.

A young man becomes marriageable when the signs of maturity become obvious. Primary among these marks are the beginnings of a beard and the appearance of other bodily hair. Until this point he is a kang or a boy. When he begins to take up courting activities, he enters a new status, that of kundip (cf. p. 255). He is usually older than the girl at first marriage, being around twenty-five.

Courting is one of the preliminaries to marriage, although not the most common introduction. For some reason marriageable girls may be in the vicinity on a visit to relatives of theirs, or young boys are visiting in a place where there are available girls who are not forbidden to them as spouse (the only kinds of girls with whom one may perform the courting dance). Very often this sort of visiting will be on the occasion of some ceremony, which are therefore very outstanding times of courting parties as well as ceremonies. The ceremonies attendant upon a funeral exchange, however, would not be proper occasions for courting. In fact, all courting is frowned upon for a period of time after a death, usually for a month or so. When such groups of boys and girls are available for a courting session, they will gather in a woman's house (usually the house of a relative of one of the girls who are involved in the courting, often her mother's house). Normally there would be two, perhaps three girls present and a group of young men, older

women, children, etc., sitting around talking. Around nine or ten o'clock in the evening the young men who are to participate in the courting dance arrive. They invariably come in shouting and singing, and all of them have some sort of decoration, a flower or a feather, or even simply a shred of freshly plucked grass, stuck in their hair by way of a beauty aid. Often they will also come in greased around the forehead. If there are two girls who are going to participate in the courting, then there will usually be four or five boys who will take turns courting the girls. The other people sit around inside the house and form the choir and chant-group who will intone and carry the verses in accompaniment to which the participating couples turn heads and rub noses.

When all is ready, someone intones an amp kanan (woman song) which is taken up vigorously by all present. The girls, kneeling down, and the boys, squatting cross-legged on the ground, not touching each other, begin to sway their heads lightly back and forth in short jerks in time with the chant. Then at one point they put their foreheads together and begin to bob their heads, rolling on their noses in so doing. They roll upwards, cheek-to-cheek, and nod their heads twice. Then they roll on their noses, and again cheek-to-cheek, bob their heads several times, now very close to the ground. From the time the motion begins till it stops, they do not lose contact with each other's face, i.e., the forehead, cheek, and nose. After about two or three minutes of this bobbing upwards and downwards, the chanters stop and the dancers break off. The girl invariably grasps her piece of cloth to her forehead and sits very quietly and modestly while the crowd of people talk and make

conversation. Then someone will again intone another chant or *kanan* and the dance will begin again, this time perhaps with a new boy taking the place of the first one. This goes on, in a full-blown courting session, until four or five o'clock the next morning when everybody breaks up and goes home to sleep. Normally the only contact made is on the face. However, a boy may playfully poke at his partner; if she shows no resentment at this, he may poke "accidentally" at her breast the next time, especially if the fire has died down in the meantime. If the girl laughs at this, does not show resentment, tolerates it, this may give the boy courage someday to ask her, by means of a wink or a pre-arranged gesture, to go into the bush with him where they might engage in sexual play. This would have to be some time later than the courting session itself, and in the meantime, of course, the girl could easily change her mind about the boy and his intentions with her. By the time an all-night session of courting ends, everybody is tired enough to want to go home and sleep. Rarely is any assignation actually made during one of these sessions.

This activity is considered very pleasant, and something to look forward to. The young men practice their songs by the hour as they sit around the house. Some have reputations for knowing many such *amp kanan*. Others are made up and then taught to the others who will be attending the next courting sessions. They often relate to some situation familiar to everybody; reference is made to the weather, to the people who are participating in the *amp kanan* or to the occasion which brings the people together now, e.g., the current ceremony in progress (Strauss 1962: 323 for examples). During this time also the boys use every guile they know to win the affections of the girl they desire.

This is the time, during the courting dance, when love magic is most often employed. This can be of various kinds. The boy chews the bark of a certain tree, and then blows his breath over the girl as they rub noses. Or the boy mixes the leaf of a certain plant into his tobacco and makes a cigarette which he then offers the girl. She smokes it and her affections are thereafter fixed upon the boy who made the love magic. The interesting fact about love-magic, however, is that the girl must not know that love-magic is being worked on her for the magic to have its proper effect. If the girl realizes, through whatever means, that the boy is working love-magic, she will become very indignant and the magic will have just the opposite effect; the girl will repudiate the boy and his suit.

If a boy and girl fancy each other as a result of such courting, they themselves will then take the next steps to arrange a proper marriage. The boy will approach his father, or the father's legal surrogate in the matter of his marriage, and the girl will tell her family of her desires, with the idea that the pay will be readied, the arrangements made for the transfer and the girl officially sent with her skin greased and the large shell around her neck. The rest of the marriage ceremony would be the same as if it were all pre-arranged according to the more common fashion.

III

The most common way of arranging a marriage is to arrange it along some "road," i.e., some mutual relative conveys the word that a boy is available with proper pay, or that so-and-so has a daughter whom he wants to give in marriage, and is wondering if any boys and any pay is available.

This "road" along which a marriage should be arranged is very important to the Mbowamb. A typical instance of a "road" along which the arrangements for a marriage held at Kwinka were made is the following. The instance also indicates some of the complication which can confuse the neat picture of any social activity among the Mbowamb. The genealogical connections of this case are as follows:

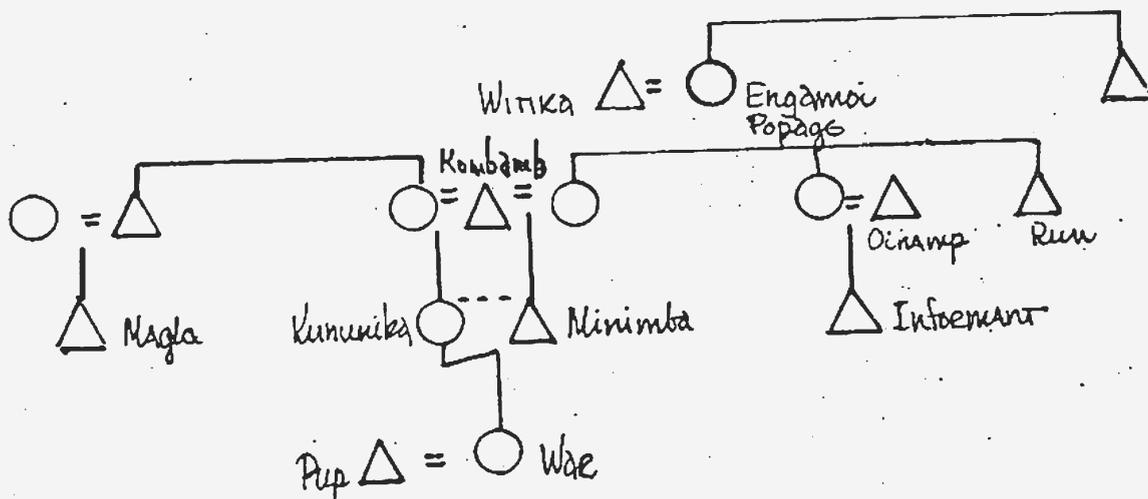


Fig. 21.--The Genealogy of a Mbowamb Marriage

The marriage is between Pup, an Engamoi boy, and War, who is a Kununika girl. The Kununikas live with the Ndikas, and are often referred to as Ndikas, although they retain their own identity yet as far as marriages and rules of exogamy are concerned. There had been talk, general talk, that Pup was going to get married soon, and there was speculation that she would be a Witika girl. This would have been possible given the rules of exogamy. Finally, the

girl actually arrived, but she was a Kununika girl. The talk and the arrangements had been initiated by Minimba, who was the son of a Kombamb man who was married to a Witika woman; this man lived with his wife's people. He had moved there as a result of the Kombamb and Elpugumps fight sometime during the early and middle thirties. Minimba, therefore, was living with his MB, who was a "big man" named Run. Run had recently died, and they had had the funeral and the preliminary exchanges of pork in his honor. At the time of these exchanges, many Engamois had taken a part, because Run's mother was an Engamoi. She was an Engamoi Popage, however, while Pup, the bridegroom is an Engamoi Wagawa. Minimba's sister, by a different mother, was married to a Kununika man, and they had a daughter named War. This woman's mother (War's MM) was said to be an Engapin. However, as it turned out, she was not a real Engapin (in which case she would not have been allowed to marry a Kombamb man, both of these groups belonging to the exogamous group, the Komonikas), but a Kopi who happened to live with the Engapins. Magla, War's MBCh or pam was present at the marriage exchanges, and was consistently referred to as Engapin Magla (although he is actually, according to patrilineal descent reckoning, a Kopi. His status, however, would be that of a second generation assimilate, and as such he would be equivalent in most things to an Engapin, and therefore was referred to as such). Minimba had carried the talk from the Engamois to the Kununikas that a boy, with pay, was available. Through him, also, the Engamois could check up on the girl, whether she worked diligently, what her parents were like, their status and wealth, etc., whether her brothers would be good risks as exchange partners, and so forth. My informant for this data was Oinamp Palim, who was Minimba's "brother."

This series of relationships also explains why Kakl gave some money to the marriage. He is distantly related to the situation, not only as an Engamoi, and therefore "brother" or "father" to Pup, but also through Run's mother, who was an Engamoi Popage and therefore related to Kakl's group (cf. p. 90).

Formerly anyone wanting to marry a girl had to go through the proper channels to make their desire known, no matter how the acquaintanceship might have been made. If a Popage boy wanted to marry a Mili Ugunimp girl, then he would make the arrangements through a certain man Kupila, whose wife was a Mili Ugunimp, but of another lower level of structure. The Popages should not repeatedly marry into the equivalent smallest level of structure of the Mili Ugunimps. When Kupila's last child was married, then the arrangements of future marriage would pass to another Popage man who happened to be married into the Mili Ugunimp group. This is only if a Popage boy were getting married. If another were getting married, e.g., a Kopalige or an Etimp boy, then the road along which the arrangements would be made would be a different one.

Dubanga's son Ketiba (a Popage) wanted to marry Epta who was a Mili Kimimp Kukamp. Instead of making the arrangements through Popage Krai, whose wife was Mokl, a Mili kimimp Milagamp woman, he made his arrangements through Etimp Moka, whose wife was Wan, a Mili Kimimp Kukamp girl, and therefore of the same small manga rapa as Epta. Krai felt slighted at this, and became angry with Dubanga and with Ketiba. Formerly if this had happened, Krai as the offended party, would have built a big fire across the path which would be taken by Dubanga and Ketiba as they returned from the Mili locality after making return payment. This

would be a public sign of the affront, and Dubanga would have had to give some pork to Krai to wipe out the offense and regain lost status and prestige in the community.

This does not mean that one must invariably go along a road in order to find a spouse. The Mbowamb, in almost everything they do, like to be represented rather than conduct affairs in their own name and in their own behalf. This applies to almost any activity, and to everybody except the big men themselves who represent not only their group, but themselves as well, as it were. Consequently a big man need not go along a road or through someone else when making arrangements for a marriage, either for himself (a second or third marriage) or for his son. He takes it upon himself to make the proper arrangements. He himself carries the information that a boy and pay are available. Also, therefore, to anticipate some of our conclusions, taking the proper road does not affect the patterning of marriages. There is no one place or locality from which wives consistently come or have to come. However, if one already has relatives in a certain group, then chances are more likely that others of your own group will also be getting wives from that same general place, provided all the rules of exogamy are properly observed, since you have a contact there who informs you of the availability of spouses. For this reason, among others, one cannot say that marriages are completely random. Still, the limits of choice, both of spouse and of the road along which the arrangements will be made, are so broad and the rules so readily broken, that the system does not create anything like a consistent pattern of marriage which eventuates in some sort of positive endogamy. We will have more to say about this below.

In a case of arrangement along a proper "road," the chances are high that the boy and girl involved in the marriage do not know each other very well. They may or may not have participated in the courting dance together. Very likely, since they have a mutual relative, they have seen each other at various ceremonies, or have at least heard from others about each other. It may happen, however, that they do not know each other at all. One case comes to mind. An Engamoi Etimp man was working at the government agricultural station in the Baiyer River. He brought word that a Weti man was looking for a wife, and that they had a large bride-wealth prepared. First an Etimp girl was sent, but she came back very quickly. The first payment was laid out and very much coveted by the girl's "father," but she did not like the area where the man lived; it was rocky and full of dense bush. Then another girl was sent, this time the daughter of a Popage "poor" man. She did not even stay long enough for the first pay to be viewed by her parents. She came back the very next day; the reason again was dissatisfaction with the terrain. It would mean working too hard to make a living. It was, moreover, a long way from home and at a much lower altitude. No other Engamoi girls were sent. In both cases, the girls did not know the boy and had never seen him.

In some few cases elopement forms the preliminary arrangement, which is then followed up with the bride-wealth. It is a case of the girl eloping to be with the boy because residence is virilocal. Very often the girl will take a companion along on her "unauthorized" journey to the boy's place. This kind of action hurries up the normally slow processes of making the proper arrangements. In some

few cases this action might have been preceded by some pre-marital sex activity, although this would not normally be the case. In my year there, three girls eloped to boys. In every case it was with a catechist who worked in the area for the Mission. In one case the girl had been living with the catechist also sexually, before the situation was uncovered. When it was discovered, the catechist went home to his own place, and the girl followed him. The pay for this "marriage" had not yet been straightened out, so the union had not been legalized in any sense. It was blamed mostly on the girl, although the boy himself was getting the reputation for being a "rubbish" man because he was not hurrying to bring the proper pay. He did, however, bring a small leg of pig as a token that he would eventually straighten out the pay as soon as he could gather it together.

Another indication that there is no definite pattern to where a girl is to find a spouse, or a boy his wife, is shown in the very haphazard nature of some of the marriages which are arranged. In one case, Kaki's daughter (Engamoi Popage) had been sent to a Nengka man, but she did not like him, and kept coming back home, refusing to stay with her chosen husband. He himself was something of a ruffian, and went so far as to beat his wife to make her stay home. In the course of the beating, he drew blood, which gave the girl all the more reason not to stay with him. Straightening out the pay was a long drawn out process and an arduous one for the father of the girl and for his brothers, although it was finally accomplished. The father, thereafter, refused to send the girl to any other Nengka (in the meantime, one of the suicides mentioned above, an Engamoi Parglimp girl, had also been married to a Nengka man, and as the result of

quarreling had killed herself). The Nengkas were no good as a consequence, and his girl would next be sent to an Uguni, who lived in a geographically opposite direction from the Nengka, or to a Roglaka man. None of his daughters would be sent to the Nengkas, since they were so hard on their women and unreliable in addition.

A second daughter of this same man was scheduled to be sent to a Roglaka man who supposedly had pay. There was moreover a proper road. When it came time, however, for the girl to be sent, she happened to be menstruating, and therefore could not be sent just at this time. The Roglakas in the meanwhile were also preparing to receive and make a large exchange of shells, so the boy's group sent word not to have the girl sent until the ceremony was somewhat further advanced. In the meantime, a month later, the girl eloped with a boy who lived at Kuli, near the Minj border, as far removed from Kwinka and the Engamois as was possible and still remain in the same language group. She had become acquainted with this boy through the boy's brother, who was a catechist in the Kwinka area. The elopement came as the result of one evening's courting.

When a girl becomes nubile, the father will often decorate her with grease and paint, put a large shell around her neck, and have her parade herself in the crowds which gather for any ceremony. Normally two or three girls, dressed in this way, will hold hands and solemnly and seriously walk together, mingling with the crowds during the course of a ceremony. In this way it becomes known that these girls are available, and anybody with the proper pay should send word and the girls would be asked and sent.

IV

The wedding itself is not composed of a contract, pinpointed in time, after which it can be said that these two people are now husband and wife. The negotiations involved are extended over several weeks and months. In fact, one can say that the marriage never really is ever completed as an event. To me it seems that the exchanges that take place over the years between brothers-in-law and between aunts are only a further and continuous validation of the marriage which was inaugurated by a series of exchanges and lasts as long as the exchanges continue harmoniously. We had a hint of this above already when we described the Kung Maibugla. So long also is it considered "wrong" to contract another marriage with that particular group. The two groups are still exchanging; they eat each other's pork, as they phrase it, and the ideal is always to maximize one's social contacts. If a man and woman have lived together for several years, especially if the woman has had a child or two, then the marriage will probably not break up. The chances are that it will last. However, at any time might the marriage still be broken if either of the two parties, or the groups which they represent, do not do their share in maintaining the relationship which the marriage initially established. Among the Mbowamb, one must always remember to qualify these statements with another statement related to the individual and the individual's likes and dislikes. A man might not live up to his obligations to his brother-in-law at all, but if the girl likes him or his place, she will stay with him, and the marriage will last. Usually, however, she would listen to her brothers and her parents and make life difficult for her husband if he did not exchange properly with his

brothers-in-law, her brothers. Many marriages break up in the preliminary stages of the wedding ceremonies and exchanges. As the years go on, however, the woman's interests center more and more in her husband's place. There she has her gardens, her pigs, her friends. If she left, very likely she would have to leave her children behind, or would eventually have to give them up. In any case, one could expect a court case over the children, and the verdict would normally be in favor of the husband and his group. As the years go on, therefore, the marriage becomes more and more stable. A woman is never completely taken into her husband's group; she always retains rights in her own area; however, when she dies, she is buried at her husband's place, not brought back to her own land. When she is sick, her husband or some one of his brothers will kill pigs for her, although for some time after a marriage (a year or so) she will probably still go back to her own place if she gets sick, because here she will more rapidly recover.

On the part of the boy's group, the marriage begins with the bride-wealth. After the preliminary arrangements, as described above, are concluded, then the boy's group must gather the pay which they will give for the girl. This is decided in consultation with the brothers, fathers, relatives, the MB, any MZS who are to contribute, and others who might owe shells or pigs to the group who is having a son married. The number of shells and pigs which are said to be available is always underestimated and understated to the one who is acting as the go-between and making arrangements for the girl's group. The boy's group will insist how "rubbish" they really are, that they can only be sure of about twenty shells, how they just killed all of their pigs

or gave them away to such-and-such a group because of a ceremony they were preparing. This sort of talk goes on until the very day of the first exhibition of the bride-wealth when the different relatives bring in their shells and money gifts by way of contribution to the wedding. The standard price eventually tends to be thirty-two shells (four "hands" of eight), anywhere between ten and fifteen pigs, and between ten and twenty-five pounds of money, perhaps more. Anything less than this would be looked on very unfavorably by the girl's group. If the boy's group offered only what they said they could afford, viz., twenty shells, the marriage would definitely never get beyond this preliminary stage unless the girl was very much in love with the boy and had chosen him for her husband in spite of all opposition, in which case her group would make the most of a bad situation and accept the small pay. The return they would make, the second major stage of a wedding, would be correspondingly small. It is characteristic of the Mbowamb to understate their contribution to any sort of activity. Then when the actual contribution is made, it is all the more striking and affords even more scope for boasting on the part of the ones making the presentation.

When sufficient pay is assured, it will be made known that the girl should be sent. There are two expressions for marriage in mbo ik; the girl wua punum "goes to a man," whereas the boy amp tenim "takes the girl." This indicates also the prevailing residence pattern. The girl always goes to the boy's place to live. Only under exceptional circumstances would the boy come to live with the girl, and then only probably after the girl has first lived with him at his place. Such a circumstance, for example, would be the threat

of war in his own place, or defeat in battle, necessitating that he take refuge somewhere. He might then go to his mother's people for refuge or to his wife's group, depending on the circumstances of each group. This type of change of residence is the source of much of the assimilation which so confuses the neat patrilineal descent picture in the Central Highlands of New Guinea. If the woman's brother is a "big man" in his own area, very likely the sister and her husband will move back with him to her area. This was very often given to me as the reason for the assimilation of a group. So-and-so was a big, important man, and his sister moved back to her own area, bringing her husband and family along. He was able to provide her with much pork, and look after her and protect his sister and brother-in-law against the enemies or forces who had originally forced them to leave their own area.

There are several reasons, I think, why a man would live with his wife rather than with his mother's people. If he were not yet married, he would live with his MB. He would have nowhere else to go if he had to leave his own area for whatever reason, or at least his MB place, if not the only place where he could go, would be the place where he very clearly had a right to go. And he would be welcome with his MB. After all, this is a ZCh, and as such has a call on the MB. This is the clue why a man, after marriage, will tend to go live with his wife's brother, or with his brother-in-law rather than his MB. The sibling bond is a strong one in New Guinea, and remains so throughout the life of the siblings, as we noted above in our discussion of the content of this kinship bond. The brother-in-law bond, moreover, is similar to the bond between brothers. It is one of mutual aid and alliance. Consequently, one would expect a direct

sibling-bond to outweigh an indirect one when it comes a question of taking refuge. The W-WB bond would be stronger than a MB-ZS bond, which is a sibling bond (M and MB) once removed. It is as much for the sake of the sister that a man takes in his ZS as it is for the sake of the ZS himself. This sibling relationship is what gives the son his rights over the MB, not so much his own relation with the MB. Other factors, also, influence the decision; availability of land, interpersonal relations, never to be overlooked in Mbowamb life, the kind and extent of previous contact, the contribution which the assimilate can himself make to one or the other group.

V

The girl, then, goes to the boy upon marriage. In connection with this there is some ritual. First of all, ideally a pig is killed to honor the ancestors, some of the pork is given to the girl, and she is asked if she is willing to go to the man chosen for her. This phase has a special expression for it: amp keta waltinimin or "they ask the mouth of the girl," i.e., they ask whether she is willing to be sent or not! I say "ideally" this pig is slaughtered; actually it is rarely killed. In none of the weddings which I witnessed or heard about was this pig killed. In one case the father was intending to kill the pig, but did not get to it. Part of the pork of this pig would also be sent along with the girl as a gift to the boy and his group. In this way the whole procedure would be getting off to a very amicable and auspicious beginning.

If the girl says she will go (amp nge nitim or amp wua mbi nitim--"the woman says 'yes'" or "the woman says 'I will go to the man'"), then the next step consists in putting

grease on the girl and actually sending her. Putting grease on the girl is an interesting ritual, and is rarely neglected, even if the girl elopes to her boy's place. Eventually she will be "officially" sent, and when this happens she is first greased. Or, as it happened during my stay with one of the three girls who eloped, she first went to a father's sister's place, put on the grease there, and then continued on to her boy friend's place. The girl first washes; then several layers of pig grease are put on her, from head to foot, every part of her being greased. Grease is rubbed into her skirts (usually the women wear two of them) and into the bark bag (bilum in pidgin; wal in mbo ik) which she will take along on her journey to her future husband's place. After several coats of pig grease are rubbed in, then several layers of an aromatic grease, a tree resin which is obtained from the Southern Highlands by trading, is also rubbed over the girl, over her hair, into her skirts and bark bag. The pig grease can be applied by anyone, also by the girl's mother, but the tree resin grease is applied by someone who is not the real mother of the girl, only by a classificatory mother or some other older woman. During this greasing is said the incantation which is to make the marriage stable, bring in many shells and pigs, and assure the success of the whole venture in general. Part of this ritual consists of the following. After the grease is generally rubbed in, the old woman gathers an extra amount of it on the rags which she has been using to apply the grease, then squeezes out the grease over the girl's forehead. All, meantime, are silent; the old woman makes her mun or incantation in an inaudible fashion; the grease begins to run down the girl's forehead, down the nose, across the mouth and down the center of the chin, and drips off. If this

happens, the omen is good. The grease has run straight, many shells and pigs will be forthcoming, and the marriage will be a successful, happy one. If the grease runs off the side of the forehead or the nose, then the pay will not be so good, and the omen is not so meaningful. If the first omen is unfavorable, the old woman tries again; if it is still unfavorable the second time, they just forget about the omen, and send the girl to the boy anyway. They like it if the omen is favorable, but they do not worry about it if it turns out to be unfavorable.

Sometimes a sacred stone, usually an odd-shaped natural stone object which was found in a stream-bed or dug out of the garden while working, is also placed on top of the girl's head, nestled in the bark ropes which attach the bilum to her back. This stone also is to ensure that a lot of shells and pigs will be given as bride-wealth. Or still another way of reading the signs is to attach a sacred stone to a string and dangle it over a sacred bag, filled with various items, stones, a bird's claw perhaps, the skull of a snake, etc. If the dangling stone sways in a certain direction, in the direction of the locality of the future husband, then many shells will be forthcoming; if the stone sways in the opposite direction, then the bride-wealth will be fairly small and disappointing. The latter action is meant to read the signs, as it were, not to increase the actual number of shells, "pull them" as they express it in pidgin-English, as are the other ceremonies attached to preparing the girl for her trip to her husband's place.

This greasing ceremony can take place at any time of the day, depending on the distance that the girl has to walk to reach her husband's place. She wants to arrive there

towards the middle or late afternoon, so her departure is planned accordingly. After she is greased up properly, an exceptionally fine kina shell is hung around her neck; she is given a walking staff, sometimes also a small digging stick and/or a knife to carry, and sets off in the company of a classificatory mother or a sister or two. These companions will remain with her for the first several days of her stay in her husband's new place, to help her accustom herself to her new surroundings. They remain until the girl's parents and brothers come to pick up the first pay, at which time they usually return with their own group, while the girl stays on at her husband's place.

At this point, we might make a very brief excursus on the use of grease among the Mbowamb. This is one custom almost everybody remarks on when discussing or describing the New Guinea Highlands natives, their habit of greasing themselves with thick layers of pig fat or tree resin. It makes their bodies shine; it does not give them a particularly disagreeable odor, as we might expect, especially when first applied, but has rather a tart, pungent odor. Thick greasing is part of any decoration, therefore it forms part of every ceremony. It is not done, in my area at least, as a protection against the cold. The people do not grease themselves just because it is cold, and greased bodies are not more in evidence when the weather is particularly cold, as we would expect if it had this value of protection for them. There must be a special occasion for it.

Greasing the skin makes it healthy, restores the tone. It is not for this reason, however, that the Mbowamb rub grease into their skin. Just the opposite is true. When a mbowua or mbo amp is sick, they do nothing to cleanse themselves

or restore the tone of their skin; by no means will they apply grease to their limbs at such times. They allow themselves to get very dirty, do not wash, let their hair and beard become unkempt, allow the smoke and ashes of their fires besmear their face and skin even more than is normally the case. It is this contrast, I think, which gives us a clue to the use of grease in Mbowamb culture. They consider a greased body as a beautiful object. When they describe the spirit roke amp kapukl, who is supposedly a spirit in the form of a beautiful woman, who causes the death, however, of any man who presumes to play around with her or have intercourse with her, they always speak of her as having a long nose, long legs, plenty of decorations, and well-greased. Grease is to them a mark of beauty, precisely because it is a mark of health, and with health, a sign of fertility. At certain ceremonies, especially the amp kur, the sacred stones which form a part of this ceremony are greased very thoroughly with part of the fat of the pigs which are killed during the ceremony. These stones are invariably connected with health (this is usually the motive force, ostensibly, behind the ceremony in the first place, the health of one of the leading men of this particular ceremony), and with fertility, although this latter aspect comes out less obviously than the former. At one point of the ceremony, for example, some bits of the pig-fat are buried in a large hole in the spirit house; this is done, so go the remarks accompanying this action in order to make the ground fertile, that the gardens may grow well, that the ground also may have "grease," which is their expression for good, black, fertile soil.

Without being able to go into it here, sickness is a continuing preoccupation with the Mbowamb, and when they put on grease, they are just the opposite of sick. Sickness implies some lack of social harmony usually; therefore, when grease is worn, there is health and general harmony. Since this is the situation, we can understand why it is so important to the Mbowamb that this particular ceremony of sending the girl to her husband's place, well-greased, is carried out properly.

It would be pertinent to go into these relationships here at some length, but it would also take us somewhat away from our chosen topic of kinship. This difficulty of deciding what to omit in a study such as this is only a reflection and reaffirmation of the thesis so commonly held now in anthropology that "the customs and institutions of a people can only be properly understood in relation to one another and to the 'culture as a whole'" (Fortes 1953:17).

The incantations which usually accompany the ceremony of greasing the girl refer typically to the place where the girl is going, to her prospective husband, and to the many shells and pigs she will bring to her own group. The incantations which accompany the greasing ceremony are the property of the older women who learn them from some relative of theirs, for pay, either a leg of pork or some other gift. In return for making this incantation and applying the grease to the girl, this woman will receive some pork when the bride-wealth transactions are made. This is her payment for making the incantation.

The Mbowamb have many incantations, for a vast variety of purposes. Different people are considered experts in different incantations. They are not memorized accurately;

they are not repeated verbatim. The general references remain, the allusions to special groves of trees or places or rocks will generally be found in any special kind of incantation, but apart from this, variety is possible and does not affect the outcome of the incantation. Lines are repeated more or less at will, and irrelevant comments are often interspersed; the length of the incantation is varied, sometimes by the number of repetitions made, sometimes by the allusions which are included or left out as the case may be. The incantation for planting taro, for example, will always mention two large rocks which dominate the Nebilyer Valley, with the allusion that the taro now planted should be firm and good like these two rocks; in the incantation of greasing the bride, the different kinds of bark bags will be mentioned, the shells and the pigs commented on; other aspects of the incantations vary, the localities which are mentioned, the boy's group to which the girl is going, etc.

All of these different activities which mark the very beginning of a girl's marriage, are designed to make the marriage a successful one, and by success the Mbowamb also mean a profitable one. They want their daughter or son to be happy, but they also want to benefit by the marriage. These benefits, as we shall see, are of various kinds.

The girl arrives at the boy's place sometime in the afternoon with her companions. Shortly before she arrives, she will freshen the layers of grease with which she has been anointed and rearrange the large shell around her neck. The prospective groom himself will not be on hand to meet his future wife. Indeed, they are both very shy with each other, and will scarcely look at one another. The boy most likely will be somewhere else deliberately, up in the big

forest hunting possums or cutting planks, or off on a visit somewhere, any place but home right now when his bride comes. She removes her shell and becomes acquainted with her new surroundings and with the sisters and mothers of the groom. For the first few days of her arrival she merely walks around, talks with the sisters and looks around her new place. This will, after all, be her home if she decides to remain with her husband. Here she will have her gardens; here she will raise her family; these are the people with whom she will have to live for the rest of her life. The boy's relatives, meanwhile, are sizing up the girl also, how she comports herself, whether she is properly modest and shy, the size of her legs, which is an estimate of her working abilities, etc. Arrangements have been made, already before the girl left home, regarding the arrival of her own group to pick up the initial bride-wealth which the boy's people are in the meantime collecting. This takes place within a week of the girl's arrival and is the first really significant phase of every wedding.

VI

On the day agreed, therefore, the girl's family and relatives come to pick up the first bride-wealth, consisting usually of some 32 shells, 10-15 pigs, of varying size, and perhaps 25 pound, with perhaps some smaller items, a head-band of shells, an axe or two. These latter are not invariably given. The total bride-wealth varies also. Money may form a larger part of the bride-wealth, if the boy, for example, has a good job, or if his group has a fair amount of coffee planted. If the group has just received a batch of shells in an exchange, there will perhaps be more of these

making up the pay. Strauss (personal communication) mentioned that until only a few years ago the size of the bride-wealth was becoming disproportionately large. The European planters have been bringing shells into the Highlands in vast quantities, and the bride-price went up accordingly. Groups were trying to out-do each other in their bride-wealth, with the consequence that it was getting difficult ever to pay for a woman, or even, perhaps, think of getting married. The government and the Missions, both Catholic and Lutheran (the two major mission organizations in the Mount Hagen area) placed a limit on the number of items which constituted a bride-wealth, viz., the amount mentioned above. In spite of comments to the contrary on the part of the people, this amount of bride-wealth is no longer very difficult to muster, especially when one considers that for a ceremony, and not so large a one at that, as many as 300-500 shells will change hands. In some isolated instances still the bride-wealth can be very high, especially if the boy to be married is the son of a big man or is himself on the way to becoming an important man already, in which case he may already be buying his second wife. The bride-wealth would be larger than usual also if it came around the time of a big ceremony when shells are plentiful and in motion, in which case many of the shells would be returned again very soon when the boy's group made their large, public exchange. By unusually large, I mean something on the order of 80-100 shells, 20-30 pigs, 50 pounds. If a bride-wealth went beyond this, it would then be part of a larger exchange as well, perhaps a death compensation or the like.

The girl's group gathers; the size of the crowd can vary greatly depending on many factors. All those who think they have a right to a shell or a pig will, of course, be there or will be represented there. When one considers the number of brothers and fathers involved and the real MB, who also have a claim to part of the payment, there is not much left for more distant relatives. We will see how this is distributed typically below when we describe a marriage more in detail. At this first, preliminary viewing and acceptance of the shells and pigs, there is no pork eaten. Speeches are made emphasizing the duties of the wife and husband, exhorting them to stay together. The pay is discussed and repeatedly counted, to see if everyone is satisfied. Finally the tultul or luluai of the boy, where this first payment is taking place, asks the girl and the boy separately and solemnly whether they accept the other as his/her spouse. The boy and girl must both answer "yes." Of course, they are very shy; do not look at each other; are hesitant in responding. If they both agree, the ceremonies proceed. If the girl says "no," then the discussions break off at this point. The girl and her people go home and the pay which has been collected goes back to those who brought it. Perhaps the girl has another boy to whom she would like to go, or perhaps she does not like the boy's mother or sisters, or the state of his gardens, which will be hers to work. Whatever the reason, now is the time for her to speak up, and she usually does. If the boy, on the other hand, is not satisfied with the girl, then they can just pass along the word that they do not have enough pay for the girl, and she will go back home to be sent somewhere else. No one seems particularly put out if the marriage arrangements break down at this point. All that has been lost is a day's walk and

another day of speeches. If the marriage and ceremonies go beyond this stage, however, and the payment gets scattered and promised to various relatives, especially if pig is killed and eaten, then it becomes a more serious matter breaking off the negotiations. Much more gets involved from the point of view of the Mbowamb.

VII.

If the girl decides to stay with the boy, and the boy also is happy with the arrangements, if the initial bride-wealth is acceptable to everybody concerned, then a day is set for the return-pay, which takes place at the girl's home. Before the shells, etc., are taken home, they are distributed to the new owners, i.e., to B, F, MB, M, and to anyone else who can put forth a legitimate claim. In the course of the speeches, when the pigs are singled out for comment, one larger one is given to the girl's mother, and another one may be marked as the pig of the ancestors (or of the mother's spirit, if the mother herself is deceased). This pig will then be killed, distributed and eaten with the cooked pig which the boy's group will bring when they come to pick up the return pay.

There is no definite pattern to the distribution. If one brother receives two shells, this means he will have to contribute one shell to the return pay. If one brother or father is trying to make an exchange, he may be given more shells and no pig, or several pigs but no shells or, indeed, both or nothing. This is all discussed and decided in advance of this public distribution of shells and pigs. Of such topics is much of their conversation composed.

The girl's group then leave, taking the initial bride-wealth along home with them. On the day of the return

pay this is displayed again in its entirety. In addition, the return pay is also displayed for all to see. The amount of this also varies, and is up to the girl's group to decide; the boy's group will be satisfied with any amount, or so it is said. However, the girl's group would not want to look too cheap; they would not want to be considered rubbish by the boy's group; moreover, if they were too stingy in the return they made (or if the boy's group were too stingy in the initial payment they made), then the boy, or the girl responsible would have good cause to complain and would have much ammunition in any future argument with his wife. It could, and would, always be thrown up to her how cheap her own group was, that she had no reason to be difficult with her husband now, etc. It would also work in the other direction. If the boy's group had been niggardly, the girl would all the more readily run home in case of marital strife or difficulty, and she would be all the more readily accepted and kept at home. Her husband's group were cheap anyway; look how stingy they had been, and how they had not lived up to any of their agreements.

Normally the return pay is judged somewhat by the amount of the bride-wealth. Six to eight shells would be returned, four to six pigs, perhaps 15 pounds of money. To preserve the nature of a real exchange, these have to be different shells, different pigs, and different money. Again there is a round of speeches; however, this time the boy and girl are not asked if they are willing to live together. The pay and the return pay are counted and re-counted, first by the boy's group, then by the girl's group, and finally the transfer is made. Then and there the shells and the pigs are again distributed to their new owners.

Some exact payments and return payments are given.

In one case, 32 shells were given, 13 pigs, and 50 pounds. Returned were 8 shells, 8 pigs, and 20 pounds. In another wedding, this time with a boy from the Kuli area (which accounts for the bird-of-paradise feathers forming part of the pay, not a customary item of bride-wealth in the Engamoi area) 20 shells were given, 8 pigs, 5 pounds, 10 feathers, and 4 smaller shells, similar to a small bailer shell, and one steel knife. This was considered a very poor bride-wealth, but the girl had eloped with the boy, so there was little to do but accept as gracefully as possible under the circumstances. Returned in this case were 5 shells, 5 pigs, and 1 bird-of-paradise feather. Another case: 31 shells (1 more to come later), 9 pigs (2 more to come later), 28 pounds. Returned: 4 shells, 6 pigs (plus part of a cooked pig, which had been accidentally killed the day before and was given to the groom's group), 18 pounds.

From these examples, which are quite typical, we note that the amount of bride-wealth varies, but not to any great extent nor in any consistent pattern. Neither does there seem to be any consistent difference in the bride-wealth and return when a big man is involved in the transactions. This is because a big man will always be involved in every wedding, either on behalf of his own child, or in a representative capacity. There may still, however, be some bride-wealth which go beyond these figures, but then we must look in other directions for an explanation. Usually there will be "non-marital" considerations making for the extravagant bride-wealth. What some of these considerations might be are indicated below in the more detailed description of one marriage.

A new feature is added to this return pay ceremony,

namely the kung penal or the "pig outside." This consists of a pig which has been killed and cooked by the boy's group and carried to the girl's people by the girl herself, and given to them to distribute and eat. If a large crowd is anticipated, the girl's people may themselves kill a pig (the pig for the ancestors or the deceased mother's pig, for example) and bring it out at the same time as the kung penal is brought in. After the speeches are finished and the shells and live pigs have finally again been distributed, the girl's group distributes the pork among all those who are present. The boy's group, however, do not eat of this pork. It may happen, however, that the girl's group has very recently received some pork from some other sources, e.g., a ceremony by a group where they have relatives; perhaps a sick pig has recently died and been slaughtered; some of this pork may be given to the boy's people, which they will then take home and eat there. Normally, however, they do not receive pork at this time. Often, but again not always, the girl's people will provide the visitors with some vegetable food, especially if they stay for a longer period of time. If they don't do even this, there is usually grumbling on the part of the boy's people who have come, perhaps a long way, to attend the return-pay.

All those who are present at this part of the wedding ceremony are entitled to some of the kung penal, and the girl's people try to divide and sub-divide the meager amounts of pork available until all do receive at least a small portion. Often those who are present are there by some sort of invitation, for example, at the invitation of the girl's brother, who would tell his friends to come over and have some pork. A largish piece of pork, therefore, will be given to the men who are present, and they will take this

pork off by themselves and re-distribute to all the young men present. On such an occasion the amount of pork consumed by each individual is very small, only a few ounces at most, but it is nevertheless very important that everybody who has any real claim on a piece of pork be given his small share, otherwise there will be hurt feelings. It is the social snub involved in being slighted in the pork distribution that would cause the hurt feelings. This sort of snub would be the kind of thing which would cause sickness, in the minds of the Mbowamb, and would therefore have to be rectified.

VIII

The next phase of a wedding ceremony is a protracted one and may drag on for some months. This phase is referred to as bringing the kung mangal or the "pig inside the house." The boy's group kills and cooks pigs and brings them, again via the girl who came in as a wife to her parents, brothers, and other immediate relatives who all have a right to eat of the kung mangal. It is spoken of as "inside the house" because the consumption of this pig is not a public matter; it is private, and only the near relatives have a strict right to this pork, i.e., the members of the girl's manga rapa. This pork is also more strictly returned eventually. Indeed, one might almost say that the different legs and half-sides of pork which are always passing between a brother and his sister (therefore to his sister's husband), between the wife's group and the husband's group, are only payments and re-payments of this kung mangal and other exchanges so that the marriage is never really accomplished and finished in this sense, and consequently the girl never really becomes completely absorbed in her husband's group; she always retains rights in her own natal group. Very often, as a matter

of fact, one or the other group will keep back a part of the payment for a time. Perhaps the extra large shell which was displayed at the very head of all the shells--the one which the girl carried around her neck when she first went to the boy's place--will not be repaid. The ideal situation would be the return of an exactly identical shell, in size, form, and color, so exactly identical that the two could not be distinguished at all. This return shell is sometimes withheld on the pretext that it cannot be gotten from a certain relative just yet. Or perhaps a certain relative, a classificatory mother or one of the real brothers, will not be given a share of the kung mangal, which then becomes a threat to hold over the marriage as long as part of the payment is withheld for whatever reason. Part of this, it seems, is to ensure that the girl or the boy has a way out, if necessary, for the first few months of the marriage, especially if the alliance between the two groups does not work out, if one or the other group does not live up to expectations as far as exchanging is concerned or is not anxious to help the other group in its exchanges with others. Part of it seems to relate to the desire never to complete an exchange, to keep something back so as to keep the exchange route open to further exchange and interaction. Definitely the ideal is delayed exchange, and not only delayed exchange, but also incomplete exchange. Some little item is kept back, or more is given than is strictly required by the, often unexpressed, terms of the exchange, which in turn makes a return exchange desirable if one's reputation is not to suffer.

The boy and girl should not begin having intercourse with one another until all the kung mangal is handed over,

i.e., until all the relatives who have a right to this pork have eaten some of it. As a matter of fact, the boy and girl normally wait for two months or so from the time of the initial handing over of the bride-wealth before they begin living together, but usually they do not wait until the kung mangal is given completely. First of all, as we mentioned above, the Mbowamb deliberately like to keep something back, and this something very often is part of the kung mangal. Then, too, the range of relatives who have rights to some of the kung mangal may be very extensive, so that there comes a time when the girl herself (she ultimately decides if the kung mangal is now finished) declares that all of her relatives who have a right have been given meat. Those who have not eaten yet must just go without. This would be, often, a father's brother or a classificatory mother, perhaps even a real mother's brother. Sometimes a father's brother will himself decline the kung mangal with the excuse that he does not have any pigs to return for the kung mangal. This pork must be returned eventually. Finally, then, the boy and girl decide to begin having intercourse together. The period of waiting gives the girl time to size up her new surroundings, get acquainted better with her in-laws and husband's sisters and husband's brothers' wives. The husband's father will give the girl some sweet-potato gardens to look after; some of the pigs which were part of the return payment will also probably be given her to take care of. The time of waiting also enables the boy and girl to overcome their shyness, which is an outstanding quality of their relationship to this point. Finally they will have their first intercourse, most likely in the bush-area. There is no place of preference for intercourse, certainly not,

for example, in the gardens. They do not normally have intercourse in the houses or at night time, as we indicated above already. This, they feel, would be dangerous for the man. He could never be sure whether his wife is menstruating or not under such circumstances of intimacy, and rather than run the risk of having intercourse with a menstruating woman--an act which would also make the house "cold" or ruin it somehow--they prefer to have their intimacies during the day, outside. Often, no doubt, this norm is set aside, especially during the first months of marriage, when the young couple "begin to work at having a baby," which requires repeated intercourse if it is to accomplish the purpose of impregnating the woman. Very often, during this time, the boy and girl will live by themselves in a pig-house (woman's house) which is often built in a place away from the main living area. A new domestic unit is in the process of being established.

IX

To get a clearer idea of marriage, it will be worthwhile to describe at least one marriage, more or less in its entirety. The specific ceremonies, the speeches given, the numbers and types of pigs cooked vary somewhat from marriage to marriage. The main elements remain; these are the greasing, the initial bride-wealth, the return payment, the kung penal, and the kung mangal. The marriage we will describe adds a few features, which can also be found in other marriages. The marriage we will describe also relates to other social activities which were going on at approximately the same time. It is a favorite device of the Mbowamb to combine various exchanges or ceremonies in order to make a

greater impression on their partners and on bystanders. This can complicate the pattern pertaining to any one of the activities which are taking place, but to the Mbowamb it is not an unwelcome complication. By describing this type of a marriage--and not all of them are so involved with other social activities--one also gets some idea how marriages are interconnected with other exchanges. This is a very important point, it seems to me. Marriage is just another of many other kinds of exchanges, distinctive, to be sure, because of some of the consequences which are specific to the exchange which accompanies, or which is, marriage. The marriage is that of a Kumdi-Engamoi Kopaliga girl, a daughter of the big man of the Engamois whose name is Romakl and whose locality we have mapped in our section dealing with domestic organization above. The girl was about twenty years old when she was sent to a Roglaka boy of about the same age. It was the first marriage for both of them.

There are twelve married or unmarried, but adult, male Roglakas who are considered to be living with the Engamois. One of them has married an Engamoi girl; the others have been given gardens to work and a place to stay because of former kin contacts. The Roglakas have been involved in several movements as the result of fights and defeat in war, the last time in a fight with the Ugunis, another group of Mbowamb living further to the north. With both groups the Engamois have intermarried frequently. Although the Roglakas are well on the way to being assimilated by the Engamois, to the extent that they have been given land and permission to garden these lands, to the extent also that they would no longer be asked to leave. However, the Roglakas still maintain their own identity as a group, still perform exchanges as a group, and still receive

death-compensations as a group. Moreover, the bulk of the Roglakas still have a place which they can call theirs about five hours walk east of Kwinka. Long ago the Roglakas had had a fight with the Kopsis and Remdis, and had been chased off of their ancestral land. Some of them moved in with the Ugunis. Some moved to the east of Kwinka. Some years later the Ugunis and the Roglakas had a fight, and the Roglakas living there were again defeated. It was as a result of this defeat, around the early 1930's, that the Roglakas came to live with some relatives among the Engamois.

Now, in 1964, the Ugunis made an exchange with the Roglakas and gave them pigs and shells by way of a death compensation for the Roglakas who had been killed in this fight. On September 23, 1964, the shells and pigs were finally handed over, after weeks of preparation and other exchanges. Many of the Engamois also were involved in these exchanges, contributing pigs and shells, because many Engamois have married Uguni women and vice versa. For purposes of understanding this marriage, one such connection must be mentioned. The older sister of the bride was married to an Uguni Rebeka man. This man's mother was an Uguni Oiamp Wenting, and this latter group was performing the ampkur, as part of the overall cycle of ceremonies the Ugunis were engaged in, viz., a large moka exchange, with the special planting of the poglam mbo and the shell display house (by the Uguni Ndepints), the death compensation to the Roglakas and to the Uguni Oiamp Andeng (by the Uguni Kaglmi Romints, aided in this by the Enga Rapi, which was a completely assimilated group of Enga people, who no longer spoke Enga as a language, who lived with the Ugunis), and finally the ampkur (by the Uguni Oiamp Wenting and Uguni Oiamp Andeng).

Moreover, to further complicate the picture, some distance from the main territory of the Ugunis live other Ugunis, namely the Uguni Rebekas. They also were in the process of performing the amp kur. The Rebekas, indeed, had split into two groups and were giving two separate amp kurs, because one of the big men of the Uguni Rebekas disagreed with the rest of the Rebekas and went on his own. The Engamois were very involved in this amp kur, furnishing, as they did, the kur mun wua for it, i.e., the men who were the directors of the entire ceremony.

This, then, is the background for the marriage which took place between Mintil and Roglaka Neng. The Roglakas received their shells and pigs from the Ugunis, and there were several Roglaka boys available for marriage. The brother of Neng, for instance, was intending to marry another Engamoi girl, who was an Engamoi Andakil, however, whose father actually was a Moge assimilate. The marriage, therefore, was clearly possible and well within the rules of exogamy, even if the girl had been a patrilineal Engamoi (different manga rapa were involved). This marriage had not taken place yet by the time I left the field.

Because of the known availability of plenty of pay, several girls were sent to the Roglaka locality, one an Enga girl, another a Melpangel, and finally Mintil. A second girl from the Engamoi was supposed to go also, but declined in view of the tremendous rush already. It was confidently stated, however, that Mintil would be the one to remain; she would be chosen. Word came to Romakl through the Roglaka man Kuntil who was already married to an Engamoi girl. He lived near Kwinka with his wife. This man's sister was married to Romakl's brother. However, this Roglaka man and

Neng belonged to a different manga rapa and therefore the rules of exogamy permitted marriage between Mintil and Neng. Had both Neng and Kuntil been of the same manga rapa, the marriage would have been frowned upon, because it is not acceptable to the Mbowamb for the same manga rapa to marry twice into the same smallest structural level of another group. Mintil knew her future husband, having performed the courting dance with him several times. But so did the other girls who were sent to the Roglakas as a possible wife for Neng. Moreover, they too had been sent for along an appropriate road.

On September 29 already, only six days after the Roglakas had received their shells, Mintil was greased and sent. The regular rules were observed in the greasing; a classificatory mother put on the final layers; the ceremony of running the grease down the forehead was performed, and a companion, her half-sister of approximately the same age, went with her to the Roglaka homestead. They left about two o'clock in the afternoon, since the homestead was no great distance from the Kopaliga homestead.

October 5 was the day arranged for the preliminary handing over of the bride-wealth; consequently people began to gather about 11 o'clock in the morning. Mintil's mother is a Puntiga woman, so her Puntiga MB people were also on hand. There were many people present because Mintil's (Romakl's) kinship connections are rather extensive; Mintil had two married sisters, so they and their husbands were present. Then, since it had not yet been decided who would actually be chosen to stay, the Melpangels also were present in expectation that their daughter might be chosen to remain. The Enga girl, in the meantime, had been sent back home.

She was given a pig for her trouble. The Melpangel girl was eventually given an extra shell for her trouble, which was not at all satisfactory to the Melpangels who also wanted a pig. This action on the part of his sons angered the Roglaka father, and repeatedly he stood up during the ceremonies to remark how foolish his sons were, sending for so many girls to come, how costly this was in pigs and shells. However, all this had to wait until the next day to be decided because someone had not brought their shells. One of the Roglakas who lived at Kwinka had to go back for some more shells. Everybody waited for his return until four-thirty o'clock in the afternoon when the ceremonies were postponed until the next day. This is not an unusual occurrence among the Mbowamb.

The next day everybody gathered again, and this time the shells and pigs were all displayed. The number of shells offered was satisfactory. There were thirty-two shells, plus the kin ndaka, or the shell which would be returned for the large one worn by the bride when she first came to the husband's place. This would be given later. There were only twelve pigs. Romakl wanted fifteen pigs. This was followed by discussion on both sides. At such a marriage ceremony, the girl's group and the boy's group tend to sit off to themselves. Those most intimately involved, the father of the boy or girl, the brothers and father's brothers (not so conspicuously the MB people) tend to sit off by themselves and carry on the real business of how many shells they want, how many they will return, who is to get them, etc., in a whispering voice, while one of their number will be making a speech, counting off the shells, telling the couple to stay together properly, and so on.

Finally, the tultul asked Mintil if she wanted to stay with the boy, and she said "yes." Then they asked the boy, who had been sleeping inside the house during all the foregoing proceedings as a result of a night of card-playing, and he said "yes." This meant that the Melpangel girl had to be "bought off" as it were. They offered back her kin rumbukeba, the shell which she wore coming to the boy's house, plus two other shells. The Melpangels said "no," that they wanted a pig. At this point several Roglakas got up and made angry speeches at themselves for calling so many girls to come. They were especially angry with a man named Ngai who had carried the talk to the Enga girl. The Melpangels, in anger, finally left without accepting the shells which were offered to them. The girl's father, however, wanted to accept, but the others said no. Before he left, the girl's father told Romakl that he should give them the shells. These two shells were later added to Romakl's, with the idea that he would eventually give them to the Melpangel girl's father. The number of shells actually handed over therefore went up to thirty-four.

The interest then turned back to the pigs, at which point a Roglaka man, who lives very close to Kwinka, who is obviously, therefore, very indebted to them, and, I might add, a good friend of the Engamois in general, stood up and accused the Roglakas in general of being very "rubbish" and poor, spending their time with lucky rather than doing right by their friends. He himself would add three pigs to the total, one now and two later when they all returned to Kwinka.

This, again, is a typical technique of the Mbowamb when they give their speeches and make their exchanges. No doubt they intended all along to give that many pigs.

First of all, they would try to get by with fewer, and when this did not work, the one of them would make a point of stressing his own generosity, contrasting it with everybody else's meanness, thereby adding prestige to himself and eventually also to the Roglakas in general, who finally did give so many pigs and so many shells.

Everything was therefore satisfactory and the shells and pigs were distributed by the Engamois. This was done here at the first bride-wealth by the girl's FB. In the marriages I witnessed, I did not notice any specific pattern emerging with respect to who takes care of most of the arrangements, divides the shells, makes the important speeches, etc. If there is a real brother who is old enough--which would mean about thirty, married with at least one child--he would probably take care of it; other times a FB, as in this case. Sometimes the father takes care of it; in any case he has much to say in the distribution of the shells and pork. This sort of business is all decided as they whisper together and in the many conversations they have had over these matters in their homes before the marriage ever reached this stage. The shells and pigs were distributed in the following way. Added are the comments which indicate some of the reasons why the shells were distributed in this way; indicated also is the return which had to be made, where this is pertinent.

SHELLS

Opi (FB) 7: to be used to make a moka with his "MBS."¹ He only gives 7 shells, because he gave one already before.

Ketigla (FB) 3: to be used for a moka with his "B," an Engamoi man of a different manga rapa. Ketigla gave one shell as return.

¹The terms in quotation marks are classificatory terms. The EGO is always Mintil, the bride.

Koa (FB) 2: he has to return one for the return pay.

Mintils ZH 1: this he kept.

Mintils other ZH 2: this is an Uguni man and he used these shells when the Ugunis had their shell exchange on the occasion of the amp kur which came after this.

Wai (MZS) 1: he gave this shell to his M people because they had given him a pig once. It was part payment.

Koi (half-B) 1: this is to be kept by him for the time he buys his own wife. This man had already been married, but the girl had left him, and the pay had been returned. He had to give a shell for the return pay.

Mendi (FB-in-law) 1.

Mak (half-B) 1: he gave this shell to an Engapin girl, his MZD. He owed this to her as a debt.

Piya (MB) 1.

Teu (FZH) 1.

El ("B") 1: he gave this to his WB.

Kengal (MB) 1.

Puglum ("FZS") 1. The Kopaligas were giving pigs to this man's group on the occasion of the return pay as well as making the return pay. The Remdi's, of which this man was one, were performing their own ceremony at this time and were using any pigs or shells they received for this purpose. See below for more details on the exchange of pigs.

Rumba (FF-in-law) 1.

Ware (F of the Melpangel girl) 1.

Parlt (half-Z) 1. Given to her Witika husband.

Guri (the Engamois tultul, who asked the girl and boy if they wanted each other) 1: He used this to make a moka with the Elpugumps, who used the shells as a death compensation to the Engamoi Popage. For these shells, he got, among other things, a pig, which he intended to use for a funeral exchange, but which ran away and was presumably stolen and eaten.

Mel ("B") 1.

Romakl (F) 3. One he returned, two he is keeping in his house for his son's impending wedding. This son is Koi (see above).

These were all the shells which were distributed at this time. The two shells which were added for the Mel-pangels were not really added. Also the large return shell was kept back, consistent with what was said above about the tendency of the Mbowamb never really to complete an exchange entirely, especially a marriage exchange. The pigs were divided as follows.

PIGS

Mintil 2: given for the wife, i.e., are not returned. They "die long meri." One of these was given to MZ, married to a Nengka.

Rok (M) 1.

Menti (Z) 1. This is used by her Uguni husband for the amp kur.

Puts (Z) 1.

Mapa (half-Z) 1: she accompanied her to Roglaka homestead.

Ketigla (FB) 1.

Buri (half-B) 1. He was taken care of by Mintil's mother when his own mother died.

Buri's F-in-law 1. I gathered that they owed this pig to him from the time of Buri's marriage about two or more years before.

Kongkuba (FW) 1. This would be taken care of for her son, Koi, who would soon be getting married.

Pen (half-Z) 1.

One was set aside to be killed and eaten when the kung penal was brought in. This was clearly in anticipation of the large crowd of spectators which were expected then. Consequently this extra pig was killed that everybody might get a little pork.

This made twelve pigs. The others were not present, therefore they were not distributed.

A total of 15 pounds in money was distributed:

MONEY

Five pounds to myself. I had been adopted by Romakl and therefore I was entitled to some of the pay as a "B." I returned five pounds to the return bride-wealth.

Romakl (F) five pounds. He returned five pounds.

On (MB): one pound.

Buri (half-B) two pounds.

Opiy (MB) one pound.

Romakl (F) one pound which he kept.

This was the pay which was given, and this is the mode of distribution. By way of a return pay, the following therefore was returned.

Four shells.

Ten pounds of money.

Six pigs, the source of which were the following: Rok (M) 2; Ketigla (FB) 1; Ments (Z) 1; Opiy (FB) 1; MZ (the same who received a pig) 1.

There was one added complication to the return payment. At this time the Engamois gave the same Roglakas to whom Mintil had gone a wue ombil or "man's forehead BONE," which is an exchange, or a gift, which will eventually demand a return gift, more precisely a wua peng, or a death compensation. Six pigs were given, with the understanding that two more pigs would be given later. The sources of these pigs were: Opiy (FB) 2; Ketigla (FB) 2; Romakl (F) 1; Raima (FB) 1. This gift of pigs had no real connection with the marriage. We notice moreover that the pigs came from the four brothers who made up the core of this social level, the Kopaligas. It was connected with the marriage in order to make a greater showing. Years before the Roglakas had killed an Engamoi. Indeed the details of the death were

not clear to anyone whom I could question about it. It seemed that it was not even a Kopaliga who was killed. This incident, in other words, was nothing but an excuse to initiate another exchange relationship at this time. Eventually the Roglakas would reciprocate with a wua peng, such as had recently been given them by the Ugunis. Presumably they had also at one time given a wua ombil to the Ugunis initiating the exchange.

One pig was killed by the Roglakas and brought in as the kung penal which was distributed together with the pig which was set aside and killed by the Engamois. This kung penal is added to the total number of pigs which is given for a wedding payment. Therefore, the number of pigs which were given to the Engamois was thirteen. The Roglaka man who lived close to the Engamois had said he would give them two pigs later. This brought the total of pigs up to fifteen, the number which was acceptable to the Engamois as a fair enough wedding payment. Note that the Engamois, in making the wua ombil, gave only six, with the proviso that they would later give two more to make the total eight. Eight is one of the common units of exchange. The Engamois gave as the excuse for holding back two pigs the point that they had just given the Remdis a gift of pigs (a kik kapa or "shaking off the dust and ashes" exchange, made in connection with a death), and therefore they were now short of pigs. By tracing who got shells and pigs, we also get some insight into the reasons why some got more and what they had to return in the place of the goods they received. Opiy, for example, got the most shells. But he also had to give several pigs. Koi got one shell and one pig. Therefore, he had to give a shell for the return pay. Rok had to give

three pigs, although she only got one. Her daughter, however, received two pigs to look after. The emphasis, it seems, is to keep things as equitable as possible, unless there are some debts to be paid. The mother's people often have to return part of what they have received for the return pay. In this case they returned nothing. However, they did not receive too much either; more especially, they did not receive any pigs, which are quite the most important aspect of any marriage exchange.

The next phase of the wedding ceremony is the kung mangal, the pig which is eaten in private by the close relatives of the bride. This pork, as we stated above, must be returned sometime. The sources of this pork and the sources of the return pork are many and various. It need not be a special pig or series of pigs which are killed and then brought to the girl's people. Wherever one receives a leg or a half-side of pork, this can in turn be given to the wife's people as part of the kung mangal, and the return pork can likewise come from a variety of sources. The same pork, however, should not be used twice in the same ceremony.

This kung mangal is given over a period of time, and it is very difficult to say just when it is finished. If one asks any of those who are to eat of it, very often they say that it is over and finished. But several days later another leg of pork is brought in, and it turns out to be some more kung mangal. Or one of those who have the right to eat of this pig say that they have given up their right to it, because they do not have a pig to return at this time. Again, a few weeks later they may be given a pig; it proves to be kung mangal. Only whole pigs should be returned. Legs of pigs or half-sides (which are two legs) need not be

returned. It seems, however, that they are returned sooner or later. This relates to the way in which the Mbowamb give their "gifts." Always it is phrased in terms of just gift-giving, that no recompense is sought, that it is up to the receivers if they want to return or not. The gift itself, however, seems to carry the obligation of a return "gift." This phenomenon has been described at some length already by Mauss in The Gift.

This, then, is as much of the kung mangal of this wedding which we are describing in some detail as I could trace, as well as the returns which had been made to date. The sources of the various legs of pigs are also indicated to show how these exchanges relate to many other social activities which are going on at the same time.

On October 17 the Remdis killed their pigs as part of the ceremony which they were performing around this time. Both the Roglakas and the Engamois have relatives there and were helping them with their ceremony. Consequently, both groups also received legs of pork from the Remdis on this occasion of their pig-killing.

On October 18 Mintil brought up the first of her kung mangal. This was given to her Z, to Ketigla (FB), a small pig each; to Raima (FB) and Mapa (half-Z) a leg each. Before this date a pig had also been given to her other Z, Mants. One leg of this was returned when the Ugunis concluded their amp kur (December 28-30). The leg was given to Mintil's husband. On October 18, Raima, Ketigla, Koi, and Mapa each gave a leg of the pork which they had received just the day before from the Remdis. Raima had to get his leg from his WZH (an Engapin man). The next day when the Kopaligas re-cooked and distributed all the pork they had

received (from the Remdis, from the mangal (and one pig of Koi's which was sick and had died), he returned a leg to his WZH.

On October 20 Mintil brought a leg of pork to her half-B's wife. This leg was given to the Roglaka by the Remdis. Two Roglakas, living at Kwinka, also killed pigs (the ones received from the Ugunis in the death compensation) and they each gave a leg to Mintil to give as kung mangal. One leg went to the local "dokta-boi" or native medical assistant, who had before given Mintil and her sister Mapa a pound of money each. One leg was given to Opiy (FB).

On October 24 Mintil brought a leg of pork to Ui (FW), her "mother." This leg came from Krai, an Engamoi of a different manga rapa, who had lived for some time with his mother's people (the Enga). These mother's people had just celebrated the opening of a new store in their area, and Krai had been given a leg of pig. Krai's wife, however, is a Roglaka, of the same manga rapa as Mintil's husband. He, therefore, gave the leg to his brother-in-law, who gave it to Mintil to give as kung mangal.

On November 14 she gave a leg to Kewa ("B"). The Engamoi Etimps (another manga rapa of the Engamois) had a peng ndi or a distribution of pork as a mortuary distribution-exchange. On November 12 they gave a leg to the Roglakas who gave it to Mintil as kung mangal. Kewa gave the leg of pig he received at the Etimp's peng ndi to the Roglakas as a return.

On November 19 Mintil brought a leg to her father, Romakl. He had refused to accept any pork until this time, under the pretense that he had no pig to return. Mintil's husband's mother had (re)married an Uguni Kaglmi man when

her Roglaka husband had died. The Ugunis killed pig, and she gave a leg to the Roglakas, who gave it to Mintil for kung mangal. I had no record that Mintil's MB or his group had received any kung mangal. Other kung mangal, not of this marriage, which I could at least partially trace out did not mention the MB either. It would seem that he is not entitled to any of this pork; but if his group lives close by, or there are particularly close relations with him, it is very likely that he or his group will also share in the kung mangal.

Sometime after the kung mangal is finished, or when the girl herself considers it finished, at least temporarily, then the boy and girl begin living together. Perhaps the husband's group has no more pigs just at present, or have them designated for some other purpose, intending to finish the kung mangal during some up-coming ceremony or other exchange. When the girl, and it is hers to decide, considers it finished or sufficient, then she decides also that it is time for intercourse to begin. By now the two are somewhat used to each other. The girl is accustomed to her new surroundings and is beginning to feel at home. One day, therefore, they will make arrangements to consummate the marriage in some bush area surrounding the fields and living area. Formerly all girls wore a band of bark fiber around their leg, just below the knee. When the marriage was first consummated, this band was removed as a mark of the fact. This band, however, was very discouraged by the native medical assistants as well as by the government, because it led very often to severe infections and disfiguration as a result of constriction, so nowadays scarcely anyone wears the band anymore. There is no real way to tell a married woman from an unmarried one.

X

Before moving on to the kinship relations established by marriage and a description of the continued relationship between the husband and wife, we might make several conclusions on the basis of our description of a typical marriage. As in many other places, the marriage is obviously a group affair. The couple immediately involved in the marriage, indeed, are for the most part ignored. Their desires are ascertained; they are asked very solemnly whether they wish to remain with their prospective spouse, but beyond that they themselves take no seeming interest in the proceedings and definitely not in each other. In the speeches which accompany a marriage, the topic centers around the pay or the exchange which is in progress. Old debts are brought up again, the amount of bride-wealth and return is openly discussed and distributed. In many ways each group is concerned to achieve a maximum of bride-wealth, or of return. They prefer, at any rate, an impressive showing of shells and pigs, even if many of them are not actually intended for the bride-wealth itself. In commenting on the amount of pay which was involved, the Mbowamb speak of giving fifty things for their wife. This merely states how many items were involved in globo in the bride-wealth, the return, the various pigs, etc., which changed hands. For them, this impressive amount of pay was the bride-wealth, and the bigger they can make it sound, the more they are impressed, the more the girl herself is flattered that she commanded such a bride-wealth the happier she is for her own group who were involved in such an eminent display, and the better the chance of the marriage continuing. Yet, when the exchange is complete, no one feels

that they have come out ahead of the other group. The emphasis here seems to be again on equality. No one group, e.g., the wife-givers, feels inferior or superior. Each group goes off telling themselves how they came out ahead. Where this is not the case, as, for example, where a girl elopes with a boy, and gives his group a chance to skimp on a bride-wealth due to her own anxiety, then there is grumbling and dissatisfaction. The return pay will also be much less. The speeches and ceremonies at any stage begin towards late morning when everybody has had time to gather, and continue until middle or late afternoon, when someone usually suggests that they all get on with it, because it is going to rain soon (even though the sky may be clear) or because it is getting dark now. And the main gist of the speeches is always the amount of bride-wealth, the point that two groups are now joined together and will help each other, expressions of general satisfaction with the pay, excuses that it is so small, but that it will be made up later when such-and-such a group make their exchange, occasional reference also to the girl and some of her duties and the duties of the boy and his group to the girl who is now coming to live with them.

The girl herself very definitely enters into the negotiations and becomes part of the bride-wealth return itself. For this reason the return is so much less than the original bride-wealth itself, and the Mbowamb themselves say this. They do not normally specify much further than this, however, by saying, for example, that the boy's group are buying her reproductive ability or her ability to work gardens and feed her husband and other members of his group. The payment is sometimes phrased in terms of repaying the

parents and their group for taking care of the girl and raising her properly. Sex rights over the girl are very definitely involved, however, in the transaction. The whole wedding ceremony is conducted very publicly so that there is no mistake whatsoever to whom the girl now belongs, to what individual or to what group she goes as a wife. Her own group has already long given up the girl as far as sexual rights to her are concerned; this is achieved by the very accurate and well-observed rules of exogamy imposed on the group. These must be transferred. There is no one ceremony, however, that I could discover which symbolized this transfer. No ceremony, for example, of eating together, or being carried over ritually to her husband's group. There is the custom of her carrying the pork from her husband's group. This is done both at the Kung penal and mangal, but this symbolizes her position now as an intermediary between the two groups; she forms the link between the two groups who are newly in an exchange relationship. Just as there is no special ceremony indicating the transfer of these sexual rights, so there is no special time set aside for the first intercourse. It is up to the two individuals, especially the girl herself. If she does not feel ready, or if she feels that her own group has not yet received the proper amount of pay, for example if her husband's group has not yet returned the very special shell which she carried with her when she first came in her layers of grease, then she will likely withhold her favors, and the boy will scarcely have grounds for complaint. Nevertheless, it remains clear precisely to whom these sexual rights belong, and, on the basis of my own observations and questionings, adultery is a fairly rare occurrence.

If the husband dies, the woman is expected to remain in his group and marry one of the deceased's agnates. Very often this will be a man of another manga rapa, but someone of the same general level, e.g., an Engamoi. If this were the case, as we noted above, the new husband would give a pig to the immediate agnates of the deceased, who would eat the pork and call it settled. Yet here also the woman would retain an amount of free choice. If she insisted on going elsewhere, or returning to her own home to live with a brother, her wishes would be heeded. Not to do so, if the woman were insistent, would only lead to greater complications. Whether there would be any return or transfer of bride-wealth in such a situation would depend on many other factors, e.g., the age of the woman, whether she remarried somewhere else, whether she had any children and where the children remained, etc. However, the first claim on the woman is the group of the deceased, and this claim is pressed strongly and usually successfully. After all, as they say, we have paid for her; we have given a lot of bride-wealth; she has eaten pork here (with added implications that she has been given gardens here, has pigs to look after, etc.); therefore, she should remain with our group.

Here again, it seems to me, we have the dialectic between the group and the individual. To understand finally just what course will be taken, one must consider both the individual reference as well as the group reference. To emphasize one without taking into account the other can easily give us a distorted picture of Mbowamb society and social activity.

Part of the individual woman's freedom no doubt stems from the point that she never really becomes fully

incorporated into her husband's group. She is always welcome back home, and there she will always be taken care of. She will be given gardens to work, a home to live in. When pork is distributed, she will be given some to eat, and this is the case even if she continues to live with her husband. She will be welcome to visit her home whenever she wants, and when special occasions seem to warrant it, she will be invited to do so. She may even continue to garden in her own area, provided she lives close enough to her home to make it feasible. Many women actually keep gardens in both places, her own and her husband's, and the woman brings food from the one to the other. This, however, would be done with her husband's and brother's consent, at least tacit. Distance would seem to be the main factor determining whether a woman will keep up gardens in two places in this fashion, with land-availability only a very secondary factor. Even if she does not continue to work gardens in her own area, she still always has some claim to gardens there, as do also her children who then claim gardens from the mother's brother. The husband, of course, would not object to his wife's working a garden in her brother's place. He does not stand to lose much, whereas he, or his group eventually, might gain.

That a woman does not give up her affiliation in her own group is also brought out in time of sickness. When a woman gets sick, very likely, especially in the early years of her marriage, she will go to her own place to recuperate, especially if it is a lingering kind of illness, such as a low-grade case of malaria. Here, she feels, she is more likely to recover. Here she has her roots, as it were, her relatives, her ancestors, those who have to care for her.

Often a woman goes back home because of some quarrel with her husband; she might do this under pretense of being sick. This means her husband must look after himself, and dig out his own sweet potato, unless a sister or his mother or a brother's wife will take care of the task for him. But they, too, will soon tire of this extra burden and begin to put pressure on the boy to get his wife back. If the pay has been duly given and all the appropriate returns made, then the girls' group itself will put pressure on the girl to go back to her husband's place, especially if there does not really seem to be any serious reason for not doing so. Quarrels husbands and wives do have, but in these ways, with these pressures on them to get along together, they usually are able to settle their differences and make a happy life together for themselves. If the personalities of the husband and wife are similar and they feel drawn to each other in love, the culture permits sufficient opportunity to express this love. If, however, they never really develop a close relationship, the culture also is such that they need see very little of each other actually and still maintain a satisfactory domestic life together. For this reason also both kinds of marriage, the love-marriage where the boy and girl choose each other right from the beginning, and the pre-arranged marriage where the choice is almost exclusively with the group, have an equal chance of succeeding. The structure of domestic relationships especially is such that both types can be tolerated and found workable, even with the woman retaining her autonomy as an individual and as a member of her own natal group.

Marriage, therefore, is a group affair primarily, in which a woman is transferred as part of the material of exchange. However, the marriage exchange is somewhat unique

as an exchange for several reasons. A woman is obviously a different sort of commodity than a shell or pigs. The husband's group gets this woman who brings along her reproductive faculties which will be used for the benefit of the husband's group. The child of a marriage is not like the woman who is transferred in a marriage. The child becomes a member of his father's group through the principle of patri-lineal descent and co-residence. Only under certain circumstances would he take up residence with his MB people or some other related group, and then it would be because the child himself so decides, not because the other group has any rights over the child in the sense that they can make him come live with them, help them in their contributions and other work, etc. An individual has rights in various groups, especially in his own natal group and in his MB group, but only one group, as such, has prior rights over him, namely his natal group. Once he takes up residence with his MB group, this group also gets rights over him. The woman, however, remains a member of her own natal group essentially; her child is jurally a member of the father's group, and only at his own desire does he move to his MB group and become a member there. These rights, as we have indicated, come primarily through the mother and because of her sibling bond with her brother. For the sake of this bond, the MS can always expect aid and land from his MB group.

Marriage, therefore, adds a new dimension to exchange in that it helps perpetuate the social group itself. It also differs from other exchanges in that it creates a new partnership between groups. Other exchanges take place between existing alliances which have been established on other grounds. These grounds, in the majority of cases,

would be a prior marriage, but in some instances might be another kind of basis, e.g., a fight with that other group, which results in a prolonged exchange of shells and pigs as we have stated so often above. But even death-compensations would only occur between groups who were somehow related either as belonging to one and the same exogamous group, or as being interrelated through some marriage ties. Marriage, therefore, is the main mechanism by means of which a new group is brought into the exchange cycle. It is not, it should not be, a re-affirmation of an existing alliance. The rules of exogamy forbid this. There is, therefore, no prescribed rule of endogamy which states that one must marry into such or such a kinship category or in such and such a geographical direction or with an enemy group only. We stated above that the direction of change in the terminological system was

NON-KINSMEN	AFFINES	CROSS-RELATIVES
CROSS RELATIVES		PARALLEL RELATIVES.
PARALLEL RELATIVES		

The direction is not reversible. One does not go from cross relatives to affines. Marriage puts two groups into connection who were not in an alliance before. In that sense, then, it is a prototype of other alliance groups, i.e., of groups which exchange with each other. As long as the exchange continues between the two groups, newly joined through the marriage or through the transfer of the unique commodity of a woman, there will be no further marriages between the two groups. In the second and third descending generations, the bond becomes a different kind of bond, as we saw from our discussion of the kinship terminology.

A eminent value of the Mbowamb, as I see it, is to be on good social terms with as many different groups as possible. One seeks to maximize one's social contacts because the number of one's social contacts relates to one's

prestige, since exchange with many different groups is one major means of achieving prestige and position; it makes more exchanges possible because by maximizing one's effective range of social contacts, one has access to more shells. If one's contacts are fairly restricted to one's own group, then one must seek shells and pigs here. This source will soon become exhausted for me. Moreover, one could not make as great an impression or as outstanding an exchange if one only had one's own group to draw on for the means to make an exchange. Normally they would all be making exchanges at the same time, and all would be looking for the same shells and pigs. Also, brothers-in-law are like brothers in that they are helpful, ready to give aid, also in time of war. Or if a war develops between two groups, if one has a brother-in-law in that group or some other relative, the war will not be so disastrous for the one who has relatives on the other side. Marriage, with all these benefits, is therefore very important to the Mbowamb.

Marriage is an exchange, a social exchange, not a strictly economic one, to use Blau's distinction (Blau 1964:93). Even though material goods are transferred, thus relating somewhat to extrinsic benefits, still one of the commodities which enter into the exchange is transferred for intrinsic reasons as well. This is the woman. Also there is no specified gift or return-gift as there normally is in a specifically economic exchange. The bride-wealth and the return is left up to the individuals who are engaged in the exchange. The rates are not clear-cut, but vary. Moreover, the exchange is not accomplished at once, and once and for all. There is always a lapse of time. This lapse of time, to be sure, is multi-functional. It gives the girl and boy a chance to get used to each other, as we have indicated,

but it also testifies to the social nature of the exchange which is being made. Mauss makes much of this aspect of gift-giving and exchange, for example. This is the situation with every exchange among the Mbowamb. They are protracted. Moreover, a recipient cannot be forced to repay, at least not directly. This also holds good for all the exchanges which the Mbowamb engage in, not only marriage. If the two groups want the series of exchanges to continue, if they want to remain on good terms, i.e., on exchanging terms, with the new group with which they are now in contact, then each side must honor its obligations and make their exchanges satisfactory to the other party. And the Mbowamb want to keep up an exchange relationship. Again, keeping something back serves this purpose, as well as an excuse for having the girl come back home if necessary. As long as the whole return has not been made, the exchange channels remain open as it were. This would certainly relate nicely to what Blau says: "Social bonds are fortified by remaining obligated to others as well as by trusting them to discharge their obligations for considerable periods" (Blau 1964:99).

The norm of reciprocity makes repayment possible, and in such circumstance the fact that something is kept back, or that more is given as is normally the case in every exchange, is one way of continuing an exchange relationship. Marriage, as an exchange, is somewhat different in this respect from other exchanges. The bride-wealth-return-pay transaction is considered fairly equalized. The kung mangal creates the possibility of giving and returning more than is equal, but in marriage other mechanisms exist to keep the exchange groups in contact and the exchanges going. There is the continued presence of the woman who maintains one

foot in each group, as it were. Then also, recurrently throughout the course of the marriage, exchanges are renewed again between the groups, e.g., at the birth of the first child, at various stages of the life-cycle, e.g., marriage of the child and at the death of the woman or child. Then, too, whenever one of the groups is performing a ceremony, it receives help from its affinal groups; it also distributes pork to its affinal groups. In this way the exchanges continue, even though equality seems to be established in the very initial exchange on the occasion of the marriage itself. Further discussion of this sort would lead us to a further discussion of the notion of power and the power-relations established between groups and within groups as the one result of exchange. This is not the place for such an extended discussion.

However, in this connection one must repeat and make it clear that the Mbowamb do not conceive of an exchange relationship as being an unequal one, that one of the two exchanging groups becomes sub-ordinate and the other super-ordinate, that exchange itself can be used to achieve power over others. Through exchanges one can achieve prestige, one can demonstrate one's ability to command others to a degree; therefore, one will also achieve some measure of control over others, but others different from the group with which one exchanges. An example of what I mean would be the following. Romakl, the representative of the Kopaligas, concludes an exchange, e.g., the marriage of his daughter Mintil, with another group, the Roglakas. He continues to make other exchanges with this group now that the channels have been opened. This does not give him any power over the Roglaka group into which his daughter married, or vice versa.

At any one point in time the Roglakas may be under some obligation to Romakl and the Kopaligas or the other way around, the Kopaligas may temporarily be under obligation to the Roglakas. But this does not give the one group any real power over the other or cast one group in a subordinate role. Through the obligations engendered, the exchanges are assured for the future, a situation desired by both groups. By making many of these exchanges however, and carrying them off in a striking way, Romakl does achieve prestige in his own group. He has, after all, demonstrated his organizing ability; he has been able to mobilize the help of others. He has reflected prestige on the whole group of Kopaligas. Consequently, when he gives his opinion on other matters, he will be listened to more readily than to another. In this way he achieves a position of influence in his own group. Moreover, he represents the Kopaligas in matters related to all the Engamois. When there is question of preparing a ceremony in common or settling a dispute which crosses the borders of social groups, his influence will again be manifest. In this sense he achieves power also in his larger group. He can mobilize resources for whatever purpose; marriage, exchange, warfare. Consequently, his opinion will be sought and followed. By interrelating, therefore, with many groups by means of exchanges, he achieves a measure of power and influence, not over the groups with which he exchanges so much, but within his own group and at different levels of social structure. As far as the two groups involved in any exchange are concerned, both consider themselves equal. Both sides leave from an exchange telling themselves how they came out on top, if only because they were exceedingly generous, while the other group proved to

be niggardly and "rubbish." This is also true of the marriage exchange. No group conceives of itself as superior to the other.

One can distinguish the wife-giving group and the wife-taking group, but only after the marriage arrangements have been completed, not before then in the sense that one knows what group or series of groups one will marry with. One cannot, however, distinguish the groups in terms of superiority-inferiority or on any other scale of differential power-relations. No one group feels dependent on another group as far as receiving a wife is concerned or for the bride-wealth, which then would be used for getting a wife. As our description of marriage indicates, a group does not use the bride-wealth received for a daughter-sister to get a wife for a son-brother. The bride-wealth is put into the general stream of exchanges which are constantly under way, indicating again the general nature of marriage as just another exchange. One can distinguish wife-givers from wife-takers only in the sense that one takes wives only from the pool of non-kinsmen. Therefore, all non-kinsmen are "wife-givers" in a potential sense. When an actual marriage has taken place, then this group becomes a wife-giving group relative to the group to which their sister-daughter has gone. Marriage has differential effects on various levels of social structure as we shall see later under our discussion of exogamy.

Every individual mbowua considers himself the equal of anyone else, including Europeans, and the group of which he is a part as the equal of any other group, as far as he is concerned. Distinctions are made between groups, to be sure, but on other grounds, e.g., grounds of common descent,

or exogamy or kinship, or language difference, or difference of customs in general, etc. Groups may be different, but still equals as far as power-relations between the two are concerned. This does not, of course, hold as far as powers of coercion are concerned. One group may be obviously inferior to another group as far as an ability to make war and defend oneself is concerned. But this would be extrinsic to the relationship itself and to the value of equality as it exists for the Mbowamb.

Exchanges in general among the Mbowamb are very numerous, very multi-functional, and of different kinds. Marriage, however, is one of these exchanges, and is unique in that it puts two groups into a relationship which makes further exchanges between them possible, two groups who were not in such a relationship before the marriage. It is not the amount of bride-wealth which changes hands which makes the marriage stable. The continued relationship between the two groups, especially the exchange relationships between them, is what stabilizes the marriage. The Mbowamb do not want to destroy extant exchange channels; therefore, the marriage should continue. Then, too, the marriage quickly becomes involved very quickly with other exchanges extrinsic to the marriage itself, as we saw clearly from our description from Mintil's marriage. The shells are immediately given to an exchange partner, who gives them, in turn, to his exchange partner, or adds them to the group exchange which occurs on the occasion of a ceremony.

It is this scatter of bride-wealth, and the return pay, which greatly helps stabilize the marriage. Once the pay is scattered, it becomes very difficult to collect it again--and as much as possible the same shells and pigs,

often, of course, impossible since they will be already killed, must be returned if a marriage does not work out properly. For this reason, the girl's group will put great pressure on her to remain with her husband, once the first series of transactions have been completed, and the boy's group will do likewise. Few individuals would insist in the face of such groups odds, although it is sometimes done. And finally, the autonomy of the individual will win out, as far as my own experience in the field is concerned. Rarely, however, is the rift between a husband and wife so great that they will split up in the face of such opposition. After a few years, therefore, the marriage becomes very stable.

We shall have more to say on the group nature of marriage when we discuss the rules of exogamy. We shall also return to the position of the woman in her husband's group when we consider the status of woman in general, and especially her more specific relationship with her husband. At this point, therefore, we can proceed to a more detailed description of the bonds of the relationships which any marriage establishes.

CHAPTER VIII

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM: THE SYSTEM OF AFFINITY

Marriage, as we have just described it, puts two groups, hitherto unrelated, into a relationship; these new bonds of connection are symbolized and summarized in the affinal kinship terminology and behavior which develops between the members of the groups involved. In this section, therefore, we take up the question of the affinal kinship, both the terminology briefly and the behavior more at length. In some instances it will amount to only a summary of what has already been dealt with elsewhere in this dissertation.

I

We have already discussed the main features of the kinship terminology, and what we have said there holds also for the affinal terminology. There is the perfect reciprocity again, which we noticed with the consanguineal kinship terminology. There is also the emphasis on the cross-relationships which are set apart by special terms, viz., *kömin* and *mönin* and even, in some sense, *kuglum*. The terms are not generally distinguished by sex, except for the two terms *mönin*, which only refers to females, and is only used by females, and the term *kuglum*, which only refers to males and is only used by males. Another striking term is the one

mentioned already, for that mother-in-law, female-speaker, which is *api*. This is only used by the female in this connection (the male uses the term for his MBW and for his FM and MM, as we saw above, as does also the female-speaker). The term itself, as such, is not restricted to any particular sex since it can refer to HZS and HZD. This term is used here by the female speaker, it seems to me, because the content of this relationship designated by this term is similar to the other relationships symbolized by this same term, i.e., it is a warm relationship, one of mutual aid, not one of taboo. The *api* designates a person with whom one can be on close terms. Therefore, there is no taboo extant between the daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law. As a matter of fact, they are generally very close, often sleep for some time in the same house, work together in the gardens, often tend each other's gardens. They substitute for each other if one is menstruating, taking turns giving food to the male members of their respective families. The mother-in-law often takes care of her daughter-in-law's children, which is also an *api* relationship. One might perhaps say that the identification of mother and child, in this case, carries over also in the terminology between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, but I would rather refer it to the content of the relationship. The people known as *api* tend to act in a similar fashion, therefore. Mother and child, for example, are not so identified with respect to the father-in-law, since the daughter-in-law calls the father-in-law by the term *kudlpam*, although more frequently she can and will call him by his own name. There is no taboo existing between a father-in-law and his daughter-in-law although the term *kudlpam* is primarily used for a taboo

relationship as we shall see below when we discuss taboos among the Mbowamb more in detail. The terms mōnin and kuglum are parallel terms, differentiated according to the speaker's and referent's sex, the female-speaker using mōnin for her HZ and the male-speaker using kuglum for his WB (also ZH). The content of the relationships are roughly similar. They are a relationship of mutual aid and helpfulness, not tabooed, with general good-will existing between them. The woman often works with her mōnin in the gardens, at least until the HZ gets married and moves away. Often the HZ will be taking care of her child (i.e., the child's ata), serving as a surrogate mother. Again the two can readily substitute for each other in giving the husband, respectively brother, his food if one of the two is menstruating. Very often, also, it will be the mōnin's gardens which the woman will get; i.e., the sister's gardens are given to her brother's wife.

The kuglum relationship is also one of helpfulness and aid, mutual trust and warmth. These two are very quick to exchange shells and pigs, and help each other make as impressive a distribution as possible. This, of course, as we have seen above in our description of marriage as an institution, relates very closely to the marriage which brought the two of them in contact in the first place. We shall see below, however, that there is some ambivalence about this relationship.

The kōmim relationship is somewhat different. It would seem to partake of the nature of a direct affinal bond in that it seems to relate to the possibility of taking the kōmim as a spouse, or in looking on her/him somewhat as a spouse. Consider male-EGO. He calls his agnatic brother's

wife by the same term as he uses for his own wife. Consider his kōmim's husband. He calls this man by the same term he uses for his own brother. The same holds true for the female-EGO. The kōmim seems to be linked somehow with the spouse. In the case of the female-EGO, the actual linkage of the two would not be far removed from the realm of possibility. If her husband dies, the one who would have first claim to her by right of widow-inheritance would be her husband's brother, or her kōmim. As kōmim, however, there is no possibility of marriage, since one would not want to reduplicate marriages in the same group. One must first wait until one's spouse dies. In that case also one might possibly marry a wife's sister. This interpretation is consistent with the terms used for the children of the kōmim also; which are the terms used for son and daughter.

That the kōmim is looked upon as similar to kuglum (i.e., affinal?) and that the kōmim is further somehow identified with "spouse" is indicated also in other uses of these terms. We noted above in our consanguineal chart that there was some confusion with respect to the terms used for MBSW and FZSW, the former sometimes called kōmim, the latter sometimes called amp (m.s.), whereas the MBDH and FZDH are both called kuglum. The kurpel are identified. Therefore, the terms for kōmim and amp are also somewhat identified, as are the terms for kōmim and kuglum. Finally, Strauss (1962:100) says that the terms for direct address to a kōmim is amp and wua, i.e., "woman-man" or better, "husband-wife."

Another point to bring out in general, with respect to the affinal kinship terminology, is the limited extent of the range of the affinal kinship terms. The natives very

quickly become confused when pressed to give names to more distant affinal kin. If the extensions refer to people of the same smallest level of social structure, they can easily extend the proper terms to them. On the first ascending generation, however, they recognize the spouse's parents, perhaps the parents-in-law's immediate siblings, but that would be the extent of their recognition. Even the mother-in-law's brother does not have a clear-cut term for himself. The term, as applied by a female-speaker and a male-speaker moreover, is not actually consistent with the rest of the pattern either. There is difficulty also with an affinal relative as close as the FZH, who does not have a clear-cut term for himself. As we saw above, Strauss indicates that this term gave him some difficulty also.

The content of these affinal relationships can best be initiated in terms of the husband-wife relationship, or more generally, in terms of the relationship between male-female. The other relationships, especially that of father-in-law and son-in-law, can best be approached through a somewhat wider description and analysis of social taboos in general, a discussion which will again refer us back to the relationship between husband and wife as well as to some aspects of consanguineal relationship which we have not yet discussed.

II

Wua/amp

It is interesting to observe, first of all, that there are no special terms for husband and wife. The generic terms for "man" and "woman" are used. Combined with the

possessive indicator, however, they can only refer to husband and wife.

We have already discussed something of the woman's position in her husband's group as a result of marriage. We have also considered her relationship to her children as well as her work in her new place. There still remains the relationship which is established between her and her husband, in a more specific way. Initially, as we noted, they are shy with one another, have little to do with each other, and only after a month or more begin to live together in anything like intimacy. Something of this reserve, one for the other, remains throughout their life together, even though love and deep attachment may develop between them as the years go on. Their relationship is characterized by a degree of antagonism, although it is by no means as severe or marked as reported for other parts of the Highlands. In this connection one might mention Berndt's work again (Berndt 1962) among the Eastern Highland's people, and Meggitt's work among the Enga who live to the west of the Mbowamb. The antagonism is not so much an antagonism between husband and wife, however, but between male and female in general, although the dangerous females with which men are normally in contact are precisely and especially their wives, since their sisters leave home to live with their husbands shortly after they themselves become dangerous as a result of menarche. In terms of antagonism, the Mbowamb seem to approximate the Kuma who live immediately to the east of them, without the pre-marital license or freedom described for them by Marie Reay. To better understand the relationship established by marriage between a man and a woman, we must investigate here in one place this potentially dangerous relationship between male and female.

A certain amount of reserve which exists between the sexes is already reflected in the separate residence of men and women, and the situation is emphasized especially at those times when women are most obviously feminine, e.g., at menstruation, childbirth and sex-relations. Thus, menstruation is a most dangerous time for a man. The woman, at this time, sleeps in a special hut, where she stays for five days. The sixth day she can sleep in her own house, and on the seventh, gives food again to the male members of her family, i.e., her husband and male children. At this time, too, the husband and wife can take up intercourse again. This taboo is strongly enforced, and is rigorously observed by all the males, even small children. During this period a woman can continue to look after the pigs. She can prepare food for other females. Her daughters and other women can also come into the menstruation hut, something a man would not do. When a mother is nursing a small baby boy and menstruates, she can continue to give him the breast, but should not prepare other food for the infant if at all possible. If a male ate such food prepared by a menstruating woman, he would sicken and likely die unless the proper incantation and ritual were performed to cure him. The ritual consists mainly in killing a pig, letting some of the blood drip from the pig's nose (a pig is clubbed to death in preparation for cooking, and the blood normally drips from the pigs as a result of the blows which are given it) into water, in the meantime saying an incantation.

The water is then given to the sick man to drink, the pig eaten by the group involved, including the sick man who gives part of the pork to the incantation man, with the result that the sickness is supposed to leave.

As harmful as it would be for a woman to prepare food for a male during the time of menstruation, it would be doubly harmful for a man to have intercourse with a menstruating woman. Fear of this is the main reason given for always having sexual relations outside during the day. In the house, especially at night, it is dark and perhaps the woman is menstruating at the time the husband would like relations. The man, in such a case, would be almost sure to sicken, and unless an incantation were also made for him, he would surely die.

A menstruating woman should not have contact in any way with food intended for men. A lady entered my cook-house one day. Suddenly someone realized that she was menstruating. Immediately they held an informal court to make her pay damages. My cook-boy, after all, had some of his food in the house, and she had contaminated it by entering at this time. Any other times it would pass unnoticed. Often men and women did congregate together in the cook-house.

A woman could, of course, maliciously give food to a man while she was menstruating. This would be very grave, and something not to be expected unless the wife had very serious cause for such anger, e.g., if she had deliberately been slighted by her husband at a distribution of pork. If a husband, however, looked after her properly, gave her gardens to take care of, assigned pigs to her and distributed pork and shells to her brothers, there would be no reason to suspect such perfidy. One would never expect such treatment from the head-wife, although she has relatively little position as such, as a result of her being the first and head wife. She cannot, for example, lord it over her co-wives. Moreover, the men are fairly knowledgeable about feminine

matters and know approximately when a woman should be menstruating again, and can be on their guard, although the woman will usually inform him herself that he has to take care of himself now.

Childbirth is somewhat related to menstruation. A woman has her baby outside by preference and is alone, especially if it is a second or a third child. She may have it in the menstrual hut, where she goes to live after the baby is born, but she should not bear the child in her own house, if it can be helped. This would again make the house "cold" and, in a sense, ruin it, although the house would not be destroyed as a consequence. After childbirth the woman should remain in the menstrual hut for a month or so. As a matter of fact, she comes out after about five days. She does not give food to her husband, however, for about a month, but is entirely occupied with looking after her child. Again, she can work in the gardens, if she wants, and looks after pigs.

During the two or more years that a woman nurses her baby, the husband is strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with his wife. They observe this, not for their own sake, because it is dangerous or a source of sickness for themselves. They observe it for the sake of the baby.

These facets of the woman's nature do not pollute her essentially, as it seems. She is not considered inferior because she menstruates. At these times a woman is dangerous, not of intent, but because of the nature of things. She is in touch with "power," a concept which would require a full-length dissertation in itself to describe. The Mbowamb, in their rituals and incantations, in their exchanges and many

of their social interrelations, try to get in touch with this "power," which then makes them successful. A woman, by the mere fact of her femininity, is in touch with this power, and in a sense, it would seem, superior to the male, at least in this. Periodically and regularly the female is set apart from the male. The male reasserts himself also periodically, as we shall see below when we discuss taboos more thoroughly in one place. There also we shall tentatively conclude that taboos are centered on relationships which are important to the Mbowamb and which are, in a sense, ambivalent or possibly disrupting. One might also say that the periodic reaffirmation, through menstruation and the taboos associated with it for the males, of the females' position and her role is a functional substitute for the Mbowamb for male initiation. A young boy spends the first years of his life in the exclusive and intimate company of females, especially his mother. Yet the Mbowamb do not have a male initiation. Both Strauss and Vicedom speak of possible traces, but neither seem sure whether these traces related to an initiation proper or were just another type of ceremony, of which there are several kinds possible, all of them slightly different, but following a generally similar pattern (Strauss 1962:319). In spite of the importance of menstruation, it is interesting to note that the Mbowamb do not have any special ceremony marking the first menstruation of young girl either. Normally she will begin, of her own accord, to sleep in the menstrual hut when she begins menstruating. She has already, no doubt, spent nights there with her older sisters. If she is in no great hurry to do so, then when the secondary signs of puberty appear, she will be told by her mother or father that she should now start to sleep in the menstrual hut. The main

secondary characteristic would seem to be underarm hair. Or perhaps, as indicated above, the father or mother has noticed some blood on the girl's sleeping mat some morning. From then on, she must sleep in the menstrual hut during her periods. It would rarely happen that a girl would have to be told to take care during these times, however, because she herself is convinced of her own power during this time, and is not anxious to harm her relatives.

The relationship, however, between the sexes does not seem too fraught with danger as it does elsewhere in New Guinea. Sexual relations, for example, are not considered as dangerous among the Mbowamb as they are among the Enga described by Meggitt. There is no great fear of first intercourse among the Mbowamb, nor are men warned away from repeated intercourse. Indeed, repeated intercourse is necessary, according to their belief, for a woman to conceive. It is not an activity, as among the Enga, designed to rob a man of his strength. He does not have to learn magical incantations from a successful, married man before he engages in relations with his wife. Both men and women, especially the younger women, are said to enjoy the sex act without exception, and if a man is not strong enough or has little regard for his child, he (and the same holds true for the woman as well) may seek relations during the nursing, and forbidden period, at the nursing child's peril, to be sure. Among the Enga, the boys are urged at an early age to leave the woman's house and sleep in the men's houses. This is not so among the Mbowamb. A boy leaves his mother's house for a men's house more or less when he pleases. Moreover, he can always come back to sleep in the women's house whenever he wants to, and often he does. Boys are not taken away from their mother's company; they seem rather to drift away on their

own volition through the agency especially of peer-groups. There is no special ceremony, consequently, marking the removal of the boy from the woman's house to sleep with his father or brothers in a men's house. There is no strict taboo forbidding women from coming into the men's house, or vice versa. A woman could not enter, to be sure, during the time of menstruation, but otherwise they come and go freely. Under certain circumstances, the woman may not even have a woman's house, so she stays in the men's house. Husbands will sleep in women's houses also. When sickness strikes a man, he will often move temporarily into a wife's house if it seems more convenient; it may be more comfortable in the sense that it is not so smoky, or better arranged so as to accommodate all the visitors who are bound to come to comment on the illness. This is done for a wife also, who may be taken into the men's house and cared for there rather than in her own house. What rigid theory on separation which they may have, breaks down when separation is inconvenient.

In the family, the husband has the final authority in everything. This holds for matters relating to land, to raising the children, to the distribution of pigs and shells, and ultimately to any other aspect of domestic life where authority or decision is required. However, the woman's/wife's position is not intolerable as a consequence. A woman in general, and a wife in particular, has a relatively high position in Mbowamb society. We have already indicated some reasons for this; here we can repeat these and add more. A woman has choice in different fields. In marriage a girl is always consulted and usually her preference is respected. Under some circumstances great pressure may be put on her to

go to a certain man, but if she is strong, she will usually win out. Women as well as men are fairly free to move about. Women travel by themselves, albeit in groups of two or three. If there is disagreement or trouble at home, she, no differently than her brother or the men, will go to her mother's people in anger, perhaps even stay there permanently. And she will be accepted there and from there negotiations will be conducted for her marriage. A woman may be struck by her husband, although this does not seem to be too commonly the case. She is always free to strike back, and does. A young girl, however, is never struck. A woman may at times have property of a sort to dispose of, e.g., a shell which her brother has given her. The shell would strictly speaking come under the jurisdiction of her husband, but certain conventions must be observed in such a case. Once a lady was ill, and in the confession which preceded the attempt to cure the illness, the husband admitted he had taken away her shell and used it to help purchase a wife for his son. He had done this without consulting his wife, and therefore she was angry (the son was of a different mother, and it was a second wife for him), and consequently sick. He promised to give her the first shell he received.

A woman has some say in the disposal of any pigs she has raised. The wise husband will first consult his wife before distributing her pig. At a marriage, certain pigs, usually the largest, are very conspicuously handed over to the mother of the bride. When a woman receives certain plots of sweet potato, she then controls these plots, and she alone has the right to harvest them. Only her husband could dig sweet potato from her gardens. In the event of the death of her husband, these garden plots pass on to her sons and daughters by the deceased, not to the children of another

wife or to the brother of the deceased. To this extent the woman disposes of land, although she does not own land. In this latter sense the woman is definitely jurally inferior to the man, in that she does not own land, neither in her own natal group area, nor in the group-area of her husband. In her own natal-group she is dependent on her brother, and in her marital group she depends on her husband for garden land.

The women also take a place in public gatherings, sometimes even directing them. It is not totally repugnant to them to appoint a woman as Mission Friend, someone responsible for looking after the mission station. One woman in an area not far from mine was considered for "tultul" and later for councillor. They are not rigidly segregated from the men at public gatherings. The majority of the men sit down together and the women and children sit in another spot, but it is not rigid and there is free intermovement. When discussing the elections of councillors, the men and women discussed in separate groups. Each group's decision, however, was sought and respected. None of the men applied pressure on the women's group; they were considered capable of coming to a valid decision themselves. In court cases the same basic equality is observable. A woman may initiate a court case against a man, and she will be heard as impartially, as a rule, as the man.

When pork is distributed, the women and children are the first to get theirs. As the meat is cut up into small pieces, vegetables are put with it and a bit given to each one present, down to the youngest toddler capable of eating solid foods. The normal sequence is women and children first. Nor are they necessarily given the poorer or less desirable pieces of meat. In fact, if the meat is insufficient, the

men tend to be the ones who do not get as much as the rest.

Can we say perhaps that the Metlpa version of sexual antagonism is reflected on the larger screen of social structure, viz., in the relationships which exist between affinal groups, or do the male-female relations reflect, on the dyadic level, the relationship which pre-exists between affinal groups? I do not think so, in either case. First of all, not only a wife and mother has this "power" at times of menstruation and child-bearing, but every woman has this "power" as a result of her femininity, also a sister who is of the same group and very close to her father and brother, but who can injure her father and brother when she is menstruating. It is true that the sister moves away from home normally, and that the person who is most obviously dangerous to any man is his wife, still the feminine members of his own group are likewise dangerous to him in the same way. Moreover, as we have already seen, there is no marked antagonism of any kind between groups who are linked by marriage or affinity. The opposite is as much the case. The Metlpa (Mbowamb) do not marry traditional enemies. The Engamois themselves tend to marry into geographically close groups, provided they are outside of the range of the exogamous group. The Engamoi fought with groups from which they took wives, of course, just as they fought at one time or another with very many groups, even closely related groups, i.e., of the same exogamous group. Once the marriage is established, however, the antagonism which might have existed before is supposed to stop now. Brothers-in-law are sources of kina shells and pigs for exchange purposes; one also makes exchanges with brothers-in-law. Between certain classes of

affinal kinsmen, there are taboos, as we shall see shortly, but not between brothers-in-law. In a fight, one's affinal kin came to help as allies, and in the case where a man may have affinal kin in either of the two fighting groups, he may divide as he wishes and help whom he pleases; more often, according to Vicedom (1948:II, 155) a man allied himself with the group from which his wife came. Indeed, such a situation caused serious complications, and the person so allied to one or the other group would be very careful not to hurt any of his own group fighting on the other side. Most likely he would not join in the fighting at all!

It would not seem, therefore, that the sexual antagonism arises out of the structural situation among the Mbowamb, nor does it seem to have much feed-back effect on the group structure or the relations between groups.

Just as the women impose certain restrictions on the men by the very fact of their femininity, so also do the men impose restrictions upon the women periodically, especially at times of ceremony. To understand that this antagonism, for want of a better term, does not really relate to the affinal situation, we must also understand what sorts of taboos the men place upon the women. Some typical cases might be briefly outlined.

Anything connected with the large exchange of shells is generally tabooed to women, for instance, when the large, special house which stands at the head of the moka pena is built. When this large house, which may only be a glapa manga is being "blessed," i.e., the new fire is built in it for the first time in a ceremonial fashion, the women are forbidden to be around or to take a part in it. If they did, the house would be "cold" and the men would not make a big

success of their moka exchange. At one stage the ceremony, which is long drawn out over the months, consists of killing one or several small pigs. These are killed at night, outside of this house, then brought inside and cooked in a hole made especially for the purpose. This hole is later carefully disguised and recovered so as to be almost undetectable. Beginning around dusk, the pogram mbo is ceremoniously planted in the center of the moka pena. At this time there are no women allowed to be present, nor do they eat any of the pork which the men kill on this occasion. Moreover, they do not perform the moka itself, either the group version or the individual moka exchange. They are considered too weak to do the hard work connected with this. Moreover, they could not master the magic which is required to be able to make a successful and ostentatious exchange.

On the occasion of the amp kur (woman-spirit), a special spirit ceremony which is at present spreading through the Metlpa area north of the Kumdis, the women are not allowed to eat any of the pork which has been cooked in the kur kona (the place of the spirit). They are especially forbidden to eat of the backbone and the kidneys and other special herbs cooked with the kidneys. These particular pieces of meat, on this occasion at least, have as their purpose the protection of the men from the evil effects of menstruating women which they may have contracted previous to the ceremony, the effects of which have not yet manifested themselves. This pork also strengthens their "bellies" against such poisonous food which might be given them in the future.

The women are not allowed to enter the kur kona, with the exception of old women, especially if they have had many

children some of whom are big men. On the last day of the ceremony, when the men come out with their dance, these old women go inside to help their sons decorate themselves. One gets the distinct impression that the presence of some old women is necessary as part of the ceremony itself, although they do not do anything special, except help with the decoration. All other women are excluded.

During the time that men perform the work of the kur, at whatever stage of it, they are not supposed to have sexual relations with their wives. When the work is done, however, they are again allowed to walk about with their wives until the next stage of the work or ceremony is begun. This holds for all the various ceremonies, all of which are quite adequately described in both Strauss and Vicedom.

Sacred stones form a part of this as well as other ceremonies. The women are not allowed to see these stones, both for the time of the ceremony itself as well as during the time between ceremonies, during which time the stones are buried. Not all sacred stones, however, are tabooed to women; they themselves possess sacred stones.

The men impose other restrictions on themselves besides the restrictions on sex relations during the time of the ceremony. When they cook the pig inside the spirit place, they do not cook sweet potatoes with the meat, but only bananas, taro, yam, and other edible greens. And if they eat of the pig which was so cooked inside the spirit place, they taboo roasted sweet potato to themselves. The duration of this taboo on sweet potato which was roasted in the ashes depended on how much meat you ate. If you ate a lot, then you tabooed yourself for a week; if you ate only a little, then it was only for two, three days that you did

not eat sweet potato roasted in ashes. Often the mun wua (incantation man) would announce how long everybody should refrain from eating roasted sweet potato.

There are other taboos connected with this and other ceremonies, but so much gives an idea of the type and nature of the taboos which the men impose on the women periodically, as well as on themselves in connection with the ceremonies and with their relations with women. Most of them seem to center around the woman's femininity, her "power" which derives from the very fact that she is a woman. Given the Mbowamb's interest in achieving power, we can suspect, a priori, that there may be some traces of envy of the female on the part of the male. There is also fear, however. There is, therefore, a basic ambivalence expressed by the sexes, viz., the desire on the part of the male to incorporate the power of the female, to become like the female. Perhaps this is still a reflection of his very early years, where the mother is the dominant figure in his life, the satisfying source of all comfort, food, security, etc., someone, indeed whom the child/infant can regularly manipulate to his own advantage, because whenever the infant cries or wants anything, he is satisfied or given a substitute in the breast. Yet at the same time the man is a male, and he cannot, nor is he willing necessarily, to give up his masculinity, which is the price he would have to pay for the power of the female which she exhibits to him, threatens him with once a month, at the time of her menstruation, and again at the dangerous time of childbirth. Part of the explanation of the taboos which the males impose on the females would have to be sought, I suspect, in the man's attempt to raise himself up to the level of the woman, rather than look for the explanation on

the social structural level. The woman is actually very important in this culture. She looks after the pig, the vehicle of exchange and prestige. She bears and looks after the children, and so is partly responsible for the continuance of the social group. The wife is the link between two groups; through the woman one is put into contact either with the brother-in-law or with the mother's brother, both of them important relatives. Moreover, the sweet potato is the domain of the woman and no Highland native can enjoy anything approaching a decent life without sweet potato. Because of these factors, there is emphasis on the male-female division, with the male constantly trying to assert himself vis-à-vis the woman. This seems to be the avowed situation elsewhere in the Highlands, e.g., among the Kuma where the men oppose the women especially in those aspects that would undermine male pretensions to superiority. Also among the Kamano, the men engage in a constant sexual struggle with women, so as to prove his superiority and virility, "to justify his status as a male" (Berndt 1964: 205).

Any explanation, therefore, of the male-female relationship in the Mount Hagen area would have to take into consideration this basic ambivalence which exists between the sexes, rather than look for the solution in the social structural situation. In this connection, much of what Bettelheim says in his book Symbolic Wounds could be directly applied to the Mbowamb situation, even though they do not have initiation or genital mutilation of any kind whatsoever. One must also look, therefore, for the causes of male-female antagonism or separation in the psychodynamics of the interpersonal situation. One might suspect, a priori, that

the very close attachment of a child to its mother, and consequent identification with the mother, would somehow be reflected in the adult social situation. This long and close association of child and mother is characteristic of the entire Highlands area. Perhaps the dissolution of this cross-sex identification of male child is a lifelong, repeated process, not so much something done at an initiation, more or less once and for all. The initiation, where it is found, may be just another manifestation of the one continuously repeated act of separation of male from female, effected essentially among the Mbowamb by their inter-sex taboos, etc.

These taboos, therefore, these feelings of ambivalence which exist both in men and women, exist between all males and all females, not just between husbands and wives. The taboos and fears and envy one for the other relate to notions of "power" which are also found elsewhere in the institutions of magic and religion. These feelings and the structured relationships which result affect the social structure. There does not seem to be, however, a direct link between the macro-structure of affinal groupings and the micro-structure of the dyadic relationship between a husband and his wife.

Kudlpam

This relationship, and others like it, can best be understood by some preliminary remarks about taboos in general, including the taboos which exist between kudlpam. This relationship is one of avoidance, and relates to other taboos which involve social relations. The interpretation of these taboos seems to be similar. Therefore, they can be

taken as a whole at this place, with special emphasis placed on the taboos between affinal kinsmen.

The ordinary expression used for taboo is a form *mau ndunum*, which basically means to abstain from something. It refers to the person or thing which is avoided, for example, roasted sweet potato or the father-in-law. The translation would perhaps be: "we avoid it [this food or relationship or person], we have nothing to do with it, we abstain from it." The state resulting from this is called *mowi*. One becomes *mowi* through *mau*. (See Strauss, pp. 116-19 for more details and a more strictly religious interpretation of these and other taboos.)

First of all, one's own name is tabooed. One should not use it often or without necessity. If one were to ask anybody his name, he himself would not give it, but a bystander would pronounce the name of the other who was asked. This is quite a strong taboo, although if one insists, especially if a European, who does not know any better, insists, then they will pronounce their own name. This taboo goes so far as to include someone who is your namesake. If two people have the same name, the one cannot use the name of the other, since this would be the same as using one's own name. This person is called by a name which might perhaps be translated "you who have the same name as I do." This is the native term *nuip*.

Closely related to this taboo is the taboo against using someone else's name without need or in a frivolous manner. One does not like to call others by their real name. The way people, especially friends, get around this difficulty is the following. If two people eat something of the same food together, i.e., share an ear of corn or a taro

(and these are very common foods and consequently common nicknames), then they will call each other by that food. If two people have eaten food together, and if one forgets to use the food-name of the other, this is a mark of disrespect, and the one misusing the name of the other must give him something, some money, or whatever has been agreed upon when they took up the custom of using food-names for each other.

The reason for not using one's own name is that this would be the mark of a "rubbish man." A person should not always be using his own name, nor should others be constantly using it without good reason. If one does use another's personal name without good reason, and what good reason constitutes is often difficult to estimate, then the one whose name is being used becomes angry. It is basically disrespectful.

If two people have not eaten food together, and there is a name-taboo between the two, there are still two other ways of getting around it. For example, a son-in-law cannot use the name of his father-in-law. So he can call him by his Mau ndunum (taboo) name, which is another name which everybody has and which everybody recognizes. For instance, Romakl is the name of a certain type of shield. Certain relatives, even those to whom this name is not necessarily tabooed (e.g., a wife), but just to avoid using his real name, would call him by another term for another type of shield, e.g., ripa, or ngai wia. Goimba, a large grasshopper and a proper name, would be called wipa, which is a small grasshopper. Normally the two names go together by association; one with the name of a bird will be called by the name of another bird. Listed are some examples that I collected:

Miti (a mountain by the Minembi)	Gököm (a place close to this mountain)
Buri (something which stinks)	Pörök (something which is spoiled and rotten)
Rok (a small frog)	Watöp (a different kind of frog)
Mel (something)	Elömi (something)
Kol (a lie or fib)	Kapil/Kep (a lie or fib)
Konge (poison/ginger)	Kopena (poison/ginger)
Wai (small species of bamboo)	Wamndi (strong bamboo)
Ketiba (a type of bird)	Biglua (another type of bird)

Still another way, used especially with name-tabooed affinal kin (and mentioned already above) is to call them *nonda*. This term actually means "mushroom" and is used, according to my information, for this reason. Actually the two parties calling each other by this name have not actually eaten mushroom together; and everybody knows this for a fact. Therefore, they call each other this name anyway. Since they have not eaten this together, they can call each other by this name. Something like a negative fact or incident made to be positive by everybody's convention.

To use one's own name therefore is to heap shame upon oneself. To use the name of anyone else without just reason is to cause anger to arise.

The names of one's ancestors are taboo, and only with reluctance will a *mbowua* tell you the name of any of his ancestors. Upon questioning, the first response was always that they did not know who their ancestors were. This was often true beyond the grandparental generation, since their genealogical memory does not extend back very far with any deal of accuracy. This custom of tabooing the names of

ancestors in itself can have the end result of making genealogy and genealogical remembrance very shallow. This, in turn, has a variety of consequences. One can combine larger groups under the same genealogical pair without having to inquire into the facts of the case, whether the various groups are actually related or not, or how they are related. According to the Mbowamb this group, e.g., all the Komonikas must be related because nobody knows any better, and they say they are all related to one ancestral pair. This also influences the rapidity with which assimilation of migrants takes place. It also affects the marriage patterns. If one does not remember that a particular person is related to such and such a group, then intermarriage is possible. Theoretically, it may be forbidden to marry into a certain group. If one can theoretically trace a relationship, then marriage would theoretically be forbidden. Yet practically because no one really knows for sure or can trace any extant relationship, i.e., they do not remember, then intermarriage is again possible.

To use the names of the ancestors would mean not having the proper respect for them. It would also bring shame upon the user of the names. To do so constantly would carry with it the threat of sickness. The ancestors would cause the user of their name to become sick. The belly would swell up and the person would die. There is, therefore, a fear of disaster in this taboo. When they offer pork to the ancestors, and call on them in the incantations which accompany this pork-distribution, they use the proper kinship terms rather than the personal name of the ancestor. Otherwise they will rarely call attention to their deceased ancestors. They would call the attention of the ancestors to

themselves only when they have something to offer them by way of pork, otherwise they are running the risk of calling the attention of the deceased to themselves needlessly and this can only result in something like sickness or some other misfortune.

One's parents-in-law, male-speaking, are taboo. We have indicated above that this does not hold true for the woman, probably because she moves in with her parents-in-law, works intimately with them, especially with her mother-in-law, and therefore no special taboo is preserved between them. It would be too inconvenient, and as we said above, theory breaks down in the face of inconvenience. Very likely the woman will call her father-in-law by his cover-name, but even this does not seem to be necessary for her. For the man, however, there is a rather rigid separation set up between himself and his parents-in-law. We note also the difference between a male-speaker and a female-speaker in the different terms they use respectively for the parents-in-law. The male-speaker must either use the kinship term in speaking to his parents-in-law, or he can use the food-name, provided they have eaten food together, or the expression for mushroom as explained above, or else the second name associated with the parents-in-law by some association. To use the real name of his parents-in-law would be a serious and grave insult. The parents would then bribe and talk their daughter into leaving her husband and coming back home, and the husband and his group would have no right to any return pay whatsoever. In payment for the insult, he would lose his pay as well as his wife. Moreover, a man should never pass behind his parents-in-law. He may visit with them, sleep in their house if he is travelling through their area, but

he should not pass behind them. Rather, he must be sure to walk in front of them. To redress this wrong, a man must give a pig to his parents-in-law by way of reparation for the insult.

Another tabooed relationship is the relationship which exists between a man and the wife of his wife's brother, i.e., his brother-in-law's wife. One does not use her real name, and avoids speaking with her as much as possible. There is avoidance between a man and his WBW. This is not the case with his ZHZ, however. This is not a taboo relationship.

If a person injures himself, breaks off a toenail, or knocks out a tooth, there are two ways of approaching this situation. Another person, usually a relative, will feel sorry and taboo certain food to himself, such as roasted sweet potato, or pork, or sugar-cane. Then after a time, the one who hurt himself will bring that prohibition to an end by giving a big feast of the particular food which was the object of the self-imposed taboo, imposed out of a feeling of sympathy. Another, and very common reaction, is to begin an exchange. The one who feels sorry "buys" the tooth or the nail, etc., with a few shillings and some cigarettes or cigarette paper (hence the name for this exchange rok moka or "smoke exchange" or "tobacco exchange"). This exchange grows over time and quantities of goods are passed back and forth, first between the two individuals involved in the exchange, but very soon the exchanges become so great and complicated that the entire group of the individuals concerned is very much involved in the exchange as well. At one phase of such an exchange, the following items changed hands: 98 pounds of money, 8 cooked pigs, 1 cassowary (very

valuable), a large blanket-full of cigarettes, tobacco, cigarette paper (usually newspaper) and matches, several sauce pans full of chicken and rice, plus 8 shells. No individual could accumulate such quantities of goods; indeed, almost all the various groups of the Engamois were involved in some way or the other in this exchange. The network of exchange very rapidly goes far beyond the original two people who began the exchange.

There are some taboos which are connected with funerals. They have social implications. One is that a group which has experienced a death, or perhaps a series of deaths fairly recently, will not perform the courting ceremony or any other ceremony. Normally after a death, the period when this would not be done was a month. It just did not seem proper to the Mbowamb to celebrate or have a dance when someone had only recently died. There were techniques to get around this prohibition, but this need not concern us here. Also, a widow could not remarry too quickly. The exact amount of time which should elapse was not too clear. It was up to the widow, more or less. Seven months or so would seem to be a decent time. The widow and other near relatives of the deceased tend to stay around their homes, do not associate with others too much, do not take part in any ceremonies which may be going on in the neighborhood. I did not notice that they had the custom of wearing clay or ashes for any length of time, nor did I note any observance of food taboos. The widows, for example, ate of the pork at the mortuary feasts, both the first and the later ones. According to Vicedom, the taboo on pronouncing the name of the deceased becomes effective at the second mortuary meal, which can come at any time after the death, within a month

perhaps at the shortest, and eight or ten months after the death or longer. I noticed that there was no taboo on speaking the name of the deceased for some time after the immediate death. In other words, the taboo on saying the names of the ancestors does not set in immediately upon death.

There are finally the taboos which we've already discussed, namely those which are extant between men and women, or males and females.

All of the taboos listed generally have to do with social relationships of one kind or another, even the one forbidding the use of one's own name. Moreover, all the relationships tend to be ambivalent or fraught with possible danger, or at least, as in the case of the person hurting oneself, with some concern or sympathy or strong feeling in the relationship. There is strong desire on the part of everyone to maintain good relations and harmony. One taboos one's own name so that one's name might spread among others and become famous. Not to observe this taboo would mean shame. Others, in the proper circumstances are to bruit one's name about, and the more the better. Just as one underestimates the number of shells and pigs which one can afford to give at a wedding, and then brings many more to the display which means one is both generous and wealthy, and therefore redounds to the prestige of the individual so acting, so also one treats one's own name in the same way, underestimating oneself, in a sense, so that others may all the more esteem that individual. One is also concerned with one's standing with the ancestors and the nature of the interrelationships which exist between the two groups, viz., my group and the group of ancestors which preceded my group into death. One is not so concerned about speaking the names

of the ancestors of other groups. Even in this case, however, this is still done with reluctance, because any ancestors, after all, are deceased, and therefore have more power than the men who are still living. With respect to one's parents-in-law, there is much concern. The brother-in-law relationship is clear to the Mbowamb. He is an exchange partner and a source of shells. He is an ally, and friendly, like a brother. The father-in-law, however, may be more problematic. One can possibly get shells from him, but does not exchange so much with him. He is a generation above EGO. Also he has the primary control over his daughter, EGO's wife, and there is much going back and forth of the women between their own place, locality, and parents, and that of their husband. There is concern with this relationship, therefore. It is potentially a very disturbing relationship for the Mbowamb. Also, the wife of one's brother-in-law (WBW) is an ambivalent relationship. This is an interesting relationship and deserves comment and study to see why it is a taboo relationship. Terminologically it is the same as the expression for father-in-law and mother-in-law, namely kudlpam. This is one of the terms, therefore, which mix generation levels.

With respect to the WBW, there is first of all the suggestion of Levi-Strauss, based on alliance theory and the theory of exchange of goods and women which he has written up at length in his various works, especially Les Structures . . ., where the bride-wealth which is given by EGO to his wife's brother for his own wife, is then used by WB to buy his wife. Therefore, this person (WBW), because she belongs to WB's group as coming from their wife-givers, whereas WB's group is EGO's wife-givers, is forbidden to EGO's group.

For EGO to have access now to WBW would be equivalent to giving himself (i.e., his group) bride-wealth. This would not make sense to the Mbowamb.

Thus we might seem to have the beginnings of a circulating connubium, albeit not a closed one. However, there seem to be some problems with this interpretation of the taboo. First of all, the natives themselves do not phrase it in this way, although this in itself would not be sufficient reason to discount the circulating connubium interpretation of this avoidance between the WBW and EGO. More important is the use which is made of the bride-wealth by the Mbowamb. They do not use the bride-wealth which they receive for their sister to buy a wife for themselves. They may, but normally this would not be the procedure. Shells and pigs which are received by way of bride-wealth are put right back in circulation; they form the items which are used for other exchanges, also to buy wives for the group which has received this bride-wealth. Also, shells and pigs which are received in an ally-compensation ceremony might be as readily used to buy wives as any other shells or pigs, whatever their source. We have seen this clearly in the case of the marriage which we described at some length above. But we might still maintain that the connubium interpretation of this avoidance is essentially accurate, it being only more indirect. Even though one gives the bride-wealth to an exchange partner as a moka or as a compensation, one nevertheless builds up credit in this way, which credit then is later used to buy wives for one's group! This may, however, become so indirect as to become meaningless, at least analytically. If we interpret this avoidance between WBW and EGO in terms of the relationship between wife-giving and

wife-receiving groups, or in terms of some sort of circulating connubium, then we should be inclined to interpret the avoidance between parents-in-law and male-speaker, for which the same kinship term is used, in somewhat the same fashion. One would have to develop another explanation also to account for the use of the term *api* on the part of the female-speaker, referring to her mother-in-law. It seems more economical to consider the term *kudlpam* as a term denoting avoidance and a taboo-relationship, the reason for the avoidance or taboo being different. In this sense, the term would reflect behavior on one level, but would not necessarily relate to any one phenomenal event or series of events. In the case of the parents-in-law, male-speaking, the phenomenal reason for the avoidance would be perhaps the generation difference combined with control over one's wife, conjoined with the structural fact that the woman never really loses her position completely in her own group. In the case of the mother-in-law, female-speaker, there would be the circumstance that EGO lives and works side by side with her mother-in-law as a normal rule; there would be the point of fact that her mother-in-law and her children would be very close, that she often substitutes as a mother, feeding them when the daughter-in-law is menstruating or is looking after a younger baby. There is the close connection which exists between the husband and his mother, which may readily be reflected in the relationship between the wife and her mother-in-law. This close relationship, one that is friendly and a helping, helpful one, is then summarized in the use of the term *api*. In the case of the WBW, there is the circumstance that EGO often visits with his brother-in-law, arranges exchanges with him, stays at his place overnight.

Now his WBW could, under the proper circumstances, be an appropriate sex partner for him. The woman could also be a classificatory sister of EGO, if, for example, his WBW had married an Oinamp or an Engapin girl. Considering the groups we have diagrammed above, EGO's son could marry a girl from Group C, although a girl from WBW's immediate family would be frowned upon as a mate for the son of EGO. The circulating nature of the connubium we have postulated as an explanation for the existing taboo would break down, indicating that this is probably not the reason for the taboo, subtle and/or analytically satisfying as it might be. The ZHZ relationship, on the other hand, is not a tabooed one. Even though EGO would and does visit also very much with his ZH and carry out exchanges with him, his ZHZ would normally be living elsewhere because of the rules of residence. This woman would also be forbidden to EGO on the grounds that the Mbowamb do not like sister-exchange as a form of marriage.

The kōmim, on the other hand, is somewhat equated with the wife herself. If the wife were to die very young, then her sister might possibly become the wife of EGO in order to keep an exchange-cycle activated. This is not necessarily the case, however, so that one could not speak of a sororate as a structured institution among the Mbowamb. Also, significantly I think, the WZ will normally live elsewhere when she marries, so she would not be around on visits of EGO to his brother-in-law's place (his WB) as would be the wife of WB. As a result, the kōmim is not a taboo relationship. Again, in this respect it is like the kuglum-relationship.

If one judged by strict parallelism, one might expect the mōnin relationship to be a tabooed one, similar to the WBW (kudlpam) relationship. For female-EGO, she is the wife of a kudlpam, and a kudlpam, unlike the husband's father, which is taboo to female-EGO. However, the mōnin is a relationship which is similar, content-wise to the HM-SW relationship (api), i.e., it is a warm, helping relationship, with no emphasis on avoidance or taboo.

On the one hand, marriage establishes a relationship between groups. On the other hand, it also relates individuals one to the other. This is brought out, it seems to me, in the fact that there is no clear term which the parents of the two individuals getting married use for each other. The group nature of the marriage does not extend this far. EGO calls his son's wife, or daughter's husband, by a special term, viz., kudlpam, but has no special term for his son's wife's parents. No avoidance or taboos exist between these people. I have very little evidence that they exchange together on any extensive scale. This, however, might be misleading, because a son does exchange with his WB and sometimes, though less often, with his WF, and since any exchange will involve more than the individual exchange-partner, EGO might also conceivably be considered in an exchange-relationship with his son's affinal group, consequently also with his son's father-in-law.

In concluding this section, I might just briefly indicate an interesting aspect of most of the taboos which we have enumerated, in which affinal kinsmen play so prominent a role. We stated that these taboos seem to indicate a concern with social relationship, a concern with social harmony in many instances. The only taboo not so consistent

with this interpretation is the taboo on saying one's own name. It is interesting to note that all of these taboos are also reestablished or done away with by means of an exchange. If one misuses the name of someone else, or if one does not use the food-name of someone, then in order to redress the wrong, one must give that other person something. In some cases the amount of the "gift" is determined ahead of time. This is also returnable, however, so that an exchange actually results. If one breaks the nail from a toe or knocks off a tooth, one can either taboo certain food for a while, which taboo is then brought to an end by a gift of pork, the food of harmony and exchange, par excellence, or one can buy that toenail with some money or pigs or shells, which then becomes an extended exchange, not at all unlike any of the other exchanges in which the Mbowamb engage. If one breaks the avoidance rules attached to one's affines, one must pay for the insult by giving pork to the offended party. If, however, a man wants to do away with the restrictions imposed on him with respect to his parents-in-law, he does so by making an exchange with his father-in-law. After this exchange is completed, he then can call the parents-in-law by their own name. If anyone is angry in general, which is one cause for the ancestors to be angry and send sickness, one appeases this anger by giving gifts, which again are to be returned later, usually with interest. Moreover, when pig is killed in honor of the ancestors, they are given the spirit-pig and the smoke of the cooking fat to consume, while the survivors, including the sick person, partake of the pork itself. By this sharing and distribution, they are putting themselves again in proper social harmony, which thereby will rout the sickness itself.

In a sense, therefore, it seems that the ideal of the Mbowamb is social interaction conducted in an atmosphere of social harmony. The social harmony is effected either by establishing avoidances and taboos or by putting oneself in exchange-relationships with others. Given their spirit of independence and their competition for prestige and prominent status, with which goes a good deal of aggressiveness in their behavior, something like a strong value of social harmony which is emphasized and reemphasized in many and various kinds of institutions may be necessary to make the system workable. Given such individualism and consequent ethnocentrism, which is also an outstanding trait of the Mbowamb insofar as their group is always best and always right, connections with many other groups would also seem to be most useful. This, it would seem on the basis of the rules of exogamy, is one of the primary effects of marriage, namely to multiply one's social connections, to deliberately disperse the marriages, as Barnes expressed it, rather than concentrate and reemphasize already existing connections (Barnes 1962).

Kuglum

We have given the outlines of this relationship already. It remains to add a few thoughts which would go too much beyond this present dissertation to be adequately followed up here. This relationship is one of alliance, friendliness, helpfulness, mutual aid, etc. Yet we might expect it to be somewhat the opposite perhaps. In many other respects relating to affinal kinship there is avoidance (parents-in-law and children-in-law), fear and envy (husband-wife, i.e., male and female). One should not fight with one's affines, but when there is war, very likely one's

affines will be involved on the other side, due, among other things, to the various levels of social structure which are involved in marriage, and the different levels which are involved in warfare. Thus, the Kumdi Engamoi Kopaligas should not fight against the Nengka Oiambis, but all the Kumdis are fighting all the Nengkas. Therefore, there is possible a conflict of loyalties. In many respects, as is clear, the brother-in-law relationship is like the relationship between brothers. In three generations' time, indeed, it changes into a "brother" relationship. The "brother" relationship, however, is also an ambivalent relationship with many possibilities of conflict inherent in the situation. One significant difference, of course, which modifies the relationship is the fact in one instance of co-residence and certain other interests which are common, whereas the relationship, in the other instance, is mediated primarily through a sister and wife relationship, which also colors the brother-in-law relationship.

It is in this connection of the ambivalence of these two sets of relationships that a contribution of Mauss relative to gift-giving is most pertinent. The hint comes from Leach in his discussion of Malinowski's theoretical contributions. He says: "Mauss, in essence, sees 'potlatch' behavior of the kula-type as 'symbolizing' the ambivalent friendship-hostility aspects of the relationship ties which constitute the component elements in the social structure" (Leach 1957:133). In other words, giving gifts, or as we would phrase it for the Mbowamb, making exchanges, in itself, is a symbolic way of expressing relationships, of saying things, over and above the actual operation of exchanging, the good exchanged, the property achieved, the prestige

accumulated. Let us bring together a few quotations from Mauss to illustrate this:

The ceremony of transfer is done with solemnity. The object given is disdained or suspect; it is not accepted until it is thrown on the ground. The donor affects an exaggerated modesty. . . . Pains are taken to show one's freedom and autonomy as well as one's magnanimity [p. 21].

The ritual is very long and is repeated many times; its purpose is to enumerate everything forbidden in the kula, everything to do with hatred and war which must be conjured away so that trade can take place between friends [p. 23].

All the sentiments are seen at once; the possible hatred of the partners. . . . [p. 24].

The underlying motives are competition, rivalry, show, and a desire for greatness and wealth [p. 26].

The principles of rivalry and antagonism are basic. Political and individual status in associations and clans, and rank of every kind, are determined by the war of property, as well as by armed hostilities, by chance, inheritance, alliance or marriage. But everything is conceived as if it were a war of wealth [p. 35].

People fraternize but at the same time remain strangers; community of interest and opposition are revealed constantly in a great business whirl [p. 37].

It is the veritable persona (reputation, etc.) which is at stake and it can be lost in the potlatch just as it can be lost in the game of gift-giving, in war, or through some error in ritual. In all these societies, one is anxious to give . . . [p. 38].

The potlatch--the distribution of goods--is the fundamental act of public recognition in all spheres, military, legal, economic and religious. [p. 39].

One does not have the right to refuse a gift or potlatch. To do so would show fear of having to repay, and of being abased in default. One would "lose the weight" of

one's name by admitting defeat in advance. In certain circumstances, however, a refusal can be an assertion of victory and invincibility [p. 39].

But normally the potlatch must be returned with interest like all other gifts [p. 40].

The obligation of worthy return is imperative. Face is lost forever if it is not made or if equivalent value is not destroyed [p. 41].

Coppers have also a virtue which attracts other coppers to them, as wealth attracts wealth and as dignity attracts honors, spirit-possession and good alliances [p. 44].

The gift is thus something that must be given, that must be received and that is, at the same time, dangerous to accept. The gift itself constitutes an irrevocable link especially when it is a gift of food. The recipient depends upon the temper of the donor, in fact each depends upon the other. Thus a man does not eat with his enemy [p. 58].

These great acts of generosity are not free from self-interest. . . . The man who wants to enter into a contract seeks above all profit in the form of social . . . superiority. . . . In this case wealth is, in every aspect, as much a thing of prestige as a thing of utility [pp. 72-73].

It is by opposing reason to emotion and setting up the will for peace (against rash follies of this kind) that peoples succeed in substituting alliance, gift and commerce for war, isolation and stagnation [p. 80].

In order to trade, man must first lay down his spear. When that is done he can succeed in exchanging goods and persons not only between clan and clan but between tribe and tribe and nation and nation, and above all between individuals. It is only then that people can create, can satisfy their interests mutually and define them without recourse to arms. It is in this way that the clan, the tribe and nation have learnt . . . how to oppose one another without slaughter and to give without sacrificing themselves to others. That is one of the secrets of their wisdom and solidarity [p. 80].

[Mauss 1954.]

These references, culled from various places of Mauss' study of exchange and gift-giving, with proper cultural modifications, can be applied almost verbatim to Mbowamb society. Many of these points have already come out in our description of marriage as an exchange which inaugurates further exchange between groups. Marriage, therefore, creates alliance and makes for peace. One does not necessarily marry one's enemies, however, with the view to establishing peaceful relations with them. Any group can be an enemy among the Mbowamb, and they are ready to fight with everybody, even closely related groups. One way they obviate the danger of perpetual warfare is by putting themselves into an exchange relationship with as many other groups as possible, i.e., maximize their social contacts. But since marriage is the prototype of exchange and is moreover distinguished by the characteristic that it alone brings new groups hitherto unrelated, into contact for exchange purposes, therefore marriage also is geared to maximize social contacts.

More important for our present discussion, that of the relationship between brothers-in-law and brothers, is the point made by Mauss that exchange symbolizes ambivalent friendship-hostility relationships, and by implication, keeps the hostility aspects in check. The Mbowamb keep track of the exchanges in which they have engaged, by putting a small bamboo stick around their neck for each gift of eight or ten shells which they have made. Now the distribution of these exchanges, on the basis of asking men with whom they had made their exchanges is as follows:

TABLE 11^a

EXCHANGES AND KINSHIP CATEGORIES

Kinship Category	Kinship Specification	No. of Exchanges
Brother	Real:	34
	Classificatory:	
	Same lineage ^b	51
	Same group	38
	Same clan	17
	WZH	15
	MZS	11
	Unspecified:	15
	Total	181
Brother-in-law	Real:	
	ZH	35
	WB	42
	Classificatory:	37
	Unspecified:	16
	Total	130
Cross Relative	Real:	
	MB-ZS	24
	FZS-MBS	13
	Classificatory:	64
	Total	101
Father-Son	Real:	1
	Classificatory:	49
	Total	50
Father-in-law Son-in-law	Real:	12
	Classificatory:	12
	Total	24
Unspecified in general:		17
	Grand total:	503

^aThis table represents the shell exchanges of 18 Engamoi "big men."

^b 133 for the explanation of these structural

UCSD copy is imperfect - note b. in text off.

We notice that the most exchanges, by far, were made between the brothers-in-law and brothers. This would seem to confirm what Mauss stated theoretically, that the relationships between brothers and between brothers-in-law are ones of potential conflict and hostility, that the two relationships are actually quite similar. Might this also be related to the fact that the children of brothers-in-law become cross-relatives to each other, and in the next generation are "brothers" to each other?

Since exchange is considered, in many important ways, a substitute for warfare, and since exchange is so important a part of Mbowamb life, one might expect that warfare among the Mbowamb was not as frequent or as treacherous and constant as it might have been elsewhere in the Central Highlands of New Guinea where it is always described in the literature as endemic, frequent, treacherous usually, pursued with vigor and force. This would certainly be an hypothesis open for further testing, and my information leads me to think that it might be true, that warfare was not so common or all-absorbing among the Mbowamb. This is not, however, the place to go into the question. The point to be made here is that the content of the kin terms for brother and brother-in-law seem to be similar, seem to be somewhat ambivalent and seem to express cooperation/friendship as well as hostility/antagonism. In terms of Mauss' contribution that exchange of goods and people symbolize this situation, it is confirmatory to note that precisely between these two categories of kin do most of the shell exchanges take place. We also begin to see how kinship, consanguineal and affinal, interrelate themselves, as well as how they tie in with the larger groups of the society and help to integrate Mbowamb

society into something of a unit which can maintain itself in spite of individual independence and other fissive or destructive tendencies, such as war. This is done through exchanges of goods, of which marriage is one very important case.

Brothers and brothers-in-law, in Mbowamb society are similar in that the relationships are ambivalent and characterized by friendship/cooperation and hostility/competition. One might inquire what some of the bases of the competition are? In the case of brothers, it would be competition for goods, especially those related to making exchanges and consequently achieving prestige and position in the social group. There is also, in certain instances, competition for land which might set brothers in opposition to each other, or differential access to women in the sense that one brother may be able to amass several wives while another may have only one, perhaps, in rare cases, none. The competition here would concern access to multiple wives more than the acquisition of a wife for an individual. This would relate again to differential access to the sources of prestige. Brothers-in-law also are in competition. In one way they are in competition for women, insofar as the one group has to give up its women to the other, without getting a woman in return. This is somewhat offset by the exchange of bride-wealth, to be sure, but competition can be established in this fashion. This is perhaps best seen in the relationship which is established between a man and his parents-in-law. Then, too, the brothers-in-law are competing for prestige and the prestige goods. Ethnocentrism, a strong feature of the Mbowamb value-structure, makes a man want to exalt his own group in exchanges, war, and other activities, even at

the expense of other groups. It would perhaps be better to say, necessarily at the expense of other groups, also those to whom he is aligned by marriage. To be able to expand his connections and his sources of shells, etc., he must remain on good terms with his exchange partners, so there is the ambivalence and the friendship-aspect again of the relationship, just as brothers must be close and friendly and cooperative because they live together, work together, are responsible for the group of which they are members by descent, and so on. Another tie, perhaps binding brothers together and brothers-in-law as well, are the women who are exchanged between the groups. Brothers, as we saw, are very close to their sisters, and a man, after all, needs a wife. Most of these kinds of interpretations, however, are those of the ethnographer who studies the people and their behavior and then tries to see some rationale behind it. This type of activity takes us very definitely to another level of model-building or interpretation, which may or may not coincide with what the people themselves conceive as the actual situation.

III

In accordance with the behavior of kinsmen described in the preceding sections, we can again draw up a chart of terms insofar as they are similar. (See Table 12.) This chart is not completely different from Table 9 in terms of cross-relatives and what we called parallel relatives. The cross-relatives again stand out as important. To them, in terms of behavior content, has been added the *ma*. The relationships put in parenthesis are not so clearly one kind or another.

TABLE 12

MBOWAMB KINSHIP TERMS ACCORDING TO CONTENT

Ambivalent	Warm	Avoidance
ana	ma	kudlpam
kuglum	aia	(amp)
ta	apa	
(andakawua)	ata	
(mönin)	kurpel	
(kömim)	(api)	

Having thus analyzed and described the kinship system of the Mbowamb, we can draw some conclusions with respect to the understanding such an approach as this gives us of Mbowamb society.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

In these conclusions we first of all summarize and discuss the specific conclusions which have come out of our own descriptive material. Then we relate the kinship system to the more inclusive social groups, and relate both to the Mbowamb rules of exogamy. Thirdly, a brief discussion, an indication only, of how marriage/alliance theory might be applied to the Mbowamb (and Central Highlands) material will be presented. Throughout we have indicated how the approach of this dissertation might possibly be applied to some of the problems which workers have encountered in New Guinea.

I

We have posed for ourselves the question how the social groups of the Mbowamb are constituted, and how they are integrated with each other to form a larger society, and we ask ourselves these questions specifically in terms of kinship. Kinship is a way of relating people efficiently for certain tasks connected with human and social life. Kinship is also a way of thinking about one's social situation. It is in terms of the latter especially that we are concerned with the Mbowamb kinship system. For the Mbowamb the social universe can be divided into kin and non-kin, and the one

mechanism by which the one can become the other is through marriage, for then non-kin are drawn into the orbit of kinsmen to become, in their descendants eventually, full agnates, i.e., "brothers" and "sisters." Among the Mbowamb, therefore, one can define the kin and non-kin in another way: the non-kin are potential sources of spouses (wife-givers), whereas kin are forbidden as spouses (wife-takers). There is a dynamism implied here, in that non-kin become kin by marriage, after which they are forbidden as spouses (i.e., one cannot remarry in an affinally related kin group). Or we can define kin as people with whom we relate, e.g., for purposes of exchange, and non-kin as people with whom we do not relate as yet, but with whom we would like to relate. Kinship therefore not only integrates groups from within, i.e., not only has important intra-group functions, but also integrates groups with each other, i.e., has important inter-group functions. The kind of kin connection involved is determined by the generation. In the first generation the connection is through affinity and siblingship; in the second generation it is through siblingship and cross-relationship, and in the third generation it is in terms of siblingship or as "brothers" again that the two groups are related. In the inter-group situation all three kinds of ties are operative at once in many instances; all three kinds of relationships are always operative potentially. The strength and extent of the bonds which unite two groups depend on various factors, e.g., genealogical distance, i.e., which generation is taken as the focus of discussion as well as upon other extrinsic factors, such as co-residence, frequency of interaction, common activities, etc.

There are two main ways in which kinship relates to the larger social structure, i.e., to the system of social

groups which characterize the Mbowamb. First of all, kinship is the main mechanism by which groups recruit new members. In this way the larger level social groups are related to the lower level kinship system, insofar as recruitment to the large groups occurs mainly at the lower level of the kinship group, viz., in the family. From here ultimately the descent groups, no matter how large and inclusive they become, recruit the bulk of their members, various segments rising or falling on the formal descent-group map as more or fewer members are added on the lowest, strictly kinship level. The other method of recruitment common to the Mbowamb system is by assimilation, but this also depends ultimately on actual kinship connection, especially as symbolized in the kinship terminology. Thus a MZS can be assimilated because he is a "brother." It would be possible also, under circumstances, for a more distant relative to be accepted, e.g., a MMBSS, but only if there was contact and good relations between the two groups and the individuals involved. It would be possible because the kinship system permitted it; in a sense the system invites this kind of assimilation. For this reason also a MB could come in to live with his ZH's group, because his children would be cross-relatives, and in the next generation would be parallel or agnatic relatives with every right of belonging.

At this point we might discuss the problem of the commitment of an individual to his group. The group to which one actually belongs, at any one time, is normally clearly defined in actuality. A person belongs to that group with which he has some kinship connection, with which he resides (not in the sense so much of having domicile, but physically co-resides) and with which he cooperates. When

a shift of group allegiance is in progress there may be a time when the membership-status of an individual is not really so clear, but soon his group-membership will become definite. Ideologically, as we have seen, he can equally be a member of various groups; potentially he can utilize a variety of kinship links to change group membership. What eventually makes an individual an actual, committed member of a concrete group are various factors, e.g., physical descent, usually patrilineal, co-residence, etc.

There is some divergence therefore between the people's understanding of group membership, as far as their kinship system is concerned and their actual group membership at any one time. This divergence may help explain some of the "looseness" of social structure, the ready assimilation and change of group-affiliation, flexibility of genealogy, attention given to individual likes and desires, and so on, which is so characteristic of the Mbowamb situation. This flexibility of the people's model in the Mbowamb situation is nicely exemplified in the kinship system itself. Other cultural areas may also prove to be flexible as well, or flexible as far as commitment to some isolable social group or unit is concerned.

Kinship is especially related to the larger social groups in terms of the rules of exogamy. The kinship terms and the limits of exogamy are co-extensive. If one is a "brother" or "sister" or a "kandere" (mother's people), then one is also forbidden to marry that person. A discussion of exogamy, therefore, is important to understand the nature of the integration of kinship with social groups and the extent of effective kinship usage as well. Considerations of descent, filiation, and exogamy must all come into the discussion.

II

If we take the Kumdi as our exemplar group (see p. 132) there are four levels which are pertinent, in different ways, in a discussion of marriage exogamy. These are the Komonika (mbo kats) level, the Engamoi (pana ru) level, the Kopaliga (manga rapa) level, and the level of the nuclear family (tepam-kangemadl).

The Komonika level is the exogamous group. An individual must look for a spouse outside of this level of social structure. Within this group, all are considered to be "brothers" and "sisters." This is in spite of the actual modality of descent. Since all are "brothers" and "sisters" it is generally also stated that all the Komonikas are descended from the same ancestor, although the connections are by no means clear. In many instances, as we have seen, the descent link is demonstrably not patrilineal. The emphasis is on "siblingship" which can come about in various ways as we have seen from our discussion of the kinship system, not only through patrilineal descent. This is the most direct way of achieving "siblingship." Therefore, coupled with patrilocal residence, this very readily leads to predominantly patrilineal descent groups as they are manifested "on the ground." Nevertheless, considering the various lines of descent which are actually present in any Mbowamb "patrilineal" descent group of the level of the Komonikas, one would conclude that descent as such is not the most pertinent or important factor in the Mbowamb ideology, but rather siblingship or agnation, to distinguish the two, i.e., descent from agnation (see Introduction, p. 17).

Fortes distinguishes two kinds of filiation, serial filiation or descent, and what he simply calls filiation. Filiation emphasizes the relationship between a child and its parents (it is complementary if it refers to the parent from which the child does not receive his descent group membership; complementary filiation therefore also partakes of the nature of descent or serial filiation rather than being filiation in the simple sense; this, I feel, introduces confusion into the terms as used by Fortes). Descent or serial filiation, on the other hand, relates an EGO to an ancestor, at least to a FF (patrilineal) or MM (matrilineal), and so on. In Mbowamb society, we have pointed out that this generation does not seem to be sociologically important, at least not in any lineal way--another clue that descent as such is not the important factor for the Mbowamb. This can be nicely related to another point made in the same article by Fortes. He says:

It is obvious that in systems where a sibling succeeds or inherits "in preference to," i.e., by priority of right over, a child, descent is the critical factor; for a sibling is closer to the source of the deceased's "estate"--a common ancestor--than is a son or daughter. But where succession and inheritance devolve on sons or daughters "in preference to" siblings, this is governed by the rule of filiation [1959:208].

The implication for the Mbowamb is clear. The emphasis is not on descent, but primarily on filiation and especially on the siblings this generates.

Descent, or patrilateral filiation, is important among the Mbowamb insofar as a child belongs, in the first place and normally, to its father's group. This is brought out when a woman leaves her husband. Her small children, still nursing, will go with her. Later the husband's group

will always try to claim that child. If later the child wants to go back to its father's place, it is free to do so. Probably it will not; it will rather stay with the mother's group or with the mother's new husband's group. All this is not so clear-cut, however, Much depends on who is considered to be at fault for breaking up the marriage; much depends on whether the bride-wealth has been returned and accepted. Much depends, finally, on the desire of the child, once it is old enough to decide for itself--and this could be as young as 8-10 years (see below for an example, p. 450). A child will normally "belong" to that group in which he grows up and given the rule of viripatrilocal residence, one would normally "belong" to one's patrilineal descent group. Jurally, however, this rule of belonging is not really so rigid and many modifications are possible (see below, p. 462, where Bulmer makes somewhat the same statement of the Kyaka Enga). This again, I suggest, is compatible with the Mbowamb's lack of emphasis, ideologically or culturally speaking, on descent. This lack of emphasis, may, of course, be due to the possibility that the Mbowamb are only now developing a patrilineal descent ideology.

The Komonikas, therefore, do not intermarry because they are "brothers" and "sisters." I have no instance of this rule being broken for the Engamois. In all cases where there was doubt, it turned out that the suspect spouse's parents had been assimilates, or like the Roglaka-Engamoi situation, refugees who lived with a Komonika group, but who retained their own identity.

The Kumdi Witikas and Kumdi Oglakas were available as spouses, even though descent was also presumably common. Sibling terms were not extended to these groups.

It is another question, though related to be sure, to ask why the exogamous group coincides with the Komonikas, if patrilineal descent is not the main factor in determining this exogamous group. Admittedly this group is large, and is primarily determined by patrilineal descent in actuality. However, why the Komonikas form the exogamous group is largely or primarily an historical question, I feel, and must relate somehow to the growth and decline of social groups. It also relates, presumably, to other factors as well, e.g., size of ceremonial group, range of possible exchange partners, etc. Just as the Roglimps have recently joined the Engamois as one exogamous group, because they (Roglimps) were all "mother's people"--and, therefore, in two-three generations "brothers" and "sisters," so also one might predict that intermarriage will soon take place between the Elpugumps-Kombambas and the Engamois, especially with the Elpugumps since there is some doubt about their initial status vis-à-vis the Komonikas anyway. These groups are now moved away from the Engamois; the Elpugumps especially have retained their own identity and are increasing, now have their own councillor, etc., to the extent that, common descent or no, they will likely also intermarry in the future with the Engamois (no cases as yet, however). At this time they will also cease to be called "brother" and "sister."

The next structural level involved in marriage regulation is the Engamoi or pana ru (anda noimp) level. If an EGO's real mother were an Engamoi, no matter what the manga rapa, all Engamois are forbidden as spouses. They are all "kandere" or apa and kurpel, and therefore not eligible for marriage. Other Komonikas are eligible and are commonly married, so that one whose mother was an Engamoi might marry

an Oinamp. The problem of assimilation might readily confuse the issue also on this level, but again, this rule of exogamy is never broken, or at least I have no records of it. To this level, therefore, will EGO especially extend the terms for cross-relatives and eventually sibling terms, rather than to the entire exogamous group of his mother. Filiation to the mother's group, therefore, is not so extensive with respect to regulating marriage as it is in the father's group, unless, of course, EGO goes to live with his mother's people, in which case he and his children will probably, his children's children will surely, abide by all the extensive rules of exogamy of his mother's group.

The manga rapa level is the most important group for marriage regulation in a positive sense. First of all, as we have already seen, it is the group which is involved with making the arrangements and the payments. Moreover, once a marriage is contracted with this group, further inter-marriage with that group is forbidden. This is the group level which is responsible for exchanges; as long as there is some connection between groups, i.e., as long as these two groups exchange, the possibility of remarriage there is forbidden. This is not phrased in terms of incest, i.e., in terms of marrying one's mother's people: it is phrased in terms of eating one's own pork. Thus several real sisters can be married to Engamoi men, provided they are of different manga rapa. This was common indeed. One Witika man had five daughters, three of whom were married to Engamoi, one to a Popage man, one to a Parglimp, and one to an Andakil. This did not violate any of the exogamy norms or the rules governing marriage. For the same reason was sister-exchange

forbidden. This would multiply connections with the same manga rapa, an altogether undesirable situation.

The manga rapa level also seems to be the important level for the FZH group. In my area a young girl came to live with her ata (FZ) who was married to an Engamoi Popage. Her father had died, and she did not like her mother's new husband--also it seems she did not get along well with her mother. In any case, as a young girl of ten or so, she came to live, help, and work with her ata. This girl would be allowed to marry another Engamoi, but not a Popage. To permit such a marriage would again mean giving shells and pork to oneself.

The effective extensions of kin terms follow these social groupings. We note that the group involved on the mother's side is a different, more inclusive level group than that of the FZH. Beyond this, the pertinent level regulating marriage quickly becomes the nuclear family. Thus, EGO could not marry the real children of FZHZH, but any other girl of his (FZHZH) manga rapa would be available. The same would hold for EGO's mother's matrilineal kin and his father's matrilineal kin, provided these relatives are specifically remembered at all. Given proper conditions of residence, continued exchange, etc., they might well be remembered, in which case marriage with them would also be forbidden. Within these rules, as enunciated, one is free to marry wherever and whomever one desires. Political jostling for prestige may color the choice, economic motives may at times predominate but beyond this there is generally and essentially free choice, which is often exercised, as we have hinted in our description of marriage. An Engamoi person is concerned not to marry another Komonika, but whom another

Komonika, e.g., an Oinamp, does marry is of no concern to him. The son of an Engamoi woman will not marry any Engamoi girl; but EGO's classificatory brother, although of the same manga rapa, could marry an Engamoi girl, provided she, in turn, were of a different manga rapa than the mother of EGO. (Otherwise the same manga rapa would be marrying, i.e., allying with the same manga rapa with a double marriage bond.) It is only on the manga rapa level that one becomes concerned with whom one can positively marry, in a sense, and here the value is definitely on dispersed marriages.

III

This, of course, relates directly to the question of marriage patterns, which in turn relates to the theory which has been developed by and since Levi-Strauss. We can briefly summarize the major points relating to marriage as a system of exchange and alliance in the following way. Marriage can logically be by exchange or with no exchange. Levi-Strauss maintains that all marriage implies exchange of some kind, even what he would call the complex social structures, insofar as these will only prove to be complexities of the three elementary forms he investigates. One might, however, conceive of marriage which, as an institution, is completely individualistic in orientation, where all is free choice, with no reciprocity or alliance implied, beyond that which is necessary to establish the marriage and ensure the offspring. Our concern here, however, is with marriage as an example of exchange and marriage as a mechanism of alliance, to see where the Mbowamb material can most adequately fit in.

Marriage as an exchange can be of various kinds. It

might be direct exchange of women, or indirect. Direct exchange would essentially be sister-exchange. Continued through the generations as a concrete system, this becomes bilateral cross-cousin marriage.

To make this indirect exchange, in a sense, merely means adding the notion of bride-wealth for women to this institution, such that women tend to go in one direction, while bride-wealth and other goods go in the opposite direction. Indirect exchange of women again can be of two kinds, i.e., symmetrical or bilateral (either FZD or MBD) or asymmetrical (only MBD or only FZD).

At this point, however, a divergence appears in the theory, which must be considered if we are to place the Mbowamb material into the framework of alliance theory in anything like a satisfactory way. One group states emphatically that these kinds of marriage, to become structurally significant, must be summed up somehow in some sort of positive marriage rule. Of these authors, some require that the rule be prescriptive, others claim that a preference suffices. This is often summed up in something like prescribed matrilineal cross-cousin marriage. Needham, for example, would represent this group (1962). The other group of theorists claim that the marriage rule is actually irrelevant to the structural picture; indeed, actual cross-cousins may be expressly forbidden as spouses, and alliance theory still applied to the situation. Schneider would represent this group (1965). This divergence has necessarily led to dissension relative to the constitution of the kin categories of MBD, FZD, etc., and how these should be understood. For the latter group, the name often given to alliance theory,

viz., matrilateral (or patrilateral) cross-cousin marriage, is most misleading.

"Indirect exchange" often relates to the notion of bride-wealth; when a woman is exchanged for certain goods, which are then the guarantee for a new wife, we can speak of indirect exchange. In this case we prescind from any marriage rule of preference or prescription. But this seems to bring us to complex social structures, as defined by Levi-Strauss:

parente complexe--c'est-a-dire ne comportant pas la
determination positive du type de conjoint prefere.
...[p. 575].

This last would seem to be the type of marriage alliance prevalent in the Mbowamb situation. Yet, Mbowamb marriage must be marked down as an elementary structure. For some of the reasons, see below, p. 457.

Much has been written about the strength or degree of integration which the various kinds of marriages bring about, i.e., about the way in which societies are kept together to form a recognizable, operative unit as a consequence especially of marriage. The degree of integration would seem to depend on the strength of the commitment to the cultural value of the type of marriage rule. Direct exchange of sisters can be as integrating as indirect, asymmetrical exchange if the commitment to the rule is equally strong in each case. If there is no real commitment to the rule of cross-cousin marriage (asymmetrical matri-lateral for example), then many marriages will be "wrong" and it will only be model-wise or on a very high level of abstraction that this type can be strongly integrating. One's choice may be more limited in such a system as an asymmetrical, indirect exchange system, but this would not necessarily mean that it is less or more integrating.

In the Mbowamb area marriage constitutes an alliance-- not however in Dumont's original sense of the term where he referred the term to marriage as an institution enduring from generation to generation, which made cross-cousins to be affines and therefore EGO's first choice for a spouse insofar as this person became "the person who is the closest affine by virtue of the transmission of affinity ties from one generation to the next" (Dumont 1957:24). Marriage in Mbowamb society creates alliance in a broader meaning of the term, as opposed to the classical sense, of which Dumont in the above remark would constitute a representative also. Marriage in Mbowamb society unites two groups in an enduring relationship, which is characterized primarily by continued exchange. Marriage seems to be nothing more or less than another exchange, essentially like any other. The bride-wealth can be a guarantee of a new marriage, but in a very indirect way. The bride-wealth is thrown right into the mainstream of the other exchanges, and other exchanges furnish the shells, etc., for bride-wealth. Marriage, however, is unique as an exchange because it inaugurates a new one, sets two groups up in a new exchange relationship. If the value of exchange between groups is high, or if a high value is placed on interpersonal relationship with many different people, then marriage will be highly rated, and also precisely that kind of marriage will be highly rated which creates a new possibility for exchanging. Only when it brings new groups into contact is the marriage "right" and "proper." This, then, is the purpose of the exogamy rules as they are established among the Mbowamb. In marriage there is gift and counter-gift, with the woman herself forming part of the counter-gift. She becomes part of the

exchange-transaction, and is unique again in that she (through marriage) creates the alliance between two new groups. It is not necessarily her child which causes this, although the birth of a child can re-create the bond of alliance in a sense and strengthen and repeat it insofar as brothers-in-law exchange on the occasion. The marriage itself is sufficient and necessary to cause the bond of alliance to develop. Therefore, children are not necessary to maintain marriage among the Mbowamb. Childless couples are also considered married.

Insofar as any exogamous group, e.g., Komonikas, continues in existence, it means that the group is getting enough wives (insofar as other surrounding exogamous groups also continue in existence, it means they are getting enough women), which also implies that the Komonikas are getting rid of their excess women (i.e., their sisters and daughters). This, of course, means that women somehow are being exchanged, that the marriage cycle also is being closed somewhere, somehow. But the cycle can be so long and exchange so indirect that the concepts become analytically fairly useless. As an isolable mechanism of integration, this type of marriage alliance just does not show up in Mbowamb culture. The kinship structure does not show any sort of positive marriage pattern; nor are the people aware, implicitly or explicitly, of any such rule leading to patterned exchange after the models of the classical alliance theorists. In Mbowamb society one does not necessarily marry at random--but neither does one marry according to any positive rule, unless the rule to marry a non-kinsman is so conceived.

Statistically one might still perhaps make a case. In spite of the culture of the people, in other words, they

still might actually marry in some patterned way so that cycles do emerge which tend to integrate the society somewhat after the fashion of Salisbury's study (1956b). This may be possible, but the proof would obviously relate to the size of the statistical run which one made. If the run is sufficiently inclusive, a cycle will almost certainly emerge, as we have already theoretically postulated. On less inclusive levels tendencies may appear, but they will be more easily and economically understood in other ways than in terms of incipient marriage cycles; if a woman, e.g., marries into a certain group, and is happy, chances are high that more of her close relatives will marry into her area and group, provided the exogamy rules outlined above are not violated. It does not follow that cycles of exchange develop. (Bulmer, in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, makes the same observation, and also explicitly excludes any kind of marriage cycle for the Kyaka Enga.)

No positive patterns, as we have said, develop on the level of the people's conscious understanding of marriage. For purposes of this dissertation, this is sufficient. Statistically on the level of Engamoi and lower, no discernible pattern emerges other than a pattern which can be stated that one tends to marry geographically close neighbors, provided all the rules of exogamy are observed. This is not the kind of pattern, however, which classical alliance theorists have in mind, or around which they build their theory and conclusions. On the level of the Komonikas, I do not have sufficient data, vis-à-vis all the other exogamous groups with which they intermarry. If such a pattern exists on this level, it may mean we are reaching a proper size statistical run such that our a priori reasoning will be

validated; or there may actually be marriage cycles at this level. They most certainly do not appear in any way in the thinking or conscious culture of the people themselves, and are in no way a constraint on their behavior.

IV

However, prescindng from such specificities as actual cross-cousin marriage or prescriptive rules of marriage, prescindng from the people's own model of their social system, can we perhaps apply the broader interpretation of alliance theory to the Mbowamb situation? If we speak only in terms of conceptually isolable units, e.g., manga rapa, which are interrelated through marriage in a uni-directional way, brought about primarily by exchange, i.e., by prestation and counter-prestation, with women going in one direction (structurally, not spatially) and goods going in the other, then we can definitely speak of marriage alliance in Mbowamb society.

Van der Leeden (1960) spoke of the application of marriage alliance theory to the New Guinea situation. He lists several characteristics of the New Guinea situation in general which would lead us to suspect the possibility of applying alliance theory. These characteristics also apply to the Mbowamb. We can glean his characteristics and others from our own descriptive account of kinship and marriage. They would be:

- (a) emphasis on reciprocity;
- (b) importance of and emphasis on exchange;
- (c) agonistic character, often, of exchange, which is kept in bounds, however, by certain cultural conventions;

- (d) van der Leeden remarks the following and lists the following characteristics: "The marriage rules in New Guinea show all the aspects which according to Levi-Strauss, are elementary for the exchange of women" (1960:136). These are namely:
- (e) asymmetrical status of men and women;
 - (f) women are passive, i.e., are the objects of exchange;
 - (g) woman's status determined by her offspring (for the Mbowamb situation, this would demand qualification. That women are passive in the Mbowamb situation must also be properly understood);
 - (h) payment for loss by bride-wealth (the "loss" aspect is not so prominent in Mbowamb reckoning. It would be better to simply state "payment or exchange is effected by bride-wealth");
 - (i) relations between affines latently antagonistic;
 - (j) asymmetry affects kinship terminology (and sibling-relations);
 - rules of cross-cousins;
 - bifurcation observed;
 - rules of marriage phrased in terms of brother-sister.

In these latter criteria we have possibly another way of interpreting the kinship terminology of the Mbowamb. On the conscious level, i.e., as the people understand their kinship structure there are the problems which we have already indicated. However, we can say that the Mbowamb kinship terminological system does permit applying the anthropologist's model of unilateral alliance theory to it, without obvious contradiction.

When van der Leeden takes this theory to the concrete situation in New Guinea, he also tends to confuse the levels of analysis. On the one hand, he looks for rules of marriage and for categories of marriageable kin. He tries to isolate concrete cycles of marriage. To accomplish this for his own area he tries to isolate and establish matrilineal descent

groups, and tries to establish the existence of circulating connubia after three generations. Pouwer (1960a) criticizes this and states that this is merely the result of the loss of women, and not to be phrased in terms of exchange between matriline. In this criticism he comes close to what I have discussed above as the ultimate necessity, if a society is to be viable, of having the marriage cycles closed. Van der Leeden looks for and finds at least hints of marriage rules and connubia in several places in New Guinea, i.e., his own field area, Sarmi, and in other Western New Guinea groups described by Pouwer, Oosterwal, Held, i.e., among the Mejbrat, Tor Valley people, and the Waropen. He also discusses the Mundugumor, Tschambuli, plus a few others, as possibly having asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage. He also mentions the Enga and Mbowamb, but only in connection with exchange and prestations, not in connection with marriage. Those groups which seem to have some sort of positive marriage rule, i.e., conform to the "classical" alliance theory, seem also to be all found in a marginal area where making a livelihood is difficult. What he concludes for New Guinea can generally therefore be taken as true, if one takes a broad enough stand on what is meant by alliance theory, elementary processes, etc. "In New Guinea the social processes are usually elementary. This makes New Guinea an excellent testing ground for theories on kinship and marriage systems" (van der Leeden 1960:135).

Keeping in mind the marriage rules as we have described them above, we can describe the Mbowamb marriage system as one of exchange. It is, moreover, indirect and asymmetrical. Women go in one direction; there is no return for women; this is expressly forbidden. Moreover, there is no multiplication of affinity, i.e., the ties of affinity

are not transmitted from generation to generation, as Dumont, standing in this respect for the classical or strict alliance theorists, would demand. This would imply a positive marriage rule and establish a specific category of marriageable kin, i.e., of "affines before the fact" as it were. The continued integration between groups is not one, seemingly therefore, of affinity, but some other kind, e.g., descent, matrifiliation, a relationship of "agnation" or sibblingship, etc. Of what sort this continued integration is, at least on the level of the kinship system, is brought out in our analysis of the kinship system.

Pigs and shells are given for the woman, who herself (her group) brings along some (fewer) pigs and shells. For the woman and not directly returned, are kung penal and kung mangal. Later on, Kung maibugla will go to the woman's group (the wife-givers). In the meantime, the girl's group (the wife-givers) will also be giving shells and pigs to the boy's group (wife-takers) in exchanges, whenever they kill pig, etc. The amounts exchanged over the years tend to equalize themselves. There is no real super-subordinate relationship established (which is an added feature of alliance theory, not essential to it). However, certain kinds of shells and pigs are not returned. Hence, the transfer of goods is also partly unidirectional.

The direction of exchange of women is unilateral. Only when the exchange-relationships between groups are extinguished, former connections forgotten, or when new structural groups have emerged, can a woman be again exchanged (indirectly). The direction of exchange may be structurally opposite to the previous one. Therefore, we can ask ourselves: to what most generalized elementary structure of indirect asymmetrical exchange does the Mbowamb

marriage system belong? Given its characteristics, as delineated above, it certainly seems to belong to one of the types broadly enough conceived, either to the asymmetrical, patrilateral cross-cousin type of marriage; or to the asymmetrical matrilateral cross-cousin type. If we consider them as two generalized types, which need not say anything whatsoever about FZD or MBD marriage, or an equivalent, e.g., MMBDD marriage, etc., then we can ask which one applies best to the Mbowamb situation? Obviously type I, the asymmetrical, patrilateral cross-cousin system of marriage. At any one time Mbowamb marriage is unidirectional; there is nothing, however, to prevent a reversal of direction when, given the rules, it again becomes possible to intermarry again. Group A gives to Group B; in another generation, Group B returns to Group A.

We must also remember here again that this typologizing is done by the anthropologist, not necessarily by the people, at least not consciously. Yet, does this model devised by the anthropologist say anything about the real situation at all? This, of course, is of concern to the anthropologist. It is not that he is concerned to devise and contemplate the figments of his own lucubrations. The models he builds must somehow either accord with the phenomena, explain them somehow, or give him some insight, for example, into the workings of the human mind itself. We should, therefore, take this model back to the Mbowamb situation to see what the fit of model to the Mbowamb (symbol) system is! We have already mentioned that the kinship system is not completely contradictory to such an application. This typologizing can be referred also to the dualistic tendencies so common in the Mbowamb symbol system. Both types of marriage, i.e., I and II seem at first sight to be triadic

(wife-givers--EGO--wife-receivers), but actually this can be broken down into two sets of dyadic relations, i.e., wife-givers--EGO and wife-takers--EGO, or simply the dyadic relationship of wife-givers--wife-takers. Perhaps even our initial interpretation of male-female antagonism can be shown to fit with this marriage system model. I would still maintain that the male-female relationship does not conceptualize any particular affinal opposition given the relationship between the sexes as it has been described above. What Bulmer says of the Kyaka Enga, although in a slightly different context, can be applied here to the Mbowamb also:

They [Kyaka Enga] do not attribute anyone element in the child's body-flesh or bones--to either parent exclusively. This lack of conceptual opposition between maternally acquired flesh and paternally acquired bone or spirit is consistent with the Kyaka view that, other things being equal, both father's kin and mother's kin have an equal claim to the child (this corresponds to what we called the de-emphasis on unilineal descent among the Mbowamb), and an equal interest in him. It is only through payment of the mother's bridewealth and, equally important, their nurturing of the child, that the father's group establish their superior claims to him. It is also on the basis of continual association and development of individual, personal claims in life that recent patrilineal ghosts assume their predominant importance' [Bulmer n.d.].

Just so, I have stated above that the male-female relationship does not reflect any particular marriage alliances, because not only is a wife "opposed" to a husband, but a sister/mother is also "opposed" to a man. However, given our very generalized understanding of what the Mbowamb marriage system consists in, we note that the male-female antagonism can also nicely be fitted into this larger scheme. After all, a sister forms a marriage link for EGO in the same way that a wife does, and the same kind of link, i.e.,

the same groups can be involved with each other now as wife-giver, now as wife-taker.

This does not invalidate our previous interpretations of the male-female relationship. We are working and interpreting on various levels of interpretation and both, each at its own level of understanding, can be valid.

That the Mbowamb system is placed in the patrilateral system of marriage can be related to the basic value of equality so emphasized in Mbowamb culture. If marriage is of the matrilateral variety (we are always talking here of generalized conceptual systems), we would almost expect some status differentiation to occur--and Leach claims that it always does develop such differential power-relations, albeit it may be either in favor of wife-takers or wife-givers. In the patrilateral variety, the relationships are potentially equalized (and therefore, according to some, less organic and less integrative). Some have even said that the patrilateral variety of cross-cousin marriage could not exist! It depends, it seems, on one's understanding of the theory, whether this is narrow or broad.

And so we could go on with other aspects of Mbowamb life. Specific application could be made, for example, in the system of kinship terminology. Thus, for example, the lack of a clear term for FZH might be related to his potential position as wife's father, and connected somehow with avoidance. But this becomes specious. In so applying our generalized system to very concrete data, there is also a danger of mixing levels of analysis again. We begin to look for a specific FZD or a specific category as a potential spouse. We begin to confuse the actual situation with a system-model of alliance, which is so designed that it need

not be tied down to some specific FZH or FZD or MBD, etc., or category thereof, as would be more the case with the one version of alliance theory.

From here we could go in several directions. We could discuss the divergence in alliance theory at some greater length, pinpointing the different authors who hold one or the other version. The latest commentary on this is Schneider's contribution to the Relevance of Models in Social Anthropology (1965). Or we could consider the Mbowamb marriage system in terms of its being not only the model of the anthropologist, but also the unconscious, even merely implicit, model of the Mbowamb themselves. It might be useful to indicate in general terms how this model can be taken back to the Mbowamb terminological system as a whole rather than to any specific kin category. Again, we might take the marriage system which we have identified for the Mbowamb back to their culture and try to relate it to their symbol and value system as completely and adequately as possible. We might also consider the application of alliance theory comparatively, i.e., relative first of all to other Central Highlands societies. This has not yet been suggested by anyone, although in some systems there are quite explicit hints in the culture that the marriage systems belong to one or the other elementary types isolated by alliance theory, e.g., Kuma in their kinship terminology (Reay 1959a), or the Fore-Kamano in their marriage rules (Berndt 1954). We must, however, leave these interesting questions and points for discussion elsewhere. On the basis of our description especially of marriage, and in terms of our brief discussion of alliance theory, we have been "forced" to conclude as it were that the type-system of the

Mbowamb way of marrying is of the asymmetrical, patri-lateral cross-cousin variety. We have also indicated that this model, devised by the anthropologist, might fruitfully be taken back to the data and a fairly nice fit achieved. What is very essential, however, is a proper understanding of what is meant by alliance theory in terms of its broader, more generalized interpretation. It is also very important to clearly recognize and specify on what level of analysis one is working. It almost certainly will make a difference in one's interpretation and analysis.

This sort of interpretation does not, therefore, mean that other ways of analyzing the Mbowamb situation are not possible. Kinship systems and kinship terms are multi-functional and can be interpreted in various ways, each attempt adequate in its own way. Perhaps in no case is the "fit" perfect; there is no reason why it should be. Perhaps this "perfect fit" between kinship terminology and some other one aspect of social structure is what Meggitt is looking for with his Mae Enga data; since he does not find it, kinship terminology is dismissed out of hand (Meggitt 1964).

V

Finally, therefore, one might draw together, in outline form, what are the conclusions of this dissertation.

First of all, there has been a reemphasis on the traditional kinship studies approach, as opposed specifically to Meggitt and his approach to the Enga kinship system.

Secondly, I intended to show the usefulness of an internal analysis of social morphology and kinship. This approach has explained, I think, (a) why brothers and sisters are so emphasized in Mbowamb society (and in Highland

societies in general); (b) has thrown some light on descent in Mbowamb society, and modified our understanding of descent as a social principle at work in Mbowamb society. In some way perhaps, it has been an exemplification of what Evans-Pritchard says for the Nuer. He claims that the Nuer are strongly patrilineal in their ideology. He makes the following statement, for example:

I suggest that it is the clear, consistent, and deeply rooted lineage structure of the Nuer which permits persons and families to move about and attach themselves so freely, for shorter or longer periods to whatever community they choose by whatever cognatic or affinal tie they find it convenient to emphasize; and that it is on account of the firm values of the structure that this flux does not cause confusion or bring about social disintegration. It would seem it may be partly just because the agnatic principle is unchallenged in Nuer society that the tracing of descent through women is so prominent and matrilocality so prevalent. However much the actual configuration of kinship clusters may vary and change, the lineage structure is invariable and stable" [Evans-Pritchard 1951:28].

In a different sense the Mbowamb also are strongly "patrilineal" and "agnatic" in principle; how this is effected in actuality is made clear, I feel, from the internal analysis of the kinship structure. I do not want to say anything in this about the dialectic between patrilineality ("lineage structure") of the Nuer and the actual composition of their communities which is normally not patrilineal; Evans-Pritchard does not indicate how this is worked out in Nuer society, nor do I presume to do so. But we have gotten some idea how it might work itself out in Mbowamb society because of our internal analysis approach.

Finally, (c) an internal analysis approach has helped us explain some of the other anomalies of New Guinea social structure, or at least has indicated one way to approach

some of the difficulties of neatly summarizing and categorizing New Guinea structures.

In this dissertation we also wanted to show the importance, and necessity of clarifying what model or level of analysis we were presenting, and this related especially to the analysis of the Mbowamb marriage system. In the conscious model of the Mbowamb the marriage does not seem to fit any special type, but all is rather free choice within certain exogamy rules. Statistically also it is difficult to isolate any special system or place the marriages of Mbowamb society in any type. However, on the level of the anthropologist's model, analytically and conceptually, the Mbowamb marriage system can be placed in the generalized type known as patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Taking this model back to the phenomena throws some light and understanding on the social interaction patterns.

In most general terms we have (a) isolated the pertinent social groups in Mbowamb society; (b) we have discussed the kinship structure; (c) we have combined the two especially in terms of the rules of exogamy; (d) we have described kinship behavior and marriage; and (e) have tentatively applied alliance theory especially to the latter, with the consequence that we have placed Mbowamb marriage as a system, under the elementary type of asymmetrical patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. In so doing we have tried to point out (f) the importance of isolating/recognizing one's level of analysis. This approach, and our presentation of the kinship structure on the basis of an internal analysis (g) might help explain some of the seeming irregularities of Mbowamb and New Guinea ethnography.

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